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NEGRO CRIMINALITY

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Conference of
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by

away
Chas. H. McCord,

Statistical View of Negro Criminality.

There are now nearly ten million Negroes in the United States. Of this number about 90 % live in the Southern States, and from 80 % to 85 % of these in small towns and the rural districts. About 11 % of the total population of the country and about 34 % of the total population of the South are Negroes. About 18 % of Northern Negroes are wholly illiterate as compared with 48 % of Southern: not more than .5 % of the total Negro population can be said to have as much as a high school education.

This Negro population may be divided logically into four classes, vis.: 1. The educated self-respecting and generally industrious upper class- mostly negroid; 2. The relatively ignorant, but industrious and well behaved class; 3. The great mass of ignorant (not necessarily illiterate) Negroes, of unstable character; 4. The lowest class: composed of the distinctively criminal Negro and his associate of distinctively criminal tendencies. Socially, however, there are only two classes and the lines are not so distinctly drawn as among the whites. There is an upper class composed chiefly of class 1. mentioned above, to which perhaps a majority of class 2. are admitted; and a lower class composed of classes 3. and 4. and the lapses from the upper class. These last mingle freely with practically no social or moral distinctions.

It is somewhat difficult to approximate the number comprising the upper class, but a rough estimate may be made thus:

Number of college graduates (1866-98 inclusive) ³	2234
Estimated number college graduates since 1898	1000
Omissions and graduates of "Colleges" of questionable rank ³	766
Estimated number lower classmen, 10 times the above	40000
Estimated number of Class 2.	<u>44000</u>
Total	88000

Accepting Dr. DuBois report of college graduates, making an estimate based on the number of graduates for 1898, admitting colleges of questionable rank, adding 100 for good measure, and making no allowance for deaths or lapses, we have a total of 4000 Negroes of college education. Estimating that there have been ten times as many who have creditably completed college entrance requirements, we have a total of 44000 more or less well educated Negroes, or .44 % of the total Negro population. Now, granting that there is an equal number of class 2. who may be admitted into the upper class, we have a total of 88000⁴, or .88 % of the total Negro population who may be so classed. Perhaps .75 % is nearer. Note that for the sake of the estimate I have included all of the educated Negroes in the upper class.

From this upper class comes a negligible proportion of criminals: our problem is with the other 99 %, who are relatively ignorant (48 % wholly illiterate) and of unstable character

or actually criminal. The majority of them, perhaps, are, under ordinary circumstances, very well behaved, and may never have been before the courts, but they have not yet succeeded in adjusting themselves to society sufficiently well to be considered relatively immune to criminality. In this respect they may be compared to the vagrant class among the whites i. e. as semi-criminal⁵. Dr. DuBois says that 10 % of the Farmville (Va.) Negroes are "potentially criminal"⁶.

B. In 1890 the total prison population of the United States was 82,329 of whom 24,227, or 29.49 % were negroes. The number of Negro prisoners was therefore three times as great in proportion to population as the whites. Reckoning the proportions for groups of states we find, for the North Atlantic, the South Central and the Western group the proportion of Negro criminals was for each four times as great as the whites for the South Atlantic six times as great, for the North Central eight times, and for the whole Southern group, five times as great⁷. In Louisiana, he furnishes 85 % of the total number of convicts; in Alabama, 85.4 %; in Florida, 86.4 %; in Mississippi, 91 %; in Georgia, 90 %⁸. In Pennsylvania in 1894, 16.61 % of the male inmates of the State Penitentiaries were negroes, and 34.61 % of the females, yet in the population of the state over fifteen years of age only 2.23 % of the males and 2.09 % of the females were of African descent. For New Jersey the corresponding figures were 17.19 % males and 34.59 % females while only 3.4 % of the male population and 3.46 % of the females were negroes⁹. In New York in 1890 the

number of Negro arrests in proportion to Negro population was one and one half times as great as the white arrests to white population. In Washington, Richmond and Charleston it was twice as great, and in Chicago, six times.¹⁰

In Louisville; Ky. the proportion of Negroes in the total population is 17.78 %, but their percentage of arrests was 44.83 %, and of commitments to the work house 39.58 %. In Charleston where they form 56.39 % of the city's population they furnish 65.58 % of the male criminals and 79.19 % of the female criminals."

The extreme of negro criminality is perhaps shown in the criminal records of the city of Chicago. In 1896 the proportion of Negro prisoners in the Chicago house of Correction to the total number of prisoners, was eight times as great as the total negro population of the city.¹² For 1890-94 the percentage of Negro arrests ^{was} 9.84 % as compared with a percentage of the ^{total} population of 1.3 %.¹³

"The Ratio of Negro arrests to the Negro population is (for a series of years) from three to nine times as great as the ratio of total arrests to the total population", and "the ratio of arrests among the Negroes is about six times as great as the proportion of arrests among the total foreign population, and, excepting Chinese, Greeks and Mexicans, from two to eighteen times as great."¹⁴

"All the tables for various states and cities confirm the census data, and show without exception that the criminality of the Negro exceeds that of any other race of any numerical importance in this country."¹⁶ The following table will illustrate the point.

Percentage of arrests according to nationality, and proportion of each nationality to total population for the City of Chicago, 1890.

Nationality	% of total population	% total arrests
Irish	6.4	10.3
German	14.6	11.1
Norwegians	2.0	1.3
Swedes	3.9	2.5
Russians	.7	.8
Bohemians	2.3	1.2
Polanders	2.2	1.7
Italians	.5	1.2
Negroes	1.3	9.8

Principal foreigners	32.6	30.1
Negroes	1.3	9.8
All others	66.1	60.1

"Taking Mississippi in the South Central States for one starting point and South Carolina in the South Atlantic states for another, and going toward the north from these points, we have in each case a gradual increase in the ratio of Negro prisoners to the Negro population as we go from state to state. It is furtherseen that this increase of crime has followed certain natural and well defined lines of travel, i. e. the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic Seaboard".⁶

This remark is significant when we remember that it has been charged that much of Negro criminality is due to the

injustice and oppression of white employers, in the South, and that he is discriminated against in Southern courts. It is also significant in view of the claim that political privileges and educational opportunities will lift the negro to the white man's level.

C. In the most recent Report of the Atlantic University Conference, Dr. DuBois claims that Negro criminality has been decreasing over the country generally and in Georgia particularly, since 1895. Many others assert that the increase is still going on. I have no figures except for Chicago, later than 1890. The steady increase from 1860 up to 1890 is manifest

" The number of white prisoners in the Southern States increased 8% between 1880 and 1890, the Negroes 29%. In states ~~where~~ where slavery was never established white criminality increased 7% faster than the white population increased, while Negro criminality increased 39% faster than the Negro population increased.

" In the State of New York in 1880 there were 16 white prisoners to every 10,000 of white population, and in 1890, 18 to every 10,000 ; in 1880 the Negro furnished 77 prisoners to every 10,000 of his population, and in 1890, 100 to every 10,000.¹⁷

The number of arrests among the Negroes of Chicago rose from 5.09% in 1880-84 to 9.84% in 1890-94, with an increase

of only .01 % in the Negro population.¹⁸

"In the Chicago House of Correction the proportion of Negro prisoners to the total number of prisoners was in 1880, 2.5 times as great as the total negro population of the city ; in 1890 it was 6 times as great ; in 1892, 8 times ; in 1894, 6 times ; and in 1896, 8 times as great. A similar showing is made for the Cook County Jail"¹⁹

D. A study of the character of crimes the Negro commits, and the conditions and environment under which any special character of crimes is committed will reveal most readily the native tendencies of the criminal negro i.e. will reveal the character and persistency of his heredity. To indicate the character of crime the negro commits I copy the following table based on the census of 1890, from Hoffman's "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro", to which so frequent reference is made in the foot-notes. Later I compare the statistics of the two extremes, the Yazoo-Miss. Delta and the "Hill" counties of Mississippi, which are themselves compared, and the city of Chicago. The first is nearest anti-bellum conditions ; Chicago is a populous, strenuous city. Mississippi is in the warm South, Chicago in the cold North. In the first case the negro is manifestly and admittedly in subjection, but with economic opportunities. It is otherwise in Chicago.

Hoffman's abstract from the census of 1890 showing number of prisoners in the United States according to race and sex:—

	aggregate	male	female
White	58052	53519	4433
Colored	24227	22305	1972
Total	82329	75924	6405

Proportion of Negro Criminals to total 29.38% 30.77%

Proportion of Negro population to total

population, per sex. 10.20% 11.09%

Summary of offenses committed by prisoners in the U.S in
1890. According to color and sex:—

Males —	Total no. prisoners	colored	% of color
Offenses VS government	1, 323	176	9.65.
" Society	15, 033	2577	17.14
" person	16, 511	6308	38.21
" property	36, 392	10924	30.03
" Miscellaneous	6, 175	2320	37.35 ⁹⁵
Aggregate	75, 924	22305	29.38

Females —

Offenses VS government	16	2	12.50
" Society	3,832	683	17.53
" Person	770	432	56.10
" Property	1325	655	49.43
" Miscellaneous	452	200	43.49
Aggregate	6405	1972	30.79

Proportion of Colored pop. over 15 yrs. of age in total

pop (male) 10.20

proportion of Colored pop. over 15 yrs. of age in total pop.

(female) 11.09

Specified offenses of Negroes VS persons and VS property,
among the prisoners in U. S. in 1890.

Male Prisoners Total No. prisoners- colored % of colored

VS. The Person:

Homicide	6,958	2,512	36.10
Rape	1,387	567	40.88
Abduction	140	32	22.86
Abortion	25	2	8
Assault	8,001	3,195	39.93

VS. Property:

Arson	806	372	46.15
Burglary	9,647	2,710	28.09
Robbery	2,350	555	23.62
Larceny	7,978	3,126	39.18
Grand Larceny	6,411	1,774	27.67
Petit Larceny	3,475	1,055	30.36

Percentage of colored in total population over 15 years
of age (male). 10.20

Female Prisoners — (Negro 11.09% of total female pop. over 15 yrs).

Crimes VS the person —	total prisoners	Negro	% of Negro
Homicide	393	227	57.76
Assault	346	198	57.23

Crimes VS property

Arson	80	49	61.25
Larceny	425	225	52.94
Grand Larceny	320	159	49.69
Petit Larceny	266	99	37.22

Causes of Arrests in Charleston 1889-94: —

Crimes VS the Person ———total	Negro	% of Negro	
Homicide	67	55	82.09
Rape	18	17	94.45
Assault	942	765	81.21
Wife beating	60	58	96.67

Crimes VS property——

Larceny	1581	1489	94.18
Grand larceny	351	310	88.32
Gambling	546	510	93.41

Percentage of Negroes in total population 56.48%

The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta contains nine counties of the Black Belt, 5480 sq. mi. and has a population of 24,137 whites and 171,209 Negroes. The Negro^s constitute 11.6% of

the population the United States, 58.5% of the population of Mississippi and 87.6% of the Yazoo-Miss. Delta. " For the purposes of this comparison I have taken the Negroes of a group of nine counties of Miss. where they are most largely outnumbered by the whites - the "hill" counties where the proportion of whites to Negroes is 4:1, as against a reverse proportion of more than 7:1, in the Delta. In the Delta the negroes constitute 18.8% of the Negro population of the state as against 2.6% for the "hill" counties. The Delta furnishes 21.7% of the State prisoners ; the "hill" counties 3.4% A comparison of crimes discloses the fact that 50.1 % of those in the hills and only 19.3 % of those in the Delta, are burglaries, larcenies, forgeries and arsons. Crimes against the person make up 80.7 % of the offenses of the Delta negro, and 49.9 % of those of the hill negroes. Rape constitutes 6.2 % of the graver crimes of the hill negroes and only 4.9 % of those of the Delta Negro. It is in the crimes of murder, manslaughter, and attempts to kill that the Delta Negro exhibits his criminal propensity most strongly. These comprise 75.8% of all their felonies and 43.7 % of those of the hill Negroes. Of larcenies and burglaries the hills furnish 40.6 % as against only 15.2 % for the Delta. + - -

" Making no attempt to estimate the number of such affrays (fights at gambling tables) in which both parties are killed and no trial possible, not reckoning the number of killings

in which the surviving party escapes, is acquitted by a jury or hanged, there are now in the penitentiary from this section no less than 154 Negroes serving sentences for taking or attempting to take human life."²⁰

During a period of six years in the city of Charleston, 18 men were arrested for rape, 17 of whom were Negroes.²¹ In a district in South Carolina investigated by Dr. Baker there had been 25 cases of rape tried in the courts. All the assailants were Negroes and every victim but one a white woman.²² Hoffman shows that 40.88 % of all prisoners serving sentence for rape in 1890 were Negroes, whereas they form only 10.2 % of the male population of the country. He states farther that in the same year there were 567 Negroes in jails awaiting trial for rape. These statements do not justify the charge that a Negro charged with this crime is never given a chance before the courts.

Statistics kept by the Chicago Tribune show that there were 2060 negroes lynched in the United States during the 22 years preceding 1903, 1985 in the Southern states. Cutler,²³ studying these statistics, estimates that 34 % of the lynchings were for the crime of rape. 34 % of the 2060 is 700 and 34 % of 1985 is 675. So Mr. Page is not so far wrong when he says that more than 500 white women and children have been the victims of this crime since the Civil War.²⁴

It has been repeatedly asserted that rape is a new crime among negroes. Mr. Cutler shows that this is not true. He gives in some detail cases he has found on record

in ~~the~~ old newspaper files. To indicate the continuity of the crime from African practices I cite some cases chronologically. In Mass. 1676; in Pa. 1705; N. Y. 1712; N. J. 1713; Del. 1721; Md. 1739; N. J. 1731; Md. 1751; N. J. 1744; N. C. 1758; Mass. 1813; Va. 1813; Va. 1821; Va. 1822; Md. ¹⁸¹⁸⁻¹⁸³² 1823; Md. 1833. "There is evidence that this crime directed against whitewomen continued to be perpetrated down to the time of the Civil War." Evidence is shown in these old newspaper reports that such crimes were not infrequent and that they were accompanied with the same violence that has characterized the same crimes during the last fifteen years. The fact is further shown that practically all the colonies had statutes providing punishments for this crime against white women. Criminal laws are seldom enacted without warrant in fact.

Mr. Stone says of rape in the Yazoo-Miss. Delta: "it is a difficult crime to prove, but taking no account of the alleged cases in which there seemed to the Grand Jury insufficient evidence to warrant an indictment, of those resulting in acquittal on the ground of consent and of those which never came to the notice of the court at all, the number of convictions of Delta negroes for rape of Negro women for the years 1898-1901 was 12. Some have been committed under circumstances as revolting as it is possible for human mind to conceive."²⁶ 4.9 % of State convicts from the Yazoo-Miss. Delta and 6.2 % from the "hill" counties, were convicted of rape.

It will be remembered that there was almost an epidemic of rape in the Southern states from 1893 to 1896.

To correspond in a way to rape among men is the crime of abortion and infanticide among the women. Statistics are meagre on this point but that it is a crime of no little importance is indicated by the figures given by Ingle in his study of the "Negroes of the District of Columbia."²⁷ In 1888 there were found in Washington City 98 dead negro infants; in 1889, 71 were found; in 1890, 69; in 1891, 75; in 1892, 97. Among abandoned infants were found in 1888, 5 negroes and 1 white; in 1889, 8 negroes and 2 whites; in 1890, 3 negroes; in 1891, 3 negroes and 1 white; in 1892, 19 negroes and 1 white.

Prof. Eugene Harris of Fisk University²⁸ says: "An official on the Nashville Board of Health who is also proprietor of a drug store, tells me that he is astonished at the number of colored women who apply at his store for drugs with a criminal purpose in view. The excessive number of still births and of infant mortality may find some explanation here. There are $2 \frac{1}{3}$ times as many still births and premature births among the negroes of Nashville as among the whites in proportion to population. The same is said to be true of Memphis, Atlanta, and other Southern cities.

"Birth statistics of Negroes in Columbia, Mo., show how many children, legitimate or otherwise, the mothers have seen fit to allow to be born. Thus the fact that only 161 children [in a population of 1916, of whom 1064 are females]

under 6 yrs. of age could be found at a given date, and the further fact that there were not less than 60 couples living together as husbands and wives, who were childless, does not necessarily mean a low birth-rate, or a high infant mortality. These figures are much more eloquent of a more frightful fact, that of deliberate pre-natal murder. Reliable local medical authority informs the writer that 'dozens' of unborn children are disposed of every year, either by the mothers directly or by the aid of medical quacks for a trifling fee."²⁹

E. As previously suggested the statistics for the city of Chicago may be compared with those of the Yazoo-Miss. Delta and with Southern cities.

Of the Negro criminals of Chicago, 42 % were charged with larceny, 16 % with burglary and 18 % with robbery. 84 % of all their crimes were against property.³⁰

Charge	Males	Females
Larceny	26 %	58 %
Robbery	12 %	24 %
Murder	1.66 %	5.15 %

"The proportion of female arrests among the negro population is about twice as great as among the female arrests among the total population of the city." "Of all persons in the county jail 1 in 10 was a female. Of Negro prisoners 1 in 3 was a female. In 1898, 1 in 16; and of Negro prisoners, 1 in 4.5. The negro woman becomes criminal at an earlier average age than the man, her maximum of criminality being between the ages of 20 and 27. 90 % of females as against 71 % of the males are between the ages of 15 and 30. An examination of 217 negro criminals showed their average age to ^{be} 24 years- males 25.74, females 22.63. The average of male arrests was 25.29 years, of females 26.7 years.

