

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

AS A

DEPENDENT, DEFECTIVE
AND DELINQUENT

BY

CHAS. H. McCORD, A.M.



PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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TO
JOHN HENRY McCORD
MY ELDER BROTHER IN THE FLESH, BUT MY
FATHER, BROTHER, AND FRIEND IN DEED,
THIS MY FIRST BOOK
IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

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PRELIMINARY

I.

THE time has come when advancing civilization must break with its old methods and its old motives of dealing with the submerged classes of society. Recent investigations, more or less scientific, made by university students, magazine writers, and politico-legal probes, by physicians, charity workers, and institutional custodians, by penologists, economists, and sociologists, have disclosed a mass of facts and described very varied types of living conditions not hitherto so well known, that are not only pregnant with social significance but at variance with traditional acceptance. Through the teaching of sociology and allied social sciences in our more progressive colleges and universities, through the public press which is always eager for the newest thing, through the efforts of the reformer who has his heart in his work, and of even the political demagogue who always keeps his ears to the ground, the public generally is becoming better informed and increasingly willing to listen to discussions of means and measures looking toward social betterment. Through the facts brought to light by investigations, the agitation that has followed, and the various programs of amelioration offered, the more thoughtful of us have arrived at a broader conception of social welfare and a deeper sense of social responsibility. We have been forced to see that it is more blessed to help the poor to help themselves than to give alms to paupers, and more virtuous to seek out and remove the causes of poverty than to enjoy the unctuous sensation of dispensing "sweet charity." We are finding out that it is not well that subnormals and defectives be to us any longer mere objects of pity or of rude sport, the concrete evidence of a frowning providence, inevitable and irremediable; but that they are the defenseless sufferers for the vices and ignorance of preceding generations, inevitable as a class only if allowed to reproduce themselves, remediable almost within a single

generation by segregation and surgery, and ultimately by the proper mating and clean living of parents. And gradually, though grudgingly, we are coming to see 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 for the public good. In short, the keynote of modern efforts at amelioration is prevention. The adage, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is really and practicably true.

But any intelligent effort at prevention presupposes a program for removing the causes of the evil under treatment, or for altering the conditions that make the causes operable. Dependency, deficiency, and delinquency are so far interdependent and their causes so inextricably intermingled that no program dealing with one can be very effective without provisions for the other two, and no inquiry into the causes and conditions of one can be complete without a similar inquiry regarding the others.

Now the causes of dependency, deficiency, and delinquency lie, in a broad sense, in the character of the pauper, the defective, and the criminal. But character, whether in its broad or narrower sense, is the product of a combination of heredity and environment. Free moral agency may be a fact, but for our present purpose it may be considered as only incidental. Heredity varies and environments vary, and the ratio of their respective contributions to any particular character can be at best only approximately determined. Heredity varies both racially and individually; environments vary geographically, as to climate, topography, natural history, and the like, and socially, as to stage of culture of its population, type of religion, form of government, and the like. Hereditary qualities of mind and body may enable a race so to subjugate the environment as to make it conduce to the welfare of its inhabitants; meanwhile the environment, by a process of natural selection which it conditions, tends to eliminate maladjustments, and so, through a long period of time, modifies heredity.

In the United States of America, and mainly in the Southern States, we have "united under one flag 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 a hereditary endowment delicately adjusted to the highest civilization recorded in history; the other remained in benighted savagery. We have never for a moment dreamt 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 molded 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."*

So, then, if we would understand the submerged Negro so as to apply remedial measures to his submergency, we must look into the fundamental elements of the Negro character. We must consider not only his present social environment, but his racial history also. We must know his hereditary traits and tendencies as developed in his original habitat and the modifications that have been wrought by transplantation. Later we should examine his present physical and social environments and see how naturally his native instincts respond to the stimuli of the new environment. Thus only can we judge as to how far the negro may be expected to adjust himself, and as to what extent the submerged classes of the race may be able to yield to such treatment as may be possible for them in American society. So, on the other hand, only by a knowledge of the race traits and tendencies of the Negro and by a study of

*Tillinghast: "The Negro in Africa and America."

the environment in which he lives, with special reference to how he will naturally respond to its stimuli, may we be safely guided in our efforts to protect society from the natural effects of his maladjustments. Thus only can we be enabled in any adequate way to adjust the environment to the stage of development of the Negro, or invent and apply remedial measures to his dependency, deficiency, and delinquency.

II.

There are now about ten million (9,827,763 in 1910) Negroes in the United States of America. Of this number, about 90% live in the Southern States, and of these 80% to 85% live in the rural districts. Somewhat less than one-third of the total population of the South, both urban and rural, is Negro; but in South Carolina and Mississippi more than half of the total population of each is Negro. About half of the rural population of four Southern States (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana) is Negro, while there are 55 counties in the South, including 19 in Mississippi, 11 in Alabama, 8 in Louisiana, 5 in Arkansas, 5 in Georgia, 4 in South Carolina, and 1 in Virginia, where more than 75% of the population is Negro. These counties are predominantly rural.*

In only four cities of the South of over 25,000 population (Charleston, Jacksonville, Montgomery, and Savannah) in 1910 did the proportion of Negroes in the population exceed 50%, though in Shreveport it was 49.6% and in Wilmington, N. C., it was 47%. In twenty other such cities the proportion of Negroes in their populations ranged from 30% to 44%.

Of the total Negro population of the United States, more than 75% live in rural districts or in towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants. But in the North and West nearly 75%

*It is practically impossible to do the amount of copying of numbers and to perform the tremendous number of calculations incident to the preparation of the amount of statistical data contained in this study without some errors. The author's hope is that there are only a few. Any correction of his figures will be accepted as a favor and gladly acknowledged.

of the Negro population live in cities, constituting about 2.5% of the population of such cities. Only about 1% of the rural population of the North and West are Negroes. Twenty cities (out of 108 cities containing 25,000 population and over) of the North and West contain about 80% of the total Negro population of these sections; and the three cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago contain more than 40% of that total. The border cities of Washington, Baltimore, and St. Louis together contain about half as many Negroes as the 108 cities (of 25,000 population and over) of the North and West combined.

At the time our Federal Constitution was ratified there were about three-quarters of a million Negroes in the United States. At the close of the Civil War—that is, at about the time the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were ratified—there were about four and a half million. There are now about ten million. From 1790 to 1860 the Negroes increased in numbers faster than the whites; but since 1860, more decidedly since 1880, the whites have increased faster than the Negroes. During the period 1900-1910 the white population of the South increased nearly 25%, while the Negroes increased a little more than 10%. The increase of the Negro population was about normal (9.7% to 13.7%)—*i. e.*, about an average for the whole country; in Alabama 9.8%, Georgia 13.7%, Louisiana 9.7%, Mississippi 11.2%, North Carolina 11.7%, and Texas 11.2%. It was large in Arkansas (20.7%), Florida (33.8%), and West Virginia (47.5%), and excessive in Oklahoma (147.1%). Indeed, in Arkansas, West Virginia, and Oklahoma the Negroes increased faster than the whites, though, as yet, they constitute only 5.3% of the population of West Virginia and 8.3% of that of Oklahoma. There has been a decrease of the Negro population in Kentucky (8.1%), Maryland (1.2%), Missouri (2.3%), and Tennessee (1.5%), and only a small increase in Delaware (1.6%), Virginia (1.6%), and South Carolina (6.8%). While the absolute Negro population has increased in all of the Southern States except the four above mentioned, the proportion that they constitute of the total population of each has decreased

in practically every one; and for the whole South the proportion of Negroes in the total population has decreased from 32.3% in 1900 to 29.8% in 1910.

The decrease or small increase of Negro population in the border States is due to some extent to a decreasing birth rate, but mainly to migration. This movement of the Negro population is especially significant, since permanency of domicile is a large factor in social adjustment. Back of this lies the fact of greater contact with the moving, busy world, owing to increased facilities for communication and transportation, and to immediate contact with a locally changing population. Back of it also lies the fact of severer competition due to the gradual incoming of a foreign population, the gradual passing away of the *ante-bellum* population, the rapid transition from the old plantation system to intensive farming and the division of the land into smaller tracts, and to the advent of new industries; and the further fact of a sterner execution of the law for minor offenses, incident to the changing population. Fresher and cheaper lands to the South and the industrial development of Southern cities have attracted many, but the lure of the Northern cities, where the Negro hoped to enjoy better economic and educational advantages and more social and political recognition, has been more potent. The increase in the Negro population of the North and West, due very largely to migration, was for the decade ending in 1910 18%, somewhat less than the increase for the preceding decade, which was 25%. The absolute numbers were 167,311 for 1910 and 182,926 for 1900. The increase for New York for the decade ending in 1910 was 35,000 (35%), for Pennsylvania 37,000 (23%), for Illinois 24,000 (28%); California gained 11,000 (96%). The total numbers of Negroes living in the North, but born in the South, was, in 1910, 440,534 as against a reverse proposition of 41,489. This is significant from the fact that 75% of the Negro population of the North and West live in cities, mainly in the larger cities. During the decade ending in 1910 the Negro population of New York City increased by 51.2%; that of Philadelphia, 34.9%; Chicago, 36.3%; Pittsburgh, 25.9%; Kansas City, 34.1%; Indianapolis, 36.9%; Cincinnati,

35.6% ; Boston, 17%. In 1860 less than 10% of the total Negro population lived in cities of 2,500 and over, but by 1910 27.4% lived in such cities.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of the Census Bureau, says that "the two classes of the population apparently move and increase together," but that "in the last decade the white people have sent a larger proportion of their number to the cities." It should be added to the first statement that there is a noticeable tendency of Negroes to move from counties predominantly white to counties where Negroes are more populous. The second statement would be more clearly and accurately stated thus: The influx of foreign-born whites and the children of foreign-born whites, born in Northern cities, together with the native Southern whites who are moving into the cities, makes the increase of whites in Southern cities slightly greater than the increase of Negroes in Southern cities. Jews, Greeks, and Italians are coming to Southern cities in considerable numbers.

The most significant feature, perhaps, of the movement of the Negro population is not revealed by the Census—*i. e.*, the segregation of the Negroes within the cities into communities set apart by caste distinctions, economic necessity, or, in many cases, sheer lack of any desire on the part of the Negroes for anything better. "Thus the Negro ghetto is growing up. New York has its 'San Juan Hill' in the West Sixties, and its Harlem district of over 35,000 within about eighteen city blocks; Philadelphia its Seventh Ward; Chicago its State Street; Washington its Northwest neighborhood; and Baltimore its Druid Hill Avenue. Louisville has its Chestnut Street and its 'Smoketown;' Atlanta its West Side and Auburn Avenue."*

The Negro population may be divided logically into four classes, to wit:

1. The educated, self-respecting, and generally industrious upper class;
2. The relatively ignorant but sturdy, industrious, and well-behaved upper class;

*Prof. Haynes, in "The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

3. The great mass of ignorant (not necessarily illiterate) Negroes of unstable character;

4. The lowest class, composed of vagrants and criminals and their associates of distinctively vagrant or criminal tendencies.

Socially there are only two classes of Negroes in the South: the upper class, composed chiefly of Class 1, to which a majority of Class 2 are admitted; and a lower class composed of Classes 3 and 4 and the lapses from the upper classes—*i. e.*, undisciplined children and “black sheep” from upper-class families. There is in almost every Southern city an exclusive set of “bright”-colored Negroes. The lower classes mingle freely with practically no social or moral distinctions.

From the upper classes come somewhat less than their proportion of defectives and much less than their proportion of sub-normals and paupers, while their contribution of criminals is relatively small. From Class 3 come an equitable proportion of defectives and the majority of paupers and sub-normals, while they are of so unstable character as easily to become criminal. Class 4 is of course characteristically criminal and defective. Sub-normality and pauperism are the natural consequences of both their heredity and mode of life. This class as such is small in numbers as compared with Class 3.

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

No. college graduates 1840-1909.....	3,853
No. college graduates 1910-1914.....	1,147
No. lower classmen, estimated at 40 to 1.....	200,000
No. in Class 2, estimated equal above total.....	205,000
No. possible omissions.....	90,000
	<hr/>
	500,000

Accepting the report* of the number of college graduates up to 1910, making a liberal estimate of subsequent graduates based on the number of graduates during pre-

*“The College-Bred Negro American,” Atlanta University Publication No. 15.

ceding decades and the increased opportunity for education, and making no allowance for deaths, we have a total of 5,000 Negroes of college education. Now estimating that there are forty times as many who have creditably completed college entrance requirements or their industrial school or public high school equivalents, we have a total of 205,000 more or less well-educated Negroes, or 2.5% of the total Negro population. A careful examination of the annual reports of the United States Commissioner of Education will show that I have certainly not underestimated. Granting now that there is an equal number of Class 2, and adding 90,000 for possible omissions and errors in classification, we have a grand total of 500,000, or 5% of the total Negro population of about ten million, who may be properly placed among the upper classes.

Considering now the submerged classes only, we find that their numbers are even more difficult to approximate than those of the upper classes. We do know, however, from the Special Census Reports for 1904 and 1910 some interesting facts:

Negroes enumerated in almshouses in 1910.....	6,464
Negroes admitted to almshouses in 1910.....	7,178
Negroes enumerated in insane asylums in 1910.....	13,567
Negroes admitted to insane asylums in 1910.....	4,587
Negroes blind in 1904.....	8,228
Negroes deaf in 1904.....	4,926
Negroes feeble-minded in 1910 (estimated).....	25,000
Negro prisoners enumerated in 1910.....	42,631
Negro prisoners committed in 1910.....	112,436
Negroes enumerated in special benevolent institutions for Negroes only in 1904.....	17,000
Negroes admitted to such institutions in 1904.....	17,000

The figures given are only suggestive of the actual numbers, inasmuch as—

1. There was an amount of outdoor relief far exceeding almshouse relief;

2. We have no figures for special benevolent institutions which admit both races but do not recognize the color line in their reports;

3. Practically all municipal and medical college hospitals admit Negroes free, but whose records are not at hand;

4. Medical college "outdoor clinics" and the free dispensaries of the South do the most of their service for Negro patients, of which no record is available;

5. Some Negro insane are at large and many of them in almshouses and county jails.

6. Perhaps 25,000 is not the Negro's actual proportion of the fully 300,000 feeble-minded persons in our country.

7. The figures for criminals do not include the number of criminals not detected, those detected but not captured, those captured but released on bond, nor those convicted but whose fines were paid. More than half of the Negroes convicted of minor offenses pay their fines and are released.

Dr. DuBois estimated that 10% of the Farmville (Va.) Negroes were "potentially criminal." The consensus of opinion of Atlanta Negroes with whom I have discussed the subject seems to be that not more than 10% of Atlanta Negroes are potentially criminal. An examination of the following table will show that such estimates and opinions are not very valuable.

TABLE NO. 1. ARRESTS IN ATLANTA ACCORDING TO COLOR

Year	General Population			Arrests			% White Arrests of White Population	% Negro Arrests of Negro Population
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
1900	89,872	54,145 OR 60.36%	35,727 OR 39.64%					
1906				21,702	8,191	13,511	7.95	26.03
1907				24,882	9,675	15,207	9.40	29.30
1908				16,072	5,521	10,551	5.36	20.33
1909				19,071	6,700	12,371	6.50	23.83
1910	154,839	102,937 OR 66.48%	51,902 OR 33.52%	18,166	6,241	11,925	6.06	22.97
1911				16,707	5,626	11,081	5.46	21.35
1912				17,139	6,237	10,902	6.06	21.05
1913				17,022	6,002	11,020	5.83	21.23

Table No. 1 shows that in 1910 11.73% of Atlanta's total population were arrested, 6.06% of her whites and 22.97% of her Negroes. Estimating the actual Negro population of the city for 1906 and 1907 at 41,000 and 45,000 respectively, we find that one-third of the Negro population were arrested in each of these years. If we

use the census returns of 1910 as to general population, we still have a percentage of Negro arrests of 26.03 and 29.3 respectively for the years 1906 and 1907. The decrease in the number of arrests since 1907 has been due to the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic. In Nashville, in 1912, 8.7% of the white population and more than 12% of the Negroes were under arrest. In Charleston the figures were, respectively, 8.6% and 11%; in Birmingham (1913), 11.59% and 20.61%; in Memphis, 5% and 8.96%. But in Memphis the rotten city government is notoriously lax in the enforcement of law. These figures might be modified by considering the number of recidivists and the number of cases dismissed, but the difference would probably be more than compensated for by the number arrested by sheriff's deputies and justice court bailiffs and by the number of criminals not captured. The number of arrests in the rural districts is less than it is in the cities, but it is doubtful whether there is actually less of crime. In none of the cities just named, except Memphis, is the percentage of Negro arrests less than 11% of the Negro population and the average for all—*i. e.*, of the total 224,227 Negroes of those cities—is more than 16%. I think, therefore, it is entirely safe to say that not less than 10% of our total Negro population of 10,000,000 is not only potentially but actually criminal within a single year. And if that be true, we have at least one million criminal offenses committed by Negroes in the United States within a single year. But not all criminal offenses are committed in a single year, nor all actual criminals arrested within that time. There are certainly as many criminals who have been or ought to have been arrested in previous years as are arrested or who committed offenses and escaped arrest within any single year. That would give us 20%, or about two million of the Negro population who are actually criminal. Now considering the 5% of upper class Negroes as entirely free from criminality, we have a body of 75% of the Negro population composing Class 3, the majority of whom, though they may never have been before the courts, and are under ordinary circumstances fairly well-behaved, are nevertheless of so unstable character as to be regarded as potentially criminal.

III.

Notwithstanding the many apparently successful efforts that are in process to bring about a better understanding between the races and a more sympathetic coöperation for mutual welfare, it is even more apparent to men of affairs in the thick of battle that with the passing of the old slave and the old slave master the Negro and his white neighbor are becoming more and more separate in their interests. Among the younger generation there may be somewhat more of tacit concessions as to certain social amenities and more of merely formal recognition of equal rights on the part of the whites, and on the part of the Negroes a somewhat more successful attempt to conform to Anglo-Saxon manners, but there is a distinct lack of the old-time fellowship and mutual sympathy. The color line is becoming more distinctly drawn, race prejudice is becoming more consciously felt, though more often veiled, and each race is now coming to hold the other responsible for offenses committed. The old feudal feeling of dependence and protectiveness has about passed away.

In our free society, under Anglo-Saxon tutelage, certain classes of Negroes have been making substantial progress. They are becoming more independent economically, more interested in home-owning and industrial life, and are acquiring education. Some of them are attempting to establish commercial independence along racial lines. The Negro generally is busy with his church, his lodge, and with certain racial ambitions under Negro leadership. But what of it? Can he build up a society within a society, and stand alone? Or can he eventually, by dint of progressive successes, force himself into the tide of affairs as an indistinguishable part of the stream of American life? Already his church, his lodge, his school (in the South), and his home are segregate. Politically also he is segregate, not only by being eliminated by law, but, at bottom, by his own choice of affiliation. The labor unions, except where they can make a convenience of the Negro, are pressing him back into the ranks of common labor where the foreigner and the "poor white" are threatening him with hostile com-

petition and labor contract laws hint at an unprivileged peasantry. Gradually but steadily he is becoming separate in his very life from the dominant race. Has it not been the social and the personal contact that has protected him? But when this separation shall have become complete, as seems likely in time, in what spirit will the two races meet in the great struggle for survival? Will there be open competition, fair and individualistic, or will there arise racial competition? In either case, can the Negro maintain himself? If he fails in the struggle, will he be content to survive as a menial and a peasant or will he become a vagrant, a pauper, and a criminal? Already pleas to the white man to foster Negro education, Negro hospitals, asylums, and reformatories are made on the ground of self-protection. Will the white race be content indefinitely to protect itself in this way? These are questions that cannot be fully answered now. Frankly I do not believe that any two distinct races can live together in the same territory and progress normally under our form of religion and system of government. One will either absorb or destroy the other or compel it to withdraw. Or amalgamation, perishment from social, economic, and political pressure, and expulsion may work together to eliminate one or the other. Complete social submergence only postpones the end. It is not that, however, which especially concerns us here, but rather the troubles along the way. For it is certain that a vast amount of vagrancy, pauperism, and crime will be involved in the process. While I confess to some pessimism, I shall try to assume the attitude of the faithful physician who hopes till the last and gives the best treatment possible under the circumstances. It is the purpose therefore of the writer to state the facts relating to the dependency, deficiency, and delinquency of the American Negro as clearly, as completely, and as fairly as he may be able and to offer such explanations of facts and such suggestions as to treatment as may seem to him appropriate, believing that the most complicating factors of the problem are racial, but that the solution of it must be essentially human.

Part I. is a brief but, I hope, satisfactory summary of the history of the American Negro. This will disclose not only the distinctive characteristic of the race, but also those characteristic race traits and tendencies that predispose him to submergency in American society.

Part II. deals more particularly with the submerged classes of the American Negro, under the headings of Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents, and is largely statistical. But statistics are followed by inquiries into the significance of the facts disclosed. Causes are sought and suggestions offered as to ameliorative and preventive measures.

PART I.

RACIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO: A SUMMARY

CHAPTER I. THE NEGRO IN AFRICA

I. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

ACCORDING to Keane, 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. For our purposes we may speak of the Sudan as 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 Sudan south-

*Keane.

ward. The Sudan may be divided into East, Central, and West Sudan. The West Coast, with which we have mainly to do in this summary, comprises West Sudan and the northwest coast country of Southern Africa. It extends along about 4,000 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 and across the coast country to the sea. These streams furnish 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, as the elephant, hippopotamus, and alligator, the antelope, buffalo, and gorilla, and the more safely hunted hare and monkey, are found along these water courses. The soil is fertile, and, as would be expected in a tropical climate, is luxuriant with valuable timber and with edible fruits and nuts. The natives have but recently learned the commercial value of mahogany and ebony and of the vine from the juice of which rubber is made. The "oil-palm," the "palm-wine" palm, the cocoa and the coconut palms, the plantain "banana," the pineapple and pomegranate furnish food fit for kings without money and without price—almost without effort. But this very abundance of natural resources seems but to mock the inertia and stupidity of the savage native.

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 and 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."*

Altitude of course, as well as geographical position, affects the situation, especially as regards health and insect pests; 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 does not molest, are often fatal to him. Mosquitoes swarm throughout the coast region, and the driver ant and tsetse fly are pests of no mean significance, to say nothing of comparatively harmless insects, spiders, and centipedes. The driver ant, says Miss Kingsley, sometimes attacks villages and forces the natives, including rats, snakes, centipeds, bugs, spiders, and cockroaches, to beat a hasty retreat. They sometimes even devour the weak or sick who are unable to get out of their way. The tsetse fly carries the germ of "the sleeping sickness, which carries off thousands of natives yearly." This pest 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 some of the border tribes, and asses where there has been contact with the Arabs or Berbers.

The germ-laden swamps, with their swarms of flies and mosquitoes and their extreme heat and humidity, make an environment favorable to malignant fevers and miasmatic poisons. The absence of any sanitary or quarantine regulations, together with the indescribable filth and unspeakable habits of the natives, makes them a prey to every disease that can propagate in a tropical climate. Ages of adaptation through natural selection has given them, as compared with the white man, a measure of immunity; but, even so, only their marvelous fecundity has saved the race from utter extinction.

*Kingsley.

2. NATIVE PEOPLES

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 being more uneven than among the Bantus, but less and less toward the west, where the tribes are pure Negroes. The very exact ethnologist may speak of the tribes north of the Cameroon as Sudanese and those farther south as Bantus, but for practical discussion they are a homogeneous people—all pure Negroes. They differ in dialect and somewhat in local customs and superstitions, but are alike in blood and type of culture. And these are the tribes whence nearly all our American Negroes came.

A. PHYSICAL TYPE

The physical characteristics of the Negro type—that is, of the West Coast Negro—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 Mr. Keane has given a table of simian characteristics of the Negro. He says:

But whenever 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 Benua 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

*Perhaps the pygmy tribes, certainly the Javanese, are of lower type in the evolutionary scale.

for the comparative study of the highest anthropoids and the human species. The chief points in which the Negro either approaches the *Quadrumanus* or differ most from his congeners are:

1. The abnormal length of the arm, which in the erect position sometimes reaches the kneecap, and which on an average exceeds that of the Caucasian by about two inches.

2. Prognathism—*i. e.*, the projection of the jaw or snout (cf. facial angle of the Negro and Caucasian; 70: 82).

3. Weight of brain,* as indicating cranial capacity (cf. Caucasian, 45 ounces; Negro, 35 ounces; gorilla, 20 ounces).

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 inevitably break any ordinary European skull.

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

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

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

12. 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.

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

14. The cranial sutures which close much earlier in the Negro 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.

*So few Negro skulls have been measured and brain weight obtained and so diverse reports made on the subject that it seems to me that no generalizations are yet justified.

The following additional, though perhaps less noticeable, physical characteristics of the Negro may be noted as marking him as in many respects different from the Anglo-Saxon:

1. The bombed frontal bone or projecting frontal eminences (not universal, but nevertheless very characteristic).

2. Thick hair and rare baldness.

3. Absence of gray hair till an advanced age.

4. Better eyesight for long distances, in common with other primitive races and many lower animals.

5. Narrow pelvis. This characteristic is noticeable in the pictures in ethnological and anthropological books relating to the Negro, and the most casual observer cannot fail to notice it in our American Negroes.

6. Larger and grosser sexual organs.

7. Gynecomasty. "It is noteworthy that in all true Negroes (in whom virile development is otherwise marked) there is a considerable development of the male breasts, so that Johnson has frequently asked himself: 'Is it a man or a woman?'"

8. Relatively smaller respiratory capacity. Keane in his "Ethnology" frequently calls attention to this characteristic in his descriptions of various Negro tribes, and Hoffman, in his "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," gives tables of measurements to prove the same.

9. Frequent occurrence of cranial anomalies. William Turner, in the "Challenger Report," says, with reference to a number of skulls of lower races examined: "Although their number is certainly too limited to base any broad generalization 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." And 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 sphenopterygoid foramen is found in 4.8% of Europeans, in 20% of Indians, 30% of Australians. So, also, Wormian bones are more common

among lower races." Teachers of anatomy in Southern medical colleges confirm the statement that there are more irregularities and anomalies in the Negro skull than in the white.

10. Frequent occurrence of insensibility to physical pain. Dr. Felkin found that the minimum distance at which the 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 true Negro 3 mm. Gardiner found the Zulus "salamanders," whether roasting their bodies by the fire, kicking back burning logs with their bare feet, or ladling boiling porridge into their mouths with their fingers. Ratzel says that many of them endure surgical operation without pain or anæsthetics. Their immunity to pain and shock is well illustrated by the ease and freedom from complications in parturition among African women. "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.

11. Persistent integrity of the sexual organs. Notwithstanding the practice of unrestricted sexual indulgence and the ravages of venereal diseases, the Negro seems to maintain his virility. After diligent inquiry I have not yet heard of a case of impotency due to excessive venery among American Negro men.

12. Susceptibility to certain diseases and immunity to others. This is to some extent climatic, but mainly hereditary. By a process of natural selection the Negro has become practically immune to certain tropical diseases and to certain diseases incident to his manner of life. In America the Negro seems peculiarly susceptible to bronchitis, pneumonia, and tuberculosis in all its forms, and to Bright's disease and organic heart troubles. There are some other diseases as fatal to him, but in these diseases I think mortality is due rather to carelessness and ignorance than to any natural susceptibility; as, for example, typhoid and puerperal fevers.

The Negro seems to be immune to yellow fever and practically so to scarlet fever. He suffers much less from skin diseases than white men, and I have never talked with a physician who had ever heard of a pure negro suffering from ptomaine poisoning.

Criminal Anthropology and the Physical Type

Lombroso and other criminal anthropologists have suggested that the criminal is a reversion to type. Whether the structural and functional anomalies so frequently found in instinctive and habitual criminals are due to atavism or to degeneracy may remain a question, but it will be interesting, with that suggestion in mind, to note the parallels these "stigmata" have in the normal distinguishing characteristics of the African Negro. But let us remember that generalizations are sometimes easier than proof, and that it is well enough to suspend judgment as to the Negro till more is known both of him and the data of criminal anthropology. Meanwhile, however, let us note the parallels.

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

1. Abnormal length of arms. Havelock Ellis and Lacaze Duthiers both call attention to this feature, but give no data.

2. Prognathism. "Prognathism" has frequently been noted as a prominent characteristic of the criminal face, both in men and women. Lombroso, Orchanski, Ten-Kate, Pawlovsky, Carre, Roussel, and Debuerre may be mentioned as among those who insist on the tendency of criminals to prognathism; while the 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. "As far back as 1836 Lebut weighed ten brains of criminals, and his results show an average of 1,350 grammes, a result be-

*The quotations here given, unless otherwise stated, may be accredited to Ellis, "The Criminal."

low that of the 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 the small-sized brains—*i. e.*, between 1,000 and 1,300 grammes—formed 31% of the whole, while among normal brains (according to Schwalbe's results) they only constitute 25.5%; large-sized brains are defective in number. Tenchini, among 130 brains of criminals, found that no less than 39.9% were beneath 1,300 grammes; and Mengazzini, in a similar series of 30 brains, found that those below 1,300 grammes were in a ratio of 83.2% to the whole number. Gracomini, Penta, Topenard, 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. Lombroso mentions this as one of the features of the physiognomy of the "criminal type," and Ellis gives it the chief responsibility for the mongoloid face so often found among criminals.

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

6. Prehensile or divergent great toe. 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 mm. 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. Ellis, discussing anomalies of the hair, says: "Marro has observed a notable proportion of woolly-haired persons, a characteristic very rarely found in normal persons."

8. Infrequency of gray hair. "Gray hair was found by Ollulenghi to be vastly more frequent at an early age among ordinary workingmen and peasants than among the 200 male criminals he examined: thus, between the ages of 30 to 33 it was 60% for the former, only 12% for the latter. This does not hold true for criminal women."

9. Thick hair and scanty or no beard. "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 among sexual offenders. On the head the hair is usually, on the contrary, abundant."

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

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

12. Narrow pelvis. The normal pelvic index is about 46.5 in adult men. Tenchini, who examined 57 pelves 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 found among children and boys.

13. Projecting frontal eminences, as in undeveloped characters; or the "bombed" forehead, as in many neurotics.

14. Better eyesight, especially for longer distances. Bono examined 190 delinquent youths and 100 normal youths under similar tests and conditions. "The visual acuity of 49% of the criminals was superior to 1.5 Snellen; only 31% of the honest youth possessed an equal acuteness." Ollolenghi reached the same conclusion, but the previous examinations of Bischoff had not reached this result.

15. Relatively smaller respiratory power. Dr. Wey reports that "among the inmates of the Elmira Reformatory the greatest physical deficiency and least resistive power are found in the respiratory power. Pigeon breasts and stooping shoulders abound." Of 26 deaths in the reformatory, 50% were from diseases of the chest. That the habitual criminal, especially the forger and swindler, is characteristically predisposed to consumption and bronchial affections is evident to every careful observer. It is surprising to note the comments of newspaper reporters, who generally know nothing of criminal anthropology, upon the health of men arrested for forgery.

16. Frequency of structural anomalies. This is the basis of Lombroso's theory of instinctive criminality. All crim-

inal anthropologists mention the concomitancy of an excess of structural anomalies in the instinctive and 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."

17. Insensibility to physical pain. "Dr. Penta in the course of his elaborate researches found that the majority of his 184 instinctive criminals at Santo Stephano were insensible to pain of punctures, burns, cuts, and even grave 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.

B. CULTURAL TYPE

The West Africans seem to be the weakest of the African peoples. They are the remnants of weaker tribes driven eastward toward "the barriers of the ocean" by stronger northeastern tribes who have a mixture of Hamitic or Semitic blood. Indeed, Brinton says that African migration has within all traceable time been westward and southward. Keane speaks of the West African as "the worst sweepings of the Sudanese plateau," and Ellis describes him 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 barbaric 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 very elementary agriculture, fishing, a little hunting, and some simple handicrafts. Cannibalism for-

merly prevailed almost everywhere, but has largely disappeared, especially in regions under European influence. Human sacrifice and execution 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 toward men. . . . They exhibit most of the immaturities so common among uncultured savages, and analogous to childish thought and emotion." Ellis says that the Negroes of the slave coast "can imitate, but they cannot 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, while they are as improvident as they are indolent."*

Keane traces the sources 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 cannot improve upon or even maintain a civilization given them. Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Haiti, as also the recent developments in San Domingo, may be cited to prove the same proposition. "But in Negro lands free from foreign influence no culture has ever been developed, and here cannibalism, witchcraft, and sanguinary 'customs' are either still rife or have been but recently suppressed by direct action of European administration. Numberless authorities have described the Negro as unprogressive or, if left to himself, incapable of progress in his present environment. Sir H. H. Johnson, who knows him well, goes much further and speaks of him as a fine animal who in his native state exhibits a stunted mind and a dull content with his surroundings, which induce mental stagnation, cessation of upward progress, and even retrogression toward the brute."†

"Neither the Negroes or Negroids ever carried out a conquest of lands occupied by Hamites or Semites. We have vague histories of bloody wars on a large scale among themselves and the erection of powerful monarchies, but they soon fell to pieces. The low intellectual position of the Austro-African race is revealed by the fact that in no

*Keane.

†Keane, "Ethnology."

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 fetichism, their government above despotism, their marriage relation 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 were descended from the ancient stock domesticated by the Egyptians, and differ 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 show clear traces of Semitic workmanship."

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

Tillinghast, backed by Keane, Brinton, and McDonald, by Ellis, Livingstone, and Miss Kingsley, and even by Ratzel, confirms the characterization above made. Yet we find Professor Boaz writing with special reference to the American Negro, in *Charities* for October, 1905, saying: "A survey of African tribes exhibits to our view cultural achievements of no mean order. To those unfamiliar with the products of native African arts 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. He seems to be shooting from "long law." Miss Kingsley, A. B. Ellis, Sir H. H. Johnson, and Crawford spent years among these African tribes.

Professor Boaz continues: "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 the 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, as 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. . . . There is nothing to prove that licentiousness, shiftless laziness, and 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 Professor Boaz not only denies the racial inferiority of the Negro, but attributes to him the qualities of thrift, technical skill, love of labor, originality, and personal initiative. He credits him with martial prowess and a talent for organization, with courage and morality. Now this is the very doctrine that gave excuse for the more extravagant sentimentalities of the *ante-bellum* abolition propaganda, for the premature enfranchisement of the Negro, and for the fetich of higher education which is still with us.

Professor Boaz fortifies his assumptions by the rather too general statement 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 the 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 esthetic standards." Now that sounds very learned and very conclusive, but, to say nothing of the "best observers," it applies rather vaguely to the Negro. It can only mean that the Negro is human; for without the fundamental traits 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 a normally upward evolution. Evolution may be slow, and even in minor respects divergent, but any great deviation from this order is, in effect, artificial and abnormal and tends to end in degeneracy. This natural order has been violated in the case of the American Negro, and already signs of degeneracy are appearing. If indeed it be the purpose of anthropology to "contribute to the practical discussion of the adaptability of the Negro," it must face the facts. And no over-charitable statements of facts will lead to the light. The matter is too serious to be settled by walks through European museums or blanket statements as to the "best observers" and their data. For, under our laws in all the States, and in public sentiment in the North, the Negro is held just as responsible for his acts as the white man who has had unmeasured advantage in the matter of heredity and adaptation to civilized environment; and even when ways and means are to be devised for the prevention of crime and pauperism among Negroes the task is hampered by the same set of assumptions of "sameness of fundamental traits." If the Negro, through lack of appropriate natural endowment, cannot adapt himself to our standards (which I propose to show), neither can we in justice or in safety judge him by these standards.

It is not necessary to assume that one or the other race is inferior, but it is necessary to recognize the fact that they are different. As to whether or not they are fundamentally different may depend upon our definition of the term "fundamental." Individuals of the same race differ, but they have more characteristics in common than they have points of difference. So also men of different races are alike in more respects than they differ. But the same may be said of men and apes: there are more characteristics in common than there are characteristic differences; but that does not prove that they are by nature adapted to the same environment, that they can enjoy and benefit by the same mode of life, or are competent to share equally in social control.

Biologically, it is a fundamental proposition that function is limited and, in a very real sense, determined by structure. The wider the differences in structure, the wider in

proportion the differences in function. In so far as two genera or species differ in structure they differ in functioning, and in so far as races as such differ in structure they differ in functioning. This is even true of individuals of the same race. And it is not only biologically but also psychologically true, for "All consciousness is motor." The psychical expresses itself through the physical, and in a very real sense is determined by the structure of the physical medium. The more apparent physical differences between the Negro and white races have already been indicated: the more apparent psychical differences will follow. To point out the psychical differences that correspond each to each to these physical differences is as yet of course impossible. Even to determine with accuracy those psychical differences dependent upon structure rather than social conditions is a task to which the anthropologists have given a good deal of attention without any very dependable results. But, notwithstanding the difficulties as to details, it is inconceivable, in the light of biology and modern psychology, that the Negro and white man should differ so markedly in physical characteristics and yet have no psychical differences that are racial and inherent. Even common experience has taught mankind to judge one another by appearances. In everyday practical affairs the safest estimates of our fellow men as well as beasts of burden are based on physical structure. Differences of race do not invalidate this principle, but rather does common experience reënforce the conclusions reached through biology and psychology.

A careful survey of West African tribes according to the best observers of foreign races, such as Miss Kingsley, A. B. Ellis, Sir H. H. Johnson, Clapperton, Binger, Lauder, Schweinforth, and Crawford, will confirm the following statements in regard to the cultural development and psychic nature of the natives. And it must be remembered that most of our American Negroes are descendants of slaves from West African tribes.

1. On account of both ignorance and superstition the West Africans do no mining. Such metal as they use is mainly that found on the surface or exposed by erosion, torn from its bed by the torrents.

2. Their implements of war and their household utensils are of small variety and of crude and clumsy workmanship. The same is true as to agricultural implements and household furniture. A mat, usually of grass, and perhaps a rude bench serve as seat, bed, and table. A wooden trough, a few gourds, and an earthen or, possibly, an iron pot, with an occasional basket, complete the domestic outfit. A single ungainly digger is all the agricultural implement employed by most of the West African tribes.

3. Their agriculture consists in scratching the ground where trees have fallen or been hacked down and burned, and placing the seeds or bulbs in the scratched places. The women do this; nature does the rest. The plantain "banana" and manioc furnish their dependable vegetable supply. In the more favored places scant crops of rice, millet, squash seed, cabbage, and beans furnish a variety.

4. They do some hunting when pressed by necessity, for with all their marvelous natural food they are frequently on the verge of starvation. They have never discovered, invented, or adopted from others any method of preserving food, unless we accept their method of drying fish. But on their hunting expeditions the carcass of an elephant, hippopotamus, or alligator fortuitously found is appropriated with avidity. This practice and their use of "dried" fish probably accounts for the fact that American Negroes, though they buy the refuse of the fish and meat markets, do not suffer from ptomaine poisoning.

5. They do more fishing than hunting and do it more skillfully. They consume their fish fresh or dried—*i. e.*, putrefied—by exposure to the sun on the rocks near the shore. They barter to inland tribes what they do not use.

6. They have a penchant for traffic and show some ingenuity in trading, but "they do not understand any such thing as commercial morality, and so they instinctively seek every opportunity for getting something for nothing by lying, stealing, cheating, browbeating, and adulterating."

7. Their native villages are characterized by incredible filth and vile odors, due to putrefying fish, human excrement, and unburied dead.

8. Squalor and vermin add to the discomfort and wretchedness of their ill-ventilated huts, in the earthen floors of which often their dead are buried.

9. Their neglect of children and absence generally, except in the case of mother and son, of any family affection seem thoroughly characteristic. There is no such thing among them as home or a settled family life. The mother cares for the child till it leaves the breast. It is then generally left to shift for itself very much as our domestic animals. If the child is blind, deaf, deformed, or feeble-minded, it has only an animal's chance of survival. For that reason the number of hereditarily defective children among American Negroes is relatively fewer than among whites.

10. Their low value of human life and their lack of appreciation of human suffering is a commonplace. Cruelty to captives, neglect of their sick, exposure of infants, the killing off of the old or defective to get them out of their way is almost universal. These things, however, may not be as bad as they at first thought appear when we consider that (a) every custom among them is controlled or modified by their religious beliefs, (b) that they do not suffer physical pain to the degree highly civilized races suffer, and (c) that the old or helpless are killed "by request," as some writers insist, the old preferring rather to be killed than to be a burden to their tribe.

11. Stealth, treachery, and cruelty in tribal warfare is the generally accepted mode. As long as there was a market for slaves, war was the usual mode of obtaining them. Unfit captives were slaughtered.

12. The despotism, arrogance, and incongruous pomposity, the flagrant injustices and immoralities practiced by their chiefs and kings have been noted wherever there has been even the crudest of organized government.

13. Governments among them have very generally been unstable and ephemeral; but as long as they have lasted the abject submission on the part of the subjects to chiefs, kings, or priests has been remarkable as showing their weakness of will and lack of initiative.

14. They have no laws in the sense in which we use the term. There are customs, mainly religious, and certain

recognized rights of property, to which there is pretty general adherence, but otherwise the caprices of their rulers is law.

15. Property consists in wives, daughters, slaves, weapons, trinkets, and some barter. They are more or less nomadic and know nothing of land ownership.

16. Theft among them 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. They seem to lack in the power of discrimination and have but a feeble sense of justice. They ought to make good Americans, for they put everything on a money basis.

17. Even female virtue is valued solely as a marketable commodity. Adultery is regarded as a trespass on the husband's property rights. Rape or seduction of a daughter is forgiven when the "head-money" is paid.

18. Polygamy is well-nigh universal, and the women uphold it: the more wives the less work for each.

19. Among the West Africans it is the wife only who can commit adultery. She has no redress against her husband's delinquencies. The offending wife may be punished variously, from a mere beating to the death penalty, according to the rank or wealth of her husband. Her paramour may be fined. It is said that "many husbands encourage frailty on the part of their wives, hoping to profit by the sums they may be able to exact from their paramours." We are also told that wives are freely lent to visitors as a mark of hospitality, without objection on the part of the wife, and that the women of certain royal families are "permitted to intrigue with men of fine physique in order that their kings may be of commanding presence."

Chastity in unmarried girls adds to their value as property; that is all. Mr. Tillinghast says: "The student of West African life finds in the writings on this subject abundant evidence . . . that very little restraint of the sexual pro-

clivities is exercised. Indulgence commences at an early age and continues thereafter with little impediment."

Grossly sensual practices accompany their dances and religious exercises. They have neither modesty nor a moral sense, to say nothing of self-control.

20. The African is preëminently gregarious and sociable. Unremitting garrulity, with much noise of music, dancing, and singing, marks his social life. And like a good American he smokes and drinks.

21. His love of music (rhythmic noise) is a prominent feature of his character. Sir A. B. Ellis says: "His music has three objects—*i. e.*, to stimulate his religious sentiment, the military spirit, and the sexual passion."

22. The West African is intensely religious, but his religion is non-moral and more dreadful than comforting. He is grossly superstitious, but not hypocritical. Out of his religion grow many absurd practices, such as charms, gree-grees, 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 infatuation whole villages have been known 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.

23. Connected on one side with human sacrifice and on the other with the inhuman butcheries of tribal warfare, and possibly associated with famine, is the monstrosity of cannibalism. This seems to be more characteristic of the more advanced tribes than of the less advanced. It seems to arise sporadically as well as by imitation.

24. The West African is vain. He loves dress and display—the gayer the colors and the more conspicuous the exhibition the more he enjoys it. Merchants thrive selling them gewgaws, beads, trinkets, and gay-colored clothing.

25. The West African is heedless of time and has no sense of promptitude. Travelers all complain of this.

26. The West African is improvident and wasteful. He never looks out for the future. In a land of abundance he

Why so?

is often on the verge of starvation, and in a land of intense heat and terrible storms he makes no provision for to-morrow's safety.

27. He is shiftless and lazy and lacks ambition. He forces his wives to bear the burdens and provide the living, except in the matter of hunting and fishing: there is some fun in hunting and fishing.

28. He is versatile enough in mind, but is superficial and never looks to a remote advantage. He lacks foresight, and, notwithstanding his dislike of labor, has no labor-saving devices to count.

29. He is impulsive and lacking in inhibitive power. He cannot restrain his lips from laughter nor his hands from bloodshed.

30. He holds no malice, but his friendship is not to be trusted. Easily angered or tempted to cupidity, he strikes a benefactor or betrays a friend.

31. He is volatile, excitable, and demonstrative, but is incapable of sustained effort, either mental or physical. He resorts to tricks, devices, or cruelty, tempts danger or hunger, to avoid exertion; and various travelers tell of how readily he agrees to intellectual propositions or arguments, or even lies outright as to questions for information, for no reason but to save himself the trouble of thinking.

32. He is therefore the puppet of 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 has 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 irresistibly to music and uproarious gayety, 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 dies a bloody death. At all times and under all circumstances he carries his emotions in his face and tongue, passionately loves companionship, and forgets each day's sorrows with the sunset."

Criminal Psychology and the Cultural Type

This study of the West African has revealed the following psychical characteristics that tend to distinguish him from the normal Anglo-Saxon and seem to ally him in the expression, at least, with the instinctive and habitual criminal.

1. Inordinate vanity. Havelock Ellis says: "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 the world more vain than robbers in general, more proud 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. Superstition and non-moral religion. "In all countries religion or superstition is closely related to crime. . . . Among 200 Italian murderers Ferri did not find one who was not religious. . . . It must not be supposed that there is insincerity or hypocrisy in the religion of criminals. For to the man of low culture the divine powers lend themselves easily to succor of the individual, and it is always well to propitiate them. German murderers believe they can do this crudely, according to Casper, by leaving their excrement at the spot of the crime. A rather higher grade of intelligence will effect 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."

3. Love of orgy and carousal. The craving for excitement and for uproar finds its chief satisfactions in orgy, which is now almost confined in its extreme forms, at all events, to the criminal and his intimate ally, the prostitute. Flynt, however, has found the same characteristic among tramps.

4. Improvidence and lack of foresight. The criminal is usually a spendthrift. No matter how acquisitive he may be, the saloon, the brothel, and the gaming table soon rid him of his acquisitions. Equally improvident is he in the execution of crime. He cannot see far enough ahead to cover up his tracks. Criminals are easily caught where public sentiment upholds law.

5. Cunning and deceit. "The two most characteristic features in the intelligence of the average criminal are at first sight inconsistent. On the one hand he is stupid, inexact, lacking in foresight, astoundingly imprudent. On the other hand, he is cunning and 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."

6. Weakness of will and lack of inhibitive power. Du Chaillu, Bosman, Miss Kingsley, and Livingstone emphasize the fact that the native African can restrain neither laughter nor anger, nor inhibit the impulse to appropriate whatever attracts his fancy. No less can the criminal resist temptation. He is the slave of his impulses. Ellis gives a number of instances of such weak wills and immediate recidivism of "reformed" criminals.

7. Incapacity for sustained labor. "The criminal is everywhere incapable of 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."

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 gaudily dressed, but even then are usually 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 brutish. There may be a sort of sickening sentimentality about it, but little of the finer sentiments that look to well-being. He steals for his sweetheart to gratify her vanity—and his—rather than to satisfy her normal wants, and he kills her rather than his rival, especially if he contemplates suicide.

10. Moral insensibility and a callousness to the suffering of others. The very genius of the instinctive criminal is a lack of evaluation of suffering in others. He is so centered in self that the only appreciation of another's pain lies in the gratified vanity of himself as the cause of it. He is essentially egoistic, and the habitual criminal is only less so. The moral sense in both is undeveloped. They cannot form the concept we call "the rights of others."

The cruel practical joke, the ruinous slander, the unblushing impositions, the brutal murders and impoverishing robberies, whether they be of the college student, common gossip, the "dead-beat," the professional thief, the big-jawed thug or the shrewd business man, the bank wrecker and the trust magnate, all bespeak the same criminal constitution—*i. e.*, moral insensibility and a wanton disregard for the rights of others or of their suffering.

11. Non-resistance to disease. This is as true of the criminal as of the savage, and for the same reasons—namely, weak and defective physical constitutions, whether from heredity, ignorance, or dissipation; and, what is far more significant, a fatal disposition of mind to yield rather than to make a spirited sustained effort to overcome.

12. Wherever the white man reverts physically to the simian or negroid type, we find simian or negroid mental, moral, and temperamental characteristics; and wherever he exhibits negroid mental, moral, or temperamental characteristics we find him indigent, feeble-minded, or criminal.

white "criminal"
indigent terms

CHAPTER II. THE TRANSPLANTATION OF THE NEGRO

I. RACIAL ORIGIN

I ASSUME that mankind is in process of evolution. Any animal species, including mankind, 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 or race becomes, the more nearly fixed becomes its favorable hereditary characteristics; and the more nearly 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 those that vary from the environmental type, and of those that vary only the more virile and enterprising, that seek the new environment.

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 became specialized as the Negro. The pioneers of the race pushed on slowly, then more rapidly on, from country to country, successively leaving behind the less virile and hardy. They thus preserved a relatively greater plasticity and adaptability along with the virile powers that enabled them to invent and apply means and measures to meet the obstacles of varying environments and untoward conditions. And so finally they are found in 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. This environment has made no demands upon him except that of fecundity, a certain im-

munity to tropical diseases, content with inactivity, and a 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 white man has progressed faster and left him far behind. If he has not progressed, the fact argues either that he is fundamentally incapable of progress or that his racial characteristics have become relatively fixed in his heredity. That he is fundamentally incapable of progress is contrary to the "fundamental traits of the human mind." But that his "race traits and tendencies" have become relatively fixed, or at least prepotent, admits of little doubt when we remember how great a time he has been breeding to the same blood and environment. Any measurable progress, therefore, must come from a change of environment and by a process of selection, or by an infusion of new blood by interracial amalgamation. The American Negro has had this 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 thus far to affect his racial traits and tendencies.

2. THE TRANSPORTATION

The transportation of Negro slaves to the American colonies began in 1619 and continued, with a slight interruption for a few years following 1807, down to about 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 Civil War there were found many who were born in Africa and some who had arrived so recently that they could not speak English. It has been reported that one shipload was landed and colonized in South 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 freed-man to be dealt with after emancipation.

as "civilizing"

3. ARTIFICIAL SELECTION

There was a rigid process of selection practiced in the capture, sale, and transportation of the Negro slave. The Coast Negroes nearest the markets soon sold off their merchantable 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 escape were tied in gangs, and driven with much cruelty and scant food to the nearest slave market. The weak or sick or unruly perished by the way. At the market the "factor" 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 ahead, 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 basis. Those below normal, both physically and mentally, and those below par physically, though above par mentally, had been eliminated. Those who were well above par 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 average mentally, would, under the methods in vogue, constitute the majority of the slaves successfully shipped to this country.

After their arrival here the process of selection went on, though more slowly. Those absolutely incorrigible were doubtless soon eliminated, for those were stern times. Attention was paid to breeding—a docile temper and a bid-dable disposition with a vigorous body being the ideal. Those of unteachable disposition, unsavory habits, or other undesirable traits began after a while to be sold South, where they were put to work under the gang system on large plantations or in mills. Unruly tempers and vicious

habits, the hard and unaccustomed labor, and the mental shock incident to the new order of life tended still further to eliminate the unfit.

4. AMALGAMATIONS

Meanwhile inter-tribal amalgamation in the new environment was breaking down old tribal customs and traditions and physically improving the stock. Thus, with the aid of the culture of a superior civilization as example, the American Negro was becoming a homogeneous people; so that by the time the Civil War had set him free practically all distinctly tribal physical characters and social cultures had been obliterated, though his distinctively African instincts were still potent. Dr. Shaler had the temerity, however, a few years ago, to make a car-window classification of Southern Negroes based on doubtful criteria of old tribal physical characters.

But inter-racial amalgamation also was in progress, though to a less extent. This had begun before the slave reached this country and continues even to the present day. But no plan has yet been devised by which to make any accurate estimate of the extent of infusion of white or Indian blood. The following table represents efforts of the United States Census Bureau to ascertain the proportion of "mulattoes" in the total Negro population:

TABLE No. 2

Census Year	Negro Population			% of Total	
	Total	Black	Mulatto	Black	Mulatto
1910.....	9,827,763	7,777,077	2,050,686	79.1	20.9
1890.....	7,488,676	6,337,980	1,132,060	84.8	15.2
1870.....	4,880,009	4,295,960	584,049	88.0	12.0
1860.....	4,441,830	3,853,467	588,363	86.8	13.2
1850.....	3,638,808	3,233,057	405,751	88.8	11.2

The Census Report for 1910 says: "The fact that the definition of the term 'mulatto' adopted at different censuses has not been uniform may affect the comparability of the figures in some degree. In 1870 and 1910, however, the

term was applied to all having any perceptible Negro blood, excepting, of course, Negroes of pure blood."

By reference to the figures it will be found that according to this definition the proportion of mulattoes in our Negro population has increased from 12% to 20.9%, or about 74%, since 1870, and from 15.2% to 20.9%, or about 37.5%, since 1890. But there are several considerations that show these figures to be of doubtful value:

1. Census enumerators are not trained observers.

2. The definition of the term "mulatto" as a practical term of classification is in the very nature of the case defective, because: (1) There are Negroes with a strain of white blood whose complexions do not show it: other features may. (2) The commonly accepted idea that all Negroes who came from Africa were black is a mistake; a goodly minority were brown, some even yellow. (3) Many Negroes have Indian blood and some have Chinese or Japanese blood. In either case the complexion and features show a mixture easily mistaken for white.

3. Common observation is sufficient proof that no such increase in the number of mulattoes as that represented by the figures has taken place. Twenty and nine-tenths per cent may represent the proportion of mulattoes now present in the Negro population, but the increase indicated by a comparison of the figures is manifestly exaggerated.

4. The increase in mulatto population has been largely through mulatto parents, who certainly do not multiply faster than the total Negro population. The figures show, however, that while the total Negro population increased 101.4% from 1870 to 1910, the mulatto population increased 268.23%, and the black only 70%; and from 1890 to 1910 the total Negro population increased 31.2%, while the mulattoes increased 81.15% and the black only 22.6%. If every mulatto living in 1870 had mated with a black, other things being equal, no such comparative increase would have resulted.

5. The fact that sexual relations between the races is becoming more and more confined to dissolute white men and Negro prostitutes who, in common with all prostitutes,

bear few children and rear fewer of them, is rapidly curtailing the infusion of white blood. The further fact, also, that children from such unions suffer from both vicious environment and degenerate heredity tends to make them less prolific, even if they reach maturity, and to eliminate them by early death, thus cutting off their further propagation.

I should say then, upon the whole, that inter-racial amalgamation has taken place to an appreciable extent, but to no such extent as is claimed by many writers. Nor is the process going on to the same extent now as formerly except through mulatto parents.

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 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 the higher ambition, mental force, and efficiency of the talented few. And yet it may be doubtful if this mixture, upon the whole, has greatly improved the race morally, except where the white blood predominates and is of the old *ante-bellum* stock. It perhaps renders their possibilities greater.

5. THE SOCIAL CHANGE

Considering the total effects of the various processes of selection through which the American Negro has passed, it is evident that his physical stamina and his personal appearance have been improved and an appreciable amount of brutality eliminated; while a considerable infusion of white blood has added something of mental poise and a keener intelligence to the mulatto population. No doubt the better physical constitution brought about by successive culling and testing on the way to America, and the rapid elimination of the temperamentally unfit during slavery, have together tended to produce a sturdier, more dependable character. Further than this we cannot claim his germ heredity to have been materially changed. In the matter of social heredity, however, the results have been more favorable, though still lamentably far from ideal. Some students of

the "Negro problem" consider it doubtful whether the Negro has been able to maintain a standard of social and moral living since his emancipation comparable to that reached by 1860. On the other hand, pretty nearly all the Negro's present excesses and delinquencies have been attributed by 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 every social order. If the Negro were to be civilized in America at all, slavery was the easiest and most humane method by which it could be accomplished. In his own land he could neither evolve a progress of his own nor preserve a civilization thrust upon him. Much less could he have survived in competition with the white man in the white man's land. The aboriginal American, a much stronger character than the Negro, and on his own ground, utterly failed. Dr. J. Stanley Hall has shown us how sadly true it is that primitive races invariably perish in the presence of the white race. And that will finally be the Negro's fate *as a race* in America.

A careful and unbiased comparison of the physical, mental, and moral characteristics of the native African with those of the American Negro of to-day will show that the lasting evils of slavery were mainly sins of omission rather than commission. The slaveholder might very well have given more time and attention to the intellectual and moral development of his slaves.

Among the delinquencies of the Negro which are so often charged to slavery as a cause may be mentioned especially the following:

1. *Theft.* The explanation given is that the Negro labored to produce his master's goods, felt that he received nothing in return, but in equity was justly entitled to a division of the profits. He therefore "took" from his master and so formed the habit, his offspring absorbing, as it were, his moral attitude and practicing theft as a part of his social heredity. 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." Bos-

man, writing of the Slave Coast natives, 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."

2. *Lying*. The explanation is that under slavery the Negroes were defenseless and subject to abuses, and so, in ignorance and self-defense, resorted to lying, formed the habit, and handed it down by social heredity. But Sir 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 thoroughgoing and unhesitating liar than one of these Negroes is not to be found anywhere." Ratzel speaks of the African's "hereditary sin of lying."

3. *Improvvidence*. The explanation is that the Negro never had anything of his own to care for during slavery, and that in his helplessness had no means of resentment or of venting spite except by careless or willful destruction and wastefulness. But, as a matter of fact, in his native land he lived only in the present. The very climate and uncertainties of life conduced to inactivity and impatience with what did not concern the moment. Every traveler in African lands remarks upon this trait of African character.

It may be added that slaves were usually allowed "patches," pigs, poultry, and sometimes a cow. They could sell their products from these and apply the proceeds as they pleased. Many thrifty slaves thus bought their freedom. But granting the explanation, social heredity handed down through so short a bondage could not become so permanent as to appear so nearly universal in the present generation of Negroes.

4. *Lack of self-control*. The explanation is that the Negro was not his own master, but was under submission to those who thought and willed for him, and thus he came out from the restraints of slavery unpracticed in the art of self-control. Slavery certainly did not afford much oppor-

tunity for independent initiate, if the Negro ever had any; but it did teach him such habits of self-restraint as he possessed, for I have already shown under another heading how he was in his native state the puppet of his impulses and the victim of every passing suggestion.

5. *Loose and unstable family life.* The explanation is that masters assigned husbands and wives to suit their own convenience and separated them at pleasure, and to accommodate the domestic slave trade or settle estates whole or parts of families were disposed of just as live stock. But it must be remembered that marriage in the orthodox way was generally practiced, and separation was more often at the request of husband and wife than by will of the master or the vicissitudes of the slave trade. And slaves of different masters were allowed to marry and rear families, the children being the property of their mother's master. Chosen wives or husbands were often bought for slaves, and masters generally refused to separate families till death or necessity compelled. But the more important fact is that the Negro never had a home or knew anything of the monogamic family and the proper rearing of children, as a social institution, within historic times. His African sex *mores* were as little understood in America as the American orthodox method of mating was in Africa, and would not have been tolerated had they been known. But the tradition of the old sex *mores* 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 two or three years, and then it is turned loose to work out its own destiny. Every one who has observed Negroes closely knows how careless even the American Negro mother is of her children, and how much more shifty a little Negro is than a little white child. And this helps to explain the enormous mortality among Negro children. The African father begets the child, and if it is a female gets the "head money" when she is married. He seems to assume no other responsibility. There is no family affec-

tion except between mother and son in the African family, so that we easily exaggerate the anguish and sorrows of separation during slavery.

6. *Sexual immorality.* The explanation given is, in the words of the Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, writing upon the history of American morals: "One class of our working women has in time past suffered greatly at the hands of American men. I refer to the slaves of the South. Their masters' sons often used with them more than the license of the mediæval landlord with his tenantry. It was part 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 apologize for any of the shameful prostitution of body or blood of which the Southern slave master may have been guilty. But may I ask, Are there no mulattoes bearing in their veins strains of Puritan blood as a relic of New England slavery? Go to Boston and look for black Negroes. Or, are there not half-breeds in the South who show some "family resemblance" to doughty Federal soldier fathers who fought to set the Negro free? Are the Negroes of Haiti or Jamaica or Sierra Leone or Dahomey or New England any freer from sexual immorality than the Southern Negro? No, no; "the laxity of morals which characterizes it took hold of its victims" a long, long time before "their masters or their masters' sons" were ever born. "It is certain," says Ratzel, "that the Negro has a strong innate tendency to sensuality, and the most various travelers have reported great sexual excesses among the Negro races."

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

Adultery among the West African is the sexual congress of a wife with a paramour without her husband's consent. We are told by travelers that men can and actually do lend their wives to friends or visitors. The wives do not object,

*Tillinghast.

and in cases of white visitors have seemed somewhat chagrined that the hospitality was not accepted. Seduction and rape, just as adultery, are regarded as violations of property rights. If a virgin is violated and her "head money" paid, "any further excesses she may commit are regarded as of no consequence."

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

1. The African was found naked, and taught to wear clothing; with coarse and boisterous manners, and given examples of decency and refinement for imitation. It is true that the clothing given him was coarse and sometimes inadequate, but that fact does not invalidate the general proposition.

2. He was found homeless and filthy in his habits, and given a permanent dwelling place and taught the simpler practices of sanitation.

3. Idle and improvident, he was taught to labor—not always economically or efficiently, but enough to introduce it into his social heredity. Many were even trained to skill in the useful arts and imbued with ambition for excellence.

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

5. He was found the victim of greegrees, the witch doctor, and the "conjure bag," and was given Christianity—not all Christianity had to give, but enough to suppress his grosser superstitions and most revolting rites.

6. He was found without chastity or a conception of it, without regard for the marriage bond or the monogamous family. He had forced upon him at least the form of monogamous mating—not, indeed, ideal family life, but an immeasurably higher one than he had ever known in his native land. And no people have ever had for their example a more lofty standard of female purity than that furnished by the *ante-bellum* mistress and her daughters.

Much capital has been made of the slave's faithfulness and loyalty during the Civil War, while the master was

away from home. I do not deny the facts, but I cannot accept the explanation generally assumed. The simple truth is that the Negro slave, both as an individual and a class, had been trained to obey. His habits had been formed to that end. He had been impressed with the duties of his situation. Loafing and gadding had never been tolerated. He had been trained to respect and obey with special deference the commands of his white mistress and her daughters. He did not know how or feel free to do otherwise. He had no more independent power of initiative than he had in Africa, so he pursued the even tenor of his way. On the other hand, his white mistress had been his doctor and often his nurse in sickness, his religious teacher, and his adviser in times of trouble. Her children had been his playmates and his champions. The master's house was a haven of security, and the "cruel oppressions" of slavery were to him more rhetorical than real. The Negro lives in the present and acts on impulse and the nearest suggestion: he had no immediate cause for uprising.

But when the war was over and he saw his master impoverished and impotent, he sat up and took notice. When the Federal militia, the carpetbagger, the missionary teacher, and the Constitutional Amendments came with such confusing precipitancy upon the heels of the Emancipation Proclamation, they broke the hypnotic spell of the old order and the Negro again became an irresponsible savage. Then neither life nor property was secure, nor even the white woman's honor, except insofar as the ex-slave and the carpetbagger and scalawag knew that death, hell, nor the Federal militia could restrain the vengeance of the Southerner whose women were violated. But before this the Negro militiamen had outraged white women, availing themselves of the first opportunity granted to unrestrained African heredity. But after the removal of the Federal militia and the precipitate scampering to cover of the carpetbagger, the old habits of command and obedience reasserted themselves. The insolent official and impudent functionary of yesterday became the obsequious menial of to-day. He was a Negro still, worse for his brief saturnalia of crime and debauchery, better because of his old habits and attitude of submission.

The tendency to theft, lying, idleness, sensuality, superstition, and cruelty in the African was curbed, though not, of course, altogether suppressed by the slave-master. The Negro could not make fine distinctions nor always control his impulses, and it showed the wisdom of his master not to make too great demands upon him. While the master, could have given him more 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 to implant the moral precepts of Christianity; while he could have and perhaps ought to have provided the Negro more of home life and enforced more strictly the family obligations; and while he could have and certainly ought to have confined his sexual delinquencies to his own race—yet, slavery is in no sense responsible as a cause for the moral weaknesses of the freed-man and his descendants. They are hereditary.

In the very nature of slavery, however, there is scant opportunity for the development of learning, independent initiative, and self-dependence. Among the mass of slaves there must, in the nature of the case, exist a condition of degraded self-respect, and ambitions and aspirations must suffer defeat. But knowledge, self-respect, self-dependence, more or less ambition and personal initiative are necessary to good citizenship in a democratic republic. But the American Negro was unfortunately thrust into full citizenship without such attributes. An unfit citizen easily becomes a pauper or a criminal.

CHAPTER III. THE NEGRO CITIZEN

I. THE FREEDMAN AND THE CARPETBAGGER

TRANSPORTATION from Africa and enslavement in America subjected the Negro to a violent social change. Perhaps there has never been in the history of civilization so sudden and so radical a change involving so many persons. The Negro was the helpless object of his own and the white man's cupidity, and he became the curse of curses to America. He had hardly set foot on American soil before he became a "problem," and he is a problem still. We do not know all the factors: we can neither eliminate nor solve the personal equation.

