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Dissertation

THE ROOTS OF PREJUDICE AGAINST THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The enigma of racism is one of the most confusing offshoots of the phenomena of nationalism and ethnocentrism in the twentieth century. On the one hand, Adolph Hitler has said

> From time to time illustrated papers bring it to the attention of the German petty-bourgeoisie that some place or other a Negro has for the first time become a lawyer, teacher, even a pastor, in fact a heroic tenor, or something of the sort. While the idiotic bourgeoisie looks with amazement at such miracles of educational skill, the Jew shrewdly draws from it a new proof of his theory about the equality of men that he is trying to funnel into the minds of nations. It doesn't dawn on this depraved bourgeois world that this is positively a sin against all reason: that it is criminal lunacy to keep on drilling a born half-ape until people think they have made a lawyer out of him, while millions of members of the highest culture-race must remain in entirely unworthy positions. (1)

Concealing as far as possible its economic roots, Fascism has openly proclaimed its racist dogmas, for which the scientific discoveries of its Herr Gunthers provide bases.

World scientists in general, and American scientists in particular (2) have seized upon this supremely vulnerable spot to demonstrate the fallacy of a society based upon the myth of pure blood or pure races. Nevertheless, the fascist doctrines of race supremacy and race purity find conscious and unconscious expression throughout the United States. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of the Negro. The crude pronouncement of the secretary of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce that

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[1] Adolph Hitler, Mein Kampf, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston:Houghton Mifflin, 1943), p. 430.

[2] See statement of American Anthropologists and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in Earnest A. Hooton, "Plain Statements About Race," Science: pp. 511-13, May, 1936.

> There's no white man down here going to let his daughter sleep with a nigger, or sit at the same table as a nigger, or go walking with a nigger. The war can go to hell, the world can go to hell, but he ain't going to do it. (3)

is matched by hundreds of more refined statements of the impregnable barriers between the thirteen million Negroes, and the white people of America.

In the fields of employment, (4) housing, (5) the armed services, (6) education, (7) and political participation, the Negro occupies a unique position in American society - a position so firmly entrenched in the national folkways that the belief that it is unchangeable is well nigh universal. The Negro shares with a small group of Orientals the distinction that despite the length of his residence in the United States, and his contributions to their material and spiritual culture, he is forcibly prevented from achieving the American ideal of the melting pot, in

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[3]Quoted by Charles S. Johnson and Associates, To Stem This Tide, (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1943) p. 71, p. 504.

[4]For data on the Negro worker and the war, see
Earl Brown and George R. Leighton, The Negro and the War, (New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1942).
John A. Davis, How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries (New York: New York State Council, Committee on Discrimination in Employment, 1942).
"The Negro's War", Fortune: June, 1942, p. 79 et. seq.
"Whose Manpower?", Fortune: January, 1943, p. 79 et. seq.
"Barriers to Negro Employment", The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science: September, 1942, pp. 72-80.

[5]Alonzo G. Moron, "Where Shall They Live?" American City:57:68-70, April, 1942.

[6]Charles S. Johnson, op. cit.

[7]Doxey Wilkerson, Special Problems of Negro Education, (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939) Prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education appointed by President Roosevelt, September, 1936.

which the third-generation of the foreign born, are 'good Americans'.

The psychological systems which support and maintain this system of prejudice and hostility against the Negro in the United States are worthy of keen attention. The approach must be two-fold to determine to what extent basic psychological reactions may have inspired the present system of Negro-white relationships, and to gauge the influence of the norms engendered by those relations upon the socialization of the individual in American society.

In searching for the roots of the attitudes towards the Negro shared by Americans of all ages, economic classes, nationality and education today, we are confronted with four basic questions -

1. What are the psychological mechanisms involved in the feelings of prejudice and hostility towards the Negro? To what extent are such attitudes instinctive, and to what extent the result of conscious and unconscious indoctrination?
2. In what ways does the Negro's past in slavery determine his present status in the American social order? What folkways and mores were derived directly from the economic relationships of free (white) men and slave (Negro) men?
3. How has the American norm with respect to the Negro, as revealed in our cultural forms, been determined by, and reflected the economic relationships between Negroes and Whites?
4. Why has that norm, as crystallized into a few stereotypes been interiorized in each period of American history? What systems of rewards and punishments operated to perpetuate the code?