Prof. Wilcox says: "In proportion to population of the same age the prisoners between 20 and 30 are much more numerous than any earlier or later period.----- This youthful-

ness in comparison with the population outside is characteristic of all classes of prisoners, but preëminently so of the Negroes--- a fact which tends in a measure to confirm the frequent statement that Negro criminals spring from the rising generation."³¹

In speaking of the 12 cases of rape in the Yazoo-Miss. Delta in 1898-1901, Mr. Stone says that the assailants were from 16 to 54 years of age, all but 3, however, being between 20 and 31.

F. Inasmuch as it has been claimed that the mulatto is physically weaker and morally worse than either pure white or pure negro, it would be interesting to know the complexion of the Negro criminal. I have not been able to find much data on the subject, but there are two considerations which favor the belief that the claim mentioned is well founded.

1. Sexual relations are becoming more and more confined to dissolute white men with Negro prostitutes. Children from such unions would be much more likely to suffer from degenerate heredity and from the evil influences of a vicious environment. Dr. Ellwood states that illegitimates are 3 to 4 times more likely to become criminals.³²

2. The white fathers of mulattoes are usually either old broken down rakes or boys. The investigations of Marro³³ tend to prove that immature fathers beget thieves while decadent fathers beget sharpers and murderers, and that boys under 20 and men over 40 tend to beget children of feeble constitution. So far as we have statistics, they go to show that the tendency of the mulatto criminal is more toward

crimes against property while the black tends more to crimes against the person.

In the Reform School of the District of Columbia in 1890, there were 68 whites, and 119 negroes of whom 82 were mulattoes, or 69 %. Of those in jail in the District of Columbia, 19 were white, and 169 Negroes of whom 42, or 25 % were mulattoes. I do not know the percentage of mulattoes in the total population.

Of the 217 cases examined by Mr. Work in the Chicago records, he found that " 72 were of black complexion, i.e. Negro blood predominating, 145 of mixed blood, i.e. Caucasian blood predominating. ----" the blacks committed more offenses against the person and the mulattoes more against property. Of the 4 cases of rape 2 were blacks and 2 mulattoes : of seven murder cases noted, 6 were blacks, and 5 females and 1 male".

G. Of 427 under general arrest in Chicago 75 % gave no occupation. Of the total arrests of all classes 38 % were without occupation ; of all negroes so classed 42 % had no occupation. The number of negroes without occupation in the South is not nearly so great perhaps, but the idle furnish quite a large percentage, especially of petty criminals and gamblers.

H. Writing in view of the Census of 1890 Prof. Straton said³⁴: " The Negro is most criminal in those states where he is best educated" [i. e. where the number of literates is

is greatest]. " The illiteracy of the Negro in states where he furnishes only 1600 criminals to the million of his population is 65.7 % , while the illiteracy in the North where he furnishes ⁷⁵⁴⁷~~7547~~ criminals to the million of his population is only 21.71 % ----Only 42 % of the entire Negro population can read and write, whereas 46 % of the Negro criminals can read and write".

Of the Negroes criminals arrested in the District of Columbia in 1877, 8707 could read and write, 4276 could not.³⁵ *In 1892, 20587 could read and write, 6079 could not.*
Mr. Work says of the Negro criminals of Chicago : " It is to be presumed because of the general educational advancement of the Negro, and the fact that the majority of them are less than 25 years of age, that the greater number of the Negro criminals of Chicago are literate."

Frances Kellor in her examination of female criminals found that negro females were largely illiterate. Many of them had the merest smattering of reading and writing and were classed as literate on the prison records, but in no exact sense could they be regarded as able to read and write.³⁶

I. It would be both interesting and instructive to know the proportion of feeble-minded and of insane among criminal negroes. I have seen no statistics on the the subject. I am quite sure, however, that a relatively large proportion of

negro criminals are defective. The courts ^{do} not take this into consideration usually. My attention was first called to this by the hanging of a negro who once belonged to my father. He had murdered his wife and was hanged at Scottsboro, Ala., in 1890. He was totally illiterate and could never be taught to count higher than 9. He was ~~extremely~~ dull and absent-minded. His mother whom it was thought he also murdered had even less sense than he.

J. Somewhat related to insanity is the matter of suicide, an infrequent act among negroes. I copy the following statistics ~~from~~ from Hoffman's Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro. The suicide in the United States according to the Census of 1890, were 69.5 whites per million of the population, Negroes 15.5 . For the city of Charleston between 1822 and 1848, 9 negroes and 40 whites committed suicide ; between 1889 and 1894, 3 negroes and 12 whites. In Philadelphia for the period ~~for the period~~ 1866-68 there were no Negro suicides ; for 1869-72 there were 4 ; for 1873-86, none ; for 1887-94, 12 ; for the whole period 1864-94, just 16.

The records for the period 1876-94 for the following cities were : Washington 25, Baltimore 7 (records not complete), New Orleans 48, Richmond 6 (records not complete).

The records for ten Southern cities for the 5 years period 1890-94 per million of population, were ; —

Savannah, Ga.	Whites	344.8	Negro	16.1
New Orleans, La.		195.1		51.4
Nashville, Tenn.		194.		36.8
Washington, D.C.		180.2		26.9
Memphis, Tenn.		176.		24.3
Atlanta, Ga.		104.7		12.7
Charleston, S.C.		91.1		18.8
Richmond, Va.		57.4		11.9
Average		<u>171.3</u>		<u>28.1</u>
White population of above cities				573,173
Negro " " " "				335,008
Total number of suicides white				491
" " " " Negro				47

The methods of self-destruction used by whites and Negroes were very much the same and in about the same proportions.

Of the 18 cases of negro suicide investigated by Mr. Hoffman 2 were females, 16 males. One of the women wanted to marry a man who already had a wife, the other was proven by her husband to have been guilty of adultery with a white man. Of the 16 men, 9 were guilty of crimes at the time fo their suicide, 8 had killed their wives or the wives of another men, one suicided to avoid trial for theft, two to escape arrest, one killed himself and his team to keep his team from being

taken for debt. One killed himself because his mistress desert-ed him and one because his sweetheart " treated him shabbily". Two were insane. All except the last two showed the distinctly criminal tendency, manifestly antisocial ; and none of them except the man who killed his team, indicated the symptoms and usual causes of suicide found among the whites. The brooding element is absent - impulse^l determines the act, a clear proof of the Negro's ant^l-social or, at least, non-social character, and natural lack of inhibiteness.

The Nature of the Criminal- Biological Heredity.

A. The time has come when advancing civilization must break with its old methods and motives of dealing with criminality. The more recent investigations of penologists and criminal anthropologists, the rising sense of justice and a broader conception of the welfare of society are forcing us to the conclusion that in dealing with infractions of the law we must deal with the criminal rather than with the crime, that we must treat rather than punish the criminal, and that the primitive law of vengeance, which is the ground of punishment must give place to preventive measures.

But any intelligent effort at prevention presupposes a removal of the causes or the altering of the conditions that make the causes operable. Now the cause of crime must lie fundamentally in the character of the criminal. "Now character is the product of two fundamental factors, i. e. heredity and environment. The endowment of each generation at birth is dictated by heredity, but all that it acquires subsequently is the gift of environment". So, if we would understand the nature of the Negro Criminal we must look into these fundamental elements of his character. I shall, therefore, first call attention to³⁷ heredity.

"Of two Negro infants, let one be brought up in the

African jungle and the other amid the best American culture and very divergent results would certainly follow. But men can not manipulate heredity. From generations to generation this mysterious force operates in isolated independence, and we can not touch it.

"Yet heredity is not a fixed and unchanging force. By slow and infinitesimal degrees it may be modified through selection, which tends to accumulate advantageous variations in offspring and to eliminate unfavorable ones. Inasmuch as the experience and attainments of one generation within its own lifetime affect but slightly, if at all, the physiological germs, through which heredity is transmitted, nothing we can do of set purpose for the parent will decidedly improve the birth endowment of the child. Its later inheritance through example and home training may be improved, and this is of immense significance. But that is another question. The point now being emphasized is that heredity proper can not be manipulated by purposive human devices. If it were open to us to exercise deliberate selection among our own kind, as stock-breeders do among brutes, then the case might be different. We might then modify hereditary force with rapidity, but, as it is, we must wait for nature to do her work in her own infinitely conservative way. No ethnic group with its inborn nature moulded for ages in an undisturbed environment, can be radically transformed within ten or twenty generations.

"United under our flag are two strains of racial

heredity; one had its origin and development in the north temperate zone, the other in the torrid zone. Before meeting here the one had evolved an hereditary endowment, delicately adjusted to the highest civilization recorded in history; the other remained in benighted savagery. We have never for a moment dreamed that the nature of the Caucasian element in our population could be understood, if its long career in Europe were ignored. Infinite pains, therefore, have been taken to trace and interpret its history from the beginning. But what of the African? How many of us have definite ideas regarding the conditions which moulded him through and through long before we took him in hand? How many of us have in mind accurate data, by which to distinguish hereditary survival from acquired characters? Yet unless we can do this, we have no measure of his real progress under American tutelage, and, therefore, no basis for estimating his probable future. We are left to deal with a compound the proportion of whose elements we do not know".³⁷

In full accord with this quotation from Mr. Tellinghast, I shall trace as briefly and accurately as I may be able the history of the Negro, and with special reference to those characteristic tendencies of his race that predispose him to criminality in American Society.

B. According to Keane³⁸ the cradle land of the genus homo was upon territory now submerged in the Indian ocean. Thence

mankind, or his precursor, migrated to Africa and to the islands out from the Indian ocean. In Africa the more enterprising moved on toward the north, migrating thence by way of Asia to the east of the Mediterranean sea and by way of Gibraltar to the west of the Mediterranean. The less enterprising remained in Central Africa and became specialized as the Negro. "That this occupation took place in Pleistocene times, if not earlier, is made daily more evident by the researches of travelers in hitherto unvisited districts---- similar evidence has been collected from upper Guinea, Angola, and the extreme South, showing not only the early arrival but also the general dispersal of the Negro over his present domain during the first stone age. Yet, since that remote epoch the specialized Negro type, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments, some thousands of years ago, has everywhere been maintained with striking uniformity."

The home of the true Negro has always been in the neighborhood of the equator, extending from about 18° N. Lat. to about 10° S. Lat.⁴¹ For our purposes we may speak of the Sudan, stretching from the Atlantic Coast eastward to Abyssinia, and North and South from 18° N. Lat. to within a few degrees of the equator; and of Southern Africa as comprising all the territory from the Soudan southward. The Soudan may be divided into East, Central, and West Soudan. The West Coast with which we have mainly to do in this discussion, comprises West Soudan and the north-west coast country of Southern Africa. It extends along about 4000 miles of coast, from Senegambia to Angola, and

toward the interior only a few hundred miles to the great African plateau. Hundreds of streams flow down through the escarpments of the plateau across the coast lowlands to the sea, furnishing attractive sites for native settlements with easy access to water and food, and a means of rude transportation. Not only fish in abundance but wild animals prized for food, such as the elephant, hippo^{to}temus, and alligator; the antelope, buffalo and gorillas, as well as the more safely hunted hares and monkeys, are found along these water courses. The soil is fertile and, as would be expected in such tropical climate, is luxuriant not only with valuable timber, such as the Mahogany and ebony, and the vine from the juice of which rubber is made, and which the natives have lately come to value for commercial purposes, but also with the "oil palm", the "palm-wine" palm, the cocoa and cola-nut palms, the plantain "banana", the pineapple and pomgranate-- furnishing food fit for kings, without money and without price, almost without effort. But the very abundance of natural resources seem but to mock the inertia and stupidity of the savage native.

But the West Coast lies wholly within the torrid zone and the humid heat is depressing and exhausting. A tropical temperature prevails continuously and the humidity is excessive for about nine months of the year. The other three months are equally debilitating on account of the parching winds blowing from inland.

At or near the equator there are two such wet and dry seasons, as there the sun passes its zenith twice in the year. "A rainy season is always introduced by a number of terrific tornadoes which appear suddenly and with little warning and tear their way through the jungle, leaving death and destruction behind them. In a few days all the streams, which fall very low during the dry season, rise many feet and often become very dangerous for navigation".⁴³

Altitude, of course, as well as the geographical position affects the situation, but the natives do not seek the higher altitudes, preferring to remain where food is most abundant and most easily obtained.

The greater portion of West Africa is covered with tropical forests. These are inhabited by wild animals some of which are a perpetual menace to the native with his crude weapons and insecure dwelling places. Venomous snakes, also, which in superstitious reverence he dare not molest, are often fatal to him; mosquitoes swarm throughout the coast region and the driver ant is a pest of no mean significance, to say nothing of comparatively harmless insects, spiders and centipeds.

The driver ant, says Miss Kingsley, sometimes attacks villages and forces the natives, including rats, snakes, centipeds, huge spiders and cock-roaches to beat a hasty retreat. They may even devour the weak or sick who are unable to get out of the way.

The tsetse fly and other annoying insect life make it

impracticable to try to keep cattle or horses in any but the most favored regions. There are no sheep or other valuable domestic animals, except a few runty goats among the border tribes, and asses where there has been contact with the Arabs or Berbers.

C. Central Africa, the Sudan, is the habitat of the strictly Negro type. Southern Africa is inhabited mainly by the Negroid Bantus and by scattered tribes of Negritos, Bushmen and Hottentots. In general we may say that the main difference between the Sudanese and the Bantus is that the Bantus upon the whole have a somewhat higher culture and are more evenly mixed in blood with the Hamitic and Semitic tribes from the East, being less and less mixed toward the West till the coast is reached where there is no difference practically between them and the Sudanese. The Sudanese are also a more or less mixed people, the mixture more uneven, but less and less toward the west where the tribes are pure negroes. The very best exact ethnologist may speak of the tribes north of the Cameroon as Sudanese, and of those farther south as Bantus but for all practical discussion they are a homogeneous people- all pure Negroes, differing in language and somewhat in local customs and superstitions but alike in blood and type of culture. And these are the tribes whence nearly all our American Negroes came.

a. The physical characteristics of the "negro type"

mentioned above are well marked. We are told by ethnologists and anthropologists that the Negro has not diverged so far from our generalized precursor as the other races. In confirmation of this Keane gives a table of simian characteristics of the Negro. He says: "But wherever found in a comparatively pure state, as on the Coast of Guinea (here apparently is to be found the most pronounced Negro type proper yet discovered), in the Gaboon, along the lower Zambesi, and in the Benue and Shari basins, the African aborigines present almost a greater uniformity of physical and moral type than any other of the great divisions of mankind. By the universal consent of anthropologists this type occupies at the same time the lowest position in the evolutionary scale, thus affording the material for the comparative study of the highest anthropoids and the human species. The chief points in which the Negro either approaches the *Quadrumana* or differs most from his congeners are:

1. The abnormal length of the arm which in the erect position sometimes reaches the knee-pan, and which on an average exceeds that of the Caucasian by about 2 inches.
2. Prognathism i. e. projection of the jaw (cf. the facial angle of the Negro and Caucasian: 70:82).
3. Weight of brain as indicating cranial capacity. (cf. Caucasian, Negro and gorilla: 45 ounces: 35: 20)
4. Full black eye with black iris and yellowish sclerotic coat- a very marked feature.
5. Short flat snub nose, deeply depressed at the base, or

frontal suture, broad at the extremity, with dilated nostrils and concave ridge.

6. Thick protruding lips, plainly showing the inner red surface.

7. Very large zygomatic arches- high and prominent cheek bones.

8. Exceedingly thick cranium, enabling the Negro to butt with the head and resist blows which would inevitable break any ordinary European skull.

9. Correspondingly weak lower limbs, terminating in a broad, flat foot with low instep, divergent and somewhat prehensile great toe, and heel projecting backward.

10. Complexion deep brown or blackish, and in some cases even distinctly black, due not to any special pigment, as is often supposed, but merely to the greater abundance of the coloring matter in the Malpighian membrane between the inner or true skin and the epidermis or scarf skin.

11. Short black hair eccentrically elliptical or almost flat in section, and distinctly woolly, not merely frizzly, as Prichard supposed on insufficient evidence.

12. Thick epidermis, cool, soft and velvety to the touch, mostly hairless, and emitting a peculiar rancid odor, compared by Pruner Bey to that of the buck goat.

13. A frame of medium height, thrown somewhat out of the perpendicular by the shape of the pelvis, the spine, the backward projection of the head, and the whole anatomical structure.

14. The cranial sutures which close much earlier in the Negroes than in other races. To this premature ossification of the skull, preventing all further development of the brain, many pathologists have attributed the inherent inferiority of the blacks, an inferiority which is more marked than their physical differences.----- We necessarily suppose that the development of the Negro and the White proceeds on different lines."

The following less noticeable physical characteristics may also be noted:

1. Gynecomasty. "It is noteworthy that in all true Negroes (in whom virile development is otherwise marked) there is considerable development of the male breast, so that Johnston has frequently asked himself, 'Is it a man or a woman?'"⁴⁵
2. Narrow pelvis. This characteristic is noticeable in the pictures in ethnological and anthropological works relating to the negro, and the most casual observer can not fail to notice it in our American negroes.
3. The bombed frontal bone or projecting frontal eminences.⁴⁶
4. Thick hair and rare baldness.
5. Absence of grey hair till an advanced age.
6. Relatively smaller respiratory capacity. Weane in his Ethnology frequently calls attention to this in his descriptions of various negro tribes, and Mr. Hoffman has given tables of measurements in his "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro" to prove the proposition.
7. Better eyesight for long distances, in common with other

primitive races.

8. Frequent anatomical anomalies. Sir William Turner in the Challenge Report, says with reference to a number of skulls of lower races examined: "Although their number is certainly too limited to base any broad generalizations on, as to the relative frequency of occurrence of particular variations in the different races, there is obviously a larger proportion of important variations than would occur in a corresponding number of skulls of the white race."¹⁷

The examples he gives are: "The squamoso-frontal articulation is found in less than 2 % of European skulls, whilst it is found in 20 % of Negroes and 16.9 % of Australians. The spheno-pterygoid foramen is found in 4.8 of Europeans, in 20 % of Indians, 30 % of Africans, 32 % of Asiatics, and 50 % Australians. So also warmian bones are more common among lower races."