But the Emancipation Proclamation and its sequelæ subjected the Negro to another very great change before he had adjusted himself to the first. He did not this time change his physical environment nor totally detach himself from his old master, but his relations were changed. There was a new order of things. The Negro had now the opportunity and, in a sense, the necessity of determining his position in American society. He had to adopt, adapt, or assume new manners and customs and new qualities of character. His old African culture had been well-nigh forgotten, but he had acquired more of the form than of the substance of the Anglo-Saxon culture. He still had his African heredity but slightly modified and unconscious survivals of African religious and other social customs, but they were ill adapted to the new social order. He was a child full of hope and eager to play with his new toy. He had freedom now—and responsibility; civil rights—and poverty; political rights—and ignorance. He had his liberty, but could not distinguish it from license, and he had the prerogatives of American citizenship with the shackles of African heredity. True, he had strong friends in the North—and they sent him sentimental missionaries to teach him religion and the vampire carpetbagger to teach him politics. And he had old friends in the South, but they had neither money nor much in-

fluence, and would not treat with him on terms of equality. Many old slave masters employed their old slaves and relationships did not materially change. Other former masters even divided what they had left from the ravages of war, 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 the new sensations of the new regime. So they went a whoring after strange gods and their old friends became alienated. The Union League with its secret passwords and nocturnal meetings, the Freedman's Bureau with its blare of philanthropy and ignominious downfall, on the one hand; and, on the other, the Kuklux Klan with its aftermath of lawless impositions—all had their day of reckoning in trouble and strife and bitterness, in misunderstanding 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. Lecky, the English historian, discussing the political affairs of the time, says: "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 orgy 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 carpetbaggers 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 and 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."

2. WHITE SUPREMACY

Following the departure of carpetbaggers and the United States troops, who aided, abetted, and protected them—and probably shared in the spoils—came, as Mr. Lecky says, a period of manipulation, intimidation, and dictation to the Negro on the part of the Southern white man. This lasted for about twenty years. But the latter part of this period was a period of political indifference on the part of the mass of Negroes, though agitators, both North and South, and Negro "leaders" kept up a pretty constant irritation. The fear of Negro domination through sympathetic political influences at the North, and the constant strain of managing the situation locally, cramped the South into one political party with a single idea, hampered public institutions, and retarded the progress of the South. Unscrupulous manipulators were coming to control or dictate the Negro vote. The saloon and hoodlum element could usually count on it, while demagogues of little ability and less patriotism rode into office by appealing to the race prejudice of the ignorant whites on the one hand, and by buying or bullying the ignorant Negroes on the other. Finally, tired out with the irritation and consequent race friction, their sense of honor revolting at election frauds and coercive methods, disgusted with the success of the corruptionist and apprehension of the reign of the demagogue, and seeing in it all the black peril looming up larger and larger, thoughtful Southerners set about to devise some effective method by which the Negro might be permanently and legally eliminated from politics. And so the method of out-

right disfranchisement by State constitutional suffrage amendment was adopted in seven Southern States. Mississippi was the first to adopt such an amendment, in 1892; South Carolina followed, in 1895; Louisiana in 1898; North Carolina in 1900; Alabama in 1901; Virginia in 1901; and Georgia in 1908. No other Southern States have passed such amendments, though Maryland has tried twice and failed.

These suffrage amendments have brought about an undue amount of adverse criticism of the South. Negro agitators and their political allies at the North have frothed at the mouth and made dire threats of political reprisal. But there are some very significant facts that stare them in the face when they come to make a test of it:

1. Suffrage is a franchise and not a natural right.

2. Only seven of the Southern States have adopted suffrage amendments.

3. These amendments as adopted are constitutional—*i. e.*, they make no distinctions as to race, color, or other normal condition impossible to change.

4. The qualifications required are not new, exclusively Southern, or intrinsically unreasonable.

5. The two clauses, the "grandfather clause" and the "understanding clause," to which most objection has been made, are alternative with the education and property tests and are temporary, except that the "understanding clause" is permanent in Georgia and Mississippi. The time for registering under the "grandfather clause" has already expired except in Georgia, where it expires in 1915, and the "understanding clause" expired with it except in Georgia and Mississippi, where it is permanent.

6. Nature furnishes about the only qualification for suffrage the average Negro can prove—*i. e.*, sex and age. The requirements are definite and clear and not onerous, and ample alternatives are provided. But the Negroes do not qualify in any great numbers. If the suffrage is not worth an effort to qualify, why should they want it?

This subject will be taken up again and discussed in detail in a future chapter. It is sufficient in this place to say that the Southerner may have been overanxious about the

Negro vote and its influence and the plan hit upon to eliminate it not altogether in detail above reproach, yet the plan as adopted seemed the only practicable course to pursue and has thus far proved effective. No concealment of design was attempted, but certain technical barriers had to be overcome and certain temporary expedients provided. So, in formulating the qualifications for suffrage, the "understanding clause" was inserted to eliminate the technically eligible Negro, and the "grandfather clause" to protect the technically ineligible white man. The first manifestly depends upon the integrity and sense of justice of election officers for its fair execution; the second is a transparent subterfuge. Length of residence and payment of taxes and the alternative of education or property ownership are now the only real tests for qualification applied. These tests have eliminated most of the Negroes and a goodly number of whites in the seven States where such tests are prescribed.

The Negro agitator and his political allies very insistently demand for the Negroes a part in governmental affairs, but they cannot show that the Negroes have done themselves much credit as administrators. They had ample opportunity during the reconstruction period. Their childish abuse of it has already been described. The agitator may admit some maladministration, but excuses it on the plea of inexperience and unfortunate alliance with corrupt white men whom they trusted. But the fact remains. And they did no better in North Carolina in 1896-98. And so North Carolina adopted a suffrage amendment in 1900.

In North Carolina a fusion of Populists, Republicans, and Negroes was formed to beat the Democrats. This is the story: "In no State of the Union were elections more fairly conducted than there, and in none were the Negroes more kindly and considerately treated, but that very fact nearly caused our ruin. The Negroes, voting as they always have done, as a unit, under the guidance of unprincipled demagogues, through division and disaffection among the white people, carried the elections in 1896, and immediately in the eastern part of the State, where they predominate, the evidence of race antagonisms and a disposition to offensively

assert equality began to exhibit themselves. Nothing of the kind had occurred, except in individual instances, since the days of "reconstruction," but it at once became common and grew apace. Demands for office, which their allies dared not refuse, were made and yielded to, and these demands increased until in some localities the administration of public affairs was largely committed to Negro officials and white officeholders who were, in many instances, more inefficient, ignorant, and corrupt than their Negro colleagues. Crimes of all sorts increased alarmingly, and went unpunished. Negro jurors who sat in every case that was tried refused, in the face of the most overwhelming and undisputed evidence, to convict Negro criminals guilty of outrageous offenses. The city authorities and police of some places, including the city in which I live, became a laughingstock to lawbreakers, an object of contempt to all good citizens. Eastern North Carolina became a Negro paradise, and immigration to it began from all quarters. Idle and drunken Negroes infested the streets of Wilmington day and night, and grew more and more insolent and aggressive. Ladies were frequently and grossly insulted and citizens assaulted and robbed in broad daylight. Burglaries were of almost nightly occurrence, and no arrests followed. A Negro newspaper was established, and crowned a series of offensive articles by an attack upon the virtue of white women in general. Another election was pending and threats of a demand of a still larger share of offices were made. The election was one of the quietest ever held in the State, and the Negroes polled about 90% of their strength, but a large proportion of their former white allies deserted them because of their conduct, and their party was beaten. Then, and not till then, the white people asserted their supremacy in an unmistakable way and they intend to preserve it at all hazards forever. It was not the work of ignorant enemies of the Negro, but the long-delayed and spontaneous action of all the white people, united for the common purpose of preserving their civilization. Of course there was much misrepresentation of the facts and much abuse of the leaders in certain quarters, but it is a sufficient answer to say that no man ever saw all

classes of a community, including the clergy, armed and walking guard around their homes when no danger threatened them.”*

The most consistent thing the Negro has ever done has been the most logically inconsistent thing he could have done—namely, to constantly, uniformly, and persistently vote in opposition to his white neighbor in all elections where there was a party issue, and with the riffraff and saloon element where there was a moral issue. The only exception to Republican affiliation I have ever known was when he voted with the rotten Democratic machine in Tennessee against the “Lily Whites.” The Democratic candidate for Governor at that election also represented the saloon element of the State. That may in part explain. The Negro is and has been since his enfranchisement doggedly opposed politically, for no reason he could assign, to the white man who has provided labor for him, protected him in trouble, and cared for him in sickness; provided asylums for his afflicted and voted taxes to educate his children, and whose every local and general interest, economic, religious, moral, and civic, is the same as his; and has delighted to vote with any shoddy Republican politician or dirty scalawag who would deign to hobnob with him. The truth is, the Negro, on account of his own weakness, has never been a free and accepted elector, independent and responsible. During Reconstruction he was bought, intimidated, outwitted, or outcounted by the carpetbagger and the scalawag, and used at their convenience. Since Reconstruction he has been cajoled with petty gifts and promises, bribed with money, strong drink, or barbecue, or controlled by intimidation or ballot-box stuffing. Sometimes this has been done by good citizens acting in self-defense; sometimes by the local appointee to Federal office who must control the Negro as the price of his job; sometimes by the unprincipled demagogue who would spare no pains to usurp local government by corrupting the Negro. But, as said before, this state of affairs became intolerable to the better class of Southern citizens. They were

*Hon. A. M. Waddell, in the “Proceedings of the Society for the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South,” 1900.

tired of complicity in underhand methods; but they know the Negro and they know the corrupt politician and they know that the two can and will combine to thwart every effort toward decency and moral progress in government, unless means unequivocal, drastic, and permanent are used to prevent such combinations. Negro disfranchisement was the only feasible method by which this could be accomplished and so suffrage amendments have been adopted in half the Southern States. In the other Southern States the Negro vote is still a menace, though, taken from one year to another, it is largely in a state of suppression. Partly by constitutional provisions relative to length of residence and payment of taxes, and statutory laws relative to primary elections, the Australian ballot, and the like; partly by the manipulation of the election machinery under white officials, but mainly by the indifference of the Negroes who have come to believe that somehow or other their vote will not affect the result, the Negro is virtually disfranchised in the ordinary election.

3. THE NEGRO CITIZEN AND HIS EDUCATION

Along with Reconstruction* came the public school and the Negro college for his "higher education;" and the Negro, in childish hopefulness, saw in book learning what before he had seen in freedom and in politics—a sort of talismanic panacea. He thought there was some magic power in the high-sounding words of the books and that diplomas and political preference could bridge the chasm between savagery and civilization. His white apologists had told him so. They taught; he believed—and so he is still pursuing a shadow. Only a few, as compared to the many, of the race seem able to grasp the idea of social efficiency or to lay hold upon the essential elements of progress. But they are not to blame, for they know nothing of the long stony way and the threaded mileposts marking the upward climb from the Stone Age to twentieth century Anglo-Saxon civilization.

*The Reconstruction government did not invent the public school, nor even establish it first in the South. There were public schools in the South before the war, though not universal throughout the section.

Even before the close of the Civil War efforts began to be made to educate the Negro. Soon afterwards colleges began to be established for the purpose. There are now quite a number of such institutions, but only about a dozen of them do college work. Only six have as many as fifty students of college grade. They are the results of Northern philanthropy, freely given at first, later often only after persistent solicitation. Most of these colleges are still poorly equipped and inadequately endowed. Multiplicity of named institutions instead of concentration of money and energy upon a few well-equipped, well-endowed, and well-managed colleges, has been a wasteful error. In their management and educational ideals they are modeled after the old-line colleges of the churches. Their curricula are narrow and ultra-conservative, while their standards of entrance and of graduation requirements have been generally low till recently.

Our white denominational colleges have been saved from mediæval fossilization only by the rich, red blood and insistent common sense of their pupils, and our politics-ridden State universities, especially in the South, have been saved from utter inanity mainly by the demands of young men interested in social and civic questions and by the agricultural departments thrust upon them by the taxpayers. The Negro college is for the most part still the victim of the old Jesuitic curriculum and a discredited psychology. Their professors still worship the fetich of "classical culture" and "mental discipline." They have not yet found out that there is no such thing as a general education in the old sense—but that the mind acts mainly as it has been trained to act, that it thinks according to its habits of thinking; that we learn by doing and that the art of the hand, and the conduct of the character are direct and not deduced results of culture. The professor and his pupil are thus in danger of becoming pedantic and enamored of the superficial and the showy and of believing with religious fervor in the efficacy of a learning that ends with itself. The Negro needs training for actual life, not dream life. It is true that many of these classical scholars have gone out into the world and

succeeded; but they have done so, not so much because of their classical education as in spite of it. And they have been influenced for good and toward exemplary lives by the living examples and consecration of their teachers rather than by anything they got out of their "courses of study." It seems to be too often a fact, however, that the college-bred Negro, just as the old-line college-bred white man, feels that he is and of a right ought to be an aristocrat. He disdains to labor with his hands. Too often a smattering called education merely gives him an inflated opinion of himself and an ambition only for the so-called higher walks of life where his sort is in no great demand. He fails to see the financial and social possibilities of agriculture and the industries or to appreciate the dignity of labor.

The high-water mark of Negro educational ideals was announced at the Fifteenth Atlanta Conference and expressed in the following resolutions. The concessions made are encouraging:

1. There is an increased and pressing demand for college-trained Negroes.

2. The Negro graduates are at present, with few exceptions, usefully and creditably employed.

3. The course of study in these colleges does not call for any peculiar modification, but should, on the whole, conform to the general type of curriculum designed for the preparation of broadly educated men to take their places in modern civilization.

4. There should be at least one college for Negro students in each State, liberally endowed.

5. There should be every effort toward coöperation between colleges in the same locality and toward avoidance of unnecessary duplication of work.

6. We believe that Negro public high schools in the South are greatly needed.

7. We believe in perfect honesty in living up to catalog requirements of admission. We believe the amount of Greek and Latin in college should be gradually reduced.

8. We believe that the time given to Natural Science, English, History, and Sociology should be increased.

9. We believe that vocational training is a pressing need of Negroes, but that it should be preceded by as much cultural training as possible.

There are now, however, a number of Negro educational institutions intermediate between the old-line college and

the public school, that are not only doing a beneficent work toward social efficiency and civic righteousness, but are spreading the doctrine of work and of the essential value of character. It is one of the most hopeful signs of the time as regards the Negro that he is here and there in greater and greater numbers accepting the teachings of General Armstrong and Doctor Washington. And schools like Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute, together with the State Normal and Industrial Schools for Negroes, are forcing a recognition of the new doctrine in the old-line colleges. Such recognition is coming grudgingly, but it is coming nevertheless. And when it does come fully and cheerfully it will usher in a brighter day for the Negroes and for society so far as their numbers can spread; for then every accredited college graduate will be, or will have the opportunity to be, a nucleus of industry and economic independence and of respect for law and order.

The Negro public school is better than no school, but it has not fulfilled the hopes of those who have fostered it. It has considerably reduced technical illiteracy, but real illiteracy, to say nothing of real ignorance, has hardly been touched in the rural districts of the South and but feebly affected in the cities. The rural Negro teachers are generally ignorant and many of them grossly immoral. Of the 3,705 Negro county school teachers of Georgia, 2,500 are teaching under third grade license. But the conditions under which most of these teachers work are such as to make success hard to accomplish by even the best of teachers. The houses are in most places ill adapted to school purposes, often dilapidated and provided with no conveniences or pedagogical equipment. The schools are crowded, the attendance irregular, and the terms short. The salary of the teacher is on an average less than the field hand gets, yet there is no dearth of applicants for such positions. It must be said, however, that there is an increasing number of Negro teachers who are more truly missionaries than merely teachers. And I wish to say of this class of teachers that they are doing more for the uplift and progress of the Negroes as a people than any other one agency. Notwithstanding the untoward conditions under which they work, they

cheerfully make the best of it and keep their hearts in the right place. They are willing to be taught and seem to be able to inspire the same spirit in their pupils and in their pupils' parents. And thus a saner conception of education is gradually growing up among the Negroes. These teachers appreciate the growing interest of the better class of white people and take worthy advantage of the help rendered by such as the Jeanes and Slater funds and submit profitably to the system of supervision of their work thus provided. There is through them and through the wider influence of such institutions as Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes and the State industrial schools a slow but hopeful change of attitude toward industrial and vocational education among Negroes generally.

In the United States in 1911-12 there were supposed to be nearly 400 educational institutions for Negroes only of secondary and college grade, other than public high schools. Of these, 258 made reports to the United States Bureau of Education. There was a total attendance of 68,977, of whom 30,859 were males. More than 41,000 of these, however, were doing elementary work, and only 5,164 were doing college work. About half of the total, 13,208 males and 21,000 females, were receiving industrial training; perhaps four-fifths ought to have been receiving such training. In these institutions 3,419 teachers were employed, 1,563 males and 1,856 females. Many of these teachers are white. There are, all told, 21,267 (Special Report, 1907) Negro teachers of all classes in the United States.

During 1911-12 there were in the United States 159 public high schools for Negroes, employing 597 teachers. There were in attendance 13,115 pupils, but only 10,877 of these were of high school grade. There are other Negro high school pupils in certain parts of the North where the color line is not drawn in the schools, but the total number is not great.

The United States Commissioner of Education reports that the Negroes of the South are contributing about a million dollars a year for educational purposes. Most of this, of course, goes to their church schools, but more recently

they have been assisting in the development of the common schools. The annual expenditures for secondary and college education of Negroes is estimated at about \$4,500,000. The value of the property used for the purpose is estimated at \$20,000,000 and the endowment and productive funds at \$6,100,000. Dr. Washington estimates that the South has spent for Negro public schools since 1870 about \$160,000,000. Dr. Weatherford puts the estimate at \$200,000,000.

The total expenditure for Negro elementary education in the South in 1912 was about \$8,700,000. There were notable increases for this year reported from Alabama, Florida, and Georgia. Besides the well-known fact that very many of the Negro public schools, *as we have them*, are worthless, the following table of expenditures shows that a large proportion of the money appropriated and paid out for the Negro elementary schools is wasted. The crying need of the Negro, as well as the white, rural schools is competent supervision, such as the Jeanes fund is supplying to the extent of its resources:

TABLE No. 3

State	Total Expenditure	Average Cost Per Child	
		Of School Age	Enrolled
Alabama	\$ 465,192	\$ 1.41	\$ 3.41
Delaware	52,763	5.42	10.44
District of Columbia.....	857,348	47.45
Florida	257,369	2.98	4.65
Georgia	606,558	1.68	2.72
Kentucky	624,843	6.64	10.71
Louisiana	312,178	1.40	3.74
Mississippi	538,953	1.31	2.26
Missouri	556,207	12.96	18.81
North Carolina.....	537,998	2.26	3.35
South Carolina.....	349,834	1.20	1.71
Tennessee	619,629	3.28	6.39
Texas	1,238,737	6.44	7.60
Virginia	672,475	3.14	5.53
West Virginia.....	200,705	11.78	17.74

It may be interesting in this connection to note some comparisons, not perhaps significant within themselves, but nevertheless suggestive.

1. There are more Negro convicts in the single State of Georgia than there are Negro college graduates in the United States.

2. There are more than five times as many Negro convicts in the United States as there are Negro college graduates in the United States.

3. If the number of Negro paupers in almshouses in the United States be added to the number of Negro convicts in the United States, the total would be greater than the total number of Negro students receiving industrial training in the United States.

4. There were more Negro convicts in the prisons last year than there were Negro pupils of secondary grades in the 238 Negro schools and colleges reporting.

5. There were as many Negroes arrested in Atlanta during 1912 as there were Negroes of high school grade enrolled in all the public high schools for Negroes in the United States.

6. There are more convicts serving time for crime in the United States than there are Negro school-teachers of all classes in the United States.

7. There are more feeble-minded Negroes in the United States than there are Negro school-teachers.

8. There are more Negro paupers in institutions in the United States than there are Negroes receiving industrial training in all schools combined.

9. There are more than twice as many Negro paupers in almshouses in the United States, and about eight times as many convicts as there are teachers, both white and Negro, in all the 238 institutions reporting.

10. There are about twice as many insane Negroes in hospitals as there are Negro college graduates.

11. The number of feeble-minded Negroes and insane Negroes in hospitals is greater than the total number of Negroes receiving industrial training in the 238 institutions reporting.

4. THE NEGRO CITIZEN AND THE LAW

Law to the average Negro mind is a convenience to be called in against an enemy or to be thwarted for the benefit

of friends. The Negro citizen seems to feel, when it comes to a question of 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 spirit of the law is quite another matter. They are ready enough to use the white man's court to punish their own kind for personal offenses, but are equally as ready to shield and hide from the legally constituted officers of the court members of their race guilty of real infractions of the law. Many Negro writers and editors are stanch defenders of Negro criminals in effect. They condone the acts of the overt lawbreakers. Occasionally one sees a line or two of mild admission of Negro guilt, sometimes a per-fervid condemnation of some particularly atrocious crime; but generally the burden of comment is an injured innocence plea, if the defendant is a Negro and the prosecutor white, and a maudlin sympathy for the Negro criminal as if he were a martyr to freedom and due some special pity. In all the comments on lynching (in whose condemnation I heartily accord) made by Negro writers I cannot call to mind a one I have read in which there was a breath of sympathy for the victim of the foul criminal. The burden of the comment is sympathy for the criminal, the complaint of racial persecution, and a condemnation of the mob—who are at least as excusable as the rapist. And the condemnation does not seem to be because the lynching is itself a violation of law, brutal and demoralizing, but because its victim was a Negro.

Dr. Baker was nearly correct when he said of the Negro: "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 in civilized America and quiz them with reference to their motives of conduct and note their replies—always concrete according to illustration before them or their act in question. They do not answer according to the principle of right and wrong

involved or according to any principle in the case, yet it is not difficult to see that their answers are based really on some more or less ill-defined idea of expediency.

Miss Kellor found in her psychological studies of Negro females that they believed temptation to be such only when yielded to, and that no emphasis was placed upon the smaller temptations. She found further that: "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 others' 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. . . . 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. . . . Spasmodic, unsystematic, unsympathetic, and, often, unprincipled discipline is the practice." It is thus seen that neither an essentially moral standard nor the spirit of obedience is either recognized or taught among the class of Negroes Miss Kellor examined. Authority is a thing to be feared first, respected afterwards, if at all.

It must not be forgotten that what has just been said applies to the lower nine-tenths of the Negro population. There are in every considerable community of Negroes a leaven of the better sort whose characters are above reproach and whose conduct is based on conscience and self-respect. In some places this class has taken active interest in matters of public welfare and have worked among their own race very effectively for law and order.

For a more extended discussion along this line of thought see another chapter: "What the Negro Thinks of Crime and the Courts."

5. THE NEGRO CITIZEN AND HIS MORAL STANDARDS

The low moral sense of the Negro is of course most patent in his overt criminal acts. These are more or less fairly indicated by criminal statistics. But there are moral delinquencies and vicious habits among the general Negro population that never reach the courts, that are more significant than figures. They measure more accurately the Negro's moral standards and account largely for his criminal record. They explain much of the dependency found among Negroes and emphasize the necessity of taking cognizance of the Negro defective. They must be considered in any effective program for the care and treatment of the submerged classes.

A. IN BUSINESS RELATIONS

At the close of the Civil War and during Reconstruction the Negro had an equal, if not a better, economic opportunity than the Southern white man. He commanded the labor situation in the South, having acquired during his enslavement more or less skill in all of the industrial and mechanic arts commonly practiced in the *ante-bellum* South. At that time there were no labor unions or any race prejudice to interfere with his continued monopoly of those lines of labor. But his hereditary weaknesses have robbed him of his advantages. His inefficiency, his heedless wastefulness, his mistaken notion of the superiority of the "higher walks of life," but, above all, his unreliability, have well-nigh accomplished for him what mere competition could never have done. And so the younger generation is found bound in the bonds of a harsher slavery than their fathers ever knew—unskilled hands and economic pressure in an environment daily growing more unfavorable for the inefficient and unreliable. For the result is harder conditions of labor and increased unemployment and poverty. To all too many that means, also, vagrancy, gambling, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, robbery, murder—and the chain gang.

At the close of the Civil War the white man owned the land and had more or less education and social prestige; but he was poverty-stricken by the ravages of war, discouraged by defeat and sorrow for the dead, many of them

unaccustomed to physical labor and brought up upon a scale of living beyond their means in the new order, untrained in the arts and crafts, and denied participation in government. The Negro was accustomed to the simple life and to physical labor, had more or less training in the industrial arts and crafts, had control of the political situation, with the United States Army to protect him and a host of Northern philanthropists to educate, advise, and legislate for him; and he had no prison record behind him. But the hereditary differences between white and black remained: this was his only essential handicap. But after fifty years of opportunity his accumulations have not been in proportion to his increase of population, and he is gradually receding before the more efficient and reliable white laborer. In the North the more capable white with his labor union has driven him into menial labor almost exclusively; and even in the South the tendency is to relegate him to menial service and the coarser occupations. His inefficiency and unreliability have necessitated the calling in of skilled labor in competition. The mountaineer and the "poor white" are manning the cotton factories, foreigners are doing more and more of the mining and railroad-building, and even the farm laborer is threatened with the Jap and the Italian peasant.

Everywhere throughout the South to-day and for ten years past our industries and agriculture have been appealing for labor both skilled and unskilled and have greatly increased wages. Meantime the streets and dives of our cities have been crowded with idle Negroes. Traveling through the South one sees gangs of idle Negroes hanging around the railway stations in every little town. This willful idleness, when business, manufacturing, and farming interests are suffering for lack of labor, exasperates the more ambitious white man, and especially so since he knows he is supporting these same worthless loafers anyhow. For most of them are fed and clothed and kept in gambling money by the women they "keep"—our cooks who practice the "basket habit" and take their wages home. Many of such loafers do odd jobs about barber shops, pool rooms, pressing clubs, saloons, and the like—sufficient to prevent

arrest for vagrancy; many of them act as decoys for gambling dives and pimps for bawdyhouses; while many of them do absolutely nothing. But most of these, when driven into legitimate employment, prove worthless. Indeed many of the Negroes now regularly employed would be discharged if more reliable or efficient labor could be procured. Any great influx of white labor would greatly embarrass the Negro population; for wherever the Swede, the Greek, the Italian, or Slav has come into competition the Negro has been displaced. On this account the Negro and his apologist have set up a childish wail of injured innocence, charging race prejudice. With childish inconsistency they charge the white man with subordinating every kindlier sentiment to his greed for gain and in the next breath assert that on account of race prejudice he will pay the white laborer better wages for the same work. Note the following quotations from *Charities*, for October 7, 1905:

"In every community the Negro is practically dependent, for nearly everything of importance, on the dominant race." Now, note the reasons for this, given below. "He must live in places set apart for him, and that often in the worst parts of the city." The writer of this complaint fails to notice that the weak and inefficient whites fare likewise; besides, there is plenty of room in the country. "He must find work below his capabilities and training." This is the usual wail of the failure, whether black or white. "He must live in the outer rim of life's advantages and pleasures." So does every poor and ignorant man, for the most part. "His merit, whatever it may be, is more apt to be discounted than recognized. Even though he be educated, public opinion still persists in rating him as ignorant and treating him as such. His virtues are generally overlooked or reluctantly believed in." As if, forsooth, the busy world should turn aside to hunt up educated and virtuous Negroes to "recognize" and "believe in." Besides, the busy man knows that the "educated" and "virtuous" Negro, or white man either, is not always either efficient or trustworthy in fact. "He is the victim of more injustice than is meted out to any other class of people." Note the following examples of such injustice. "In the matter of employment, the col-

ored people of Chicago have lost in the last ten years nearly every occupation of which they once had almost a monopoly. There is now scarcely a Negro barber in the business district. Nearly all the janitor work in the large buildings has been taken away from them by the Swedes. White men and women as waiters have supplanted colored men in nearly all the first-class hotels and restaurants." As if white men and women had no right to seek such employment. "Practically all the shoe-polishing is now done by Greeks. Negro coachmen and expressmen and teamsters are seldom seen in the business districts. It scarcely need be stated that colored young men and women are almost never employed as clerks and bookkeepers in business establishments. A race that can be systematically deprived of one occupation after another becomes an easy prey to all kinds of injustice." As if personal property to which they had an unquestioned title had been forcibly wrested from them. It is "all kinds of injustice" for employers to engage more efficient and more reliable service, or for reliable and efficient white men to come into competition. "When they can be reduced to a position to be pitied,"—the very evident "systematic" effort of their competitors, of course—"they will cease to be respected. It is not surprising then that there has been a marked lowering of that public sentiment that formerly was liberal and more tolerant of the Negro's presence and efforts to rise"—and let us add, more ignorant of and more helpless in the absence of competing labor, and hence more tolerant of the Negro's inefficiency and unreliability.

This is how Fannie Barrier Williams explains the situation: *"White men wanted these places and were strong enough to displace the unorganized, thoughtless, and easy-going occupants of them. When the hordes of Greeks, Italians, Swedes, and other foreign folks began to pour into Chicago, the demand for the Negroes' places began. One occupation after another that the colored people felt was theirs forever by a sort of divine right fell into the hands of these foreign invaders. This loss was not so much due to

*Quoted by Stone, p. 157.

prejudice against color, as to the ability of these foreigners to increase the importance of the places sought and captured. The Swedes have captured the janitor business by organizing and training the men for this work in such a way as to increase the efficiency and reliability of the service. White men have made more of the barber business than did the colored man, and by organization have driven every Negro barber from the business district. The 'shoe-polisher' has supplanted the Negro bootblack, and does business in finely appointed parlors, with mahogany finish and electric lights. Thus a menial occupation has become a well-organized and genteel business with capital and system behind it."

The *Plaindealer** comments thus on the Topeka situation: "The Negro is the best bootblack, . . . but he studied too much about baseball, policy, craps, etc., and not enough about the comfort of his patrons. He was earning enough to make him feel as though the people who patronized him were under obligation to him, and would quit working on a customer to jolly with a bystander."

Archibald H. Grimke thus explains the Boston situation: "The colored coachman got a black eye when people began to travel abroad and discover in England, for instance, how much more an English coachman knows about horses and their care than a colored one in Boston. The English coachman not only knows how to sit on his box and hold the ribbons with style, but he is a master of horse lore. He keeps abreast of up-to-date methods and utilities in his world. He is, in fact, a horse doctor of no mean attainments and skill. He has fitted himself for his work not in one line only but in an all-round way. And as the colored coachman was inferior to him in this respect, he had only to come and see and conquer wherever he and his colored competitor engaged each other in the struggle for employment, for bread."

Summing up his study of this phase of "The Economic Future of the Negro," Mr. Stone says: "With variations of detail we find practically the same situation presented in

*Quoted by Stone, p. 159.

New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Springfield, and sections of New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, and the Northwest. The Negro has lost ground. . . . There seem to be two contributing causes to this situation: inefficiency, unreliability, and a lack of thrift on the part of the Negro, and prejudice on the part of the white man. I shall not attempt to weigh the one against the other, to see where the greater responsibility lies. Upon the statements of eminent Negro authorities, the Negroes have themselves to blame, certainly in a very great measure. I can hardly believe that any considerable body of laboring men, regardless of color or race, anywhere have ever been successfully and permanently deprived of their opportunities by any other body of men, unless the latter proved themselves the more competent to do the work sought by the two."

As to the situation in the South, Booker Washington says: *"Whatever other sins the South may be called upon to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world." This has been the case ever since the Civil War. But has the Negro made good? If not, why? For at the close of the war and for some ten years after the Negro had the economic advantage over his former master in every respect except in land ownership and literary education. But very much of the white man's land had been confiscated during Reconstruction, a share of it falling into the Negro's possession. And, notwithstanding the wholesale robberies of the Reconstruction regime, the Negro, with a few notable exceptions, came out with nothing. He played into the hands of the carpetbagger, but failed to get his proportionate share of the spoils, and what he did get he squandered in riotous living. Estimates of his present property have been set as high as \$1,000,000,000. Dr. Wilcox and Dr. DuBois reduced the estimate in 1907 to \$300,000,000. The Negro Business Men's League have recently set the estimate at \$600,000,000.

Discussing the Negro's economic achievements, Mr. Stone remarks:

*Quoted by Stone.

"And after we have agreed upon such figures (\$300,000,000), what do they tell us of the stability and rate, of even the extent, of economic progress? In the answer to this question are involved two widely accepted fallacies: First, that the Negro began life forty years ago with nothing but his freedom; second, that the period of his emancipation has been one of marvelous achievement.

"It is easy to prove progress if permitted to take zero as our starting point and measure of comparison, . . . I merely suggest for your consideration certain facts in this connection, tending to disprove the reiterated assertion of the Negro's pauperism at the time of his emancipation. We seem to overlook the fact that there were a half million free Negroes in this country in 1860, distributed throughout practically all the States of the Union. In their ranks were to be found men engaged in nearly every form of industrial enterprise followed by such persons to-day. . . . It seems to me, then, that if we seek to measure such progress by present property holdings, it is incumbent upon us to answer these questions: How much has the Negro accumulated during the last forty years? How much had he acquired during the preceding hundred and forty?

"It is inconceivable that any people who could increase in numbers from four and a half millions in 1860 to nine millions in 1900 could fail also to increase their property during that period. In discussing as something wonderful this natural increase we lose sight of factors and considerations which must enter into any estimate of the extent to which such increase means genuine and permanent economic racial progress. How far has it been a mere advance along lines of least resistance? In what degree is it indicated by the success of more or less isolated groups, under favorable local conditions? How has this acquisition of property kept pace with that of others about them? and how far does it represent only the crumbs from the rich man's table? How great a proportion is held by the exceptional few and how much distributed among the masses? How much of the total is traceable to the gifts and bequests of white ancestors? To what extent does this increase mean the holding

of their own, or actual, positive progress in the face of slowly but steadily increasing competition? In how far is it attributable to the training and steadying influences of the period of slavery? In what proportion do the older and younger elements of the race, respectively, contribute to the total wealth of the whole?"

In a temperate discussion in detail along the line of his questions Mr. Stone reaches conclusions negative and unfavorable to the great claims made as to the economic achievements of the Negro. And he attributes the Negro's failure largely to inefficiency, unreliability, and shiftlessness.

In the mercantile world the Southern Negro has had an open field, and if we are to believe reports he has entered the field in goodly numbers, but his success has not been great. Upon examination we find that most of his establishments are small, poorly managed, often in filth and disorder, and too often a place for loafers rather than a place of business. There are, of course, creditable exceptions in almost every Southern city. The Negro merchant lacks foresight and business discretion. He overbuys and he sells too much on credit. He employs too much help and gives too little attention to details. As compared to the Jew and the Greek now entering so largely the same field of small business in the South the Negro is more honorable in his dealings and more courteous to his customers, and yet the Jew and the Greek succeed and the Negro fails.

In business the Negro lacks loyalty to his race and has small confidence in the integrity or business ability of his people. He buys from Jews where Negro stores are equally convenient. Negro agents for loan sharks and installment houses, to say nothing of drug peddlers and blind tigers, prey upon their own color. Many Negroes are learning to save by depositing a portion of their earnings in banks, but the bulk of their deposits are in white men's banks. Probably the multiplied failures of Negro enterprises of this sort justify the lack of confidence. This must be said in partial explanation of such failure: next to no opportunity has been afforded Negroes to learn by experience as clerks, bookkeepers, or financial agents the *modus operandi*

of banking, insurance, and the like. Nevertheless there are said to be sixty-two banks now in successful operation, owned and managed by Negroes, with \$1,600,000 capital and an annual business of about \$20,000,000.

As to the Negro's place in manufacturing, Dr. Ballinger says: "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 no 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 mills and has failed in each one. The reason of his failure was 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 employee."

The number and variety of factories have greatly increased in the South since Dr. Ballinger wrote this statement, but it still holds true that wherever skill, carefulness, promptitude, and regularity are essential very few Negroes are employed. I know of no factories of any importance either owned or operated by Negroes, though they are largely employed as common laborers in such enterprises.

While the Negro is not a striker—he seems to lack the coöperative ability for that—he has a way of leaving his employer in the lurch at the most inopportune times. The chief reason why manufacturing has not developed more rapidly in the South is because the Negro labor—the only available labor in many places—is not only inefficient but unreliable. No contract binds them. It is well known how provokingly prone the Negro cook is to get sick, be called to court as a witness, or to accept a new job when her mistress has company. At a small factory in which I was a partner there was a general utility man who received at least one telegram a month calling him to the funeral of some of his relatives. His mother died several times. The Negro is sometimes heartless in taking advantage of calamities, as in the case of his refusal to work on the levees below Memphis a few years ago during an overflow, and in the case of the desertion in a body of the Negro nurses at a Negro hospital in a certain Southern city, leaving only the white superintendent to care for the sick.

Commenting on a table given to show the occupations of Negroes of Columbia, Mo., 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 discouraging, and all the more so when we call to mind the fact that 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 years."

"Almost incredible are the experiences told by Columbia housekeepers anent 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 philanthropic 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 of them 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 \$6 per month and 'keep' (which frequently includes room and fuel) for an untrained hand, to three times that for a trained 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 computing the terms of service of that kind of help which is at the command of the 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 month, or even every week for months in succession." There

are few creatures more exasperating than an ignorant, wasteful, lazy, impudent, and unclean Negro—but we men who have lived in boarding houses and private families know that there are two sides to the “servant problem.”

The Negro men are somewhat more satisfactory than the women, but the average Negro is not worth his wages except under the eye of his “boss.” Every squad of laborers must have the constant presence of the boss, and every farm must have its overseer or rider. The Negro is at his best as a laborer under the gang system where he can hit a steady lick and have no responsibility.

Summing up his study of the Columbia Negro, Dr. Elwang says: “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 to-day 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 see no necessity for toil. He takes more pleasure in the regalia 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.”

The Negro farmer, as well as the common laborer, whether tenant, *metayer*, or wage hand, is a time-killer. I spent the summer and autumn of 1903 at West Point, Miss., riding out through the country in various directions every fair day. On week days when there were no circuses or funerals, I found the Negro at easy-going labor in his crops, but on Saturdays the fields 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 crops. Wages were good and the planters were clamoring for cotton pickers, but the Negroes went to town—and the cotton went to waste.

The carelessness generally and the criminal abuse of live stock and of farming implements of which the average Negro is guilty would not be tolerated except in the South. Indeed fine stock and modern agricultural machinery are things practically unknown on large Southern plantations, because they cannot be risked with Negro laborers.

Mr. Stone, in his "Studies in the American Race Problem," gives some very interesting details of his efforts to establish a dependable tenantry on his plantation in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. The details may be found in the book mentioned; the interesting conclusion for our purpose is that after a faithful trial the effort was abandoned as hopeless. The cause of the failure was the old story of the Negro's shiftlessness and unreliability. Mr. Stone presents also a comparative study of Italian and Negro tenants on a neighboring plantation. "But the planter's greatest trouble arises out of the Negro's unreliability—the fact that he cannot be depended upon to be governed by considerations of self-interest; that he changes his habitation in response to the most trifling and whimsical suggestions, and frequently for no reason at all; that out of any group of plantation families we never know toward the close of the year upon how many we may depend for the next—regardless of what they tell us—nor how many will carry through a crop after they have contracted to do so. . . . One hundred and ten Italian squads began crops in 1905, and 107 carried them through. One left because of sickness, one ran off, and one was made to leave. Sixty-one Negro squads began the year, and thirty-eight went through; seventeen 'turned back' their crops, and six ran off. Of the Italians, 97.2% stayed through the year; and of the Negroes, 62.2%."

These figures do not tell the whole story: a large per cent of Negro tenants, if allowed to do so, come out behind on account at the end of the year, and when they move to another plantation make no effort to pay up arrears, and there is no recourse against them. Recently enacted labor

contract laws in several of the Southern States provide criminal prosecution for those who abandon their crops.

At a Negro farmers' institute I heard the Negro land-owners discuss the subject: "The Tenant, Wage-Hand, and Share-Cropper." Their experiences were similar to those of Mr. Stone.

As a renter the rural Negro lets his cabin go to wreck, rides his work stock at night, and burns up his fences instead of the easily available wood a little foresight would provide. He frequently sells the corn he needs to feed his stock and sometimes steals his own cotton. The average white tenant on Southern plantations is as unreliable as the Negro and harder to get along with amicably. As a tenant of city property the Negro takes better care of the house and pays his rent more promptly than the white man who pays the same rent rate.

It can be said on the authority of merchants, rent collectors, and the like, that, as a general proposition, the Negro pays his debts as well as the white man of the same relative class. This may be due to greater care in limiting the credit of the Negro or to the use of less delicacy in pushing collections. It seems, however, from information I have from Negroes themselves, that white men collect from Negroes more successfully than Negroes from Negroes. The bane of the city Negro is the installment man. He seems to have no will to resist the importunate salesman nor any judgment as to prices so long as he can buy "on time." It ought to be a criminal offense to solicit Negroes in their homes.

The matter of the purchase of homes furnishes a fair illustration of the average Negro's lack of foresight and persistent aim. One real estate dealer in Atlanta has sold thirty-six houses to Negroes, seven of them within the last eighteen months. Some were sold eight years ago. Of the thirty-six purchasers, nine, or 25%, have already failed on their deferred payments and been dispossessed. Ten, or more than 25%, of the thirty-six are now so far behind in their payments that, according to their contracts, they could all be dispossessed. Six years is the usual time re-

quired to complete the payments. Only one has ever paid out. Two of the purchasers died, each leaving his widow about \$600 insurance. One of the widows paid \$500 on her home, leaving a balance to be paid of less than \$300, but she paid no more and sold the house back to the dealer two years later. The other paid up the overdue notes, spent the balance of her insurance playing "hot-stuff," and finally, failing even to pay rent, was forcibly dispossessed. It should be explained that none of these purchasers were dispossessed strictly according to contract, but were allowed to retain possession till the total of their payments had been consumed at regular rent rates, thus giving some of them more than a year in which to reinstate themselves.

The census of 1910 shows, however, 323,786 unincumbered homes owned by Negroes, and, in addition, 158,672 farm homes. He claims also 100,205 homes and 57,404 farms that are encumbered. The number of Negro farms increased 20.2% in the South from 1900 to 1910 and the farm acreage from 38,612,046 to 42,609,117. The increase in values of farms and farming buildings and equipments was 136.7% for the same period, as compared with 122.6% for white farmers. Considerable interest in just now being manifested by Negro farm owners and by some Negro tenants, in different sections, in farm demonstration work. There are about thirty-five Negro farmers acting as agents in the United States Farmers' Coöperative Demonstration work. Indeed the Negro is making more real substantial progress just now in agriculture than in any other line of endeavor. In some sections the proof of his success is noticeable in his farmhouses and the care he is taking in keeping up his land. A Negro farmer of Georgia who died recently was for many years the first to produce and bring to market the first bale of cotton of the season. Isaac D. Martin, of Pratt City, Ala., was given a second prize (\$150) for producing two hundred bushels of corn on an acre of ground, and Sam McCord, seventy-five years old, of Wilcox County, Ala., raised seven bales of cotton on two acres. Agriculture in the South is the Negro's golden opportunity if he can be brought to see it—and a hopeful number are seeing it and

buying farm lands, as the statistics show. Land is cheap and the terms offered easy and the white man is proud of every Negro farmer who succeeds. The Negro as a race is not yet ready to leave the soil; he does not easily adjust himself to American city life; he cannot bear the fierce competition in business and manufacturing.

There are quite a number of small towns and farm settlements where Negroes own most of the property and are in control of their local affairs. Just how successful they are I cannot say—indeed I doubt if the promoters of such enterprises themselves know; and it remains to be seen what the second generation will do with their inheritance.

B. IN RELIGIOUS RELATIONS

The religion of the American Negro is a voluble compound of sociability and superstition. He does not connect it with moral sanctions and, generally speaking, is not able to give a reason for the hope that is in him. While the form of it is in imitation of that of the white churches, the spirit of it is the Negro's own, and he is not a hypocrite. The white man, in theory at least, has no respect for a non-moral religion; the Negro has never discovered the nexus. The joy of the white man's religion at its best is the answer of a good conscience toward God; the joy of the Negro's religion is a frenzied emotion and an unclouded hope of a blissful hereafter. His theology does not rise above an anthropomorphic polytheism, though we call it Christianity. To him, God, Jesus, the Holy Ghost, angels, and Satan are real individual, corporeal, yet supernatural, persons of unequal powers and various functions. His faith is often an odd mixture of Christianity and animism. Signs and portents, greegrees and "conjure" bags, "sperits" and "hants," hoodooism and witchcraft are much more commonly believed in than most white people know of; and these beliefs and the fears that accompany them have an appreciable influence in Negro life. At heart the Negro is fearful and intolerant, and if segregated for a few years would be practicing witchcraft and human sacrifice. In fact, only a few months ago a Negro sect both teaching and practicing

human sacrifice was discovered in Louisiana. Its existence was the explanation of a number of very bloody murders. Indeed the Negro believes in magic, readily accepting the orthodox theory of the vicarious atonement in its baldest form, and the verbal inerrancy of the Scriptures as written by the finger of God on tables of stone and handed down from Mount Sinai. The twin stock doctrines of vicarious atonement and instantaneous "conversion" are marvelously seductive, the one relieving the Negro of personal accountability, the other furnishing him an effortless, lazy-man's unbothersome sort of "presto!" passport to heaven. The preacher exhorts the sinner to "come to Jesus," whatever vague thing that may mean; and persuades the "seeker" that though his sins be as scarlet, there is a magic in "conversion" that washes away his guilt and gives him an unquestioned entrance at the pearly gates. This sort of stuff, *taught him, in effect, by white preachers*, is of course a travesty on the teachings of Jesus, but it offers a pernicious "door of hope" to the ignorant Negro criminal. For he is taught it from his youth up, he believes it literally, and trusts in the efficacy of a "deathbed repentance." And so we have the murderer, the incendiary, and the rapist passing with utmost confidence from the scaffold of execution into the arms of Jesus.

The Negro's religion as such is no deterrent of crime or immorality. Any idea of the character of God or of personal responsibility to him is vague or altogether absent. There is no well-defined doctrine of rewards and punishments, no conception of retribution except as against the other fellow, nor any conception of salvation by character. Miss Kellor, using the word "religion," made some "association tests" that are both interesting and significant. She got the following results: "From white students: 'prayer,' 'heaven,' 'peace,' 'contentment,' 'happiness,' 'beautiful,' 'good,' 'safe,' 'nun;' from white criminals: 'sacrament,' 'singing,' 'choir,' 'organ;' from Negroes: 'heaven,' 'home,' 'dress,' 'good time;' from Negro criminals: 'shouting,' 'preaching,' 'get religion,' 'hallelujah.' It is thus seen that the Negro's religious ideas are purely emotional and objective.

Among Negroes generally, and among the rural Negroes especially, revival meetings are characteristically noisy and demonstratively emotional. I have known of instances where the noise and excitement reached such a height that the meetings were declared a nuisance and were abated by law. I am told that during such seasons of refreshing sensuality runs rife and everyday duties are more or less neglected. It is known that any violent emotion affects the reproductive centers, and religious excitement, so closely allied with sociability, certainly has no small influence upon the sexual instinct. Indeed a Negro preacher described to me in condemnatory words, but with evident relish, the lascivious handling of female seekers at the mourners' bench by certain spiritual advisers of his acquaintance. The devotion of enthusiastic sisters to officiating evangelists is said not always to be above suspicion, and W. H. Thomas charges that many of these preachers do not scruple to desecrate the homes that offer them hospitality. I have been told by Negroes who ought to know that the Negro clergy, *as a class*, are corrupt and sensual. Many cases of embezzlement of church funds have come to my ears, and a white physician of Marshall, Mo., told me of his having treated six Negro preachers for venereal diseases. It is said also that an immoral life among women is no bar to church membership—that more frequently than otherwise “church workers” are led by women known to be of elastic virtue. Such women are frequently mulattoes, more intelligent than the others and more “forward.” They dress better than the others and have more money to contribute to the cause. A certain pastor at West Point, Miss., is said to have found it necessary to draw the line in no uncertain terms against visits of female members to his sleeping apartments, ostensibly to “tidy up” his room. Now I know that gossip is easy and travels far, but if these things be true it is a sad condition and needs reform. The moral conceptions of a people seldom rise above their religious ideals and their moral character seldom rises above that of their religious leaders. The better class of Negroes have of recent years made considerable effort to improve the character and efficiency of

the ministry, and they claim that their efforts have been rewarded with a very fair measure of success.

The Negro church is not always either wisely or economically administered, but it is done by themselves, and in their own way they are doing good. I said that the Negro's religion as such is no deterrent of crime, but that is not the same as to say that the Negro church is no deterrent of crime. For, while the preaching done has little direct influence in that direction, many ministers are now taking it upon themselves to preach on matters pertaining to law and order, and, what is far more effective practically, the Negro church is fostering educational institutions, intra-church benevolent societies, and homes for orphans and old people, besides much relief to individuals in want. It is estimated that the various Negro churches contribute something like a million dollars a year for education and about five hundred thousand dollars to charity. Negroes are better supporters of churches and their charities in proportion to their means, perhaps, than are white people, taken the country over. But neither Negro churches, Negro ministers, nor laymen seem to feel any obligation of either financial or moral support of the charity organization societies or other such agencies operated by white people for the relief of the poor and distressed. From a number of letters received from secretaries of charity organization societies of Southern cities in answer to my inquiries, I find that none of the societies heard from have the coöperation of the Negroes, notwithstanding practically all of them distribute considerable relief among destitute Negroes. As to why the Negroes do not coöperate the consensus of opinion seems to be that it is due largely to ignorance and sheer indifference, and, on the part of the ministers, to a sort of bumptious jealousy for their own particular endeavors. The mudsill truth of it is, perhaps, that the Negro mind is incapable of any broad conception of public welfare and lacks the administrative ability to coöperate along the line of scientific philanthropy.

The Negro's church is his social center. This is both fortunate and unfortunate—fortunate in that it tends to

season all his approved activities with religious restraint, unfortunate in that too great use of church buildings for all kinds of meetings of public interest tends to rob it of the reverence it ought to inspire. But the Negro's religious affiliations are not separate in spirit nor in fact from his sociability; and so his church buildings lend themselves very easily to uses other than the usual religious services, such as fairs, suppers, festivals, celebrations, and exhibitions. There picnics and excursions are planned, political and lodge meetings held, and public announcements made. As to whether or not churches may appropriately be used for all sorts of meetings may not be for the Negro to decide. With him it is hardly a matter of choice, but of necessity, if he is to meet at all. He usually has no other place where he can feel so free and at his ease. But the following announcements in the form of news items clipped from an Atlanta daily paper are perhaps as indicative as they are incongruous:

NEGROES ENGAGE CHURCH FOR BIG FIGHT DETAILS

The colored people of Atlanta will be given a chance to hear the details of the Jeffries-Johnson fight on July 4. The People's Tabernacle, on Yonge Street, has been engaged for the day, and the details will be read there.

This place is the only place where the colored people of Atlanta will have to witness the contest exclusively. Prominent speakers will be on hand to deliver addresses during the day, and arrangements have also been made for a big barbecue. The last feature will begin at 8 a.m. and last until 12 p.m.

HOLINESS NEGROES TO PRAY FOR TRIUMPH OF JOHNSON

Hutchins, Kans., July 2.—The Negro Holiness Church here to-day arranged for special services for Monday afternoon to pray that Johnson may defeat Jeffries.

The Negro Holiness Church has not yet built a house of worship here and a large tent was constructed to-day for the accommodation of those who will attend the services on Monday. There are about 1,200 Negroes here and it is expected that a majority of them will attend the meeting. According to the program announced the Negroes will pray and sing religious hymns until Johnson wins the battle, "if it takes all night."

Arrangements have been made to have the result of the fight bulletined by rounds at the meeting.

Prior to the Civil War Negroes were members of white churches, though there were then quite a number of Negro preachers, and considerable special missionary work was conducted by the white churches among the slaves. It is said that the Southern Methodists had 327 white missionaries at work among the Negroes in 1860 and during that year spent \$86,000 in the cause. At that time there were 270,000 Methodists and 350,000 Baptists; to-day the Methodists claim 1,500,000 and the Baptists 2,000,000. The Catholics, Episcopalians, Northern Methodists, Northern Presbyterians, and Congregationalists claim most of the rest. Catholics and Episcopalians still receive Negroes as regular members of white churches, but the Episcopalians of the South have separate congregations with ministers of their own color. Northern Methodists, Northern Presbyterians, and Congregationalists receive them into white churches, but allow them—and usually encourage them—to form separate congregations, though these are kept under the supervision of the white organization. The Negroes of the Methodist churches of the South, of the Baptist churches, of the Disciples, and of the Cumberland Presbyterians are entirely autonomous.

It is said that 48% of the Negro population, as compared with less than one-third of the white population, are church members. The Negro churches own property variously valued from \$40,000,000 to \$57,000,000 and contribute to religious and philanthropic enterprises more than \$1,500,000 annually. Of their contributions, \$100,000 goes to home missions and \$50,000 to foreign missions in Negro countries. Besides their denominational colleges, or in connection with them, they support twenty-six theological schools.* There is no dearth of preachers nor any lack of religious organizations. Indeed, their church work has become unwieldy from over-organization and schisms, and the majority of their preachers are poorly prepared or wholly incompetent. The better class of Negroes are, however, demanding now a better prepared and a more consecrated ministry.

*"Negro Year Book," Work.

C. IN LIVING CONDITIONS

Even under the best of religious and educational facilities, under our accepted systems and with more favorable economic conditions, the Negro would still be at a disadvantage. Even if his hereditary tendencies were not in his way, his domestic environment would vitiate to a very large degree religious and educational advantages. The Negro needs training more than teaching and a new environment. The average Negro has no home life as compared with that of the respectable white. His home is often a mere herding place of gregarious animals. It is often without a disciplinary head—the father and mother being away at work during the waking hours of their children. Sometimes there is no father—sometimes worse than none; and mothers are frequently as worthless so far as administering the home is concerned, idling, visiting, and gossiping. The mother who works is taken away for the whole day and in many cases far into the night. The children thus left must be their own guardians, where evil influences are rife—on the streets, in blind alleys, among older children already learned in vice. They smoke cigarettes, eat garbage, depredate on property, learn profanity, sexual vice, and theft, and go to the bad before they have left their childhood. These children in turn become parents—ignorant, uncleanly, improvident, immoral, by nature impulsive and indolent. Such parents, living in crowded and unsanitary quarters, without the conveniences demanded by modesty, without the incentives of ambition or the active encouragement of the dominant race, can hardly be expected to be or to rear good citizens.

The dwelling places of Negroes are usually in the least desirable situations in the towns and cities, on low ground, near railroad tracks, or in smoky, noisy, crowded factory districts. In the cities they often live in dilapidated tenements without air or sunlight, full of filth, vermin, and disease germs, or in houses too small for the number that occupy, often improperly constructed and frequently without sanitary conveniences. Careless and ignorant, their homes become the breeding places *par excellence* for flies, bedbugs, and the germs of tuberculosis and every epidemic

disease that prevails. Large cities have sanitary ordinances and generally try to enforce them; the rural Negro simply has more room on the outside. Dr. Elwang thus describes housing conditions in Columbia, Mo., a town having neither the sanitary supervision of a city nor the open-air advantages of the country: "The 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-dispersing germs into the air and water and soil. This was the actual condition of things in 73 out of 132 houses inspected. The interiors were little, if any, better. Out of 208 examined, 57 had to be classed as 'bad,' frequently 'very bad,' 60 as fair, and 91 as 'good.' It is a perfectly fair statement that 50% of the Negro houses in Columbia are in every way unfit to be classed as 'houses' at all. . . . It must be added that, as places put up for human habitations, a large proportion of these houses ought to be condemned and torn down. Certainly a weight of responsibility rests 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 ceilings low. City water is only occasionally found. There is neither flushing nor drainage. Bathrooms are practically unknown. The city sewer is within easy reach, but it is folly to expect owners to make costly connections when the houses are only worth \$50 to \$150! Noxious vermin abound and there is little effort 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. . . . But the

herding together of the tenants in these quarters is even worse: 20 families with 78 individuals occupy, each, one room; 109 families, with 438 individuals, occupy, each, two rooms, or two persons to the room—but one of these families has twelve members, or six persons to the room; two others have nine members; three have eight; and three have seven. One hundred and twenty-one families, with 540 individuals, occupy, each, three rooms, or about one and one-half persons to the room; but two of these families have eleven members, two have nineteen, three have nine, and six have eight. Fifty-one families, with 236 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 41 individuals, occupy, each, five rooms, or one to a room; but one of these families has ten members. . . . Said a member of the race and an earnest worker for its betterment: ‘What can we do for people who insist on living ten in a room and two of them just married?’ ”

I quote the following from “The Negro American Family”:* “So far as actual sleeping space goes, the crowding of human beings together in the Black Belt is greater than in the tenement districts of large cities like New York. In one Black Belt county, out of 1,474 Negro families living in the country district, 761 lived in one room, 560 in two rooms, 93 in three rooms, and 60 in four or more rooms. In this county there were 25 persons for every 10 rooms of house accommodations, while in the worst tenement district of New York there are not above 22.

“From the single couple in one room it was an easy transition to large families with grown children occupying diminutive single-room dwellings. Sometimes married sons or daughters continue to live at home, thus introducing a second or third family. Finally the migration of young men in search of work at different seasons of the year brings in a class of male lodgers. As a result many families entirely outgrow the physical home and use it only for sleeping and huddling in time of storm. Of real group life

*Atlanta University Publication No. 13.

there is, in such cases, little, and in this absence of group training and presence of discomfort and temptation there develop untold evils."

These cabins are dark, the light coming in most cases only from the open door, in winter from the fire on the hearth; the air is bad and the inmates subject to discomforts from drafts and leaky roofs. There are no bathing or sanitary conveniences, of course. There is no beauty, nor comfort or privacy, and often even the water is bad.

"There are sections of the country with much more of squalor and indecency than I have pictured. There are other sections where the homes are larger and the conditions greatly improved. On the whole, however, the one- and two-room cabins still prevail and the consequences are bad health, bad morals, and dissatisfaction with country life."

"In Negro village life is the growing differentiation of conditions. Upon the country Negro just emerging from the backwoods, the village life acts as a stimulus. Left to themselves, to chance surroundings and chance acquaintances, and above all to chance openings for work, the newcomers rise or fall. The successful ones give the first evidence of awakening in improved housing—more rooms, larger windows, neater furniture, the differentiation of sleeping room, kitchen, and parlor, and general improvement in tidiness and taste. The worst immigrants sink into the slums, where vice, by concentration and example, assumes dangerous forms. The fact is often noted that there is more vice among village Negroes than in the country. That is true, but needs to be supported by the additional fact that the village also shows more civilized classes of Negroes."

In summing up the study of the Negro American family the conclusion is reached that only 1% of the rural homes are comfortable, and only 5% of the village homes; that of one thousand homes of Atlanta, forty were first-class—*i. e.*, like those occupied by prosperous whites; and of the whole South perhaps 2% of the Negro homes are of the latter type.

The familiarities bred under such a mode of life as that described must have far-reaching results. Not only the open secrets of the unshielded home, the gossip and bickerings and jealousies of too close neighbors, but the suggestions of too close personal contact, must largely determine the trend of thought and of conversation. Strange as it may seem to one not acquainted with the average Negro, his burden of conversation is, under ordinary, easy-going conditions, of religion, of "personalities," or of matters pertaining to sex. My brother, who operated a brick and tile factory for a number of years, forbade his employees to swear on the works, and succeeded in the prohibition; but recognizing the futility of such a prohibition upon obscenity and lewd conversation did not attempt it. A few hours' observation on the streets of towns in the Black Belt on Saturday afternoons would be a revelation to the uninitiated. The topics of conversation, the bold figures of speech of ill-hidden import, the lascivious handling of one another where opposite sexes are engaged, all expose well enough the predominant trend of mind. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he."

D. IN DOMESTIC RELATIONS

Dr. Elwang says of the Columbia, Mo., 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 relations between the sexes are exceedingly lax. As a matter of fact, we have, in Columbia, a perilous approach to that state of promiscuity postulated by a certain school of anthropologists as man's most primitive sexual condition. The whites usually assume as a commonplace that all Negro women have a price. But it cannot 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 by the few virtuous ones."

Physicians, who are perhaps the best authority on this subject, and Negroes who ought to know have assured me that sexual purity is rare among Negro women of the classes of whom I write, and practically unknown among the men. Dr. Weatherford, basing his figures on information furnished him by Negroes themselves, says that 98% of Negro men are unchaste. Dr. Booker T. Washington's claim that there are more prostitutes for gain in European cities than among American Negroes may be true according to census reports. In many states of Europe prostitutes are registered: it is not so here. Nor are the majority of those essentially prostitute engaged in the business of prostitution or housed in the red-light districts. The simple fact is that among Negroes the revenue from this source is more often only incidental and of only secondary consideration, and social or class lines are not clearly drawn.

Akin to prostitution in the usual sense of the term is the practice of concubinage. This is so common among the lower class of Negroes as to occasion little comment. Dr. Lily, of the Presbyterian Church, however, calls attention to the fact that in a certain district in Mississippi during one year three hundred marriage licenses were issued to whites and but three to Negroes, whereas in proportion to population there should have been twelve hundred! The courts take little or no cognizance of such liaisons, though they are exposed almost daily as incidental evidence in cases tried for other offenses. Such unions cannot afford secure or wholesome homes for offspring. Separations take place as easily as the unions, and children of one mother are often of many fathers, of different colors and temperaments. Such children are, of course, without constant or competent discipline or moral training. Not knowing who their fathers are, nor caring much who their mothers are, such children run wild on the streets and as they grow up wander away like stray dogs. A cook my brother once employed seemed to know next to nothing of her parents,

and the only sister she knew anything about she had not seen since childhood. These sisters got on track of each other, however, and the lost sister paid our cook a visit. The cook was not favorably impressed with her sister—said she did not like her. I have heard of no further association of the two. The family connection of this cook is interesting as further illustrating concubinage. She married one of five children born of the same mother, but of three fathers. The mother of the five is still unmarried, though living with her fourth man. One of the five, whose father was hanged for killing a white man, herself unmarried, gave birth to a child whose father was her brother-in-law. The cook's husband is a gambler and gets drunk, and I am told that the cook has recently taken to drink. The youngest of the five, a boy of about fourteen years, recently disappeared for several weeks, but was finally found in the city stockade.

More serious socially in some respects, though less frequent now than formerly, are the unlawful unions between white men and Negro women. Strangely enough, the family life, if we may call it so, of these unions is cleaner and more permanent than those between Negro and Negro, and the children are in every way better cared for. It is significant that in such cases the woman is usually a mulatto with white blood predominating. I suppose there is hardly a county in the black belt or in the bordering territory where one or more such unions have not been known. It is claimed by one writer on the subject that there is hardly a Negro college in the land at which there are not pupils whose expenses there are paid by their white fathers. It is also a fact, less common now than formerly, since the better development of race consciousness and a distinctively upper class of Negroes, that many mothers of comely mulatto daughters brought up these girls for just such unions. Of course many such girls have become merely prostitutes.

The average Negro of the South sees no impropriety in adultery, so long as he is not caught by a jealous husband. But Negroes fight more over women than they do over wives. The *naïvete* with which a black man gave me his

reason for preferring a married woman to a young girl was as surprising as his reason was shocking. A Negro man making his plea for leniency in the police court of Atlanta argued with unaffected assurance that the court knew it to be a well-known and accepted custom for men to seek other women during the pregnancy of their wives. It is a significant fact that the pleas for divorces among Negroes is, in the vast majority of cases, not adultery, but desertion and cruelty.

Discussing divorce among Negroes, Dr. Elwang says: "Although the Negro population of Boone County [Mo.] is less than one-fifth of the whites, it furnishes almost exactly as many divorces, or, in proportion to population, 500% more than the whites. From 1898 to 1902, inclusive, 117 divorces were granted by the Boone County Circuit Court, of which 56 were to Negroes, 55 to whites, and 6 unascertainable."

The Circuit Clerk of Clay County, Miss., informs me that in his county in 1909, where the Negro population is about 65% of the total, 174 marriage licenses were issued to Negroes, as against 56 to whites, or more than three to one. Thirty divorces were granted to Negroes as against two to whites, or exactly fifteen to one.

While no divorce statistics are available for our purposes for Fulton County, Ga., it is interesting, as indicating unstable family life among Negroes, that, notwithstanding the immense amount of concubinage revealed in the police court of Atlanta, there were issued a notable excess of marriage licenses to Negroes in proportion to population during the period 1905-09. The figures in parentheses in the following table indicate the numbers to be expected according to population as compared with whites; and they show that either the whites are neglecting their duty or the Negroes are overdoing theirs.

TABLE NO. 4

Marriage Licenses Issued in Fulton County, Ga.

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
White.....	1,087	1,280	1,368	1,370	1,274
Negro.....	915 (544)	944 (640)	1,124 (684)	1,028 (685)	973 (637)

The excess of illegitimate children among Negroes is further proof of their immorality. It may be a fact, however, that they know less and care less than the whites about preventing conception. Dr. Seale Harris, Health Officer for Bullock County, Ala., estimates an average of 33% of illegitimacy among Negroes as compared to .005% among the whites. He says also: "The report of the Health Office 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 1884-94 from 3.6% to 2.56%, or a decrease of 28.8%, it increased among the Negroes from 19.02% to 26.46%, or an increase of 39%, and stood in 1894 at ten times that of the whites." Dr. DuBois estimates that the United States had as a whole perhaps 2% of illegitimacy in 1900, while the Negroes had "probably, though not certainly, 25% of illegitimacy." He estimates in the same connection that "at least one-half [of the Negro population] are observing the monogamic sex mores."

The Special Census Report for Paupers in Almshouses in 1904 says: "A majority of the Negro children in almshouses for whom the facts are known are illegitimately born; and in the South Atlantic division the illegitimate are nearly twice as numerous as those born in wedlock." Among white child paupers 23.4% are known to be illegitimate; 64.2% are known to be legitimate. The Juvenile Probation Officer of Atlanta tells me that one of the chief difficulties in the management of Negro juveniles is that so many of them have no father that the court can hold responsible.