Review of the Literature

The Position of the Negro in the American Order

The most important and complete study of the position of the Negro in America has been made by Gunnar Myrdal and his associates. (1) The scope of the study is outlined in their statement:

> The study ... should aim at determining the social, political, educational, and economic status of the Negro in the United States, as well as defining opinions held by different groups of whites and Negroes as to his "right" status. (2)

The position of the Negro is seen as an American dilemma, a clash of drives:

> " ... an ever raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed" where the American thinks, talks and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuation of specific planes of individual and group living where personal and local considerations of community prestige and conformity: group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook." (3)

Anti-Negro prejudice is seen by Myrdal as a psychological system made necessary by the presence and pressure of the American Creed; without that code, Negroes could be exploited without resource to a psychological defense based on rationalization of the logicality or reasonableness of prejudice and discrimination. Although the hypothesis of these two antagonistic drives in American life is interesting, too little attention is given to the more persuasive character of individual needs, which have been

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, 2 Vols.) Also see "The Position of the Negro in the American Social Order", Journal of Negro Education, Yearbook VIII, July, 1939.

[2] ibid: XI.

[3] ibid: XLiii.

and can be legally channelized into aggression against the Negro. Myrdal's analysis needs correction, such as Konvitz (1), has given, in pointing out that anti-Negro activity is actually in conformity with local legislation, although it is vaguely prohibited by national law and creed.

Johnson has analyzed the prevalent patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in America, and the behavioral responses of Negroes.(2) Through the liberal use of interview data, Johnson demonstrates the national pattern of reactions to the presence of the Negro-belief in his inferiority, assertion of the rights of the majority, avoidance, and approval of violence against the minority.

Warner and Davis (3) have pioneered in research on the operations of caste and class in the structure of American society. Their thorough studies of several small communities have described with accuracy and authenticity the patterns of horizontal and vertical movement which characterize the Negro in his relation with the white classes and caste. Gallagher (4) has applied the principle of caste, with numerous modifications of the Warner formulation, to the functions of the Negro college.

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[1]Milton R. Konvitz, "Nation Within a Nation: The Negro and The Supreme Court", American Scholar, 11:69-78, January, 1942.

[2]Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943).

[3]Allison Davis, B. G. Gardner, M. Gardner and W. Lloyd Warner, Deep South, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).
Norman D. Humphrey, "American Race and Caste," Psychiatry, 4:159-60.
M. F. Ashley Montagu, "Race, Caste and Scientific Method," Psychiatry, 4:337-8.

[4]Buell G. Gallagher, American Caste and the Negro College, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

The economic relations between Negro and white workers have been studied by Cayton (1) and Wesley (2). The relationship of Negroes to the American labor movement and the present problems in the placement and integration of Negroes into American war industry have been demonstrated to be a complex social phenomenon governed by traditional Negro indifference to all-white unions (3) the attempts of some parts of organized labor to exclude Negroes from full participation (4) and the problems of introducing Negroes into new fields of work (5).

The relations between Negroes and whites in religious functions at present have been examined by authoritative spokesmen of the church, La Farge (6) and Gilligan (7) who agree on the essential morality of the color line and enforced separation of the races, at least for the present.

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[1] Horace R. Clayton and George S. Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions, (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1939).

[2] Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925, (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927).

[3] For exposition of points of view antagonistic to Negro cooperation in the white labor movement, see
Kelly Miller,"The Negro as a Workingman," American Mercury, 310-13, November, 1925.
Booker T. Washington, "The Negro and the Labor Movement", Atlantic Monthly, 756-7, June, 1913.

[4] Suzanne LaFollette, "Jim Crow and Casey Jones," Nation, 155:675-7, December 19, 1942.
Buel W. Patch, "Racial Discrimination and the War Effort," Editorial Research, Reports II, No. 1, July, 1942.