9. Insensibility to physical pain. Dr. Felkin found the minimum distance at which two points of a compass could be distinguished at the tip of the tongue was in the average European 1.1 mm., in a Sudanese 2.6 mm., and in a Negro 3 mm."¹⁸

Gardiner¹⁹ found the Zulus "salamanders" whether roasting their bodies by the fire, kicking back burning logs with their feet, or ladling boiling porridge into their mouths with their fingers. Ratzel says²⁰ that many of them endure surgical operations without pain or anaesthesia. Their immunity to pain and shock is well illustrated by the ease and freedom from complications in parturition. "During the act of parturition she remains seated on a country

stool surrounded by a number of female visitors, before whom it would be considered disgraceful to utter any cry of impatience or pain." A few hours after the child has been born, the mother usually goes to the nearest water to bathe.

b. Lombroso and other criminal anthropologists have suggested that the criminal is a reversion to primitive type. Whether the anatomical and functional anomalies so frequently found in instinctive and habitual criminals are due to atavism or to degeneracy may remain a question, but meanwhile it will be interesting to note the parallels they have in the normal distinguishing characteristics of the African Negro. I regret that I have been able to find no data as to structural anomalies in the criminal Negro as such.

The following list of anomalies more or less characteristic of instinctive and habitual criminals may be compared with the list of distinguishing physical characteristics of the African Negro already given:

1. Abnormal length of arms.⁵¹ Havelock Ellis and Lacassagne call attention to this feature but give no data.
2. Prognathism.⁵² "Prognathism has frequently been noted as a prominent characteristic of the criminal face, both in men and women. Lombroso, Orchanski, Ten-Kate, Pawlowsky, Corre, Roussel, and Debierre may be mentioned as among those who insist on the tendency of criminals to prognathism; while measurements of Orchanski, Francotte and Ferri have shown that a large jaw is a prominent characteristic of criminals."
3. Low average brain weight and cranial capacity.⁵³ "As far back as 1836 Lelut weighed ten brains of criminals, and his results show an average of 1350 grammes, a result below that of Normal. Bischoff, in 1880, published the results

of an important series of observations he had made on the weight of the brain in criminals. He weighed the brains of 137 criminals. He found that small sized brains (i. e., between 1000 and 1300 grammes) formed 31 % of the whole, while among normal brains (according to Schwalbe's results) they only constituted 25.5 %; large sized brains are defective in numbers. Tenchini, among 130 brains of criminals, found less than 39.9 % were beneath 1300 Grammes; and Mengazzini, in a smaller series of 30 brains, found that those below 1300 Grammes were in a ratio of 83.2 to the whole number. Benedikt's results are nearly similar. Geacomini, Penta, Topinard, and Debierre have also found that the average weight of the brain in criminals is decidedly less than among normal persons."

4. High and prominent cheek bones.⁶⁴ Lombroso mentions this as one of the features in the physiognomy of the "criminal type", and Ellis gives it the chief responsibility for the Mongoloid face often found among criminals.

5. Flat-foot and low instep.⁶⁵ Of the inmates of Elimira Reformatory 19 % had an unusually low instep, while 23 % were absolutely flat footed.

6. Prehensile or divergent great toe.⁶⁶ In a series of measurements of 100 normal men, 200 criminal men, 31 epileptics, 62 normal women, 50 prostitutes and 64 criminal women, there was found a space between the toes of 3 men, to be three times more common in criminal men than in normal men, and prostitutes ranked with criminal men in this respect.

7. Woolly hair.⁵⁷ Ellis discussing anomalies of the hair, says: "Marro has observed a notable proportion of woolly-haired persons, a character very rarely found in normal persons."

8. Infrequency of grey hair.⁵⁸ "Grey hair was found by Ottolenghi to be vastly more frequent at an early age among ordinary working men and peasants than among the 200 male criminals he examined: thus, between the ages of 30 to 33 it was 60 % for the farmer, only 12 % for the latter. This does not hold for criminal women.---."

9. Thick hair and scanty or no beard.⁵⁹ The beard in criminals is usually scanty. As against 1.5 % of cases of absence of beard in normal persons, Marro found 13.9 % in criminals, and a very large proportion having scanty beard. The largest proportion of full beards was found by Marro in sexual offenders. On the head the hair is usually on the contrary, abundant."

10. Rare baldness. "Baldness is very rare."⁶⁰

11. Gynecomasty.⁶¹ Havelock Ellis, Laurent and Dr. Wey have observed that "Gynecomasty is comparatively common among criminals."

13. Narrow pelvis. The normal pelvic index is about 46.5 in adult men. "Techini who examined 57 pelvises of adult criminals, all well conformed, found that in only three cases the index reached 46.5, while in the great majority it was below 44; this is nearly the same index as that found among children and boys.----."

14. Projecting frontal eminences as in undeveloped characters or the "bombed" forehead as in many neurotics.⁶²

15. Better eyesight, especially for longer distances.⁶³ Bono examined 190 delinquent youth and 100 normal youth under similar tests and conditions. The visual acuity of the criminals was superior to 1.5 Snellen; only 31 % of the honest youth possessed an equal acuteness." Ottolenghi reached the same conclusion. The previous examinations of Bielakoff had not reached this result.

16. Relatively smaller respiratory power.⁶⁴ Dr. Wey reports that "Among the inmates of the Elmira Reformatory the greatest physical deficiency and least resistive power is found in the respiratory power. Pigeon breasts, and stooping shoulders abound." Of 26 deaths in this reformatory 50 % were from diseases of the chest. That the habitual criminal especially the forger and swindler, is characteristically predisposed to consumption and bronchial afflictions is evident to every careful observer. It is surprising to note the comments of newspaper reporters upon the health of men arrested for forgery.

17. Frequency of structural anomalies. This is the basis of Lombroso's theory of instinctive criminality. All criminal anthropologists admit the concomitancy of an excess of anatomical anomalies in both the instinctive and the habitual criminal. "Now this is precisely the characteristic of the anatomy of the lower human races; they present a far larger proportion of anatomical abnormalities than the ordinary European population."⁶⁵

18.. Insensibility to physical pain. Dr. Penta, in the course of his elaborate researches, found that ~~in~~ the majority of his 184 instinctive criminals at Santo Stefano were insensible to the pain of punctures, burns, cuts, and even grave surgical operations. ---- Lombroso found the general sensibility decreased in 38 out of 66. ----- Marro found sensibility, measured by an esthesiometer, most obtuse in murderers and incendiaries." "The physical sensibility of prostitutes is found to agree with the standard of criminals, rather than with that of honest women. Havelock Ellis devotes considerable space to specific instances of physical insensibility among criminals, and their frequent rapid recovery from serious wounds and fractures.

C. The West Africans seem to be the weakest of African peoples, remnants of weaker tribes driven coastward to "the barriers of the ocean" by stronger northeastern tribes who have a mixture of Hamitic or Semitic blood. Indeed Brinton⁶⁷ says that African migration has within all tracedable time, been westward and southwestward. Keane speaks of the native West African" as the worst sweepings of the Sudanese plateau", and Ellis describes them as " the dregs and offscourings of Africa".

Their disorganized, or unorganized, condition of life suggests that they may be in a transition stage from nomadic savagery to settled agriculture but there is no positive evidence of any progress along this line within historic times. About the best we can say of them is that " Their culture is on a very low level, and very unprogressive. They have no letters, art or science ; their industries are confined to a elementary agriculture, fishing, a little hunting and some simple handicrafts. Cannibalism formerly prevailed almost every where, but has largely disappeared, especially in regions under European influence. Human sacrifice and executions for witchcraft are still practically universal except in regions under the immediate control of white officials. Religion is "grossly anthropomorphic", all natural phenomena are explained by reference to spirits, mostly ill-disposed towards men".

- - - - they exhibit most of the immaturities so common among

uncultured savages, and analogous to childish thought and emotion".⁶⁸

Ellis says that the Negroes of the Slave Coast " can imitate but they can not invent, or even apply. - - - they are usually deficient in energy, and their great indolence makes them easily submit to the despotism of chiefs, kings, and priests, ~~the~~, while they are as improvident as they are indolent".⁶⁹

Keane traces the source of such creditable culture as they have, and shows tribe by tribe, change by change and even conquest by conquest by higher tribes, that they can not improve upon or even maintain a civilization given them. Siera Leone, Siberia, and Hayti - the recent developement in San Domingo - May be cited to prove the same proposition.

" But in the Negro lands free from foreign influence no ~~time~~ culture has ever been developed, and here cannibalism, witchcraft, and sanguinary " customs" are either still rife or have been but recently suppressed by the direct action of European administration"; Numberless authorities have described the Negro as unprogressive, or ~~it~~ left to himself, incapable of progress in his present environment. Sir H. H. Johnston who knows him well, goes much further and speaks of him as a fine animal who in his wild state exhibits a stunted mind and a dullcontent with his surrounding, which induces mental stagnation, cessation of upward progress and even retrogression towards the brute".

" Neither the Negroes nor Negroids ever carried out a con-

quest of lands occupied by Haminites or Semitites. We have vague histories of bloody wars on a large scale among themselves, and the erection of apparently powerful monarchies, but which soon fell to pieces.⁷¹ The low intellectual position of the Austrafican race is revealed by the facts that in no part of the continent did its members devise the erection of walls of stone; that they domesticated no animal, and developed no important food plant; that their religion never rose above polygamy. It is true that many of them practice agriculture and the pastoral life, but it is significant that the plants they especially cultivate, the "durra", or sorghum, millet, rice, yams, manioc, and tobacco were introduced from Asia, Europe or America. Their cattle and sheep are descended from the ancient stock domesticated by the Egyptians, and differ ~~on~~ from those represented on the early monuments of Assyria and India. The brick built cities of the Sudan were constructed under Arab influence, and the ruins of stone towers and walls in the gold-bearing districts of South Africa bear clear traces of Semitic workmanship."⁷²

"There seems to be little doubt that even such metallurgy as is known among the Negroes of West Africa was acquired from Northern or Northeastern peoples of superior civilization, and not self-developed."⁷³

Tillinghast, backed by Brinton, Keane, McDonald, by Ellis, Livingstone, Miss Kingsley, and even by Ratzel who always looks for the bright side of the picture, confirms this char-

acterization of the West African, yet Prof. Boaz, writing in Charities for October, 1905, says, having special reference to the American Negro, of course:

"A survey of African tribes exhibits to our view cultural achievements of no mean order. To those unfamiliar with the products of native African art and industry a walk through one of the large museums of Europe would be a revelation." But he fails to state from just what particular district of Africa these specimens of art and industry were collected.

"All the different kinds of activities that we consider valuable in the citizens of our country may be found in aboriginal Africa---- It would be out of place to enlarge on this subject because the essential point that anthropology can contribute to the practical discussion of the adaptability of the Negro is a decision of the question how far the undesirable traits that are at present undoubtedly found in our Negro population are due to racial traits, and how far they are due to social surroundings for which we are responsible. To this question Anthropology can give the decided answer that the traits of African culture as observed in aboriginal home of the Negro are those of a healthy primitive people with a considerable degree of personal initiative, with a talent for organization, and with considerable imaginative power; with technical skill and thrift. Neither is a warlike spirit absent in the race is proved by the

mighty conquerors who overthrew states and founded new empires, and by the courage of the armies that follow the bidding of their leaders. (This reminds us of Goldsmith's famous criticism of Dr. Johnson).----- There is nothing to prove that licentiousness, shiftless laziness, lack of initiative are fundamental characteristics of the race. Everything points out that these qualities are the result of social conditions rather than of hereditary traits."

It is thus seen that Prof. Boaz not only denies the racial inferiority of the Negro, but attributes to him the qualities of skill, thrift, love of labor, originality and personal initiative, martial prowess and a talent for organization, courage and morality. Now this is the very doctrine that gave excuse for the more extravagant sentimentalities of the abolition propaganda, for the premature enfranchisement of the Negro and of the fetish of higher education that is still with us. The treatment of the Negro criminal is based upon the same assumption.

Prof. Boaz fortifies his position with the argument that : The best observers of foreign races in all parts of the world - - - furnish us with data which show with ever-increasing clearness the sameness of the fundamental traits of human mind in all races that exist at present and in all forms of culture that are found in our times ; they bring before our eyes the intellectual powers of primitive man and his ethical and aesthetic standards. At the same time become

apparent the overwhelming influence of tradition, the unreasoning adherence to forms of thought and action that have once been established -- not only in primitive culture but even in the most advanced types of civilization".

This sounds very conclusive, but after all, it only means that the Negro is human. Without the fundamental elements of the human mind he would be only a brute. The fundamental trait of the human mind is to develop in order successive cultures in the process of its evolution. But any great deviation from this order has been violated in the case of the American Negro and already signs of degeneracy are appearing.

If therefore it be the purpose of anthropology to contribute to the practical discussion of the adaptability of the negro, it must face the facts. The matter is too serious for specious arguments or a priori conclusion ; and no over-charitable statement of facts will lead to the light. For if the Negro can not adapt himself to our standards neither can we, in justice, judge him by those standards.

A careful survey of West African life will confirm the following statements in regard to the cultural conditions and psychic nature of the natives :

1. On account of both ignorance and superstition they do no mining.

2. Their implements of war and their household

utinsils are of small variety and clumsy work^{man}ship.

3. Their ⁴ariculture consists in scratching the surface of the vacant patches of ground where the trees have been hacked down, and the bushes burnt on the spot, and planting. The women do this. Nature does the rest.

4. They do some hunting when pressed by necessity but the carcass of an elephant or an allegator fortuitiously found is appropriated with avidity.

5. They do more fishing than hunting, bartering ^{the fish} ~~them~~ to inland tribes, or consuming them after they are dried i.e. putrified.

6. The native villages are characterized by incredible filth and vile odors, due to putrifying fish, human excrement and unburied dead.

7. Squalor and virmin add to the discomfort of their ill-ventilated huts in the earthen floors of which their dead are often buried.

8. The Africans have a penchant for traffic and show some ingenuity, but " they do not understand any such thing as commerical morality, and so they instinctively seek every opportunity for getting something for nothing, by lying, stealing, cheating, brow-beating and adulterating".⁹⁴

9. The low value of human suffering seems characteristic. Cruelty to captives, neglect of sick, exposure of infants and killing the old and defective to get them out of the way is universal.

10. Love of music, i.e. rhythmic noise. A. B. Ellis

says : " His music has three objects, i.e. to stimulate his religious sentiment, the military spirit and the sexual passion."
".⁷⁵

10. Neglect of children, and absence generally (except in the case of mother and son) of any family affection.

12. The Negro is intensely religious, but his religion is non-moral and more dreadful than comforting. He is grossly superstitious but not hypocritical.

13. Out of his religion grow many absurd practices, as gree-grees, charms, witchcraft, priestcraft and human sacrifice. Miss. Kingsley says : The belief in witchcraft is the cause of more African deaths than anything else. . . . under the terrible imfatuation whole villages have been know actually to dwindle and disappear through executions of members in a frenzy of superstitious terror".

A belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice for any important occasion is only less notable.

14. Connected on one side with human sacrifice and on the other with the inhuman butcheries of tribal warfare is the monstrosity of cannibalism.

It seems to arise sporadically as well as by imitation.

15. The stealth, treachery and cruelty of tribal warfare is the generally accepted mode.

16. The despotism, incongruous pomposity, flagrant injustice ~~ice~~ and immorality of chiefs and " kings" is general.

17. The unstable and ephemeral character of native governments is proven by ^{their} ~~the~~ history.
18. The abject submission on the part of the people to their rulers is shown wherever there is any stability at all in the government.
19. The absence of law in the sense in which we use the term. There are customs, mainly religious, to which there is general adherence, but otherwisethe caprice of the rulers is law.
20. Theft is punished by fine and restitution, in extreme cases by death. Crimes against the person are also punished by fine, but in case of murder, by death, unless the accused can pay the damage demanded by the relatives of the deceased. No distinction is made between injury caused unintentionally and that resulting from deliberate purpose.
21. Virtue is valued solely as a marketable commodity and adultery is regarded as trespass upon the husband's property rights.
22. Polygamy is well nigh universal, and the women uphold it.
23. The more wives the less work for each.
23. Property consists in wives, slaves, weapons and trinkets.
24. The West African leads a semi-nomadic life and knows nothing of land ownership.
25. The African is preëminently gregarious and sociable.
26. The love of noise, music, dancing, singing, drinking, with unremitting garrulity, marks their social life.

27. The Negro is vain, loves dress and display, the gayer the color and the more conspicuous the exhibition the more he enjoys it.
28. The African is heedless of time and has no sense of promptitude.
29. The African is improvident and wasteful. He never looks to the future.
30. The Negro is shiftless and lazy, and lacks in laudable ambition.
31. The Negro is impulsive and lacking in inhibitive power. He can not restrain his lips from laughter or his hands from bloodshed.
32. The Negro holds no malice, but his friendship is not to be trusted.
33. The Negro is versatile enough but is superficial and never looks to a remote advantage.
34. The Negro is volatile, excitable and demonstrative but is incapable of sustained effort, mental, or physical.
35. The Negro is therefore ^{the} puppet ~~to~~ suggestion, easily moved to revelry or brutality, laughter or terror.