Infanticide, criminal abortion, stillbirths, and infant deaths by inanition are closely allied to sexual vice and illegitimacy. See pp. 227, 228 for startling statistics, not necessary to insert here. Some Negro writers explain, and with some justification, the excess of stillbirths among Negroes by the fact that pregnant women are forced to do hard and continuous labor, often having heavy lifting to do. This shows more than a mere economic condition. It shows dense ignorance on the part of the women and callous neglect on the part of the men. It shows lack of regard for woman, characteristic of heathen peoples. In a certain recent investigation reported "the female heads of families

were considerably in excess of the males, and out of 324 families 31 were wholly supported 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 character, should resort to pre-natal infanticide." The writer just quoted does not fail to note that "stillbirths, inanition, and infantile marasmus are often due to enfeebled constitutions and congenital diseases inherited from parents suffering from the effects of sexual immorality and debauchery."

The prevalence of venereal diseases among Negroes may be taken as another index to their unchastity. Dr. Seale Harris says that syphilis is certainly one of the most common diseases among them. "I do not think I exaggerate when I say that over 50% of the Negroes of the United States above the age of 25 have been afflicted with syphilis. . . . I believe that 90% of the men over 25 have had gonorrhea." Dr. Maples, formerly health officer for Jackson County, Ala., told me that only one Negro baby had been born at or near Scottsboro within a year. He attributed the sterility to gonorrheal infection, brought back by the men who go to Chattanooga, Huntsville, Memphis, and other places for work during the winter. Dr. Durrett, City Physician of Atlanta, estimates that 80% to 90% of the Negroes committed to the city stockade have or have recently had venereal diseases.

"For the period 1893-95 there were in the city of Nashville eight white deaths from scrofula and syphilis and thirty-five colored. In proportion to population there should have been but 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 bedridden 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 will appear that venereal poisoning was responsible for a considerable share of rheumatism."

Of 103 cases of disease treated by a Negro physician of Columbia, Mo., between January 1 and April 1, 1902, there were 11 cases of smallpox, 6 rheumatism, 11 tuberculosis, 14 venereal diseases, or, leaving out smallpox, 15%.

The number of applicants for admission to the U. S. Army rejected on account of venereal diseases for 1901-04 is shown in the following table:

TABLE NO. 5
U. S. Army Rejections for Venereal Diseases

	1901	1902	1903	1904
Whites, per thousand applicants....	19.65	21.57	26.11	100.46
Negroes, per thousand applicants....	53.50	34.60	51.14	170.78

As compared with members of their own race, a higher class of Negroes than of whites apply for admission to the U. S. Army. What then of sexual immorality among the lowest class of Negroes?

The record for deaths from syphilis in six Southern cities is shown in the following table for the period 1906-12:

TABLE NO. 6

	1910	1906		1907		1908		1909		1910		1911		1912	
	% of Negroes in Pop- ulation	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Richmond	36.6	0	12	2	7	4	18	6	17	7	33	13	24	10	20
Nashville	33.1	7	3	2	7	4	6	3	8	5	10	3	14	3	11
Augusta	44.7	4	12	1	7	1	4	1	3	1	2	1	2	0	3
Atlanta	33.5	0	4	2	1	1	5	3	5	3	9	0	7	4	1
St. Louis.....	6.4	16	4	25	10	26	13	34	17	42	22	59	15	60	20
Dist. of Colum.	8.9	10	21	2	27	10	27	17	14	14	22	9	19	10	22

By an examination of this table it is found that in proportion to population there are 5.4 times as many deaths

from syphilis among the Negroes as among the whites of Richmond; 3.67 times as many in Nashville; 4.6 times as many in Augusta; 4.89 times as many in Atlanta; 5.66 times as many in St. Louis; and 21.6 times as many in the District of Columbia. It is true that whites are more able to pay for competent medical attention and they keep up treatment more consistently, but all physicians say that the Negro is much less susceptible to syphilitic poisoning than white men.

The Southern Negro is seldom punished for crimes against chastity, excepting rape. These crimes are passed by as matters of course. Yet the Census Report of prisoners committed during 1904 for major offenses shows that of all "colored" committed, 2.6% were for crimes against chastity (1.9% for rape); of all native whites committed, 4.8% were for crimes against chastity (2.3% for rape); of foreign-born whites, 5.2% (2.7% for rape). These figures do not include of course the number of Negroes lynched for rape. Of all colored committed for minor offenses, 3.6% were for crimes against chastity. Of all native whites, 2.3% were committed for crimes against chastity, and of foreign born 1.7%. Says the Census Report: "During the year 1904, 2.6% of all the colored prisoners committed had been guilty of crimes against chastity. The largest percentages for the whole group are credited to North Atlantic and North Central States. It is well known that the lesser offenses against chastity are very common among the colored population, but this fact is not disclosed by the returns from the Southern States, since the population of the South is largely concentrated in rural districts, where crimes of all kinds, especially those against chastity, are not so vigorously detected and prosecuted as in the cities." As a matter of fact there are as many, if not more, unprosecuted offenses against chastity among the Negroes of Southern cities as in the rural districts.

But the saddest thing about all this sexual immorality is that nobody cares. True, a helpless minority of noble spirits are making a struggle against the tide, but the vast majority of the race, the Negro church, and even the Negro

preachers, do not care; and the white people are not interested. Absolutely no protection from approach, except a direct appeal to the police, is afforded Negro girls. And I never heard of a Negro female appealing to the police or to any man's chivalry to protect her from insult. The libertine and the seducer can approach at will and the procurer can ply his trade unmolested. Nobody cares; the Negro woman herself does not seem to care. In fact, I have been told by those who live in the Black Belt that it is even more common for unmarried women to "run after"—*i. e.*, solicit—men than for the men to accost women. If a negro girl does desire to maintain her honor, she has a hard, lonely fight. For, to begin with, she is born with a compelling sexual appetite, and no effective restraint is ever imposed by her environment. Employers do not so much as think of, much less take measures for, her protection. White women as well as white men assume, *a priori*, that she is unchaste. Negro men, and even many white men, seem concerned only as to her desirability for sexual purposes. And even her parents take no trouble to keep her pure—nay, even mothers sometimes connive at her downfall, if she is comely, bringing her up "for white men only." If she makes the fight, she must fight alone, for nobody cares.

I am told that the average Negro family rarely sits down together at the table to eat. I have frequently noticed women and children sitting on doorsteps, on trunks or boxes with a dish or tin plate in one hand and a spoon or fork in the other, eating their breakfast. They eat irregularly and more or less capriciously, but they seem able to accommodate themselves cheerfully to whatever they have and are willing to divide. Negroes out of work frequently go hungry. My brother has, too often to count, had to feed his new hands before they could work.

Negroes know little of the nutritive value of foodstuffs, and they take but little care in its preparation. Many a country Negro had rather buy meat, bread, and canned goods and even vegetables at the village store than to take the trouble to raise a pig, keep a cow, attend to chickens, or grow a garden. He prefers heavy heat-producing food—

sweets, starches, and meats. This class of food, when ill-prepared and irregularly eaten, no doubt has very much the same effect upon the temper and general excitability as a hot climate. It is a fact also, and of special significance in the Negro's case, that an unbalanced dietary produces unpleasant satiety without satisfaction: this leaves an abnormal craving. Knickknacks, whisky, drugs, and various forms of excitement are sought to relieve the unrest. There is no doubt that heat-producing foods tend to keep the sexual functions more active and sensitive. And when the edge is taken off of the understanding with whisky or drugs sensuality runs riot. The best forms of amusement are closed against the Negro either by the price or the color line—sometimes by both. Even playgrounds and parks are denied him in proportion to his needs, so he resorts to the crap game in the back alley, with its vicious associations and ready quarrel, or to the saloon with its nude pictures and brain-crazing stimulant. Or, he may go to a cheap theater where he sees half nude women, or to the dance hall where there is actual sensuous contact, while the white bawdyhouse near by with its familiarities tempts, tantalizes, and denies him. Is it any wonder that the primitive nature unused to such strain should develop nervous wrecks and moral degenerates? Is it any wonder even that the primitive rape impulse should revive in such an environment? Thus does the savage become the victim of civilization. Statutory penalties cannot solve the problem, and lynching is worse than no solution.

CHAPTER IV.

1. THE NEGRO RACE A CHILD RACE.

THE Negro race is a primitive race. The average Negro is a child in every essential element of character, exhibiting those characteristics that indicate a tendency to lawless impulse and weak inhibition. His childish weaknesses and improvidence and his disposition to live only for the things of to-day tend to bring him to dependence in sickness and old age, or lead him into excesses and neglect of his body that bring him to an early death. As a criminal he is a creature of elemental passions and weak will: he sins more often merely because he is tempted than he does of set purpose. The white criminal is also a creature of elemental passion and weak inhibiteness, but he is more often a degenerate than a child of arrested or divergent development. There is therefore more hope for the Negro criminal under proper treatment than for the white—that is to say, a change of environment with purposive preventive methods will succeed according to the good average Negro standard of life, in a larger percentage of cases than will result under similar methods with white criminals according to the good average white standard of life.

For purposes of comparison I have in a preceding chapter discussed in some detail those characteristics of the Negro that seem to ally him with the instinctive and the habitual white criminal. We shall now consider those characteristics that ally him with the child of lawless impulse and weak inhibition.

1. One of the most patent of those childish characteristics of the Negro is his love of praise. It shows itself in his love of display and his sensitiveness to criticism. He likes stylish dress and gay colors, jewelry and cosmetics. He likes to belong to lodges and hold office in them and to go on dress parade in all the paraphernalia of his order. He likes to see his name in print and to hear his own voice

in public. A Negro meeting never drags: there are no awkward pauses or painful silences. And when he gives to the Lord he walks to the front and lays his gift upon the altar. His love of self-exhibition is evidenced further by his hilarity at his social pleasures, his delight in antics and banter. Nothing pleases him more than to "call the figures" at a "breakdown" or in plain view do the "double-shuffle" or "cut the pigeon wing." But a little too much praise or prominence will spoil this good-natured vanity, for vanity soon grows sensitive. And a Negro is sensitive very much as a child is sensitive. This disposition was held in abeyance for the most part during slavery, but the spirit of resentment against correction of any sort is common, especially among the young. It may be due to a mistaken notion of what his better class of leaders mean when they encourage him to assert his manhood and demand his rights as a free man. For unfortunately he cannot make fine distinctions: he is too often insolent where he should be only dignified. At West Point, Miss., in 1904, there was an awakening of "race consciousness," and a reform in domestic life followed. A leader had taught that women should be wives and mothers and not mere servants in the homes of the whites, and an attempt was made to put the teaching into practice. As a consequence the whites for some time could not secure cooks or washerwomen at any price. Thus far, of course the Negroes were entirely within their rights. But numerous instances occurred where white women went in person in quest of servants and were met with sneers and jibes and answered with insolence.

A little learning or authority often makes the Negro arrogant. A kindly suggestion or voluntary information to such a one is received with scant gratitude and as little courtesy. A white man invited to address an assembly is too often expected to flatter them rather than help them. I say this fully mindful of the fact that some white speakers before Negro assemblies assume a superior wisdom and a finality of opinion that is offensive. But while what is here said of the Negro's vanity and love of praise is true, it is not altogether bad. For the spirit that prompts this pecul-

ilarity of the Negro is based on approbateness, the social instinct *par excellence*. Under proper training vanity may be developed into chastened love of approval, while the love of self-exhibition may be wrought into a laudable ambition for worthy accomplishment.

2. Respect of power without malice is as characteristic of the Negro as it is of the child. While he is resentful of correction and impatient of advice, he respects force and holds no malice. "DuChaillu 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 dillydallying 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."* Ample verification of this characteristic may be easily secured by a visit to any large plantation, construction camp, or public works where discipline is maintained. On the other hand, the Negro may strike in his anger, commit immediate depredation on property in petty vengeance, or unscrupulously violate a contract in his resentment, but he seldom lets the sun go down on his wrath. 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 to him is as soon forgotten as an offense against his person. Take care of him when he is sick, and as likely as not he will cheerfully leave you in the lurch when you are in need. Supply him when in want, and he may steal from you at the first temptation. However lavish you may be in gifts or in kindnesses to your servant, she is as likely as not to take it all as evidence that she is indispensable, and on that assumption proceed to impose petty annoyances to the limit. An instance of this comes to mind. A most estimable lady from a Northern State moved South and proceeded to put into practice her ideas of how Negro servants should be treated and "encour-

*Tillinghast.

aged." As Christmas approached the good lady made up clothing for her cook and her child, looked after their health and comfort, and provided toys and sweetmeats for the child. On Christmas eve the cook was given leave of absence to help prepare and enjoy the Christmas tree at her church, with the understanding that she would be back bright and early the next morning to prepare for selected guests who were to take Christmas dinner with her mistress. Christmas dawned, the day advanced, the guests came—and waited, while their hostess prepared a late dinner. The cook came in with her crying child and a strange man at eleven o'clock that night, rolling drunk.

Negro servants are, however, generally good-natured in manner, often profusely polite, and ready with protestations of good faith. Like all impulsive individuals, they may do many acts of kindness or even of self-denial, and if properly treated under discipline may show faithfulness worthy of the highest praise. While these are all essentially the acts of a child, they are nevertheless significant of his possibilities. Prison guards and probation officers might well keep this in mind.

4. The Negro is brutal and without pity in anger or fear. He strikes his dog, his mule, his wife, or his child without consideration with the most available weapon. His abuse and neglect of live stock left to his keeping are matters of commonplace comment everywhere.

5. In his grief the Negro is equally impulsive, but after a spasm of apparently insupportable anguish his grief subsides and he is soon the same cheerful, garrulous, easy-going child as before. He never mopes, or, if he does, it is only because he is cut off from his kind. He likes to talk and laugh and sing, and dance and prank, and takes no pride in the luxury of grief so much enjoyed by some of the white race. Perhaps this disposition accounts in part for the fact that the Negro race is not much given to suicide.

6. The Negro revels in the marvelous, and his uncritical thinking lays him open to every sort of imposition. He still believes in "hants" and "conjure" bags. He still has

an abundance of "signs" of both good and evil fortune. Karl Kelsey and Tillinghast both report that witch-doctors practice their art even in our larger cities. I have myself seen "conjure" bags filled with snake scurf, frog legs, bits of crockery and nail parings, and I heard two cases tried in the Atlanta police court where the defendant was fined for flimflamming, one a blind man, the other an old rheumatic, with witch-doctor remedies. My next-door neighbor told me of a clever trick she played to protect her chicken house, which had been repeatedly robbed. She got together a lot of odds and ends of things likely to appeal to the superstitious, put them in a bottle nearly full of water, and hung it on a nail driven in her henhouse door. In an incidental way she gave her cook to understand that she had bought it from a conjure woman and that there was the charm of paralysis and utter confusion in that bottle. No more chickens disappeared.

7. The Negro is the victim of his own appetites and fancies. When he has money or credit, he buys anything that promises an immediate satisfaction. The jew's-harp or the parlor organ, the fancy picture or the illustrated family Bible make their appeal according to his mood. He spends his money for that which is not bread and his substance for that which satisfieth not—knickknacks, trinkets, gewgaws, tobacco, whisky, or worse; and he never misses a circus with its toy balloons and red lemonade.

8. In all the affairs of his life, whether acting for himself or for his employer, the average Negro 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 field, in wantonness he abuses his mules, and in sheer improvidence wastes his substance. He rarely plans with intelligence or executes with steady purpose. He will overcrop himself, overbuy his supply account, and dispose of his crop or his produce as soon as it is marketable.

9. The Negro is the victim of all sorts of itinerant agents, peddlers, and venders of sundry attractive wares. He is an easy mark for the loan shark and the installment salesman.

He seems to have neither the wit nor the will power to resist the persistency of the clock peddler, picture enlarger, and patent medicine faker. The exorbitant exactions of the loan shark, under a contract the negro does not understand or has had misrepresented to him, often cause his arrest and conviction under the law when he is not a criminal at all, but the victim of one. I think the white scoundrel who exploits ignorant Negroes in such fashion is mean enough to choke a child till it gives up its pennies.

The same lack of foresight is characteristic of the Negro in his commission of crime. He does not seem to be able to cover up his tracks unless he is harbored by his friends. The criminal is a ready liar, but his garrulity and vanity, his love of being the center of attraction, and his lack of caution on the one hand, and, on the other, his lazy will power and lack of loyalty to his companions in crime (for he rarely sins alone), when he is under police examination, make him confess or give clues that lead to conviction.

10. The improvidence of the Negro keeps him much of the time as dependent as a child upon his employer or creditor. He usually takes the situation as a matter of course and expects his "white folks" to help him out of tight places or pay him out of trouble. He prefers to think by proxy and to cast his cares upon some one upon whom he can depend. Dr. DuBois says that the average Negro had rather labor and suffer than to think.

~~11. Indeed, thinking is a laborious process for the Negro.~~ He seems incapable of sustained mental effort: it takes excitement to hold his attention. Such thinking as the Negro does is imaginative rather than reflective. Kelly Miller says 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 straightforward and direct." The Negro is emotional and demonstrative rather than judicial and conservative and seems incapable of any sort of accurate comprehensive thinking. Their logic fails when the subject of

thought becomes involved or complex.* Hence his planning, whether for the ordinary affairs of life or for crime, is ordinarily but the planning of a child. He seems to have neither independent initiative nor the power of effective co-operation. In a very few instances have Negroes been known to combine effectively for criminal purposes. There was discovered near Bainbridge, Ga., in 1893, an oath-bound gang whose purpose was the outrage of white women, but it was soon exposed and dissipated. A year or so ago there was a band of thieves composed of idle negro men and women and their confederates among cooks and house servants, who plied their trade in Atlanta, but with more enthusiasm than discretion. They were run down within a few months and punished. A "Black Fagin" and fourteen Negro boys were arrested in Atlanta after a month's operations as purse snatchers. There have been a few notorious criminals among Negroes, but they lasted but for a day, never becoming really great criminals. Indeed, Negroes are comparatively seldom professional criminals, as the white burglar, forger, or confidence man. Their tendency is to follow the line of least resistance. They yield to laziness and its temptations, and to the heat of passion. Their crimes for the most part show lack of purpose in life, a lack of sense of obligation and responsibility, and a lack of inhibition under temptation: and their powers of mind seem obtuse and comprehension dull.

In this connection the "quality tests" of Miss Kellor are interesting: "A so-called quality test was given the Negroes,

*Howard W. Odum, summarizing a special study of Negro children in the public schools of Philadelphia made for the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, says, among other conclusions: "The results of the Binet tests indicated that after the eighth year the median Negro child was unable to perform the intellectual processes ascribed to a normal white child of that age. Apparently the Negro child found it very difficult to go beyond their inheritance of simple mental processes and physical growth. But they exercise to a high degree of efficiency the simple processes which, if coördinated, would lead to a higher degree of general intellectuality. Favorable environment can add nothing; it can only develop the qualities already possessed. . . . The exhaustive study of conditions of school progress indicated that there were differences in kind as well as amount. . . . According to the teachers, Negro children find most difficulty in Arithmetic and studies that require compound concentration and prolonged application." (*The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*)

similar to that in the Northern investigations; but it was a failure. This failure was the most significant result possible. The following words were chosen: principle, honor, justice, truth, 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 see 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."

12. The Negro is imitative rather than original in both modes of thought and manner of action. This accounts largely for the mistaken estimate made of Negro character by so many 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. (Now, the order of racial development seems to be by characteristic periods of synthetic accretion, the consecutive processes being: mimicry, imitation, assimilation, origination, coördination.) The white man as a race has reached the fourth, the Negro the second. Individual Negroes have reached the third, in respectable numbers, while Negro writers claim a number of originators. But so far as I have been able to discover, very few discoveries or inventions showing originality or even a high order of critical thinking have been justly ascribed to real Negroes. Taking a dozen or more copies of a Negro magazine, I found and abstracted a number of names, all of which are claimed as the names of Negroes, and accounted as "great." Perhaps Dr. Shaler was right when he said that the Negro is lacking in the "historical

sense." The following are the names: (1) B. K. Bruce, James Lynch, Lemuel Haynes, Ira Aldridge, Henry O. Tanner, Stephen Douglass, Benjamin Benneker, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Booker T. Washington, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Alexander Pushkin, W. E. B. DuBois, Phillis Wheatley, Paul L. Dunbar, Alexandre Dumas, Charles W. Chestnut, Elijah T. McCoy, Col. George W. Williams, Dr. Daniel H. Williams, Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Prof. Kelly Miller, Granville T. Woods; (2) Sappho, Perseus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Terence, Pope Victor XII., Pope Miltiades XXXII., Eurybates (at Seige of Troy), Euclid, Homer.

13. As a child, also, is the Negro in his moral conceptions. He lacks the power of evaluation. He cannot realize the dignity of statute law nor feel his personal responsibility to the moral law. "All law in his savage state," says Dr. Baker, "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." He lacks the sense of obligation: the obligation binds the other party only. His moral sense is rudimentary, his moral judgments obtuse and vacillating. He is non-moral rather than immoral, hence we miss in him those moral qualities so valued by peoples of higher natural development. This defect makes him characteristically unreliable, lacking in loyalty except as a matter of pride, lax in his regard for property rights, and more or less abandoned to his appetites and passions.

14. The Negro moves by impulse and his mind, like the child's, is ever open to suggestion. His environment and economic condition make of him the easy prey of tempters and agitators. Gambling dives, "blind tigers," and the red-light districts make a tool and cat's-paw of him. Wicked men desiring evil deeds done feel safer in approaching a Negro than a white man. Flattery, bribery, importunity, intimidation, or the inflaming of evil passions by artful device are fruitful means of enticing Negroes to crime.

Some Negro writers and preachers have a decidedly vicious influence. Ignorant, grandiloquent, foaming with

prejudice, and bloated with their own importance, they clamor for rights more than they admonish to duty, and berate the white man rather than look to the evils of their own race. These fellows frequently condone the delinquencies of the Negro and set him up as a martyr to some good cause when he is punished for crime; while they attribute weakness and misfortune to the egotism, rapacity, and injustice of the white man. This artful plea makes a strong appeal to the ignorant and impulsive Negro of the common herd and keeps him with his fuse lighted. But worse even than these are the few remaining white editors and fanatical ecclesiastics, political and moral descendants of Thaddeus Stevens and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who still "chew the rag"—the last remnants of the proverbial bloody shirt—with frothing persistency. Their belated misrepresentations and intolerant cant, their hypocritical doctrines of the brotherhood of man seasoned with suggestions of miscegenation, arouse in the responsive Negro the self-pity of injured innocence and incite him to hatred, insolence, and mutiny against the whole social order. Thus do they draw more and more indelibly the color line which they seek to obliterate.

On the other hand is the baleful influence of neurotic writers and shameless demagogues, with their following of punk editors and peewee politicians, who for votes and cheap applause play upon the passions of unreasoning white men. They goad the Negro to fury and despair while they sound the call of the wild to the latent savagery of irresponsible whites: and the end is riot and bloodshed.

2. THE WHITE MAN'S RESPONSIBILITY

We have studied the Negro's moral and economic standards, such as he has, both directly and incidentally as they appear in his early history and in his later political, educational, religious, and industrial standards. They are his and must be frankly recognized. But who sets these standards? Has not the Negro for more than two hundred years been in a process of adaptation to a social order not his own? Certainly he still has his hereditary racial bias, and

his social inheritance is as yet insecure and somewhat confused, the old with the new. He has no consciously accepted moral standards, for he is still a child race. The hackneyed expression applies: he is non-moral rather than immoral, as a race and according to Anglo-Saxon standards. His ultimate ground of obligation, so far as he has one, is expediency; his highest motive is approbation. But this is not so bad nor so discouraging that we should despair of him. I doubt if the white race, as a race, has reached in practice a further ground or a higher motive; but the white man is more conscious of his standards, and he has broader conceptions and makes keener distinctions in matters of right and wrong. And the white man has greatly the advantage of the Negro in both hereditary strength of character and social inheritance. We cannot, therefore, reasonably expect the American Negro to respond to his environment just as the white man does. But inasmuch as the white man took him by force from his native environment and superimposed a complex civilization upon him, the white man is under an unescapable obligation to give him at least a child's chance to adapt himself. There are three characteristics of the Negro mind that make this in a measure possible: he is imitative to a high degree; he has what we may call approbateness—a desire to please and be applauded; and, unlike the Indian, he has a flexible will, making it possible for him to yield to those in authority. As to whether or not the white man will have the patience to give the Negro his one chance of adaptation, is another question: he certainly has the obligation.

Imitators imitate what they see. They judge by appearances as to what pleases. They yield to authority according to the standard of obedience exhibited by the conduct of the class in authority. It therefore behooves the white man to furnish within his own race moral and economic examples worthy of the Negro's imitation. The white man must make his appeal to the best rather than to the worst in the Negro—that is to say, he must appeal to the Negro's admiration and his pride measured by the white man's standards, and he must exercise his authority with firmness and

fairness and with the purposeful good sense worthy of one in authority. And so, enlarging the application, we may say that so long as white society calls upon the better class of Negroes to coöperate with it for the maintenance of law and order and for industrial efficiency and reliability, white society is under obligation to coöperate with the better class of Negroes to secure for all Negroes fair treatment in business, wholesome living conditions, justice in the courts, and an opportunity for appropriate education.

The Negro is distinctively imitative, but he is also "enamored of the superficial and the showy." The pretentious and the spectacular appeal to his admiration. Riches and prominence command his allegiance—and, in default of them, their counterfeits.

Now a great many white parents spend too much money and sentiment and not enough time, patience, and plain common sense in the rearing of their children. White society is becoming burdened with a lot of irresponsible boobies and hoodlums, one about as worthless to society as the other. It is supremely disgusting to men of serious purpose in life to observe the ostentatious extravagance and lawless arrogance of the idle rich and of their imitators who loiter about cigar stands and soda fountains, cologne-scented connoisseurs of cigarettes and soft drinks, who spend their time in small talk with big airs, spouting the latest slang and ogling the women that pass. These fellows spend the money wheedled from their fathers betting on baseball and in self-indulgence. They dress well, but will not work. They take great pride in their personal appearance, but little in their personal honor. They are capacious at home and impudent on the street. They regard the "cop" as an enemy and the preacher as a joke. They are without filial respect or a sense of obligation. They are the sort that seem to think insolence to workaday people gives them distinction and the betrayal of a susceptible working girl an act of heroism, while an all-night drunk and a card game mark them as "good fellows." The swagger and pretense of these parasites attract vain and idle Negroes, and even Negro youth of whom we expect something better.

These Negroes, with little ability and few criteria for making distinctions, with a natural inclination to admire the pretentious and bizarre, and because as menials they can share at times in the silly dissipations of these parasites, imitate their excesses, and do it too well.

Cabmen who convey white men to houses of ill-fame, and valets who conduct "prominent citizens" home at two o'clock in the morning, do not see the best side of American life. But what do you think the Negro chauffeur is revolving in his mind while he assists a half-drunken escort to place in his automobile a wholly drunken devotee of "high society" at hubby's club? Or what do you suppose crap shooters think of bridge parties? Ask your maid.

I have suspected that the nexus between morals and religion was not very greatly emphasized in the Negro janitor's mind when he found that a high functionary in his church on Sunday was a loan shark during the week.

Cooks and washerwomen are not always to blame for a lack of faith in the religious professions and missionary zeal of their mistresses. Captious faultfinding, a quarrelsome tongue, quibbling over wages or delaying payment, sharp practices in business, the petty deceptions of husband, and the "white lie" of social expediency—faults not so rare as undesirable—do not increase the Negro's respect for the white race nor raise the Negro's moral standard.

The Negro loafer, the pimp, and the Negro servitor at saloons and gambling places see only the sordid and sinful side of our social life. In these places contempt of law and of decency and even the commission of crime as a business are winked at. And as the menial of the idle rich the Negro's environment indeed is changed, but all too often the moral tone of it is not different. The slum is sullen and suspicious and wary—the other is arrogant and reckless, and heartless and silly. As a ubiquitous observer the Negro sees and keeps his counsel, and knows no reason why he may not do as the white man does. Do *you*?

The white man has not been an oppressor of the Negro to any such extent as the Negro partisan has charged, but that white men have generally been indifferent to the social

welfare of the Negro and that not a few unprincipled white men have taken advantage of his ignorance and his weakness to exploit him and impose upon him, must be admitted. The argument that any other submerged class would be treated the same way is true enough, but is no excuse. It is significant, for instance, in connection with labor contract laws (to be considered more fully in another chapter), that the Negro tenant sometimes has just cause for complaint. Living conditions sometimes justify the tenant in desiring to move. Of course the Negro ought to know what he is doing before he signs the contract: he ought to investigate. But Negroes do not do business that way. On some plantations the cabins are not fit for habitation; the water supply may be inadequate, inconvenient, or contaminated; churches and schools may not be available; insufficient care may be used in the selection of other tenants, bringing about unwholesome association with thievish, drunken, lewd, or gossiping and quarrelsome fellow-tenants. It is also true that Negroes are not always treated wisely or fairly in the matter of accounts. There are more men than we like to admit who take advantage of the Negro's ignorance, weak wit, and carelessness to cheat him out of his earnings, charge him exorbitant prices for supplies and usurious interest on loans or overdue accounts, force upon him supplies of a kind or quality not wanted, or even in rare cases deliberately to charge him for things contrary to contract. It is no excuse to say or even to prove that Negro employers and landlords do the same things. This is a matter of right and wrong.

Some Negroes get themselves into trouble by trying to keep books against their creditors. They are usually too careless and unsystematic, if not too ignorant, to keep accounts accurately, and so the creditor resents the attempt as a challenge of his ability or an impugning of his honesty. Trouble of this sort is, I think, unnecessary. I hope I may be pardoned for relating a bit of my own experience as illustrative of my conception of the proper spirit, and a convenient method of handling the Negro customer or debtor in the simpler transactions of business. When a boy of twelve I went to Mississippi to work as a salesman in a

grocery store. I dealt almost exclusively with Negro customers for about three years, selling them supplies on one and two weeks' time. I was allowed entire management of my customers and their accounts. I made it a point to be scrupulously fair with them. I itemized every account on my ledger and was always careful both at time of sale and at settlement to go over the account with the customer item by item, thus refreshing the memory and showing him my disposition to be careful, honest, and patient. I limited each customer's credit to what I thought he could pay—I knew where he worked and his income—and if he showed a disposition to fall behind in his payments I cut him off. But even then I gave him the benefit of the doubt for sufficient time to be sure I was fairly judging him. I did not abuse or quarrel with delinquents. I simply cut them off and demanded payment, giving no heed to excuses and fair promises. I had no disputes over accounts, and in the three years lost less than ten dollars. Such a method of dealing takes time, patience, and firmness, but it saves trouble and is right.

The Negro artisan likes to be a contractor, but more often than not he is unable to make safe estimates. He guesses rather than figures out his estimates, hence is more than likely to lose money. He is usually commercially irresponsible and somebody else has to suffer the loss. Such contractors often resort to "tricks of the trade"—subterfuge, outright fraud, or impotent forfeiture of contract. My brother, who builds extensively, obviates most of the difficulty by handling the pay roll to see that every man on the job gets his pay, thus avoiding possible trouble over mechanics' liens, and for similar reasons usually furnishes the building materials. He employs Negroes exclusively, by contract generally, but he oversees the job as if it were done by day labor. He is thus able to make suggestions and help manage so that his contractor will not lose on the job. He will not contract with a Negro who plays "boss," standing around with his hands in his pockets.

The business methods of the Jews and Greeks who are swarming to the cheaper business sections of our cities are having a vicious influence on the Negro's ideals of commer-

cial integrity. I believe that these Jews and Greeks, and the installment men of wares that appeal to the Negro, are doing more in the cities to retard the healthy development of a business conscience among the Negroes than all other influences put together.

The commoner courtesies of life are sometimes denied to unoffending Negroes and their personal feelings disregarded. They meet with impatient faultfinding, supercilious sensitiveness, and contemptuous rebuke, unnecessary assertion of superiority and conspicuous indignity in public places by "smart Alecs" and overbearing churls. Children are not always properly corrected for petty annoyances and unprovoked impudence to Negroes, and cowardly white men who impose on defenseless Negroes are not always dealt with by the courts or by public sentiment with the severity that would be deterrent. Even policemen and other peace officers are sometimes unnecessarily ungracious to Negro offenders, and some are even unpardonably brutal.

I am quite well aware of the fact that there are careless, lazy, inefficient, unreliable, insolent, altogether exasperating Negroes; yet I believe that, as a rule, a little carefulness to be always in the right, politeness without any familiarity, and unremitting patience with mere weakness, are the best means yet used to compel acceptable service or to keep the Negro "in his place." There are, however, some Negroes so brutish that such an attitude only invites insult. In such cases discharge the employee on the spot, call an officer, or—knock his head off—as circumstances seem to require.

The Negro, just as the white man, is inclined to judge all by the few whom he has suffered or for whom he has reason for contempt. Only when the white man can command the confidence and respect of the Negro by fair treatment and manly behavior and the judicious exercise of rightful authority can he expect to have much influence toward making the Negro a better citizen. The responsibility is upon the white man of making his personal conduct worthy of respect and imitation and of making the government which he administers so just and serviceable that it must command the allegiance of all right-minded citizens. The

white man for his own sake and for his children's sake, to say nothing of patriotic and philanthropic motives, cannot afford to take the risk of doing less than this, for the white must suffer with the Negro wherever there is maladjustment.

In discussing the responsibilities of the white man in the premises it is well enough not to forget that there are also responsibilities resting upon the upper class Negro that he must meet frankly and bravely. There are some essential facts he must remember and certain phases of coöperation with the dominant race that are essential to any harmonious endeavors to solve the "Negro problem."

1. The Negro race is a child race, in process of adjustment to an environment not of his own choice and to which he is as yet ill adapted. Any effective plans for ameliorating the condition of the Negro must rest upon this fact as a fundamental assumption.

2. Negro leaders must have patience. The Negro race is not only a child race: it is a spoilt child race. It has had too much coddling on the one hand, and on the other hand it has been spanked without discretion; but Negro leaders still insist upon the coddling, excusing the race's faults on the plea of unavoidable poverty and ignorance due to previous condition of servitude. They insist that the race must be given time—time and opportunity—and forget that the white man is also in process of evolution, that he is also of the crisis through which the Negro is passing, and must adapt himself.

3. On all questions, great and small, involving race friction or justice between man and man, the Negro must cultivate the disposition to suspend judgment pending investigation. Carefulness in discriminating between plain universal human nature of the selfish sort and the distinctive faults of the white man must be exercised. To illustrate: It is commonly complained that white landlords so oppress their tenants and so far fail to encourage them along lines of laudable ambition that their tenants remain satisfied to live from hand to mouth, or that they are so thwarted and discouraged that they give up in despair of ever owning land

or farming on their own account. But at a recent Negro farmers' institute which I attended the Negro landowners confessed that similar conditions of lack of ambition, energy, and initiative prevailed among their tenants. Then the question arises as to whither it is the landlord's fault at all. If it is the landlord's fault, it is as true of the Negro landlord as of the white.

4. The Negro leader must learn to be moderate in his statements either for or against the white man. It is not always good policy to express one's feelings. While no man should yield the right of private judgment, prudence should govern the expression of it. The violent man influences in his favor only his partisans.

5. Negro leaders should in constancy and consistency uphold the spirit of good citizenship, obedience to law, and the maintenance of institutions devoted to public welfare. Watch the "line-up" on all moral questions and get on the right side.

6. The Negro leader should encourage a system of education that will turn out efficient and reliable men and women for the world's work. There should be an enthusiasm among Negroes for industrial training and a study of the social sciences.

7. The Negro leader should encourage participation rather than antagonism in politics. The most imprudent and illogical attitude the Negro has ever assumed has been his persistent political opposition to his white neighbor. That the white man both North and South will maintain his supremacy is as absolute as that our government exists. Fifty years of stale crumbs from his political master's table should teach the Negro some things. If the Negro would influence legislation, he must accommodate himself to the white man's administration and to the common interest of the section in which they both live and work.

PART II.

THE DEPENDENT NEGRO

I. NEGRO PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES

THE Special Report of the U. S. Census on Paupers in Almshouses (1904) has this to say: "The numerical strength of the almshouse population of any State stands in close relation to the kind of provisions made for the inmates. It is an old experience that ample and well-managed institutions attract inmates, and almshouses are no exception to the rule. The poorhouses of the South Atlantic and South Central States have not reached the same stage of development as those of the North Atlantic group. It is not so much the absence of dependents as the lack of proper conveniences for their support which explains in part the singularly favorable percentages exhibited by the Southern and Southwestern States. Climatic and industrial conditions and the sparsity of the urban population aid, of course, in keeping their percentage of almshouse paupers low. Of perhaps greater importance is the fact of the homogeneity and the general stability of the white population. Nowhere else are family ties so strong and in time of need so abundant. It is rather exceptional that other than the 'poor whites' seek almshouses. The pressure of Negroes for admittance would undoubtedly be greater but for their ability to subsist on a pittance." In regard to Negroes it may be said that practically all ex-slaveholders and their descendants even till to-day contribute to the support of many old favorite family Negroes and to their descendants who may be found in distress. No Negro in the South need suffer from hunger or cold, for the Negroes themselves are generous, and very rarely will an appeal at a white man's door be denied. The contributions of food and old clothes to indigent Negroes, and medicines and personal attentions in sickness, cannot be computed, of course, but they probably exceed in actual value the money appropriated for institutional care. The majority of older Negroes

have each some substantial white family to whom they can go with confidence when in trouble or distress.

The laws relative to the building, provisioning, and administering of almshouses vary considerably from State to State, and the enforcement of such laws varies even more; the almshouse population varies accordingly. Inadequate provision as to room, food, or personal attention, as well as an uncertain or objectionable general administration, results normally in a comparatively small almshouse population; whereas liberal laws, generous provisions, and a dependable administration may encourage many to apply for the support thus afforded. If the methods of administration are lax, the rules governing admissions and discharges too liberal or too feebly enforced, the population is likely to vary violently from season to season. "Vags" and "rounders" will use the almshouse for winter quarters and recuperation resorts, while the heartless and penurious will take advantage to shift from their shoulders their obligations to care for their own infirm and defective. If no other provision is made for the sick poor, the almshouse is likely to become a local hospital varying in population according to season or the spread of epidemic diseases.

The system of outdoor relief in vogue, whether lavish or niggardly, permanent or temporary, careless or exacting, affects the demand for indoor relief. Charity organization societies are very efficient in administering outdoor relief in the cities, and probably the most effective agency for restricting admittance to almshouses to the deserving. Their plan is to help the poor to help themselves, and to place the burden of support of others upon those who by ties of kinship should for their own good as well as the public welfare bear such responsibilities. So far as practicable they aid the worthy in their homes and send only the deserving but hopeless to the almshouses.

As shown by the census report for 1904 there were 74,854 white paupers (including 32,136, or 43.2%, foreign born) and 6,910 colored paupers (including 44 Mongolians and 73 Indians) in almshouses on December 31, 1903; and 73,809 whites and 7,603 colored (7,275 Negroes, 209 Mon-

golians, and 119 Indians) were admitted to almshouses during 1904. Of the 7,603 colored admissions during 1904, 592 were Negro children under sixteen years of age. They constituted, of the total number of children of all classes admitted, 5.7% in the North Atlantic division of States, 29.1% in the South Atlantic, 6.7% in the North Central, 10.2% in the South Central, and 1.5% in the Western.

In 1910 there were 77,734 white (including 33,125 foreign-born) and 6,281 Negroes, and 183 other colored enumerated in almshouses. This was an increase of 3.84% of white inmates as compared with December, 1903, and a decrease of 7.54% of Negro inmates. During 1910 there were 81,135 white persons (of whom 33,353 were foreign-born), 6,807 Negroes, and 371 other colored admitted to almshouses. There was here also an increase of 9.92% of whites over 1904, and a decrease of 6.84% of Negroes. Whether the decrease in Negro inmates was due to their being crowded out on account of the increase among whites, to a disposition to neglect the Negro poor, to the increased usefulness of Negro benevolent agencies, or to greater prosperity among Negroes, I am not prepared to say. There was a decrease in every North Atlantic State except Connecticut and New Jersey and in about half the Southern States, while there was an increase in every State of the Western group and in about half of the Southern States. On January 1, 1910, there were 2,486 paupers under sixteen years of age, of whom 298 were Negroes and 10 other colored. There were 6,396 of this class admitted during 1910, of whom 512 were Negroes and 24 other colored, a decrease of 13.5% since 1903.

Of the total number of white paupers enumerated on December 31, 1903, 48,445 were male and 26,409 female; of Negroes, there were 3,999 males and 2,911 females. Of the total number of whites admitted during 1904, 54,294 were males and 19,515 females; of Negroes, there were 4,788 males and 2,487 females. In 1910, as in 1904, there was an excess of male over female paupers in almshouses, both enumerated and admitted. This is true of all ages and colors and in every geographical division.

"The proportion of colored among paupers in almshouses in the United States was almost precisely the same in 1890 as on December 31, 1903. The variations after thirteen years in the different geographic divisions are also comparatively unimportant. Naturally the largest percentage of colored is shown by the South Atlantic division, with 34%; the next largest by the South Central group, with 30.1%; and the lowest by the Western division, with 2.3%. In the North Atlantic division the percentage of colored varies from 0.6 in Maine to 5.4 in New Jersey; in the South Atlantic States, from 13.3 in West Virginia to 61.7 in the District of Columbia, with the percentages of the two races nearly equal in Florida; in the North Central division from 0.3 in Wisconsin to 10.2 in Missouri; and in the Western division from 1.3 in Montana to 4.1 in Arizona. It is thus apparent that only in the District of Columbia and in Mississippi are the colored almshouse paupers in the majority. The percentage of colored is also notably high in Virginia, with 43.8; in Florida, with 49.2; and in Alabama, with 48.9. The comparatively low percentages of colored among paupers in some States with a large Negro population—for instance, in South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Louisiana—seem to indicate that colored dependents are probably not represented in the almshouses in proportion to their numbers in the communities, but rather according to provisions made for their care."

"The figures for pauper admissions in 1904 showed in general a higher percentage of colored than the figures for the almshouse population on December 31, 1903, and in the District of Columbia, Virginia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi there is an actual excess of Negroes over whites. It is known, however, that in a great many cases the admissions of Negroes are really readmissions of former pauper inmates and should, therefore, not be construed to mean the percentage of colored almshouse population increases in twelve months in a proportion that a glance at the figures would seem to reveal."

Any one set of statistics or all possible statistics within any one narrow field of investigation are hardly sufficient to

reveal in their relative proportions the causes of pauperism, but it is nevertheless worth while to analyze the data in hand to see just what it does reveal. Taking the Census Report for 1904* for Paupers in Almshouses, we shall find within this particular field certain suggestive generalizations.

"That pauperism is largely an accompaniment of old age is evidenced by the fact that the increase in the proportion of paupers is more marked between 35 and 64 years than in the earlier ages; and by the further fact that only 21.8% of the almshouse population is under 35, while the corresponding per cent for the general population is 70.1. The proportion for paupers reaches a maximum in the age group 60 to 64 years, and then declines slowly until the age of 75 years, after which the decrease becomes accelerated. Even in the age group 75 to 79 years, however, the proportion is as large as in the group 45 to 49 years and considerably larger than in the earlier periods. In the age period 80 to 84 years it has declined until it is only equal to the proportion of the group 20 to 24 years." But "the age groupings of the white paupers and of the Negro paupers do not correspond. For the whites the highest percentage is found in the age group 60 to 64 years, but for Negroes in the age group 20 to 24 years. In the age group under 40 years there are relatively more Negroes than Whites."

"Comparing the ages of admission of the white and colored inmates of almshouses it is evident that a much larger proportion of colored than white paupers are admitted below 25 and above 75 years of age, while during the intervening period the reverse is true." This difference in the age groups may be explained by the fact that Negro families disintegrate at an earlier period than whites, throwing the sick and defective earlier upon charity, and by the further fact that relatively more Negroes than white defectives are sent to almshouses instead of special institutions. This is especially true of the feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, paralytic, and

*No analysis of the returns of the 1910 Census for Paupers in Almshouses has been made by the Census Bureau. I have only the tables, which give only absolute numbers.

consumptive. The relative amount of poverty among whites and Negroes must also be considered as affecting the liability to earlier admissions. But as to the admission of persons 75 years of age and over, the higher percentages observed for colored may not be due to any condition other than the exaggeration of age so common among Negroes. In this connection the percentages among the death groups are significant. Beginning with the group 20 to 24 years, the percentage of white deaths gradually increases, with a slightly greater increase in the group 50 to 54 years, until the 70 to 74 period is reached, which is the maximum. While the maximum death period is the same for colored as for whites, the percentage of deaths during the age period 15 to 39 years is much larger for colored than for whites. In the period 20 to 29 years the percentages are especially high, exceeding the period 60 to 69 years. The early deaths of Negro paupers furnishes further explanation of the difference in the age groups of Negro and white inmates; and the earlier deaths of Negro inmates as compared with whites is explained by the fact that a larger percentage of Negro inmates are defectives; and it is known that not only are the sick more likely to die, but also that the feeble-minded as a class die early, 80% of those in institutions dying under thirty years of age.

Of the Negro paupers in almshouses in the United States on December 31, 1903, 55.3% were reported single, as against 62.8% white; 12.6% married, as against 13.5% of the whites; 27% widowed, as against 19.7% of the whites; and 0.4% divorced, as against 1.3% of the whites. The most notable differences are in the classes of widowed and divorced. Not many Negroes seek divorce*—to many of them it seems an unnecessary formality. Doubtless many of those reported widowed were only separated.

There were 27,836 female paupers reported as married, widowed, or divorced, and 21,410 reported as having had

*Not many of the classes in the almshouses seek divorce. The younger ones belong to the very ignorant and congenitally defective class who see no necessity for divorce and have no money to procure it, while the old do not often seek divorce. Divorce among Negroes became common only recently.

children. The number of their children returned as living was 37,193, of whom 3,184 had Negro mothers. Not many of these children are to be found in almshouses, the majority no doubt having been born before their mothers became paupers. In fact, on December 31, 1903, there were only 2,891 children under sixteen years of age found in almshouses. Of the 6,562 children admitted to almshouses during 1904, 592 were Negroes. Of the total number of all classes of children admitted during that year, they constituted 5.7% in the North Atlantic division, 29.1% in the South Atlantic, 6.7% in the North Central, 10.2% in the South Central, and 1.5% in the Western. A majority of the Negro children in almshouses for whom the facts were known were illegitimately born, and in the South Atlantic States the illegitimate were nearly twice as numerous as the legitimate. For whites in the same group of States the exact figures are: legitimate 64.2%, illegitimate 23.4%, unknown 12.4%.

Of the 2,578 female Negro paupers enumerated in 1910 and the 2,195 admitted during that year, 1,724 were known to have borne children. Of these, 407 had borne one child; 329 had borne two children; 250 had borne three; 199, four; 115, five; 97, six; 82, seven; 57, eight; 29, nine; and 99, ten or more. Of the 1,724, 232 (or 13.45%) are known to be feeble-minded and to have borne children as follows: 55, one child; 54, two children; 34, three; 29, four; 16, five; 9, six; 8, seven; 7, eight; 6, nine; and 12, ten or more, or a total of more than 800!

In 1910 there were 1,185 lying-in cases admitted to almshouses. Of these, 693 were native white, 353 foreign-born white, and 139 colored. Of the native-born, 45% were single, 45.6% married, and 9.4% widowed, divorced, or unknown. The percentage for the foreign-born are 46.2, 46.2, and 7.6; for the colored, 75.5 single, 15.9 married, and 8.6 widowed, divorced, or unknown.

During 1910, 1,107 babes were born in almshouses, 976 whites and 131 Negroes. Of the whites, 53.6% were known to be illegitimate, and of the Negroes 73.3%. The fathers of 28 of the whites and 3 of the Negroes were also in the almshouse.

Of children under sixteen years of age admitted to almshouses during 1910, 17.52% of the whites were known to be illegitimate while 19.54% were unknown as to their legitimacy, as against 32.65% of Negroes illegitimate and 33.21% unknown.

The tables showing the physical condition of almshouse inmates prove that a large percentage—in some States as high as 30%—are able-bodied and therefore, in many cases, not entitled to almshouse care. This does not obtain, however, in the Southern States, where most of the Negroes live. The range of the percentage of paupers not able to work, for geographical divisions, runs from 81 in the North Central to 89.9 in the South Central. But of the Negroes enumerated on December 31, 1903, for the whole United States 90.8% were reported as incapacitated for work. For the South Atlantic States the percentage was 92 and for the South Central 94.

Table No. 7 shows the physical condition of almshouse inmates for 1910. It is noticeable that the proportion of Negroes able to do only light work and of those entirely incapacitated is greater than the proportion of whites of similar conditions in every geographical division. There was a slightly greater proportion of able-bodied Negroes than of able-bodied whites in the North Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central divisions.

As we would suppose, more paupers of all elements of population are drawn from the ranks of "laborers and servants" than from any other occupations, the percentage being 46.9 whites and 57.3 colored. The next highest percentages were from those engaged in "agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor" occupations, being 26.7 for whites and 27.8 for Negroes. It is noticeable, though the percentages are small, that while the professions furnish a percentage of whites nearly three times that of Negroes (1.7:0.6), "personal service, police, and military" furnish a percentage more than three times that of whites. The number of whites in proportion to population in personal service is about equal to the proportion of Negroes so employed, but Negroes have not been employed as police-

men or in military service to any great extent, while they have but recently entered the professions, except that of teaching.

TABLE NO. 7
Paupers in Almshouses Ten Years and Over

	Enumerated January 1, 1910				Committed During 1910			
	Able-bodied	Can Do Light Work	Incapacitated	Not Reported	Able-bodied	Can Do Light Work	Incapacitated	Not Reported
United States								
All classes.....	14.5	37.9	41.2	6.4	20.6	34.8	40.1	4.4
White	14.6	38.5	40.7	6.07	21.3	35.0	39.2	4.3
Native white.....	13.6	39.5	38.9	6.99	22.3	35.3	37.6	4.7
Foreign-born	12.9	37.5	44.9	4.6	20.4	35.0	41.6	3.0
Nativity unknown..	10.2	22.1	32.9	34.4	12.2	27.5	38.3	22.0
Colored	11.6	30.5	47.4	10.6	13.1	31.6	49.2	6.1
New England								
White	21.8	34.4	38.9	4.76	24.4	23.7	49.2	2.6
Negro	19.1	27.7	46.9	6.17	14.8	26.0	65.5	3.6
Middle Atlantic								
White	18.6	33.4	44.7	3.3	27.6	34.5	35.3	2.6
Negro	20.2	25.0	47.8	7.0	26.9	27.9	41.3	3.8
East North Central								
White	10.7	43.4	38.5	7.4	11.1	45.6	38.2	5.1
Colored	11.2	35.7	44.8	8.1	8.6	33.4	50.2	7.7
West North Central								
White	10.3	45.9	34.4	9.4	19.7	43.1	33.1	6.5
Colored	16.1	31.1	38.3	11.5	23.2	38.4	32.3	6.1
South Atlantic								
White	16.7	37.9	35.7	9.6	20.7	40.2	34.4	4.8
Colored	11.4	30.5	48.3	9.3	10.0	36.6	47.7	5.6
East South Central								
White	11.1	41.2	36.1	11.6	13.1	42.3	34.3	8.6
Colored	5.2	31.8	48.2	14.6	4.3	31.8	56.2	7.7
West South Central								
White	12.4	37.2	39.9	10.6	7.9	29.8	48.1	14.2
Colored	13.1	26.5	44.0	16.9	11.0	17.8	60.9	10.3

The percentage of illiteracy among Negro paupers was 68, about two and a half times as great as among the whites. In the general population the illiteracy of Negroes at the nearest census date to 1904 was 44.5 and of whites 6.2. But if we consider only the South Atlantic and South Central States, where most of the Negroes live, we find the percentage of illiteracy among Negroes 48 and of whites 11.7.

But this is not indicative or significant, for in the South, as in a measure elsewhere, the white paupers are from among the "poor whites," who are as a class illiterate, while Negro paupers are largely made up of defectives, who are naturally expected to be illiterate, and of old Negroes who had no opportunity for education.

Of the native white paupers of native parentage, 35.83% were illiterate and 3.09% of unknown literacy in 1910; while 71.93% of the Negroes were illiterate, with 5.6% unknown. Of the native whites of native parentage admitted to almshouses during 1910, only 13.61% were illiterate and about 3% unknown; while 46% of the Negroes admitted were illiterate, with 9.66% unknown. The difference in the percentages of those enumerated and those admitted is due to the admission of transients. Many of the almshouses, especially in the North and Northwest, approach charity hospitals for the sick during certain seasons of the year and during epidemics.

Of the total number of paupers in almshouses on December 31, 1903, 78.6% of the whites and 84.1% of the Negroes were defective. Of the number admitted during 1904, 53.5% of the whites and 58.2% of the Negroes were defective. Of the native whites enumerated December 31, 1903, 45.6% were insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, blind, or deaf-mutes, while the corresponding figures for Negroes were 47%; and of paralytics 4.6% were white and 5.3% Negroes. The feeble-minded were relatively more numerous (25.1%) among the Negroes than among the total whites (19.8%), but less than among the native whites, who had a percentage of 27.6. Of the native whites admitted during 1904, 17.5% were insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, blind, or deaf-mutes, as against 20.8% Negroes; and of paralytics 3.3% were native white as against 4.2% Negroes. Feeble-minded Negroes among paupers admitted during 1904, as among those enumerated on December 31, 1903, were relatively more numerous (11%) than total whites (7.5%), but slightly less than native whites, who furnished 11.8%.

There are several considerations that must be taken into account in any attempt to interpret the statistics relative to the defective in almshouses.

1. Negroes are more ignorant and careless than whites, consequently defective Negro children are more likely than similar white children to die young.

2. Even in almshouses, because of the social status of the Negro, the Negro defectives are somewhat more likely to suffer from poor care than the whites and consequently die earlier.

3. Negro families are less able financially to care for their defectives, especially the feeble-minded, insane, epileptic, blind, and deaf-mutes, than the whites, and their defective are therefore more likely to suffer neglect or be sent to the almshouse.

4. Negro families disintegrate earlier than white families, and in consequence defective children are at an earlier age left to shift for themselves, thus dying earlier or reaching the almshouses earlier.

5. Owing to better financial ability, better knowledge of what to do with defectives, a greater disposition to shield them, and to better provisions for the purpose, a much greater number of defective whites than Negroes receive care in special institutions.

2. NEGROES IN OTHER BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS

The Census Report of 1904 lists 1,241 benevolent institutions under the head of "Orphanages, Children's Homes, and Nurseries." Of this number, but 46 are for Negroes only. Six of these are located in Maryland, four in Georgia, three in Virginia, three in North Carolina, three in the District of Columbia, two in Kentucky, and one each in Florida, Louisiana, and West Virginia. Half of these institutions were founded during the period 1893-1903, four were founded before the War between the States, and four during the reconstruction period, 1867-76.

The 1,241 institutions are maintained at an annual expense of over ten million dollars. The 46 institutions for Negroes only spent \$235,558 for maintenance during 1903. Of this amount, \$23,328 was paid by inmates or their friends or by local public appropriations—*i. e.*, by city councils, city wardens, county courts, etc., in individual gifts or appro-

priations—and \$69,582 was from public subsidy. To what extent the Negroes themselves as a race contributed to the support of these institutions is not shown, nor is it known how many of them are under exclusive Negro management, probably the majority of those other than Catholic. The Roman Catholic Church operates 11 of them, various Protestant Churches 6, private associations 11, and private corporations 16; while one is maintained by Buncombe County, N. C., and one by Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Probably most of the State and Church institutions of this order outside of the South admit Negro children upon the same terms as whites, but no distinction as to color is made in their reports. In the 46 institutions for Negroes only there were 2,464 inmates on January 1, 1904; 1,525 were admitted during the year 1904 and 2,587 were remaining on December 31, 1904.

In 1904 there were 753 "Permanent Homes for Adults and Children," 16 of which were known to be for Negro inmates only. They were supported at a cost of \$45,522 in 1913, of which inmates or their relatives or friends paid \$3,745. While \$10,870 was from public subsidy. These homes cared for about 415 inmates. Four of them were for old women only, one for old men only, six for old men and women, four for women and children. Three of these institutions were in Missouri, two in Pennsylvania, and one each in Alabama, District of Columbia, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, New York, Ohio, and Virginia.

In 1904 there were 449 "Temporary Homes for Adults and Children." These are principally rescue homes for wayward girls or fallen women and their children. Only six of these are for Negroes exclusively. Two of them are in Pennsylvania, one in Arkansas, one in Maryland, one in North Carolina, and one in Virginia. Two are Catholic institutions, two Methodist, one a Baptist, and the other a Florence Crittenden Home. Their total cost of maintenance for 1903 was \$33,270, of which the inmates or their friends paid \$5,841. On January 1, 1904, there were all told 429 inmates; 348 were admitted during 1914 and 342 were remaining on December 31, 1904.

Of 115 schools and homes for the blind and the deaf, three are for Negroes exclusively, one being in Alabama, one in Maryland, and one in Texas. In North Carolina there is a home "for blind white children and blind and deaf Negroes." The total cost of maintenance for the three in 1903 was \$45,000, of which \$2,025 was paid by inmates. The North Carolina institution spent \$60,000. The total cost of all such institutions in the United States for 1903 was \$3,523,683, two-thirds of which was borne by State governments. In the four schools named there were 548 Negro inmates on January 1, 1904; 290 were admitted during 1904 and 560 were remaining on December 31, 1904.

The Census for 1904 reports 28 public and 14 private institutions for the feeble-minded and epileptic.* None of these was maintained exclusively for Negroes and only one private institution reports any colored inmates. This private institution reported only one colored inmate, who, more than likely, was not a Negro, since the institution is in Colorado. The following State institutions report colored inmates: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. It is noticeable that no Southern State makes provisions in special institutions for feeble-minded Negroes; in fact, only a few of them have made such provisions for white feeble-minded. Of the 14,347 inmates in special institutions for the feeble-minded on December 31, 1903, only 172, or less than 1.2%, were Negroes. On the same date about 2,500 colored feeble-minded were reported as inmates of almshouses, most of whom were accredited to the South Atlantic and South Central States. The cost of maintenance of these institutions was not ascertained, but it is perhaps somewhat less in proportion than for other benevolent institutions.

On December 31, 1903, there were 328 hospitals and asylums for the insane in the United States, of which 226 were public and 102 private institutions. The cost of maintenance for 1903 was \$21,329,228.41. On December 31,

*Fifty-three such institutions (33 public and 20 private) reported to the U. S. Commissioner of Education in 1912, but gave no data as to color of inmates.

1903, there were in all such hospitals 140,312 white inmates and 9,839 colored (including 329 Mongolians and 58 Indians), of whom only 14 were in private hospitals; while in 1904 there were 46,300 whites and 3,322 colored (including 78 Mongolians and 27 Indians) admitted. Only 15 colored persons were admitted to private insane asylums during 1904. There are fewer Negroes confined in insane asylums in proportion to the number of Negroes in the general population than there are whites so confined in proportion to their numbers in the general population; and the percentage of Negroes in insane asylums, except in Delaware, Kentucky, and West Virginia, is less than the percentage of Negroes in the general population. This comment occurs in the Census Report: "In fact, the available statistics do not show the relative frequency with which insanity occurs among Negroes, but merely the extent to which they are cared for in hospitals. The returns from Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, and a number of Northern States would seem, however, to point to a ratio of insane to population among Negroes which equals, if it does not surpass, that among whites."

In 1904 there were 1,649 hospitals and free dispensaries reported by the U. S. Census, of which 5 were for Negroes only. Three of these were in Georgia, one in Alabama, and one in North Carolina. Two of those in Georgia were private corporations, the other under municipal control. The one in North Carolina was maintained by the Protestant Episcopal Church and the one in Alabama by the "United Charities Society." The total cost of maintenance of these five for 1903 was \$17,616, of which patients paid \$2,661 and \$8,378 was from public subsidy. During 1904 3,571 patients were treated.

The Special Report on Benevolent Institutions for 1910, published by the Census Bureau, gives as little information bearing on the institutional care of Negroes as it possibly could to mention the matter at all. But by dint of hard labor I have worked out the following facts. Of the 1,196 institutions maintained for the care of children, 386 receive negro children, of which 60 receive negro children only.

Of 205 societies for the protection and care of children, 84 receive Negro children—none for Negro children only. Of 1,435 homes for the care of adults or of adults and children, 469 receive Negroes, of which 26 are for Negroes only. Of 1,918 hospitals reporting, only 247 exclude Negroes. These (247) are practically all private hospitals or sanatoria belonging to individual physicians. Of 574 free dispensaries, only 18 refuse Negro patients. Every State except Louisiana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, and West Virginia has made provision for the care and education of deaf and blind Negroes. Of these, only Louisiana, Oklahoma, and West Virginia have any considerable Negro population.

The Atlanta University Publication No. 12 (1907) reports that there are between 75 and 100 homes and orphanages for Negroes supported wholly or largely by Negroes. A list of 57 is given. About 20 of those in this list were included in my summary of the Census Report. Ten of them are in Georgia, eight in Virginia, six each in Maryland and Ohio, three each in Illinois, Tennessee, and Texas, two each in Mississippi, North Carolina, and Rhode Island, and one each in Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Kansas, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and West Virginia. The same study says there are about 40 hospitals entirely under Negro management. A list of 31 is given, only two of which are included in my summary of the Census Report. Of the 31 named, there were four each in Georgia and North Carolina, three each in Tennessee and Virginia, two each in Kansas, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, and one each in Alabama, District of Columbia, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New York, Ohio, and Texas.

To summarize: According to the Special Census Reports of 1904 there were 39 benevolent institutions in the United States maintained for Negroes exclusively.* More than 11,000 dependent Negroes received the benefits offered by these institutions at an expense in 1903 of \$366,966, of which

*A total of eighty-six such institutions was reported in 1910, an increase of more than 100%. Monroe Work, in the Negro Year Book for 1913, gives a list of eighty-four hospitals and infirmaries for Negroes only.

\$88,830 was borne by public subsidy and \$37,560 by the beneficiaries or their friends or by county and municipal appropriations by stipend. No attempt is made to estimate the cost of maintenance of the insane and feeble-minded in special institutions. Of course the figures given do not begin to be an accurate or adequate statement of the institutional care given dependent Negroes, as the report of the Atlanta University Publication reveals. It is probable that many institutions given in the Census Report are for Negroes only, but are not so described. It is also most likely that most State institutions and many Church institutions outside of the South admit Negroes on the same terms as whites. Even in the South some State institutions—as, for example, insane asylums—and no doubt some Catholic institutions, such as orphanages and homes for wayward girls, admit Negroes. All the public hospitals in the South, so far as I know, and most of the hospitals immediately attached to medical colleges admit Negroes free. This care of Negroes in hospitals under the best of medical attention, under white nurses and competent superintendence, with all the comforts afforded whites and without expense to the patient, is of incalculable service to the Negro, and it has an educative utility to him of no small value. The Negro hospitals that maintain training schools for nurses are also doing a great service by sending out through these nurses influences making for greater knowledge of diet, sanitation, and care of the sick among Negroes.

3. OUTDOOR RELIEF

The amount of outdoor relief given those in want and the money and means used to prevent poverty are beyond computation. We can only arrive at some general conception of conditions and the means used to meet them by more or less detailed study of some of the better-organized agencies for helping the needy. The form of help given that the average man thinks of as outdoor relief is that provided for by law, and is generally distributed by the county court, county commissioners, or city warden. This kind of relief is given in lieu of almshouse care and is usually paid

monthly or is appropriated or assigned in small amounts at irregular periods. No statistics are at hand on this point and no estimate of the number assisted or the total amount appropriated for such assistance is possible. It can be said with some confidence, however, that the amount paid out in rural counties for outdoor relief to Negroes is both relatively and actually small. The chronic poverty of county treasuries, the indifference of the average county politician to the Negro since the Negro's disfranchisement and his interest in affairs of more general concern, the Negro's ignorance and passivity, as well as the various means of assistance from other sources, make it more than probable that very little public outdoor relief is given rural Negro paupers of the South. The larger Southern cities, however, usually have annual appropriations for outdoor relief and the Negro shares with the white without discrimination so far as I can learn. The rural pauper who cannot get admitted to an almshouse may be assisted by his church, his lodge, or his neighbor, but more frequently is cared for by his "white folks." But even with that the lot of the old, of the chronically sick, and of the young child is often pathetic. Negroes are so ignorant, so unthoughtful, and so superstitious that it sometimes seems wonderful to me that any paupers are left to need assistance. And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, much individual charity is done by Negroes: with all their childish inconsistencies they are generous. They often take in and provide for the sick, the old, and orphans, with a cheerfulness out of all proportion to their financial ability.

In the cities the charity work of the churches is better organized than in the small towns or rural districts and more effectively helpful. The Atlanta University Publication No. 14 says: "Seven per cent of the expenditure of the African Methodist Church goes for missionary and charitable purposes. If this is true of all Negro church bodies, then their expenditure for such purposes is over half a million dollars a year. But as to what proportion of this goes to outdoor relief, or what proportion of it comes from or goes to rural churches, we are not told. Some, but not much, outdoor relief is given Negroes by white churches."

A considerable amount of outdoor relief is given Negroes through the charity organization societies in Southern cities. Much more would be given if the Negroes could be brought to coöperate with these societies, but for some reason neither the Negro ministers nor prominent men among the race except in rare instances either contribute to the cause or give moral support. Some Secretaries of such societies ascribe this lack of coöperation to their ignorance and indifference, others to mere aloofness of conceit or a narrow, jealous sort of pride of each in his own little circle of endeavor. As I have said in a previous chapter, this explanation may be true, but back of this very probably is the fact that the Negro lacks the breadth of mind and depth of thought to be able to grasp the conception of scientific philanthropy and lacks the administrative ability to coöperate with organized purposeful agencies, for a remote advantage.

A. BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

The favorite form of self-help, and perhaps the most effective outdoor help needy Negroes receive, is through their own lodges and benevolent societies, for they act as much to prevent pauperism as to relieve distress. The Atlanta University Publication No. 12 says: "No complete account of Negro beneficial societies is possible, so large is their number and so wide their ramifications. Nor can any hard-and-fast line be drawn between them and industrial insurance societies save in membership and extent of business."

Xenia, Ohio, with a population of 22,000 Negroes, had in 1907 eleven lodges. Baltimore, with 67,000 Negroes, had more than sixty lodges, forty of which had a membership of over 2,100. Nearly 1,400 members had been buried at a cost of over \$45,000; \$125,000 had been given as sick benefits; \$27,000 had been paid widows; and over \$10,700 had been given toward house rent. The usual membership fee is fifty cents, the usual sick benefit \$4 a week, and the average death benefit \$400. The most notable of the Baltimore lodges are the Masons and Odd Fellows. The Masons numbered, in 1907, about 700, and the Odd Fellows about 2,300. For

the years 1905-07 these lodges had aided their sick, buried 83 members, and relieved 77 widows and orphans at an expenditure of over \$13,000.

In 1898 Atlanta had nine beneficial societies (not including secret orders) with a membership of 973, and for that year had an income of \$2,978, most of which would normally go for sick and death benefits. In the same year Petersburg, Va., had 22 such societies with a membership of 942, and distributed in sick and death benefits \$2,177.81.

For the sake of the light the accounts throw upon the Negro's efforts at organized protection against misfortune I quote verbatim the detailed accounts of the lodges and societies of two typical districts, Warsaw, Ga., and Philadelphia, Pa.*

Warsaw, Ga. (1908)

"The history of these societies is interesting. The Christian Progress is the oldest of them. It was organized soon after the close of the war by a number of Christian people who banded themselves together for mutual help. The society has twenty-five members and the monthly dues per person are twenty-five cents. The sick benefit is fifty cents per week. The society pays one-half the doctor's bill. The death benefit is \$27. Any person of good moral character may become a member.

"The next oldest society dates its organization from Reconstruction days, when there was a military company here with a woman's auxiliary. The company passed out of existence, but the auxiliary, under the name of the Ladies' Branch, has continued to the present time. This society owns a hall, where its meetings are held. Its membership is fifty and its monthly dues twenty-five cents per month. The sick benefit is fifty cents per week and the death benefit is \$25. When a member dies, an assessment of twenty-five cents is levied on the survivors.

"The Boyer Quiet Club was organized in 1888 at the suggestion of an old German named Boyer, who, although very poor, attempted to help the poorer Negroes. The society charges an admission fee of \$3. It has about fifty to

*See Atlanta University Publication No. 12.

fifty-five members with the usual monthly dues. The sick benefits are fifty cents per week and one-half of the cost of the doctor's first visit. The society pays all the funeral expenses.

"The Earnest Workers has been organized five years. It has fifty-five members with the usual monthly dues. The sick benefits are fifty cents per week and the cost of the doctor's first visit. The death benefits are \$20 and one-half of the funeral expenses; it reported \$100 in the treasury.

"The E. K. Love Benevolent Society, with headquarters in Savannah, is chartered, the Warsaw branch having sixty members. This society has a twofold purpose: to aid the sick and bury the dead, and to assist in supporting the Central City College, at Macon, Ga., an institution controlled and supported by colored Baptists of the State. Each member of the society is taxed sixty cents a year for the support of the college. For local purposes the members are taxed twenty-five cents a month. The sick benefit is \$1 per week. When a member dies, \$30 is paid on the funeral expenses and \$10 to the nearest relative. Only Christians are eligible for membership in the society.

"The Sons and Daughters of Zion is primarily a children's society. It has twenty-seven members and the monthly dues are fifteen cents. The sick benefits are fifty cents per week and one-half the doctor's bill. The death benefit is \$20. It reported \$113 in the treasury."

Philadelphia, Pa. (1899)

From early times the precarious economic condition of the free Negroes led to many mutual aid organizations. They were simple in form: an initiation fee of small amount was required and small regular payments; in case of sickness a weekly stipend was paid, and in case of death the members were assessed to pay for the funeral and help the widow. Confined to a few members, all personally known to each other, such societies were successful from the beginning. We hear of them in the eighteenth century, and by 1838 there were 100 such small groups, with 7,448 members, in the city. They paid in \$18,851, gave \$14,172 in benefits,

and had \$10,023 on hand. Six years later about 8,000 members belonged to 106 such societies. Seventy-six of these had a total membership of 5,187. They contributed usually twenty-five cents to thirty-seven and a half cents a month; the sick received \$1.50 to \$3 per week, and death benefits of \$10 to \$20 were allowed. The income of these seventy-six societies was \$16,814.23. Six hundred eighty-one females were assisted. These societies have since been superseded to some extent by other organizations; they are still so numerous, however, that it is impracticable to catalogue them; there are probably several hundred of various kinds in the city.

From general observation and the available figures it seems fairly certain that at least 4,000 Negroes belong to secret orders, and that these annually collect at least \$25,000, part of which is paid out in sick and death benefits and part invested. The real estate, personal property, and funds of these orders amount to no less than \$125,000. The function of the secret society is partly social and partly insurance. They furnish pastime from the monotony of work, a field for ambition and intrigue, a chance for parade, and insurance against misfortune. Next to the Church they are the most popular organizations among Negroes.

“Of the beneficial societies, . . . the Quaker City Association is a sick and death benefit society, seven years old, which confines its membership to native Philadelphians. It has 280 members and distributes \$1,400 or \$1,500 annually. The Sons and Daughters of Delaware is over fifty years old. It has 106 members and owns \$3,000 worth of real estate. The Fraternal Association was founded in 1861; it has 86 members and distributes about \$300 a year. It ‘was founded for the purpose of relieving the wants and distress of each other in time of affliction and death, and for the furtherance of such benevolent views and objects as would tend to establish and maintain a permanent and friendly intercourse among them in their social relations in life.’ The Sons of St. Thomas was founded in 1823 and was originally confined to members of St. Thomas Church. It was formerly a large organization, but now has 80 mem-

bers, and in 1896 paid out \$416 in relief. It has \$1,500 invested in government bonds. In addition to these there are the Sons and Daughters of Moses and a large number of other small societies."

B. INSURANCE SOCIETIES AND SECRET ORDERS

There is rising also a considerable number of insurance societies, differing from the beneficial in being conducted by directors. The best of them are the Crucifixion, connected with the Church of the Crucifixion, and the Avery, connected with Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church; both have a large membership and are well conducted. Nearly every church is beginning to organize one or more such societies, some of which in times past have met disaster by bad management. The True Reformers of Virginia, the most remarkable Negro beneficial organization yet started, has several branches here. Besides these are numberless minor societies, as the Alpha Relief, Knights and Ladies of St. Paul, the National Coöperative Society, Colored Women's Protective Association, Loyal Beneficial, etc. Some of these are honest efforts and some are swindling imitations of the pernicious white petty insurance societies."

A partial list, naming 64 Negro industrial insurance societies operating in 1907, is given in the same Atlanta University Publication quoted. Ten of these are in Virginia, 11 in Georgia, 7 each in Maryland and North Carolina, 4 each in South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia, 3 each in Florida, Missouri, Alabama, Minnesota, and Ohio. In another statement I find that there are a number of such societies in Virginia that do not as yet report to the State Auditor of Public Accounts, but that there are sixteen reported in the City Directory of Richmond. It is estimated that there are in Virginia more than 300,000 Negro men, women, and children carrying some form of insurance. The True Reformers, the greatest of such Negro fraternal insurance societies, claimed in 1907 to have paid, up to that date, a total of \$2,856,989.25 in death claims and sick benefits.

Masons.—The colored Masons have about 3,000 lodges, with more than 70,000 members, spread over thirty-four

States, with an estimated income of \$500,000. Probably one-third, possibly one-half, of this has gone for charity. The colored Masons have an insurance association as a distinct department which seems so far to be a success; but every mutual benefit plan that pays out more to every beneficiary than he has paid in will ultimately end in disaster. Alabama reports that the insurance department up to 1906 had paid out about \$100,000 to widows and orphans; Arkansas reports \$125,000 paid to widows and orphans; Florida, for the year 1906, \$4,001; Louisiana, 1905, \$13,100; Mississippi, \$87,000; Missouri, 1899, \$4,505; North Carolina, \$8,325; Texas (in ten years), \$150,000. If other States do as well as these, this is a most beneficent insurance, and under the present conditions, even if this mutual assessment plan must fail ultimately, it will have tided the Negro dependent over a dangerous period, saving many of them from dependency and the train of evils that go with it till the race shall have had more time to get on a safer economic footing, when they may be able to react from the final failure of their insurance plan.

Odd Fellows.—At the last report at hand (1906) the G. U. O. of O. F. had 285,931 members, and up to 1902 (organized 1850) had paid through their subordinate lodges about one and three-quarter million dollars in sick and funeral benefits and to widows and orphans.

Knights of Pythias.—The Knights of Pythias as a distinct Negro organization was instituted in 1880 and re-incorporated in 1903. Its total membership in 1905 was 69,331, and it reported over two million dollars paid for sick and death benefits for the period 1899-1905, more than half having been paid during the period 1903-05.

The United Brothers of Friendship, organized in 1861, report a disbursement of \$17,370 to widows and orphans during 1905. The Galilean Fisherman, organized in 1856, reports 16,800 policy holders and \$48,900 paid out for death claims during the period 1902-07, death benefits being \$50 to \$200 each and sick benefits \$1.50 to \$6 a week.

Mosaic Templars claim to have paid out during the period 1882-1902, \$175,000 to widows and orphans.

There are something like a dozen other secret orders among Negroes, of less importance.

4. BEGGARY AMONG NEGROES

In the rural districts and in smaller towns there is a good deal of beggary among Negroes, but it is somewhat different from beggary among whites. Negroes are rarely professional beggars, unless blind. A great deal of the beggary among Negroes is done by Negroes who work some, and do not consider themselves paupers or beggars. They ask for money, food, old clothes, more as presents or tips than as alms. Many of them ask, not from every passer-by, but from white men whom they know. There are a great many who do not *ask*, but they come to selected white people and tell their troubles. They usually get what they come for. Some, especially old family darkies and their children, do not ask—they demand, and they also usually get at least a part of what they want. A great many white men treat these old Negroes very much as they do children who tease for gifts—joke or scold as their temper or the circumstances may give them impulse, but it ends in the same way—the teaser gets what he begs for.

5. THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF PAUPERISM AMONG NEGROES

The tables of statistics for almshouses and other benevolent institutions indicate on their face that the causes of pauperism among Negroes are very much the same as among the whites. Indeed, the proximate causes are the same, though in varying proportions—*i. e.*, physical and mental defects, accidents, sickness, old age, abandonment. But back of these lies a great deal of improvidence and immorality: sheer laziness, vagrancy, gambling, drunkenness, and drug habits; and poverty brought about by the fines, the physical deterioration and lost time of prison life incident to crime. Churches and other benevolent societies report sickness and misfortune as the chief causes of pauperism among Negroes, while charity organization societies and municipal wardens of the poor see also the baleful influence of improvidence and wickedness.

TABLE No. 8
Estimated Annual Cost of Sickness and Death among Negroes to States of the South

State	Estimated Negro Population	Number of Negroes Seriously Sick All the Time	Loss in Earnings	Cost of Doctors' Bills, etc.	Annual Number of Negro Deaths	Funeral Expenses	Value of Lives That Could Have Been Saved	Financial Loss to State Because of Negro Sickness and Deaths	Estimated Annual Amount That Might Be Saved Each State Through Sanitary Improvement
Alabama	938,000	56,300	\$5,600,000	\$11,000,000	19,760	\$ 988,000	\$15,000,000	\$32,588,000	\$20,800,000
Arkansas	460,000	27,600	2,700,000	5,000,000	9,200	450,000	7,000,000	15,160,000	9,700,000
Florida	330,000	19,800	1,900,000	3,500,000	6,600	330,000	5,050,000	10,780,000	6,960,000
Georgia	1,217,000	73,000	7,300,000	14,000,000	24,300	1,200,000	18,580,000	41,000,000	26,080,080
Kentucky	265,000	15,900	1,500,000	3,000,000	5,300	260,000	4,050,000	8,800,000	5,630,000
Louisiana	741,000	44,400	4,400,000	8,500,000	14,800	740,000	11,320,000	24,960,000	15,860,000
Maryland	237,000	14,200	1,400,000	2,500,000	4,700	230,000	3,590,000	7,720,000	4,960,000
Mississippi	1,041,000	62,400	6,200,000	12,000,000	20,800	1,000,000	15,900,000	35,000,000	22,300,000
North Carolina	728,000	43,600	4,300,000	8,650,000	14,500	720,000	11,190,000	24,860,000	15,740,000
South Carolina	857,000	51,400	5,100,000	10,000,000	17,100	850,000	13,030,000	29,030,000	18,390,000
Tennessee	481,000	29,000	2,900,000	5,500,000	9,600	480,000	7,340,000	16,220,000	10,300,000
Texas	725,000	43,500	4,300,000	8,600,000	14,500	720,000	11,190,000	24,800,000	18,390,000
Virginia	686,000	41,100	4,100,000	8,000,000	13,700	680,000	10,480,000	23,260,000	14,740,000

Table No. 8, taken from the Negro Year Book for 1913-14, is very suggestive. The figures are appalling. It is estimated that in the South there are on an average 450,000 Negroes seriously sick all the time, at an annual expense of about \$75,000,000. About 112,000 of these sick Negroes are workers whose loss of earnings incurred by their own sickness approximates \$45,000,000.

There are in round numbers 225,000 Negro deaths annually (a rate of 24 per 1,000) in the South, many of which are from preventable diseases. It is estimated that, at the present tuberculosis death rate, no less than 600,000 of the present generation of Negroes will die of that very expensive but preventable disease alone.

On its face the problem of pauperism among Negroes is the same as the problem of pauperism among whites, but fundamentally it is different. The white becomes a pauper more often because he is of pauper stock, degenerate and intrinsically incapable, whereas the Negro becomes a pauper more often because he is of a child race, undeveloped and untrained. Many whites become paupers because they are unfortunate and many Negroes become paupers because they are defective, and a vicious environment sends many of both races to seek relief; but, upon the whole, the distinction holds true that the white pauper is congenitally abnormal and unfit for any environment, whereas the Negro pauper is too weak to adjust himself to an alien environment. The problem of the white pauper is largely a problem of breeding—of weeding out the unfit by segregation and sterilization. The problem of the Negro pauper, for the present at least, is largely that of adjusting a child race to a man's civilization, of putting an old head on young shoulders. The white pauper, just as the white defective and white criminal, is largely so by heredity and is incapable of adaptation. The Negro pauper is also a misfit by heredity, but he may be in a measure adapted to his alien environment, while that environment may be in a measure adapted to him. And so I offer the following suggestions looking toward a program by which such a mutual adaptation may in a measure be accomplished:

1. The Negro should be given vocational education and industrial training. Opportunity should be furnished those who have special ability or aptitude for particular kinds of work. He, just as the white man, is more likely to be contented, live normally, and succeed at his business if he can follow his natural bent in industry or occupation. But choice of occupation must be followed by such teaching and training as will make him efficient: he must know his job, and the training must be sufficiently extended as to make deft and self-confident without conceit, and to be of worth as moral training. All training that is worth while has its value in the fact that it is a readjustment of the nervous system. That takes time. The fundamental fault of all formal educational systems since education became a subject of conscious effort has been the failure to realize that education should so readjust the nervous system as that it will react advantageously to the stimuli in its actual environment, and that training—not mere telling or even teaching, but *training*—for a sufficient time is the process by which that readjustment is accomplished. The impartation of knowledge is important, but even at best is only a necessary concomitant and mainly incidental in real education: most of our formal teaching goes to waste. The chief value and virtue of our reform schools are that they furnish definite training related to life; their chief fault is that the training is not persisted in for a sufficient length of time for a complete and stable readjustment of the nervous system to take place. A shove in the right direction is not sufficient.

2. As a part of his education the Negro must be taught—trained, if possible—to look forward to the inevitable rainy day and impressed with the importance of making provisions for it. Home-owning and a bank account should be made a part of his economic ideals. The Negro pauper has not always been idle; most of them have earned enough to have kept them in comfort in misfortune or old age. Improvidence and lack of foresight have been their ruin.

3. But Negroes are ignorant and often helpless without a friend to “scotch” for them, even if ever so willing to

work and save. Every city and large town should maintain an employment bureau under municipal control. This would not only expedite business and help deserving Negroes who are out of employment, but would greatly aid the police in controlling vagrancy. Such a bureau could also be a general information bureau. There is limitless possibility for practical helpfulness in such a bureau efficiently managed. And it could be made self-supporting.

4. Along with the home-owning idea must be established certain social traditions, among them the tradition that kindred must care for kindred. Fathers must care for minor children, husbands must support dependent wives and children, adult children must support sick, aged, or infirm parents, brothers and sisters must answer the call for help from their less fortunate brothers and sisters. The family pride of many an old *ante-bellum* Negro has been the succor of his old master's widow or dependent children, and the feeling has been the efficient motive for noble sacrifice and self-denial in caring for his own blood and kindred. Marriage must be made sacred and concubinage stopped.

5. The creditable beginnings already made by Negroes to provide by insurance against sickness, accident, and death should be encouraged. And those who make and administer the laws should see to it that only soundly financed and honestly administered companies, societies, or associations should be allowed to bid for Negro patronage. The Negro needs protection as well as encouragement in the matter of insurance.

6. Hospital facilities should be extended and so managed that not only efficient but complete treatment can be prescribed and enforced, especially as to the reportable diseases. Visiting nurse associations and child welfare societies should be supported and encouraged and the Negroes trained to coöperate with them. Such agencies not only relieve distress, but they have a preventive and educational function even more valuable than the direct relief they render.

7. Those who make and administer the laws should see to it that Negroes are fairly treated by employers engaging

them in dangerous occupations. As yet Negroes are not employed to any great extent in manufacturing except for the heavier outdoor work. In iron and steel mills, and in coal mines, however, they are exposed to considerable danger, and ample legal protection should be provided.

8. Overwork, accident, and sickness in prisons, tending to render them as ex-convicts liable to become public charges, must become subject to treatment, review, investigation, legal action by competent authorities. The State has no right to incapacitate its convicts.

9. Proper provisions should be made for the payment by installments of fines assessed by the courts against Negroes. Under an adequate and efficient probation system this would be as easy and more economical than the present plan and would be infinitely better, both morally and economically, for the Negro. It is supremely important to keep the Negro out of bad company, foster his self-respect, and encourage his domestic life and its obligations.

10. Laws and the rigid enforcement of laws looking to the moral protection of the people are peculiarly necessary to the welfare of the Negro. The prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors and of cocaine and other habit-forming drugs, and curfew laws for women and juveniles, are particularly appropriate.

11. Sanitary laws and public health ordinances should be rigidly and efficiently enforced. Much of the sickness we have among Negroes is preventable. Tuberculosis and venereal diseases should be added to the list of reportable diseases and made subject to legal control. I am quite sure that most of the blindness and physical deformities and a large proportion of infant deaths among Negroes, as well as insanity, tuberculosis, and chronic rheumatism are primarily traceable to venereal diseases.

12. Every State should have a State Board of Charities and Correction who should have advisory powers over all penal institutions, and supervisory powers over all charity and relief institutions and agencies, with the right of inspection.

THE DEFECTIVE NEGRO

1. THE INSANE

ON December 31, 1903, there were 140,312 white insane persons and 9,452 Negro insane who were inmates of hospitals in the United States; and during 1904 there were admitted to these hospitals 46,300 whites and 3,217 Negroes. On January 1, 1910, there were 174,224 white and 12,910 Negroes in hospitals, and during 1910 56,186 whites and 4,384 Negroes were admitted. The increase of white inmates from 1903 to 1910 was 24.2% and of Negroes 36.5%; while the number of admissions increased 21.4% for whites and 36.2% for Negroes. During the same period the general white population had increased about 22% and the Negro about 11%. Of the total insane in hospitals in 1903, Negroes constituted 6.3%, and in 1910 6.87%. Of the total admissions during 1904, Negroes constituted 6.48%, and in 1910 7.21%. Of the total population in 1900, Negroes constituted 11.6%, and in 1910 10.7%. Native whites of native parentage formed 53.8% of the total population in 1910 and furnished 35.93% of the insane in hospitals and 40.37% of the admissions; all others (except Negroes) were 35.5% of the general population and furnished 52.42% of the insane admitted.

Table No. 9-A gives the absolute numbers of the insane enumerated in hospitals on January 1, 1910, according to sex, color, and geographical divisions, and the percentage of whites, native whites of native parentage, and Negroes, in the general population of each geographical division.

Table No. 9-B shows the place of residence of the insane prior to admission, for 1910. Two significant facts appear in this table: (1) Negroes are less liable to insanity in rural communities than whites in proportion to population; (2) except for a slight deviation as to uniformity in the increase, liability to insanity is shown to increase in cities in proportion to the size of the city, rather than in proportion to the percentage of the Negro population of such cities.

TABLE No. 9-A
Insane Enumerated in Hospitals, January 1, 1910

	Aggregate			Total White			Native White of Native Parentage			Negro			General Population by Percentages		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total White	Total Negro	Total
United States.....	187,791	98,695	89,096	174,224	91,617	82,607	67,531	35,238	32,293	12,910	6,536	6,374	88.9	53.8	10.7
New England.....	19,580	9,647	9,933	19,243	9,472	9,771	7,115	3,521	3,594	314	159	155	98.9	39.9	1.0
Middle Atlantic.....	52,380	25,787	26,593	50,811	24,964	25,847	15,024	7,533	7,491	1,520	782	738	97.7	43.8	2.2
E. North Central...	41,246	22,118	19,128	40,247	21,531	18,716	13,485	7,041	6,444	970	570	400	98.2	53.4	1.6
W. North Central...	22,683	12,659	10,024	22,032	12,270	9,762	7,564	4,238	3,326	579	346	233	97.5	56.1	2.1
South Atlantic.....	19,952	10,372	9,580	14,634	7,745	6,889	9,960	5,205	4,755	5,308	2,617	2,691	66.2	60.2	33.7
E. South Central....	9,750	4,939	4,820	7,220	3,709	3,511	6,457	3,295	3,162	2,537	1,229	1,308	68.4	64.8	31.5
W. South Central....	8,413	4,337	4,076	6,816	3,556	3,260	4,544	2,315	2,229	1,531	742	789	76.5	65.7	22.6
Mountain	3,574	2,308	1,266	3,469	2,241	1,228	1,187	685	502	57	22	25	95.7	55.7	0.8
Pacific	10,204	6,528	3,676	9,752	6,129	3,623	2,195	1,405	790	94	59	35	96.0	50.3	0.7

THE DEFECTIVE NEGRO

TABLE No. 9-B
Place of Residence Prior to Admission in 1910

	Per Cent Distribution by Class of Community				Aggregate				White				Colored			
	White	Native of White of Negro	Percentage	Negro	Absolute Numbers	Per-centage	Total White	Per-centage	Absolute Numbers	Native Parent 'ge	Per-centage	Absolute Numbers	Negroes	Per-centage	Absolute Numbers	Other Colored
Aggregate	100.	100.			60,769	100.	56,186	100.	24,534	100.	4,384	100.	203	100.		
From rural communities.....	63.9	72.6			20,442	33.64	18,454	32.84	11,168	45.11	1,923	43.86	65	32.02		
From communities of																
2,500 to 10,000.....					5,942	9.78	5,523	11.61	2,833	11.55	408	9.30	11	5.41		
10,000 to 25,000.....	9.8	6.7			4,239	6.98	3,982	7.08	1,775	7.23	248	5.65	9	4.43		
25,000 to 50,000.....	5.7	4.2			3,515	5.78	3,267	5.81	1,482	6.04	241	5.50	7	3.45		
50,000 to 100,000.....	7.6	6.1			3,228	5.31	2,999	5.34	1,347	5.49	221	5.04	8	3.94		
100,000 to 500,000.....	7.6	6.1			7,901	13.00	7,355	13.09	2,558	10.55	511	11.66	35	17.24		
500,000 and over.....	6.9	6.4			11,829	19.46	11,324	20.15	2,459	10.02	469	10.70	36	17.73		
Not reported.....	6.	4.			3,673	6.04	3,278	5.83	882	3.59	363	8.28	32	15.76		

TABLE NO. 10
Admissions to Hospitals for the Insane during 1910

Admissions	White						Colored		
	Total Whites			Native White of Native Parentage			Negro		
	Total	Male		Total	Male		Total	Male	Female
Total admissions.....	56,182	31,646	24,536	24,534	13,792	10,742	4,384	2,304	2,080
No previous admission.....	36,878	20,704	16,174	16,572	9,305	7,267	3,129	1,620	1,509
1 previous admission.....	9,435	5,214	4,221	4,005	2,197	1,808	395	207	188
2 previous admissions.....	2,378	1,258	1,120	1,098	610	488	92	51	41
3 previous admissions.....	821	428	393	422	228	194	33	18	15
4 previous admissions.....	325	167	158	178	90	88	10	6	4
5 or more previous admissions..	402	190	212	217	109	108	4	1	3
Not reported.....	5,943	3,685	2,258	2,042	1,253	789	721	401	320
Percentages, 1910									
No previous admission.....	60.7	32.4	26.6	27.1	15.3	11.8	5.10	2.66	2.46
1 previous admission.....	15.5	8.6	6.9	6.5	3.6	2.9	0.65	0.34	0.31
2 previous admissions.....	3.9	2.1	1.8	1.8	1.0	0.8	0.15	0.08	0.07
3 previous admissions.....	1.34	0.7	0.64	0.68	0.37	0.31	0.03	0.02	0.01
4 previous admissions.....	0.53	0.27	0.26	0.30	0.15	0.15			
5 or more previous admissions..	0.66	0.31	0.35	0.36	0.18	0.18			
Not reported.....	9.77	6.06	3.71	3.30	2.10	1.30	1.18	0.66	0.52

Table No. 10 shows the absolute numbers of admissions and readmissions for 1910 and the per cent distribution, according to sex and color. Note the relative decrease in the number of Negro readmissions as compared with whites. Physicians have told me that the mortality among the Negro insane is very much greater than among whites, and that the chief reason for this is that so much greater proportion of Negroes have paresis, which is of syphilitic origin and always fatal. But the Census Tables for 1910 show that only 4.9% of the Negro insane as compared to 6.95% of the white insane in hospitals have paresis.

Table No. 11 is based on the Special Report of 1904 and is used here for convenience, since no analysis of the 1910 report has yet been published. A similar table for 1910 can be worked out from table No. 8, but the differences found would hardly be of sufficient importance to justify the labor.

TABLE No. 11
% Distribution of the Insane, 1904

Geographical Division	Enumerated Dec. 31, 1903		Admitted 1904		Population General	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
North Atlantic.....	97.6	2.4	97.6	2.4	98.1	1.9
South Atlantic.....	74.9	25.1	73.0	27.0	64.2	35.8
North Central.....	97.8	2.2	97.3	2.7	97.9	2.1
South Central.....	79.9	20.1	80.2	19.8	69.7	30.3
Western	96.2	3.8	96.3	3.7	94.7	5.3
Continental U. S., 1900....	93.4	6.6	93.3	6.7	87.9	12.1

A comparison of the figures in Table No. 11 makes it evident that neither in Continental United States as a whole nor in any geographic division except the North Atlantic and North Central, are the colored represented among the insane in hospitals in proportion to their numbers in the general population. In these divisions there are somewhat better facilities provided for the care of the insane, and a very much greater proportion of the Negro population are adults, due to recent migration. But Vermont and New Hampshire, in the North Atlantic, and Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, and South Dakota, in the

North Central, have fewer colored in hospitals than the just proportion of their numbers in the population of those divisions. In Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota the colored population is composed largely of Indians, very few of whom are in asylums.

The largest representation of colored is found in the South Atlantic and South Central States, and in each of these, except Delaware, West Virginia, and Kentucky, the percentages which the colored constitute of the insane in hospitals are much smaller than the percentages which the Negroes form of the general population of these States. On December 31, 1903, 22.1% of the insane in hospitals in Delaware were Negroes, whereas Negroes constituted only 16.6% of her total population. Kentucky had 15.6% Negroes in her insane hospitals, while she had only 13.3% Negroes in her total population. Contrasting these figures with those of Alabama and Mississippi, we find for Alabama a percentage of 45.3 Negroes in her general population as against 27.9 in hospitals for the insane; for Mississippi the percentage of Negroes in her general population was 58.7 as against 37.4 in hospitals for the insane.

Now, these figures do not show the relative frequency of insanity among Negroes as compared with whites or as occurring in different sections of the country, but rather the provisions made for their care in different sections. In the South generally hospitals for the insane are crowded and the preference of admission is given to whites, while Negroes with mild forms of insanity are more frequently sent to almshouses, confined in county jails, or turned loose for future reference. In the Western States all told there are only 108 Negro insane in hospitals in 1904, the balance of colored enumerated being Mongolians and Indians.

The percentage of colored among the insane admitted to hospitals in 1904 is slightly greater than the percentage of colored insane enumerated in hospitals on December 31, 1903. The same is true for 1910 and the difference is greater. In South Carolina in 1904 the percentage of admissions was greater by 7.2%; in Florida by 5.8; in Tennessee by 5.5; in Oklahoma by 5.4; South Dakota, 4.8; Colorado, 4.3; Mississippi, 3.1; Virginia, 2.3; Washington, 1.7; Kan-

sas, 1.6; but in Montana it was less by 1.5, in Idaho by 2.0, in Texas by 6.6, in North Carolina by 6.8, and in Louisiana by 8.5. "How little relation the colored among admissions to insane hospitals bears to the actual ratio of insanity among Negroes in some States may be gathered from the fact that in Kansas, with a percentage of 3.7 colored in the general population in 1900, the percentage of colored insane among admissions to hospitals in 1904 was 5.5, while in Texas, where the Negroes formed 20.4% of the general population in 1900, the percentage of colored among the insane admitted to hospitals in 1904 was only 5.7. In this instance it is obvious that the proportion of colored among the insane registered in a year depends upon the provisions made for them in public institutions by the authorities."

Of the total number of insane in almshouses on December 31, 1903, 7,645 were white and 787 were Negroes, and of the 3,375 insane persons admitted to almshouses during 1904, 425 were Negroes. In the South Atlantic States 294 were admitted, of whom 135 were Negroes; in the South Central 450 were admitted, of whom 166 were Negroes.

Insanity seems to occur at an earlier age among Negroes than among whites. This is probably due to the strain of self-support in an environment to which the Negro is not by nature adapted and to the hurry and pressure and dissipation of the life about him to which his more simply organized nervous system cannot so readily adjust itself. "In the age periods under 35, of which those from 20 to 34 years are the significant periods, the percentages of Negro insane are uniformly higher than the percentages of the whites. The proportion of Negroes begins to decline in the age period 35 to 39 years, which for several of the groups of white insane does not even reach the maximum, and it decreases at a faster rate through the subsequent periods, but the decline is fairly uniform except in the period 55 to 59 years. Of both the native and foreign-born whites, the largest proportions are in the age period 40 to 44 years, after which a diminution, very marked in some periods, is observed. Or, to put the matter differently, 35.7% of the Negro insane in hospitals are between 20 and 24 years of age, as compared with 29% of native white and 18.1% of

the foreign-born white. Of the total number of insane in the United States, the average at the time of admission to hospitals is 38.5 years, but considered by elements of population, the lowest average age at admission (35.6 years) is noted for the Negroes and the highest (41.7) for the foreign-born white. Of the native white of native parentage, the average age at admission is 38.4 years, while that of the native white of foreign parentage is 34.3, and those of mixed parentage 35. In each of the geographic divisions except the Western the average age of male Negro insane is slightly lower than that of the female Negro insane.

"The smallest proportion of unmarried (43.3%) is found among the foreign-born white insane and the next smallest is 45.7% among the Negro insane." A notably high percentage of widowed occurs among Negroes.

"As none of the insane are under ten years of age the whole number involved is 199,773, for 10,850, or 5.4%, of whom the facts in regard to education were not reported. In all 77.7% had been taught to read and write, 2% had been taught to read but not to write, and 14.9% had not been taught either to read or to write. Among the illiterate there are doubtless a good many who have been feeble-minded from birth or early youth. The white insane show 80.5% who could read and write, with 5.4% unknown, as compared with 37.2% for the Negroes, with 4.6% unknown. The percentage of white illiterates is 14.1 and the Negro illiterates 58.2.

The tables of the Census Report showing previous occupations of the insane includes 129,860 patients, which leaves a total of 69,913, or 35%, who had no previous occupation or whose occupation could not be ascertained. Inasmuch as a majority of the insane came from the "laboring" classes where most of the women work this large percentage of the previously unemployed seems to indicate that probably a considerable per cent of the insane were never normal. And the fact that the majority of the insane of known previous occupations came from the occupations in which there are the greatest number of people engaged seems to indicate that the particular occupation one engages in has little to do with causing insanity.

"The largest percentage of insane is composed of persons returned as laborers and servants (41.6). This class constitutes 40% of the white insane and 61.5% of the Negro, and 51.5% of the foreign-born. The second largest percentage of insane (22.5) had been engaged in "agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor occupations," but only 15.2% of the foreign-born white insane and 12.8% of the Negro are reported as having been engaged in occupations of this sort, as compared with 28% of the native white. Third in magnitude is the percentage (16) who had been occupied in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. So far as this class of occupations is concerned, the percentages for the various white elements of the insane population are not very dissimilar, but for the Negroes the percentages are smaller." Eighty per cent of the insane reported had previously been engaged in the three classes of occupations just mentioned, 83.8% of the males being so engaged.

The occupations of only 37,879 of the female insane in hospitals were reported. Of these, 68.3% were occupied in domestic work and as servants, 6.9% being seamstresses and dressmakers and 4.8% teachers. Foreign-born whites furnished 79.9% of the insane housewives and female servants; Negroes furnished 57.3%. The total white female so employed were 69.6%.

The following table shows the percentage of total whites, native whites of native parentage, and Negroes among the insane in hospitals according to their previous occupations.

TABLE NO. 12

Previous Occupation	Total White	Native White of Native Parentage	Negro
Professional	4.3	6.9	1.2
Clerical and official.....	4.6	6.6	0.2
Mercantile and trading.....	3.0	3.8	1.4
Public entertainment.....	0.6	0.4	0.1
Personal service, police and military....	2.2	1.8	4.3
Laborers and servants.....	40.0	30.3	61.5
Manufacturing and mechanical industry.	17.1	13.8	3.0
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	23.3	31.7	12.8
All other occupations.....	4.9	4.7	15.5

The following table shows the relative proportions of the physically defective among the insane in hospitals, for total whites, native whites of native parentage, and Negroes. The Negro insane are shown to be slightly more defective physically than the white insane, but the white female insane are more defective than Negro female insane.

TABLE NO. 13

	Total White			Native White of Native Parents			Negro		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total defectives....	10.9	12.5	9.2	13.	15.2	10.5	11.3	14.8	7.6
Epileptic	5.7	6.6	4.7	7.4	8.7	6.0	7.8	10.5	4.9
Blind	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.6
Deaf-mutes	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.6	0.7	0.5
Paralytics	1.4	1.8	0.9	1.6	2.1	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.5
Crippled, maimed, and deformed....	2.2	2.5	1.8	2.3	2.7	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.1

In 1910 Negroes furnished 10.7% of our general population and 7.21% of those admitted to hospitals for the insane. Native whites of native parentage furnished 53.8% of the general population and 40.37% of the admissions to insane hospitals, while all others (except Negroes) furnished 35.5% of the general population and 52.42% of the admissions. Negroes furnished 5.2% of the insane having general paralysis (only) and 4.64% of those having alcoholic psychosis (only), and 7% of those having both general paralysis and alcoholic psychosis. Native whites of native parentage furnished 35.81% of the paralytics and 33.78% of the alcoholics and 40.81% of those having both. "All others" furnished 58.92% of the paralytics, 61.58% of the alcoholics, and 52.72% of both. The maximum number of admissions of Negroes having general paralysis (only) occurred at a later age than among whites of any class except those of mixed parentage; the maximum number of Negroes suffering from alcoholic psychosis occurred at an earlier age than among any class of whites; while the number of admissions of both races having both general paralysis and alcoholic psychosis reached maximum at the same age.

During 1904 22,524 persons were discharged from insane hospitals as "improved," "unrecovered," or "not insane." Of the number thus discharged, 21,459 were whites (11,563 males and 9,896 females) and 1,065 colored (555 males and 510 females).

TABLE NO. 14.

Discharged As	White			Colored		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Improved	76.2	75.1	77.4	73.0	70.1	76.3
Unrecovered	14.2	14.3	14.1	9.6	10.3	8.8
Not insane.....	9.6	10.6	8.5	17.4	19.6	14.9

"The table shows that the percentage of the total numbers of discharged colored reported as improved is smaller than the whites, but the difference is more than counter-balanced by the higher percentage of 'not insane' among the colored. The unrecovered form a smaller percentage of the discharged colored than of the discharged white. The female colored discharged show a larger percentage of improved than the male, but also relatively fewer classed as 'not insane.' In the two State groups where colored insane are found in the largest numbers—the South Atlantic and South Central—there is a striking divergence in the percentage of the discharged classed as improved, which is due probably to the many returned as not insane in the first-mentioned division. There is also a notable difference in the percentage of unrecovered."

The colored insane show a much higher rate of mortality (96.8 male and 96.2 female per thousand) than the whites (76.9 male and 63.3 female per 1,000), and they die at an earlier age than whites. "Only 1.2% of the white insane who died in hospitals during 1904 were under 20 years of age as compared with 3.9% of the colored. In all, 35.2% of the white and 53.7% of the colored died before the forty-sixth year had been reached. Of those who died in hospitals, the highest percentage for whites occurs in the age period 40 to 44 years, while for the colored it is found in the age period 65 to 69 years." Thirty-six per cent of

the white males and 34.2% of the white females died before entering the forty-sixth year, whereas 52.5% of the Negro males and 55.2% of the Negro females died before the forty-sixth year. In all, 19.4% of the white insane who died in hospitals were more than 70 years old, as against 8.4% colored. Whether considered in the aggregate, by sex, or by maximum death period of the white, the duration of life among the Negro insane is much less than among the white. The maximum death period among the Negro insane is not altogether trustworthy, for the reasons that many Negroes do not know their age and that the older ones have a decided tendency to exaggerate. The general higher death rate among the Negro insane and the higher percentage of deaths among the young Negro insane may be accounted for in one or more of several ways:

1. It has already been shown that the Negro insane are on an average admitted at an earlier age to hospitals. It may be, therefore, that they become insane at an earlier age than whites, thus increasing their liability to earlier death.

2. Death may occur earlier because treatment is not secured till too late in the attack. The face of the returns for 1910, however, indicates that Negroes on an average are sent to hospitals earlier in the attack than whites.

3. Or, it may be due to difference in attention given Negro and white patients, the Negroes receiving poorer care.

4. It may be due to more general depletion of health among Negroes incident to their ignorance and poverty—to their living conditions and bad habits.

5. It may be due to a more fatal type of insanity characteristic of the Negro race.

6. Or, it may be that a greater proportion of the mildly insane are sent to almshouses or kept in jails.

7. I am inclined to believe it is due to the pressure of a complex civilization with its unwonted excitements and easy excesses and to the unwonted strain of self-support in an alien environment, and to the Negro's natural racial lack of resistance both physical and psychical. His nervous system cannot adjust itself divergently from its hereditary or-

TABLE No. 15
Duration of Present Attack Before Admission—Absolute Numbers, 1910

	Total Admissions	Less Than One Month	One Month But Less Than Three Months	Three Months But Less Than Six	Six Months But Less Than Twelve	One Year But Less Than Two	Two Years But Less Than Four	Four Years But Less Than Six	Six Years But Less Than Ten	Ten Years But Less Than Fifteen	Fifteen Years But Less Than Twenty	Twenty Years and Over	Time Unknown
Aggregate	60,769	7,603	12,867	5,845	5,013	5,192	5,234	2,219	1,604	1,232	611	1,183	12,166
Total white.....	56,182	6,769	11,834	5,415	4,668	4,836	4,951	2,094	1,533	1,171	584	1,141	11,186
*Native white.....	24,534	2,767	5,571	2,660	2,165	2,295	2,273	966	703	600	297	605	3,632
Negro	4,384	804	983	406	339	344	277	119	64	60	26	42	920
Other colored.....	203	30	50	24	6	12	6	6	7	1	1	0	60
<i>Percentages</i>													
Aggregate	100%	12.51	21.17	9.62	8.25	8.54	8.61	3.63	2.66	2.02	1.00	1.95	20.02
Total white.....	100%	12.05	21.06	9.64	8.31	8.61	8.81	3.71	2.90	2.27	1.04	2.27	21.16
*Native white.....	100%	11.28	22.71	10.83	8.82	9.35	9.35	3.93	2.86	2.44	1.21	2.46	14.80
Negro	100%	18.34	22.42	9.26	7.50	7.84	6.09	2.71	1.46	1.37	.59	.96	20.98
Other colored.....	100%	14.78	24.13	11.33	2.95	5.90	2.95	2.95	3.45	.49	.49	.00	29.55

*Of native parentage.

ganization, and in the attempt his native primitive preorganization snaps and he is crazy for good and fatally.

As compared with what Negroes have been accustomed to before entering insane hospitals in the matter of medical attention and nursing, in the matter of housing, sanitary conveniences, food and clothing, they almost without exception fare better in hospitals than in their homes. But in these hospitals, as everywhere in the South, the color line is drawn and the whites are as a rule furnished better living quarters and better attention by attendants. The food, clothing, and medical attention are, however, the same for both races.

There are very few insane Negroes at large. Both Negroes and whites are afraid of them, and see to it that they have some sort of custodial care. In some States where hospital facilities are inadequate and the insane are too many or too dangerous to be placed in almshouses, they are placed in county jails. This is done for both their safety and the safety of the public, but it is an unfortunate necessity. The jail is no place for a sick man.

2. THE FEEBLE-MINDED

In 1890 there were reported in the census returns 95,609 feeble-minded persons, 5,254 of whom were in special institutions for the feeble-minded and 2,469 in asylums for the insane. On December 31, 1903, the entire population of the feeble-minded in special institutions, public and private, numbered only 14,347. In addition to these there were 16,551 supposedly feeble-minded in almshouses, making a total of only 30,898 under any sort of institutional care. But estimates made by competent authority placed the actual number of those so pronouncedly feeble-minded as to need institutional treatment at more than 150,000. But that estimate was made ten years ago. More recent investigations made among all classes of the socially unfit have led to a belief that the number of feeble-minded and mentally defective (excluding those classed as insane) approaches 300,000. If that estimate be correct and the Negroes furnish their proportionate number of the total, we have somewhere about 30,000 feeble-minded and mentally defective Negroes

in this country, a number more than equal to the total number of Negro convicts. In 1903 there were about 2,500 feeble-minded Negroes in almshouses, and the Special Census Report on "Insane and Feeble-Minded in Special Institutions" has only this to say: "The colored inmates (including one Mongolian and five Indians) numbered 178, or 1.2% of the aggregate," in special institutions.

The only significant thing about such statistics of the feeble-minded as we can gather from the Census Report, for the purposes of this study, is that no provision is made for the segregation and care of feeble-minded Negroes. Yet when we find that no less than 15% of Negro criminals are feeble-minded and that the breeding of feeble-minded among Negroes is restricted only by their own instincts and the limits of their physical ability, the matter appears to be really of some significance. It is estimated by good authority that the feeble-minded multiply twice as fast, or, at least, produce twice as many children, as does the normal population.* Our millionaires could build no more lasting monuments to themselves nor better serve society than to found institutions for the segregation and care of the feeble-minded Negro. Such institutions are far more appropriate for the race just now than institutions for its higher education. Our State legislatures have neither the breadth of mind nor the backing of their constituency to do such a thing.

3. THE BLIND

In the Census of 1900 the number of white persons returned as blind was 56,535, of whom 30,359, or 53.7%, were totally blind and 26,176, or 46.3%, partially blind. The number of colored blind was 8,228, of whom 5,286, or 64.2%, were totally blind and 2,942, or 35.8%, partially so. Of the colored, 7,646, or 92.9%, were Negroes. The number per

*In a test of 1,547 white and 300 Negro school children of Philadelphia, for general intelligence, Negro children showed 6.3% feeble-minded as compared with 3.9% of the white. The apparent significance of these figures may be modified by the fact that a relatively greater number of white feeble-minded are sent to special institutions or are kept at home, while relatively more of the more intelligent Negro children are put to work and more of the feeble-minded sent to school.

TABLE No. 16
Degree of Blindness—Totally Blind

	Total Blind	Number in Whom Blindness Occurred												Not Stated	Between 20 and 39 Years	Between 40 and 59 Years	Between 60 and 70 Years	Eighty Years and Over	Not Stated	Unknown
		Under 20 Years of Age	After 20 Years of Age	Blind at Birth	Between 1 and 2 Years	Between 2 and 4 Years	Between 5 and 9 Years	Between 10 and 14 Years	Between 14 and 19 Years	Not Stated	Between 20 and 39 Years	Between 40 and 59 Years	Between 60 and 70 Years	Eighty Years and Over						
Native white.....	23,636	9,018	14,037	1,886	1,760	1,087	1,726	1,294	998	267	3,963	4,348	4,651	979	96	581				
Male	13,278	5,011	7,978	1,050	946	597	945	740	605	128	2,961	2,410	2,364	441	42	319				
Female	10,358	4,007	6,089	836	814	490	781	554	393	139	1,272	1,938	2,287	538	54	262				
Colored	5,286	1,516	3,497	324	163	185	296	241	252	55	1,007	1,034	1,036	374	46	273				
Male	2,937	874	1,911	200	89	102	164	128	165	26	683	621	456	128	23	152				
Female	2,349	642	1,586	124	74	83	132	113	87	29	324	413	580	246	23	121				
<i>Partially Blind</i>																				
Native white.....	21,843	7,673	13,004	2,048	1,186	993	1,289	941	777	439	3,642	3,725	4,148	971	518	1,166				
Male	12,753	4,251	7,836	1,180	631	556	689	509	471	215	2,503	2,241	2,387	470	235	666				
Female	9,090	3,422	5,168	868	555	437	600	432	306	224	1,139	1,484	1,761	501	283	500				
Colored	2,942	913	1,861	223	85	117	159	146	121	62	554	591	533	118	65	168				
Male	1,575	484	1,003	132	43	56	81	67	69	36	341	328	258	51	25	88				
Female	1,367	429	858	91	42	61	78	79	52	26	213	263	275	67	40	80				

100,000 is greater in the colored population than in the white, the ratio being 89.6 colored and 84.6 white. The number of totally blind Negroes per 100,000 (57.6) is greater than among whites (45.4), but that of the partially blind is the reverse, being 39.2 per 100,000 whites to 32 per 100,000 Negroes.

Table No. 16 shows degree of blindness, age at which blindness occurred, sex of our native white and Negro blind population.

The number of totally blind under 20 years of age per 10,000 population of corresponding age is practically the same for native whites (12.1), foreign-born whites (12), and colored (12.6). The number of partially blind per 10,000 for the corresponding age group are: Native white, 12.7; foreign-born white, 9.5; colored, 10.3. In the group 20 years of age and over, the number per 100,000 of the totally blind is: Native white, 70.8; foreign-born white, 69.8; colored, 103.3. For the same age group there are partially blind per 100,000: Native white, 63.9; foreign-born white, 44.5; colored, 54.1.

The marital condition of the blind as to color is not given in the census report. We may presume that it is practically the same as among whites, though it is probable that the number of widowed and of the single are somewhat greater in proportion. There are three reasons why there should be an excess of widowed among the blind over the number in the general population: 1. The ages of the widowed are greater than among the single and married, and opportunity to marry decreases with age. 2. Liability to blindness increases with age. 3. Blindness acts as a deterrent of remarriage. The fact that most Negroes have to work for their living and work with their hands militates against the marriage of blind Negroes.

TABLE No. 17

Population 15 Years of Age and Over	Per Cent			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
General white population.....	35.8	55.7	7.8	0.4
Blind white population.....	28.4	41.2	29.1	0.6

It is noticeable in Table No. 18 that 68.2% of the colored blind attended some sort of school, while only 41.4% of the white blind attended any school; but that 38.3% of the white blind attended special schools for the blind, whereas only 29.4% of the Negro blind attended such schools.

TABLE NO. 18
Total School Attendance of Blind

Color and Degree of Blindness	Total Blind	Attended School		Did Not Attend School		Not Stated
	Number	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number
The blind.....	64,763	24,556	37.9	29,026	44.8	11,181
Totally	35,645	12,927	36.3	17,141	48.1	5,577
Partially	29,118	11,629	39.9	11,885	40.8	5,604
White blind.....	56,535	22,707	40.2	23,415	41.4	10,413
Totally	30,359	11,893	39.2	13,361	44.0	5,105
Partially	26,176	10,814	41.3	10,054	38.4	5,308
Colored blind...	8,228	1,849	22.5	5,611	68.2	768
Totally	5,286	1,034	19.6	3,780	71.5	472
Partially	2,942	815	27.7	1,831	62.2	296

Attended Special Schools for the Blind

Color and Degree of Blindness	Total Blind	Number	Per Cent
White blind.....	22,707	8,702	38.3
Totally	11,893	5,853	49.2
Partially	10,814	2,849	26.3
Colored blind.....	1,849	543	29.4
Totally	1,034	386	37.3
Partially	815	157	19.3

Of the 62,456 blind persons ten years of age and over, 12,506, or 20%, were gainfully employed. The per cent of the general population ten years of age and over thus employed was 50.2. Of the totally blind, 5,581, or 16.2%, and of the partially blind 6,925, or 24.7%, were gainfully employed. The number of white blind was 56,535, of whom 1,104, or 19.5%, were employed, as compared with 8,228 Negroes. of whom 1,464, or 15.5%, were employed.

Of the 30,359 totally blind whites, 4,902, or 16.1%, were employed. Of the 5,286 totally blind Negroes, 679, or 12.8%, were employed. Of the 26,176 partially blind whites, 6,140, or 23.4%, were employed. Of the 2,942 partially blind Negroes, 785, or 26.0%, were employed.

It is thus seen that a larger percentage of totally blind whites than of totally blind Negroes are employed, but for

the partially blind the Negroes furnish the larger percentage.

TABLE No. 19

	Totally Blind				Partially Blind			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All occupations.....	4,220	682	549	130	5,429	711	582	203
Agricultural pursuits.....	1,128	111	156	29	3,190	236	341	82
Professional service.....	717	191	88	14	281	86	22	5
Domestic and personal service.....	322	117	151	52	676	232	131	102
Trade and transportation..	897	63	78	2	560	40	29	2
M'f'g. and mechanical.....	1,156	200	76	33	722	117	59	12

Table No. 20 shows the specific pursuits in which the greatest number of the colored blind are engaged, as compared with the numbers of white blind in the same pursuits. It is seen that agriculture and common labor occupy most of the Negroes.

TABLE No. 20

*Specific Pursuits in Which the Greatest Number of Blind
Negroes Are Engaged*

	Totally Blind				Partially Blind			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agricultural laborers.....	58	4	29	4	233	9	52	22
Farmers and overseers....	1,018	105	112	22	2,834	223	253	59
Woodchoppers	9	0	8	0	15	0	20	0
Clergymen	93	2	34	0	56	1	13	2
Musicians	492	160	51	8	125	49	6	3
Common laborers.....	199	10	118	6	541	22	108	14
Launderers	7	8	7	18	6	31	2	42
Servants and waiters.....	20	66	8	20	43	126	15	36
Domestic and personal....	26	5	12	1	4	5	0	0
Hucksters and peddlers...	249	2	34	1	86	6	6	1
Seamstresses	0	17	1	9	1	23	0	5
Woodworkers	107	14	22	8	49	11	19	3
Merchants	366	11	21	0	182	5	6	0

There was a total of 490 blind Negroes in almshouses on December 31, 1903, and 165 were admitted during 1904.

"In classifying the causes of blindness for statistical compilation," explained the Census Report for 1900, "it was considered desirable, and at the same time scientific, to arrange the causes, as far as possible, according to the anatomical divisions of the eye. For example, under 'opacity of the eye' have been classed all diseases of the cornea, stated as such, and also cases attributed to granulated lids, and all other diseases of the conjunctiva indicated by such causes as measles, scarlet fever, scrofula, smallpox, and sore or inflamed eyes, since these causes do not impair vision except when the cornea is affected. In the same manner diseases of the iris, ciliary body, and choroid have been inferred as the causes of blindness in cases reported as due to venereal disease (syphilis), exposure to heat or cold, rheumatism, etc., since these diseases of the eye generally result from the causes mentioned. Affections of the nervous apparatus, either in the eye itself or the cerebral region, have been considered the causes of blindness in cases attributed to strained eyes, errors of refraction, meningitis, and diseases of the brain.

"Of the 64,763 cases reported, 41,874, or about 65%, became blind from classified causes. Other causes, such as 'congenital,' 'military service,' 'heredity,' 'grip,' 'fever,' 'accidents,' and 'different causes for each eye,' etc., which do not come specifically within the classes described have been grouped as unclassified. In 8,004 cases, or about 12% of the total, the cause was either reported as unknown or so indefinitely stated as to preclude classification under any title."

The specific causes of blindness to which the greatest proportion of cases per 1,000 from all causes is due are: Cataract, 121.4; injuries, accidents, and operations, 103.3; congenital, 73; old age, 60.3; sore eyes, 57.7. Unknown causes are responsible for a slightly greater proportion than any of those named, 123.6 per 1,000 cases.

The percentage of the totally blind is considerably greater than that of the partially blind when the causes of blind-

ness are given, as: Meningitis, 80.8; glaucoma, 76.4; congestion, or disease, of the brain, 73.7; scarlet fever, 72.5; smallpox, 71.2; venereal disease, 67.7; injuries, accidents, and operations, 66.7; neuralgia, 65.5; grip, 61.5; and colds, 61.2; while the percentage partially blind is greater in cases due to granulated lids, 69.4; old age, 63.4; scrofula, 60; catarrh, 55; measles, 54.3; and military service.

The causes resulting in a greater proportion of blindness among whites than among Negroes were: Granulated lids (white 20.1: col. 3.8); catarrh (white 8.5: col. 6.2); colds (white 13.5: col. 6.4); measles (white 23.8: col. 12.9); scarlet fever (white 10.8: col. 1.5); smallpox (white 7.3: col. 6.4); cataract (white 127.1: col. 82.3); neuralgia (white 27.9: col. 22.2); glaucoma (white 15.9: col. 3); meningitis (white 10.4: col. 8.9); congestion, or disease, of the brain (white 7.7: col. 4.1); congenital (white 74: col. 66.5); military service (white 39.1: col. 22.3); grip (white 12.5: col. 7.8).

The causes producing a greater proportion of blindness among colored than among whites were: Scrofula (col. 26.7: white 16.7); sore eyes (col. 61.3: white 57.2); venereal diseases (col. 9.6; white 2.6); exposure to heat and cold (col. 11.2: white 6.7); old age (col. 92: white 55.7); injuries, accidents, and operations (col. 107.7: white 102.6); strained eyes (col. 25.5: white 19.5); unknown causes (col. 186.7: white 114.4).

"The figures confirm the opinion, generally held by observers in America, that granulated lids, or trachoma, which is so fruitful a cause of blindness among the Irish, the Russians, the Jews, and the Italians, is almost unknown among the Negroes of this country." The same may be said of glaucoma and scarlet fever as causes of blindness.

"Excluding congenital defects and injuries, accidents, and operations, there were 2,556 who lost sight after birth but under one year of age, and in 664, or 25.2%, of these cases the cause of blindness was probably ophthalmia neonatorum, or 'babies' sore eyes,' since other diseases of the eye causing blindness under one year of age are extremely rare. 'Babies' sore eyes' is preventable. Instruction as

to the proper attention to be given to the eyes of babes at birth should be given and insisted on by physicians, and prospective parents should prepare themselves beforehand on this subject. This disease usually results in blindness or, if not, in seriously impaired vision. As soon as it is discovered it should have the attention of a competent physician."

Consanguinity of parents and the intermarriage of the congenitally blind are evidently causes of blindness, but no statistics separating whites from colored are available. Perhaps trustworthy statistics from Negroes along this line are impossible to obtain. But I think it could be easily established as a fact that among Negroes intermarriage of near relatives seldom occurs. And I think that the number of Negroes born blind or who by heredity become blind under twenty years of age are extremely rare. Savage life in Africa never favored blind children, and the process of selection in America has been extremely severe.

Most of the blindness among younger Negroes is, theoretically, preventable, but practically very little can be done; Negroes are both ignorant and careless, and their poverty makes the employment of competent physicians and proper treatment practically beyond their reach. Every Negro church should have a course of lectures each year on health, hygiene, and sanitation. Municipalities or counties should supervise and bear the expense of such lectures. More of such subjects should be taught in the colleges and the public school teachers should be held to rigid account for their teaching along this line. It is especially important that Negroes have instruction as to the dangers of venereal diseases, and against the employment of ignorant midwives instead of competent physicians.

4. THE DEAF

Of the 89,287 persons returned as deaf in the census of 1900, 84,361, or 94.5%, belong to the white race and 4,926, or 5.5%, were colored (including 273 Indians and 4 Mongolians). Of the total number of deaf persons enumerated, 5.2% were Negroes and 0.3% Indians. Of the general popu-

lation in 1900, Negroes constituted 11.6% and the Indians 0.3%. Mongolians formed 0.2% of the general population, with only 4 reported as deaf: they need not concern us here. It is readily seen that the whites, who constitute but 87.9% of the general population, furnished more than their share of deaf persons (94.5%), while the Indians furnished deaf persons in exact proportion to their numbers in the general population. The Negroes furnished less than half of their share of the deaf, according to the census report. Is the report correct? If so, it would indicate that the Negro is less liable to deafness than the white or the Indian. It may be that the statistics are inaccurate, but it is also probable that the Negro is less liable naturally to deafness than the white man, if not also to the Indian. I have previously expressed the belief that the Negro is naturally less liable than the white to insanity, feeble-mindedness, blindness, and deformities, and, for the same reasons, and perhaps in greater proportion, he may be expected to be naturally less liable to deafness.

We have no statistics for the deaf that distinguish between white and colored in the matters of marital condition, length of life, cause of death, allied defects, or consanguineous marriages. This is regrettable.

"In relation to acquired conditions the proportion of colored is least among those who speak well, greatest among those who speak not at all, and intermediate among those who speak imperfectly. Among those who attended school only 3.1% were colored, while among those who did not attend school 18.7% were colored, from which it is obvious that the education of the colored deaf is neglected to a much greater extent than in the case of the white. There is no difference in the proportion of the colored among those who attended special schools."

The following States have schools for deaf Negroes, maintained at public expense: Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. It is probable that most other State schools for the deaf, outside of the South, admit Negroes. I know of no private schools exclusively for deaf Negroes.

Of all the deaf who attended special schools for the deaf, 55% were white and 45% colored; of all the deaf who attended other schools, 53.1% were white and 46.9% colored; of all who attended both, 55.7% were white and 44.3% colored; of all the deaf whose school attendance was not stated, 53.6% were white and 46.4% colored. Of all deaf whites, 75.5% attended school, 13% did not, and the school attendance of 11.5% of whites was not stated; while of all deaf Negroes 41.3% attended school, 51.4% did not, and the attendance of 7.3% was not stated.

Of the 84,361 deaf whites, 29,831, or 35.3%, were employed at gainful occupations; of the 4,649 deaf Negroes, 2,311, or 49.7%, were so employed. This is a rather remarkable showing when we remember that only 50.2% of the general population over ten years of age are gainfully employed. It is even more remarkable when we compare the figures with those for school attendance.

The particular pursuits in which the greatest numbers of deaf Negroes are engaged are as follows: Farmers and overseers, 686; agricultural laborers, 500; common laborers, 294; servants and waiters, 263; laundry workers, 165; seamstresses, 39; boot and shoe repairers, 21; carpenters and joiners, 19; woodchoppers, 19; draymen and teamsters, 18; stockmen, 17; dressmakers, 16; porters, 15; woodworkers, 15; gardeners, 14; barbers, 12.

Grouping the occupations and comparing the numbers of deaf white with those of the deaf Negroes we find the following:

TABLE No. 21

	White	Colored
Agricultural pursuits.....	12,827	1,241
Professional	1,058	22
Domestic and personal service.....	4,548	768
Trade and transportation.....	2,171	65
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	9,227	215
Total.....	29,831	2,311

The number of deaf paupers in almshouses is shown in the following table:

TABLE NO. 22

	Total White			Native White of Native Parentage			Negro		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Enumerated Dec. 31, 1903.	629	351	278	294	144	150	76	45	31
Admitted during 1904.....	394	315	79	181	146	35	37	26	11

"The proportion colored is greater among those deaf from affections of the external ear than among those who have lost hearing from affections of the middle ear, and intermediate among those who lost their hearing from affections of the external ear. The percentage deaf from affections of the middle ear is more than twice as great among the whites as among the colored; in the case, for instance, of scarlet fever, eight times as great. On the other hand, the proportion deaf from malarial fever and quinine is four times as great among the colored as among the white; and the proportion born deaf more than twice as great. The proportion born deaf and deaf from affections of the internal ear is greater among the Negroes than among the Indians; and the proportion deaf from affections of the middle ear, old age, falls and blows, and indefinite 'sickness,' greater among the Indians than the Negroes. More than 4% of the Negroes lost their hearing from malaria and quinine, and less than 1% of the Indians."

In considering the classified causes of deafness the greatest proportion colored is found among those deaf from malaria and quinine (12%); whereas scarlet fever and catarrh, the principal causes of deafness throughout the country as a whole, show the smallest percentages of colored, 1.3% and 1.1%, respectively. Among the unclassified causes of deafness the largest percentage of colored appear among the congenital (11.6), and among those deaf from "sickness" (11%), from fever (8.2%), and falls and blows (8.8%).

In regard to racial susceptibility to deafness the Census Report has this to say: "It appears at first sight that the

colored population is almost immune, so far as deafness is concerned, to diseases of the middle ear, which we know to be predominant causes of deafness. There are, however, many qualifying circumstances that should be taken into consideration :

1. "In general, the largest ratios deaf from affections of the middle ear are found in the New England States and in those parts of the country bordering on the Great Lakes. It may be possible, therefore, that the comparative freedom of the colored people from deafness caused by these diseases, catarrh, scarlet fever, etc., may be due to the fact that they do not reside in the localities favorable to the occurrence of the diseases mentioned. It may be equally true that geographic conditions account for the comparative prevalence of malarial fever and quinine as a cause of deafness among the colored.

2. "Among those who lost hearing from affections of the middle ear, the proportion colored may not be so small as it appears from the returns; for the proportion colored is comparatively large among the deaf from indefinite causes, like sickness and fever. These, if definitely specified, might prove to be diseases affecting the middle ear. It is probable that a large proportion of the colored people could not discriminate between these diseases as causes of deafness, on account of illiteracy and lack of medical attention at the time deafness occurred. They might be unable to discriminate certainly between congenital and non-congenital deafness, for the same reason.

3. "Several thousand letters of inquiry sent out to deaf persons by the census office brought no reply; these doubtless were letters principally addressed to illiterates unable to respond by mail. The proportion illiterate is known to be very much greater among the colored than among the white in the general population (colored, 44.5%; white, 6.2%). Illiteracy is also more common among the colored deaf than the white, as is shown by the small percentage colored who have attended school and the large proportion colored who did not know their present age.

"In short, we cannot rely upon the hypothesis that there is a racial difference in the susceptibility to deafness.

While the census returns seem to support this hypothesis, the factors of uncertainty are so large as to deprive the results of value, and it is probable that the returns themselves are defective regarding the colored races."

Granting the validity of these considerations, the conclusion drawn may not be fully justified. There are other considerations. The returns of the census show that the percentage of deaf Negroes in the total deaf population is considerably less than half of the percentage of Negroes in the general population, while the percentage of white deaf in the total deaf population is considerably more than the percentage of white in the general population. The tables show that the proportion of colored deaf from birth is the same as the proportion of Negroes in the general population (11.6%), while the proportion of white deaf from birth is 88.4% of all persons deaf from birth, or slightly more than the percentage that the white constitutes of the general population. But of the total number who became deaf after birth, but under two years of age, the whites furnished 96.9%, while the colored furnished only 3.1%. Not only so, but the proportion deaf from birth (11.6%) is more than twice the percentage (5.5%) that all those deaf from birth constitute of the total deaf population or of the percentage that all deaf Negroes constitute of the total deaf population (5.2%). And of all those who attributed their deafness to heredity (not classed as congenital), 98.3% were white and 1.7% colored. These figures seem to me to need some sort of explanation further than that afforded by the "qualifying circumstances" quoted from the Census Report.

Now the face of the returns indicates that the Negroes are less liable to deafness than the whites, and I think *naturally* less liable, or "susceptible." Let us see.

1. The number of colored deaf who became deaf after birth, but under two years of age, is abnormally small as compared with either the percentage for the whites or with the percentage of the colored who were deaf from birth, whereas the number of colored deaf from birth is abnormally large as compared with the total of those deaf from birth or with the total colored deaf. Now it is well known that Negroes are much more careless of their children than

are the whites and much less likely to call in medical attention or to get competent or sufficient attention when they do call it in. Also, it is known that Negroes are more ignorant and less observant of hidden physical or mental conditions than whites, and hence less likely to know certainly when deafness in children really occurred. I am inclined therefore to believe that a less number than the census returns show are congenitally deaf and a greater number whose deafness occurred between birth and two years, from catarrh, fevers, accidents, etc.