[5] Herman Feldman, Racial Factors in American Industry, (New York: Harpers, 1931).
Franklin O. Nichols, "Employment of the Colored Worker," Interracial Review, 15:137-9, September, 1942.

[6] John La Farge, The Race Question and the Negro, (New York:Longmans, Green and Company, 1943).

[7] Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, The Morality of the Color Line (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1928).

The present practice of churches in the complete separation of Negro and whites has been shown to be a direct reversal of earlier relationships, in which the fear of all-Negro activity without white policing resulted in mixed religious movements. (1)

The most successful applications of the sociological concepts of caste and class, and the study of complete patterns of Negro - white interaction on a local basis have been made by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, (2) Warner (3) and Powdermaker(4). In the first, the commission investigated the underlying causes of the race riot of 1919, reporting on the population and housing problems, the nature and extent of race contact, especially in industry, and the general climate of public opinion. The careful analysis of statistics together with the extensive interviewing of the local population demonstrated that the riot itself was a mob action stemming from ignorance, deliberate falsification and an imagined threat to white security through the increasing uncontrolled migration of Negroes from the South into Chicago. Attitudes of both children and adults towards Negroes, and the reaction pattern among the latter were found to be relatively fixed, and governed by the pressure for conformity to the community

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[1]Trevor Brown, Divine White Right, (New York: Harpers, 1934).

[2]Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

[3]Lloyd Warner, op. cit.

[4]Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom (New York: The Viking Press, 1939). For other recent studies, see
Robert Austin Warner, New Haven Negroes, A Social History, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).
Asa H. Gordon, The Georgia Negro, A History, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1937).

pattern. Warner and Powdermaker have made studies in the Deep South. Warner has emphasized the rigidity of separation of the Negroes and whites, while Powdermaker in her study of a primarily rural, premoninantly Negro community has emphasized the beliefs of the members of each group with respect to the characteristics of the other.

Recent race riots throughout the United States have stimulated intensive study of the necessary ingredients for the occurrence of mass overt aggression between groups. White (1) has given an analysis of political and economic factors generating conflict, while Lee and Humphrey (2), in addition to their first hand observation of the riot pattern, have postulated as basic to the predisposition to participate in a race riot the frustration of the desire for ego satisfaction, the presence of demagogic leaders, and the lack of any conscious preparation for democratic living in the midst of tensions which must remain, at least temporarily, unrelieved. (3)

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[1]Walter White and Thurgood Marshall, What Caused the Detroit Riot? (New York: National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, 1943).
Earl Brown, Why Race Riots? (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1944).

[2]Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Raymond Humphrey, Race Riot. (New York: Dryden Press, 1943).

[3]Harold Orlansky, The Harlem Riot, A Study in Mass Frustration, (New York: Social Analysis, 1944).

Attitude Studies

Allport (1) has stressed that attitudes have come to be the core of social psychology: the recognition of the directive power of attitudes, their influence upon the structuring of the individual personality, and the responsiveness of the individual to his environment has created problems in descriptive and experimental social psychology for which new statistical and mechanical tools are still being developed. In the study of attitudes, Nelson (2) has emphasized,four basic facets must be examined: the integration of numerous specific responses of the same general type, the coarse and diffuse reactions out of which attitude patterns are selected, the dramatic experiences, trauma (often repressed) which underlie many biases, and the widely prevalent acceptance of ready-made attitudes from other people without supporting experiencial background. Each of these four facets is demonstrated in the examination of attitudes towards the American Negro, although emphasis has been placed almost exclusively on the first three.

The Attitude of the White Majority.- Bogardus pioneered, with his Social Distance Scale (3) in the measurement of the attitudes of the white majority towards a large number of national and ethnic groups. His conclu-

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[1]Gordon W. Allport, "Attitudes", Chapter 17, in Handbook of Social Psychology ed. by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass: Clark University Press, 1935).

[2]Erland Nelson, "Attitudes: their nature and development", Journal of General Psychology, 21:267-436, 1939.