Tillinghast thus sums up the West African character: The racial existence of the Guinea native for ages in the jungles of Africa has given time for the processes of adaptation to do their full work undisturbed. Physical or mental energy have never been exacted or favored by conditions, nor a genius for searching out labor-saving devices;

foresight and self-mastery have never been vital amid prodigal nature and loosely organized society; and so, the Negro in his original habitat has been bred to a happy-go-lucky, improvident existence. For him life is to be taken light-heartedly, never minding the disaster of yesterday or forecasting to-morrow's troubles. He is attracted irresistably to music and uproarous gaiety, and the more of sex suggestion in it the better. When anger or fear arises, the tiger in him is out in a flash and somebody dies⁷⁶ a bloody death. At all times and under all circumstances, he carries his emotions on his face and tongue, passionately loves companionship, and forgets each day's sorrows with the sunset.⁷⁶

d. This study of the West African has revealed the following psychical characteristics that distinguish him especially from the normal Caucasian, and ally him, in the expression⁷⁷ at least, with the instinctive and habitual criminal of the white race.

1. Inordinate vanity. Havelock Ellis says:⁷⁷ The vanity of criminals is at once an intellectual and an emotional fact. It witnesses at once to their false estimate of life and of themselves, and to their egotistic delight in admiration." Quoting George Borrow: There is not a set of people in th world more vain than robbers in general, more fond of cutting a figure whenever they have an opportunity, and of attracting the eyes of their fellow-creatures by the

gallantry of their appearance." "More significant and even more widely spread is the moral vanity of criminals." This is shown by their contempt for more petty criminals than themselves, by the keeping of diaries, by their loquacity and love of newspaper notoriety.

2. Non-moral religion and superstition. "In all countries religion, or superstition is closely related to crime.--- Among 200 Italian//murderers Ferri did not find one who was irreligious.----- It must not be supposed that there is insincerity or hypocrisy in the religion of criminals. For the man of low culture the divine powers lend themselves easily to the success of the individual, and it is always well to propitiate them. German murderers believe they can do this crudely, according to Caspar, by leaving their excrement at the spot of crime. A rather higher grade of intelligence will affect the same end by prayer. ---- In England it is said that the professional burglar always carries a piece of coal in his pocket for luck. Sometimes he carries pieces of chalk, lucky-stones, rings, or rusty horse-shoe nails for the same purpose, parting with them reluctantly in prison and stipulating for their return."⁷¹

3. Love of orgy and carousal. The craving for excitement ^{and} ~~for~~ uproar finds its chief satisfaction in the love of orgy, which is now almost confined, at all events in its extreme forms, to the criminal and his intimate ally, the prostitute. Flynt found the same characteristic among Xramps.⁷²

4. Improvidence and lack of foresight.

5. Cunning and deceit. The criminal is a spendthrift. No matter how acquisitive he may be the saloon, the gaming table and the brothel soon rid him of his acquisitions. Equally imprudent is he even in the execution of crime. He can not see far enough ahead to cover up his tracks. ^{The} "two most characteristic features in the intelligence of the average criminal are at first sight inconsistent. On the onehand he is stupid, inexact, lacking in forethought, astoundingly imprudent. On the other hand he is cunning hypocritical, delighting in falsehood, even for its own sake, abounding in ruses. These characteristics are fully illustrated in the numerous anecdotal books which have been written concerning crime and criminals."⁶²

6. Weakness of will and lack of inhibitive power. Du Chal-
lenger, Miss Kingsly, Basman, and Livingston emphasize the fact that the native African man restrain neither laughter or anger, nor inhibit the impulse to appropriate whatever attracts his fancy. No less can the criminal resist temptation. He is the slave of impulses. Ellis gives a number of instances of such weak will and immediate recidivism of "reformed" criminals.⁶³

7. Incapacity for sustained labor. "The criminal is everywhere incapable of prolonged and sustained exertion:-----He is essentially idle; the whole art of crime lies in the endeavor to avoid the necessity of labor. This constitutional laziness is therefore one of the chief organic bases of

crime."¹²

8. Lack of cleanliness and true self respect. The tramp and the criminal are characteristically unclean in person as well as in character. They may be well or guadily dressed, but usually even then, on the "shabby genteel" style. They have vanity but no dignity, a love of notoriety but no manly desire for approval.

9. Animal sexuality. Criminals may commit crimes because of jealousy, but it is animal jealousy. Their love is coarse and animal. There may be certain sentimentality about it, but none of the finer sentiments."¹³

10. Callousness to suffering in others.

11. Moral insensibility. The very germs of the instinctive criminal is a lack of evaluation of suffering in others. He is essentially ego~~is~~stic. The habitual (Non-instinctive) is only less so. The moral sense in both is undeveloped. The cruel practical jokes, the unblushing impositions, the brutal murders and impoverishing robberies whether of the thief and the thug, of the man about town or the bank wrecker are patent enough.

12. Non-resistance to disease. This is as true of the criminal as of the savage and largely for the same reasons, namely; Weak or defective physical constitution and (which is for more significant) a fatal disposition of mind to yield rather than to make a spirited and sustained effort to overcome.

13. Frequency of epilepsy (?). Lombroso insists upon the close relation of epilepsy to criminality, and Ottolenghi found 30 % of epileptics among 265 criminals. The report of Ratzel upon the frequent cases of epilepsy among the women and children of West Africa led me to make this comparison.

Its main purpose is to suggest investigation.

14. Whenever the native white man reverts physically to the simian or negroid type we find simian or negroid mental, moral and temperamental characteristics: and when he exhibits negroid mental, moral or tempermental characteristics we find him feeble-minded or criminal.

k. I assume that mankind is in a process of evolution. Any animal species when thrust into a new environment tends to become adapted by natural selection. Those that do not become adapted must perish or seek a more favorable habitat. The more nearly adapted a species becomes, the more fixed its favorable hereditary characters; and the more fixed the hereditary character in a given environment, the more potent the heredity in any environment. In the further development of any population it is only these that vary from the environmental type, and of those that vary, only the more virile and enterprising that seek ^{the} new environment. ⁸⁴

I accept Keane's theory that the precursor of mankind or more probably the generalized genus homo, reached Africa by force of necessity upon the submergence of the Indo-African Continent. This must have occurred not later than pleistocene

times, not later perhaps than 60,000 years ago. The more virile of the immigrants pushed on toward the North while the less enterprising settled in Central Africa and later became specialized as the Negro. The pioneers of the race pushed on and on, from country to country, and successively leaving behind the less virile and hardy. He thus preserved a relatively greater plasticity and adaptability along with the virile powers that enabled him to invent means and measures to meet the obstacles of varying environments and untoward conditions. Thus he is found in Western Europe and America with the highest culture and most virile character among the races. On the other hand, the Negro has become adapted to and specialized in a practically unchanging environment which has made no demands upon him except that of fecundity, content with inactivity, and disregard for the future. At no time, since the beginning of the Neolithic Age has the culture of the white race been found as low as that found in West Africa up to 1620. If the Negro has progressed at all, the whiteman has progressed faster and left him far behind; if he has not progressed the fact argues that he is either fundamentally incapable of progress or else his racial characteristics have become relatively fixed in his heredity. That he is fundamentally incapable of progress I do not believe. But that his "race traits and tendencies" have become relatively fixed admits of little doubt when we remember how great a time he has

been breeding to the same blood and environment. Any progress therefore must come from a change of environment ~~and~~ by a process of selection or ^{by} an infusion of new blood by inter-racial amalgamation. The American Negro has had the change of environment, an appreciable infusion of new blood and has experienced some change by both natural and artificial selection. It remains for us to ascertain whether the changes have been sufficiently great to affect thus for his racial traits and tendencies.

a. The transportation of slaves to the American colonies began in 1619 and continued, with a slight interruption for a few years following 1807, down to 1863. While the legal prohibition of the traffic went into effect in 1808, slaves were smuggled in along ^{the} coast, and shipped into Texas and smuggled across the border at least till 1845. Even after the war there were found many who were born in Africa, and ^{born} who had arrived so recently that they had not yet learned to speak English. It has been reported that one ship load was landed and colonized in Alabama after the Emancipation Proclamation. These facts are significant as showing one of the hindrances of completely civilizing the Negro under slavery, as showing fresh infusions of native blood, and as showing the type of Freedman to be dealt with after emancipation.

b. There was a rigid process of selection practiced in the capture, sale and transportation of the Negro slave. The Coast natives soon sold off their surplus of slaves, wives and children and then resorted to slave hunting. In their raids, villages and even whole tribes, were attacked. The unsalable were slaughtered and such as could not effect an escape were tied in gangs and driven with much cruelty and scant food to the nearest market. The weak, or sick or unruly perished by the way. At the market the "factory" made a further selection according to a rigorous standard and the culls were disposed of in the usual way. Those selected were shipped under conditions such that only the hardiest could survive. Scant food, ill-ventilated holds, the terrors of the mysterious unknown, and perhaps personal abuse made many a meal for the ravenous shark. So, by the time America was reached only those of the most robust constitution and physique were left to propagate. Thus was provided a type^{of} higher average bodily perfection and physical constitution than was left in Africa. But the selection was on a ^{purely} ~~physical~~ physical basis. Those below normal, both physically and mentally, ^{and} those below par physically, though above it mentally, had been eliminated. Those who were well above the average both physically and mentally were most likely to escape the slave hunter or become such themselves, while those who were above the average physically, but

ordinary or below the average ^{mentally} ~~physically~~, ^{would} ~~but~~ under the methods in vogue constitute the majority of the slaves successfully shipped to this country.

After arriving the process of selection went on, but more slowly. Those absolutely incorrigible were doubtless soon eliminated. Attention was paid to breeding- a docile temper and ^{bidable} disposition with a vigorous body being the ideal. Those of unteachable disposition, unsavory habits, or other undesirable traits began to be sold South where they were put to work under the gang system on large plantations or in mills. The hard and unaccustomed labor, vicious habits and unruly tempers tended still further to eliminate the unfit.

Meanwhile inter-tribal amalgamation in the new environment was breaking down old tribal customs and traditions and improving the stock and at the same time making of the American Negro a homogeneous people. But inter-racial amalgamation was in progress also, but to a less extent. This had begun before the slave had reached this country

and continues even to the present day. The census of 1890 gives 12 % as the proportion of mulattoes in the total Negro population, and Dr. DuBois asserts that this has been persistently the percentage for the last forty years.¹² T. T. Fortune¹³ says there are not more than three and a half million negroes in the United States. The census report warns us that its figures are too low, but gives no reasons¹⁴ for the

warning. This is one of the questions on which the absentee editor and the car-window sociologist speak with authority. For no means have yet been used by which to make a trustworthy estimate. I think it safe to say that inter-racial amalgamation has not taken place to the extent that most writers claim, nor is the amalgamation going on to the same extent as formerly. In the first place the commonly accepted idea that all Negroes who came from Africa were black is a mistake. A goodly minority were brown. Many of our mulattoes are the offspring of mulatto parents, and the fact that sexual relations between the races is becoming more and more confined to dissolute white men with Negro prostitutes who, in common with all prostitutes, bear few and rear fewer children, is rapidly curtailing the influence of white blood. The fact also that these children suffer both from degenerate heredity and unfavorable environment would tend to eliminate them, and on moral as well as physical grounds.

The fact that the majority of those entrusted with responsibility, and of those who succeeded best in acquiring knowledge both of letters and of industrial arts during slavery, were mulattoes, and the fact that the vast majority of those of the present who have made creditable attainments are of mixed blood, go to prove that a mixture of white blood has had much to do in the matter of higher ambition, and increased mental force and efficiency of the talented few.

From what has been said it will be seen that the germ heredity of the Negro as a race has not been materially changed. His physical stamina and personal appearance has been improved somewhat, and a barely appreciable amount of brutality eliminated. While an infusion of white blood has raised the mental capacity of a small proportion, it can not be shown that it has improved him morally as a race.

III.

The Nature of the Criminal- Social Heredity.

a. In the matter of social heredity the results have been more favorable, though still lamentably far from the ideal. and it is considered doubtful by some that his condition is as favorable in this respect now as it was in 1860. On the other hand, pretty well ^{all} of the Negro's present excesses and deficiencies have been attributed by Negro leaders and the Negro's apologists, to the evils of slavery.

There were undeniably grave evils connected with and growing out of slavery, but it must be remembered that there are evils connected with all human institutions and social orders. If the Negro were to be civilized in America, at all, Slavery was the easiest and most human method by which it could be accomplished. In his own land he could neither evolve a progress of his own or preserve a civilization thrust upon him. Much less could he have survived in competition with the the white man in the white man's land. Dr. J. Stanley Hall has shown us how sadly true it is that ¹²⁴ primitive races perish in the presence of the white race.

A careful and unbiased comparison of the physical, mental and moral characteristics of the native African with those of the American Negro of today will show that the evils of American slavery were mainly sins of omission rather than commission. And even in matters of omission, there is no responsibility for failing to do that which can not

be done, as, for example, the total eradication of the Negro's "hereditary sin of lying."

Among the delinquencies of the Negro which are so often traced to slavery as the cause, may be mentioned especially, 1st: Theft. The explanation given is, that the negro labored to produce his master's goods, felt that he received nothing in return, but was justly entitled to a division of the profits, therefore "took" from his master and so formed the habit. But Miss Kingsley says of the lower Guinea natives: Stealing is a beloved pastime- a kind of game in which you only lose if you are found out." Basman, speaking of the Slave Coast Negroes, says: "The natives of the Gold Coast are thievish but are not to be compared with these." Pogge says: "He lies steals, betrays wherever he can." Ratzel says: "Their sense of the distinction between *meum* and *teum* is often highly undecided." 2nd. Lying. The explanation is that under slavery the Negroes were defenceless and subject to abuses, and so in ignorance and self defense formed the habit and handed it down by social heredity. But A. B. Ellis, discussing the West African, says: "Concealment of design is the first element of safety, and as this axiom has been consistently carried out for generations, the national character is strongly marked by duplicity." Du Chaillu adds: "Lying is thought an enviable accomplishment among them, and a more thorough and unhesitating liar than one of the negroes is not to be found anywhere." Ratzel speaks of the African's "heredity

sin of lying".

3rd. Improvidence. The explanation is that he never had anything of his own to care for, and no means of venting petty spite except by careless or wilful destruction and wastefulness. But in his native land he lived only in the present. Only improvidence could exist in a character such as already described. It may be added that usually the slave was allowed a "patch", poultry, pigs, and sometimes a cow. He could sell his products from these sources and apply the money as he pleased. Nor could social heredity handed down from so short a bondage become so permanent and universal as it appears in the present generation of negroes.

4th. Self-control. The explanation is that he was not his own master but was under submission to those who both thought and willed for him.

Slavery certainly prevented the opportunity of much independent initiative, if the Negro ever had any, but it taught him what habits of self-restraint he possessed. For as I have shown, he was in his native state the puppet of his impulses and ~~every~~ every passing suggestion.

5th. Loose and unstable family life. The explanation given is that masters assigned husbands and wives to suit their own convenience and separated them at pleasure, to accommodate the domestic slave trade; whole families being disposed of in the same way. But it must be remembered that marriage in the orthodox way was very generally practiced, and

separation was more often at the request of the man and wife than by the will of the master or the vicissitudes of of slave life. But the more important fact is that the Negro never had a home or knew any thing of the monogamic family and the discipline of children, as a social institution, within historic times. And the temperament of the Negro made it next to impossible to force upon him a well ordered family life. The rearing of offspring in Africa is very similar to the rearing of young by the higher forms of the lower animals. The mother cares for the child till it leaves the breast, some ^{ten} years, and then it is turned loose to work out its own destiny. The father begets the child and if *it is* a virgin, receives the head money when she is married. He seems to assume no other care of responsibility.

6th. Sexual immorality. The explanation given is, in the words of Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, writing upon the history of American morals : " One class of our working women has in time past suffered at the hands of American man. I refer to the slaves of the South. Their masters and their masters' sons often used with them more than the license of the mediaeval landlord with his tenantry. It was part of the curse of a system which belonged to a past generation; but the laxity of morals which characterized it took hold upon its victims, and has gone through them to infect the whole colored race of the Southern States."

Now I have no disposition to excuse or apologize for any of the shameful prostitution of body and blood of which the

Southern slave masters^d may have been guilty: But may I ask, are there no mulattoes bearing in their veins a strain of Puritan blood as a relic of New England slavery? and if there are no half-breeds in the South^h who show some "family resemblance" to doughty^r federal soldier fathers? And are the Negroes of Hayti, or Jamaica, or Siera Leone or Dahomey or New England any freer from sexual immorality than the Southern Negro?¹²⁵ No, No; "the laxity of morals which characterized it took hold of its victims" a long, long time before "their masters^r or their masters' sons" were ever born. "It is certain that the Negro has a strong innate tendency to sensuality, and the most various travellers have reported great sexual excesses among Negro races."¹²⁶

"Sexual purity among the Guinea natives does not rest upon any regard for chastity^s as such, but merely on property ownership. Indulgence commences at an early age and continues thereafter with little impediment."¹²⁷

Adultery among the West Africans is the sexual congress of a wife with a paramour without her husband's permission. We are told by travellers that men can and actually do lend their wives. The wives do not object, and in case of white visitors, seem somewhat chagrined that the hospitality is not accepted. Seduction and rape, just as adultery, is regarded as a violation of property rights. If a virgin is seduced and her head-money" paid "any further excesses she may commit are regarded as of no consequence.

b. Among the contributions of ante-bellum tutelage to the social heredity of the American Negro may be mentioned several that served to check native tendencies that in American society are considered anti-social.

1st. He was found naked and taught to wear clothing; with coarse and boisterous manners and given examples of refinement and decency for imitation.

2. Homeless and idle, he was given a permanent dwelling place and taught to labor—not always effeciently, but enough to introduce it into his social heredity. Many were even trained to skill in the more useful arts.

3. He was found brutal and impulsive, and there was forced upon him a measure of self-control and fair play.

4. Cruelty, theft, lying, idleness and superstition were curbed, though not, of course, altogether suppressed. The Negro could not make the finer distinctions and it showed the wisdom of the master not to make too great demands of him.

5. He was the victim of gree-grees and the witch doctor, and was given Christianity—not all Christianity had to give, but enough to suppress his grosser superstitions and most revolting practices.