2. The proportion of colored attributing their deafness to heredity may be too small, but it is in line with the facts of consanguineous marriages and the marital condition of congenitally deaf Negroes. I have no statistics from which I can quote the figures, but it is a matter of common knowledge that Negroes do not often mate with blood relatives, or with the deaf; and the statistics show that the percentage of the congenitally deaf is nearly three times as great among those whose parents are cousins as among those whose parents are not cousins. Four and a half per cent (4.5%) of all deaf, and 5.1% of those reporting, were the offspring of cousin marriages, whereas only 5.2% of all the deaf are Negroes. Nearly 11% of the deaf did not report.

3. The figures for the hereditarily deaf among Negroes may be too small, but if all those reported as deaf by heredity were either added to or subtracted from those classed as congenitally deaf it would not materially change the proportions. Or if enough of the congenitally deaf were added to the hereditarily deaf to make a percentage comparable to the percentage of the hereditarily deaf white, it would make the percentage of the congenitally deaf abnormally small and leave no margin for accounting for the already abnormally small percentage of Negroes who are reported as having lost their hearing between birth and the age of two years.

4. It is known that Negroes do not suffer so severely from malaria as white people, and there is no reason to believe that malaria of itself produces deafness. On the other hand, Negroes are very susceptible to colds, catarrh, and

influenza, which are known to be fruitful causes of deafness among the whites. I think it more than likely that many of the diseases described in the reports as "sickness" and "fever" to which so large a proportion of deafness were attributed were colds, catarrh, influenza, pneumonia, and malaria (including so-called bilious fever), for all of which it has been the practice to administer quinine and calomel. It is also known that heart lesions are very common among Negroes and that in many cases they give rise to symptoms similar to those of malarial poisoning. And every observer of medical practice among Negroes knows how carelessly some physicians diagnose cases among Negro patients. There is no examination worthy the name—often a very careless inspection. There is a look at the tongue, maybe a feeling of the pulse, a few general questions to which the Negro can give no trustworthy answers, and a prescription for calomel and quinine, on the presumption that if it isn't a cold it is malaria. And so quinine was prescribed for colds, influenza, pneumonia, and malaria, and everything that could be mistaken for them, and even as a "tonic" for general debility. But it is now known that quinine in large doses produces inflammatory effects on the mucous membrane similar to that of a cold. Now the middle and inner ear are lined with mucous membranes which are extremely delicate and sensitive. Protracted or repeated inflammation tends to dry up the lymph of the inner ear and greatly disturb the delicate nerve filaments on those inner surfaces. And so it is my opinion that a very large proportion of deafness among Negroes is due to the use of quinine, to quinine and colds, catarrhs and influenza, and to accidents and blows (more especially among children). I have no doubt that much of the deafness of infants under two years is due to neglected colds to which they are so very liable, to the chronic catarrhal conditions that follow, and to accidents about which parents never learn. The Negro's extreme susceptibility to colds and other diseases of the respiratory organs is racial and climatic: he is a tropical animal. His mucous surfaces have never been accustomed to inflammatory stimuli by either climate or

medication. Aside from this one peculiarity, the Negro is less liable to deafness than the white, just as he is less liable to other defects, such as blindness, insanity, feeble-mindedness, and bodily deformity.

I account for this comparatively less liability to be defective *naturally* among Negroes by the fact that the Negro has always been and is yet a primitive race. His natural history shows lack of feeling for the helpless and utter ignorance of how to care for them. Among primitive folk the defective are in the way, they are the most inefficient and cumbersome in times of stress or of warfare; among the ignorant and impulsive they are more likely to be the victims of ill temper, and they are less desirable for marriage. Therefore among a people living so long in one environment and as primitively as the Negroes lived in Africa the defective would be practically eliminated from the race by natural selection. But under the tutelage of American civilization sporadic cases have been protected from destruction, allowed to become absorbed into the general population, and spread their degenerate taint. Defective whites also have contributed their share of degenerate blood to the growing stream of Negro degeneracy. And if drunkenness, venereal disease, nerve shock, and consumption tend to produce defective offspring, there has been a steady increase of degeneracy since 1865; but as yet the Negro as a race is not degenerate.

5. DEFECTIVE SCHOOL CHILDREN

An attempt was made to collect sufficient statistics from medical inspectors of schools to throw some light on the question as to whether the Negro is naturally more or less defective than the white. But medical inspection of schools has just begun in the South and has not yet extended to many of the Negro schools. While several Southern cities have made provisions for the inspection of their Negro schools, not many of them have actually begun the inspection, so that I was able to get reports only from Atlanta. Table No. 23 represents the first examination of the pupils included. Two groups of whites will be seen. Inspection

began in the spring, and for lack of time only about half of the pupils were examined; the other half were examined in the fall term following. The disparity in the number of defectives in the two groups may be explained in one or more of three ways: (1) Many parents took warning and had their children examined and treated during the intervening summer. (2) The schools were in a different section of the city, having different economic and cultural status. (3) The two groups were examined by different physicians, which might make a difference in statistical results. The Negro children were examined by a Negro physician. The fact that a very much larger proportion of Negro than of white children die before the school age may affect the results in the Negro column. The data obtained is not sufficient perhaps to justify any generalizations, but a study of the figures in detail suggests much more than the summary of them reveals, and the more carefully they are studied the more interesting they become. This is clearly a fruitful field for wider investigation.

TABLE NO. 23
Defective School Children, First Examination

	White	White	Negro
No. examined.....	5,589	5,454	5,345
No. found normal.....	1,627	3,089	1,546
No. found defective.....	3,962	2,365	3,799
No. of defects.....	7,121	4,381	4,370
% defective.....	71.00	43.10	71.70
Malnutrition	279	141	804
Anæmia	132	102	279
Enlarged glands.....	885	846	535
Heart affections.....	59	91	35
Lung affections.....	34	51	82
Skin affections.....	75	39	196
Eye affections.....	444	262	235
Parasites	278	155	4
Nervous affections.....	15	25	89
Diseased teeth.....	3,021	1,568	1,760
Diseased tonsils.....	1,133	617	2,038
Adenoids	658	469	269
Diseased ears.....	13	14	44
Seborrhea	73	0	
Disease of bone	17	1	
Vaccination scar.....	297	194	

6. PROVISIONS FOR THE CARE AND TREATMENT OF DEFECTIVE NEGROES

The provisions made for the care and treatment of defective Negroes of every class are inadequate, and for some classes utterly wanting in the Southern States. The insane are the only class for which the provisions made even approach adequacy, and that is probably because people are afraid of the insane. But they cannot see that the epileptic and feeble-minded, the deformed and paralytic, and even the deaf and blind may be even more dangerous to society. All the Southern States make some provision for the insane, but the asylums are overflowing, and poorhouses and jails are pressed into service. This ought not to be. The insane are sick. They need intelligent care and medical attention. The same can be said of the epileptics, many of whom are at large, some of whom are in almshouses. Many feeble-minded Negroes, say 10% of the whole number, are in almshouses; but almshouses do not provide any too well for their comfort; they are a dead expense, whereas they could, for the most part, by proper training, be made self-supporting; and do not restrict the propagation of their kind. This latter consideration is seriously important, for the feeble-minded reproduce themselves in all forms of degeneracy. At least 15% of Negro criminals, and more than 25% of white criminals, should be permanently segregated in special institutions for the feeble-minded, thus cutting off their opportunity for crime, for propagating their kind, and for spreading infectious diseases. But so far as I have been able to learn, there is not a special institution in the world for feeble-minded Negroes, and into none of the few institutions of the sort in the Southern States are Negroes admitted."

" There are special schools for deaf and blind Negroes in the following States, all of which are public institutions under white management: Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia." Whether or not any other Southern States or municipalities have made any provisions for these unfortunates I do not know. Every State should provide at least for the training

of deaf and blind Negroes in such trades or handicrafts as are suited to them and by which they may be able in self-respect to earn an honest and decent living; and it would not be amiss for the State to aid municipalities or benevolent associations in establishing factories and workshops for the plying of their trades under moral and healthful conditions. Every effort should be made by physicians and benevolent persons having to do with the blind and deaf to induce the hereditarily blind and deaf to submit to vasectomy for males and the corresponding operation for females.

THE NEGRO CRIMINAL

CHAPTER I. THE CRIMINAL POPULATION

IN 1890 the total prison population of the United States was 82,329, of whom 24,227, or 29.49%, were Negroes. On June 30, 1904, the total prison population (excluding certain classes included in the enumeration of 1890) was 81,772, of whom 26,087, or 31.9%, were Negroes; 384, or .47%, Indians; and 190, or .23%, Mongolians. The enumeration of prisoners for 1910 (including most of those classes excluded from the 1890 enumeration) showed a total of 111,498, of whom 37,874, or 33.97%, were Negroes. Of all prisoners committed to penal institutions during 1904 (149,691), 125,093, or 83.5%, were white and 24,598, or 16.5%, colored. Of the colored, 23,698 were Negroes, 714 Indians, and 186 Mongolians. Negroes constituted 15.17% and Indians .48% of the total number committed. In 1910 493,934 persons were committed to penal institutions, of whom 112,436, or 23.76%, were Negroes. In 1890 Negroes constituted 11.9% and in 1900 11.6% of the general population, and Indians .3%, while in 1910 they constituted 10.7% and .3% respectively. Note the disparity in the proportion of Negroes enumerated on June 30, 1904 (31.9%), and those committed during 1904 (15.17%), and of those enumerated January 1, 1910 (33.97%), and those committed during 1910 (23.76%). This disparity suggests, when we compare statistics for both 1904 and 1910 and consider the classes excluded and included respectively, that the Negro must receive longer sentences for his crime than the white man. If so, is it due to "race prejudice"? Or to the more heinous crimes of the Negro? Answers will appear as we proceed; the matter is too complex for discussion here.

Says the Census Report (1904): "Since at the census of 1900 the whites formed 87.9% of the general population and the colored 12.1% [Negro, 11.6%], it is evident that the

colored furnished a disproportionately large part of the prisoners. For each State and Territory, with the exception of Arizona, the percentage of colored prisoners is in excess of the percentage that the colored formed of the total population. A reason frequently given for this relative preponderance of colored prisoners is that the colored are too impecunious to buy their liberty when a fine is imposed for a minor criminal offense, while the white freely avail themselves of this opportunity. Such an explanation cannot be applied to the statistics in this report, since persons serving time for non-payment of fines were not enumerated." Also: "High percentages may in some instances reflect a somewhat greater severity in dealing with colored criminals than with white. There is, however, no escape from the conclusion that relatively the colored contribute much the larger number to the prison population, for this condition exists in States with a small admixture of colored as well as in States in the 'black belt' of the South."

In 1890 the number of Negro prisoners was 3.06 times as great in proportion to population as the whites; on June 30, 1914, the number was 3.58 times as great; but the number committed during 1904 was but 1.43 times as great.

Table No. 24 shows the percentages for white and colored enumeration and commitments for 1904, by geographic divisions and by States.

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 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 female population were Negroes. In Pennsylvania in 1904 colored prisoners constituted 21.1% of the whole prison population, while the colored in the general population of the State was only 2.5%. The corresponding figures for New Jersey were 21.5% prisoners and 3.8% of the general population.

In 1904 Ohio had 22.2% of her prisoners colored, while only 2.3% of her population were colored. The figures for

TABLE No. 24

State or Territory	Prisoners Enumerated, June 30, 1904		General Population, 1900		Prisoners Committed During 1904					
					Aggregate		Major Offenders		Minor Offenders	
	Per Cent White	Per Cent Colored	Per Cent White	Per Cent Colored	Per Cent White	Per Cent Colored	Per Cent White	Per Cent Colored	Per Cent White	Per Cent Colored
Continental U. S....	67.4	32.6	87.9	12.1	83.6	16.4	68.5	31.5	87.0	13.0
North Atlantic Div...	88.9	11.1	98.1	1.9	93.1	6.9	86.9	13.1	93.9	6.1
Maine	98.4	1.6	99.7	0.3	97.3	2.7	97.4	2.6	97.3	2.7
New Hampshire...	98.8	1.2	99.8	0.2	99.2	0.8	99.1	0.9	99.2	0.8
Vermont	95.6	4.4	99.7	0.3	96.9	3.1	99.0	1.0	95.7	4.3
Massachusetts	96.4	3.6	98.7	1.3	97.2	2.8	93.8	6.2	97.5	2.5
Rhode Island.....	91.7	8.3	97.8	2.2	93.5	6.5	*	*	93.8	6.2
Connecticut	92.9	7.1	98.2	1.8	95.3	4.7	88.5	11.5	95.7	4.3
New York.....	92.1	7.9	98.5	1.5	95.0	5.0	90.9	9.1	95.5	4.5
New Jersey.....	78.5	21.5	96.2	3.8	90.7	9.3	78.5	21.5	91.9	8.1
Pennsylvania	78.9	21.1	97.5	2.5	84.8	15.2	78.0	22.0	86.1	13.9
South Atlantic Div...	25.6	74.4	64.2	35.8	35.6	64.4	29.8	70.2	38.8	61.2
Delaware	41.3	58.8	83.4	16.6	45.5	54.5	*	*	55.1	44.9
Maryland	40.2	59.8	80.2	19.8	50.7	49.3	33.4	66.6	56.2	43.8
Dist. of Col.....	*	*	68.7	31.3	24.8	75.2	*	*	24.8	75.2
Virginia.....	21.2	78.8	64.3	35.7	31.2	68.8	28.4	71.6	32.5	67.5
West Virginia....	47.0	53.0	95.5	4.5	57.5	42.5	42.3	57.7	67.2	32.8
North Carolina....	22.7	77.3	66.7	33.3	26.4	73.6	31.2	68.8	24.9	75.1
South Carolina....	13.6	86.4	41.6	58.4	14.9	85.1	24.1	75.9	11.5	88.5
Georgia	21.1	78.9	53.3	46.7	29.9	70.1	29.8	70.2	30.1	69.9
Florida	11.3	88.7	56.3	43.7	15.9	84.1	12.5	87.5	20.3	79.7
North Central Div...	79.5	20.5	97.9	2.1	86.6	13.4	80.4	19.6	88.2	11.8
Ohio	77.8	22.2	97.7	2.3	82.8	17.2	79.5	20.5	83.4	16.6
Indiana	80.4	19.6	97.7	2.3	81.0	19.0	80.9	19.1	81.0	19.0
Illinois	80.2	19.8	98.2	1.8	87.0	13.0	83.0	17.0	88.4	11.6
Michigan	93.1	6.9	99.1	0.9	96.7	3.3	93.0	7.0	97.2	2.8
Wisconsin	96.0	4.0	99.5	0.5	96.8	3.2	96.5	3.5	96.9	3.1
Minnesota	93.3	6.7	99.2	0.8	95.9	4.1	95.6	4.4	96.0	4.0
Iowa	90.1	9.9	99.4	0.6	94.4	5.6	87.6	12.4	95.1	4.9
Missouri	62.7	37.3	94.8	5.2	57.9	42.1	68.2	31.8	52.4	47.6
North Dakota....	97.5	2.5	97.7	2.3	97.8	2.2	*	*	98.6	1.4
South Dakota....	88.6	11.4	94.8	5.2	87.1	12.9	80.4	19.6	90.0	10.0
Nebraska	82.9	17.1	99.1	0.9	90.6	9.4	83.6	16.4	93.7	6.3
Kansas	66.7	33.3	96.3	3.7	72.0	28.0	66.2	33.8	78.5	21.5
South Central Div...	29.7	70.3	69.7	30.3	39.8	60.2	35.1	64.9	44.3	55.7
Kentucky	41.6	58.4	86.7	13.3	55.3	44.7	48.2	51.8	59.9	40.1
Tennessee	30.0	70.0	76.2	23.8	43.6	56.4	34.4	65.6	56.8	43.2
Alabama	13.1	86.9	54.7	45.3	19.6	80.4	15.5	84.5	24.9	75.1
Mississippi	9.2	90.8	41.3	58.7	17.1	82.9	12.2	87.8	19.9	80.1
Louisiana	19.3	80.7	52.8	47.2	31.1	68.9	24.6	75.4	35.0	65.0
Texas	40.7	59.3	79.6	20.4	45.9	54.1	45.6	54.4	46.2	53.8
Indian Territory...			77.2	22.8						
Oklahoma	*	*	92.3	7.7	51.7	48.3	*	*	50.3	49.7
Arkansas	28.4	71.6	72.0	28.0	36.9	63.1	34.2	65.8	43.9	56.1
Western Division...	90.2	9.8	94.7	5.3	91.7	8.3	90.7	9.3	92.0	8.0
Montana	90.9	9.1	93.0	7.0	88.1	11.9	91.7	8.3	87.3	12.7
Wyoming	84.8	15.2	96.2	3.8	86.7	13.3	*	*	85.7	14.3
Colorado	82.2	11.8	98.0	2.0	88.4	11.6	88.6	11.4	88.3	11.7
New Mexico.....	89.1	10.9	92.3	7.7	77.9	22.1	84.9	15.1	*	*
Arizona	90.9	9.1	75.6	24.4	89.6	10.4	89.6	10.4	89.6	10.4
Utah	95.1	4.9	98.5	1.5	97.3	2.7	96.3	3.7	97.4	2.6
Nevada	76.7	23.3	83.6	16.4	74.1	25.9	*	*	71.2	28.8
Idaho	93.4	6.6	95.5	4.5	89.9	10.1	*	*	89.6	10.4
Washington	92.3	7.7	95.8	4.2	93.6	6.4	91.8	8.2	94.5	5.5
Oregon	90.2	9.8	95.4	4.6	92.0	8.0	89.3	10.7	96.0	4.0
California	90.5	9.5	94.5	5.5	92.8	7.2	91.8	8.2	92.9	7.1

*Per cent not shown where base is less than 100.

Indiana and Illinois are 19.6% and 19.8% as compared to 2.3% and 1.8% respectively. In Missouri 37.3% of the prisoners are colored, as against but 5.2% colored in the general population.

Georgia fairly represents the "black belt" States, having 78.9% of her prisoners colored on June 30, 1904, and 46.7% of her general population colored. I have the reports of the Georgia Prison Commission before me. They show that the proportion of Negro State convicts has played around 90% for thirty years, falling below 88.5% in only two separate years and rising above 91% in five separate years. The proportion of Negroes in the general population of Georgia has been constantly below 50%.

In New York City in 1890 the number of Negro arrests in proportion to Negro population was one and a 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. In Louisville, Ky., the proportion of Negroes in the total population was 17.78%, but their percentage of arrests was 44.83, and of commitments to the workhouse 39.58. In Charleston, where they formed 56.39% of the city's population, they furnished 65.58% of the male and 79.19% of the female criminals. In 1910 Negroes formed 52.8% of Charleston's general population and furnished 62.45% of her arrests. In Nashville in 1910 the Negroes formed 33.1% of the general population, and in 1912 46.51% of her arrests.

In 1900 the Negroes constituted 39.75% of Atlanta's population, and in 1910 33.5%; but of all arrests made during the eight-year period 1906-13 62.21% were Negroes in 1906, 61.11% in 1907, 65.64% in 1908, 64.86% in 1909, 65.64% in 1910, 65.68% in 1911, 63.65% in 1912, and 64.68% in 1913. Of all females arrested during the same period, 82.53% were Negroes in 1906, 81.82% in 1907, 81.9% in 1908, 84.19% in 1909, 82.49% in 1910, 84.55% in 1911, 80% in 1912, and 80% in 1913. By reference to Table No. 28 it will be seen that the Atlanta Negro is arrested 3.8 times as often as her white.

For 1890-94 the percentage of Negro arrests in Chicago was 9.84 as compared with a percentage of Negroes in the

absence

general population of 1.3. In 1896 the proportion of Negro prisoners in the house of correction to the total number of prisoners was eight times as great as the total Negro population to the total population of the city. "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."

TABLE No. 25

Nationality	Per Cent of Total Population	Per Cent of Total Arrests	Nationality	Per Cent of Total Population	Per Cent of Total Arrests
Irish	6.4	10.3	Polanders	2.2	1.7
Germans	14.6	11.1	Italians	0.5	1.2
Norwegians	2.0	1.3	Negroes	1.3	9.8
Swedes	3.9	2.5	All others.....	66.1	60.1
Russians	0.7	0.8	(Grouped) Princi- pal foreigners...	32.6	30.1
Bohemians	2.3	1.2			

There are two considerations that must not be left out of account when we compare statistics regarding the Negro criminal with those regarding the white. The Negro is almost always ignorant, without money, and without influence, and so suffers the fate of all poor and obscure men: that is to say, he is denied the immunities of the more pecunious and influential white. I think the Negro and the poor white man are usually fairly tried in our courts, but in cases in which the defendant is wealthy or politically influential the complicated and anachronistic court procedure of precedents and technicalities lends itself to the thwarting of justice and often makes of the criminal trial a mere travesty. Practically every criminal lawyer perjures himself as to his oath made upon his admission to the bar, and trials of any public interest easily degenerate into a trial of the wits of opposing attorneys rather than a trial of the defendant. And so there is hardly a term of the criminal

court when some "successful" lawyer does not compound a felony committed by some white man. The lawyer's usual excuse or defense of himself is that he has taken an oath to protect his client. Needless to say that such a subterfuge is too contemptible to discuss. We need a simplified court procedure and juries of professionally trained investigators assisted by prosecutors and defenders, all under "civil service" tenure. Then more white criminals would be convicted and the Negro would not appear to so bad an advantage in statistics. Secondly, the Negro receives on an average longer sentences than the white (whether justly or unjustly does not concern us here) and lacks the money and the influence to fight effectively for pardon after conviction; and so his name continues on the records from year to year to be counted by the statistician.

The steady increase in criminality throughout the United States from 1860 to 1910 is manifest in the Census Reports, but the increase has been more marked among the Negro criminals.

"The number of white prisoners in the Southern States increased 8% between 1880 and 1890, the Negroes 29%. In States 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 1890* the percentage of whites among prisoners was 69.6% and of colored 30.4%, the colored forming but 12.1% of the total population." "When the percentages are compared with the corresponding percentages for 1904 it is seen that the proportion colored among prisoners has increased perceptibly. In each division of States, except the South Atlantic and Western groups, the percentage of colored prisoners was larger in 1904." Particularly noticeable is the increased percentage in the North Central group. The total number of Negroes in the Western group if included would not materially affect the percentage. In the South Central and South Atlantic groups the prohibition of the open saloon has modified the increase.

*Census Report 1904.

TABLE No. 26

Increase of Negro Prisoners by Geographic Divisions, 1890-1900

Year	North Atlantic	South Atlantic	North Central	South Central	Western
1890	7.3	77.7	14.2	65.2	11.5
1904	11.1	74.4	20.5	70.3	9.8

In 1890 the total number of Negro prisoners in the United States was 3.06 times as great as the whites in proportion to population, but in 1904 the number was 3.58 times as great and in 1910 4.86 times. In the State of New York in 1880 the Negro furnished 77 prisoners to every 10,000 of his population, in 1890 100 to every 10,000, in 1904 77 to every 10,000, and in 1910 95 to every 10,000; but in the census of 1904 prisoners who were in prison only because they could not pay their fines in money were not enumerated. 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 0.01% in the Negro population. 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 six times as great, in 1892 eight times, in 1894 six times, and in 1896 eight times as great. The proportion of Negro to white convicts in Georgia has not varied substantially for thirty years and now stands at 7:1; but the proportion of Negroes in the general population has slightly decreased—from 47% in 1880 to 45.1% in 1910. The absolute number of Negro State convicts has steadily increased in Georgia for the thirty years, except for 1896-1900, when it fell gradually from 2,144 to 1,825; but since 1900 the number has gradually risen to 2,537 in 1913. The decrease for 1896-1900 is accounted for by the fact that in 1896 the State legislature made a sweeping change in criminal definitions, reducing many felonies to misdemeanors.

The Census Report for 1904 says: "The Negro prisoners were more youthful than the white; 71.1% of the Negroes were under thirty years of age when committed, as against 39.9% of the total number of white prisoners. This dif-

ference in ages between the two races is less marked when the percentages of major offenders are considered by themselves, 75.7% of Negro offenders of this class being under thirty years of age as compared with 61% of the white. Among the minor offenders, on the other hand, 68.4% of the Negroes were under thirty years of age at the time of commitment, but only 36.1% of the white."

Of Georgia's 2,537 felony convicts in 1913, only 360 of whom are white, 170 are under 18 years of age, 1,626 are between 18 and 31, 685 are between 30 and 41, and 417 are over 40 years of age. More than 70% of them are between 15 and 31, and more than 64% are between 18 and 31. Table No. 27 gives the age groups for Georgia State convicts for a series of years (1905-13, inclusive); the total whites and total negroes for each year; and two groups as to length of sentence, which would modify the age group enumerations from year to year.

TABLE NO. 27

	1905	1906	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Under 15 yrs. of age...	13	10	9	8	13	10	9	7
15 to 18 inclusive.....	147	155	130	167	180	174	132	163
19 to 30 inclusive.....	1,334	1,385	1,489	1,487	1,500	1,533	1,475	1,626
31 to 41 inclusive.....	489	481	583	536	543	586	667	685
42 to 100 inclusive.....	297	313	351	360	312	365	422	417
Total Negroes.....	1,988	2,131	2,244	2,296	2,300	2,373	2,383	2,537
Total whites.....	291	213	320	262	248	295	325	360
Committed for 20 to 40 years.....		250	259	239	230	239	236	251
Committed for life.....		651	745	755	752	809	822	898

Table No. 28 shows the color, age, sex, and annual totals of arrests made in Atlanta during the years 1906-12, inclusive, as tabulated from the Reports of the Chief of Police. A glance at this table will reveal the relative preponderance of the young among the Negroes arrested as compared with Negroes of all ages arrested and with whites of the same age. But note the more rapid diminution of arrests among Negroes than among whites as the age periods advance beyond thirty.

THE CRIMINAL POPULATION

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Between 30-40.....	1,598	111	1,591	398	1,709	1,989			
Between 40-50.....	876	48	612	145	924	757			
Over 50.....	420	7	280	32	427	312			
Totals.....	6,180	520	9,600	2,771	6,700	12,372			
1910—Under 12.....	42	0	226	9	42	235	1,370		
Between 12-15.....	225	6	774	88	231	862			
Between 15-20.....	587	87	1,549	614	674	2,163			
Between 20-30.....	2,438	261	4,738	1,237	2,699	5,975			
Between 30-40.....	1,386	107	1,463	306	1,493	1,769			
Between 40-50.....	762	43	544	129	805	673			
Over 50.....	287	10	226	22	297	248			
Totals.....	5,727	514	9,520	2,405	5,241	11,925			
1911—Under 12.....	12		48	6			66		
Between 12-15.....	87	1	171	13	88	184			
Between 15-20.....	593	78	1,756	586	671	2,342			
Between 20-30.....	2,196	210	4,824	1,228	2,406	6,052			
Between 30-40.....	1,251	84	1,385	302	1,335	1,687			
Between 40-50.....	710	26	511	77	736	588			
Over 50.....	329	9	193	21	338	314			
Totals.....	5,178	408	8,888	2,233	5,586	11,121			
1912—Under 12.....									
Between 12-15.....									
Between 15-20.....	587	103	1,851	606	690	2,457			
Between 20-30.....	2,596	325	4,672	1,262	2,921	5,934			
Between 30-40.....	1,408	112	1,423	316	1,520	1,739			
Between 40-50.....	754	33	435	104	787	539			
Over 50.....	307	12	211	22	319	233			
Totals.....	5,652	585	8,592	2,310	6,237	10,902			
Grand Totals.....	44,148	4,003	66,765	18,823	48,151	85,588			

* Whites between 20 and 30.
† Whites over 15.
‡ Negroes between 20 and 30.
§ Negroes over 15.
|| Transferred to Juvenile Court report.

The Negro female, as Table No. 28 shows, becomes criminal at an earlier age than the male and earlier than either male or female of the white race. The Census of 1904 says: "A comparison of the figures for the male major offenders with those of the female shows that among the whites the males were the younger, while among the colored they were the older. For example, among the whites 61.1% of the males and 54.8% of the females were under thirty years of age, while among the colored the corresponding percentages were 75.3 for males and 79.3 for females. Of native white of native parentage, 63.4% were under thirty years of age as compared with 54.6% of the same class of females." But both the male and female Negro major offenders were younger than either the male or female white offender of any class. "Among the minor offenders 36.5% of the white males and 31.9% of the white females were under thirty years of age. The colored male and female minor offenders, on the other hand, had, respectively, 66.3% and 73% who at the time of commitment were under thirty years of age."

Too much confidence must not be placed in age statistics, for three reasons: (1) Police and prison officials are not accurate bookkeepers, nor even careful in their investigations as to data. (2) Many young Negroes will lie about their age, knowing that youthfulness will be in their favor in appealing for leniency, and hoping, in the more youthful cases, to be transferred to the juvenile court, where they stand a chance of being put on probation. (3) Many Negroes do not know their age.

As indicating the crop of Negro criminals coming on, for whom some provisions must be made and some preventive measures taken, I quote from the Census Report (1904) for juvenile delinquents: "In both 1890 and 1904 the ratios for the colored were much larger than those for the whites in almost all the States. This indicates that the tendency toward law-breaking is greater among the colored children than among the whites. In making comparisons to determine the relative criminality of the white and the colored, it should be remembered, moreover, that in some

States the institutional provision for white juvenile delinquents is greater than that for the colored, and hence the figures appear more favorable to the colored than is actually the case." The census tables show that of 93 institutions with juvenile inmates in 1904 69 reported both white and colored, 4 reported colored only, and in 20 all the inmates were reported as white.

The proportion colored in the general population in 1900 was 12.1%, and among juvenile delinquents in 1904 13.3%. The difference in these percentages is slight, and in making deductions and comparisons the percentages for geographical divisions and for individual States should be considered. The great majority of Negro children, even in proportion to Negro population, are in the South, where there are comparatively few reformatory institutions for youthful offenders, especially Negroes. Out of 3,499,187 Negro children (five to twenty years of age), 3,228,237 are in the South.

The figures in Table No. 29 show that in every State reporting, except South Dakota, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arizona, and Washington, the colored delinquents in institutions far outnumbered the whites. In South Dakota, Arizona, and Washington there are practically no Negroes, and the same may be said of most of the other Western States. In Louisiana there is only one small private institution for Negro juvenile delinquents. Provisions for Negro juvenile delinquents are utterly inadequate in every Southern State, excepting possibly Missouri. The figures of the table are based on the 100,000 of population (1900) for the prison enumeration of 1904.

In 1910 there were 24,974 juvenile delinquents in reformatories, of whom 3,855, or 15.83%, were Negroes, and of the Negroes 23.73% were females.

The number of juvenile delinquents for the City of Washington for 1904 were: White males 107, no females; Negro males 191, females 87.

Table No. 30 shows the number of juveniles sent to the stockade or workhouse from the Recorder's Court of Atlanta during 1903-09. There were 89 white boys and 5 Negroes sent to reformatories.

TABLE NO. 29
Juvenile Delinquents per 10,000

States	White			Colored
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total White	
Maine	34.7	16.1	32.2	133.9
New Hampshire.....	51.1	18.2	44.1	
Vermont	43.3	15.7	39.7	114.9
Massachusetts	48.1	14.4	37.9	163.0
Rhode Island.....	95.0	37.4	76.6	368.2
Connecticut	74.3	49.7	67.8	606.4
New York.....	89.4	45.4	77.8	232.1
New Jersey.....	32.4	15.6	28.4	189.2
Pennsylvania	24.6	16.1	23.2	165.2
Delaware	40.6		37.0	133.3
Maryland	86.5	18.3	79.8	131.6
District of Columbia.....	62.2		55.9	341.8
Virginia	13.0		12.8	19.1
West Virginia.....	30.5	13.4	30.0	89.5
Georgia	3.8		3.8	5.2
Florida	1.4		1.3	11.7
Ohio	38.3	14.2	35.6	304.1
Indiana	29.8	7.8	28.5	295.0
Illinois	27.8	11.6	24.5	261.9
Michigan	51.2	18.7	43.9	276.6
Wisconsin	30.7	10.5	25.7	134.8
Minnesota	27.7	0.8	19.9	104.5
Iowa	3.8	1.6	29.3	477.8
Missouri	18.6	3.7	17.5	95.8
North Dakota.....	16.6	5.3	12.5	
South Dakota.....	21.2		16.3	14.4
Nebraska	17.1	4.5	15.0	61.4
Kansas	20.5	2.4	18.9	193.8
Kentucky	9.7		9.4	44.2
Tennessee	12.1	34.1	12.3	11.7
Alabama	3.7		3.7	
Louisiana	2.8	7.7	3.2	2.0
Montana	39.7	3.2	29.6	64.5
Colorado	55.4	4.4	46.7	384.8
Arizona	34.0	26.8	32.3	3.3
Utah	30.5	17.0	27.9	70.0
Washington	36.0	10.8	30.8	22.9
Oregon	25.8	9.3	23.6	
California	38.2	6.3	31.0	47.4

There were 1,173 other cases before the court, besides those dismissed at trial, not accounted for in Table No. 30.

TABLE No. 30

	White	Negro		White	Negro
1903	24	511	1907	14	166
1904	17	340	1908	3	232
1905	8	276	1909	12	299
1906	5	202	Total.....	83	2,026

It is likely that a majority of these were whites who were able to pay fines or were placed on probation. During that time 649 were placed on probation, leaving 724 whose fines must have been paid. Estimating that two-thirds of this 1,173 were whites, the figures still show the Negro youth to be more than twice as delinquent as the white. The juvenile arrests in Atlanta for 1912 were: White males 339, females 71; Negro males 911, females 113. There were, therefore, according to population nearly ten times as many Negro as white juveniles arrested during 1912.

Of all prisoners enumerated in 1904, 5.5% were females; of all white prisoners, 5.1% were females; of all Negro prisoners, 6.4% were females; of all female prisoners, 37.13% were Negroes. Of all females committed to penal institutions during 1904, 21.8% were Negroes. The percentages that colored females constitute of all females committed during 1904 for the five geographic divisions are as follows: North Atlantic, 10.9; South Atlantic, 80.1; North Central, 28.7; South Central, 83.9; Western, 12. The percentages that colored females formed of the general population of these sections were: North Atlantic, 1.9; South Atlantic, 36.3; North Central, 2.1; South Central, 31; Western, 3.7. In 1910, of all prisoners enumerated, 5.5% were female; of all white prisoners, 5.04% were female; of all Negro prisoners, 6.52% were female. Of all Negro juvenile delinquents in reformatories, 23.73% were female.

Table No. 31 shows the number of Georgia State (felony) convicts enumerated each year for the period 1879-1913, inclusive, by sex and color.

The record of arrests by sex and color made in Atlanta during the period 1906-1913, inclusive, is shown in Table No. 32. The increase in the absolute number of females

TABLE No. 31

Date	Male		Female		Per Cent of Negro Population
	White	Negro	White	Negro	
April 1, 1879.....	120	1,078	1	31	
Oct. 1, 1880.....	114	1,041	1	30	
Oct. 1, 1882.....	112	1,100	1	30	
Oct. 1, 1884.....	125	1,218	1	33	1880
Oct. 1, 1886.....	148	1,337	1	41	47.
Oct. 1, 1888.....	149	1,326	0	52	
Oct. 1, 1890.....	168	1,478	0	42	
Oct. 1, 1892.....	194	1,690	2	54	1890
Oct. 1, 1893.....	185	1,917	2	64	46.7
Oct. 1, 1894.....	198	2,069	2	68	
Oct. 1, 1895.....	213	2,144	1	66	
Oct. 1, 1896.....	192	2,098	1	66	
Oct. 1, 1897.....	196	1,981	1	57	
Oct. 1, 1898.....	239	1,941	2	55	
Oct. 1, 1899.....	245	1,885	3	68	
Oct. 1, 1900.....	255	1,825	3	75	
Oct. 1, 1901.....	252	1,908	6	79	1900
Oct. 1, 1902.....	252	1,978	5	80	46.7
June 1, 1904.....	249	1,973	7	86	
June 1, 1905.....	284	1,908	7	81	
June 1, 1906.....	207	2,052	6	79	
June 1, 1907.....	372	2,114	5	73	
June 1, 1908.....	315	2,175	5	69	
June 1, 1909.....	258	2,232	4	64	
June 1, 1910.....	244	2,236	4	64	
June 1, 1911.....	290	2,312	5	61	1910
June 1, 1912.....	320	2,308	5	75	45.1
June 1, 1913.....	355	2,451	5	86	

TABLE No. 32

Year	Male		Female	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
1906	7,515	10,317	676	3,194
1907	8,882	11,637	793	3,570
1908	5,014	8,211	507	2,340
1909	6,180	9,601	520	2,770
1910	5,787	9,520	514	2,405
1911	5,178	8,888	408	2,233
1912	5,652	8,592	585	2,310
1913	5,366	8,480	636	2,540

Percentage Negro in general population 1900..... 39.9
 Percentage Negro in general population 1910..... 33.5

TABLE No. 33
Female Arrests in Atlanta

In 1906 females were	8.25%	of all white arrests.
In 1907 females were	8.20%	of all white arrests.
In 1908 females were	9.20%	of all white arrests.
In 1909 females were	7.76%	of all white arrests.
In 1910 females were	8.23%	of all white arrests.
In 1911 females were	7.30%	of all white arrests.
In 1912 females were	9.38%	of all white arrests.
In 1913 females were	11.11%	of all white arrests.

In 1906 females were	23.66%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1907 females were	23.47%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1908 females were	22.18%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1909 females were	22.39%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1910 females were	20.17%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1911 females were	20.00%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1912 females were	21.19%	of all Negro arrests.
In 1913 females were	29.95%	of all Negro arrests.

was due to arrests incident to the closing of the "red-light" district and similar disorderly houses.

According to population (white 66.5%, Negro 33.5%), Negro women of Atlanta had, in 1906, 8.5 times as many arrests as the white women had; in 1907 they had 8.6 times as many; in 1908, 7.23 times; in 1909, 8.65 times; in 1910, 7.34 times; in 1911, 8.2 times; in 1912, 6.67 times; and in 1913, 7.61 times as many. In Birmingham in 1913 white females constituted 8.06% of the total white arrests and Negro females constituted 22.74% of the total Negro arrests. According to population Negro women furnished 5.07 times as many arrests as white women. The Juvenile Court of Atlanta had 260 white boys and 5 white girls before it in 1909, and 865 Negro boys and 68 Negro girls.

Monroe N. Work, in his study of Negro crime in Chicago, says: "The proportion of female arrests among Negroes is about three times 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 the Negro prisoners, 1 in 3 was a female. In 1898, 1 in 16, and of Negro prisoners, 1 in 4.5."

Much light might be thrown on Negro criminality by reliable statistics as to occupations and previous employment

of convicts and persons arrested for crime. But published statistics as to occupations, employment, and vagrancy are practically worthless as applied to the Negro, for the method of obtaining information for the purpose is more convenient than trustworthy. The Negro at interest is usually depended upon for the information, and he tells what he thinks is expedient rather than what is true. He knows that a man with an occupation stands better among men than a hack-about and that an employed man always stands better at court than an idler, and he testifies accordingly. The loafing, idling, loitering Negro, just as the same class of white men, is an adept at securing witnesses to testify as to his steady employment and good character as a worker. But we know from observation that the idler and the loafer are characteristically gamblers, pistol toters, and pimps. A large proportion of drunks and disorderlies, of flimflammers, "blind tigers," burglars, and hold-up men come from this class.

Monroe N. Work states that of 427 Negroes under general arrest in Chicago 75% of them gave no occupation. R. S. Baker tells that five days before the riot in Atlanta, in 1907, a committee of the City Council visited some forty saloons one afternoon, and found by actual count 2,455 Negroes and 152 white men drinking at the bars or lounging around the doors.

The Negro may be a veritable vagabond, a beggar, a loafer, or even a wanderer, but he is rarely a vagrant or tramp in the same sense as the white—that is to say, he rarely becomes a professional tramp. The white tramp may not be a criminal—the Negro vagrant usually is.

Table No. 34 is copied from the Census Report of 1904. More pains were taken by the Census Office to work out this table than were taken by courts and arresting officers to be sure that the data were dependable.

The statistics as to literacy are but little more dependable, if any, than those for occupations, employment, and vagrancy, as applied to criminals. "Literacy" is an extremely indefinite proposition. It may not mean the same thing when registering as a prisoner and when registering

TABLE No. 34
Per Cent Distribution Male Prisoners Committed During 1904 Classified as to Race, Nationality, and Parentage
Major Offenders

Occupation	White							Colored			
	Aggregate	Total White	Total Native White	Native Percentage	Foreign-born Parents	Mixed Parents	Unknown Percentage	Foreign-born	Unknown Nationality	Total Colored	Indian
Professional	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.4	0.3	2.0		0.6	2.0
Clerical and official.....	3.8	5.3	5.7	5.9	5.7	4.0	4.4	4.0		0.3	
Mercantile and trading.....	3.2	3.3	3.1	2.9	3.6	3.5	1.6	4.0		3.0	
Public entertainment.....	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.7	1.2	0.8	0.3	1.4		0.2	0.7
Personal service, police, and military....	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.7	1.3	2.9		2.3	2.7
Laboring and servant.....	39.5	32.0	30.7	31.0	29.2	30.4	35.1	36.5		56.3	24.8
Manufacturing and mechanical industry.	21.8	28.6	28.5	25.9	35.5	32.5	23.4	29.3		6.4	4.7
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor.....	25.3	23.4	24.8	27.3	18.1	20.7	32.6	18.4		29.7	64.4
All other occupations.....	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.8	1.9	0.9	1.4		1.2	0.7

<i>Minor Offenders</i>											
Professional	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.6	1.0.	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.6	
Clerical and official.....	1.7	1.9	2.2	2.4	1.8	2.9.	2.2	1.3	0.1	0.3	2.8
Mercantile and trading.....	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.9	2.2	2.4	2.0	2.8	2.8
Public entertainment.....	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.2	0.7	0.9	0.2	
Personal service, police, and military....	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.2	1.2	2.3	12.8
Laboring and servant.....	52.8	50.4	47.9	50.3	43.3	42.7	54.8	55.2	77.3	71.3	60.6
Manufacturing and mechanical industry.	24.1	26.6	27.3	24.2	33.4	31.9	20.5	25.7	7.9	4.8	3.4
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor.....	15.1	14.9	16.1	16.5	15.4	15.2	15.5	12.5	9.2	16.6	35.2
All other occupations.....	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.8

as a voter. Frances Kellor, in her examinations of female criminals, found that the Negro prisoners were largely illiterate. Many of them had the merest smattering of reading and writing, but were classed as literate on the prison records, though in no exact sense could be regarded as able to read and write. Monroe N. Work says: "It is to be presumed that, because of the general educational advancement of the Negro and the fact that the majority of them are less than twenty-five years of age, the greater number of the Negro criminals of Chicago are literate."

In the census report of prisoners committed during 1904, 62.1% of Negro prisoners are classed as literate, 31.4% as illiterate, only 2.7% of whom can read, and 6.5% as literacy not stated. In the total Negro population of 1900 44.5% are classed as illiterate.

Much has been written pro and con on the relation of illiteracy and crime among Negroes. Prof. Straton, basing his conclusions on data of the Census of 1890, says: "The Negro is most criminal in those States where he is best educated. The illiteracy of the Negro in States where he furnishes only 1,600 criminals to the million of his population is 65.7%, while the illiteracy in the North, where he furnishes 7,547 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." In refutation of this Mr. Clarence Poe quotes a table furnished by the U. S. Bureau of Education based on the Census of 1890.

TABLE NO. 35
Criminals in Each 100,000 Negroes

Geographic Divisions	Literates	Illiterates
North Atlantic.....	828	1,174
South Atlantic.....	320	426
North Central.....	807	820
South Central.....	317	498
Western	542	518

In an editorial in the *Outlook* for January 30, 1904, Mr. Poe says: "From Gov. Vardaman's own State of Mississippi,

where, in 1890, 60.9%, and in 1900 less than 50%, of the colored population were illiterate the official who sends the report writes as follows: 'There are about 450 convicts in the Mississippi penitentiary; about half are wholly illiterate. Of the other half, less than 10% have anything like a fair education.' In North Carolina the illiterate Negroes of the State furnish 40% more criminals according to numbers than the Negroes who could both read and write. In South Carolina, where the Census of 1890 gives the Negro literates as constituting 47.2% of the entire race of the State, the penitentiary superintendent estimates that only 25% can read and write. In Georgia more than 60% of the Negro convicts are illiterate, while of the total Negro population only 47.6% are illiterate. In Alabama the illiterates among the Negro criminals are reported as about 70%, while the illiteracy of the whole population is only 57.4%. This means that in that State the Negroes who cannot read and write furnish about 30% more criminals, in round numbers, than the Negroes who have had school advantages."

Now the gist of the whole matter of the relation of illiteracy to criminality is that there is no causal connection. Illiteracy cannot be a cause of anything: it may be a condition of ignorance and ignorance may be a condition of crime. Illiteracy is merely concomitant rather than causal. Illiteracy, ignorance, immorality, pauperism, criminality are more or less characteristic of degenerates and of the submerged classes everywhere. A criminal is not a criminal because he is illiterate, but he is more often an illiterate for the same general reasons that he is a criminal. But as educational facilities are improved, usually other conditions tending to morality and social efficiency improve and the criminally inclined have a better opportunity for developing normally.

I have before me the reports of the Georgia Prison Commission for the years 1902 and 1905-13 inclusive. The illiteracy of Negro State convicts has not been as much as 60% in any year for which I have reports, and has gradually declined till in 1910 only 37% of the convicts were

totally illiterate, 3% could read, and 60% could read and write. In 1900 the percentage of illiteracy among the Negroes in the general population of Georgia was 52.4, decreasing to 36.5 in 1910. It is thus seen that illiteracy has decreased even more rapidly among the Negro prisoners than in the general population of Negroes, notwithstanding the fact that even as far back as 1905 more than half of the convicts were serving terms of ten years or more, more than 600, or nearly a third, serving life terms, where there is no opportunity for learning, as on the outside. Meantime the number of Negro convicts had increased 20% from 1900 to 1910, whereas the Negro population of the State had increased only 13.7%. I think that substantially the same showing could be made for every State of the South if statistics were available. Detached or incomplete data at hand indicate this; as, for instance: Of all Negroes arrested in the District of Columbia in 1877, 8,707, or 66.22%, could read and write and 4,276, or 33.78%, could not; while in 1892, fifteen years later, 20,587, or 77.2%, could read and write and 6,079, or 22.8%, could not.

Statistics of the marital condition of Negro prisoners would be interesting if known to be trustworthy. I have extracted data from the U. S. Census Report (1904) for Table No. 36, but the reader is warned not to place any great confidence in their accuracy. Negro marital relations in the South, especially among the lower classes, are extremely elastic, and prisoners give information about themselves according to their conception of expediency. They have reasons for concealment that do not ordinarily obtain among whites.

According to census data the proportion of single Negro prisoners is more than twice that of the married. The proportion of both widowed and divorced are smaller than among the whites. Among Negro female prisoners the single greatly outnumber the married, but among the white female prisoners the reverse is true for every group except that of unknown parentage (not included in my table).

It would be both interesting and instructive to know certainly the proportions of the defective among criminals,

TABLE NO. 36
Martial Relation of Negroes

	White		Colored		Major Offenders			
	Total White	Native White of Native Parentage	Negro	Indian	White		Colored	
					Total White	Native White of Native Parentage	Negro	Indian
Both Sexes:								
Single	64.2	67.9	62.8	49.7				
Married	25.8	24.6	27.1	39.4				
Widowed ...	4.6	3.7	1.8	2.5				
Divorced ...	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.1				
Unknown ...	4.8	3.1	7.9	8.3				
Males:								
Single	66.9	69.7	63.5	51.8	66.9	64.6	63.3	49.7
Married	23.6	23.2	26.6	37.4	28.5	30.9	32.3	45.4
Widowed ...	3.9	3.3	1.6	2.0	2.9	2.6	2.1	3.1
Divorced ...	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.8	1.0	0.4	
Females:								
Single	39.1	34.2	42.6	57.4	31.0	26.6	59.8	
Married	46.2	50.2	44.8	31.1	59.6	61.2	32.5	
Widowed ...	10.5	12.4	9.1	3.4	5.2	6.1	2.9	
Divorced ...	0.9	1.0	1.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	1.5	
					Minor Offenders			
Males:								
Single					66.9	71.0	63.7	52.5
Married					22.7	21.3	23.0	34.7
Widowed ...					4.1	3.5	1.3	1.7
Divorced ...					0.5	0.6	0.3	0.2
Females:								
Single					34.4	44.3	56.8	
Married					49.6	43.1	30.8	
Widowed ...					12.9	9.4	3.5	
Divorced ...					1.0	1.3	0.3	

especially the proportions of the feeble-minded and insane. It is estimated that 25% of white criminals and 15% of Negro criminals are mentally defective. If psychological tests were made, no doubt many morons, who ordinarily pass for normal, would be discovered. The smaller estimate of mentally defective among Negro criminals is corroborated by Table No. 37 abstracted from the Census Report for 1890, for the better health of the Negro prisoners and their smaller percentages of the insane, the deaf and

the blind indicate that there is less physical degeneracy among Negro criminals than among white criminals.

TABLE No. 37

Color and Nativity	Total	In Good Health	Ill	Insane	Blind	Deaf	Idiots	Crippled
White	57,310	50,606	3,747	1,215	186	96	124	1,336.
Native	40,471	35,679	2,825	674	118	71	79	1,025
Foreign	15,932	14,142	912	443	67	24	41	303
Colored	25,019	22,673	1,412	249	75	18	49	543
Negro	24,277	21,976	1,392	237	73	17	49	533

Percentages

White		88.30	6.54	2.12	.32	.17	.22	2.33
Native		88.16	6.98	1.67	.29	.18	.19	2.53
Foreign		88.77	5.72	2.78	.42	.15	.26	1.90
Colored		90.62	5.64	1.00	.30	.07	.20	2.17
Negro		90.52	5.73	.98	.30	.07	.20	2.20

Inasmuch as it has been claimed that the mulatto is physically weaker and morally worse than either the pure Negro or the pure white, 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 that produce mulattoes (except, of course, the mating of mulattoes with their kind) is 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 vicious environment than other children. It has been estimated that illegitimate children are three to five times more likely to become criminals than the legitimately born.

2. The white fathers of mulattoes are usually either boys or old broken-down rakes. The investigations of Marro tend to prove that immature fathers beget thieves, while decadent fathers beget sharpers and murderers, and that

boys under 20 years of age and men over 40 tend to beget children of feeble constitutions. 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 the Negroes, 82, or 69%, were mulattoes. Of those in jail, 19 were white and 169 Negroes. Of the Negroes, 42, or 25%, were mulattoes.

Of 217 cases examined by Monroe Work in the Chicago records, he found that "72 were of black complexion—*i. e.*, Negro blood predominating—and 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, 6 were blacks, five females and one male."

Table No. 38 shows the number, race, sex, and percentage of recidivists received in a single year (1912) by the Virginia penitentiary. Table No. 39 was made from the prison records of the Georgia State prison. I regret that very little reliable information of a statistical nature relative to Negro recidivists is available. "It's just a Negro—who cares?"

TABLE No. 38

	Second Conviction	Third Conviction	Fourth Conviction
Negro men.....	41	2	1
Negro women.....	5	1	0
White men.....	13	1	0

	Total Prison- ers Received	Percentage Recidivists
Negro men.....	472	8.67
Negro women.....	33	18.18
White men.....	170	8.23

TABLE No. 39

Recidivism Enumerated among Georgia State Major Offenders 1905-13

Serving	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
1st Term.....	1,974	1,935		2,097	2,061	2,065	2,046	2,116	2,280
2nd Term.....	237	294		342	390	368	407	409	410
3rd Term.....	46	72		81	70	75	136	96	140
4th Term.....	11	19		22	21	23	39	41	43
5th Term.....	6	14		14	8	5	20	25	3
6th Term.....	5	3		4	4	3	10	10	10
7th Term.....	0	3		1	1	4	3	4	8
8th Term.....	1	2		0	0	1	2	5	1
9th Term.....	0	0		1	0	1	2		0
10th Term.....	0	0		0	0	1	0		0
11th Term.....	0	0		0	0	1	0	1	2
12th Term.....	0	2		12	3	0	0	1	
13th Term.....						1	1		
14th Term.....							0		
15th Term.....							0		
16th Term.....							1		
17th Term.....							0		
18th Term.....							1		
White Prisoners...	291	213	277	320	262	248	295	325	360
Negro Prisoners...	1,989	2,131	2,187	2,244	2,296	2,300	2,373	2,383	2,537

CHAPTER II. THE CHARACTER OF CRIMES COMMITTED BY NEGROES

To indicate the crimes most characteristic of the Negro I copy Tables No. 40 and 41 from Hoffman,* based on the census of 1890, and Table No. 42 directly from the special

TABLE No. 40 (1890)

Male Offenders	Total Prisoners	Negro Prisoners	Per Cent Negroes	Per Cent Male Negroes Over Fifteen Years of Age in the General Population
Against government.....	1,823	176	9.65	
Against society.....	15,033	2,527	17.14	
Against the person.....	16,511	6,308	38.21	
Against property.....	36,382	10,924	30.03	
Miscellaneous	6,175	2,320	37.95	
Aggregate.....	75,924	22,305	29.38	10.2
Female Offenders				
Against government.....	16	2	12.50	Per Cent of Female Negroes Over Fifteen Years of Age in the General Population
Against society.....	3,832	683	17.58	
Against the person.....	770	432	56.10	
Against property.....	1,325	655	49.43	
Miscellaneous	462	200	43.49	
Aggregate.....	6,405	1,972	30.79	11.09

TABLE No. 41

Vs. the Person		Total Prisoners	Per Cent Negroes	Vs. Property		Total Prisoners	Negroes	Per Cent Negroes
Male	Homicide	6,958	36.10	Arson	806	372	46.15	
	Rape.....	1,387	40.88	Burglary.....	9,647	2,710	28.09	
	Abduction.....	140	22.86	Robbery	2,350	555	23.62	
	Abortion.....	25	8.00	Larceny	7,978	3,126	39.18	
	Assault	8,001	39.93	Grand Larceny..	6,411	1,774	27.67	
				Petit Larceny...	3,475	1,055	30.36	
Female	Homicide	393	57.76	Arson.....	80	49	61.25	
	Assault	346	57.23	Larceny	425	225	52.94	
				Grand Larceny..	320	159	49.69	
				Petit Larceny...	266	99	37.22	

*"Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro."

TABLE No. 42
% of Total Number of Each Group of Offenders (1904)—Major Offenders

Per Cent Distribution of Prisoners Committed During 1904																	
Offense	Aggregate	White															
		Total	Native	Foreign-born													
				Total	Country of Birth												
					Austria	Canada	England and Wales	Germany	Ireland	Italy	Mexico	Poland	Russia	Scotland	Sweden	Other Countries	
																	Colored
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Against society.....	12.1	14.8	14.5	15.5	11.4	14.9	14.4	14.4	26.9	12.6	15.8	15.1	12.3	11.0	14.0	16.3	6.2
Against chastity.....	4.2	4.9	4.8	5.2	5.2	9.3	6.4	4.1	3.4	3.4	2.7	8.1	3.3	2.0	5.0	7.0	2.6
Adultery	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.4	4.2	3.4	1.5	2.5	1.7	1.7	4.8	1.1	2.0	2.0	3.2	1.3
Bigamy; polygamy.....	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	2.2	0.9	1.2	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.5		1.0	0.9	0.4
Seduction	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	1.9		0.3	0.3		0.3		1.6	0.7			0.5	*
Crime against nature	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		0.4	1.2	0.6		0.2	1.6				1.0	1.1	0.5
Incest	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3		0.8	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5					0.4	0.1
All other.....	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6		1.6	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.3		1.1			1.0	0.9	0.3
Against public policy.....	7.9	9.9	9.7	10.3	6.2	5.7	8.0	10.4	23.5	9.3	13.1	7.0	8.9	9.0	9.0	9.3	3.5
Perjury	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.5	1.2	1.1	1.1	2.2	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.8
Counterfeiting	0.7	1.0	0.8	1.5	3.8	0.2	0.3	1.7	0.9	2.9		1.6	1.1	1.0		2.0	0.1
Violating U. S. laws.....	5.0	6.7	6.8	6.5	1.4	3.8	6.4	5.9	17.9	4.9	10.9	1.1	4.5	4.0	7.0	5.9	1.3
All other.....	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.6		1.6	0.9	2.4	4.3	0.3	1.1	3.2	1.1	3.0	1.0	0.9	1.3
Against the person.....	28.1	23.1	21.5	29.0	39.8	20.4	15.3	20.5	22.2	57.1	27.9	35.5	19.7	23.0	24.0	30.6	38.9
Homicide	8.8	6.6	6.4	7.7	12.3	4.4	2.8	5.0	3.6	16.2	9.8	7.0	3.7	3.0	13.0	10.7	13.4
Assault	12.1	9.2	7.9	14.1	19.9	7.3	5.8	9.9	11.8	29.5	13.7	24.2	8.6	12.0	4.0	14.8	18.4
Robbery	4.6	4.5	4.7	3.8	3.3	5.1	4.6	3.3	4.5	5.2	1.6	1.6	3.7	5.0	4.0	2.0	4.9
Rape	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.7	4.3	3.0	1.5	1.8	1.4	4.4	2.7	2.2	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.9	1.9
All other.....	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.7		0.6	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.9		0.5	0.7	1.0		0.2	0.2
Against property.....	58.9	61.2	63.1	54.8	47.9	63.4	69.7	64.5	49.3	30.1	56.3	48.9	66.5	65.0	62.0	52.4	53.9
Arson	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6				0.6	0.9	0.3		1.1	1.1			1.6	0.9
Burglary	21.2	21.2	22.0	18.8	13.3	23.8	26.0	22.3	20.1	8.8	26.8	10.2	19.3	23.0	21.0	16.3	21.2
Larceny	30.2	31.1	31.8	28.8	28.0	32.5	35.5	31.9	25.3	18.0	25.7	31.2	39.8	27.0	32.0	27.2	28.2

Minor Offenders

Forgery	5.0	6.2	6.5	4.9	6.2	5.7	5.5	6.9	2.3	1.9	2.2	5.4	4.5	9.0	7.0	6.1	2.3
Fraud	1.6	1.9	2.0	1.6	0.5	1.2	2.8	2.9	0.5	1.2	1.6	1.1	0.7	6.0	2.0	1.3	1.1
All other.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		0.6			0.2								0.1
Double crimes.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1									0.4				0.2
Unclassified	*	*	*	*									0.4				*
Offense not stated.....	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.6	0.2		0.5	0.7	1.0		0.7	0.8
<hr/>																	
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Against society.....	74.1	77.2	75.3	81.1	69.2	79.9	85.6	76.5	90.7	54.0	62.5	57.6	62.4	86.9	80.0	73.2	53.3
Against chastity.....	2.3	2.1	2.3	1.7	1.8	2.6	2.0	1.4	1.2	1.8	0.3	2.9	2.3	1.3	1.4	2.6	3.6
Fornication	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.6		1.3	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.7	1.1
Prostitution	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.1		0.5	0.1	0.7	0.1	1.0	1.1
All other.....	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.1	1.5	1.0	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.3	1.2	1.4	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.4
Against public policy.	71.8	75.1	73.0	79.4	67.4	77.3	83.6	75.1	89.5	52.2	62.1	54.7	60.1	85.5	78.6	70.6	49.7
Drunkenness	28.5	31.6	29.7	36.2	10.2	48.3	38.5	17.9	49.8	7.3	2.7	18.1	10.8	42.8	34.5	23.8	8.1
Disorderly conduct.	14.2	13.5	13.1	14.7	25.3	5.7	11.6	17.5	14.1	20.7	27.6	10.9	22.7	11.2	16.5	18.8	18.3
Violating liquor laws	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.4	2.3	0.7	1.1	0.3	3.4	2.0	1.4	1.6	0.4	0.3	1.6	3.0
Vagrancy	23.3	24.7	24.5	23.9	20.5	17.8	29.5	33.6	23.6	14.3	28.9	19.5	16.4	29.0	23.7	21.3	13.8
Incorrigibility	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		0.2	*	0.1	*	0.1			0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Truancy	*	*	*	*						0.1							
All other.....	4.2	3.8	4.0	3.4	10.1	3.0	3.3	4.8	1.7	6.3	1.0	4.8	8.3	2.0	3.5	5.0	6.3
Against the person.....	6.4	5.3	5.1	6.2	12.2	4.7	3.6	6.7	2.8	22.6	8.6	16.3	13.0	4.2	5.1	10.0	13.5
Assault	6.2	5.1	4.8	6.1	11.9	4.6	3.4	6.5	2.7	22.2	8.6	15.5	13.0	4.1	5.1	9.7	13.1
Robbery	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	*	0.1	*	0.2		0.8				0.2	0.3
All other.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	*	0.1	0.2	*	0.2				0.1		0.1	*
Against property.....	18.0	16.2	18.2	11.9	17.1	14.8	10.3	16.0	6.0	22.5	26.9	24.6	23.4	8.3	14.0	15.3	29.9
Burglary	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.5	1.0	0.2	1.4	0.7	1.3	1.3	0.5	1.0	0.7	1.5
Larceny	13.7	12.1	13.5	9.0	12.6	12.3	7.7	11.9	4.8	12.6	21.9	19.0	17.0	6.5	10.8	11.3	24.7
Fraud	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1	2.0	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.2	7.0	2.0	1.9	1.6	0.3	0.9	1.5	1.3
Embezzlement	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.4
Malicious mischief																	
and trespass.....	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.0	1.1	0.7	0.9	1.3	0.6	1.1	1.7	2.2	2.6	0.8	1.3	1.5	1.9
All other.....	*	*	*	*				*									*
Double crimes.....	*	*	*	*	0.1	0.1		0.1	*	0.1						*	0.1
Unclassified	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	2.0	0.2		0.2	0.2	0.3	0.9
Offense not stated.....	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.5	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.8		1.2	1.2	0.4	0.8	1.1	2.4

*Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

census report of 1904.* It appears from these tables that the Negro criminal tends toward the graver crimes known as major offenses. In each of the geographic divisions and in most of the States and Territories the percentage of colored is larger among major offenders than among minor offenders. The only important exceptions are North Carolina, South Carolina, and Missouri. The colored furnish 31.5% of all major offenders, while they constitute only 12.1% of the general population (1900). Among the white prisoners 67.1% are classed as major offenders, while 83.8% of Negro prisoners are so classed. In each of the geographic divisions except the Western the percentage of major offenders among the Negroes is greater than the corresponding percentage among the whites.

Table No. 42 shows that a larger proportion of the white than of the colored had committed offenses "against society," "against public policy," and "against chastity." The colored also show a smaller proportion of their number committed for offenses "against property" than do the white, but the proportion of the colored convicted of offenses "against the person" were considerably larger. Of the colored, 13.4% had been committed for homicide, as against 6.6% of the whites; 18.4% for assault, as against 12.1% of the white. They furnish 4.9% as against 4.6% of commitments for robbery, and only 1.9% as against 2.2% for rape. In the South, where most of the Negroes are, the hold-up man is rarely caught, though it is known that a majority of such criminals in the South are Negroes. The Negro rapist whose victim is white rarely reaches the courts—he either escapes or is lynched before trial.

As to the Negro's offenses against property we may say that the Negro does not usually occupy positions of trust except as house-servants, janitors, and the like, so most of his offenses against property are classed as minor offenses. But his percentage of major commitments for burglary is the same as that of the whites, 21.2; and for larceny 28.2 as against 30.2 for whites. It must be noted here, also,

*The tables for 1910 have not been analyzed. But no significant change in percentages would appear in the new tables.

that the table for minor offenses shows 1.5% Negro as against 1% white for burglary, and 24.7% as against 13.7% for larceny. Arson claims 0.9% Negro offenders as against 0.8% white, and the smaller percentages for forgery (2.3% as against 5%) and fraud (1.1% as against 1.6%) may be explained by his illiteracy.

As to the Negro's offenses against chastity it may be said that such offenses among Negroes are rarely punished in the South. Adultery among them is about as common as marriage, and bigamy is seldom prosecuted. Our "house boy" has a son who is a preacher. This preacher left his wife a few years ago and took up with a young girl in Atlanta. He married her, without securing a divorce, about a month before her child was born. He is pastor of a little church in the suburbs. Prostitution is so common that seduction in the usual sense is unnecessary. Incest is practically non-existent among Negroes, but the seduction and the rape of sisters-in-law and stepdaughters is of no unusual occurrence. I heard the trial of a Negro of over fifty years of age whose wife appeared to be about forty and whose stepdaughter said she was sixteen, though looked older. The girl was black but comely and of very good intelligence and modest manners. She charged that her stepfather had forced her first with a pistol, afterwards repeatedly with threats. After the second offense the girl told her mother, who then quarreled with her husband and forbade further intercourse. After repeated offenses the mother reported the matter to the church and the lodge and her husband was "turned out." He did not take this punishment very seriously and attempted another offense. The girl broke away from him and ran to the house of a neighbor. The neighbor called the police. The man made no denial, but did not seem to feel that he had done anything very wrong. It seems that the mother had not thought the matter sufficient provocation to separate from her husband or to prosecute him in the courts.

