

moved all hygienic restraints, and they were no longer obedient to the inexorable laws of health, plunging into all sorts of excesses and vices, leading irregular lives, and having apparently little or no control over their appetites and passions. It is very manifest that these morbid tendencies and susceptibilities have been growing and taking deeper root for the past thirty years; hence their unstable condition and their susceptibility to and inability to resist attacks of disease that were formerly almost unknown among them. (Powell.)

In the wholesale violation of these hygienic laws after the war, as previously stated, was laid the foundation of the degeneration of the physical and mental constitution of the negro. Licentiousness left its slimy trail of sometimes ineradicable disease upon his physical being, and neglected bronchitis, pneumonia and pleurisy lent their helping hand toward lung degeneration.

#### A Moral Being.

Science has demonstrated that he is a moral being, without the high moral character or broad brain abilities of the white man, it being an anatomical fact that the average weight of the negro's brain is 42 ounces, while 49 ounces is the recognized average of the Caucasian; that his mental calibre is small, his brain convolutions being few and superficial and his forms of insanity, principally mania, showing the involvement only of the lower physical strata of the brain.

If science thus demonstrates the negro's mental inferiority, certainly history, dating as far back as the time of Pepi, of the VI Dynasty of Egypt, 2,500 years B. C., proves his phylogeny to have been of an inferior type, and that the general characteristics of the negro of that date were the same as those of the negro of equatorial Africa today.

From the time of Genesis and the curse of Canaan: "A servant of servants shalt thou be to thy brethren," the negro has belonged to a subordinate race, and ancient history has left no records of his achievements as warrior, king or councillor, but along its whole pathway he has plod in servitude, even from the day when the Cyrenian was laid hold upon and made to bear the cross of the fainting Christ.

The problem of adjusting and adopting this people to the environments of civilization has been left in these latter days to the white people of the South. Under the environments of slavery and under the tutelage of the whites, their worst character was uplifted and elevated, but under the present conditions of life, and under their own leaders, I do not hesitate to say that the race is degenerating and fast reverting to their original types of savagery. Under the old regime, the negro had for his preceptor and educator the most highly educated and moral class of the white

people, at present, under the fancied antagonism of classes, and because of racial prejudices, the negro is used only for temporary purposes, and without regard for his future welfare or improvement. In domestic service, the mothers and fathers yet have the advantage of attrition to the whites, but their children are being raised by superannuated members of the family who have neither the mental nor moral qualifications, nor the proper self-control to educate and restrain them.

#### New Issue of Race.

This "new issue" of the race, essentially ignorant and superstitious, vicious and impulsive, idle and improvident, mentally never more than a half-grown child, without self-confidence or ambition, without originality or persistency of purpose; descended from the most inferior and degraded race of West Coast Africans, not at all equal to the Kaffirs or Zulus of Southern Africa or the Soudanese of Northern Africa—this type of the second generation, which today confronts our southern civilization, is to any unbiased mind worse than the first.

Can they, with their history, with heredity, with their character, measure up to the necessary standard and the high requirements of this day? I answer no and I answer yes—no, if they continue the experiment under their own leadership; yes, if they are willing to trust, faithfully and obediently, their leadership in education, in morals, and in government of state to the best thought and talent of the whites.

#### Menace to the South.

The negro is in the South to remain, and all attempts at expatriation or deportation, or colonization, will be as vain as they are chimerical; he will remain, however, as a parasite upon the body politic, and unless led with consummate skill through the dangers that confront him he will become a standing menace to the welfare of the South.

The negro is nothing of a peasant; he never develops a country; he has made no material advancement, as their history since the war in the South will show, the race as a whole in Virginia today not paying 5 cents on the dollar of this state's taxes.

The history of this people in Hayti and Santo Domingo, with complete control of their own government, is too well known as a disastrous failure to require reiteration here. In Jamaica, even under British influences and allowed a fair proportion in the participation of government, they have made an absolute failure, and, from credible authority, have reverted to hoodooism and cannibalism; and the only experiment ever made by England in this country, when in the war of 1812 the English fleet under Admiral Cockburn carried off a large number of negroes from Tide-

water, Virginia, to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and there colonized them, has been likewise a dismal failure, for I am informed by an eye-witness that, though left to themselves and supplied with all the privileges of education, they have dwindled to a mere handful, and are living in a condition of poverty and degradation that will sooner or later end in a state of brutal savagery.

#### Question of Education.

It may be pertinently asked if education would the better fit this race for the responsibilities before them. Surely so, but the history and statistics of the past thirty-five years in the South show that the negro neither desires a full and systematic education nor has he, as a class, received any substantial benefits from it, for though there may be an occasional gleam of intellectual brilliancy, it is the exception, and the dark pall of ignorance still beclouds the race of southern negroes, although the public school system, 19-20 of whose cost has been paid for by the whites, has been their common privilege. Before this method of elevating the negro can be relied upon for their material advancement, experience has shown that the methods of education now in vogue must be changed, and that it must be industrial and mechanical, and, above all, that it must be directed by the maturer wisdom of the whites in order that intelligence may give dignity and beauty to his labor, and that, added to this, religion and morality may be weaved into the woof and warp of the practical affairs of the negro's daily life.

No, the negro will remain with us in the South, if he will but give up his aspirations to full citizenship and confide his education and government to the whites, who, in times past, have proved their love for him—remain in peace, remain to fill the offices for which God and nature designed him, remain to be the white man's servant, "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Some kind of restraining and inhibitory influences such as once characterized the institution of slavery, must be thrown around him as a safeguard for many years to come, or there will be a continued degeneracy and a tendency to a reversion to his primitive type as a savage.

He must eliminate himself directly from the body politic, and the education which he is capable of taking will the better fit him to gravitate to his appointed place in the onward march of southern civilization. This is the problem for the South; to carry these two races in peace, for discord means ruin; to carry them separately, for assimilation means debasement; to carry them in equal justice, for to this she is pledged; to carry them even unto the end, for this is her destiny. This burden no other people bears today, on none other hath it ever rested.