6. He was found without chastity or a conception of it, and without regard for the marriage bond or the ^{no}mogamous family; and had forced upon him at least the form of monogamous mating—Not an ideal family life, certainly, but immeasurably higher than he had known. He has not maintained the

anti-bellum standards.

While the slave master could have given the slave some literary education and a broader industrial training ; while he could have and perhaps ought to have been more patient and untiring in his efforts to uproot African superstitions and implant the moral precepts of christianity ; while he could have and perhaps ought to have provided the Negro more of home life and enforced his family obligations; and while he could have and ought to have confined his own sexual delinquencies to his own race; yet, slavery is in no sense responsible as a cause for the moral weakness of the freedman. On the other hand, in the very nature of slavery, learning, independent/initiative and self-dependence can not develop. Among the mass of slaves there must exist a condition of degraded self-respect, with a lack of opportunity. These characteristics ^{of self-respect and self-dependence} are necessary to good citizenship.

The Emancipation Proclamation and its sequel^{al} subjected the negro to another very great social change. He did not change his physical environment, not totally detach himself from his old master, but his relations were changed. There was a new order of things. He had now not only the opportunity but the necessity of determining his culture—of setting the manners, customs, qualities and paces of this new relation, on the part of his own race. His old African culture had been well nigh forgotten, but he had acquired more of the form than of the substance of the Caucasian

culture. But he had freedom now— and responsibility, civil rights— and poverty, political rights— and ignorances. He had his liberty, but he could not distinguish it from license, and he had the prerogatives of American citizenship— with the shackles of African heredity. True, he had strong friendship in the North who had money and influence— and they sent him sentimental missionaries to teach him religion, and the vampire carpet-bagger to teach him politics. And he had old friends in the South but they had now neither money nor much influence, and would not treat with him on terms of equality. Many old masters employed their old slaves and their relations did not materially change. Others even divided what they had left, thus setting up in business their former slaves. But a majority of the whites had been impoverished by the war and were sore at heart and sensitive in temper. The majority of the negroes were restive and eager to experience all the new sensations of the new regime. They went a whoring after strange gods and their old friends became alienated. The Union League with its secret pass-words and nocturnal meetings, the Freedmen's Bureau with its blare of philanthropy and ignominious downfall, and the after-math of the Ku-Klux Klan, had their day and influence. And so there came about trouble and strife bitterness and injustice, on both sides, till in 1876 the Negro ceased to be the ward of the nation and became for the first time dependent upon himself. Meantime his social status had been determined. He was not the white man's equal, nor likely to be.

Mr. Locky, the English historian, says on the political situation: The enfranchisement of the Negroes added a new and enormous mass of voters, who were utterly and childishly incompetent.--- for some time after the war the influence of property and intelligence in the South was completely broken, and the Negroes were ostensibly supreme. The consequence was what might have been expected. A horde of vagrant political adventurers from the North--- poured into the Southern provinces and, in conjunction with the refuse of mean whites, they undertook the direction of the negro voters. Then followed, under the protection of Northern bayonets, a grotesque parody of government, a hideous orgie of anarchy, violence, unrestrained corruption, undisguised, ostentatious, insulting robbery, such as the world had scarcely seen. The state debts were piled up. Legislation was openly put up for sale. The "Bosses" were in all their glory, and they were abundantly rewarded.---- At length the northern troops were withdrawn, and the whole scene changed. The carpet-baggers had had their day, and they returned, laden with southern booty to their own states. Partly by violence, partly by fraud, but largely through force of old habits of obedience and command the planters in a short time regained their ascendancy. Sometimes, it is said, they did not even count the Negro votes. Generally they succeeded in dictating them, and by systematic manipulation or intimidation, they restored the South to quiet and some degree of prosperity. A more curious picture of the effects of

democratic equality among a population who were entirely unfitted for it has never been presented."

c. Following the period of manipulation, intimidation and dictation was a period of political indifference on the part of the mass of the Negroes. But political agitations both North and South, and Negro "leaders" kept up more or less irritation. The Southern man's sense of honor revolted at election frauds, seemingly the only practical methods of maintaining white supremacy. So the method of outright disfranchisement by state constitutional amendments was devised and effectively began the work in 1902. Not only the disfranchisement itself but the insertion of the "understanding clause" and the "grand father clause", especially, have caused much discussion and much rancor on the part of negro leaders. In justice to the better class of whites it should be said that these objectionable clauses were accepted under protest as a compromise with the more radical and ignorant element who would have combined with the negro to defeat the whole movement. That they are unjust and subject to abuse is manifest enough.

Along with Reconstruction came the public school and "higher education", and the negro saw in book learning what before he saw in freedom—a sort of talismanic panacea for all his deficiencies. And so he still thinks and so most of his leaders teach. And so he is still pursuing a shadow. He can not see the essential elements of progress and social efficiency. He is enamored of the superficial and showy, and of such sort

is the smattering of books he usually obtains. He knows nothing of the long stony way and threaded mileposts connecting the culture of the Stone Ages with twentieth century Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The Negro's religion is still the centre of his thought and of his social life, but, except among the favored few, it is noisy, superstitious and non-moral. The more enlightened follow the forms of the white churches and conduct their affairs with becoming propriety, but the more ignorant have modified many of the forms almost beyond recognition, and the church has become a social centre whence emanates suppers, fairs, picnics, excursions; gossip, intrigue, and dissipation.

At the close of the war the Negro commanded the labor situation in the South. He had acquired more or less skill in all of the industrial and mechanic arts commonly practiced in the ante-bellum South. He was the carpenter and mason, the painter and plasterer, the blacksmith and cobbler, the hostler and coachman, often the steward or overseer, the cook and seamstress, the nurse and lady's maid, as well as the field hand, the teamster and the dependence at the gin and tobacco house- and there was no prejudice or labor unions to interfere with his continued monopoly of these lines of labor. But his hereditary weaknesses have robbed him of his advantage. His inefficiency, heedless wastefulness, and unreliability, and his mistaken notion of the superiority of the professional life, have well nigh accomplished for him what competition could

never have done. And the younger generation is found in the bonds of a harsher slavery than their fathers knew—unskilled hands and economic pressure in an environment growing daily more unfavorable to the inefficient. The mass of the Negroes have no property, and any great influx of reliable white labor would cost them their occupations, but they can not see their danger.

The Negro has not yet made a home in the true sense and has not improved upon the family life of slavery regime. He is a renter and easily satisfied with his surroundings—lets his dwelling place of whatever sort go to wreck; and his marriage is unstable, often without legal sanction. His children are in turn the recipients of generous indulgence and impulsive anger, without wholesome discipline or consistent example. I never observe the happy innocence of a negro child ~~th~~ that my heart does not sink with ineffable sadness at the thought of the almost inevitable life that awaits it.

And so we may trace the Negro's private life through all its phases and find the same characteristics prevailing it throughout. Circumstances and his environment have been made for him and he has yielded in form to the life above him in so far as to make a superficial appearance of having taken on our civilization. But Dr. Shaler is very much in error when he emphasizes the Negro's plasticity and adaptability. It is nonsense to compare him with the Jew, or even with the American Indian, in this respect. But this is not saying that the Negro has not progressed or that he has no commendable qualities.

I count it a great achievement that he has put off most of his natural social heredity and has adopted the language, the religion, the social forms, manners and customs; no matter how imperfectly, of so different and more complex civilization. True, this was accomplished under the tutelage of slavery and, freed from its restraints, he shows symptoms of reversion, nevertheless much of his acquisition will be permanent if he remains a part of the white man's social order. Segregation would mean reversion or degeneracy.

But what has all this to do with Negro criminality? Just this: it reveals the Negro character and how it has been formed, it presents a social heredity/a measure of responsibility for which rests upon every citizen of the country, and it suggests/a standard by which to judge the Negro and shows the futility of the rash and uncritical assumption that what is just and effectual in the treatment of the white man is just and effectual in the treatment of the Negro. It is no less unjust to hold the Negro to our standards than to punish a child for waywardness that only the mature could be expected to inhibit; and no wiser to leave the negro in his present environment and expect him to meet our standards than it

is to rear a child without discipline and expect him to honor his parents/

IV.

The Nature of the Criminal--The Product of the New Environment.

From every point of consideration psychologically, the negro is a child, exhibiting these characteristics that indicate a tendency to lawless impulse and weak inhibition.

1. One of the most patent of these childish characteristics is his inordinate love of praise. It shows itself in his love of display and his sensitiveness to criticism. He likes gaudy dress and gay colors, cheap jewelry and cosmetics, cologne and pomade. He likes to belong to lodges, hold office, and go on dress parade in all the paraphernalia of his order. He likes to see his name in print and have his voice heard in public. A negro meeting never drags; there are no painful silences or awkward pauses. And when he gives to the Lord he walks to the front and lays his gift upon the altar. (In passing I may remark, that if the whites were as generous in proportion to their means. Many languishing philanthropic enterprises would have cause to rejoice). The negro's love of self--exhibition is further shown by his hilarity at social pleasures, his delight in antics and banter. Nothing pleases him better than to call the numbers at a

"break-down", or in plain view to do the double-shapple or cut the pigeon wing.

I said he is sensitive to criticism. This was held in obedience during slavery, and even yet the careless laughing off of petty delinquencies of duty to his employer is common, but the spirit of resentment of correction of any sort is rapidly developing. This may be due to a mistake notion of what is meant by his leaders and well wishes when they encourage him to assert his manhood and demand his rights as a free man. But unfortunately he can not make fine distinctions. He is often found familiar where he should be friendly, and insolent where he should be dignified. At West Point, Miss. in 1904 there was quite a "racial^a reform" movement. A leader had taught that women should be wives and mothers and not servants. An attempt was made to put the teaching into practice. The whites could not get cooks or washingwomen—money was no inducement. Thus far they were entirely within their rights. But numerous instances occurred when white ladies went in person in quest of servants, that they were treated with insolence, sneers and jibes, by the haughty ladies of color.

A little learning or authority often makes the negro arrogant. A kindly suggestion or voluntary information is received with resentment, and a man invited to address an assembly of negroes is expected to flatter them rather than

help them.

2. But while the negro is resentful and impulsive he respects force and is not malicious. "Dah Chaillie found that as long as he was merely kind and considerate with his porters they cared less for him and his fate than when he assumed an attitude of despotic power, asserted his will with decision and brooked no dilly-dallying or deception, on pain of death on the spot. They seemed to have a sort of pride in their master, boasted of the very qualities in him which compelled their obedience, and parted with him with sorrow at the end of the tour." ¹³⁶ Ample verification of the same characteristic may easily be made by a visit to any large plantation, railway construction or other "public works". As assistant Superintendent of a brick and tile factory for two years I found it so. He may strike in his anger, commit depredation on property or unscrupulously violate an obligation in his resentment, but he forgives. He prefers to spend his nervous energy in the enjoyment of his companions in his characteristic ways rather than in "nursing his wrath to keep it warm."

3. But kindness is as soon forgotten as offense against his person. Take care of him in sickness or supply him in his needs and he will steal from you at the first opportunity. However lavish in kindness or gifts you may be to a servant she is likely to take it as evidence that she is indispensable and will impose petty annoyance to the limit. I have known

some amusing instances of this where Northern people have come South, found fault with the Southerner's method of dealing with the negro, tried their methods,---and failed ~~un-~~^{em-}barrassingly?

4. The negro is generally good natured in manner, however, and often profuse in politeness or in protestations of good faith, and like all impulsive individuals may do many acts of kindness and even of self-denial. While these are essentially the acts of a child they are still significant of his progress and his possibilities. On the other hand, ~~for~~ he is brutal and without pity, in anger or fear. He strikes his dog, his mule, his wife or child without consideration, with the most available weapon. His brutal abuse and neglect of live stock is everywhere commented on. His brutalities usually accompanying the crime of rape are well known.

5. In his grief the negro is equally impulsive. After a spasm of apparently insupportable anguish his grief subsides and he is soon the same cheerful, garrulous, easy-going child. He never mopes. If he does it is because he is cut off from his kind. He likes to talk and sing, to dance and prank. He has no pride in the luxury of grief so enjoyed by some whites. Perhaps this disposition accounts for the fact that he rarely commits suicide.

6. The Negro's excessive sociability often furnishes

^{Trouble}
him ~~terrible~~ as well as pleasure. Dances, picnics, excursions "fistibuls" and celebrations often end in bloodshed. Drunkenness, gambling, and jealousy seem to be necessary concomitants of such festivities. It used to be said that there was a negro killed every Sunday on an average on the excursion between Chattanooga and Huntsville, Ala. "The excursion which ran into Atlanta from Columbus on the 17th of June (1905) is a striking warning to our people against such trains. The omnipresent crap-shooter was on board. Decatur St. Whiskey had been quaffed freely when the train pulled ^{out} ~~and~~ from Atlanta, and everything was conducive to bloodshed. A dispute arose over a crap game a fight was started. The parties from one town took up for their man, the parties from the other town did the same thing for their man. A pitched battle ensued which resulted in much blood and death. The fighting continued all the way from Atlanta to Griffin, a distance of seventy-five miles. When the chief ^{of} police entered the excursion train at Griffin, a gruesome scene met his view.---- Four dead men were lying in a heap in an aisle of one of the cars, one man was found dead on the tender of the engine, the wounded lay scattered throughout the length of the train and hung over the seats, while many of the seats and windows were spattered with flesh and blood. Many of the excursionists had jumped from the flying train on the way, and the last

figures run the death list up to more than a dozen men and women." This of course is an extreme case. Following this report, found in a negro magazine,¹¹ is a sensible editorial comment. The better class of negroes inveigh against the excursion as a form of pleasure. At Atlanta last year some of the negroes decided to build a reformatory for delinquent negro youth. The committee appointed to select the site paid a visit to a place in the suburbs which had been suggested as an appropriate site, and to encourage enthusiasm in the project, took a picnic crowd along with them. "These" supporters" grew so enthusiastic and hilarious, so boisterous and wanton, so insolent and threatening toward the white residents of the place visited that the county police were called in to restore order.

8. The negro's church affiliations are not separated in spirit or in fact from his sociability. The church is the centre of his social life,--suppers, fairs, and celebrations; here are planned picnics and excursions, and public announcements are made; quarrels, gossip and intrigue are not wanting. He is not a hypocrite, but his religion is scarcely more than a sociable superstition. The average negro is not able to give any reason for the hope that is in him nor does he connect it with moral sanction. While the form is in imitation of the white churches the spirit of it is his own. I have attended some negro services among the more enlightened that

were conducted with the utmost propriety, but I found in the heart of Atlanta where there are four negro colleges two of which have theological schools attached, conditions that would discourage the most hopeful. Among the negroes generally, revival meetings are beyond description. Noise and excitement in the service, stealing and immorality closely connected with it. Servants out late at night neglect their duties, and do not ^{even} sample to appropriate foodstuff or money for their preachers. It is known that any violent emotion affects the reproduction centres, and religious excitement so closely connected with the social motive has no small influence upon the sexual instinct. This is ^{true among whites and all the more true} among negroes. A negro preacher described to me in condemnatory words, but with evident relish, the lascivious handling of female "sickness" at the "mourners bench", by spiritual advisers. I saw two negroes ^{"Seekers"} changed. One protested his innocence, the other attributed his downfall to whiskey and bad company. Both went to heaven. They always do.

Miss Keller's "association tests" are indicative. Using the word religion she got the following results; white students--"prayer, heaven, peace, contentment happiness;" ^{beautiful} ~~brainful~~, 'good', safe, nun; White criminals--"sacrament singing, choir, organ"; heaven, home, dress, good times". Negroe criminals--shouting, preaching, ~~get~~ religion, hallelujah." It is seen that the results from the negroes are purely emotional

and objective.¹³⁹

The negro's superstition, love of orgy and lack of lofty ambition, and his low moral conceptions makes his religious ⁱap~~h~~iliation with the whites impossible, even if there were no objection on the part of the whites. Hence the benefits of the old time community of worship are lost. The preachers are often as ignorant and immoral as the people they serve.

9. The negro revels in the marvellous and his uncritical thinking lays him open to suggestion and imposition. He still believes in "hants" and "cun^ger bags". He has an abundance of signs, both of good and evil. Tillinghast and Earl Kelsey report that witch-doctors even in our populous cities practice their art today. I have myself send a con^yer bag filled with snake scurf, frog legs, bits of crockery and nail parings.

The negro is the pup^pet of agitators and the victim of all sorts of itinerant agents, peddlers and venders of sundry wares. He has not the wit nor the will power to resist the persistency of book agents, clock peddlers, patent medicine venders and the like.

10. But he is no less the victim of his own appetites and fancies. When he has money or credit he buys anything that promises an immediate satisfaction--from a jew's harp to a parlor organ, from a fancy picture to an illustrated family

bible. He spends his money for that which is not bread--nick-nacks, gewgaws, tobacco and whiskey. He never misses a circus or a funeral.

11. In all the affairs of his life whether acting for himself or his employer he is lacking in foresight and heedless of the morrow. He lives in the present. In carelessness he breaks his tools, in neglect he leaves his implements in the fields, in wantonness he abuses his mules, in sheer improvidence he wastes his own substance. He rarely plans intelligently or executes with steady purpose. He will over-crop himself, over buy his supply contract, and dispose of his produce as soon as it is marketable.

The same lack of foresight is characteristic of the negro's crimes. Unless he is harbored by his friends he is usually easily caught, for he can not cover up his tracks.

12. His improvidence keeps him constantly dependent upon his employer or creditor. And he usually takes the situation as a matter of course. In fact he prefers to think by proxy and to cast his cares upon some one upon whom he can depend. Dr. DuBois says the average negro had rather labor and suffer than to take the trouble to think. Indeed it seems that the average black is incapable of sustained mental effort. It takes excitement to hold his attention.