Sodomy is very rare except within prison walls or in isolated camps. A stockade superintendent told me that a constant watch had to be kept to prevent the more mature

prisoners from violating the boys, and that the women were more often reported than the men for homo-sexual acts. Bestiality occurs among Negro boys, but very seldom among men. These unnatural vices among Negroes seem to be of a different nature from similar vices among the whites. Negroes do not satisfy their passions unnaturally by preference, but only in default of the preferable. It is the result of overmastering desire and a low undeveloped taste and moral sense rather than a perversion in the psychological sense. They become normal as soon as normal opportunity is restored.

On June 1, 1909, there were 2,558 State convicts—*i. e.*, major offenders—in Georgia, only 258 of whom were white. The annual report of the State Prison Commission says: "The crimes chiefly committed are those of violence, such as: Arson, 54; attempts to murder, 306; manslaughter, 293; murder, 730; attempts to rape, 114; rape, 133; robberies, 79; burglaries, 564."

Governor Johnson, speaking before the Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Problems and Conditions in the South, at Montgomery in 1900 said: "The records show that 89% of all our convicts are Negroes, while they constitute scarcely 45% of our population. We have now confined in the penitentiary or at hard labor 251 white men and 2 white women, and 2,038 Negro men and 109 Negro women. Of these, 193 whites and 1,567 Negroes are held for the most serious offenses:

"For murder and manslaughter: White men, 58; Negro men, 345; white woman, 1; Negro women, 21.

"For arson: White men, 3; Negro men, 34; Negro women, 4.

"For rape: White men, 3; Negro men, 40; Negro woman, 1.

"For burglary: White men, 34; Negro men, 427; Negro women, 5.

"For forgery: White men, 7; Negro men, 41; Negro woman, 1."

The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta contains nine counties of the Black Belt, having an area of 5,480 square miles and a

population, in 1900, of 24,137 whites and 171,209 Negroes. The Negroes constitute 11.6% of the population of the United States, 58.5% of the population of Mississippi, and 87.6% of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. Comparing the Negro criminality of the Delta with that of an equal area of hill counties of the same State, Mr. Stone says:

"For the purposes of this comparison I have taken the Negroes of nine counties of Mississippi where they are most largely outnumbered by 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 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 propensities 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] 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."

Inasmuch as the crime of rape has been the occasion of more lawless violence in the South and more harsh criticisms and puling sentimentalities in other sections, than any other crime committed by the Negro, I call especial attention to some facts that neither section seems to know.

Of the 7,812 prisoners committed in the United States during 1904 for offenses against the person, 620, or 7.93%, were for rape. Of these, 450, or 72.6%, were white and 170, or 27.4%, colored (including Indians and Mongolians). The percentage of white rapists is about two and a half times the percentage of the colored; but in the general population the percentage of whites is about eight and a half times that of the colored. According to these figures, therefore, the colored are about three and a half times as prone to rape as the white man. The rapists who escape and those who are lynched before commitment or hanged after trial are not included in these figures.

On June 30, 1904, there were 2,220 prisoners in the United States serving sentence for rape. Of these, 588 were in the North Atlantic States, 319 in the South Atlantic, 669 in the North Central, 415 in the South Central, and 229 in the Western; and of the same, 689 were in distinctively Southern States: Virginia, 59; North Carolina, 20; South Carolina, 38; Georgia, 129; Florida, 28; Kentucky, 53; Tennessee, 56; Alabama, 40; Mississippi, 33; Louisiana, 28; Texas, 175; Arkansas, 30. On June 1, 1909, there were 247 State convicts in Georgia serving sentence for rape (133) and attempts to rape (114). On June 1, 1910, there were 258, 139 for rape and 119 for attempt to rape. These were practically, if not all, Negroes; in fact, there were only 258 white convicts in 1909 and only 248 in 1910. In Alabama, in 1900, there were 3 white men and 41 Negroes, one of whom was a woman, serving sentence for rape.

Hoffman shows that 40.88% of all prisoners serving sentence for rape in 1890 were Negroes. He states further that in the same year there were 567 Negroes in jails awaiting trial for rape. This, however, was before the lynching period of 1893-1903.

Statistics published by the *Chicago Tribune* show that there were 2,060 Negroes lynched in the United States during the twenty-two years preceding 1903, of whom 1,985 were lynched in the Southern States. Mr. Cutler, commenting on these statistics, estimates that 34% of the lynchings of Negroes were for the crime of rape. Of the

white men lynched, 11.5% were accused of rape. During 1909 there were 87 lynchings, all except three taking place in the South. Two of the exceptions were in Illinois and one in Maine—two for murder and one for cause unknown—none for rape. Of the total number lynched, only 14 were for rape and 6 for attempt to rape—a total of 20, or only 23%. During the same period there were legally executed for rape 8 out of a total of 107 executions, all of the 8 being Negroes and being executed in the South. During 1892 there were 225 lynchings in the United States; in 1912, twenty years later, there were only 65. Of these, 10 were for rape and 2 for attempt to rape, a little less than 20%.

Mr. Stone says of rape among Delta Negroes: "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 twelve. Some have been committed under circumstances as revolting as is possible for human mind to conceive."

During a period of six years in Charleston, 18 men were arrested for rape, 17 of whom were Negroes. In another district in South Carolina investigated by Dr. Baker there had been 25 cases of rape tried in the courts. All of the assailants were Negroes and every victim but one was a white woman.

It has been repeatedly asserted that rape is a new crime among Negroes. But we find that all the colonies at early dates had statutes providing punishment for this crime by Negroes against white women, and Mr. Cutler found a number of reports of the crime actually committed, on record in files of old newspapers. To indicate the continuity of this crime from early days I list a few of these old reports chronologically. Mr. Cutler says: "There is evidence to show that this crime against white women continued to be perpetrated down to the time of the Civil War." The old newspapers show that the crime was not

infrequent even in old colonial days and was accompanied with the same violence that has characterized it in more recent times. The list follows:

In Massachusetts in 1676, Pennsylvania in 1705, New York in 1712, New Jersey in 1713, Delaware in 1721, New Jersey in 1731, Maryland in 1739, New Jersey in 1744, Maryland in 1751, North Carolina in 1758, Massachusetts in 1813, Virginia in 1813, Virginia in 1821, Virginia in 1822, Maryland in 1823, Virginia in 1832, Maryland in 1833.

The horror and menace of the crime of rape in the South cannot be exaggerated. It is the pall of Southern life, the ineffable dread of isolated families. Things sometimes happen that cannot be told even in a book like this. More than one woman has been attacked and so paralyzed with fright that she could make no defense or outcry, but has survived the ordeal only to suffer alone and keep silent for very shame. Stories of attack and unspeakable brutalities are published often enough and need not be told here. But the Negro also is in a state of dread, for rape is not always rape. Sheer fright, the hallucinations of neuropaths, and the morbid tales of perverts explain many attempts to rape, while mistaken identity and the unreasoning haste of the mob are a real menace. The following cases, the like of which perhaps do not often happen, but show nevertheless what may happen, serve to illustrate what I mean by the Negro's dread:

1. This newspaper special from Starkville, Miss., illustrates how a woman was frightened without cause and an innocent Negro murdered: "That a terrible mistake may have been made in the shooting to death of Gabe Coleman, a Negro, near Center Grove, in this county, Tuesday, is the evidence developed last night at the inquest proceedings. After hearing the testimony of a score of witnesses, the jury came to the conclusion that a more rigid investigation was necessary and rendered a verdict charging eight citizens with the crime of murder. Deputy Sheriff Rufus Nickels left this morning for the scene of the lynching, armed with warrants for the arrest

of the accused men, and will arrive with them to-night. No accurate details are obtainable as yet regarding the main cause of the lynching. The only source of information received is that the Negro was sent to the Grantam home by his employer, Henry Johnson, to get a yoke of oxen in the field adjacent to the house. Coleman entered the rear, and as Mrs. Grantam saw him she became hysterical and ran from the house, shrieking, toward a neighbor, Mrs. Turner, about 100 yards off. The latter emptied a pistol at the fleeing Negro without doing any damage. On arriving home he informed Mr. Johnson of the occurrence, protesting his innocence of any criminal intent. By this time a crowd of angry men appeared and, fully satisfying themselves that the Negro intended nothing wrong, but simply was doing his employer's bidding, left. Later on, while Coleman was cutting timber in the woods not far from the house, he was shot to death. Various versions will no doubt be told when the case comes to trial, the details of which promise to be of an exciting nature. It is said that some of the men implicated are prominent citizens. The Negro, from the statement of several of his former employers, is said to have been of good character."

2. A citizen of the community where the lynching occurred told me this story: Near Scottsboro, Ala., a young woman of good family, but whose personal character was under suspicion and who was considered "queer" or eccentric, reported, some two weeks after the attack is alleged to have happened, that a certain Negro had hidden himself in her room and come out of hiding to attack her during the night, but that her screams had frightened him away. There were no corroborating circumstances, but the Negro was arrested and put in jail, protesting his innocence. A mob of irresponsibles gathered, "overcame" the sheriff, and hanged the Negro. While the community, in this case, lost nothing in the death of the Negro, very few believe that the alleged attack ever happened.

3. Soon after the Atlanta riot a Mrs. C., living in the outskirts of the city, was brutally assaulted. An old Negro, with grandchildren, a home of his own, and a good repu-

tation in his community, was arrested. He was brought to an immediate trial. Mrs. C. at first failed to identify the defendant, but later changed her mind and denounced him with heat. A very thorough investigation was made. The jury was out only a few minutes and returned a verdict of not guilty. But before the verdict was rendered, though unknown to the jury, another arrest was made of a Negro who was positively identified by Mrs. C.

4. A girl of fourteen years who lived in the outskirts of Atlanta was late returning home one evening and explained the fact by telling of rape made upon her and giving a description of her assailant. After a few days' search a Negro, who answered to her description, was arrested, and was in due time brought to trial. He was found guilty and sentenced to hang. A new trial was secured on a technicality, but with the same result. As it happened I read the first and subsequent stories as told by the girl and published in the daily papers. I remarked, upon reading the first story, that it sounded improbable, and later stories proved to be each a revised version of the last preceding. The public was excluded from the trial, so that I did not hear the evidence. But I took it upon myself to make some inquiries on my own account, and, becoming convinced that the Negro was not guilty, went to the attorney for the defense, Mr. Moore, of Moore and Moore, who had just been employed in the case. At Mr. Moore's invitation I went with him to ask the Governor for a respite till a new trial could be applied for. I had made an analysis of the case based on criminal psychology and common sense, and read it to the Governor. He had the ill grace—or the ignorance—to tell me that my analysis was "all supposition." But the attorney succeeded in getting a respite and a new trial, and, following the same line of argument as that indicated in my analysis, made his defense and secured an acquittal in short order.

The following is an outline of my analysis and will serve to furnish the essential facts in the case:

I. The following facts were in the Negro's favor as indicating his innocence of the crime charged:

1. He had a good reputation, so far as he was known, as to sobriety and industry.

2. He had no unsavory history as to former crime, bad morals, or degenerate habits.

3. He did not try to escape, evade, or resist arrest.

4. He consistently and persistently asserted his innocence of the crime charged.

5. The girl's evidence was the only evidence against him, though he failed to prove an alibi.

6. The police utterly failed to make out any case as to incidental or other circumstances involving him.

7. The officers holding the Negro during his imprisonment all believed him innocent.

II. The following considerations give grounds for doubting that the attack alleged ever happened:

1. The attack as alleged took place on a shaded spot about or after dusk, by a strange Negro. It was too dark at such a place to be able to see so as to recognize any previously unknown Negro not having unusual distinctive marks. The Negro described had no such marks.

2. A sudden attack in a lonely place would most likely so frighten a girl of fourteen that she could not make accurate observation for future identification. In fact, the Negro on trial was the second one identified by the girl as her assailant.

3. There was not sufficient evidence of any struggle having taken place at the spot where the attack was alleged to have been made. The girl charged that she was choked into submission and dragged some distance from the road.

4. Nobody was attracted by the girl's screams, nor did she tell any one on her way home, notwithstanding she had to pass several houses on the way, and it was at a time when there would normally be a good deal of passing of laboring people.

5. The attending physician's evidence was not conclusive, or, rather, was negative. There was evidence of recent intercourse, but no evidence of violence. It would have been physically impossible for a Negro of the physical type of the defendant to have committed the act upon an un-

willing girl of fourteen without leaving conclusive evidence of violence.

6. The girl's veracity was open to question from the following considerations:

(1) She talked too freely about the attack to newspaper reporters.

(2) Her story was improbable as to the detail of circumstances.

(3) Each succeeding story was a revised version.

(4) The girl's environment was not conducive to a high type of womanhood. She lived in a "cheap" section of the city's outskirts.

(5) Her home life was not conducive to normal development of character. Her parents were separated.

(6) Her father had not a very savory reputation and her mother's character was under suspicion.

(7) She had had a Negro boy arrested and fined in police court, on her evidence only, some two years before for indecent speech to her.

(8) Her age (fourteen) and temperament (especially as considered with her environment) suggested the probability of exaggeration or fabrication.

(9) The only physical evidence of the attack offered was a red cotton handkerchief, which she could easily have found and picked up in that section of the city, which she said the Negro had worn as a mask and which she was foresighted enough to secure and preserve; and the fact that the back of her dress was slightly soiled with dirt.

III. It is known among medical men and students of morbid psychology that:

1. There are sexual perverts who disregard all the ordinary considerations of modesty in their love of the salacious.

2. Such perverts, to cover up shameful or unnatural indulgence, frequently tell stories that are even more shameful than the truth would be.

3. Such perverts will quail at no suggestion of their disordered minds to implicate innocent persons.

4. There are moral imbeciles whose love of notoriety

will actuate them to compromise themselves most shamefully.

5. Neuropathic conditions, such as hallucinations, obsessions, perversions, and erotomania, often occur at puberty (from about thirteen to sixteen in our climate).

6. Such neuropathic conditions are certainly exaggerated, if not produced, by early sexual vice, unsavory companionship, unwholesome living conditions, or unhappy domestic relations.

7. But moral perversions, moral imbecility, and neuropathic states or the tendency to develop such, may be inherited from degenerate parents, and very easily developed in such an environment as had the girl in this case.

I am of the opinion that the attack alleged never happened and that the girl is a pervert, suffering perhaps from erotomania. Something else may have happened—most likely did happen—but just what I shall not venture to say. The important points in the whole story are that rape may not always be rape and that the Negro in this case came within three hours of being hanged. A similar analysis of the celebrated Frank case of Atlanta, if made by a competent criminal psychologist, would show that the Jew Frank is innocent and that the Negro Conly murdered the little Phagin girl.

Corresponding in a way to rape among men are the crimes of infanticide and abortion among women. Statistics are meager, but that these are crimes of no small importance is indicated by some figures given by Ingle in his study of the "Negroes of the District of Columbia." 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. In looking through the coroner's reports for Fulton County, Ga., I was surprised at the number of infants who came to their death by "accidental suffocation."

Professor Eugene Harris, of Fisk University, says: "An official on the Nashville Board of Health who is also pro-

prietor 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 stillbirths and of infant mortality may find some explanation here. There are 2 1-3 times as many stillbirths and premature births among the Negroes of Nashville as among whites in proportion to population."

"Birth statistics of Columbia, Mo., show," says Dr. Elwang, "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 1,916, of whom 1,064 are females] under six years 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 prenatal murder. Reliable local medical authority informs the writer that 'dozens' of unborn children are disposed of every year, either by their mothers directly or by the aid of medical quacks for a trifling fee."

Table No. 43 gives the number of stillbirths, Negro and white, for four Southern cities for the period 1906-12.

TABLE No. 43

	1906		1907		1908		1909		1910		1911		1912	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Augusta							59	80	58	79	53	60	55	63
Atlanta	119	183	118	172	128	176	118	179	124	154	148	161	140	186
Nashville . . .	67	86	66	91	64	87	82	75	43	81	60	63	48	74
Dist. of Col. . .	259	379	204	366	208	331	195	390	237	317	193	311	192	309

According to population there were 1.62 times as many stillbirths in Augusta among the Negroes as among the whites; in Atlanta 2.71 times as many; in Nashville 2.84 times as many; and in the District of Columbia 4.17 times as many.

Not only poverty, ignorance, and inborn carelessness, but criminal neglect is indicated by the disparity in the

white and Negro infant mortality for 1910: whites, 158 per thousand of white population; Negroes, 371.5 per thousand of Negro population. The infant mortality among whites is very largely among the foreign-born population and the lowest tenement class of natives.

Table No. 44 shows Negro and white infant mortality for the period 1906-12 for four Southern cities. The figures in *Italics* show what would have been in proportion to population.

TABLE No. 44

	1906		1907		1908		1909		1910		1911		1912	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Augusta . . .	104	<i>84</i> 142	105	<i>85</i> 87	118	<i>95</i> 144	83	<i>67</i> 89	71	<i>57</i> 73	87	<i>70</i> 89	110	<i>89</i> 101
Richmond . .	125	<i>73</i> 228	205	<i>118</i> 286	230	<i>133</i> 300	230	<i>133</i> 295	269	<i>155</i> 354	237	<i>137</i> 297	228	<i>132</i> 300
*Atlanta . . .		<i>229</i>		<i>206</i>		<i>217</i>		<i>201</i>	263	<i>132</i> 222	241	<i>122</i> 197	224	<i>112</i> 185
*Dist. of Col..	572	<i>229</i> 661	515	<i>206</i> 610	531	<i>217</i> 569	502	<i>201</i> 540	488	<i>155</i> 582	490	<i>196</i> 467	427	<i>171</i> 472

Drunkenness is so intimately associated with crime, even when it is not itself a crime, that it calls for special mention. The U. S. Census, Special Report for 1904, shows 8.1% Negroes, as against 28.5% whites, committed for drunkenness, and 18.3% Negroes, as against 14.2% whites, for disorderly conduct. Disorderly conduct is so frequently the outcome of drunkenness that they may very well be considered together.

Judge Thomas, of Montgomery, Ala., says: "If I were asked to give two chief causes of crime, out of an experience of ten years as a trial judge, I would answer 'ignorance and drunkenness.' . . . Contrast the decrease of crime in Alabama for the dry year of 1908 with the wet year 1907. In the cities of seventeen counties, with 201,900 population, in 1907, there were 6,637 arrests for drunks and in 1908 there was a decrease of 5,131. The arrests for 1907 for all offenses were 24,345, and in 1908 there was a decrease of 11,742. For example, in Tennessee, I am in-

*Under 1 year.

formed that in the year 1905-06 your prison record showed 1,350 prisoners committed. The wet counties, with a population of 601,622, furnished 851, or one for every 707 of population; the other eighty-four counties, with a population of 1,418,993, furnished 499, or one for every 2,844 of their population."

Atlanta became "dry" January 1, 1908, but the sale of "near beer" was licensed the latter part of the same year. The near beer saloons and the "blind tigers" that go along with them were in their flower in 1909, before the police got them well in hand. Table No. 45 shows that, notwithstanding the near beer saloons and a rapidly increasing population, the number of arrests for drunkenness has not reached as much as half the number of such arrests in 1907, except in 1909, when it reached only 57.5% of the number for 1907. In 1908 and 1911 it was only 40% of that of 1907. Arrests for disorderly conduct were reduced to 71.3% in 1908, and have not reached much above that except in 1909, when they reached barely 81%. Total arrests for 1908 were reduced to 64.5% and reached as high as 76% only in 1909. Prohibition may not prohibit, but the figures show what has happened in Atlanta for five years in the face of a rapidly increasing population.

TABLE No. 45

	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Total arrests.....	21,707	24,882	16,072	19,071	18,166	16,707	17,139
Negro arrests.....	13,511	15,207	10,551	12,371	11,925	11,121	10,902
% Negroes.....	62.21	61.11	65.64	64.86	65.64	66.56	63.6
Total drunks.....	5,230	6,508	2,650	3,741	2,882	2,636	3,021
Total disorderlies.....	11,260	12,456	8,890	10,075	9,681	8,802	9,089

Related to insanity and degeneracy generally is the act of suicide, but I have included it among crimes for the reason that it is so often among Negroes a distinctively anti-social act.

The number of suicides in the United States according to the census of 1890 was 69.5 whites per million of white population, Negroes 15.5 per million of Negro population.

In proportion to population the white was four and a half times as prone to suicide. In the mortality statistics for the registration area in 1911 the death rates from suicide were 16.5 for white and 10.3 for colored; but since very little of the territory occupied by Negroes is within the registration area, while those States in which most of the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians live are included, and since the Negro is not so much disposed to suicide as other races, the rates given are worthless for our purposes.

For the city of Charleston, between 1822 and 1848, only 9 Negroes as against 40 whites committed suicide; between 1889 and 1894, 3 Negroes as against 12 whites. In Philadelphia 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 1864-1894, only 16. From 1876 to 1894, inclusive, Washington had 25 and New Orleans 48.

The records for eight Southern cities for the five-year period 1890-1894, per million of population, were:

TABLE No. 46
(Adapted from Hoffman)

	Whites	Negroes	Ratio White to Negroes
Savannah	344.8	16.1	21.35 : 1
New Orleans.....	195.1	51.4	3.8 : 1
Nashville	194.0	36.8	5.27 : 1
Washington	180.2	26.9	6.69 : 1
Memphis	176.0	24.3	7.24 : 1
Atlanta	104.7	12.7	8.24 : 1
Charleston	91.1	18.8	4.84 : 1
Richmond	57.4	11.9	4.82 : 1

White population of the eight cities	573,173
Negro population of the eight cities.....	335,008
Total white suicides.....	491
Total Negro suicides.....	47
Ratio of white to Negro in proportion to population.....	6.1 : 1

The methods of self-destruction among Negro suicides are said to be about the same as those used by whites and in about the same proportion; but of the 13 cases I investigated seven used pistols, five used razors, and one is said to have accomplished his purpose with kerosene.

TABLE No. 47
Suicides in Six Southern Cities 1904-12

Year:	1904		1905		1906		1907		1908		1909		1910		1911		1912		Total	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
St. Louis.....	218	9	180	2	204	4	212	4	212	3	197	0	214	4	255	5	232	7	1,924	38
Dist. of Columbia.	50	6	56	4	42	2	59	13	58	8	80	14	72	8	78	11	80	9	575	75
Atlanta	6	2	8	4	16	5	11	3	19	1	20	0	17	6	17	1	19	0	133	22
Nashville	15	2	17	1	7	1	8	4	1	0	5	3	5	4	11	2	20	4	89	21
Richmond					9	1	7	2	12	1	10	0	10	2	24	2	16	1	88	9
Augusta	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	5	1	18	3

Total white population of the six cities..... 1,160,061

Total Negro population of the six cities..... 291,908

Total white suicides..... 2,827

Total Negro suicides..... 168

Ratio white to Negro suicides in proportion to
 population 4.2 : 1

Of the 13 just mentioned, three were supposed to be insane, one a woman who shot herself and two men, one of whom used a razor and the other kerosene. One unknown man, without saying anything to anybody, was seen to go to a closet in a Negro woman's back yard, where he shot himself. One who had come into a woman's house drunk, when told to leave, shot himself. The other eight killed women at the time of their self-destruction. Only one of the women was the wife of the man who killed her, and she had been separated from him for some time.

Of the 18 cases of Negro suicides 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 of their suicide, 8 had killed their wives or the wives of other men, one suicided to avoid trial for theft, two to escape arrest, one killed himself and team to keep his team from being taken for debt. One killed himself because his mistress deserted him and one because his sweetheart had "treated him shabbily." Two were insane. All except the last two showed the distinctively criminal bias, being manifestly antisocial. At least nine of the cases which I investigated were distinctively antisocial in motive.

CHAPTER III. WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS OF NEGRO CRIME

THE consensus of Negro opinion of Negro crime and the courts and the attitude of the upper classes of Negroes toward these is perhaps best represented by a study of the subject made by the Atlanta University Conference under the direction of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. The results of this study were published as "Notes on Negro Crime" in 1904. These "Notes on Negro Crime" are mainly the work of Dr. DuBois, but distinct contributions were made by several others, notably by Rev. H. H. Proctor and Professor M. N. Work.

Dr. DuBois is a graduate of Harvard and other universities of high order, and was, in 1904, Professor of History and Economics in Atlanta University. He is the author of a number of books relating to the Negro. Dr. Proctor is one of the foremost Negro ministers of Atlanta. He is a graduate of Yale and has been for several years pastor of an institutional church of great usefulness to his race. Professor Work is a graduate of Chicago University and is now a professor at Tuskegee Institute. He has contributed some very creditable studies to social subjects.

Many other Negro writers, such as Booker T. Washington and Kelly Miller, have discussed Negro criminality and allied subjects, and others of less prominence have had their say, but these are all mainly echoes more or less distinct of DuBois's "Notes on Negro Crime." The difference among them is in the frankness and degree of partisanship with which they attack the subject. So far as there is a real difference of opinion, it is best represented by Booker T. Washington, who emphasizes industrial education and the acquisition of property on the part of the Negroes, and counsels patience and personal probity. Dr. Washington was born and reared in the South among his own people and in contact with the white man. He knows both the Negro and the white man pretty well and is

essentially practical. His temper is conciliatory and optimistic. Dr. DuBois is more scholarly, but less disposed to compromise. He was born in Massachusetts, has worked indoors, and knows neither the white man nor the Negro in any intimate way. He is sincere and his method good, but he has not yet learned that even the "scientific method" may be almost if not quite vitiated by the investigator's failure to realize the significance of the average Negro's esoteric and exoteric garrulity. Dr. Washington has a sense of humor.

I have taken the liberty of quoting quite copiously from the "Notes on Negro Crime." I do this for two reasons: First, I wish to make clear that the more intelligent Negroes are thinking seriously on the social problems of their race and of our common country; and, secondly, because I wish to let the Negro speak for himself rather than to run any risk of misinterpreting him or, by any error or prejudice, of misrepresenting him. The headings are mine.

WHAT DUBOIS THINKS OF NEGRO CRIME

Mr. Wines, the American criminologist, has said: "A modified form of slavery survives wherever prison labor is sold to private persons for their pecuniary profit." The history of crime in the Southern States of America illustrates this. Two systems of controlling human labor which still flourish in the South are the direct children of slavery. These are the crop-lien system and the convict-lease system. The crop-lien system is an arrangement of chattel mortgages, so fixed that the housing, labor, kind of agriculture, and, to some extent, the personal liberty of the free black laborer are put into the hands of the landowner and merchant. It is absentee landlordism and the "country-store" systems united. The convict-lease system is the slavery in private hands of persons convicted of crimes and misdemeanors in the courts. The object of this section is to sketch the rise and development of the convict-lease system, and the efforts to modify and abolish it.

Before the Civil War the system of punishment for criminals in the South was practically the same as in the North. Except in a few cities, however, crime was less prevalent than in the North, and the system of slavery naturally modified the situation. The slaves could become criminals in the eyes of the law only in exceptional cases. The punishment and trial of nearly all ordinary misdemeanors and crimes lay in the hands of the masters. Consequently, so far as the State was concerned, there was no crime of any consequence among Negroes.

The system of criminal jurisprudence had to do, therefore, with whites almost exclusively, and, as is usual in a land of scattered population and aristocratic tendencies, the law was lenient in theory and lax in execution.

On the other hand, the private well-ordering and control of slaves called for careful coöperation among masters. The fear of insurrection was ever before the South, and the ominous uprisings of Cato, Gabriel, Vesey, Turner, and Toussaint made this fear an ever-present nightmare. The result was a system of rural police, mounted and on duty chiefly at night, whose work it was to stop the nocturnal wandering and meeting of slaves. It was usually an effective organization, which terrorized the slaves, and to which all white men belonged and were liable to active and detailed duty at regular intervals.

Upon this system war and emancipation struck like a thunderbolt. Law and order among the whites, already loosely enforced, became still weaker through the inevitable influence of conflict and social revolution. The freedman was especially in an anomalous situation. The power of the slave police supplemented and depended upon that of the private masters. When the masters' power was broken the patrol was easily transmuted into a lawless and illegal mob known to history as the Kuklux Klan. Then came the first, and probably the most disastrous, of that succession of political expedients by which the South sought to deal with the consequences of emancipation. It will always be a nice question of ethics as to how far a conquered people can be expected to submit to the dictates of a victorious foe. Certainly the world must to a degree sympathize with resistance under such circumstances. The mistake of the South, however, was to adopt a kind of resistance which in the long run weakened her moral fibre, destroyed respect for law and order, and enabled gradually her worst elements to secure an unfortunate ascendancy. The South believed in slave labor, and was thoroughly convinced that free Negroes would not work steadily or effectively. Elaborate and ingenious apprentice and vagrancy laws were therefore passed, designed to make the freedmen and their children work for their former masters at practically no wages. Justification for these laws was found in the inevitable tendency of many of the ex-slaves to loaf when the fear of the lash was taken away. The new laws, however, went far beyond such justification, totally ignoring that large class of freedmen eager to work and earn property of their own, stopping all competition between employers, and confiscating the labor and liberty of children. In fact, the new laws of this period recognized the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment simply as abolishing the slave trade.

The interference of Congress in the plans for reconstruction stopped the full carrying out of these schemes, and the Freedman's Bureau consolidated and sought to develop the various plans for employing and guiding the freedman already adopted in different places

under the protection of the Union Army. This government guardianship established a free wage system of labor by the help of the army, the striving of the best of the blacks, and the coöperation of some of the whites. In the matter of adjusting legal relationships, however, the Bureau failed. It had, to be sure, Bureau courts, with one representative of the ex-master, one of the freedmen, and one of the Bureau itself, but they never gained the confidence of the community. As the regular State courts gradually regained power, it was necessary for them to fix by their decisions the new status of the freedmen. It was perhaps as natural as it was unfortunate that amid this chaos the courts sought to do by judicial decisions what the legislatures had formerly sought to do by specific law—namely, reduce the freedmen to serfdom. As a result, the small peccadilloes of a careless, untrained class were made the excuse for severe sentences. The courts and jails became filled with the careless and ignorant, with those who sought to emphasize their new-found freedom, and too often with innocent victims of oppression. The testimony of a Negro counted for little or nothing in court, while the accusation of white witnesses was usually decisive. The result of this was a sudden large increase in the apparent criminal population of the Southern States—an increase so large that there was no way for the State to house it or watch it even had the State wished to. And the State did not wish to. Throughout the South laws were immediately passed authorizing public officials to lease the labor of convicts to the highest bidder. The lessee then took charge of the convicts—worked them as he wished under the nominal control of the State. Thus a new slavery and slave trade was established.

The abuses of this system have often been dwelt upon. It had the worst aspects of slavery without any of its redeeming features. The innocent, the guilty, and the depraved were herded together, children and adults, men and women, given into complete control of practically irresponsible men, whose sole object was to make the most money possible. The innocent were made bad, the bad worse; women were outraged and children tainted; whipping and torture were in vogue, and the death rate from cruelty, exposure, and overwork rose to large percentages. The actual bosses over such leased prisoners were usually selected from the lowest classes of whites, and the camps were often far from settlements or public roads. The prisoners often had scarcely any clothing, they were fed on a scanty diet of cornbread and fat meat, and worked twelve or more hours a day. After work each must do his own cooking. There was insufficient shelter; in one Georgia camp, as late as 1895, sixty-one men slept in one room, seventeen by nineteen feet, and seven feet high. Sanitary conditions were wretched, there was little or no medical attendance, and almost no care of the sick. Women were mingled indiscriminately with the men, both in working and in sleeping, and dressed often in men's clothes. A young girl at Camp Hardmont, Georgia, in 1895, was

repeatedly outraged by several of her guards, and finally died in childbirth while in camp.

Such facts illustrate the system at its worst—as it used to exist in nearly every Southern State, and as it still exists in parts of Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and other States. It is difficult to say whether the effect of such a system is worse on the whites or on the Negroes. So far as the whites are concerned, the convict-lease system lowered the respect for courts, increased lawlessness, and put the States into the clutches of penitentiary “rings.” The courts were brought into politics, judgeships became elective for shorter and shorter terms, and there grew up a public sentiment which would not consent to considering the desert of a criminal apart from his color. If the criminal were white, public opinion refused to permit him to enter the chain gang save in the most extreme cases. The result is that even to-day it is difficult to enforce the criminal laws in the South against whites. On the other hand, so customary had it become to convict any Negro upon a mere accusation, that public opinion was loath to allow a fair trial to black suspects, and was too often tempted to take the law into its own hands. Finally the State became a dealer in crime, profited by it so as to derive a net annual income from her prisoners. The lessees of the convicts made large profits also. Under such circumstances, it was almost impossible to remove the clutches of this vicious system from the State. Even as late as 1890 the Southern States were the only section of the Union where the income from prisons and reformatories exceeded the expense.* Moreover, these figures do not include the county gangs where the lease system is to-day most prevalent and the net income largest.

INCOME AND EXPENSE OF STATE PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES, 1890

	Earnings	Expense	Profit
New England.....	\$299,735	\$1,204,029	\$47,974
Middle States.....	71,252	1,850,452	
Border States.....	597,898	962,411	
Southern States†.....	938,406	890,432	
Central States.....	624,161	1,971,795	
Western States.....	378,036	1,572,316	

The effect of the convict-lease system on the Negroes was deplorable. First, it linked crime and slavery indissolubly in their minds as simply forms of the white man's oppression. Punishment, consequently, lost the most effective of its deterrent effects, and the

*Bulletin No. 8, Library of State of New York. All figures in this section are from this source.

†South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas.

criminal gained pity instead of disdain. The Negroes lost faith in the integrity of courts and the fairness of juries. Worse than all, the chain gangs became schools of crime which hastened the appearance of the confirmed Negro criminal upon the scene. That some crime and vagrancy should follow emancipation was inevitable. A nation cannot systematically degrade labor without in some degree debauching the laborer. But there can be no doubt but that the indiscriminate method by which Southern courts dealt with the freedman after the war increased crime and vagabondage to an enormous extent. There are no reliable statistics to which one can safely appeal to measure exactly the growth of crime among the emancipated slaves. About 70% of all prisoners in the South are black; this, however, is in part explained by the fact that accused Negroes are still easily convicted and get long sentences, while whites still continue to escape the penalty of many crimes even among themselves. And yet, allowing for all this, there can be no reasonable doubt but that there has arisen in the South since the war a class of black criminals, loafers, and ne'er-do-wells who are a menace to their fellows, both black and white.

The appearance of the real Negro criminal stirred the South deeply. The whites, despite their long use of the criminal court for putting Negroes to work, were used to little more than petty thieving and loafing on their part, and not to crimes of boldness, violence, or cunning. When, after periods of stress or criminal depression, as in 1892, such crimes increased in frequency, the wrath of a people unschooled in the modern methods of dealing with crime broke all bounds and reached strange depths of barbaric vengeance and torture. Such acts, instead of drawing the best opinion of these States and of the nation toward a consideration of Negro crime and criminals, discouraged and alienated the best classes of Negroes, horrified the civilized world, and made the best white Southerners ashamed.

Nevertheless, in the midst of all this, a leaven of better things had been working, and the bad effects of the epidemic of lynching quickened it. The great difficulty to be overcome in the South was the false theory of work and of punishment of wrongdoers inherited from slavery. The inevitable result of a slave system is for a master class to consider that the slave exists for his benefit alone—that the slave has no rights which the master is bound to respect. Inevitably this idea persisted after emancipation. The black workman existed for the comfort and profit of white people, and the interests of white people were the only ones to be seriously considered. Consequently, for a lessee to work convicts for his profit was a most natural thing. Then, too, these convicts were to be punished, and the slave theory of punishment was pain and intimidation. Given these ideas, and the convict-lease system was inevitable. But other ideas were also prevalent in the South; there were in slave times plantations where the well-

being of the slaves was considered, and where punishment meant the correction of the fault rather than brute discomfort. After the chaos of war and reconstruction passed, there came from the better conscience of the South a growing demand for reform in the treatment of crime. The worst horrors of the convict-lease system were attacked persistently in nearly every Southern State. Back in the eighties, George W. Cable, a Southern man, published a strong attack on the system. The following decade Governor Atkinson, of Georgia, instituted a searching investigation, which startled the State by its revelation of existing conditions. Still more recently Florida, Arkansas, and other States have had reports and agitation for reform. The result has been marked improvement in conditions during the last decade. This is shown in part by the statistics of 1895; in that year the prisons and reformatories of the far South cost the States \$204,483 more than they earned, while before this they had nearly always yielded an income. This is still the smallest expenditure of any section, and looks strangely small beside New England's \$1,190,564. At the same time a movement in the right direction is clear. The laws are being framed more and more so as to prevent the placing of convicts altogether in private control. They are not, to be sure, always enforced, Georgia having still several hundreds of convicts so controlled. In nearly all the Gulf States the convict-lease system still has a strong hold, still debauches public sentiment and breeds criminals.

The next step after the lease system was to put the prisoners under regular State inspection, but to lease their labor to contractors, or to employ it in some remunerative labor for the State. It is this stage that the South is slowly reaching to-day, so far as the criminals are concerned who are dealt with directly by the States. Those whom the State still unfortunately leaves in the hands of county officials are usually leased to irresponsible parties. Without doubt, work, and work worth the doing—*i. e.*, profitable work—is best for the prisoners. Yet there lurks in this system a dangerous temptation. The correct theory is that the work is for the benefit of the criminal—for his correction, if possible. At the same time, his work should not be allowed to come into unfair competition with that of honest laborers, and it should never be an object of traffic for pure financial gain. Whenever the profit derived from the work becomes the object of employing the prisoners, then evil must result. In the South to-day it is natural that in the slow turning from the totally indefensible private lease system, some of its wrong ideas should persist. Prominent among these persisting ideas is this: that the most successful dealing with criminals is that which costs the State least in actual outlay. This idea still dominates most of the Southern States. Georgia spent \$2.38 per capita on her 2,938 prisoners in 1890, while Massachusetts spent \$62.96 per capita on her 5,227 prisoners. Moreover, by selling the labor of her prisoners to the highest bidders, Georgia

not only got all her money back, but made a total clear profit of \$6.12 on each prisoner. Massachusetts spent about \$100,000 more than was returned to her by prisoners' labor. Now it is extremely difficult, under such circumstances, to prove to a State that Georgia is making a worse business investment than Massachusetts. It will take another generation to prove to the South that an apparently profitable traffic in crime is very dangerous business for a State; that prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals is the one legitimate object of all dealing with depraved natures, and that apparent profit arising from other methods is in the end worse than dead loss. Bad public schools and profit from crime explain much of the Southern social problem.

Moreover, in the desire to make the labor of criminals pay, little heed is taken of the competition of convict and free laborers, unless the free laborers are white and have a vote. Black laborers are continually displaced in such industries as brick-making, mining, road-building, grading, quarrying, and the like, by convicts hired at \$3.00, or thereabouts, a month.

The second mischievous idea that survives from slavery and the convict-lease system is the lack of all intelligent discrimination in dealing with prisoners. The most conspicuous and fatal example of this is the indiscriminate herding of juvenile and adult criminals. It need hardly be said that such methods manufacture criminals more quickly than all other methods can reform them. In 1890, of all the Southern States, only Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia made any State appropriations for juvenile reformatories. In 1895 Delaware was added to these, but Kentucky was missing. We have, therefore, expended for juvenile reformatories:

	1890	1895
New England.....	\$632,634	\$854,581
Border States.....	233,020	174,781
Southern States.....	10,498	33,910

And this in face of the fact that the South had in 1890 over four thousand prisoners under twenty years of age. In some of the Southern States—notably, Virginia—there are private associations for juvenile reform, acting in coöperation with the State. These have, in some cases, recently received State aid. In other States, like Georgia, there is permissive legislation for the establishment of local reformatories. Little has resulted as yet from this legislation, but it is promising.

This section has sought to trace roughly the attitude of the South toward crime. There is in that attitude much to condemn, but also something to praise. The tendencies are to-day certainly in the right direction, but there is a long battle to be fought with prejudice and inertia before the South will realize that a black criminal is a human being, to be punished firmly but humanely, with the sole object of

making him a safe member of society, and that a white criminal at large is a menace and a danger. The greatest difficulty to-day in the way of reform is this race question. The movement for juvenile reformatories in Georgia would have succeeded some years ago, in all probability, had not the argument been used: it is chiefly for the benefit of Negroes. Until the public opinion of the ruling masses of the South can see that the prevention of crime among Negroes is just as necessary, just as profitable, for the whites themselves, as prevention among whites, all true betterment in courts and prisons will be hindered. Above all, we must remember that crime is not normal; that the appearance of crime among Southern Negroes is a symptom of wrong social conditions—of a stress of life greater than a large part of the community can bear. The Negro is not naturally criminal; he is usually patient and law-abiding. If slavery, the convict-lease system, the traffic in criminal labor, the lack of juvenile reformatories, together with the unfortunate discrimination and prejudice in other walks of life, have led to that sort of social protest and revolt which we call crime, then we must look for remedy in the same reform of these wrong social conditions, and not in intimidation, savagery, or the legalized slavery of men.

Faults of the Negroes.

1. Abuse of their new freedom and tendency toward idleness and vagrancy.
2. Loose ideas of property, petty pilfering.
3. Unreliability, lying, and deception.
4. Exaggerated ideas of personal rights, irritability, and suspicion.
5. Sexual looseness, weak family life, and poor training of children; lack of respect for parents.
6. Lack of proper self-respect; low or extravagant ideals.
7. Poverty, low wages, and lack of accumulated property.
8. Lack of thrift and prevalence of the gambling spirit.
9. Waywardness of the "second generation."
10. The use of liquor and drugs.

All these faults are real and important causes of Negro crime. They are not racial traits, but are due to perfectly evident historic causes: slavery could not survive as an institution and teach thrift; and its great evil in the United States was its low sexual morals; emancipation meant for the Negroes poverty and a great stress of life due to sudden change. These and other considerations explain Negro crime. They do not excuse it, however, and a great burden of pressing reform from within lies upon the Negro's shoulders. Especially is this true with regard to the atrocious crime of rape. This is not, to be sure, a crime peculiar to the Negro race. An Englishman tells us that in Jamaica justice has been dealt out impartially; and this has not resulted in "impudence" on the part of the blacks toward the whites. Indeed, when reasonably treated they are remarkably courteous—more so than the average Teuton. Attacks by black men on

white women are absolutely unknown; a young white woman is safe anywhere, the only terror being from white sailors. There are offenses against black women and children, but not whites. He infers from this that the danger of such attacks on white women, if it exists in the United States, is not really due to race. For his own part he is sure that the evil, where it exists, is augmented by the state of frenzy with which it is met.*

But granting this and making allowance for all exaggeration in attributing this crime to Negroes, there still remain enough well-authenticated cases of brutal assault on women by black men in America to make every Negro bow his head in shame. Negroes must recognize their responsibility for their own worst classes and never let resentment against slander allow them even to seem to palliate an awful deed. This crime must at all hazards stop. Lynching is awful, and injustice and caste are hard to bear; but if they are to be successfully attacked they must cease to have even this terrible justification.

Faults of the Whites.

1. The attempt to enforce a double standard of justice in the courts, one for Negroes and one for whites.

2. The election of judges for short terms, making them subservient to waves of public opinion in a white electorate.

3. The shirking of jury duty by the best class of whites, leaving the dealing out of justice to the most ignorant and prejudiced.

4. Laws so drawn as to entangle the ignorant, as in the case of laws for labor contracts, and to leave wide discretion as to punishment in the hands of juries and petty officials.

5. Peonage and debt-slavery as methods of securing cheap and steady labor.

6. The tendency to encourage ignorance and subserviency among Negroes instead of intelligence, ambition, and independence.

7. The taking of all rights of political self-defense from the Negro either by direct law, or custom, or by the "white primary" system.

8. The punishment of crime as a means of public and private revenue rather than as a means of preventing the making of criminals.

9. The rendering of the chastity of Negro women difficult of defense in law or custom against the aggressions of white men.

10. Enforcing a caste system in such a way as to humiliate Negroes and kill their self-respect.

A Southern man, Professor Andrew Sledd, has perhaps best elucidated the meaning of this latter point: "If we care to investigate, evidences of our brutal estimate of the black man are not far to seek. The hardest to define is perhaps the most impressive—the general tacit attitude and feeling of the average Southern community toward the Negro. He is either nothing more than the beast that perishes, unnoticed and uncared for so long as he goes quietly about his menial

*Sidney Olivier, in the *British Friend*, December, 1904.

toil (as a young man recently said to the writer, 'The farmer regards his nigger in the same light as his mule'; but this puts the matter far too favorably for the Negro); or, if he happen to offend, he is punished as a beast with a curse or a kick, and with tortures that even the beast is spared; or if he is thought of at all in a general way, it is with the most absolute loathing and contempt. He is either unnoticed or despised. As for his feelings, he hasn't any. How few—alas how few—words of gentleness and courtesy ever come to the black man's ear! But harsh and imperious words, coarseness and cursing, how they come upon him, whether with excuse or in the frenzy of unjust and unreasoning passion! And his rights of person, property, and sanctity of home—who ever heard of the 'rights' of a 'nigger'? This is the general sentiment, in the air, intangible, but strongly felt; and it is, in a large measure, this sentiment that creates and perpetuates the Negro problem. If the Negro could be made to feel that his fundamental rights and privileges are recognized and respected equally with those of the white man, that he is not discriminated against both publicly and privately simply and solely because of his color, that he is regarded and dealt with as a responsible, if humble, member of society, the most perplexing features of his problem would be at once simplified, and would shortly, in normal course, disappear."

There is much difference of opinion on many of the points enumerated above, but it certainly seems clear that absolutely impartial courts, the presence of intelligent Negroes on juries when Negroes are tried, the careful defense of ignorance in law and custom, the absolute doing away with every vestige of involuntary servitude except in prisons under absolute State control and for the reformation of the prisoner, the encouraging of intelligent, ambitious, and independent black men, the granting of the right to cast an untrammelled vote to intelligent and decent Negroes, the unwavering defense of all women who want to be decent against indecent approach, and an effort to increase rather than to kill the self-respect of Negroes it seems certain that such a policy would make quickly and decidedly for the decrease of Negro criminality in the South and in the land.

The arguments against this are often strongly urged; it is said that whites and Negroes differ so in standards of culture that courts must discriminate; that partially forced labor is necessary in the South; that intelligent Negroes become impudent faultfinders and disturb a delicate situation; that the South cannot in self-defense permit Negro suffrage; that Negro women are unchaste; and that the Negro must be "kept down" at all hazards. To all this it can only be said: These arguments have been used against every submerged class since the world began, and history has repeatedly proven them false.

WHAT H. H. PROCTOR AND M. N. WORK THINK OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES OF ATLANTA AND SAVANNAH

According to the census of 1900 the total population of Atlanta was 89,872; of these 54,145 were white and 35,727 were Negroes. Ap-

proximately 60% of the population is white and 40% black. There were 14,088 arrests made in Atlanta last year; of these, 5,925 were white and 8,163 black—*i. e.*, 45% were white and 58% black. Concerning this heavy percentage of arrests three things should be said: First, that 732 of the total arrests were made on suspicion, and as all presumptions are against the Negro it may be confidently assumed that he shared largely in this class of arrests; second, that 446 of these cases were dismissed, indicating clearly that to be arrested is no sure indication of crime; and, third, that a large number of these were of that class known as “rounders,” and were arrested more than once. The largest number of arrests were between the criminal period of 20 and 30. One-third of the total colored arrests consisted of women.

The principal causes of these arrests were disorderly conduct, drunkenness, idling and loitering, and suspicion. Of these arrests, at least two things are noteworthy. The first is that, leaving aside the blanket charge of disorderly conduct, the leading cause for arrest was drunkenness. The second is that just one man in Atlanta was arrested for rape last year and that man was white! I have been informed by the chief of police of this city that during the present year there has been but one arrest for this unspeakable crime, and that is for a white man against a colored woman.

One of the causes of Negro crime is ignorance. Thirty-five per cent of the Negroes of Atlanta are illiterate. It should be said that this is due in part to the influx from the country districts; but the fact remains, nevertheless, that every third Negro one meets in this city is illiterate. Now, this has a close connection with crime; for ignorance and vice are twin sisters. A study of the accompanying table will show a striking thing in this connection. We have seen that the Negroes of Atlanta are about one-third ahead of the whites in crime; this table shows that they are just about one-third behind in school facilities:

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1902-1903

	School Population	Schools	Teachers	Seats	Without Seats
Colored	8,118	5	49	2,445	5,673
White	14,465	20	200	10,052	4,413

But the fountain head of crime among the Negroes of Atlanta is the open saloon. There is no doubt but that the removal of strong drink from the city would decrease crime by half. In my native Southern town the abolition of the saloon has almost put the courts out of business with Negroes. In one of our Decatur Street saloons 100 colored men were seen to enter within thirteen minutes one rainy evening. Of the 150 colored men and boys now in the city stockade, the keeper tells me that the most of them are there for drunkenness.

A strenuous effort should be made to make the home life more attractive. Too many black boys and even girls are permitted to roam the streets alone at night. A curfew law properly administered would be a splendid thing for a certain class of our young people. Another year would see fewer than 3,077 arrests between the ages of 12 and 20.

We need more philanthropic agencies for the amelioration of crime among Negroes in this city. At present there are only two; they provide for less than 100 children. Day nurseries are needed for the care of the children of hard-working mothers who must go out to earn the living for their children and be away from them all the day. A reformatory is needed for refractory boys and a house of refuge for wayward girls. A fully equipped Young Men's Christian Association would be a power for good in preventing crime among young men. But the supreme need of Atlanta is a great union college social settlement established in one of the Negro centers of crime.

The sentences imposed in the city court are generally severer than those imposed in the superior court—*i. e.*, for larceny. It is also true that the sentences imposed in the recorder's court are usually severer than those imposed in the superior court. This is a further substantiation of the fact that there is increased stringency in punishing Negroes for minor offenses. It further appears from the record of cases that the tendency is to impose severer sentence for offenses against property than for offenses against the person.

The amount of crime among the Negroes of Savannah could no doubt be reduced if all or some of the following things could be accomplished: The suppression of the Free and Easies; improved park facilities for the colored people so that recreation and amusement which would be uplifting and helpful could be furnished; the enforcement of the law respecting minors entering saloons and other questionable places; the establishment of a juvenile court and reformatory; better house facilities; education of the mass of the Negroes respecting proper sanitary observances; an increase of the school facilities for colored children. The school census of the city for 1903 gives the number of colored children between the ages of six and eighteen as being 8,023. The total number of colored pupils enrolled during the school year of 1903 was 2,312, only 28.8% of the entire number of colored children of school age. There are four colored public school buildings in the city. They are crowded to their utmost capacity. Admission for enrollment can be obtained only by ticket. In due time some or all of the above things will be done, and then a greater lowering of the crime rate of the Negroes will take place.

Comparing Savannah and Atlanta, a strange discrepancy in arrests is noticeable—143 per thousand in Savannah, and 273, nearly twice as many, in Atlanta. The cause of this is probably that the relation between whites and Negroes in Atlanta is much less pleasant than in Savannah. In Atlanta strangers have met: the mountain

whites and Negroes; and the white policemen arrest Negroes on the slightest provocation, so much so that the new mayor has protested.

NEGRO ARRESTS PER THOUSAND OF NEGRO POPULATION

1898.....	274	1901.....	322
1899.....	265	1902.....	293
1900.....	266	1903.....	273

Savannah has 54,244 inhabitants, of whom 28,090 are Negroes (1900). The most demoralizing agencies in Savannah are some twelve or fourteen low dance houses, known as "Free and Easies," run in connection with saloons. These are a great source of crime and immorality. A large percentage of the murders and other offenses against the person are committed in them. In one month of this year two homicides occurred in them, besides numerous cutting affrays. It is probably safe to say that these low dance halls are the greatest sources of crime in the city. Another source of vice and crime is a park for Negroes on the outskirts of the city. Here a low form of vaudeville is carried on. There is a saloon inside of the park and on the outside are low drinking places and other disreputable resorts. This park, if it furnished recreation and amusements of the proper kind, could be made a great agency for good to the city's large Negro population.

WHAT A SELECT NUMBER OF INTELLIGENT, REPRESENTATIVE NEGRO CORRESPONDENTS THINK OF NEGRO CRIME AND THE COURTS

Some comments follow:

Sandersville.—The criminality of the race in this county is the least discouraging thing, conviction being about 4% of the voting population. The majority of crimes for which they are convicted are small, a large percentage being convicted for gambling, stealing, and disorderly conduct and very frequently for dealing in blind-tiger liquor.

Brunswick.—The chief causes of crime among the Negroes here are drunkenness, gambling, and sexual immorality. It is heart-breaking to see Negro women arraigned at every court for fighting about some other woman's husband; and I should not forget to mention that vagrancy among the Negro boys leads to stealing. There are now five boys in jail, all under fifteen, awaiting trial for burglary.

Adairsville.—The general character of the Negro's crime is of a petty nature—thrift, "blind tigers," fighting, saucing "Mars John," etc. He is decreasing in his amount of criminality, and whenever opportunity presents itself learns a trade or buys him a home and settles down to work out his destiny. I have noticed this in many instances. All he needs is a fair showing in life; don't despair of him.

Marshallville.—Our best men, white and colored, think with me that we have a very quiet community. There are very few arrests. One white man said to me a few days ago: "Why, we have no need

of a guardhouse." This is true. There has certainly not been a man in prison since Christmas. Causes: No whisky; good schools. Of course, it is not a model community, for there are evils of which we are ashamed. I think there is some gambling, but I am told by men who know that this crime is practiced by a vagrant class of men and boys who do not belong in the community. The whites tell me that these men cannot read and write and that they play cards for amusement. When they think the officers are after them they run to another settlement. This crime is most prevalent in peach season.

But the crime which is really hurting the community more than any other is sexual immorality between the races. It is of such a nature that the local courts cannot well handle it, and Negroes have not the courage to condemn it.

I am sure, however, this crime is not increasing. Within the past twenty years there have been changes for good along this line; still the subtle influence of this immorality is felt in many ways.

Causes: Poor wages and love of dress, influence of Negro preachers, lack of home training. In some portions of the county whisky is sold and the natural results follow—murder, stealing, drunkenness, and gambling, and the county jail is, of course, well filled.

———.I venture to give the information, but urgently insist that my name be not given publicity, because I am working in a bloody and oppressive county, and do not desire to leave by undue force because of family and business relations. Crime is rapidly increasing; blind tigers, petty theft, concealed weapons, church disturbances. In some parts of this county absolute slavery reigns; men and women are whipped and driven cruelly from before the dawn until dark. There are men whose fines are paid and are worked at the rate of \$4.50 per month. Negroes must invariably settle by books kept by men who furnish* them. Some of them with four in family make from twelve to sixteen bales and fall in debt at the end of the year. An attempt to leave means to have corn and a clean sweep made and spurious warrants and sometimes an unmerciful beating. There are many Negroes who have lived on the same place ten to twelve years and never been given their rent note nor a final settlement, and they are afraid to ask for either or to leave. Of those who furnish Negroes, six out of nine confine them to bacon, meal, some flour, and strenuously object to buying sugar or too much dress. One white man in this county who had the oversight of sixty plows would go to the store, buy things for his own house and have them charged to one or the other hand's account. Social equality is forced in many places, but due to white men.

McIntosh.—It seems to me that there is more disorder hereabouts than formerly. Certainly in this immediate vicinity for the past five years there has been less safety than previously, as far as my knowledge extends. But affairs have improved somewhat of late.

*"Furnish"—i. e., supply goods to them on credit.

Newnan.—Crimes of all kinds among Negroes are becoming less every year. The number of criminals in our courts this year is not half as large as that of last year. Our police court has had little to do this year, and were it not for the idlers and those inclined to gamble and run "blind tigers," it might be only a court in name. Our people are not inclined to theft as in past years. Most of the crimes are misdemeanors and arise from assaults of various kinds.

Pendergrass.—The amount of crime among the Negroes of my town is more than ever was known before—such as gambling and killing, and a good number of the law-breakers are bonded out of jail, and the court allows a lot of them to be paid out and they are made slaves of by the big men of our county. So far as justice being given the Negroes in court, why, they never get that.

Knoxville.—The criminal Negro in this county is the gang-laborer Negro, who gets employment on large plantation farms, in sawmills and turpentine distilleries, where they are led and controlled by influences which are oftentimes far from being good. But Negroes may be found in most every rural district or community on their own farms, or on farms absolutely under their control, prospering. Such Negroes are as law-abiding citizens as can be found in the world.

Athens.—The primary cause of so much crime is drunkenness and ignorance. The state of affairs among our young men is alarming. The boys leave school between the ages of twelve and fifteen years, and they drift out into the world and learn to gamble, drink whisky, and all other low vices. I have a boy about thirteen. At one time there were twenty boys in his class, and now there are only two. Many boys seem to be retrograding morally. They feel that it is just as high an honor to marry a deluded woman as a virtuous one. Seven marriages of that kind have occurred since Christmas in our town.

Montezuma.—The clerk of the superior court informed me that 98% of the criminals were totally illiterate. It is seldom that an educated Negro gets into trouble.

These men were asked especially as to justice in the courts.

Fort Valley.—The persons whom I asked seemed to think that the Negro of this county received the regulation "Georgia justice" in the courts—that is, once accused, the Negro is guilty, especially so if the controversy is with a white person, and must prove himself innocent.

Augusta.—It seems to me that so many Negroes are arraigned in the courts who are apparently innocent that it is hard to answer the question as to the cause of crime.

Marshallville.—I know of no special instance where Negroes have been treated unfairly in the courts, but I think the general understanding is that the white man's word goes before everything else.

Baxley.—So far as a Negro is concerned, it matters not how good a law-abiding citizen he may be, or how intelligent he is, nor the amount of property he may own and pay taxes on. He has no voice in the courthouse except as a witness or to be tried.

Newborn.—Sorry to say that in our courts a Negro's color is a brand of guilt. This refers to our county and circuit courts. Justice courts in rural districts are a mere farce. Justice to a Negro against a white man is less than a game of chance.

Dawson.—During the August or adjourned term of the superior court of Terrell County, 1902, one ——— was charged with vagrancy. He was a barber by trade and ran a colored barber shop. One of the police on that beat fell out with him and swore out the above warrant. The said ——— produced eighty-five men who swore that he shaved them from once to twice a week and cut their hair from once to twice a month, and that he sometimes did other work, such as putting down carpets, when called upon. The trial judge declared that he had never heard of Negroes shaving twice a week and did not believe any such thing: that that was as many times a week as the average white man shaved, and that the Negro's beard does not grow as fast nor come out as fast as white men's and therefore he doubted the veracity of the witnesses. The case was compromised by the said ——— paying the sum of \$65.

At the November term of the superior court held in Dawson, 1903, a boy fourteen years of age was charged with helping a man or tenant steal cotton seed from his landlord. The man had pleaded guilty at the August term of the city court and had been fined \$100, or one year on the "gang." The fine was paid by the landlord and the man was kept on the place. The boy refused to plead guilty and appealed his case to the superior court. The grand jury found a true bill and he was tried at the November term of court. At the trial the man who pleaded guilty swore that he was a cropper and worked on halves and that the boy and his father lived about three miles from him and that he learned that the boy was to be sent to town early the next morning and that he had gone to the old man, who was a cripple, and asked him to let the boy come by his home and carry a package to town for him and the boy's father consented, as it was not much out of the way. He swore that he had the cotton seed sacked and out by the roadside when the boy came along and that he (the man) put them on the wagon and told the boy to sell them and bring him the money. He did as he was told. He also swore that the boy did not know whether he had stolen the seed or not nor where he had gotten them. The boy's parents swore to the same facts. The boy was found guilty and sentenced to twelve months in the "gang."

At the August term of the city court in Dawson, 1903, there were twenty-five young men convicted of gambling on the evidence of one who was excused because he turned State's evidence. He is known as a spotter. When he admitted his guilt the solicitor got up and recommended him to the judge as a hard-working Negro, whom he knew, and who had worked for him on his place. He was excused with only a nominal fine. The other twenty-five received sentences ranging from \$30 to \$75 and from six to twelve months on the gang.

In the Americus city court, April term, 1904, one X—— borrowed \$2 and agreed to pay \$3 for the same by working it out when called upon to do so. Before Y——, from whom he borrowed the money, was ready for him or called for him, he was working out another debt which he had contracted with another party. He could not go to Y—— just at the time wanted. Y—— swore out a warrant for cheating and swindling and sent X—— up for eight months on the "gang."

Sylvania.—They have no voice in court. They are not treated fairly in the courts at all.

Thomaston.—The criminals do not, in my judgment, at all times have fair and impartial trials. Yet they are treated as fairly as the average Negro in the South.

Jewell.—The subject is a young man of the little town in which I teach. Christmas this young man shot a boy, for which crime he has not been punished. Of course, everybody in the town knows that he is a desperate character, and that he can give no cause for the crime of which he is guilty. And yet when tried in court he was released.

The criminal is a servant for one of the wealthiest families in the county, and of course they did their best to prevent his being brought to justice in the county court. The Negro was arrested and taken to court for trial, and as plain as the case was all the so-called best white people of the little town of Jewell met at Sparta on court day and through their influence the jurymen were bribed, and the result was that a verdict of not guilty was brought out by the jurymen, even when they knew that he was a murderer. Now, I think the court did the very worst thing that could have been done for the young man. By all means justice should have been meted out to him, not so much for his own salvation as for that of many others who will certainly be influenced by his example.

I know of three other cases where the criminals failed to receive justice in the courts, simply because they rendered good service to white people as servants.

My opinion is that the white man who makes himself a protection for the Negro's crime in one instance is simply encouraging crime in all directions.

My experience is that much of the crime among Negroes arises from the corrupt way in which the courts sometimes deal with criminals. Either one Negro of a certain town has been punished innocently and the others revolt, or one has not been punished for the crime he did commit, and so many others are encouraged to commit worse crimes.

Athens.—The races in this section work very harmoniously together, and I know of no instance where the courts have not dealt justly with the Negro. As a whole, one of the worst faults the Negro has is the concealment of crime, no matter how low the crimes are. An intelligent, law-abiding citizen in this section gets the full benefit of the law.

Montezuma.—In some cases even-handed justice is meted out to both races alike. But in many cases the white man uses his power to dethrone justice.

Sasser.—As to their treatment in the courts of my county, I can without hesitation say there is some partiality shown. Do not let it be publicly known that I said we are illegally treated—that is, that we do not have as fair trial in every instance in the courts of my county. It would cause me to have enemies among the whites, and they perhaps might set snares for me.

Claxton.—I haven't found out definitely how they are treated in the courts. I can safely say they are tried by white juries, white lawyers, and white judges, so you can judge.

Wadley.—I don't visit the county courts, but as far as I can learn and read in the papers, Negroes don't stand any chance in them, and in our own town before the mayor it is the same.

Carnesville.—The Negro has very little rights here; all the white man is after is the almighty dollar. Outside of that the Negro is no more thought of.

Marietta.—All the officials and jurors are white, but considering the fact that our judge X—— has presided over the court for a number of years in a very impartial manner, I feel that our criminal class here is very fairly dealt with.

Calhoun.—To my knowledge Negroes are justly treated in the courts in this county.

Kingston.—Now as far as courts are concerned, we do not believe that justice is altogether handed down to us. We believe that when a crime or crimes are committed that each court should do justice irrespective of creed, nationality, or color. We believe that the law should not only be enforced after election, but before as well.

Waynesboro.—They are treated, as a rule, as all Southern courts treat the Negro.

Shady Dale.—Last year a crowd of twenty went to arrest a Negro for a debt of \$22. They found six Negroes gathered there for a hunt. The man they sought got away. The six Negroes arrested were fined from \$60 to \$120. The white men were upheld by the law; yet they had no warrant and met no resistance.

Vienna.—Of course, no one would expect the Negro to be dealt with justly in the courts. The judge, jury, and lawyers are all whites, hence no sane man would believe that the Negro receives justice before such a prejudiced body. But so far as white men are concerned, I think the Negro is treated fairly well in the courts—that is, as well as could be expected from white men. It would not be natural for such a race as the whites, who have the superior advantage, to give the Negro justice.

Rome.—Our people as a rule get the worst of it in courts, according to my observation.

Abbeville.—I do not know how the Negro stands here in the courts,

but I think he has a very poor chance, since the jury down here is ignorant and full of prejudice.

Folkston.—We are doing very well here with the whites, only we are denied the right of jurymen on account of color.

Geneva.—The case of a Negro always is committed, and if he hasn't got some white man on his side, he is gone to the "gang."

Thomasville.—The courts, on the whole, here are inclined to give the Negro prisoners justice. In our last court 40% of the accused were acquitted. Some of the charges were very serious, but absence of sufficient evidence seemed to have been recognized by the jurors, who seemed impartial.

Jasper.—In the fall of 1903 white folks treated the colored folks very badly by white-capping. They dynamited and rocked several of the Negroes' houses in this county. You know the colored people don't get justice in the courts.

Midville.—Justice is only measured out to him according to the views of that white man who is in favor of him. The Negro's word in the courts has but little weight. A Negro's word or justice to the Negro in the courts of my country depends largely upon his standing among his white friends. If a Negro has a case against a white man, it is generally held on docket until it becomes cold and thrown out. On the other hand, if a white man has a case against a Negro, he is fined or imprisoned.

Blairsville.—They are treated fairly well. They neither lynch nor take the lives of the Negro as they do further South, but we are slaves for them in a sense.

Waco.—Of course they are not treated altogether fairly in the courts, for they have no colored jurors here.

Crawford.—For the most part there is a decrease in the commission of crime. We think the manner in which the law is administered has much to do with the commission of crime on the part of the Negroes. A white man here can do almost anything wrong in violation of law; if a Negro is defendant in the case, justice steers clear of the Negro's side. The crime for which Negroes are most strictly held to account is that of breaking contracts. They are invariably hunted for, and when found are handcuffed or tied with ropes, brought back, severely whipped; now and then one is killed (self-defense or accidentally) and the murderer goes free. Negroes can run blind tigers, live in adultery, and gamble on the plantation or here in the town unmolested, but he must not miss a day from work. It did actually occur in this county that a white man killed a Negro at a Negro dance without provocation. He was never bothered about it. Sometime afterwards the same white man took a mule from a white farmer. He was caught, tried, convicted of horse-stealing, and sentenced to the chain gang.