13. Such thinking as he does is imaginative rather than

reflective. He pictures vividly but reasons poorly. "The negro youth need training in exactitude of thought. No one who is acquainted with the race can fail to be impressed with his loose and slovenly mode of reasoning. The fanciful and flighty the ornate and extravagant are given preference over the straight forward and direct."¹⁴⁰ The negro is emotional and demonstrative rather than judicial and conservative. "The negro is characterized by boisterousness of manner and extravagance of taste."¹⁴¹

Not only so but he seems incapable of any sort of accurate comprehensive thinking. The narrow print of view, the extravagance of statement, the intollerant bias of the proceedings of the rather pretentiously named "National Sociological society"¹⁴² is an illustration.

14. The negro is imitative rather than original in both modes of thought and manner of action. This peculiarity accounts largely for the ^{*mistaken estimate made of negro character by*} casual observers and itinerant investigators. The negro appears to have adopted Anglo-Saxon civilization. But it must be remembered that a thing is imitated as it is perceived and not as it really is. The order of racial development seems to be by characteristic periods of synthetic accretion: mimicry, imitation, assimilation, origination. The white man has reached the fourth, the negro the second stage. Individuals have accomplished the third, and the negro writers claim a number of original thinkers and inventors, but so far as I have been able to discover such members of the race as have

~~been able to discover such member of the race, have done credit-~~
able thinking are mulattoes with a predominance of white blood.

I have abstracted the following names of persons
claimed as great and as belonging to the negro race, from
articles found in "The Voice of the Negro." The names
suggest these questions: Is he a negro? Is he great? If a
negro and great, does he represent the race, i. e. is he a
mulatto or a genius, or is he ^a normal development of the re-
latively pure negro?

Sappho

Perseus

Tertullian

Cyrian

Arnobius

Terrence

Pope Victor XIV.

* Pope Miltiades XXXII.

Eurybates! (at siege of Troy)

Euclid!!

Homer !!!

B. K. Bruce

James Lynch

Lemuel Haynes

Ira Aldridge

Henry O. Tanner

Benjamin Benneker

Samuel Taylor-Coleridge.

Booker T. Washington.

Toussaint L'Ouverture

Alexander Puskin

W. E. B. DuBois

Phyllis Wheatley

Paul L. Dunbar

Alexander Dumas

Chas. W. Chestnut

Elijah T. McCoy

Col. Geo. H. Williams.

Dr. Daniel H. Williams

Prof. W. S. Scarborough

Prof. Kelley Miller.

Granville T. Woods

15. The Negro's impulsive temperament, improvidence and lack of critical judgment account for his failure as a business man. "They appear to lack the faculty of organization on which all successful business enterprise rests."

"The present wage and industrial situation of Columbia is as good, nay, it is much better than it has been for years. Wages have steadily risen all along the line of the negro's endeavor. Skilled workmen, reliable laborers and good servants are in great demand. That he appreciates this fact and proposes to make the best of it is not apparent. The average negro in Columbia today is as shiftless and indifferent of the future as ever his predecessor was in slavery. As a laborer his chief characteristics are unreliability and inability. If he has a dollar in his pocket he can not ~~not~~ see the necessity for toil. He takes more pleasure in the ~~negation~~ ^{negation} of a secret society than in the comfort of his home. He will cheerfully give a tenth of his weekly wage to a petty, and perhaps, fraudulent, society to insure the burial of his unworthy body with unbecoming pomp. But to lay aside as much per week against the coming of the inevitable 'rainy day' is a feature of domestic economy utterly beyond his ability. Only three or four of all the Columbia Negroes are members of the local building and loan Association and they are borrowers" These statements would apply to the vast majority of southern towns and cities.¹⁴⁵

They seem to take considerable transient interest in lodges, philanthropic enterprises and organizations for social betterment, but their lodges are not notably successful, their philanthropic and social enterprises, ^{generally} fail, the one on account of poverty and mismanagement, the other on account of lack of definite aim and persistence of purpose, and both on account of internal dissensions, petty jealousies and a disposition to deal with irrelevant subjects or situations. I have been told that graft, speculation and embezzlement are common among officials of their organizations, but I have no reliable evidence that this is true. They have neither ^{initiation} ~~imitation~~ nor power of effective cooperation, and are lacking in what Prof. Shaler calls "historical ability." ¹⁴⁴ In a very few instances has the negro been known to combine affectively for criminal purposes. There was discovered in Georgia in 1893 an oath-bound gang whose purpose was the outrage of white women. There are some notorious, but few, if any, great criminals among them. Negroes are seldom professionally criminal--they yield to temptations--a lack of inhibition or a failure to see the evil of their acts.

Miss Kellor's quality list is interesting. "A so-called quality test was given the negroes, similar to that in the Northern investigation; but it was a failure. This failure was the most significant result possible. The following words were chosen: principle, honor, truth, justice, right, ambition, courage, love, pride, purity, nobility, sympathy, friendship,

virtue, sincerity, patience. From this list they were asked to select five which they wished to possess for themselves or their friends. It was found that some of the words had no meaning for them, and they could not comprehend the meaning under the most patient explanation. Love, friendship, truth, sympathy and sincerity they had some conception of; for purity, only the religious concept could be seen, not the personal one; principle and honor were recognized in only a few instances; justice had no meaning, except in relation to their crime and punishment, and they could only dimly apply it in their relations to one another. There were exceptions, but the understanding was so deficient that the results can be used only to show this." Miss Kellor found no notable difference between the normal negro and the negro criminal in her psychological tests. This accords with my thesis that the negro is criminal mainly because undeveloped and not adapted to our civilization, while the white criminal is usually a degenerate and not adapted to any civilization. Miss Kellor says further that "the tendency seems clear that criminal negro women are not neurotics to the extent which white criminal women are. "

16. As previously stated, the negro is open to suggestion. His environment and economic condition make him the easy prey of tempters and agitators. A man desiring to have an evil deed done feels safer in approaching a negro. Thus no doubt, by flattery, importunity, bribery, intimidation or inflaming evil

passions by artful device, many crimes are accomplished by proxy, certainly a great deal of immorality is practiced.

Political and social agitators from the carpet-baggers to the reverend gentlemen who address "Notional Sociological Society" conventions manage to keep the negro more or less irritated. Many negro writers have a decidedly vicious influence. Ignorant, grandiloquent, foaming with ~~prejudice~~ ^{prejudice} and their own importance, they clamor for rights much more than they admonish to duty, berate and abuse the white man rather than look to the evils of their race, condone the delinquencies of the negro, set him up as a martyr if punished for crime, and attribute all their evils and misfortunes to the egotism, rapacity and injustice of the white man. The influence of the white agitator comes mainly through such reverend gentlemen as Thos. Dixon and the relics of abolitionism still spouting to Norther pulpits, who are not yet willing to admit that the negro is free. The doctrine of miscegenation advocated before the war and still preached in some quarters has had a pernicious influence. It is often asserted that no such doctrine is or has been taught but an examination of the following references will throw some light upon the subject:

"The laws prohibiting honorable intermarriage between the two races are the guarantee of the perpetuation of this savage atrocity (lynching): this abolition, the first step on the part of the whites towards its disappearance." 149

This is in an editorial written in 1895. At the "Sociological Conference" ¹²³ previously mentioned, Bishop Halsey in a paper on "Segregation" implies his approval of miscegenation. Julius Nelson of the N. J. Agricultural College Experiment Station, in a letter to the conference, goes into an argument favoring social equality (in the sense in which Southerners use the phrase), and Rev. Alexander Kent says: "A woman can sit by her driver, but just as soon as he becomes a public citizen it is different. Such a thing must go, and it is amusing that such things have existed."

A thousand pages might be filled with quotations of misrepresentations and inflammatory utterances by public speakers and in negro publications. On the other hand many of these charges they bring have justification in fact. And the white man can not afford to deny his responsibility. There are lecherous white men who regard every attractive mulatto girl as their legitimate prey. That many of these have already lost their virtue is no excuse. That negro mothers rear their girls "for white men only" is no excuse. That the negro wench acts as a safety valve to the home of the white man is still less excuse. Every woman white or black has a right to her honor, and the chivalry that kills a violator of a white home ought to be knightly enough to protect the sanctity of any home. The negro has sense enough to appreciate this. He resents the white man's presumption and success.

Neither is the negro always fairly treated in business. There are white men who take advantage of the negro's ignorance, poverty, and improvidence to exploit him.¹⁵⁰ Insolent whites treat them with indignity in public places. Police officers are often unnecessarily ungracious to offenders. White children are not properly corrected for impudence and petty annoyance to negroes, and white men who impose upon negroes are not dealt with by the courts or by public sentiment with the severity that would be deterrent. The white man who imposes upon an ignorant, defenseless negro is as cowardly and contemptible as he who imposes upon a child. The negro has sense enough to appreciate this and he resents it. Let there be a "dead Line" if you wish, across which the negro may not come, but criminality increases when the white man reaches forth and pulls the negro across.

17. No doubt the detailed reports of crimes appearing in our daily papers act as a potent stimulus to criminal tendencies. Many of the serial stories are little better. Foul conversation, voluptuous pictures in saloons, in cheap literature and sporting ^{sc}shots like the Police Gazette, in cigarette packages, and on theatre and circus ^{bill-}boards; and the character of intertainment given at cheap theatres in the cities, appeal strongly to the sensual and unrestrained imagination of the negro. But our public libraries are closed to him, books of value are prohibitory in price, and he has no one to advise

better things. In going about through the negro quarters of cities I have been impressed with the fact that so many negro girls are seen reading cheap love stories. These stories have four distinctly evil influences: they encourage idleness, they picture and therefore encourage an impractical and impossible, romantic life, they train the mind to attend only to the light and exciting as against training the taste and attention for that which is pure and education^{ve}, they keep the sexual propensities excited. I insist upon this fourth point. It is a true of whites as of blacks, the only difference is that home influences are generally better and natural inhibitive power is better among the whites. With such effects the influences can only tend toward criminality.

Of ninety negro female prisoners examined, Miss Kellor found that about one-third of those classed as illiterate had never read anything and only one could describe a magazine clearly. Thirty-seven had read the Bible, twenty-seven had read ^{books} novels, twenty-two had read novels, 11 Sunday-school books six juvenile books, history, and newspapers, five had read biographies, school readers and religious papers, two poems and one a magazine.

In choice the biography of "George Washington was a close second to Jesse James, while Diamond Dick and Nick Carter won over all other dime novel heroes. Mrs. Holmes and Augusta Evans were the popular novelists and Mother Goose and

Peck's Bad Boy represented the juvenile reading. There are no opportunities for obtaining reading matter in the prisons." ¹⁵¹

One other phase of suggestion as indicative of the weakness of the negro character should be noted. That is the ease with which he may be put under hypnotic influence.

Whether or not hypnotism can be used to make men commit crime is not the question. The weakness of the will is the point of emphasize. Along with this may be mentioned his tendency to fall in with popular excitements, become unduly aroused over trivial matters, especially if there is anything of mystery about them.

19. The Negro's lack of development is further shown by his inability to grasp ethical principles and apply them. That there is no nexus between his religion and his morals has already been shown.

"The methods used by parents in teaching right and wrong are of interest because they reveal something of the moral standards. Both persuasion and punishment were used, but the latter exceeded the former by a great majority. A number of the subjects declared they were not taught differences between right and wrong. They were punished for fighting, stealing, dipping, snuff, lying, wanting other's things, card playing, dancing and drinking. There is little or no evidence of the finer moral discriminations, and the method is training through punishment rather than through wise

direction which avoids punishment." Children had left home early on account of cruelty of step-parents, and when brought up by whites the ^{discipline} ~~discipline~~ had been lax. Punishments administered were: whipping, sent to bed supperless, dark room, locked up, slapped, tied, kneeling, head tied in sack, standing on box, frightened, clothes tied over head, kneeling on cracked bricks or shelled corn. "The punishment does not lack in severity but in certainty. It is usually administered spasmodically and during anger. Often the amount of injury caused by the child's act regulates the degree of punishment, as does also the amount of shock to the parents feelings. To illustrate the latter, if a child falls into a few inches of water and soils its clothes it may receive a moderate punishment, but if the mother is frightened because it has been in danger of drowning it may receive a more severe one. Spasmodic, unsystematic, unsympathetic, and often unprincipled discipline is the practice"----- Plays used were such as removed them from the restraint of parents. Little or no use is made of play to develop such qualities as tolerance, self-control, patience and unselfishness, except as the children teach one another".¹⁵² Miss Kellor also found that among the women tested that they believed temptation to be such only when yielded to, and that no emphasis was placed upon the smaller temptations.

"All law in his savage state was limited to restraint of individual liberty for the passing moment by mere brute force and he understood no other reason for obedience. The spirit of obedience to law because it is right was wanting and incomprehensible to him."

Take any number of average negroes today and quiz them with reference to their motives of conduct and note their replies in the concrete. They answer according to the illustration given and not according to the principle involved. Yet it is not difficult to see that ^{the} answer is based upon some ill-defined idea of policy or expediency.

20. The negro's generally low conception of moral responsibility is evinced by his frequent disregard of property rights, e.g. abuse of his employers' teams, carelessness with tools and implements, destruction of fences and cabins, "taking" things to which he has no right, stealing, trespass, and the like. Costly machinery or fine stock can not be intrusted to the care of negroes, as a rule. Fences, rails, loose planks, belonging to rented property are likely to disappear on cold nights. Vacant houses are the meeting places of crap shooters. The stealing out of mules and horses to ride to frolics is a common annoyance to all classes in both town and country. A great deal of stealing of cotton, corn, melons and potatoes occurs that never reaches the courts. The Southern white man seldom reports a negro for petty theft.

If caught he may be made to pay for what he has stolen, is sometimes beaten but is frequently passed as a matter-of-course. Book 7, Washington complains at the white man's leniency in such matters, and it certainly does have a tendency to ~~fasten~~ the thieving propensity. The basket habit among the women is of the same nature. Some cooks feed whole families thus, and every one is expected to feed one man at least. This, however, is not usually considered as stealing by either the cook or her mistress, unless raw material is taken from the pantry.

21. The negro is untrustworthy in matters of business. I said in a former discussion: The only reason for the payment of an unsecured debt by the average negro is either fear of a suspension of supplies or of "serious bodily harm". Not being satisfied with the statement I made inquiries of ~~merchants~~ *merchants* and ~~renting~~ agents and found that the negro is preferred to the white man doing the same class of labor, and that he pays as well as salesmen, clerks and office men,--and lawyers. It has been suggested however, that more care is exercised in holding the negro within his limits and less delicacy is felt in pressing collections. But the negro is improvident and careless. He does not value time and cannot comprehend the virtue of promptitude. Not only ^{in regard to} the payment of debts but in any matter that requires promptness and regularity,

he can not be depended upon. "In furnishing the raw material, the cotton, he plays the old slave-day part, but in the function of the new South, in manufacture, he has not part. It may be asked, Has he had a chance? Yes, in Charlotte, N. C., and in Charleston S. C. he has been tried in the clothing factory and in the cotton mill and he has failed in each case. The reason of his failure was the lack of moral responsibility. While perhaps capable enough, an excursion, a circus or a revival has claims on him in excess of his obligations as an employer¹⁵⁶." While he is not a striker he has a way of leaving an employer in the church at the most important times. And he will often refuse to work in cases of emergency, as in the case of refusal to repair levees on the Mississippi in last great overflow. It is well known how provokingly prone the negro cook is to be sick or to have to go to court when her mistress has company. The cook at my boarding place one winter was absent at least one day in the week and I went regularly to work without my breakfast on account of her tardiness.

Commenting on a table given to show the occupation of Columbia negroes, Dr. Elwang says: The trained mechanic still remains in a pitiful minority amid a mob of common laborers, teamsters and others only a degree or two higher in the scale. The women are mostly cooks and laundresses, and very indifferent ones at that. The exhibit is very discourag-

ing, and all the ^{more} men so when we call to mind the fact that ~~no~~ Lincoln Institute, the State Normal and Industrial School for Negroes, is located only thirty miles from Columbia, at Jefferson City, and has been there for thirty-five years!" 1956

"Almost incredible are the experiences told by Columbia house keepers ^{anent} ~~are not~~ their relations with negro domestics." It is their unanimous testimony that Negro "help" is utterly incompetent. "It is ignorant, shiftless, lazy, impudent, and dishonest. But the whites have been so long accustomed to this kind of "help" in their homes that they accept the situation in a spirit of mingled indignant helplessness and philosophic resignation-----There are all told not a half dozen white domestics in Columbia." Accurate information was obtained from thirty-three families--all of them well-to-do, some wealthy. It was found that they employed thirty-nine servants, all negroes, as housegirls, cooks, nurses and men-of-all-work.

"The wages paid ranged from six dollars per month and "keep" (which frequently includes room and fuel) for the untrained hand, to three times that sum for a competent servant. The average was \$9.78 per month. During the three years preceding the inquiry thirty-three families had employed no less than 141 different servants, or about four each, giving each an average of nine months of service with a family. But it must be remembered that the average is secured by com-

putting the terms of service of that kind of help which is at the command of well-to-do and wealthy families only. The general average term of service is much shorter. One of the thirty-three families reported having had twenty-four servants in three years; another seventeen; and still another twelve. Instances are numerous where the help was changed as often as every ^umonth, are even every week, for months in succession. "

Closely allied to the characteristic just discussed is the negro's lack of proper attention to work in hand. Every farm must have its rider or over-seer and every squad of laborers its boss. His presence is necessary both to direct and to enforce honest time. The negro farmer is a time killer whether as hireling, metayer or renter. I spent the summer and fall of 1903 at West Point, Miss. riding out through~~h~~ the country every fair day. On~~4~~ week days I found the negro at easy going labor in his crops, but on Saturdays the fields were deserted. And they were deserted the whole day. From July to January I never saw a negro in the cotton fields on Saturday, no matter what the weather or condition of the crop. Wages were good and the planters clamoring for pickers, but the negroes went to town and the cotton went to waste.

Much capital has been made of the negro's faithfulness and loyalty during the civil war. I do not deny

the fact but I can not accept the explanation. The simple truth is he had been trained to obey. His habits were formed to that end. Loafing and gadding had never been tolerated. He had been impressed with the duties of his situation. He did not know or feel free to do otherwise, and the "cruel oppression" was not so great as some have represented. But the federal militia and the Fourteenth Amendment broke the spell. The hypnotic influence of the master was exchanged for the hypnotic influence of the carpet-bagger, and the scalawag. 9

22. Allied with the negro's law conception of moral responsibility is his sensual trend of thought and low conception of social purity. His trend of thought is clearly indicated by his favorite subjects, and often by the manner of his conversation. While religion is a common subject of discussion, matters pertaining to the sexual function, coarse and ribald jokes, occupy the attention more often. My brother who operated a brick and tile factory for a number of years forbade his employers to swear at the works, and *recognizing the futility of such a prohibition from obscenity and lewd conversation did not* succeeded in the prohibition, but ~~upon~~ attempt it.

A few hours observation on the streets of any Southern town on Saturday would be a ^{ve}relation to those who are unacquainted with the negro. Their topics of conversation their bold figures of speech of ill-hidden import, and where opposite sexes are engaged, their lascivious handling of one

another and those ill-at-Pose bodily contortions indicative of sub-conscious sexual excitement expose well enough their trend of mind.

23. The large number of negro prostitutes tells the same story. Boker Washington's claim that there are more prostitutes for gain in European cities than there are among American negroes is evidently based upon the assumption that all negro prostitutes are "in the profession" and are reported in the statistics. Many who do not occupy houses devoted to the purpose are nevertheless prostitutes. The revenue from this source is a secondary ~~condition~~ *consideration* with them. Physicians and others who have good reason to know, assert as their opinion that virtue is extremely rare among negro women and practically unknown among the men. Mr. Elwang says of the Columbia Negroes: "In the case of nature's most potent instinct of sex, a scarcely appreciable proportion of the race ever makes any effort whatever to keep it within due metes and bounds. Sadly deficient morally as slaves, they are even more imperfect today. Hence the relation between the *in Columbia, a perilous approach to that state* sexes are exceedingly lax. As a matter of fact we have, of promiscuity postulated by a certain school of Anthropologist as man's most primitive sexual condition. The whites usually assume as a common-place that all negro women have a price. But it can not be said too emphatically that this is certainly, too sweeping and does a grievous injustice to the worthy few. Repeated inquiries of members of the race itself, both men and

women, elicited the opinion that at least 85% or 90% of the women were unchaste. Though this estimate may be too high, yet the pitiful thing is that the impropriety and depravity of sexual immorality is only dimly appreciated even by the few virtuous ones". He adds: "In Columbia as unfortunately, everywhere else, lax sexual relations exist not only among negro men and women, but also (and of more importance, because of its results upon the races) between white men and negro women, especially mulattoes. The condition is locally doubtless accentuated by the presence of an unusually large number of males, [university students]"¹⁵⁷ Practically the same conditions exist everywhere in the South. It would only be arguing a point not contested to cite the negro writers themselves who frankly acknowledge gross laxity of morals. It has been admitted that many who pose as cultured and devout, teachers and ministers of the gospel, are of elastic virtue. A physician of Marshall, Missouri, told me of having treated six negro preachers for venereal diseases. It must be said to the credit of the best class of negroes that they are waging war upon the ignorant and immoral preacher, with what practical success I do not know. Akin to prostitution is the practice of concubinage so common. Such unions may be only temporary or may become permanent. Practically every unmarried negro man "keeps" a woman---many married men do the same, sometimes even ⁱⁿ the same house with the wife. To

illustrate the prevalence of concubinage Mr. Stone tells us that in a certain district in the black belt in one year there were three hundred marriage licenses issued to whites and only three to negroes, whereas in proportion to population there should have been twelve hundred! "Parting" has always been common to the family life of the negro. Legal divorce is resorted to with increasing frequency, especially in the border states. I regret that I have no reliable statistics, (see Council in Forum Vol. 27).

"Although the Negro population of Boone Co. (Mo.) is less than one fifth that of the whites, it furnishes almost exactly as many divorces, or, in proportion to population five hundred per cent more than the whites. From 1898 to 1902, inclusive, one hundred and seventeen divorces were granted by the Boone County Circuit Court of which fifty-six were to negroes, fifty-five of whites and six unascertainable." The average negro of the Black Belt sees no impropriety in ^{any} ~~adulting~~ so long as he is not caught by the woman's husband. The naivete with which a man gave to me his reasons for preferring married women to young girls was as surprising as his reason was shocking.

In all this it must be remembered that the negro has no moral scruples, but little, if any, knowledge of and less regard for, statute law.

The excess of illegitimate children is only a fur-

ther proof of immorality. Dr. Seale Harris, Health officer for Bullock County, Ala. estimates an average of thirty-three per cent of illegitimate children among the negroes as compared with ~~1 1/2%~~ ^{1/2%} for the whites. The report of the health officer of the District of Columbia shows that while the percentage of illegitimate to the total number of births decreased among the whites during the decade 1884-1894, from 3.6% to 2.56% (28.8% decrease), it increased among the negroes from 19.02% to 26.40% (39% increase), and stood in 1894 at over ten times that of the whites." ¹⁵⁸

Infanticide, criminal abortion, still births, and deaths by inanition were discussed somewhat in chap. I. The negro writers explain the excess of still births by the fact that pregnant women are forced to do hard and continuous labor, often having heavy lifting to do. In a certain "recent investigation---- the female heads of families were considerably in excess of the male, and out of three hundred and twenty-four families thirty-one were wholly ^{supported} ~~or in part~~ by the mother and ^{205 were supported wholly or in part by the mother.} In such social conditions as these where the burden of bread winning is borne largely and often altogether by the mother of the household, it is not surprising that the poor laboring woman, ignorant of its ruinous effects upon both health and ¹⁵⁹ character should resort to prenatal infanticide." The writer just quoted does not fail to note that still ~~both~~ ^{both}, inanition and infantile, marasmus are "due to infeeblled constitutions

and congenital diseases inherited from parents suffering from the effects of sexual immorality and debauchery."

24. Indeed the prevalence of venereal diseases among negroes may be taken as index to their unchastity. Dr. *Smith* Harris says that syphilis "is certainly one of the most common diseases among them. I believe I do not exaggerate when I say that over fifty percent of the negroes in the United States above the age of twenty-five have been afflicted with syphilis.-----I believe that ninety percent of the men over twenty-five have had gonorrhoea."¹⁶⁰

"For the period 1893-5 there were in the city of Nashville eight white deaths from scrofula and syphilis, and thirty-five colored. In proportion to the population there should have been only five.-----One whose attention has not been called to the matter has no conception of the prevalence of these diseases among the negroes of Nashville. Among the families canvassed by me this year, among fifty sufferers from rheumatism, eight were so crippled as to be bed ridden invalids. When we consider that some forms of rheumatism are syphilitic in their origin, and that in these same families there were eighteen suffering from scrofula and rheumatism it would appear that venereal poisoning was responsible for a considerable share of rheumatism."¹⁶¹

Of 103 cases of disease treated by a colored physician

of Columbia, Missouri, between Jan. 1, and April 1, 1902, there were smallpox eleven (unusual of course), rheumatism six, tuberculosis eleven, sexual diseases fourteen,¹⁶² or leaving out smallpox fifteen percent!

My interviews with physicians generally confirm the conclusions to be drawn from the quotation made.

The low moral sense of the negro is most potent of course in his overt criminal acts, and in his disposition to prosecute his own kind in the courts for personal offense while the tendency also is to shield them from prosecution for real and anti-social infractions of the law. They seem to feel, when it comes to the matter of a genuine regard for government, that the law is the white man's law and the courts the white man's courts. They clamor for the ballot and for their rights before the law, but the matter of an intelligent ballot and obedience to the law is yet a minor consideration. It has been suggested that current criminal statistics do not necessarily indicate low moral conceptions for the race, but merely indicate the disorder and confusion of a great transition, and the consequent difficulties of adaptation to changed conditions. It is thought that the race will right itself under the leadership of its picked men and demonstrate its right to citizenship and social recognition in our highly organized society. This brings us to the consideration more directly of the environment of the negro as an American citizen and a social factor.

Present Environment.

A. It is apparent from what has already been said that the American Negro is called upon to meet an emergency for which his native adjustments have not prepared him. He is struggling to adapt himself to a complex situation---a strenuous civilization far beyond his grade of culture and stage of evolution.

The first of the slaves reached this country not more than two hundred and fifty years ago. Neither they nor later arrivals had any acquaintance with our customs, usages and traditions, any knowledge of the arts of civilization, any experience with government or law, or any conception of Anglo-Saxon morals or the Christian religion, and no native adjustments to fit the new environment. They had only human nature and perhaps five hundred centuries of Neolithic culture. But human nature implies more or less ability to learn and learning normally implies progress. But the ability to progress does not imply the ability to eliminate the successive stages and the normal order of progress.

Slavery protected the race till it could wear of the new, as it were, and acquire a social heredity that made it possible to survive after emancipation. It even improved its germ heredity in the important matter of physical strength and vitality. Fortunately also it brought it into

a climate free from the enervating influences of that it had left. The lower temperature braced the negroe's energy and introduced new incentives to activity. It brought him to a land of varied and inexhaustible natural resources, without the superstitions he had always attached to the act of forcing nature to yield her treasure. And all this is as significant for the Negro today as it was in 1620.

But the Negro still lacks inhibitiveness and a strong moral sense, he is improvident and wasteful, ^{and when} time of want--for food, clothing, or fuel--comes, he too often responds to the stimulus in primitive ways. In Africa he could reach forth his hand and pluck the fruit, in America he must dig in the earth and force the yield, or meet his fellow in competition at the mill. This requires effort, struggle, contest, friction. If he is not ^G willing to make the effort there is idleness, want, temptation, transgression. But he has to meet not only his brother of like nature and training but also the dominant white. The Negro ~~intends~~ the struggle badly handicapped with inferior native ability, lacking in enterprise, with the wealth of the land and social prestige in possession of the competitor. As a result he is losing ground industrially. In the North the more efficient and reliable white with his labor union has well nigh eliminated the negro from competition. He still holds menial positions, but menial positions do not develop

self-respect. In the South his inefficiency and unreliability have necessitated the calling in of competition. Here also the tendency is to relegate the Negro to menial positions. Even the farm laborer is now threatened with the Italian.

Under the regime of slavery the nomadic instinct was suppressed, but with freedom of movement and increased facilities for transportation, the alluring stories of something better further on, take the restless and aimless negro to the cities, railway camps, mines and factories--to centres of population. Increase of crime always accompanies ⁱⁿ migration. ^{163.} Stealing rides, gambling and the like, in the case of the negro. But even the farm negro still seeks his ^{Ed}orado. No planter can depend upon any particular family to be with him the next year. These who expect to more have the temptation to take advantage of the occasion and make the most of opportunities to pilfer. They do not stay long enough to form any habits or attachments or to acquire property or establish confidential relations with those who might prove morally as well as economically helpful ~~less~~. I have already mentioned his predisposition to idleness and neglect of present duty. Imitation is strong in the negro and such an environmental influence is of no small significance. For acquisition of property comes only through a steady and contented industry and frugality, and

and ownership foster self-respect and patriotism.

Heroic effort by a few far-seeing men has been made to meet the situation by industrial education. But ignorance and inertia among the masses, lack of funds, and the adverse influence of partisans for "higher education" have so far vitiated those efforts so far as they can be said to affect the race. Many individuals have been made efficient, reliable and progressive citizens. I think we may safely say that industrial education as taught at Hampton and Tuskegee acts decidedly as a preventive of crime. The secret is that the negro needs to be trained rather than taught.

The public school has reduced technical illiteracy, but real illiteracy has practically not been touched in the rural districts. The teachers are ignorant, marvellously ignorant, and often immoral. The pay is as shameful as the quality of the teachers, and where churches are not used the school houses are a disgrace to civilization? Maps, charts, dictionaries, are rarely found and not much used where they are found. About \$110,000,000 have been spent for the public education of the negroes since the war. Much of this has been wasted. Aside from paying his taxes the white man has taken little interest and given little thought to the negro school. Hence the public schools for

negroes are often ill managed and over crowded in the cities and practically a force in the rural districts. Meantime the whites are forging ahead with all the advantages that money and brains can command in her city schools, colleges, universities, professional and technological schools, kindergartens and reformatories. Their rural schools also except in the more sparsely settled districts of the South are vastly superior to those provided for the negroes.

There are quite a good many negro colleges so-called, but only about a half dozen of these that do college work. They are generally poorly manned, poorly equipped and inadequately endowed. The total gifts to such institutions since the war sums up about \$30,000,000. The cost of attending them is not great but great enough to be practically prohibitory except to the few.

But even with the best facilities under our system the negro would still be at a disadvantage. Even if his heredity were not in the way, his domestic environment would vitiate to an overwhelming degree even the best advantages. The negro needs training and a new environment. Parents who are ignorant indolent, uncleanly, improvident, immoral, impulsive, living in crowded and unsanitary quarters, without the conveniences demanded by modesty, the incentives of ambition or the encouragement of the dominant race, cannot be expected to rear good citizens. Not only so,

but the homes of the children are often entirely without a disciplinary head. The father if there be any, is away at work or loafing. The city mother must work, usually requiring the whole day, taking her away from home in the majority of cases. The same is largely true of the ^{ru}meral mother. The children must be their own guardians, where evil influences oftentimes are rife. But at best there is no home life as compared with that of the respectable white home. It is often a mere herding together of gregarious animals.

It is said that the average negro fairly rarely sits down together at table to eat. They are irregular as to rising and retiring. They know nothing of the nutritive value of food or take any care in its preparation; poverty precludes the possibility of much variety. There is promiscuous ^{cu}visting giving rise to bad associations. Filth and neglect ~~make~~ ^rtheir dwelling places. On this point, the housing conditions of Columbia, Missouri are typical. Large cities enforce sanitation ordinances; the rural negro simply has more room on the outside. So of the Columbia Negroes Mr. Elwang says: Sanitary conditions prevailing in the section by rigid caste selection set aside for negro residents are simply appalling. The houses are as a rule, one, two or three-room 'shacks' into which large families are indiscriminately crowded. Water for all purposes is generally

drawn from unwholesome wells or cisterns. Garbage in the majority of cases is thrown into the yard to the chickens and hogs, or left there to decay and breed disease dispensing germs into air and water and soil. This was the actual condition of things in seventy-three out of one hundred and thirty-two houses inspected. The interiors were little if any better. Out of two hundred and eight examined, fifty-seven had to be classed as 'bad, frequently 'very bad'; sixty as 'fair'; and only ninety-one as 'good'. It is a perfectly fair statement that fifty percent of the negro houses in Columbia are in every way unfit to be classed as 'houses' at all.....It must be added that, simply as places put up for human habitations, a large proportion of these houses ought to be condemned and torn down. Certainly a heavy weight of responsibility rests here upon some property owners, either too thoughtless or too greedy to make even the most needful repairs. The houses are often so poorly constructed that they keep out neither summer rains nor winter snows. Floors are frequently on the ground, and ceiling low. City water is only occasionally found. There is neither plumbing nor drainage. Bath-rooms are practically unknown. The city sewer is within easy reach, but it is folly to expect owners to make costly ^{connections} ~~communications~~ when the houses are only worth fifty dollars (\$50.00) to one hundred and fifty dollars (\$150.00)! Noxious vermin abound

and little effort is made to exterminate them.....Why do not these people refuse to live in such quarters? The question betrays the ignorance of him who asks it. Many of these people have no desire to leave their wretched houses, and many of them could not if they would. Their incomes make better accommodations impossible.¹⁶⁴"

"But the herding together of the tenants in these quarters is even worse; twenty families with seventy-eight individuals, occupy, each, one room; one hundred and nine families with four hundred and thirty-eight individuals, occupy, each two rooms or two persons to the room; but one of these families have twelve members or six to the room; another have ten members or five persons to the room; two others have nine members; three have eight; and three have seven. One hundred and twenty-one families with five hundred and forty individuals, occupy, each three rooms or about one and one-half person to the room; but two of these families have eleven members, two have nineteen, three have nine and six, eight. Fifty-one families, with two hundred and fifty-six individuals, occupy each four rooms or about one to the room; but five of these families have nine members; two have eight; and seven have seven. Nine families, with forty-one individuals, occupy each, five rooms, or one to a room; but one ^{of} these families have ten members..... Said a member of the race and an earnest worker for its

betterment: "What can one do for people who insist on living ten in a room, and two of them just married?"¹⁶⁵

B. In the North the Negro has civil and political rights but is industrially ostracised; and his social recognition is largely of a semi-civil nature, e.g. admission to hotels, theatres and public schools. In the south he has civil rights and industrial opportunities, and a measure of political privilege, but he cannot associate on terms of equality with his white neighbor. In the North he is black-balled by the labor unions, and turned away from the door of hope to become a criminal or the recipient of organized charity. In the South he is directed to the "Jim crow" car and fed at the white man's back door. In either case he is made to feel the limitations of his caste. Such a status can not continue in peace without a corresponding condition of degraded self-respect. If he develop no self-respect or if he disturbs the peace he easily becomes a criminal.

Owing to the negro's own peculiarities already discussed, and to the lack of concern on the part of the whites, the negro is rapidly becoming segregated, not only in the place of his habitation but also in all his activities of a sociable, religious and cultural character. He is losing largely the example and suggestiveness that a closer and more sympathetic contact with the white man would afford. Hence he is yielding more and more to his native instincts

and farming habits and sentiments at various with the genius of our social order.