Jefferson.—There are from forty to fifty misdemeanor convictions a year in our courts. The major part of them get white men to pay

their fines, for which they work double the time. These white men run kind of force labor farms. The Negroes' treatment in court is usually fair, as there is no indignant public sentiment against these petty crimes. The offender, after his arrest, is generally taken by the arresting officer to some white man, who is the Negro's choice; there a bond is made and the fellow put to work. When court convenes, the Negro and his employer appear, and after some legal formality the offender is fined. The fine is paid and the criminal goes back to work. These Negroes are nuisances to the respectable Negroes of the communities. They often give much trouble at the churches and other public gatherings, with the boast "that Captain So-and-So will stand to me in anything." I am not a pessimist, but owing to the demand for labor in this county and the means employed by the large land-owners to secure it, I truly believe misdemeanor crimes are on the increase.

Pendergrass.—The Negroes in general are in a bad shape here. There are about eighty criminals here out on bond, some for murder, some for selling whisky, some for gambling, some for carrying concealed weapons, some for shooting, and most of them are guilty, too; but their captain—*i. e.*, employer—takes their part in court. They generally pay about \$25 and work the Negro from one and a half to two years, and the Negro never knows what it cost. Some that are guilty come clear, some not guilty are found guilty just the same, for they can only swear and make a statement. The whites trade in them like slavery times or like horses. Some get their rights and some don't. There is no justice in court for the Negro, except he has money, and they will make him lose it.

Steam Mill.—The crime of the Negro is increasing. It is two-thirds greater than ever before. The cause of this is that they are given the full extent of the law on the weakest evidence. There is such a demand down in South Georgia for turpentine hands and saw-mill hands that every man who has got a sawmill or a turpentine farm in the county is bribing the courts and the lawyers to convict the Negro regardless of the evidence of the crime, because he wants to buy him for his labor, for he can shoot and force him to labor. Therefore, 98% of the convicts of the county prison are made up of the Negro race. We have got more overseers and white bosses than we had forty years ago.

Waynesboro.—They always get justice I believe when it is a Negro vs. a Negro, but when it is a white man vs. a Negro there seem at times to be some variations. This is putting it very mildly, too.

Adairsville.—In reply to it, I will say that there is very little mercy shown the Negro in our circuit courts. There seems to be a premium placed on his conviction, however simple and light the charges may be. This I am at a loss to answer for, but as a general rule the pressure is upon him, and he generally gets defeated in the courts all the way from the district to circuit courts. Of course this depends

on whom the Negro is in law with. If it is with another of his color, probably he may get justice; but if there is any chance for his color to figure in the matter, he is more than apt to meet squarely and promptly with sudden defeat. I have been a resident of this county since —, and all of this time been in direct contact with the masses. We have good men on both sides—some white and some colored who strive with each other for good—and if it were not for these two classes of men this county would present a sad picture; both races would indulge more in cruel hatred for each other. I don't want to say too much right along here, but the Negro is not accorded his rights as a man, either in court, or in his domestic and commercial relations, not to say a word about his political privileges.

Lavonia.—Of course you are acquainted with procedure of the courts with the Negroes in the South. "To be black" goes a long way in reaching a verdict and determining the fine or punishment. But it is not so bad here as in some other counties, and under these adverse circumstances the Negroes are forbearing, plodding their way onward, some with wisdom and others with indiscretion.

Douglasville.—As to the treatment of the Negro in the courts, I should judge, from my own observation of the proceedings of the courts for the past three years, that they are generally impartially dealt with according to the evidence. For the three years that I have been here, I don't remember any Negro complaining as to unjust treatment of his race in court. This town and county, from my observation and judgment, are exceptions to most of the towns and counties that I have lived in.

Baxley.—Most of the crimes committed by white men are noprossed or light fines laid when proven guilty, but there is no hope for the acquittal of a Negro; and if he is proven guilty (which is no trouble to do), he is given a long sentence or a very heavy fine. In this county we have no colored jurors, and possibly this accounts for the Negroes suffering so very much in the criminal courts.

Tifton.—In the courts, he is usually a criminal and stands friendless before the law.

SUMMARY OF THE FOREGOING OPINIONS

Summing up these reports we can make this rough estimate of the tendency of crime: Reports from 10 counties (11 towns) with 118,244 Negroes indicate that crime is increasing; reports from 56 counties (67 towns) with 448,117 Negroes indicate that crime is decreasing.

In 15 small towns there were, in 1903, 5,376 arrests of white and colored offenders, mostly for disorder and drunkenness. Of these, 3,113 were Negroes, 50 white, and the rest undesignated.

It seems to be fairly well proven that there is comparatively little crime in the Black Belt and in the White Belt. It is in the counties where the races meet on something like numerical equality and in economic competition that the maximum of crime is charged against Negroes.

As a rough answer to this question, the results of written answers of Negro school children and students have been collected. A series of simple questions were first put to 1,500 Negro school children in the Atlanta public schools. The most of them were between the ages of nine and fifteen years and were city bred. Of these, 583 said that laws were made "for protection"; 315, "to keep peace" or "order"; and 135, to "govern" or "rule" persons.

The answers classed under "For protection" include many forms of protection—*e. g.*, protection of one's rights, of property, of person, protection of city, of state, of country. Under the hundred or more unclassified answers are many which speak of laws as a means of preventing fighting, stealing, etc.

Their ideas of courts were correct: "To determine guilt or innocence" (398); "to see that the laws are obeyed" (222); "to settle matters" (222); a few say for "bad people" (69). Policemen are for the purpose of "arresting people" (522), or "protecting" them (346). Policemen are usually kind to 618 of the little ones, but were considered unkind by 459 and variable by 204. Most of them say that persons are sent to the "chain gang" for breaking the law and wrongdoing, but some others say that people are sent to the chain gang because "they haven't the money to pay their fines." One boy says: "Some good people are sent to the chain gang and some bad ones. They are sent because they are convicted."

The students, 534 in number, were older (13 to 21 years of age) and come from all parts of the State. Policemen have never helped or protected most of them (408); and 21 declared they have been specifically wronged by policemen. Of those who have seen courts in session (134), 71 think the judge and jurors acted fairly, and 41 that they did not; their opinions of persons sent to the "chain gang" vary: 164 think them "bad or unfortunate," 54 think they deserve punishment "if guilty," and 46 doubt the guilt of many of them; 25 are "sorry for them," and 22 think their punishment "makes them worse," but 28 consider them "a disgrace to their race." In general, many students consider that persons who are sent to the chain gang are very unfortunate. Many say that, while they are in favor of punishment for lawbreakers, they consider the "chain gang" the worst and poorest means of punishment. These also speak of and deplore the treatment of the criminals on the "gang."

Many speak of the very disastrous results upon young criminals and express the wish that reformation be provided for the youthful offenders of the law. One says along this line: "The chain gang system is discreditable. It seems to defeat the purpose of punishment. I grow indignant over the presence of young boys in the chain gang." Another says: "The intermingling of young criminals with old ones in the chain gang is one of the worst evils of the system." A third says: "I think it [the chain gang] is one of the last resorts to which the State should give itself. The treatment of the men in most

cases is very severe and especially unbearable in the fierce winter months."

When asked why so many young Negroes get into the clutches of the law, 152 ascribe it to "indolence" and "laziness"; 62 say for "not attending to their own business"; 57, "disobedience"; 40, "bad company"; 39, "ignorance"; 67, "lack of home training"; and 19, "race prejudice." Most of them have several causes why so many young colored boys get into trouble. As an example of this one student says: "Ignorance, prejudice, poverty, wrongdoing." Another says: "Idleness is almost the sole cause. Race prejudice also aids, as more Negroes are handled by the courts for the same offenses than whites." A third says: "The important causes are, I think, the lack of moral training, the lack of educational privileges, and beyond all the lack of good home training. Another cause is the difficulty Negro boys have in getting employment."

As a remedy for criminality among Negroes, 118 say "better employment"; 112, "education"; 77, "teaching them the right"; 35, "home training"; 24, "establishing reformatories"; 22, "Christian work"; 12, "by raising their standards and ideals"; and 10, "by closing places of evil and vice." Many suggest fair trial and unprejudiced decision in courts. Many also speak of good association, while some add that "our best people should dwell on the disgrace of being confined to the chain gang."

The following resolutions were adopted by the Atlanta University Conference of 1904:

AMOUNT OF CRIME

1. The amount of crime among Negroes in this State is very great. This is a dangerous and threatening phenomenon. It means that large numbers of the freedmen's sons have not yet learned to be law-abiding citizens and steady workers, and until they do so the progress of the race, of the South and of the nation, will be retarded.

CAUSES OF CRIME

2. The causes of this state of affairs seem clear: (1) The mass of the Negroes are in a transient stage between slavery and freedom. Such a period of change involves physical strain, mental bewilderment, and moral weakness. Such periods of stress have among all people given rise to crime and a criminal class. (2) Race prejudice, in so far as it narrows the opportunities open to Negroes and teaches them to lose self-respect and ambition by arbitrary caste proscriptions, is a potent cause of carelessness, disorder, and crime. (3) Negroes have less legal protection than others against unfair aggression upon their rights, liberty, and prosperity. This is particularly true of Negro women, whose honor and chastity have in this State very little protection against the force and influence of white men, particularly in the country districts and small towns. (4) Laws as to vagrancy, disorder, contracts for work, chattel mortgages, and

crop liens are so drawn as to involve in the coils of the law the ignorant, unfortunate, and careless Negroes, and lead to their degradation and undue punishment, when their real need is inspiration, knowledge, and opportunity. (5) Courts usually administer two distinct sorts of justice: one for whites and one for Negroes; and this custom, together with the fact that judge and court officials are invariably white and elected to office by the influence of white votes alone, makes it very difficult for a Negro to secure justice in court when his opponent is white. (6) The methods of punishment of Negro criminals is calculated to breed crime rather than stop it. Lynching spreads among black folk the firmly fixed idea that few accused Negroes are really guilty; the leasing of convicts, even the present system of State control, makes the State traffic in crime for the sake of revenue instead of seeking to reform criminals for the sake of moral regeneration; and finally the punishment of Negro criminals is usually unintelligent: they are punished according to the crime rather than according to their criminal record; little discrimination is made between old and young, male and female, hardened thug and careless mischief-maker; and the result is that a single sentence to the chain gang for a trivial misdemeanor usually makes the victim a confirmed criminal for life.

EXTENT AND CURE OF CRIME

3. There is no evidence to show that crime is increasing among Negroes in this State. Save in a few of the larger towns there seems to be a marked decrease since 1896.

4. The cure for Negro crime lies in moral uplift and inspiration among Negroes. The masses of the race must be made vividly to realize that no man ever has an excuse for laziness, carelessness, and wrongdoing; that these are not a cure for oppression, but rather invite and encourage further oppression. Negroes then must be taught to stop fighting, gambling, and stealing, which seem to be the usual misdemeanors of the careless; and particularly the law-abiding must separate themselves from that dangerous criminal element among us who are responsible for murder, rape, and burglary, and vigorously condemn the crime and the criminal. Four agencies among Negroes may work toward this end: the church, the school, institutions for rescue work, and the juvenile reformatory. The first step in Georgia would seem to be one toward a reformatory for Negro youth.

APPEAL TO WHITES

5. Finally, this conference appeals to the white people of Georgia for six things: Fairer criminal laws; justice in the courts; the abolition of State traffic in crime for public revenue and private gain; more intelligent methods of punishment; the refusal to allow free labor to be displaced by convict labor; and finally a wider recognition of the fact that honest, intelligent, law-abiding black men are safer

neighbors than ignorant, underpaid serfs, because it is the latter class that breeds dangerous crime.

The statement by Professor Sledd that in a general way the Negro is either unnoticed or despised is true—but just as the foreigner or poor and ignorant white man is unnoticed or despised so long as he does nothing to attract attention. But that “If he happen to offend, he is punished as a beast, with a curse or a kick, and with tortures that even the beasts are spared; or if he is thought of in a general way, it is with the most absolute loathing and contempt” is more rhetorical than true; and “How few—alas how few—words of gentleness and courtesy ever come to the black man’s ear! But harsh and imperious words, coarseness and cursing, how they come upon him, whether with excuse or in the frenzy of unjust and unreasoning passion!” is sheer blather. That “this sentiment,” as thus set forth and described, “in a large measure creates and perpetuates the Negro problem,” or that if what is recommended in the second paragraph should take place, “the most perplexing features of the problem would be at once simplified, and would shortly, in normal course, disappear,” shows either a very superficial appreciation of the factors involved or a willful disregard of them.

Certainly there is a “sentiment,” and we call it race prejudice; but it is mutual and as permanent as the races themselves. The same “sentiment” obtains with reference to the Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, and even the Southern European. No one denies that this prejudice sometimes does, and at any time may, break forth into extreme injustice and cruelty, and perhaps all the time it tends toward disregard of human rights. Neither does any one deny that measures of amelioration and mollification can be and ought to be taken. But so long as two distinct races are in social contact there will never be complete relaxation of tension. Racial differences cannot be eliminated by social flats. The only way to get rid of race prejudice as it applies to the Negro is to get rid of the Negro. Class prejudice exists, but may be broken down in a homogeneous population, for class prejudice is social: race prejudice is

ethnic and practically permanent. Herein lies the fundamental error in the assumptions of DuBois, Boas, and others, that complete social adjustment can come about through the ordinary means properly applied—*i. e.*, what is good for the white man is good for the Negro, in religion, government, moral ideals, industrial and other economic opportunity. In other words, they assume that adjustment is a mere matter of social assimilation and that racial differences are insignificant. They seem to think that if the psychical differences are not as apparent as the difference in color, the psychical differences, therefore, do not exist. And so they have a comparatively easy solution of the race problem in general and of Negro criminality in particular.

Many other writers have offered specific solutions of the race problem. Professor Sledd, as we have seen, thinks that if the white man will only cease to mistreat the Negro the problem will cease to exist. Ray Stannard Baker seems to think the problem is only an economic problem—*i. e.*, a problem of the classes. Others say in effect: Give the Negro what he wants and that will settle the whole matter. Many, both North and South, have said that “silence,” “reticence,” “time” will solve it; but one means by this that mutual understanding and coöperation will soon come about if we only cease to emphasize our differences; another means that the ordinary social forces by a process of evolution will work out within a reasonable time a satisfactory adjustment; yet another means that the Negro will die out of his troubles, as a race, of his own ignorance, sin, and racial weakness; another thinks a concurrent process of elimination by emigration, amalgamation, and death by disease and violence or profound oppression will take place; while another means only: Quit bothering about the Negro; just let us manage him: we understand him. But all these solutions only emphasize the fact that we have a problem, and that all we can confidently say now is that it behooves all to work and wait, watch for more light, and be patient. Meanwhile, however, there are phases of the problem we may be studying and measures we may find useful for the amelioration of the most apparent evils involved.

CHAPTER IV. LAWS ESPECIALLY AFFECTING THE NEGRO

THE laws of the several States of our Union are supposed to be made without respect to race, color, or social status, and with few exceptions are so accepted. In his "Notes on Negro Crime," however, Dr. DuBois includes among the "Faults of the Whites" this: "Laws so drawn as to entangle the ignorant, as in the case of laws for labor contracts, and to leave wide discretion as to punishment in the hands of juries and petty officials." The suffrage laws of several of the Southern States and the "Jim Crow" laws more especially have been bitterly complained of by Negro writers and their sympathizers. That such laws, or any restrictive laws, for that matter, should be considered necessary is unfortunate; but I think it can be shown that even the laws most complained of, as they are drawn, are in the main not only just but both necessary and beneficent.

1. LABOR CONTRACT LAWS

Labor contract laws of the sort complained of are in force in but five of the Southern States, as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The Florida and Georgia laws on labor contracts are similar, are expressed very concisely and in general terms, but seem to be clear enough. They are really only amplifications of "false pretense" laws and without any definite limitation to farm laborers or any apparent effort to stretch the definition of an old offense to include a new one.

Florida Code, Section 3320: "Any person who, by false promise and with intent to injure, obtains from another any money or personal property, or any person who has entered into a written contract, with at the time intent to defraud, to do or to perform any act or service, and in consideration thereof obtains from the hirer money or other personal property, and who abandons the service of said hirer without just cause, without first repaying the money

or paying for such personal property, shall be punished by a fine not more than \$500 or by imprisonment not more than one year." This law does not apply to croppers at all, and in any case does not provide damages for the loss sustained by the hirer. If only the actual money or property obtained has been accounted for, the hirer is without redress, no matter how great his loss or inconvenience.

The Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi labor and cropper contract laws are almost identical. Mississippi Code, Sections 1147 and 1148:

"1147. Any laborer, renter, or share cropper who has contracted with any other person for a specified time in writing, not exceeding one year, who shall leave his employer or leased premises before the expiration of his contract, without the consent of his employer or landlord, and makes a second contract with a second party without giving notice of the first contract to the second party, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be fined not exceeding fifty dollars.

"1148. If any person, with intent to defraud or injure his employer or any person, enters into a contract in writing, duly acknowledged or attested by two witnesses in their own handwriting, for the performance of any act or service which is to be performed within fifteen months from the date of such contract, and thereby obtains money or other personal property from such employer, or other person, and with like intent, and without just cause, and without refunding such money or paying for such property, willfully refuses or fails to perform such act or service, he shall, on conviction, be punished for obtaining property under false pretenses and shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$100 or by imprisonment in the county jail for not exceeding six months, or both, in the discretion of the court. And the failure or refusal of any person who enters into such a contract to perform such act or service, or refund such money, or pay for such property, without just cause shall be *prima facie* evidence of the intent to injure or defraud his employer, or other person; and shall warrant a conviction in all cases in which the evidence as

a whole does not create a reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the accused. If the employer or other person fails or refuses, upon the demand of the employee or such other person or any authorized representative, to render, within a reasonable time, true itemized accounts of the property and money so obtained from him and of the entire indebtedness claimed, or shall render an account knowingly false as to the items therein, then there shall be no conviction under this section."

The Code of Alabama has an additional section, Section 6846: "Any defendant on whom a fine is imposed on conviction for a misdemeanor, who in open court signs a written contract, approved in writing by the judge of the court in which the conviction is had, whereby, in consideration of another becoming his surety on confession of judgment for the fine and costs, agrees to do any act or service for such person, and who, on being released on such confession of judgment, fails or refuses without good and sufficient excuse, to be determined by the jury, to do the act or perform the service, must, on conviction, be fined not less than the amount of the damages which the party contracting with him has suffered by such failure or refusal, and not more than five hundred dollars; and the jury shall assess the amount of such damages; but no conviction shall be under this section unless it is shown on the trial that such contract was filed for record in the office of the Judge of Probate in the county in which the confession of judgment was had, within ten days after the day of the execution thereof."

This Section 6846 of the Alabama Code is interesting as a phase of the convict lease law. There has been a good deal of complaint of this, on the ground that it is in effect essentially peonage and subject to the worst abuses. Reference is made to a similar law, or at least a similar practice, in Georgia in some of the letters quoted from "Notes on Negro Crime." Any such practice now would be illegal, since the convict lease system in Georgia was abolished in 1908. I know of no other States legalizing this form of convict lease.

Code of Louisiana, 1906, Act No. 54:

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana*, That whoever shall willfully violate a hire, tenant, or share contract conditioned on the cultivation of land in this State, upon the faith of which contract money or goods have been advanced, by leaving the employ of the person or abandoning the land, the subject of the contract, without first tendering to the person by whom said money or goods were advanced the amount of money or the value of the goods obtained, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined in the sum not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars, and in default of payment of the fine shall be imprisoned in the parish jail for not more than ninety days at the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 2. That whoever shall willfully interfere with, entice away, intimidate, or induce a hired person, tenant, or share hand to leave the service of the employer or abandon the land, the subject of the contract, or who shall knowingly take into his employ any such person before the expiration of the contract, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined in a sum not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense, and shall be liable in a civil action for damages to double the amount of any debt due by said hired person, tenant, or share hand to the person who had made the advances.

"SEC. 3. That persons taking advantage of the provisions of this act who shall falsely or fraudulently cause the arrest of or otherwise unlawfully detain a hired person, tenant, or share hand who has not violated the contract, or after its expiration, such person shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined in a sum not less than two hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars or imprisonment for not less than thirty nor more than sixty days."

South Carolina, Criminal Code Sections 355 to 358, similarly provides protection for both parties to labor contracts and for action against magistrates who refuse to take cognizance.

These labor contract laws have been bitterly complained of and very widely misrepresented both as to their motive and the abuses practiced in their execution. It is doubtless true that there have been abuses, as there may be of any laws, but these laws specifically provide ready redress. As they are drawn they are clear and definite and are applicable to white as well as black and to the ignorant and less ignorant alike. But it is also true that they were drawn with special reference to the Negro—for three very good reasons: (1) The average Negro tenant is morally and commercially unreliable. It is necessary in most cases for the landlord to advance the hired man, tenant, or share hand supplies for which he cannot settle till the crop is made. It becomes therefore imperative to make some means of compelling fulfillment of contract. The only practicable method is by penalizing forfeiture. Damage suits in such cases would be worse than childish. (2) These laws protect the landlord, who has most at stake, from irresponsible imposition and the vagaries, caprices, and whims of the ignorant, impulsive, and gullible Negro with whom he must contract, and from the selfish and often unscrupulous tenant stealer. And the same laws serve as an excellent means of training the Negro to a proper regard for his obligations and to the exercise of more foresight than he is accustomed to use. (3) The white tenant in the South, in proportion to the number of Negroes so employed, is a negligible quantity and not given to violating his contract. But in case he does, the law applies to him also; but in practice the white tenant who violates his contract is usually so undesirable in every way that the landlord is glad to be rid of him.

Many pathetic stories are told of abuses under contract labor laws. But I can say with some assurance that in many such stories if both sides were heard from we could wipe our tears away and smile again. However, this is not saying that there are no abuses: for there are unscrupulous landlords, both white and black, who will take any advantage the law allows—and some the law does not allow—to exploit the ignorant and defenseless. I know of

no remedy except education for the Negro and the unmistakable condemnation of public opinion and criminal prosecution, where possible, of both the guilty landlord and the court that works in collusion with him. The repeal of good laws merely because a few greedy anarchists abuse them is childish. Go after the anarchists. Write them up in the newspapers. Tell the story till it is known so well that they can find nobody who will sign contracts with them. That method will touch their tender spot—their greed.

2. SUFFRAGE LAWS

Much complaint has been made of Negro disfranchisement in the South and a great clamor made for the Negro's political rights. Much of the comment of a few years ago would make one believe that at one fell swoop the Negro's whole political existence had been annihilated and with it all his hopes of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, whereas, as a matter of fact, only seven of the Southern States restricted the suffrage. True, this restriction was aimed at the Negro, but he had already for years been disfranchised in those seven States except on hard-fought local issues in which his venality and gullibility gave him the balance of power. At any rate, the constitutional suffrage amendments were not revolutionary, and even their restrictive provisions are not new nor the qualifications required unreasonable. They make no distinction as to race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The restriction of Negro suffrage in the South was a necessity if the South were ever to be again politically independent or to make any great progress economically or morally commensurate with her resources and opportunities. The prohibition of the liquor traffic over so large a portion of the South as now would have been impossible with unrestricted Negro suffrage. So long as the great majority of Negroes are ignorant and willing to sell their votes for petty considerations, or to vote so largely with the saloon element, or persistently to vote against even their own interest as well as their white neighbors' interest wherever political lines are drawn, that long will the Negro

be disfranchised. And this is right. The vote is a franchise and not a natural right. Ignorance, venality, and disregard of public welfare have no just claims to the franchise. But, on the other hand, the Negro who complies with the requirements should be eligible and his privilege protected; and the white man who cannot qualify should be debarred from the ballot. The white man who is not willing to meet the demands he makes of the Negro in the matter of qualifications for suffrage certainly merits the contempt of the Negro. There have doubtless been discriminations against the Negro under our suffrage laws, but there are too many Negroes who like to pose as injured innocents, too many who like to make capital of denied rights.

In order that it may be entirely clear as to the required qualifications for voting in the Southern States, these qualifications will be named in order and their possibilities for race discriminations pointed out.

1, 2, and 3. Citizenship, age, and sex. The requirements as to citizenship, age, and sex are essentially the same in the Southern States as in other States and in their very nature cannot lend themselves to any race or color discriminations involving the Negro.

4. Length of residence. Every State requires that the voter shall have resided within the State, county, and precinct in which he proposes to vote for specified periods, varying from three months to two years in the State, and in the precinct from ten days to one year. Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia require a residence in the State of two years, as does Rhode Island. Louisiana requires residence in the precinct for six months, and Mississippi one year; while others usually require thirty days. The only way the Negro can suffer from residence requirements is by moving too often.

5. Payment of taxes. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee require the payment of poll tax before registering to vote. Alabama, Arkansas, and North Carolina require the payment of poll tax for one year, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana for two years, and Virginia for three years pre-

ceding the election. Georgia provides that all taxes legally required since 1877 must have been paid six months before the election. Delaware and Pennsylvania have tax payment requirements. This requirement can be no injustice to the Negro. If he is too shiftless to pay his taxes or too careless to preserve his receipts, that is his fault and no great recommendation as to his qualification to decide questions of government.

6. Ownership of property. "The property test in the Southern States is an alternative of the educational test. That is, if the applicant cannot satisfy the educational test but can satisfy the property test, he may register and vote; or he may do so if he can satisfy the education but not the property test. . . . In Alabama the property requirement is that the applicant for registration be the owner or the husband of the owner of forty acres of land in the State in which they reside, or of real or personal property worth three hundred dollars, upon which taxes for the preceding year have been paid. In Georgia the requirement is forty acres of land in the State or five hundred dollars' worth of property in the State. In Louisiana the requirement is three hundred dollars' worth of property and payment of personal taxes. South Carolina prescribes three hundred dollars' worth of property on which taxes for the preceding year have been paid. Of the Southern States which have altered their suffrage laws since 1890, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia have not provided any permanent property test." This requirement can be no discrimination against the Negro, for he has full privilege and opportunity to own property, and the amount required is within the range of poor men. If the Negro is too shiftless or too delinquent in the payment of taxes to meet this requirement, it shows neither discrimination against him nor any great ability on his part to decide questions of public policy.

7. Education. If for any reason the applicant for registration to vote in any Southern State cannot meet the property test, he has an alternative in the educational test. Connecticut, Massachusetts, Wyoming, California, Maine,

and Delaware require an educational qualification without an alternative; and all States except Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and New Mexico have adopted a blanket official ballot which is, in effect, an educational test. The voter receives the ballot from an election officer within the polls and must mark and deposit for himself. If he cannot read, he must at least guess and take his chances. Directions are printed on the ballot.

In Alabama the applicant must be able to read and write the Constitution of the United States in English unless physically disabled; in Georgia, to read and write the Constitution of the United States or of Georgia, or, if physically disabled, to understand and give a reasonable interpretation of either Constitution when read to him; in Louisiana, to read and write and make his application, on printed forms, in his own handwriting; in Mississippi, to read or understand or reasonably interpret any part of the Constitution of the State; in South Carolina, to read and write the State Constitution; in North Carolina, to read and write the State Constitution in English; while Virginia requires only that the applicant make out his application in his own handwriting and mark his own ballot without aid.

This test may be abused in the hands of unscrupulous registration officials. Only those on the border line of qualification, however, are likely to suffer or to benefit. The official may give an easy passage of the Constitution as a test for one person, a hard passage to another, or he may accept halting and blundering reading from one and require fluent reading of another, or he may require legible and flowing penmanship from one and accept illegible scratching from another. But any such discrimination is the fault of the official and not of the law. I would favor, however, a certificate from the county superintendent of education similar to and obtained in the same way as a teacher's certificate.

8. Understanding and character tests. The understanding test is really a part of the educational test. Only in Georgia and Mississippi are the understanding provisions or alternatives permanent. In Alabama, South Carolina, and

Virginia the "understanding clause" is a part of the "grandfather clause," which is temporary, already having expired everywhere except in Georgia. In Georgia one may register if he is of good moral character and understands the duties and obligations of citizenship in a republican form of government, although he has neither property nor education. In Mississippi he may register if he can understand and reasonably interpret the State Constitution when read to him. Note the difference in the requirements in Georgia and Mississippi. The registration officer may accept or refuse either the interpretation or the good character of the applicant at will. The provision is not only a contemptible subterfuge to let in the unworthy, but it is intrinsically silly.

9. The "grandfather clause." "The principle of the 'grandfather clause,' in short, is that one who is not able to satisfy either the educational or property tests may, nevertheless, continue to be a voter for life if he was a voter in 1867, or is an old soldier or the lineal descendant of such a voter or soldier, provided he register prior to a fixed date." The periods allowed for registration under this clause have all expired except that in Georgia, which expires January 1, 1915. The "grandfather clauses" are more nearly race distinctions than any other sections of the suffrage laws for the reason that so many white men in the Southern States and so few negroes are either old soldiers or the descendants of old soldiers or had the right to vote in 1867. Yet they are not, technically speaking, race distinctions, because if one was a veteran or the son of one he might register regardless of race or color. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of Negroes in the Southern States who were Federal soldiers in the Civil War have registered under the "grandfather clauses."

10. Criminal disabilities, pauperism, and mental incompetents. Idiots, lunatics, and paupers are excluded from voting in all the States, and other persons guilty of certain crimes till their disabilities shall have been removed by executive order. In practice more whites than Negroes have their rights restored after the expiration of their terms of

imprisonment, but no inquiry is ever made as to a Negro's criminal record unless he is notoriously offensive. Alabama perhaps furnishes the longest list of crimes that disqualify, as follows: "Treason, murder, arson, embezzlement, malfeasance in office, larceny, receiving stolen property, obtaining money or property under false pretenses, perjury, subornation of perjury, robbery, assault with intent to rob, burglary, forgery, bribery, assault and battery on wife, bigamy, living in adultery, sodomy, incest, rape, miscegenation, crime against nature, or any crime punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, or any infamous crime or crimes involving moral turpitude; also any person who shall be convicted as a vagrant or tramp, or of selling or offering to sell his vote or the vote of another, or of making or offering to make false return in any election by the people or in any primary election to procure the nomination or election of any person to any office, or of suborning any witness or register to secure the registration of any person as an elector." Most States exclude only those convicted of felonies. Only in so far as the Negro is convicted of crime, more often of graver crimes than the white man, can this suffrage restriction affect him.

3. JURY DUTY

As a spectator in the courts the law makes no distinctions as to color or race. Whites and Negroes usually sit apart, but that is a matter of custom, not of law. Any Negro who is qualified to vote can also hold office if duly elected or appointed, under the law; but the mob, in many places, might interfere. Some legal obstacles have at times been thrown in the way of Negro lawyers desiring to practice in Southern courts, but I think it is now generally accepted that they may obtain license and practice their profession wherever and whenever they are qualified. The Negro's competency as a witness in expressed law is still restricted, vague or indefinite in some of the Southern States, notably Florida, Georgia, and Kentucky, but custom and State supreme court decisions admit the Negro as a witness on the same terms as other citizens. The credibility of the Negro

witness is not a matter for the law, but for the judge or jury to decide in each case.

The fourth section of the Civil Rights Bill of 1875 has stood the test of constitutionality and is still a part of our Federal statute law: "That no citizen possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and any officer or other person charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors who shall exclude or fail to summon any citizen for the cause aforesaid shall upon conviction thereof be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be fined not more than five thousand dollars." In accordance with this law, it is everywhere accepted that the Negro may serve on juries upon the same terms as white men, but—he doesn't.

Mr. Gilbert Thomas Stephenson sent out over three hundred letters to clerks of courts in counties of the South in which Negroes constituted half or more than half of the population. His inquiry was: "I wish to know to what extent Negroes actually serve on juries; how Negro jurors are regarded by the court and the people at large; whether the number of colored jurors has increased or decreased in late years. What has been the experience of your county as to the satisfaction of colored jurors?" From the replies received Mr. Stephenson makes the following summary: "With such incomplete statistics conclusions as to the actual service of the Negro as a juror can hardly be more than guesses. Some of the clerks of court say that the number of Negro jurors in their counties is increasing; others, that it is decreasing. Some say that race does not come into the consideration of fitness for jury service; others, that Negroes are not allowed on juries at all. Some say that Negro jurors have given satisfaction; others, that they have been scarcely more than figureheads following the lead of white jurors. Several of the clerks think that Negro litigants are reluctant to have Negro jurors sit on their cases. Some feel that Negro jurors are more prone to convict than

white jurors are. It is undoubtedly true that there are not as many Negroes qualified for jury service under the laws of the Southern States as there were, say, twenty-five years ago. Usually one must be an elector to be qualified for jury service. The great majority of Negroes have been unable to satisfy the suffrage tests and have been disfranchised. They are, consequently, not electors and not eligible to serve as jurors. Hence if the selection of jurors is conducted with absolute impartiality, there will be comparatively few Negroes retained."

4. "JIM CROW" LAWS

The legal recognition of the color line in public conveyances has given great offense, especially to the Northern Negro. But the color line was drawn not only on public conveyances, but in hotels, restaurants, places of entertainment or amusement and even in saloons, the most democratic of all places, long before any "Jim Crow" laws were passed. All such laws are only the formal recognition of the color line as a social fact and of the necessity of establishing the metes and bounds for the protection of the worthy and well-disposed against the aggressions of the undesirable and the selfish. If all Negroes were neat and orderly and all white men were gentlemen, the tacit recognition of the color line as in stores, on the street, in the courtroom, at the ball game and the circus would obtain without law. But as long as there are race prejudice and conflicting interests of individuals, as long as there are unclean and insolent Negroes and ignorant and overbearing white men, there will be a necessity in the South for "Jim Crow" laws. Most Southern Negroes recognize this fact, and in some cases have themselves asked for legal separation on street cars. Legal separation establishes formal lines, saves friction, protects the Negro *en route*, and keeps him out of the courts. In fact, these laws have been so satisfactory that they have been extended so as to cover nearly all public places in the South, and their good effects have been most apparent wherever the lower classes of both races are most liable to come in contact, as in saloons and cheap restaurants.

There is a just contention made by the Southern Negro as to the "Jim Crow" laws and their enforcement: he wants equal values for equal money. If, for instance, the railroads exact of him first-class fare they should furnish him first-class accommodations. The railroads claim that the amount of Negro travel does not justify the outlay necessary to furnish him accommodations such as are furnished the whites. This may be true, but, if so, as long as they furnish only second-class accommodations our lawmakers and executive officers should see to it that they furnish them at second-class fare. The Negro's protests against being placed in filthy smoking cars, often with uncouth, unclean, and overbearing, sometimes drunken, white men, should be heard. The Negro has a right to decency. No white passenger should be allowed in a Negro coach; the color line should be recognized from both sides.

Now, of course, ideal conditions do not exist, and never will. There are certain men everywhere and at all times who when in authority or at an advantage will exploit or impose upon the defenseless. No law has ever been enforced perfectly or executed with exact justice. We must be content to judge an act according to what seems to be for the greatest good to the greatest number, all phases and exigencies of the situation considered. Almost any law or social custom will at times or under peculiar conditions work hardships upon some who are in no way to blame, and the very abuses of a law sometimes emphasize its importance and furnish its justification. This world we live in is very human. The trouble is not with the law, but with the things that make the law necessary. The remedy lies not in repeal, but rather in the proper education of both races, in the spread of the sentiment of fair play, and in a persistent and consistent insistence upon high moral standards. This applies to all laws discussed as well as to the "Jim Crow" laws and to all races as well as the Negro race.

CHAPTER V. THE APPREHENSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE NEGRO CRIMINAL

1. ARREST AND DETENTION OF NEGROES

AS shown in Chapter I., the number of Negro arrests greatly exceeds the number of white arrests in the South. Of the total number of arrests made in the city of Atlanta in 1912, the cases of more than 15% were dismissed, and of them the majority were Negroes. This shows only what we already know by observation: that there are too many unnecessary arrests. This 15% is made up largely of persons arrested "on suspicion," arrests for trivial offenses, and arrests on "trumped-up" charges. Arrests on suspicion are usually the laudable efforts of policemen to apprehend guilty parties, with which no fault can justly be found. Other arrests are made for trivial offenses where an official warning would serve a better purpose. Some policemen, I regret to say, are very punctilious about little things while they seem not to be impressed with the more weighty things of the law. But many trivial charges are preferred by peevish neighbors or by persons still angry from petty quarrels over matters that time or the friendly advice of policemen might adjust. "Trumped-up" charges are frequent enough and are usually malicious, but they are sometimes the result of efforts of criminals to divert suspicion from themselves. Gossiping and quarreling are very common among the lower classes of Negroes, especially in densely populated parts of cities, and are responsible for most of the trivial and malicious charges. Agencies that can impress the Negro with the essential dignity of self-respect and the majesty of calmness would greatly reduce the number of all kinds of arrests growing out of petty quarrels and personal animosities.

Countercharges, and "trumped-up" charges against "strikers," "stool pigeons," informers, and against witnesses whose only offense is that they know the facts are frequent

and very annoying to the courts. Arrests and incarceration of witnesses in criminal trials are frequent, but they are not of record among arrests for crime. They are justified by necessity in the process of law enforcement, inasmuch as such witnesses are so liable to be spirited away, bribed, or intimidated.

There is a form of quasi-legal arrest that has met with much condemnation well deserved. It has been charged and is doubtless true in many places that raids for revenue are made by the police, thus fostering and, in effect, licensing crime among Negroes. Such raids are made more especially on gambling dives and houses of prostitution. This we call protected vice. It has an especially pernicious influence among Negroes, encouraging both crime and a general contempt for the white man and the white man's government. In other cases "strikers" are used to go out and get up crap games and the like, so that the striker and the arresting officer in collusion with him may share the spoils of arrests and convictions. Sometimes the magistrate is a party to the perfidy. It is also said that shyster lawyers and corrupt magistrates sometimes work in collusion thus: A Negro plans to beat up another or to commit some other violation of law. He first goes to see his lawyer, who in turn sees the magistrate and agrees upon what the fine and costs will be for the contemplated violation. The deed is done, and arrest, trial, and fine happen in an orderly way as per previous arrangement. Just how much of this sort of business goes on I have no evidence to show, perhaps much less than is charged.

Negroes guilty of noisy horseplay are sometimes arrested for disorderly conduct and convicted on the evidence of the arresting officer, their fines going in to help out the public treasury or their hard labor to increase the number of cheap laborers on the city streets. I am told that similar arrests are made among the foreign population of Pennsylvania. The ignorant, drink-loving Slav becomes hilarious at his weddings, funerals, and holiday celebrations. He has been accustomed to this, means no harm, and usually does none. But whole parties are rounded up by the ubiquitous

native baliffs, haled into court, and roundly fined by the native magistrate in this our glorious land of liberty and opportunity.

There is also a type of arrests which is not of record, of course, but which is just as actual to the victims as the real thing. I refer to false arrests made by flimflam artists. Very recently in Atlanta a shyster lawyer—a recorder's court buzzard of a fellow—and some ex-baliffs, men so undesirable that even the unspeakable justice courts of the city could no longer tolerate them, were convicted of flim-flamming ignorant Negroes by false arrests and fake bonds. The shyster was disbarred and his confederates fined. If possible under the law, they should have been forced to render restitution to those defrauded Negroes.

Certain justices of the peace in the larger Southern cities have been known to act in collusion with loan sharks and collection agencies; and this means the quasi-legal enforcement of illegal contracts and methods of intimidation. I have been told by a number of Atlanta grocerymen that it never costs them anything to sue in the justice courts. The justice takes the accounts to collect on his own risk, expecting to collect costs out of defendants. I am glad to report that by an act of the last legislature these courts have been abolished and a municipal court of four justices substituted to begin business January 1, 1914. It remains to be seen how great the improvement will be.

The treatment of Negroes under arrest and during detention awaiting trial is sometimes reprehensible. In such cases arresting officers are needlessly brusque and ungracious, sometimes even coarse and cruel. They forget that they are not the law's avengers and that, even if they were, the law presumes every man innocent till he shall have been proven guilty in open court. It must be said, on the other hand, that there are probably more cases in which arresting officers, city policemen more particularly, show commendable tact, patience, and self-restraint under most exasperating circumstances. When a policeman risks his life to make an arrest of a drunken pistol toter who fights and calls him names, or patiently overcomes a drunken, foul-mouthed, and

belligerent Negro prostitute without losing his temper and using violence, he must be given due credit, even though he has done only his duty.

Police stations and county jails are notoriously unclean and often alive with vermin. It is wrong and decidedly poor policy to put even a decent criminal in such places. Too often there is too little room for the occupants and no classification. The mingling of the sexes and of juvenile offenders with adults, the association of the merely unfortunate with real criminals, and the contamination of first offenders by enforced contact with seasoned recidivists are unjust, unfeeling, and unsafe. The devil loses no time while trials are delayed.

Bond sharks and shyster lawyers are generally allowed to ply their traffic, committing extortion and barefaced fraud on ignorant, frightened Negro prisoners. Only recently a Negro arrested for flourishing a pistol on Friday had his trial set for Monday and the bond assessed at \$100. He believed, or was made to believe, that it was necessary to his defense to arrange for his release. A bond shark was found who for sixty dollars signed his bond. While it may be due to indifference or lack of consideration on the part of police station officials, I have suspected that in some places where Negro prisoners find so great difficulty in establishing communication with friends on the outside it is due to an understanding among such officials, shyster lawyers, and bond sharks.

Arresting officers complain of Negroes harboring Negro criminals, shielding them from arrest and aiding in their escape. There are several reasons that explain, though of course they do not justify, this aid to criminals:

1. Simply because the criminal is of their race. "Consciousness of kind" is instinctively protective.
2. Because they fear getting themselves into ill favor with their own race, just as a schoolboy "won't tell."
3. Because of their lack of social perspective. They cannot relate social phenomena nor act with respect to a remote advantage.
4. Because their wills are too weak to refuse acquiescence in a present demand. They do the easy thing.

5. Because they lack a sense of moral responsibility in civic matters. They feel that the law and the courts are the white man's law and courts—let him look after them.

6. Because of their lack of confidence in the courts and fear of becoming involved in some way or of being suspected of complicity in case they should give any information.

There is an increasing number of Negroes, especially among the more intelligent, who are beginning to see how the whole race suffers for the crimes of the few, and they are using their influence toward giving the law its normal right of way.

There is another matter of especial interest to the Negro in the matter of arrests, and it ought to be of even greater concern to the white citizen. I refer to the fact that it is becoming too easy for arresting officers to shoot down fugitives. Officers have no right, legal or moral, to shoot except in self-defense.

2. THE NEGRO BEFORE THE COURT

Much complaint has been made to the effect that Negroes do not get a square deal in our courts. This complaint is repeatedly expressed in the letters quoted from "Notes on Negro Crime." Of forty-three letters, two were noncommittal on this point, seven thought the courts just, while thirty-four condemn the courts. The language used in a number of these letters indicates that prejudice and inference dictated the opinion expressed, without much personal knowledge of the facts. Several say that where the case is Negro *vs.* Negro there is a fair trial.

Judge Thomas, Recorder of the Police Court of Montgomery, fairly represents white opinion on this subject when he says: "My observation has been that the courts try the Negro fairly. I have observed that juries have not hesitated to acquit the Negro when the evidence showed his innocence. Yet honesty demands that I say that justice too often miscarries in the attempt to enforce the criminal law against the native white man. It is not that the Negro fails to get justice before the courts in the trial of the specific

indictments against him, but too often it is that the white man escapes." It is with the white man a matter of wealth, social prestige, family connections, and knowledge of ways and means to get his case properly put by the best criminal law talent. The Negro and the poor white have no wealth, family connections, social prestige, or knowledge of how to pull the wires, so they suffer in comparison.

Hon. W. H. Samford, an active practitioner of the criminal law, both for the prosecution and for the defense, for many years, says:

"It may be well to state that we have with us three distinctive communities: (1) Where the population is composed largely of Negroes, sometimes in the ratio of as many as ten to one; (2) where the population is largely white, usually at a ratio of about two to one; (3) where the population is almost entirely white.

"In the first of these, in the administration of the criminal law, the Negro usually gets even and exact justice, sometimes tempered with mercy. The average white man who serves on the juries of these counties, in his cooler moments and untouched by racial influences, is a believer in fair play, and for the most part is the descendant of the men who builded the foundations of our States. But in these communities the white man rarely, if ever, gets a fair and impartial trial; and if, indeed, he is indicted by a grand jury, his conviction or acquittal is determined more by his family connections, his business standing, or his local political influence than upon the evidence in the case as applied to the law.

"This, therefore, under these conditions, presents an unequal enforcement of law upon citizens of the same community, where all men are supposed to be equal under the law, giving to the one class a license for lawlessness and inspiring in the other resentment which often breaks out in open violence.

"In the second of these communities the law is more nearly enforced as to both classes, and, except in cases where the rights of the one are opposed to the rights of the other, convictions may be had and, indeed, often are had

against the members of both races for offenses of the more serious nature.

"In the third of these communities the white man usually gets a fair trial and is usually acquitted or convicted according to the evidence under the law, while the Negro, the member of the opposite race, has scant consideration before a jury composed entirely of white men and is given the severest penalties for the most trivial offenses."

Dr. DuBois, after studying Negro crime in Georgia, says: "It seems to be fairly well proven that there is comparatively little crime in the Black Belt and in the White Belt. It is in the counties where the races meet on something like numerical equality and in economic competition that the maximum of crime is charged to the Negro." But he does not give his opinion as to how far the difference in the judgments of courts affects this relative showing of criminality. But we would, I think, be justified in drawing the inference that he would say that if competition where numbers are about equal breeds race friction, there also race prejudices would be strongest and most effective against the Negro in the courts where the courts are entirely in the hands of the whites, and hence the likelihood of a fair trial not so favorable as elsewhere.

My own opinion is that, upon the whole, Judge Thomas has stated the case correctly. But communities differ, and their peculiar differences determine their attitude from time to time as local circumstances make changes in these peculiarities. The criminal act or the heroic act of one Negro may change the whole trend of public sentiment. Likewise the influence of one good white citizen or of one garrulous demagogue may effect the same sort of change. The character of the population, whether "blue blood" or "poor whites," whether farmers or lumbermen, merchants or miners, urban or rural, foreign or native, homogeneous or heterogeneous, will always affect the situation more or less. It is largely a local question.

It has been suggested that the Negro would have fairer trials and be better satisfied with verdicts if Negro juries

were employed. There are two fatal objections to this: First, wherever Negro juries have been tried, with rare exceptions they have been rank failures, so far as I can learn. They lack the judicial cast of mind, their powers of discrimination are weak, they are slovenly thinkers, they are moved more by debate than by evidence. Their prejudices are more binding than their oath. Second, in cases where white men are parties to the suit race prejudice would render the use of Negro jurors impracticable.

The following minor objections have been raised: (1) The Negro jury is subject to the same freemasonry that harbors the Negro criminal and aids him in evading arrest. (2) The Negro juror cannot overcome his preconceived opinions, antipathies, and his possible self-interest in the issue before the court. (3) The Negro juror would be as venal as the Negro voter. (4) The Negro criminal usually prefers to be tried by a white jury. But if Negro juries became common an understanding would come about, and the consciousness of kind and the old freemasonry would assert themselves, as in North Carolina in 1896-98.

My observation is that white jurors, much less Negro jurors, are rarely fit for jury duty. In fact, our whole jury system is an anachronism: it has outlived its usefulness. We need professionally trained, non-political judges holding office under civil service requirements during life, good behavior, and competency. Each of such courts should be itinerant, composed of five or seven judges, frequently redrawn from the total group of all such in the State. It should be a court of investigation, freed from the entangling technicalities that now embarrass our courts, waste the public money, and thwart justice. It should have wide discretion as to sentences and paroles, and a majority verdict should be final, except in cases of capital offense, where a three-fourths verdict should decide. To supplement and insure the effectiveness of this court, there should be employed also at public expense a prosecutor and a defender, men of undoubted honor, learned in criminal psychology and penology. From my observation of the courts I am persuaded that fully 90% of the criminal lawyers are

compounders of crime, in essence perjurers and anarchists. They disregard their oath as a registered voter and the oath taken when admitted to the bar, and their practice in the courts is contest for victory rather than patriotic effort to bring to light the facts, promote justice, and establish righteousness and good government. The disgusting wrangles of opposing attorneys in criminal cases where the defendant has wealth or prestige are proof enough of my assertions.

Governors should be relieved of all duties and responsibilities—and privileges, of interfering with the findings of the courts. A court of five or seven judges chosen from the total group of judges of the State should sit, say quarterly, to hear pleas for pardon, parole, or commutation. The total group of judges of the State should compose a court which should have at least advisory supervision of all penal institutions of the State.

3. SENTENCE

Determinate sentences provided by the codes attempt to measure in dollars or terms of imprisonment both the guilt of the offender and the damage of the crime to the community. The effort is to provide punishment in proportion to criminality and at the same time according to the enormity of the crime. Of course, the effort is a failure, for subjective guilt is the measure of criminality while the objective guilt is the measure of the offense. No man can measure in any terms the intent of the offender or the injury done society by a crime. But even if that were possible, society would be but little better off; it would have but a momentary satisfaction in punishing. A few might be deterred from the commission of crime, and now and then a reformation might take place; but the history of penology proves that, upon the whole, it does society no good to punish. The motive is wrong and the result brutalizing to society, for vengeance is the motive back of punishment. Society wants protection. If, however, the means society finds expedient to use for its protection entail suffering on the part of the criminal, that is his misfortune.

While in the very nature of the case more or less suffering is incident to the use of all means of protection thus far devised, that suffering is not, or should not be, inflicted for its own sake, but is only a concomitant of a means to an end. Punishment becomes only incidental. Protection may be secured in one or all of three ways, to-wit: By the prevention of crime in the first instance, by reformation of the criminal through penal institutions, by segregation or total elimination of the criminal.

The report on "Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence," page 373, of the eleventh census, presents an interesting study. It gives extended proof of the following propositions:

1. The several codes vary as to their definitions in many cases. To illustrate: "Burglary, at the common law, is breaking and entering the dwelling of another by night with intent to commit a felony. This definition does not include: (1) Breaking without entering; (2) entering without breaking; (3) breaking or entering or breaking and entering a dwelling by day; (4) breaking or entering a building other than a dwelling; (5) breaking or entering a structure or inclosure not a building, such as a car or boat. All of these acts are included in the popular conception of the word 'burglary,' and that conception has passed into the technical phraseology of the statutes. The Oregon Code, for instance, mentions 'burglary by night,' 'burglary by day,' and 'burglary not in a dwelling house.' In Wyoming burglary is 'breaking and entering, or entering any building or inclosure with intent to commit a felony;' or if the intent is to commit a misdemeanor, the offense is characterized as simple housebreaking. The intent, in the common law, is an essential element of the crime, and it must be intent to commit a felony. But certain codes, like that of New Hampshire, confine it to certain felonious acts, such as murder, rape, and robbery, while the majority add to the word 'felony' the words 'or larceny,' which is perhaps the most common intention of all; and some, like that of New York, substitute the word 'crime' for 'felony,' thus including misdemeanors. In many

States the fact that the burglar is armed, or makes an assault, or has a confederate present, is an aggravation of the offense and subjects him to a higher penalty; in others this distinction is ignored."

2. The codes vary widely as to minimum and maximum penalties prescribed for the same offense. To illustrate:* The maximum penalty for counterfeiting in Delaware is three years; in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Florida, and Michigan it is imprisonment for life. The minimum penalty in Missouri is five years, which is the maximum in Connecticut. The maximum penalty for perjury in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Kentucky is five years; in Maine, Mississippi, and Iowa it is imprisonment for life; in Missouri it is death if the witness designs thereby to effect the execution of an innocent person. In Delaware perjury is punished by fine, without imprisonment—not less than \$500 nor more than \$2,000. The maximum penalty for rape in New Jersey and Pennsylvania is fifteen years; in Delaware, North Carolina, and Louisiana the penalty is absolute and is death. The maximum penalty for grand larceny varies from two years in Louisiana and New Mexico to twenty years in Connecticut."

3. The estimate or measure of moral turpitude of different crimes, as expressed in penalties prescribed, differs in different States. To illustrate: The guilt of counterfeiting in Ohio and Minnesota is twice that of perjury, but in Rhode Island and Alabama the guilt of perjury is twice that of counterfeiting. The guilt of rape in New York is twice that of incest, but three times in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas, four times in Vermont, five times in Pennsylvania, ten times in New Hampshire, and thirty times in New Mexico.

"The guilt of burglary in Kentucky and Alabama is twice that of larceny, but three times in Wisconsin and Mississippi, four times in Georgia and Michigan, five times in New Hampshire, and six times in New Mexico. The

*The laws in some States have been modified since this was published.

guilt of burglary in Texas is to that of forgery as 12 to 7, but in Arkansas the guilt of forgery to that of burglary is as 15 to 7."

4. The average penalties inflicted are more nearly equal in the different States than the possible penalties and are far below the maximum penalties prescribed. To illustrate: "The possible sentences for burglary range from seven years to death, but the average actual sentence from one year and six months in New Mexico to eight years and four months in Georgia. The maximum penalty for burglary in New Mexico is twelve years, but the actual average sentence is one year and six months; while for forgery in Arizona the maximum is fourteen years and the actual sentence one year and six months."

5. There is a noticeable inequality of average actual sentences for the same offense in different States. To illustrate: "The average sentence for perjury in New York is more than double that in New Jersey, and in Florida it is double that in Georgia. The average sentence for rape in Mississippi is six times, and in Texas twelve times, that in Louisiana; in New Mexico it is more than three times that in Arizona, and in California more than five times that in Washington. The average sentence for robbery is less than one year in California, but more than nineteen years in Arizona; and in Alabama more than four times that in Mississippi."

6. Wide discretion is given judges and juries in some States and not in others, while this discretion may be exercised for some offenses and not for others.

7. The average actual sentence is greatly affected by pardons and paroles and by commutations and "good time" credits, the several States varying in respect to statute law, executive clemency, and prison rules.

/ The paragraph just preceding brings us to a consideration of the indeterminate sentence, parole, and probation. The indeterminate sentence and parole system exists in Georgia, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. In Alabama the Governor may parole a convict on good behavior. Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Virginia had not at the

last report adopted the indeterminate sentence. I have not inquired as to the extent of the adoption of the indeterminate sentence outside of the Southern States.)

Probation laws, or the suspended sentence as distinguished from parole, are in vogue in Georgia, Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Texas, while Tennessee, South Carolina, and Mississippi report that they have none. I have seen no reports from other Southern States.

Most of the Southern States that have provisions for the suspended sentence and probation and the indeterminate sentence and parole have but recently enacted the statutes and have not yet had time to get their provisions well under way. So far as I have been able to learn, these provisions have not yet been applied to any great extent among Negro offenders. Where the probation system has had a fair trial among Negro juvenile offenders, it has worked well. My untested opinion is that the majority of first-offender misdemeanants and many carefully selected first offenders guilty of felonies should be placed on probation under trained probation officers. Where restitution can be made in money or service or material support to the injured party, that should be required, under the supervision of the probation officer. In other cases where it is found advisable to impose fines, or fines and restitution, the offender should be so sentenced and immediately placed on parole under a trained probation officer acting as parole officer. He should be required to pay, in installments if necessary, his fine and restitution to his assigned parole officer, who should place the payment on record and transmit the amounts collected to the public treasury and to the legally designated beneficiary where restitution is required.

There should be no sentences imposing fines with the alternative of imprisonment. Imprisonment for inability to pay a fine is imprisonment for debt. But it is worse than that: it places the stigma of imprisonment on one man while another even more guilty as measured by the amount of the fine may go free without any such stigma. Under the parole and installment plan default of payments would constitute a new case in which the offender could be dealt with as a

recidivist. This may seem at first thought like a roundabout way of making a distinction without a difference, but there is a difference; and at least this can be said of it: it affords the offender an opportunity under improved conditions to make good. A properly trained corps of probation and parole officers, it seems to me, would be far more effective for the control and reformation of Negro offenders, and thus a more effectual preventive of crime than the Negro constabulary recommended by Professor Royce.

✓ In continental United States during 1904 there were 65 white men and 36 Negroes sentenced to death, and 288 whites and 343 Negroes sentenced to life imprisonment. In proportion to population, but 8.54 Negroes should have been sentenced to death and but 38 to life imprisonment. In the South Atlantic States there were 2 whites and 10 Negroes sentenced to death, and 31 whites and 134 Negroes sentenced for life. According to population, there should have been but 1.115 Negroes sentenced to death and 17.28 for life. In the South Central States there were 1 white and 5 Negroes sentenced to death, whereas in proportion to population the death sentence should have been passed upon .44 Negroes and the life sentence upon 26.41.

In the whole United States there were 4.08 times as many Negroes, in proportion to population, as whites sentenced to death during 1904; in the South Atlantic States 8.86 times as many Negroes as whites; and in the South Central States 11.17 times as many. There were in the United States nine times as many Negroes as whites given life sentences, in the South Atlantic States 7.75 times as many Negroes as whites, and in the South Central States 6.21 times as many. In the North Central States there were fifteen death sentences upon Negroes where there should have been but .45, and eight life sentences where there should have been .8, in proportion to population.

In the whole United States the Negro prisoners committed during 1904 were sentenced, in proportion to population, to 4.17 times as many years as the whites committed during that year, though they furnished, in proportion to population, only 1.43 times as many offenders. In the

South Atlantic States Negro offenders were sentenced to 5.06 times as many years as the white offenders, while they furnished only 3.24 times as many offenders; and in the South Central States Negroes were sentenced to 4.19 times as many years, whereas they furnished but 3.33 times as many offenders.

The following table shows the per cent distribution of Negroes and of whites according to sentences during 1904:

TABLE No. 48

Sentence	100 Per Cent White	100 Per Cent Negro
Life sentence.....	.23	1.45
Indeterminate	6.27	3.40
Under one year.....	80.80	60.40
1 to 3 years, inclusive.....	7.22	20.51
4 to 9 years, inclusive.....	1.90	7.12
10 to 14 years, inclusive.....	0.50	1.75
15 years and over.....	0.31	1.71
Not stated.....	2.77	3.66

The longer sentences given Negro offenders may be due to one or more than one of many causes:

1. To race or class prejudice.
2. To the indifference of the courts and their consequent hasty judgments where competent counsel has not been employed.
3. To their lack of social and political influence and of money and knowledge, whereby they might be enabled to take advantage of all the quirks and turns and technicalities that so often thwart criminal prosecutions.
4. To the generally longer sentences prescribed in the Southern States for those offenses most characteristic of Negro criminals.
5. To the possible fact that the Negro criminal's offense is more heinous than that of the white in cases where the same crime is charged.
6. To the fact that Negro offenders, as compared with white offenders, so rarely plead guilty, thereby appealing to the mercy of the court.

Actual prison terms served by Negro offenders are undeniably unjust as compared with the actual terms served

by white criminals. This also may be due to one or more than one of several causes:

1. White offenders more often have money, or friends who have money, to pay their fines. Prisoners serving time as an alternative of paying fines are not included in the tables of the census reports, but their imprisonment is just as real as if they were.

2. The white offender more often has money or influence, whereby he is able to get his case more ably and persistently presented before Governors and prison commissions when suing for pardon, parole, or commutation.

3. The appeal of a white criminal's dependent family to the sympathies is greater than that of a Negro criminal's dependent family, because of the different social status of the two.

4. Negroes lack both political sagacity and political prestige. They are not in position to pull the wires so effectively as white men, on the average.

5. The Negro character is considered unstable, and until a better probation and parole system shall have been established the white official will not trust the Negro on parole. The white man is more easily kept under surveillance than the Negro, even in cases where he is equally untrustworthy.

Table No. 49 was made from data found in the annual report of the Directors of the Virginia Penitentiary for 1912. The numbers are too small to justify conclusions, but on their face they show the Negro to be only a negligible fraction more prone to violate parole than the white man.

TABLE No. 49

	Total Number Prisoners	Total Number New Men Re- ceived During 1911	Number Unconditional Pardons	Number Conditional Pardons	Number Paroled	Number Who Violated Conditional Pardon	Number Who Violated Parole
White men	399	170		12	33	1	3
White women	2						
Negro men	1,647	472	3	18	87		13
Negro women	83	33			9		2

4. IMPRISONMENT AND PENAL INSTITUTIONS THE JAIL

The jail sentence is passing out of vogue, and well it may. Lawmakers, judges, and juries are observing that the idleness, the unhealthful living, the unregulated associations, the contaminating influence of criminal suggestion promote rather than deter from crime. The jail sentence is not very irksome to the tramp or vagrant, and the average lower-class Negro finds the associations congenial; so that, as they spend their time in idleness, gambling, vile conversation, and sometimes viler practices, they become more and more depraved. Unfortunates and first offenders, especially juveniles, find a new world, learning much that they need least of anybody to know.

The jail should be used only as a place of temporary safe-keeping for criminals who cannot secure bondsman or ought not to be allowed bail. Prisoners should be classified and segregated as to sex, age, character, and health. Jails should be kept clean and free from vermin. Sanitary arrangements should be properly built in and kept under rigid inspection. The safety and sanitary conditions of jails have been topics of wide comment among reformers and charity workers in recent years, and the agitation has resulted in great improvement; but much is yet to be done. Alabama, Florida, and Oklahoma have jail inspectors with wide discretionary powers: every State should have such officers.

While some sort of work would be wholesome for inmates of jails, it has so far been found impracticable to try to provide suitable employment for those under detention waiting trial. But daily details of prisoners should be employed to keep the cells and corridors clean. A high standard for such work should be maintained, for its educative value as well as its immediate practical advantage. The old jail sentences are still pronounced in Virginia, but the "jail men" are sent out to regular road camps to aid in the building of public roads.

THE CHAIN GANG

The sum of all villainies to the Negro mind is the chain gang. The local or county chain gang for misdemeanants

was first established in Georgia in 1866. Now felony convicts also are worked in chain gangs on the public roads. Most other Southern States have at least a part of their prisoners in such gangs, some under lease and some on the public roads. The Negroes are right in their condemnation of the chain gang. It is the worst form of prison life for Negroes, with the possible exception of jail life. Its only advantage over the jail is that it provides work for them and life in the open air. Its disadvantages are many, chief of which are:

1. It subjects them to the cruelties of ignorant, often drunken and depraved, guards. Men who can be hired for such work at the prices usually paid chain gang guards are not competent in intellect or character for such responsibilities, and the cruelties and mismanagement practiced by them are proof of it. Even in the cities under more immediate supervision and inspection and with permanent eating and sleeping quarters the evils of the system are great enough, but the fate of the Negro convict in a chain gang under lease to a corporation or an avaricious individual contractor has horrors all its own.
2. The Negroes in chain gangs are often driven beyond their strength, their fatigue or sickness being considered only when it has reached the danger point.
3. The system has no reformatory features. The last legislature of Georgia provided that convicts should be graded and three different uniforms to correspond to the grades put in use, the old stripes marking the lowest grade. This is good as far as it goes, but is only superficial.
4. The chain gang, with its shackles and uniform of disgrace, with its ignorant, untrained guards, who demand servility of the convict, and with, worst of all, its publicity, robs the Negro of the very element in his character that it is most necessary to foster and develop. The Negro's pride is his greatest asset; when you crush that, you have done your worst. The most characteristic element of the Negro mind available for development toward true self-respect and the spirit of good citizenship is his pride in himself, or approbateness (*i. e.*, his desire to please and be applauded). But the Negro race is a child race: his pride is easily

broken. He lacks the independence of character and tenacity of purpose to rise of his own strength. But brag on him when he has done well, and he will do his best; scold or ignore him when he has done his best, and soon he "don't care" and falls back to the level of his primitive instincts. The Negro's approbateness will manifest itself either normally or abnormally. If crushed, it shows itself as obsequiousness and servility when the victim is defenseless, but as vanity and insolence when he has an advantage; but if properly nurtured and developed, it appears as pride of reputation, in polite behavior, and may become the mainspring of self-respect and good character.

5. The Negro race is a child race. However much we may think it ought to be otherwise, it remains a fact that children at school seldom do any good and often exhibit very undesirable traits of character under teachers they dislike. The Negro dislikes the chain gang. I do not mean that he fears it only or that he would be glad to escape the hard labor only, but he hates the chain gang as such. He despises the guards, and his pride rankles under the publicity; he feels, without being able to analyze the proposition, that he is being wronged. And the whole Negro race hates the chain gang—because the chain gang holds him up to ridicule and contempt. It wounds his pride, and his pride is the touchstone of his character. Even the fawning collie sulks and refuses to be friendly when you scorn his efforts to please; and the bulldog may slink away when brutally treated, but he ever afterwards growls at you with blood in his eye.

But the demagogue prates of "government economically administered," while the average good citizen cannot see but what the taxpayer is getting something for nothing when the criminal pays a fine or works out his time at a profit to the State. He can see that "crime does not pay" the criminal, but he fails to see that it pays society still less. Every honest citizen is an economic asset; every criminal is an economic liability. The care and custody of the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes represent the lost motion of progress. Civilized society is a great factory for pro-

ducing citizens. The overhead charges of evolution are fixed, but the rate of profit in terms of progress depends upon the relative output of good and bad product. The dependent, defective, and delinquent cannot pass inspection, and they cannot be worked over in the main factory. As junk they go to penal and benevolent institutions to be worked over and turned out as valuable by-products or disposed of in some sanitary way. But if these institutions fail of their purpose, their operation becomes a dead loss, and the junk and garbage are thrown into the street to block the way and rot. The tangled mass trips the unwary, and its reeking putrefaction contaminates every passer-by. And yet there are business men who think that crime pays, at least they seem actually glad to have a criminal class of Negroes—they feel that the fines and labor of these criminals are clear gain and reduce the taxpayers' expense of government in proportion to the number caught and fined. They are unwilling to provide suitable buildings for their great factory of human product, they are satisfied with the old machinery, their inspectors are incompetent and their operatives untrained, and the management is full of graft and nepotism. But it is cheap. And the demagogue glories in "government economically administered."