In the South the churches and clubs, colleges and public schools, parks and libraries are closed against the negro. His own churches are usually poor. Their preachers are untrained and often immoral. They receive some financial help and some genuine sympathy from white churches, but most white ministers patronize them rather than fraternize with them. The negro cannot of course become a member of social clubs and must even exercise his public spirit at second hand in the chamber of commerce. His colleges are the result of Northern philanthropy, often obtained by persistent begging. They are poorly equipped and inadequately endowed; their curricula are narrow and their standards relatively low. There are only a few white teachers. The missionary zeal that pours out money and sentimental tears over the native African or gives its body to be eaten by the cannibals of some far away island, raises its nose high in air when asked to teach the American savage.

The most discouraging thing, however, in the situation is that the white man's religion is not adapted to the negro. It is essentially idealistic. The negro mind cannot comprehend it. Animism, or at best, Mahammedanism, is better suited to his psychic development. The white man in theory, at least, does not respect a non-moral religion. The negro has never discovered the nexus between religion and ethics.

The joy of the white man's religion, at its best, is the answer of a good conscience toward God and the moral law; the joy of the negro's religion at its best, is a frenzied emotion and an unclouded hope of a blissful hereafter.

For amusement the city negro has little to draw him upward. The best farms of amusement are either closed against him or else are prohibitory in price. Hence the easy attraction to the cheap theatre, the saloon, the crap table, and the promiscuous dance. He is without library facilities, hence the easy resort to the "wide-awake" and the Police Gazette.

Even the very looseness of the negro's home life, with its irregular hours and ill-adapted dietary leads to a restiveness that lays him open to temptation. The negro knows nothing of the nutritive value of food stuff and carelessly prepares what he eats. For some reason the negro prefers heat producing foods, i.e. sweets, starches and meats. These heat producing foods no doubt have somewhat the same influence upon the temper and general excitability that a warm climate or summer in a temperate climate has. There is no doubt, either, but that such foods tend to keep the sexual function more active and sensitive, and it is a fact of significance that an unbalanced dietary produces unpleasant satiety without satisfaction. This leaves an abnormal craving. Whiskey, tobacco, drugs, various forms of excitement

are sought to relieve the unrest. And thus he becomes the victim of civilization---of exciting foods and nicknacks that are made to sell, of narcotics that paralyze his sensibilities, of drinks and drugs that debauch and damn. Is it any wonder that the primitive nature unused to such things should develop nervous wrecks and moral degenerates? Is it any wonder that the rape impulse should come into action in such an environment? Bred to sexual excuses for untold generations, with no conception of female virtue and scarcely any moral sense, with respect for no law but force; with a temperament of despotic impulsiveness and a marvellously persistent integrity of the sexual apparatus,¹⁶⁷ he presents almost favorable subject for an unfavorable environment.

Before the war, force was back of all discipline and habit was confirmed by the regular round of his simple life. The environment favored good behavior. But with emancipation and enfranchisement and the legal sanction of miscegenation, new possibilities were suggested. When the white woman had to work and the white man was no longer master the old spell was broken and we have the report of the outrage of white women by negro militia.¹⁶⁹

Later on when white women were reduced to the industrial level the negro, ^hshe was also, in the negro mind, reduced to the same social level--for he had no conception of virtue as a quality of itself. Amid the excitements of a disordered government and the competitions of a complex

social order arose race prejudice. Human nature, perhaps animal nature generally, desires most that which is forbidden, and sexual novelty adds zest to the pursuit of sexual satisfaction. The stress^{of} economic forces, the irritating effect of drugs, strong drink and ill-adapted diet, the lascivious suggestiveness of lewd pictures, cheap ^uvandeville and professional prostitution, and the erotic influences of excessive venery and neglected disease, produced their only logical result.

The strenuous life of America with its whirl of action and excitement, with its exacting demands for using the present moment, with its stupendous undertakings and dissipations, is out of consonance with the heredity of the negro. The unwonted strain of self-support and of a maladjustment to ill-adapted educational processes, is filling our jails and asylums---and graves. Our idealistic religion, our relatively austere moral standards, and our social ban protect the white from contamination, but they condemn the negro to the level of his own instincts. And then we proceed to judge him according to our moral standards and to punish him according to primitive motives.

C. The negro is living under a government in the control of which he has little part. The leaders of the race are very désirous of political recognitism, but such experience as we have had with negro legislation and executive

authority does not encourage the dominant race to entrust him with those functions further. The negro seems to have a fundamental lack of those elements that make statesmanship-- even less than the average white politician. And that is a hard saying. The negro has no hereditary adjustments to law and democratic institutions. He lacks the historical sense, cannot be taught the "scientific method" of investigation, and cannot organize for effective co-operation. By federal appointment he holds positions in the mail, ^{service} and various clerkships in other departments but he is rarely trusted with the more responsible positions. No case of malfeasance in office since the Reconstruction has come to my notice.

The gradual process of disfranchisement of the negro that has been going on in the South has kept up more or less irritation and by reason of the persistent clamor of the leaders has done much to engender race prejudice. The venality of the negro vote is well known but I never heard of a prosecution on account of it.

In the courts the negro is at a disadvantage. Law-suits are expensive in themselves, and the negro seldom has the money to employ the best legal counsel, nor the influence to make bond or turn the tide of public sentiment in his favor. There is too little care given to negro trials and the sentences are often unjust as compared with those given white men for the same offense, neither is there any consistency in sentences given. "The pardoning power is

abused in favor of white offenders and unused practically in favor of negro prisoners. While the negro may succeed in getting into prison faster, the white man in some unexplainable way, has a way of getting out faster than the negro. To illustrate: The official records for a year show that one out of every three and one-half white men were freed from prison by executive clemency, and only one out of fourteen negroes received such clemency.¹⁶⁶ In Louisiana it is one to four and one-half whites as against one to forty-nine negroes. It is not likely that there is that much difference in the criminal character. The indeterminate sentence is unknown in the South.

The very fact that negro crime continues to increase and to increase faster than among the whites argues that our ^{un}primitive measures are inadequate, if not futile. The reason is that on principle the treatment of the negro criminal is not adapted to the offender. The negro is essentially a child and any punishment to be effective must be both direct and immediate, which is seldom the case. The prisoner usually ^{far} ~~lives~~ as well in prison as out. He has food, clothing and shelter, he has regular habits, no cares, medical treatment in case of sickness, and the companionship of his fellows. Even the labor required is not usually exhausting and no restrictions are put on him further than necessary to safe keeping. In some prisons even the sexes are not

separated. The criminal negro has not enough self-respect to be ashamed, and so can enjoy himself even in prison. And there is no ostracism awaiting him on the outside. Indeed he is often given an ovation upon his return home. He is just a martyr to the severe laws of the white man. The negro writers deny this but it is true nevertheless. Conviction for crimes does not injury the reputation or social position of the average negro.

The indiscriminate herding together of prisoners in our county jails where idleness gives opportunity for all the vicious influences of such association, makes such prisons truly "schools of crime." Youths and first offenders are there confirmed in their criminal tendencies. Our penitentiaries are no better except that they furnish employment.

There are also extra-legal means of punishment that occur, if we may not say are permitted, under our government. While they are often more nearly adequate to the needs than legal measures they are nevertheless subversive of law and order. I refer to punishments administered ^{and} ~~used~~ by individuals, and by mobs. A man has a "hand" that he does not feel can be spared, nor does he care to be bothered with a police or justice trial. So in case of a petty offense the employer gives the offender a thrashing or makes him pay the damage suffered--sometimes the offender

requests to be whipped rather than sent to jail. In the case of youthful offenders parents may be sent for, and perhaps a peace officer and the offender punished by the parent in the presence of the officer.

Juvenile courts are as scarce as the indeterminate sentence and reform schools are a negligible factor so far as the negro is concerned. No definite consciously applied preventive or reformatory methods are used to redeem the criminal negro.

The white man has charged that the negro is characteristically a rapist, and has thus tried to shield himself from the odium of the barbarous practice of lynching. The negro has denied the charge and in the guise of injured innocence has cried aloud for justice, and has condoned crimes of which he ought to be ashamed. The mob, in its indignation and in the race prejudice excited by this must exasperating of crimes, has over-riden the law, exercised savage cruelty and gloated in disgusting frenzy over bloody souvenirs. On the other hand certain quasi apostles of justice, equality and fraternity have vented their spleen in nothing invective of sectional hate and sentimental ignorance. The victim of the mob is regarded as a martyr and his fellows parrot their champion. The negro with the barest glimmering of moral responsibility, with no conception of sexual ^{purity} ~~procreancy~~, and with the most rudimentary development of

an evaluation of human suffering, is encouraged to clamor for his "rights before the law". But the innocent victim of savage lust and foul pollution is left to die an ignominious death or live ^{out} ~~not~~ a shadowed life with no thought of pity.

But that is not the end of the story. Such violent commotions in the hearts of men do not spend themselves and perish utterly. There is a residue of bitterness, and demoralization. And so we have sixty-six percent of the cases of mob violence having no excuse in rape. Any crime of the negro that arouses race prejudice may lead to lynching. Two cases have come almost immediately under my personal observation, for which there is no defense; one at Marshall, Missouri, the other at Scottsboro, Alabama. The first was led by some half dozen drunken fellows who had no plan or power but the ability to clamor. The other was led by a lot of ignorant and dissipated youth. In the one case the sheriff made no pretence of resistance, in the other the pretense was too transparent to excite anything but disgust. But that is not the way the local papers told it.

Common honesty demands that we concede that rape is not always rape. Careless familiarity with servants and loose conversation in their presence is not altogether unheard of. Professional prostitutes like sensations and newspaper notoriety. My attention has been called to a few cases in which hysteria, eroticism, or even the cry of "wolf" to cover her own shame, was strongly indicated.

Is the Negro, ignorant, depraved and tempted to bear all the blame? But what is the effect of mob violence upon Negro criminality? The most important effect is that it shows him the white man's disregard for law. It shows him how he also might over-ride the law. It fires his race prejudice and leads him to doubt the white man's sense of justice. It has been said, no doubt truly, that lynching suggests to the over-wrought imagination of the ignorant and resentful negro, the commission of the very offence on account of which the mob acted. But it seems to be the opinion of many conservative southerners that the warning is more generally effective than the suggestion. This, however, is not offered as a defense; there is another better, safer, juster way.

VI.
Conclusion.

The foregoing analysis of the Negro character and representation of conditions as I see them, have doubtless already suggested my conclusions. I have shown I think,

1. That the Negro is a primitive, retarded, undeveloped race whose hereditary traits and tendencies are relatively fixed and prepotent.

2. That those hereditary traits and tendencies are so diverse from Caucasian characteristics that the negro can not easily adapt himself in the same way to the same environment.

3. That in consequence of this the American Negro is gravitating into an environment of his own within the larger environment that is distinctively the white man's.

4. That this newly formed environment produces for him a character out of adjustment to the moral and legal standards of the larger environment.

5. That it is therefore both illogical and unjust in the part of the dominant race to acquiesce in the forming of this new environment and then to judge the Negro by the same standards by which the white man may be judged.

6. That to treat the Negro criminal according to our criminal code will continue to prove just as it has hitherto proven, both unwise and ineffectual.

7. That in order to make of the American Negro characteristically a good citizen, thereby reducing his criminality to the minimum, it is necessary radically to improve his heredity or his environment.

8. That the first alternative is manifestly impracticable, and the second must be done, if at all, in spite of his heredity (both biological and social).

9. That social heredity may be changed very appreciably within the course of relatively few generations by a total change of environment.

10. That any such change must be mainly extra-racial in its initiative and execution, for the reasons that the Negro has neither the material resources nor the power of initiative or of effective co-operation sufficient to effect the change.

It was thought that the abolition of slavery would solve the problem of the environment: heredity was not recognized as an important factor. It was thought that freedom would give scope for the negro's power of initiative and that the responsibility of self-support would prove an incentive to complete economic development. But the results thus far have been a disappointment. The negro has been found deficient in energy and originality and even in the less strenuous competition of Southern industrial life has become a serf and a menial. It was thought that participation

in government with equal rights before the law would make him patriotic and law-abiding. But he could not grasp the principles of free government, followed his native instincts and prostituted the ballot, and is too often in proportion to his population a criminal before the law. The Christian religion and book learning were expected to round him out into a full man. But he has adapted the religion to his primitive religious conceptions and has made a kind of fetish of an education that he cannot assimilate---to whose methods and processes he is not adapted--which does not furnish him co-ordinations adjusted to his environment. It was expected by many of the negro's most arduous friends that social equality and miscegenation would soon make the southern population a homogeneous people, but we find the color line more and more distinctly drawn. It was expected that with free opportunities and the blessings of family life the negro would love his home and live a clean life, but he is found grossly immoral and reeking with disease. In short he adds nothing to our civilization, but vexes us with a social problem that we can neither solve nor shirk.

It is not the purpose of this study to solve the "Negro Problem" or to offer a program of amelioration, but rather to seek and make clear the causes and predisposing conditions of Negro criminality. I shall venture however to say that universal industrial training under favorable environment for a long period of time, appears to me to be

the only effectual remedy for the situation.

But the proposition to introduce industrial training into the common schools to such an extent as to serve any practical purpose toward limiting criminality is as chimerical as the colonization schemes. In the first place there are no teachers for such schools, secondly, it would take more money than there is any possibility of getting for such a purpose, thirdly the negro needs training; not merely teaching. It is not in the very nature of the common schools to give this. Fourthly, the negro needs more than mere industrial and literary training. He needs to be trained morally--to have his habits and his attitude toward life changed. This cannot be done without removing him entirely from the lesser environment I have previously mentioned. Considering the nature of the negro, his present domestic environment and its concomitants will vitiate to a great degree any good he may get out of the best equipped and best managed common schools.

Such institutions as Tuskegee Institute might be established, say, in each congressional district where the negroes are few, and in each county, where there are many. But this would meet with much the same practical difficulties as to management and maintenance as the introduction of industrial training into the common schools. But even if such advantages were so placed within the reach of all, it

could not produce the effects claimed for the graduates of Hampton and Tuskegee. Pupils of these institutions are picked men i.e. the best of their race, physically, mentally, and morally. Neither the fulfillment of entrance requirements nor the perseverance and intelligence to pursue the course of study to its completion can be postulated of the masses. Only a small percentage of Hampton and Tuskegee students complete the course undertaken. Compulsory attendance laws would be necessary.

As to higher education for the negro, I think that about two well equipped and well endowed colleges could serve every necessity for the next two hundred years. As we have it, higher education for the mass of negroes is based on a false psychology and a misconception of social forces and conditions. No narrow line of study however well taught can fit the masses for varied endeavor, i. e. there is no such thing as a general education. The negro needs training for actual life, not dream life. It seems to be a fact that the college bred negro as per the average negro "college" feels that he is and of right ought to be an aristocrat. Too often the mere smattering called education merely gives the negro an inflated opinion of himself and an ambition only for "the higher walks of life" where he is in no great demand. Poverty and immorality follow in the wake of idleness, and crime becomes easy.

As to the Negro criminal and his treatment:

1. I think it is a fact that he is not so abnormal an individual as compared with the total negro population as the white criminal is as compared with the white population.

2. That he is the product of racial heredity and a vicious and, to him, an abnormal environment. While the white criminal is more often the product of family heredity i.e. degeneracy, and a vicious local environment. I mean only that this distinction is characteristic, not absolute or definite.

3. That industrial reformatories with the indeterminate sentence should be used for all offenders, except those who are manifestly instinctive criminals, under thirty years of age.

4. That first offenders over thirty years of age should be put in separate apartment of the penitentiary under indeterminate sentence, and at labor profitable to the state.

5. That recidivists and instinctive criminals of whatever age should be unsexed and segregated at labor profitable to the state.

6. As a further preventive of crime I would have the state unsex all manifest degenerates who might come at any time unto the care of state institutions for dependents, defectives or delinquents.

Foot Notes.

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53. Ibid. p. 54.
54. Ibid. p. 91.
55. Ibid. p. 100.
56. Ibid. p. 118.
57. Ibid. p. 79.
58. Ibid. p. 81.
59. Ibid. p. 79.
60. Ibid. p. 81.
61. Ibid. p. 98.
62. Ibid. p. 48.
63. Ibid. p. 127.
64. Ibid. p. 98.
65. Ibid. Chap. III.
66. Ibid. pp. 123-140.
67. Brinton: Races and People p. 176-7.
68. Tillinghast p. 25.
69. Ibid. p. 26.

70. Quatrefages Hist. Gén. des Races Humains p. 370 ff.
71. Brinton: Races and Peoples.
72. Brinton: Races and Peoples.
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154. B. T. Washington: The Future of the Negro.
155. Dr. Barringer: Educational Review for March 1901.
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158. Dr. Seale Harris: American Medicine Sept. 7, 1901.
159. Eugene Harris: Pub. Atlanta University Vol. I.
160. Dr. Seale Harris: American Medicine Sept. 7, 1901.
161. Atlanta University Pub. Vol. I. p. 14.
162. Elwang: p. 47.
163. Dr. Elwood's Lectures.

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Lincoln's Birthday 1904.
167. I have interviewed a number of physicians on the
subject but have not yet heard of a case of impotency
among Negro men.
168. The color line is not so closely drawn in business.
The courteous and prompt grocer, baker and dairyman
and the like, are patronized without caste distinction.
And every respectable white man is proud of the Negro
who succeeds by virtue of industry thrift and commercial
integrity.
169. Page.

Where does
a person find
time ~~is~~ since
Feb 1st -

DUE	RETURNED
JUN 21 1968	
JUL 12 1968	JUN 28 1968
NOV 22 1968	NOV 13 1968
OCT 19 1969	OCT 19 1969
APR 9 1971	APR 9 1971
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