THE PENITENTIARY

State penitentiaries in the South seem not yet to have become places where criminals repent of their sins against society. Indeed, there are no intelligent means used to make them do so. No reformatory features are provided. The penitentiary is either a sort of detention hospital for the old, the worn-out, the sick and defective, and the women criminals, or else a place of hard labor for profit to the State. The records of recidivism show the futility of the penitentiary as a remedy for or a deterrent of crime. They seem to be useful institutions to grafters and job-hunting politicians. There has been, however, notable improvement in the last five years in the treatment of prisoners. The Tennessee penitentiary is an example. Governor Hooper chose his warden and chaplain for the good of the prisoners,

without political considerations. Some six months ago a revival was held in the main prison which, with the follow-up work done by the chaplain, seems to have revolutionized the prison life.

PRISON FARMS

The prison farm, while not yet to be regarded as reformatory in purpose or effect, is a great improvement over most other forms of imprisonment, in that it furnishes a healthful form of labor under more nearly normal living conditions and is more or less educative while furnishing a more or less consistent training in industrious habits. It can be easily adapted to reformatory methods and, if under competent, honest, non-political management, can be made to take care of all State and county convicts and the confirmed recidivists of the police courts.

The difficulties found thus far in the administration of prison farms lie, first, in the established policy that they must be profit-producing institutions; and, secondly, in their being considered the legitimate spoils of political victories. The management that can show the most profit in dollars is the one considered most worthy of approval. And so political heelers, pie-hunting henchmen, and lame ducks have despoiled and in turn retired and given place to new sets of the same sort. Poor old Mississippi has a model State farm, but, as might be expected of a State with her political ideals and subserviency to demagogues, has recently had most disgusting disclosures of graft and mismanagement in her prison administration. Nebraska and Michigan need only to be mentioned.

PRISON LABOR SYSTEMS

The history of the various prison labor systems need not be told in detail. Prior to the Civil War all prisoners of the Southern States were operated on State account. After the war they began operations on the old plan, but the military and Reconstruction governments that followed took charge of the prisons and introduced the contract, lease, and hiring-out systems. The depleted condition of the State

treasuries and the poverty of the people fastened these systems on us till we became accustomed to them, and the demagogue and the profit-taking contractor saw to it that the people should be satisfied with them. But a better day came, and the continued agitation of the reformers brought forth substantial results. Florida is now the only Southern State having the lease system completely. Even there a bill abolishing the system and providing for a State farm was passed in the legislature. The Governor vetoed it. Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas have abolished the lease, contract, and hiring-out systems entirely and absolutely by law. Louisiana abolished the lease system eleven years ago, using the convicts now on her State farms and in levee-building. Mississippi employs all its State convicts on its own farms and makes a large profit—around \$250,000 annually. Georgia abolished the lease system in 1908. Her old, broken-down, defective, and female convicts are kept on a State farm; the remainder, about 5,000, are allotted to the several counties for public road-building. Oklahoma's Constitution prohibits the employment of her convicts in any way other than on State account. Since their removal from Kansas, where they were kept while Oklahoma was a territory, three or four years ago, they have been employed in prison-building and on her State farm. Texas passed a law two years ago requiring that all her convicts be working on State account not later than February 1, 1914. They are now employed on State farms and in manufacturing within the walls. Arkansas employs some of her convicts on State farms; others are retained by their counties for public road-building. Some were under contract for railroad construction, but only recently the Governor in his war on the contract system produced 265 of these, thus ending the system, at least for the present. South Carolina has had a similar experience. She had less than 200 convicts on State farms, about 40 on chain gangs, about 125 in her reformatories, and about 450 in her penitentiary. Of those in the penitentiary, about 300 were employed in a hosiery mill operated by contractors. Governor Blease solved the problem of the con-

tract system just as did the Governor of Arkansas: he pardoned the whole 300 at once. Kentucky has had considerable agitation along the line of reform, but nothing very substantial has been accomplished. Most of her convicts are now working at contract labor. Tennessee works about 700 convicts in her own coal mines; the remainder work within penitentiary walls at contract manufacturing. Virginia employs about 15% of her convicts on a State farm, about twice as many in public road-building, besides nearly 600 jail men, and more than 50% under contract to manufacture shoes.

"Alabama is in a class by itself, having three systems in simultaneous operation. The lease system has practically given way to the contract system. At the date of the last report about 175 convicts were leased, and the labor of 1,744 was sold under contract, mostly for coal-mining, and also for work in foundries, sawmills, turpentine camps, and on farms; 648 were worked on State account, at farming and in a cotton mill. In addition there were 724 county convicts leased. The profits of the system to the State are said to be \$500,000 a year."

Alabama and Tennessee work some of their convicts in coal mines. Oklahoma and Georgia have laws prohibiting convicts working underground. Texas has no law upon the subject, but about three years ago canceled the last of her mine contracts.

No reformatory measures are used in any of the prisons mentioned; the main idea in all is profit to the State. The abolishment of the contract and the lease systems was not for the purpose of introducing reformatory measures, but mainly for three reasons: First, that it was observed that men who contracted for prison labor grew wealthy from the labor of the convicts; second, because the labor unions were opposed to the competition of convict labor; and, third, because the philanthropists were horrified at the cruelties practiced in the camps of contractors and could not be compromised with. But we may say that the abuses practiced in road-building camps have been found hardly less objectionable. The chain-gang system is wrong and cannot be modified so as to be made satisfactory.

It must be remembered that the vast majority of convicts in Southern States are Negroes. The average man knows nothing and cares less about reforming criminals, and many men will tell you that it is useless to try to reform Negro criminals. Some men think a man who expresses sympathy and a desire to reform Negro criminals is effeminate. Indeed, I heard the expression "maudlin sentimentality" so often repeated by the bromidic champions of the lease system, when the bill against it was discussed in the Georgia Legislature, that I emphatically assert that more Negro convicts can be reformed according to the good average Negro's standards than white convicts in Southern prisons according to the good average white man's standards. The best reply to the contention that the Negro criminal cannot be reformed is given by Tom Flinty, Jr., in his article in the "Call of the New South": "I will not debate the question with you. Our prison code recognizes the redeemability of convicts, for it provides for the return of most of them to society after a term of years. If you are sincere in your belief that they cannot be reformed, then it is your duty to advocate the amendment of the criminal code so that all persons convicted of crime shall be put to death or imprisoned for the rest of their lives. If the present laws are to stand, we must treat prisoners who are to return to society so that they shall be fit to move therein. If we are not going to so treat them, then we must close the prison doors on them forever. There is no middle ground."

JUVENILE PRISONS

There are no reformatories in the South for adult white criminals and, of course, none for adult Negroes. There are but few such institutions for white juveniles and fewer still for Negro juveniles. The Missouri State Training School for Boys admits Negroes, and they are supposed to receive the same reformatory treatment as the whites. The provisions seem ample, and training is afforded along a number of lines, such as knitting, shoemaking, tailoring, ice-making, brickmaking, building, and truck farming. The usual school branches are also taught. Virginia now supports a Negro reformatory originally founded by and still

owned and controlled by the Negro Reformatory Association. It owns 1,800 acres of land and has a capacity of 200 boys. Georgia has a juvenile penitentiary with a separate Negro department that is gradually introducing reformatory methods. It occupies several hundred acres of the State prison farm, about the poorest body of farm land in the State of Georgia. It has been so stinted in appropriations for its support that very little beyond segregation and regular employment has been afforded its inmates till very recently. It now has regular school work and some diversity of employment for the boys. There is also a reformatory for Negroes at Macon, founded and maintained by the Colored Baptist State Convention; and a similar institution, to be situated near Atlanta, has been projected by the Friendship Baptist Church of Atlanta. Louisiana has a small private reformatory for Negro boys, and Kentucky has the Kentucky Home Society for Colored Children, for which a State subsidy has been asked. Alabama has a reformatory for Negro boys maintained at State expense and the Sam Daly Industrial Farm for Colored Boys, near Tuscaloosa. The history of the latter is interesting. Judge Reagin, of the Municipal Court of Birmingham, had so interested the Negroes of his city, through their Churches, in the saving of erring boys that they paid the salary of a volunteer colored probation officer. But this work could apply only to first offenders. Judge Reagin was in earnest and let it be known that he would extend the probation system by turning over Negro juvenile offenders to Negro farmers of good character, under suitable conditions definitely stipulated. Sam Daly read the judge's announcement in the newspapers and went to see him. He agreed to allot, or afterwards did allot, 125 acres of his 525-acre farm to the use and benefit of such boys as Judge Reagin would send him. That was in 1903. The farm is now well established and has a Negro minister regularly employed as teacher. The success attained has justified the experiment. Two other Negro reformatories, one at Birmingham, the other near Montgomery, were projected at about the same time. I have no reports from either.

Tennessee has a reformatory for boys recently established, to which both races are admitted. The Negroes have a department to themselves. It must be noted that all the institutions mentioned are for boys; I know of no reformatories for wayward Negro girls, though the need is great. In Atlanta during 1912 there were 113 Negro girls brought before the juvenile court. Not even a probation officer was provided for them. The court is helpless without a reformatory or rescue home in the case of wayward girls.

In Atlanta, before the riot in 1908, a very capable Negro woman was employed as probation officer for Negro children at the expense of public-spirited Negroes of the city; but because of the tense feeling and unsettled state of affairs following the riot, the work was allowed to lapse. Georgia has a statute permitting counties to establish juvenile courts. Fulton County recently exercised its option, and the court is organized and seems to be working well. Prior to the establishment of this county court, however, Mr. Gloer, the efficient city probation officer, handled as many Negro children as he could possibly crowd into his time, already full. A Negro man, whose salary is paid by a grant from the Phelps Stokes Fund, acts as probation officer for the present court for the Negro children. He has a number of volunteer assistants. The work of these volunteers is said to be more effective among the Negro delinquents than similar work attempted by white volunteers for white delinquents—which again shows that the Negro delinquent is not so much of an abnormal as a neglected child.

It has been a struggle against opposition from diverse directions to establish reformatories and maintain probation work for the whites, and much more so for the Negroes. The legislator and the taxpayer who dote on "government economically administered," the merely ignorant who do not believe a Negro can be reformed and who have no conception of the methods or purpose of probation, and the peanut politician who sees no use for a thing that cannot be used for campaign purposes have hampered and thwarted. It seems a pathetic thing to me that even our Negro children must depend upon charity funds from a

distant State for a fighting chance against delinquency, and that the Negro Churches—the women of the Negro Churches—must be called upon to give of their meager earnings to pay the salaries of probation officers and to found reformatories for the Negro children who go astray. Aside from any moral considerations, it is good business economy to save the children from vagrancy and crime to lives of industry and civic usefulness by taxation. It is a short-sighted policy that refuses to make available the most approved methods of dealing with the wayward, whether the offender be white or black.

The following excerpt from a report made by Mrs. Florence Kelly of what she saw during a visit to Memphis fairly represents the South in its practical attitude toward the Negro juvenile offender.

“‘May 8, Gainer.—10 Tin Cup Alley, 41½, burglary, larceny, prowling, 2:50 A.M., police, probation to Sanderlin.’ (Juvenile Court Blotter.)

“A little boy four and a half years old, loitering one afternoon in front of a shoe store, saw a pair of shoes which he so coveted that, between two and three o’clock the next morning, he returned, smashed the show window, crawled in through the broken glass, and was taking the little shoes when a policeman arrested him. His name is on the docket of the police court, and any future offense will stand against him as a second offense.

“Gainer has no mother, no father, no home, no teacher. He is colored, and the city of Memphis—which gives its white juvenile offenders six teachers and establishes their juvenile court in a beautiful building once a schoolhouse—affords no teachers for colored delinquent children. Its colored juvenile court is a separate building, physically dilapidated, but kept as clean as hands can make it by the unwearied effort of Mrs. Julia Hook, the probation officer for Negro children.

“Gainer is under probation to a man to whom, according to the probation officer for Negro children, nine boys have been assigned. None of them has been received or

cared for by him. Gainer is strong and active, a heavy burden for the slight little woman in charge. When her duties call her away from the first floor of the shabby six-room wooden cottage which shelters Negro boys and girls pending disposition of their cases, Gainer is perforce under lock and key in the basement room which, with bars and lock, looks painfully like a cell.

"In the juvenile court for colored children no judge was sitting, but a policeman assigned to service as a probation officer. The juvenile court is a branch of the police court. One judge is in charge of all the work, including that of the white and colored juvenile courts. It is physically impossible for him to perform all three tasks, and many children are, therefore, dealt with by this substitute for the judge.

"Two girls were before the policeman, awaiting disposal. They were left as probationers in possession of their mothers, whose incapacity for dealing with them was shown by their presence in court and the girls' own statements.

"This is a travesty of juvenile court practice. The only probation officers for colored children, paid in their service, are the matron and her husband, whose hands are overfull with the care of the boys and girls detained day and night in the juvenile court building. There is no municipal or county industrial or farm school, or private philanthropic or educational provision for Gainer."

CHAPTER VI. PREVENTION OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES

1. BEFORE PRISON

As was said in the Preliminary, the time has come when society must break with traditional ideas of crime and with traditional methods of dealing with criminals. The light is breaking. On all sides we see encouraging evidences of an awakening to the better way: probation and the suspended sentence, the indeterminate sentence and parole, more wholesome prison conditions, reformative methods in education and prison discipline. Some efforts also are being made to look after the welfare of the ex-convict. This is good. But prevention applied before prison is better. We cannot say that the South has advanced very far as yet along the better way, but the few halting steps more recently taken have been in the right direction.

EXTRA-LEGAL RESTRAINTS

The earliest and crudest method of dealing with the Negro criminal during and just after Reconstruction was outside of the courts and was practically that used during slavery. This applied, of course, more especially to minor offenses. It was by corporal punishment or the exaction of damages. It was individualistic and extra-legal, but it was effective and economical and was practicable as long as primitive conditions lasted. To illustrate: A Negro caught stealing cotton was made to pay for it and given a thrashing besides—and the matter was closed. In 1888 a half-grown Negro boy passing through a cotton yard containing some ten thousand bales of cotton had a cigarette and lighted his match on a tie, igniting the bale. He was caught and his father and the town marshal were sent for. All agreed that the father should whip the boy till the marshal pronounced it enough. A weeping willow grew near by and served the occasion very appropriately. Sometimes a Negro caught stealing or abusing his mule or beat-

ing his wife would request to be whipped rather than be taken to jail. He was usually accommodated. But the time for such methods has passed, except possibly in some particularly backward districts. In the first place, it is extra-legal and begets a disrespect for, or at least a disregard of, law and the courts. It fails to establish in the mind of the Negro the feeling that he owes a debt of obedience to a regularly established community obligation. The very ignorant Negro can often, however, realize his obligation to an employer and the significance of transgression against an individual when any such feeling toward the community or the law is utterly beyond him. The employer is concrete; the law is abstract. As long as employers are both just and merciful and the transgressor confesses and is willing to submit to extra-legal punishment it is both effective and economical, but it is essentially feudal and too easily abused. The feudal lord is too often unjust or brutal, and it is too easy to accuse innocent Negroes and force confessions or merely proceed to punish without proof of guilt. And yet in the South even to-day perhaps one-third to one-half of the petty offenses of Negroes are either ignored or punished extra-legally. The white man holds no malice against a Negro for small offenses and does not want him to lose time in jail or at court, nor does he himself wish to be bothered with the case in court. Of course the Negro is usually glad to compromise. But to illustrate with an extreme case, I quote the following from the *Atlanta Journal* (June 7, 1911) to show to what extent such compromises may be forced to the Negro's injury.

"Anthony Johnson, a negro hand of Jonathan Bryan, was caught by the latter while raking up some wasted cotton seed from the seed room floor to feed his calf on. Bryan told him that unless he made a contract to work for him for twelve months without pay he would have the Negro arrested and placed in the chain gang, as the judge would do just as he wished. This threat worked. The Negro signed the contract and actually performed one month's work. Then, being told that Bryan did not have authority to dismiss a case of larceny and that, should he desire, after

having made Johnson serve his twelve months' contract, he could have him arrested at that time, Johnson broke his contract.

"He was tried and convicted for simple larceny and sentenced to six months on the roads. Justice Hill has the following to say concerning Jonathan Bryan, the prosecutor: 'It is usually not the duty of the reviewing courts to criticize the conduct of those who assume the role of prosecutor, and when prosecution is in good faith and for the purpose of vindicating the law such criticism would be inexcusable; but here the undisputed conduct of the prosecutor is so reprehensible that we cannot refrain from placing upon it our unmeasured condemnation. He took advantage of this situation to drive the accused to a hard bargain and to condemn him practically to a condition of peonage for twelve months, and actually held him in bondage for one month. With the threat of prosecution and the infliction of severe punishment, he forced the accused to make a written contract with him to labor without wages for twelve months. The accused was "more sinned against than sinning." ' ' "

LEGAL RESTRAINTS

A just, orderly, and immediate enforcement of law is an effective preventive of crime. Justice, order, and dignity command respect, even of the white man, more so the Negro; but to these should be added immediacy. The Negro race is a child race; justice should be not only sure, but swift. The long-drawn-out methods of our courts, due to careless lawyers, indifferent officials, and senseless technicalities, are not only unbusinesslike, but pernicious. They foster the hope of escape, of cheating the law by the accidents of delay, or at least of putting off indefinitely the evil day; and, on the other hand, innocent persons may be kept in jails for months, while their interests suffer. The chief reason why extra-legal punishment is effective is that it is immediate.

There are particular laws that are especially valuable as preventives of crime. The legal prohibition of the sale of intoxicants has already proved itself the most valuable of these. The record of arrests wherever prohibition has

been given a fair trial attests its efficiency. (See Table No. 1 and note the number of arrests before and after January 1, 1908.) Sanitary laws also, while not subject to so conclusive proof as to efficacy, are as necessary and effective for morals as for physical health. Filth and disease breed immorality, and immorality breeds crime. The very fact, even, that inspectors with police authority pay frequent visits and that the law takes cognizance of their living conditions has a wholesome and restraining influence upon Negroes.

The few thoughtful men who have advocated curfew laws have made little impression on the public mind, but they are eminently right. Money-mad America and amusement-mad society are rushing to a godless neuroticism. In our towns and cities children hardly old enough to talk plainly are hawking newspapers on the streets till late at night; little messenger boys are sent to places, even at night, where even decent men never go at all; gangs of boys of all sizes are allowed to roam the streets or to plot mischief in dark byways and back alleys; young women, slips of girls, even little girls, are sent out on errands or allowed to go alone or in little groups to places of amusement or sight-seeing or merely to straggle around on the streets at night. We need curfew laws for both white and black—not to punish children, but to keep them at home at night. They should apply to all under eighteen years of age, but the penalties should be aimed at the parents. Such a law would be revolutionary, I grant. It would make a change in our social order. But that is just what we need. This country is sacrificing its morals and its health to the twin crazes of money and morbid amusement. And the Negro is carried along with the tide.

There is possible another very effectual means of preventing crime, but a shortsighted sentimentality has so far blocked legislation on the subject except in Illinois, Michigan, and New Jersey.* I refer to the unsexing of degenerates. But after the law was passed in New Jersey the

*A writer in the *Medical Record* for June 25, 1914, reports sterilization laws in Washington, California, Connecticut, New York, Nevada, and Indiana. In Iowa such a law was declared unconstitutional, being, the judge decided, essentially a bill of attainder.

State supreme court pronounced it unconstitutional—in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment! The insane, feeble-minded, epileptics, moral perverts, and criminal recidivists are as a class degenerates, and they breed their kind. At least 15% of Negro criminals are feeble-minded, and probably another 15% are otherwise degenerate. Segregation and unsexing by surgery are the remedies for degeneracy. The remedy is both merciful and effectual, and the danger and pain incidental to the surgery in such cases are inconsiderable. Bob, who once belonged to my father, was a half-witted Negro. Some years ago he murdered his wife and was suspected of the previous death of his feeble-minded mother. Bob was hanged. Suppose Bob's mother had been unsexed at the proper time; at least three violent deaths would have been prevented, and the expense of prosecution, detention, and execution saved. Feeble-minded women especially spread immorality and disease and breed degenerates.

Professor Royce thinks that the problem of crime among Negroes of the South can be solved by the use of a Negro constabulary. Indeed, he proposes to kill two sparrows with the same brickbat. Race prejudice, he thinks, as well as crime, will pass away with the advent of this constabulary. In other words, he thinks the whole race problem is a matter of administration and that the peculiar type or form of administration which attracted his attention in Jamaica would work equally well elsewhere. There are just three fatal objections to the Professor's plan:

1. Race prejudice is really racial and is permanent; it is not the same as class prejudice, which is only social. It may be so veiled as not to be apparent to the untrained observer, but it is always present nevertheless.

2. The administrative class in Jamaica do not come into industrial competition with the Negro, thereby augmenting race prejudice with class prejudice. The administrative class in Jamaica is a military monarchy and has never suffered military defeat, economic oppression, and political suppression, as did the white man of the South. The possibility of no sort of equality with their administrative class has ever been suggested to the Negroes of Jamaica.

3. The Negro constabulary of Jamaica has not eliminated crime from among the Negroes of Jamaica.

It is true that in the South, where conditions approach most nearly the conditions in Jamaica, there is least crime committed by Negroes against whites. But the quotations I have made elsewhere from Mr. Stone show that crimes of Negroes against Negroes are frequent. The status in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta is this:

1. The white man is the employer and administrator. He is essentially a feudal lord.

2. The white man does not interfere with the private life of the Negro nor take cognizance of the petty crimes of the Negro against the Negro, on his own motion. Indeed, he does not bother much about the Negro's graver crimes so long as they do not immediately affect his own interests.

3. The white man never takes his eye off of his home nor his hand off of his gun.

RELIGION

Booker T. Washington very appropriately says: "In the evolution of the South it seems to me that we have reached the period where private philanthropy and the Christian Church of the white South, in a large degree, share directly in the elevation of the Negro. In saying this I am not unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, what has already been done by individuals and through public schools. When we consider the past the wonder is that so much has been done by our brothers in white. All great reforms and improvements rest in a large degree upon the Church for success. The Southern people acknowledge that Christianity and education make a man valuable as a citizen, make him more industrious, make him earn more, make him more upright. In this respect let us see how the three largest white denominations of the South regard the Negro. "To elevate the ignorant and degraded in Africa, China, India, etc., these three denominations in the South give annually about \$544,000; but to elevate the degraded at their door, to protect their families, to lessen their taxes, to increase their earning power—in a word, to Christianize and elevate the

people at their very side, upon whom in a large measure their safety and prosperity depend, these same denominations give \$21,000. Twenty-one thousand for the benighted at their doors, \$544,000 for the benighted abroad!"

In 1913 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, contributed more than \$600,000 to foreign missions and somewhat more than \$15,000 to educate and evangelize the American Negro. The Southern Presbyterian Church spent the same year \$500,000 for foreign missions, \$60,000 of which went to Africa; but about \$15,000 expresses her zeal for the salvation of the American Negro. The Southern Baptists contribute about \$15,000 to Negro education and evangelization in America, and certainly not less than the Southern Methodists to foreign missions.

Distance seems to lend enchantment to missionary enterprise as well as to our view of the landscape. Think of it—thirty times as much given for the evangelization of alien races abroad as for an alien race at home! Many of our missionary enthusiasts weep over the foreign heathen and count it blessed to give their money and their sons and daughters to the "foreign field," whereas they tip their noses high in air and ostracize the white missionary to the heathen of the homeland. Members of the study classes of missionary societies sometimes know more of the sufferings and superstitions of the women of India or China than they know of the real life of the Negro women that do their laundry. But the strange thing about it is that these same sisters that bubble and "enthuse" over the bound feet of the upper-class Chinese girl and the child widows of India cannot be made to see any reason for changing the sordid superstitions, the helpless ignorance, moral degradation, and the rotting diseases among American Negro women, or even among the equally heathen white slum elements of some of our crowded cities. It is marvelous to me how much enthusiasm can be aroused, how much time and effort and newspaper space and ecclesiastical resoluting and cold cash can be used to fulfill the Scriptures as to lands utterly unknown to most of these enthusiasts, while twenty million heathen within the sound of our own church bells

are essentially without the gospel. Small wonder that the United States furnishes more criminals than all Europe combined! All hail to Jehu!

But let us hope that the \$50,000 given by the white Churches and the missionary work among the Negroes by such men as Rev. John Little, of Louisville, are the promises of better things for the future. There has been some excellent work done among and for Negroes by several of the Southern white Churches in recent years, but I have not been able to get reports from their work, except as follows:

Professor Work, in the Negro Year Book, lists twenty-four home mission boards that are contributing to mission work among the Negro population. I have reports from the boards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Methodists maintain Paine College, at Augusta, Ga., with six or seven white teachers, at an annual expense of \$15,000. In connection with this institution is a social settlement with three workers. Four institutes of eight days each are held annually for the benefit of Negro preachers. The colored Southern Methodists have four institutions to which some contributions are annually made.

The Presbyterians support four white teachers at Stillman Institute, Tuscaloosa, Ala., three white men who conduct mission stations, and have a number of women volunteer workers who receive no pay. At last report there were thirty mission stations where Sunday schools are conducted by white teachers and forty stations where Negro pastors are employed and partly supported by the Home Mission Board.

The following is a summary of the home mission work among the Negroes as reported by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention: "The following is the grand total of work done among the Negroes during the year [1913]: Missionaries, 40; weeks of labor, 1,814; sermons and religious addresses, 12,324; religious visits, 35,844; baptisms, 3,707; received by letter, 2,106; total additions to Churches, 5,821; Bible conferences held, 84, with

an aggregate attendance of 54,114; District Associations visited, 645."

Perhaps all other Southern Churches put together are doing no more for the education and evangelization of the Negro than any one of the three just mentioned. But the Methodist Episcopal Church (North), the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and the Congregationalists are very active and liberal. The Catholic and Episcopal Churches do some mission work among the Negroes, but those communions do not seem to appeal very strongly to the Negro.

While I do not think any ecclesiastical interference is allowable, but rather that it is highly important that Negro Church organizations remain strictly separate and autonomous, yet white ministers and consecrated white laymen can offer themselves and would be gladly used as advisory boards in home mission and institutional Church work especially, and in the management of philanthropic social enterprises. But they need more than advice: they need white men as special teachers, training masters, lecturers, and demonstrators in their colleges, training schools, institutional Churches, and Young Men's Christian Associations; and they need money to help them establish and develop such institutions. They do not need advice, nor even money, however, so much as they need sympathy and coöperation and suitable recognition of their efforts.

At least three lines of improvement in the Negro Church are necessary before it can become very effectual as an agent for the prevention of crime:

1. The Negro Churches must set higher moral and different educational standards for their ministry. There has been a notable improvement in the quality of the ministry within the last fifteen years, but there are many still of those whose personal morality will not bear investigation and many whose education is a superficial agglomeration of dogmas and dead languages. They need more study of the social sciences and actual training in methods of Church administration.

2. There ought to be a graded membership in Negro Churches, a roll of probationary and a roll of fully accepted

members. When a member "falls from grace" or "back-slides," he should be demoted from fully accepted to probationary membership till proper amends shall have been made. Only members from the fully accepted roll should be eligible to office or be called upon for any executive work or public service. No person of questionable character ought to be used in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and only with the utmost discretion in any work of the Church. Sometimes, I know, the very best thing that can be done for a sinner is to give him something wholesome to do, so that he may exercise his better self. But the wholesome general influence of a high moral standard must not be sacrificed to the doubtful helping of the individual. I insist upon this point because I am informed that especially women of unstable character and elastic virtue, by reason of greater intelligence, better personal appearance, or greater financial ability and liberality, too often get into positions of leadership.

3. The Negro Churches must develop the coöperative spirit. There are too many schisms and factions among them and too many separate denominations. This makes their work uneconomical, precarious as to support, and impossible of coördination. Negroes need to learn to concentrate, coördinate, and coöperate. They cannot afford to spend their energy and money to support the ambitions of preachers who find nothing better to do than magnifying insignificant doctrines or matters of ecclesiastical polity, nor can they afford to divide congregations to satisfy the ambitious bickerings of a few loud-mouthed leaders. Leadership is necessary, but it should be consecrated. There is work enough for all. Indeed, the Negro Churches already have an excellent safety valve for the surplus steam of leadership in their multiplied little benevolent societies within the Church. These societies within the Church, if kept free from factionalism and properly coördinated with the general work of the congregation, should be very useful. All such work and all such association in the doing of good deeds has a restraining influence on evil tendencies, occupies the mind with wholesome thoughts, and keeps the members out of bad company.

EDUCATION

The educational ideals of the Negro have already been discussed. We come now to the practical aspects of education as a preventive of crime. Any sort of education that raises the moral standards and fits the citizen for economic efficiency and participation in coöperative endeavors for the social welfare acts as a preventive of crime. And it affects not only the individual so educated, but also all who come under his influence. But it must be understood definitely and emphatically that education and literacy are not synonymous. Mere literacy is often only a means to an evil end, and that is why so many white men inveigh against the "educated Nigger." The merely literate Negro, however, does not need less education, but more. The intimate environment of the Negro, his living conditions, moral atmosphere, family traditions (such as he has), and his racial limitations make it more necessary for him to have his education more nearly complete than it is for the white youth, when we come to compare the needs of the two races. Literacy does not keep the white man from crime, and we cannot expect it to do more for the Negro. The fact is that crime among Negroes has increased at almost as great a ratio as illiteracy has decreased, and the courts are about as busy as the schools. We must look deeper than illiteracy for the cause of crime and deeper than literacy for its remedy. Literacy, of course, is a necessary preparation for education, but the terms are far from synonymous.

The public school has reduced technical illiteracy among Negroes, but that means that at best it has only made education possible to the more ambitious and more fortunate. About the only really educative feature of the public school has been the work done incidentally by the missionary-teacher to whom the public school has afforded an opportunity. But as long as the average salary of Negro women teachers is about \$30 a month in cities and \$20 a month in county schools, while men are paid but \$56.50 and \$26.80, as in Georgia, at the present cost of living, what can we expect of the public schools? More

striking still is the *per capita* cost of Negro education in the public schools—\$1.20 for the cities and 76 cents for the counties. The Negro criminal of Atlanta pays as much to ride to the police station in the “black Maria” as the State of Georgia appropriates for a whole year’s education of a Negro child. There is not a police station janitor in Georgia that does not get a better salary than his children’s teacher, and the average salary of an Atlanta policeman who arrests the wayward Negro boy is three times as great as the salary of the teacher provided for that boy. We pay a woman twenty to thirty dollars a month to teach sixty to eighty children in a room big enough for thirty, and then object to the “educated Nigger”!

The greatest good of the common school to the Negro is not in the fact that it teaches him to read and write, but in the opportunity it gives for the exercise of wholesome discipline, for the socializing influence of play under intelligent oversight, and in the time the children are kept off the street. And the next important good of the school is that even the mere fact of being able to read and write helps in holding a job where names and numbers are to be read and receipts taken, and in finding one’s way toward the particular line of work to be chosen for life. But since these benefits are real under the better class of teachers, it becomes all the more necessary that a high class of teachers be employed always, ampler grounds and better houses provided, and more and better pedagogical facilities furnished.

Perhaps \$200,000,000 has been spent for Negro public schools since the Civil War. I am sure a large part of this has been wasted—not because the Negro did not need it, but because, aside from paying his taxes, which he sometimes begrudged, the average white man has taken little interest in and given less time and thought to the Negro school. Many of our public school officers are ignorant, lacking in interest or purposeful effort, often being merely disbursing officers. But with pensions, instead of public office, for old soldiers, and with the general advancement in prosperity and higher education, schoolmen are more and

more often chosen as officials for the administration of the public schools. There is hope for the Negro in that.

The purpose and function of the public school should be to fit prospective citizens for complete living—for efficiency, reliability, and social well-being. I believe heartily in the efficacy of manual and industrial training and in distinctively vocational schools for this purpose. The introduction of the study of the elements of agriculture into the rural schools seems a step in the right direction, but every school needs a demonstration plot and every neighborhood a demonstration farm in order to make this teaching of agriculture worth while.* The proposition, however, to introduce at this time industrial training into the common schools to such extent as to serve any practical purpose toward limiting criminality among Negroes seems as chimerical as the colonization schemes. In the first place, there are no teachers available for such schools, and it would require from six to ten years to train up a supply if facilities were at hand for the purpose. Secondly, it would take more money than there is any possibility of getting for such purpose. Thirdly, the Negro needs training, not merely teaching. It is manifestly impossible for the common schools to offer this. Fourthly, the Negro needs more than industrial and literary training. He needs moral order. His habits and his attitude toward life and common labor need to be set right. I doubt if this is possible, except for the extraordinary Negro, without removing him from his usual environment. This again is manifestly impossible, practically considered.

Now, if such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee could be established in every Congressional district or in each county where the Negro population is great, and the pupils sent thither immediately upon the completion of entrance requirements, to be kept for at least four years, the problem of social adjustment would be greatly simplified. But that also is a dream. Negro parents do not feel that they could spare their children from the fields and the shops, nor would the State appropriate the money necessary. But even if every Negro youth had access to such advantages,

it does not follow that results comparable with those of Hampton and Tuskegee could be expected. Pupils of Hampton and Tuskegee are picked men, the best and most ambitious of their race, physically, mentally, and morally—so say their entrance requirements. Neither the fulfillment of entrance requirements nor the intelligence and perseverance to pursue the course of study to its completion could be postulated of the masses. Indeed, only a minority of those who enter Hampton and Tuskegee complete the course undertaken.

The principles upon which the system of education at Hampton and Tuskegee is based are correct. This type of education has in it the essential elements of training, and the training is in the right direction. To most minds the merits of manual training and industrial education have been obscured by their more obvious benefits. The thing that impresses the parent of practical mind is that the youth comes out of school competent to do something useful whereby he can earn his living. The business man sees its economic importance in supplying the pressing demand for efficient and dependable labor. The observant teacher discovers that both the child and the youth become more interested than in the old line studies and learn much incidentally in the process of doing things with their hands that formerly were painfully acquired as tasks. As interest increases there is better attendance and discipline is easier, and the teacher is relieved of much wearing drudgery. But the old line "educator" is still so obsessed with "culture" and "mental discipline" fallacies that he fails to see the more demonstrable truth that learning by doing when the thing done is good is an immediate and harmonious training of heart and hand, of judgment and conscience.

But the real merits of such training lie back of these more obvious benefits. We may mention the following:

1. The very fact of being able to earn a living by efficiency fosters self-respect and industry in the youth.

2. The trained man usually has employment, and employment occupies his time and keeps him in the companionship of others who work, instead of being idle and in company with the idle.

3. It guarantees better wages or salary and an opportunity to save and invest while youth and enthusiasm and health are present, with no encumbrances to discourage.

4. It enables the youth to marry earlier, to win a more desirable mate, and to become early in life a home owner, a taxpayer, a school patron, and a conscious social entity.

5. But more significant than these benefits are the possibilities of such training in the matter of developing the personality. Properly given, this sort of training develops the judgment, the taste, the conscience, the will. It gives something definite to do and a standard for results. Its training is direct, concrete, tangible, purposive. The results can be verified; it carries the proof of its errors and the evidence of its success. It gives a sense of value and demonstrates the wastefulness of misdirected or careless endeavor. In the process of training the pupil comes to *feel* that he must do his work well—to *feel* the promptings to accuracy, to skill, beauty of product, value of time, responsibility. Inasmuch as the Negro is of a child race, so characteristically impelled by his feelings, it is of supreme importance that these centers of feeling be properly appealed to—be trained properly to respond. For that means that right-thinking, right-doing, right standards, industry, and efficiency become habitual—become a part of the nervous system.

As to higher education for the Negro, I think that the institutions already established, if properly equipped and endowed, could easily serve every purpose for the next two hundred years. As we have it, higher education for the mass of Negroes—and whites too, for that matter—is based on a false psychology and a misconception of social conditions and social forces. No narrow course of study, however well taught, can fit the masses for their varied endeavors. There is no such thing as a general education. Education to be useful must be definite and purposeful. Both the mind and the hand act according to their habits of acting. In other words, men are efficient or not according to training; and training means more than teaching—it means the consistent and purposeful direction of effort till deftness of

performance results as a habit. That takes time, concentration, and consecration—and that builds character.

But the Negro colleges are significant mainly from the fact that they prepare the preachers and teachers of the race. The question arises as to whether or not they really prepare them. In a sense they do, for they are inspirational. The Southern white man who knows next to nothing of such institutions is greatly mistaken when he thinks they are only hotbeds of race prejudice and false teaching. I regret that some of them are rank with prejudice and that still more of them are the victims of false psychology and of untenable social theories; but, even so, the personally clean lives, the missionary spirit, and the consecrated enthusiasm for nobler and better things characteristic of a majority of their teachers outweigh their mistakes and false theories. And so they send out many preachers and teachers full of faith and hope and love of their kind, and eager for service. In its broadest and truest sense education is equipment for service. Faith and hope, love of mankind, and enthusiasm for service are fully half of the equipment.

Education should put the individual in control of his powers and place his soul in the right attitude toward his environment, with sufficient ready knowledge safely to begin practical endeavor. But if the Negro ministers and teachers of the future are to be efficient and their service effective, they must have an equipment greater than or different from what they now have, for it is an indisputable fact that neither the Church nor the school is accomplishing what it ought for the welfare of the race and for law and order in the State. Inspiration alone is not sufficient.

Thanks to General Armstrong and Dr. Washington, the progressive Negro preachers and teachers are advocating a saner education for the masses than are the white; but both, so far as college education is concerned, are discouragingly conservative. It is a sad fact that our denominational colleges especially and theological seminaries cling with the intolerance of traditionalists to the curricula of the Jesuits and the effete methods and "requirements" long since discarded by progressive educators. As a consequence of their

ultra-conservatism, too many such institutions are turning out men trained to pedantry and professionalism rather than to practical scholarship and consecration. They have too often been satisfied with sentimentality and dogmatism rather than with the homely grace of brotherly love and intelligent convictions; and so we often have the routinist, the pompous declaimer, or the superficial egotist where we need a humble friend or a wise counselor. The time is past, if it ever was, when either race can afford to commit the sacred responsibilities of the ministry to blubbing sentimentalists, professional preachers, or commercialized ecclesiastics, on the one hand, or subject our children to the malpractice and questionable influence of pedagogical adventurers, routine timeservers, or pedantic and superficial devotees of a dead past. For teachers and preachers we need men, not weaklings, nor pedants, nor timeservers, nor adventurers, nor mere hirelings. We need men who stand for something. They must be broad of mind, catholic in spirit, and with definite and well-founded convictions on the great moral issues that confront pupils and parishioners; and they must look not so much for preferment as for the salvation of the people. Such ministers will visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, will keep themselves unspotted from the world, and be able to give to every man a reason for the hope that is in them. Such teachers will neither fear nor scorn to come in contact with humanity wherever help is needed, will keep their personal characters above reproach, and will be prepared to take an intelligent and aggressive attitude toward every moral, religious, and civic movement for the public welfare. Such men will safely lead their people away from immorality and crime. There are many teachers and ministers of good character, however, who have not the proper training for their work nor the knowledge of social conditions that would make them safe guides. Their education was at fault: the courses of study pursued led nowhere.

By far the larger portion of the Negro population is in the South, and 75% to 85% is in small towns and the rural districts. But the advent of railroads, electric lines, tele-

phones, rural free delivery and the parcel post, good roads, and the automobile is opening up the country. The backwoods are receding, the countryside is becoming suburban, factories and mills are making cities out of the villages. Truck farming, fruit-growing, and animal husbandry are changing the old plantation system, and farming is becoming a business. Such transitions are always fraught with social dangers, and they demand properly equipped leaders to guide safely through them. Our colleges, upon which we must depend for the equipping of such leaders, must keep abreast of the times, and their faculties must keep in touch with the men that move things and in sympathy with the needs of society. The old-time aloofness of college men belongs to an effete ideal and an artificial system. The dignified professor who lives with Demosthenes and Cicero and dreams of Circe and the Elysian Fields is a back number. We need teachers with red blood. We need faculties that are educated, but not petrified, men who know things and can do things that pertain to this present life. They must be both an inspiration and a guide.

Mere lecture and textbook education is a delusion and a snare. Modern education is coming to be more and more a process of "learning by doing," and the "scientific method" is as important for the minister and teacher as for the physician or the engineer. They have to do with truth and the practical problems of human weal and woe. They cannot afford to guess at things nor dream: they must know, and they must think straight. Mere dogma and traditional routine no longer meet the requirements of the situation. It becomes easy, therefore, to see that better libraries, better laboratories, better-adapted buildings and grounds, and better facilities for reaching the busy world and pulsing struggles of men for completer living are pressing needs.

Having secured a satisfactory faculty and provided an appropriate institutional equipment, we must turn to the curriculum. This is not the place, perhaps, to present detailed curricula, but I would insist upon the general proposition that there should be included in the curricula of all such institutions as are within the scope of this discussion

those subjects that are most useful and practical, the non-essential and anachronistic being left out. I do not mean by this that I would leave no room for culture nor forsake the artistic and ideal, nor confine the attention to the industrial arts. But I do mean that I would idealize the practical and make culture refer to the heart as well as the taste. I would forsake the beaten paths in the matter of requirements for graduation and introduce subjects not heretofore given much recognition in denominational institutions. In short, I would socialize the curricula. About the first detail would be to eliminate the greater part of Latin, Greek, higher mathematics, and other such requirements, maintaining those lines only in the universities for specialists. I would enrich the offerings in English language and literature, history, economics, political science, and civics; in physics, chemistry, geology, and biology especially; and in psychology, sociology, and sanitation. These lines of study, varied and broadened in detail as social developments might demand, would be adaptable and appropriate to all.

It is marvelous to me that denominational colleges—and most of the Negro colleges are such—should be the last to give up the traditional educational ideals of the Jesuits and the later scholasticism. The Jesuits had a reason: the dogmas of the Church were the only things worth while, and they were wrapped up in the Latin language. And Erasmus and Melancthon had a reason: the Scriptures were in Latin and Greek, as also were all the art, philosophy, and science of the Greeks. But we have no such reasons; yet, blinded by tradition, we still hammer away on dead forms and bring forth nothing but empty sound—and call it culture. Why Latin and Greek languages and literatures, higher mathematics and hair-splitting ancient philosophies should seem a necessary part of any average American's education, much less that of any Negro preacher or teacher, is inexplicable to me. I confidently assert that a half dozen books properly selected, written by specialists and printed in English, will furnish all we need to know of Greece and Rome and ancient philosophy. I know, of course, how it

has been argued that this four to seven years' devotion to the classics, mathematics, and ancient philosophy furnishes "culture" and "mental discipline." But I submit that he who cannot acquire ample culture and mental discipline from the properly directed study of the subjects I have recommended is a weak brother: he has missed his calling. Teach him a trade.

But what, pray—what, after all, is culture? Is it pedantry and pagan ideals? mechanical versification and petty quibbling? And what more is the mental discipline thus acquired than futile and infantile gymnastics on a trapeze that touches neither earth nor heaven? The Negro leader needs an education that puts him in touch with the times in which he himself lives. There are too many matters of vital concern pressing upon humanity for vigorous youth to fritter away its energies babbling dead languages, too many crises of weal or woe for them to stultify their human interests quibbling over dead issues. Pray, how much Latin must I know to teach a poor wretch to pray, "God have mercy on me, a sinner"? The Roman Catholics use a Latin liturgy, but they still also use the confessional and teach that the priest has power on earth to forgive sin. And how much Greek must I know to get Jesus's conception of the brotherhood of man? Melancthon translated and taught the logic, ethics, and philosophy of Aristotle, but he nevertheless advocated the execution of heretics. Why should the Negro, struggling to adjust himself to twentieth-century Anglo-Saxon civilization, be steeped in the literature of a people whose poetry was of blood and illicit love, or go for his philanthropic inspiration through the circuitous route of original texts to the history and philosophy of a civilization that had no eleemosynary institutions? But the priest and the pedant would fain turn us backward, even beyond the time of Christ, for our Christian ideals! Lo, the logic of the pedant and the consistency of priestcraft—and the "mental discipline" of the modern denominational college, top-heavy with Latin and Greek requirements!

Shall the Negro be taught to glory in a time when there were no jails, no hospitals, no asylums, no public schools—

and no opposition to priestcraft? Shall he be taught that the principles of free government and civic righteousness may be learned from a civilization where prisoners were slaughtered or enslaved, where husband had the right of life and death over wife and child and slave, and where the private citizen had no rights that the soldier was bound to respect? Shall the Negro be taught to deduce his social program from a social order in which the prostitute might be held in higher esteem than the virtuous wife, or in which gladiatorial combats were given to amuse the populace? Should he be taught to glean his religious ideals from the superstitions of a people among whom lunatics were regarded with sacred awe, where the future was revealed in the entrails of sacrificial beasts and the priestess of the temple was a harlot?

It is a traditional saying that mathematics is the backbone of a curriculum. But pray tell me by what mathematical formula we may find the solution of the question: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Or by plotting what higher curve may we choose between the straight and narrow way that leads to life and the broad way that leads to destruction? How much mathematics is necessary to enable me to examine the census reports and find out that one out of about every ten marriages in this Christian land ends in divorce, or that crime is increasing in this land of Bibles and denominational colleges?

It is asserted by the traditionalists as a crowning argument that Greek and Hebrew are necessary to the correct understanding of the Scriptures. This is not true. We can and must leave the critical exegesis of Scripture to specialists. An hour with the Revised Version and a standard commentary will afford a better interpretation of any difficult passage than the B.D. can work out in a month with his smattering of languages gotten painfully enough through years of study. The plain truth is that New Testament Greek is hardly Greek at all, and Hebrew as we have it is mainly the guesswork of modern scholars. I know of nothing sillier than a young B.D., with his smattering of

dead languages and his ignorance of the real issues of life, descanting to an audience of workaday people on Scripture exegesis, pounding away lustily, for example, on the significance "in the original" of εἷς, ἐν, and βαπτίζω! What is the use of talking to a Negro about βαπτίζω when he has not decent facilities for taking a bath?

I know preachers, white preachers, who spent four to seven years on Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the like, who cannot present a sermon in logical order or speak it without making unpardonable blunders in the use of their mother tongue. Can we expect any better of Negroes? I know men who have read "Demosthenes on the Crown" who could not stand a second-grade teacher's examination on the civil government of the State in which they live. I know men who, according to their college catalogue, have an appreciation of Latin and Greek literatures who could not for the life of them make an intelligent selection of books for a Sunday school library. Can we expect Negroes to do better?

For my part, I think a knowledge of classic drama far less important than a realization of the pervasive rottenness of the American stage. I think it far more important to know how to build a sanitary home than to describe the Parthenon. To me the nymphs and naiads that sported in the fabled pools of ancient Hellas are not of so much interest as the mosquitoes that breed in the rain barrel. Nor is the feat of Hercules cleaning the Ægean stables so significant as the flies that swarm around the Negro's surface closet. Ambrosia and the nectar of the gods are very poetic, but a knowledge of an economical and nutritious dietary for a laboring man is far more practical. The stories of the battles around Troy may stir the soul of the classical scholar, but the war against protected vice and the pistol toter comes a great deal nearer home to the Negro.

My teacher required me to trace up in the "Iliad" the instances where gods were wounded by mortals. But he never called my attention to the number of homicides among our own people nor to the number of workingmen who an-

nually perish through preventable accidents. We read of the waters of Lethe, but nothing was said of the thousands of narcotized babes that die every year through the patent medicine curse. And we read the wine songs of Horace, but never a word of the wails of widows and orphans in the drunkard's home. And they call that culture!

Now, the result of this sort of education is that the preacher and the teacher have been educated away from the people, out of touch with their humble hopes and ambitions, out of sympathy with their troubles and cares, their struggles and disappointments. If the colleges would lead the people, let them touch hands with the people. Alcuin and Loyola are dead.

But the light is breaking. God speed the day! The Hampton and the Tuskegee conferences for mutual helpfulness in the practical affairs of workaday life and the influence of these and similar institutions in promoting industrial education and a right appreciation of the dignity of labor are raising, so far as their influence reaches, the moral standards of the Negro by interesting him in things that make for his success and keep him out of trouble. And the Atlanta University conferences, till recently under the direction of Dr. DuBois, have given an impetus to the study of the social problems, as such, of the Negro. Thus the Negroes are finding themselves, and the white man of the South is taking an interest he has never felt before. The light is breaking, though I am not so enthusiastic as to think it is the millennial dawn. A saner education for teachers and preachers, and through them for all is coming, I think, slowly, but coming surely, let us hope. And when it comes it will have far-reaching results as a preventive of crime and pauperism.

AMUSEMENTS

Negro life, both urban and rural, seems pathetically barren of wholesome amusements. The Negro is preëminently sociable. He must have companionship, but where it is not available under wholesome conditions crime follows easily. The Negro is impulsive, passionate, and subject to suggestion. Drunkenness, gambling, and licentiousness

seem to be his drift in default of wholesome forms of amusement. Whether this is due as much to racial tendencies as to unfavorable environment and sheer lack of inventiveness, I do not know. It seems that the ignorant and poverty-stricken white drifts in the same direction, more to drunkenness, perhaps, less to gambling and licentiousness. The native African is unrestrictedly licentious and very much of a gambler.

While the Negro is preëminently sociable, it is true that his very sociability gets him into trouble at times, for too often he adds strong drink to add zest to his festivities. Under present conditions, as already said, drunkenness, gambling, and jealousy seem to be necessary concomitants of his dances, picnics, excursions, and celebrations; and the razor and the gun are there. Amid the frolic of such occasions his impulsive nature finds ample opportunity to display itself. It is well that the Church has seen fit to bring so much of the Negro's social pleasures within the scope of its supervision. It used to be said that there was an average of one Negro a Sunday killed on the regular Sunday excursion between Huntsville and Chattanooga. In a Negro magazine I found the following: "The excursion train 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 Street whisky had been quaffed freely when the train pulled out from Atlanta, and everything was conducive to bloodshed. A dispute arose over a crap game, and a fight was started. The parties from one town took up for their man, and the parties from the other town took up for their man. A pitched battle ensued, which resulted in much blood and death. The fight 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 train on the way, and the last figures run the death list up to more than a dozen men and women."

Some years ago some of the Negroes of Atlanta decided to build a reformatory for 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. To encourage enthusiasm in the project they took a picnic crowd along with them. These "supporters" and wellwishers of the reformatory grew so enthusiastic and hilarious and became so boisterous and wanton in depredating on yards and gardens on the way and so threatening toward the white residents of the district that the county police had to be called in to restore order.

If the Negro but knew and had self-control, he would find other forms of amusement cheaper as well as more wholesome. The indulgence itself is expensive, while the crimes they so often lead into entail an expense that if properly applied would both educate and amuse. I estimate that the Negroes of Atlanta paid something more than \$100,000 in fines and stockade sentences during 1912. Add to that lost time and lawyers' fees, and the total expense to the Negro of Negro crime in Atlanta in 1912 would buy a fifty-acre tract of land and develop it as a park for Negroes, with greenhouses, wild animals, and a boating lake and swimming pool; or it would buy a dozen playgrounds within the city or build three new school buildings.

Negro children in the cities must grow up under most unfavorable conditions. They must play in the streets, in back alleys or vacant lots, amidst garbage and unassorted associates. Even under these conditions they are more or less subject to interruption by gangs of white boys or older Negroes and to arrest for disorder. No better investment could be made by any Southern city than the provision of ample playgrounds, open the year round, each with a play director, for Negro children. To say nothing of higher motives, playgrounds with directors are cheaper than penal institutions or probation officers, and both are cheaper than crime. Atlanta maintains two playgrounds for Negro chil-

dren for ten weeks during the summer and employs a director for each. Till playgrounds can be secured as many of her school yards should be used as might be necessary to accommodate the children that would come to enjoy them during the summer. Two sessions of school a day during the school term of course preclude the public use of these grounds the year round. I might say just here that the school buildings could be used whenever needed throughout the year as social centers. Law and order leagues, literary societies, improvement clubs, neighborhood rallies, mothers' and teachers' meetings might find them comfortable and convenient places for meeting, while Christmas, New Year, Valentine, and leap year parties would find there ample room and a wholesome atmosphere.

Nashville is the only Southern city, so far as I know, that has a park for Negroes only, maintained at public expense. It is known as Hadley Park and occupies thirty-four acres. Mr. Dan Carey, the very efficient Manager of Parks of Atlanta, has been endeavoring for three years to get the city of Atlanta to provide a park for Negroes. In his last official report he said: "There is not a single park, not a swimming pool, not a recreation center, not a free shower bath, not a single place of free wholesome amusement that I know of, outside of their churches, for the Negroes of Atlanta. Every human being seeks amusement at some time; every human being will have amusement at any cost; we seem unable to exist without it. If a Negro of Atlanta, man or woman, starts out in search of free amusement, the only place it can be found (except in the churches, as I said) is in a dive, a dance hall, a saloon, or a pool room. It is true that they can visit the city parks, but they understand very clearly that they are in the parks of the white citizens by sufferance and that they are not wanted. I have known the Negro all my life, and I know, as you know, that the Negro will not go where he is not wanted. For that reason you will very rarely find him in the city parks. If the city will open a park for Negroes, conveniently located, will equip it with free baths, a lecture hall, a playground feature, and will engage the local col-

ored band to furnish free concerts, the places of vice for Negroes will have to close their doors for want of patrons, and the effects will be noted immediately upon the records of the Police Department and in the homes of the white citizens of Atlanta."

I addressed the following questions to a number of Negro ministers and teachers: Would the average city Negro prefer a park for Negroes only, or a park without the color line? Is there an appreciable number of Negroes who would prefer to have no park than a park for Negroes only? What effect would a well-equipped park for Negroes only have on the number of adult and of juvenile arrests? Prof. Monroe N. Work replies: "I would say that my impression is that in general the average city Negro does not know much about parks in the sense that we usually think of them. For that reason he would not probably have beforehand very much of an opinion, one way or another, concerning them. The majority of colored people would no doubt prefer to have parks for colored people only rather than no parks at all to which they could have access. Just as many children have to be taught how to play and the proper kind of games to play, so also many colored people would have to be taught concerning parks and how they should be used. Well-equipped parks for Negroes only, if kept up to a high standard, would no doubt have a great influence on Negro arrests, particularly juveniles. I understand that wherever playgrounds have been established in slum districts in the cities they have had an effect on juvenile arrests. There would also probably be a tendency to decrease the number of adult arrests among the people living in the vicinity of the park, provided suitable conveniences for recreation for adults were supplied and there were proper supervision of the park to see that disreputable influences were kept out. My observations with reference to private parks established for colored people are that there is generally a tendency for them to degenerate into disreputable resorts and, as a result, become breeding places for crime rather than influences for decreasing crime. This, however, as I have tried to indicate, is not the fault of the

parks themselves, but of the perverted use to which they are put."

Practically every Negro with whom I have discussed the question of parks insists that all public parks should be open to Negroes and whites on the same terms, and they would accept parks for Negroes only, only in default of equal use and accommodations in existing parks. They utterly fail to see the practical difficulties of the case or else hope for "social equality" through park privileges.

Every Southern city should have a public comfort building for Negroes. In this building should be a library with ample reading rooms, newspapers, magazines, picture books, fireside games, an information and an employment bureau, and a lobby for all who might wish to use it for meeting friends or business associates. All this, of course, would have to be kept under strict regulations, but I think an appropriate *esprit de corps* could soon be established.

I think the theater as we have it or as we may expect to have it is a curse to the Negro as well as to the white. All such as the Negro is able to attend is degrading or at best promotive of the artificial and extravagant in life. The moving picture show, however, where properly censored and used with definite purpose for good, is peculiarly adapted to amuse as well as instruct Negroes.

The rural Negro has his Church conventions, his picnics, celebrations, and weekly visit to town. An occasional circus or funeral adds variety. And he has his "fairs" and "breakdowns"; but all too frequently the bottle and the dice, the razor and the pistol are present. In specially favored communities there is a growing interest in land-owning and agriculture, corn clubs, and rivalry in the production of certain crops. While this perhaps cannot be classed as amusement, it lends zest to country life and affords opportunity incidentally for wholesome social intercourse.

The rural child has ample room outdoors in summer, but must usually depend upon his own devices for amusement. He has few playthings and few things out of which he can make them. From sheer poverty, improvidence, or

lack of interest the rural Negro children seem to care nothing for pet pigs, lambs, calves, or colts. They content themselves with scrub dogs. Nor in winter evenings or rainy days do they seem to care for fireside games. This may be due to ignorance and their crowded living quarters, possibly at times to poverty, though the country Negro spends more than enough uselessly to amply furnish his home with equipment for fireside games. They are not expensive. The real reason, most likely, is that he lacks the mental energy and zest in intellectual activity for such amusement. The Negro child seems to have very little inventiveness or initiative, though he imitates well. He can follow a model and shows considerable manual skill in constructing playthings.

The rural school and rural church ought to be provided with ample grounds for play and for demonstration gardens. Every country Church should be an institutional Church. The demonstration gardens could be made to support all the institutional features. And every rural school should be a social center. The city park is only the sophisticated picnic grounds of the rural community. It is unfortunate that rural communities have not developed the old picnic ground into rural parks. The playgrounds of rural schools should be so developed and supply a community need as well as merely playgrounds for the few months of school. Both Negroes and whites are woefully in need of leadership in regard to such matters, and too often those who assume leadership have warped conceptions of work and play. The old-time idea that work must be toil and that play is a waste of time still prevails, and there are still some belated souls that think play is ungodly. But "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" is as true as "An idle mind is the devil's workshop." Play is a great moralizing and socializing agent. The voluntary effort, the free initiative, the give and take, the teamwork, the "fair play," and the magnanimity of concessions to the weaker, as well as the good-natured rivalry of sport, are of profound significance in the development of personal character and of community interest. The actual demonstration that supervised play affords that there can be joy in play and pleasure

in association without having to resort to the gross and sensual is of untold moral worth.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Living conditions of Negroes must improve before religion, education, or wholesome amusements can greatly affect the lower classes of Negroes. They must have facilities for privacy, for bathing, for unembarrassed entertainment of company, room for cooking and eating apart from sleeping rooms, and places to wash and iron outside of their living rooms. This seems to me almost necessary before many refining influences can come into their lives. Modesty is necessary to chastity, privacy is necessary to modesty, and more room is necessary to privacy. But more room is expensive. More expense demands more wages, or greater income; hence, other things being equal, better wages tend toward better morals. But it has been found that among the lower classes better wages means only more leisure. Hence among those classes we have more idleness, vagrancy, and disorder when wages are good and work plentiful than during hard times. The idle prey upon those who work. Very many Negro men are fed from the white man's kitchen by the women who cook. If two days a week or one week in a month of honest labor brings in enough for his other expenses, he works only that much. If he can entice wage-earning Negroes into crap games, he does not work at all. The laws against vagrancy, idling, and loitering should be strictly enforced, and, on the other hand, the Negro's laudable wants should be increased, especially his desire for a decent home. Under slavery the nomadic instinct of the Negro was suppressed; but with freedom of movement and modern facilities for communication and transportation the lure of something better farther on fires the imagination of the impressionable Negro, and he seeks Eldorado. No planter can depend upon either his wage workers or his tenants, and he is therefore not encouraged to provide suitable places for them to live in. The cropper moves from place to place, is seldom able to "pay out," get economically established so as to have a de-

cent home, make useful friends, or have much opportunity for coöperative endeavor toward social betterment. And the unsophisticated youth flock to the cities or other centers of population where competition is fierce and wholesome living conditions beyond their means. They seem to have a fatal facility for drifting into the lower classes, where living conditions afford the least benefits and the greatest temptations. Here is work for the institutional Church and the municipal employment bureau.

Living conditions can be improved somewhat in the cities and large towns by strictly enforced sanitary ordinances. But landlords must take a hand also. They must be content with less rent, or rather must furnish better houses and conveniences for what the Negro is able to pay. The Negro must have more room. As to sanitary conditions, the indications are that economic pressure will force the Negro to keep clean and healthy or lose out. As white people become more intelligent and more prosperous they are taking more precautions against disease. The steam laundry is taking work away from the Negro washerwomen. Paper cartons and tin cans and the gas range are displacing the Negro cook. Automatic apartment houses with their supervised janitors, hotels with white servants, and the white nursemaid with her clean cap and apron are forcing the Negro to terms or to relegation. It remains to be seen whether he will rise to meet the demands or will drift and become submerged. It is up to the Negro to rise; it is up to the white man to lend him a helping hand, for the Negro criminal comes, as a rule, from the submerged classes. Vocational schools, schools of domestic science, training classes in the domestic arts in institutional Churches, all need to be encouraged and supported. The Negro must become ambitious for a decent, well-ordered home.

It is not by acquiescence in the Negro's squalor and shiftlessness and a dependence upon the punishment of crime, but by proper assistance in vocational education, sanitation, conveniences for decent home life and wholesome amusements, and a constant insistence upon dependability of character, that any great success can be hoped for in the matter of the prevention of crime among Negroes.

2. DURING PRISON

The most helpful prison régime for the white man has been pretty well worked out in our Federal prisons and at such reformatories as Elmyra and the Illinois State. They are reformatory as to the criminal and protective as to society in a large percentage of cases. Their methods can be modified so as to be adaptable to the Negro criminal, for it is their purpose to make the inmate both industrious and efficient and to change his attitude toward society. So far as they can accomplish this they are effective. But they do not succeed in more than 65% to 75% of their prisoners. There is a reason. Of course there is a certain percentage of natural-born criminals whom no treatment will permanently benefit: permanent segregation is the only thing for them. But there are certain considerations that reveal defects in the system of these institutions which account for most of their failures with other classes of criminals. These considerations may be stated in the form of objections to present reformatory methods as we have them:

1. There is too great fear of expense. Both the taxpayer and the legislator fail to see beyond their noses. They lack vision.

2. Those in control of prisoners are too much inclined to fall into ruts and grooves and lose the spirit of the reform measures in trying to make the machinery run smoothly.

3. Those in control of prisoners are too easily convinced by superficial evidences of reform. Lawmakers and parole boards, even teachers and wardens, fail to realize that reformation takes time. We are still too much influenced by our old brush-arbor idea of "conversion"—that is, that a sinner may repent, believe, and be forgiven all in a moment, and, lo! he is a new man. Now, that may serve the cyclone evangelist who is here to-day and gone to-morrow, but it does not apply to the criminal for practical purposes. He must change his habits and acquire a new mental attitude. That takes time, for it is a matter of reorganizing his nervous reactions.

Mere mechanical efficiency may be soon acquired, but moral ideals change slowly. Mechanical efficiency must become industrial efficiency. The criminal must grow into a new character phase by a new insight into and a new relation to his chosen line of industrial training. Old predilections, old prejudices, old habits must be eliminated or displaced by better ones. It is a reformation of the physical as well as the moral man, for the nervous system must be readjusted. That takes time as well as method.

4. Mechanical efficiency must have a definite aim, a concrete result. Criminals, especially Negro criminals, do not deal in abstractions. Labor must be productive. The curse of our old-line college training is its aimless efficiency: its net result when most effective is the proverbial educated fool. The training of the criminal must correlate him with legitimate breadwinning industry. Everything he does must satisfy his normal instinct that demands a definite result for his effort, and everything should point to a result that is socially desirable. The Negro race is a child race. The definite and concrete naturally appeal to him, and the socially serviceable and personally desirable are tangible rewards.

The physical as well as the moral health of prisoners should be carefully conserved. Men are better men when they are healthy. Many criminals are subnormals or of feeble constitution; many of them are wrecks from vicious habits. Ample work should be required of them, but physical exhaustion from any cause should be avoided. Their diet should be wholesome and sufficient. Prisons should be kept clean and the prisoners taught the simpler principles of sanitation. Exhaustion, inappropriate diet, bad habits of eating and drinking beget indigestion. Prisoners should be taught how to eat. Indigestion favors nervousness, misanthropy, and bad temper. All these interfere with teachableness and a normal growth in grace. The prison should not be regarded as a place of vindictive punishment, but as a hospital for the cure of criminals. "Cure" is the word to emphasize, and the treatment should be directed primarily and specifically to that end.

3. AFTER PRISON

The Negro ex-convict does not suffer the social ostracism nor the industrial lack of confidence that the white convict does. He takes his old place among his friends or, if he prefers, he can go to a new or better environment among his own race and begin a new life without prejudice against him. If he really desires to work, he can get a job, perhaps his old job back, and "no questions asked." The chief concern, therefore, would be to keep him out of his old habits, away from old temptations. This can best be done, at least till he gets accustomed again to his liberty, by placing him under the supervision and consorship of a parole officer. Money enough should be appropriated and sufficient care given to the selection of such officers to secure honest and efficient men, preferably trained men. If, however, the same policy should be used in regard to the salary and selection of parole officers as is now used in regard to convict guards, the whole parole system would be a miserable failure from the start. Neither would nominal parole officers, who never think of their wards except when they come in to report, be satisfactory. There is the chief trouble with the volunteer parole officer or the "prominent citizen" serving by request. A perfunctory discharge of such a responsibility may seek to be impressive, but a Negro is not fooled that easy.

— Recidivism should have a careful, scientific study. There must be definite reasons why a man commits crime a second time. While I have not been able to secure sufficient data to justify conclusions, I am of the opinion, on general principles, that a properly selected corps of parole officers could take charge of such recidivists as had served reformatory terms of imprisonment immediately upon their discharge from prison, and re-establish many of them as law-abiding members of society. Those with whom the parole system would fail should be permanently segregated as incurably criminal.

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