[3]For an outline of the Bogardus technique, see Emory S. Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale", Sociology and Social Research: 17:265-71, 1932.

sions (1) concerning the importance of personal experience in the development of prejudicial attitudes are less acceptable than his Social Distance Scale, which is widely used in studies of attitude towards various American groups.

The development in children of sentiments regarding their closeness to or distance from the Negro has been studied most exhaustively, and with greatest control by Horowitz (2). The use of a fairly large sample representing the North and South, urban and rural, with and without contact with the Negro, has given greater validity to his findings than those of Lasker (3) whose interviewing produced invaluable, but nevertheless statistically unreliable data on the ways in which race attitudes are acquired, taught and modified. Minard (4), through the use of problems of ethical choice, and Criswell (5), of the Moreno techniques of search for basic patterns of social organization in terms of affective relationships, have examined the disposition of young children to mingle despite race and

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[1]Emory S. Bodardus, Immigration and Race Attitudes, (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1928).

[2]Eugene L. Horowitz, "The Development of Attitude towards the Negro," Archives of Psychology, No. 194, 1936.
Eugene L. Horowitz and Ruth E. Horowitz, "Development of Social Attitudes in Children," Sociometry, 1:301-38, 1938.

[3] Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929).

[4]Ralph Day Minard, Race Attitudes of Iowa Children, University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1931.

[5]Joan Henning Criswell, "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom", Archives of Psychology, #235, 1939.

and sex differences. Zeligs and Hendrickson (1), in their series of studies of racial attitudes among city children have placed special emphasis on the reasons given by children for their attitudes: these reasons reflect sharply the community and familial attitudes accepted uncritically.

The majority of currently available studies of attitudes towards the Negro in the United States have been made on high school and college students (2). High school students have been examined by Haag (3), Closson (4), Cole (5), Remmers (6), Schlorff (7). The studies uniformly demonstrate that the Negro is a group least favored socially, that there

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[1]Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Racial Attitudes of 200 6th Grade Children", Sociology and Social Research, 18:26-36, 1933.
Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Factors Regarded by Children as the Bases of their Racial Attitudes", Sociology and Social Research, 19:255-33, 1934.
Rose Zeligs, "Race Attitudes of Children as Expressed by their Concepts of Races", Sociology and Social Research, 21:361-71, 1936.
Rose Zeligs, "Tracing Racial Attitudes through Adolescence", Sociology and Social Research, 23:45-54, 1938.

[2]For a criticism of the representativeness of the student sample, see Eugene L. Horowitz, "Race Attitudes", in Otto Klineberg, Characteristics of the American Negro, New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1944.

[3]H. L. Haag, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of High School and University Students". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Michigan, 1930.

[4]E. E. Closson, "A Study of the Factor of Information in Race Prejudice". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Iowa, 1930.

[5]N. E. Cole, "The Personal Attitudes of High School Pupils in Colorado toward Alien Nations and Peoples". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Colorado State Teachers' College, 1932.

[6]H. H. Remmers,"Propaganda in the Schools. Do the Effects Last?" Public Opinion Quarterly, 2:197-210, 1930.

[7]P. W. Schlorff, "An Experiment in the Measurement and Modification of Racial Attitudes in School Children", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1930.

are small and unreliable differences in attitudes between boys and girls, and various age levels within the adolescent range, and that there are not significant indices of correlation with intelligence, achievement or knowledge about the Negro. Studies of the attitudes of college students towards Negroes have been made by Murphy and Likert (1), Porterfield (2), Sims and Patrick (3), Moore, (4), Monjar (5), Guilford (6), Johnson (7), and Allport and Katz (8). The basic techniques in the examination of attitudes of students involves the use of such measures of social distance as the Bogardus, Likert or Hinckley scales, and elaborate statistical analyses of correlation with such factors as grade placement, scholastic standing, age,

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[1]Gardner Murphy and Rensis Likert, Public Opinion and the Individual. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938).

[2]Austin L. Porterfield, "Education and Race Attitudes", Sociology and Social Research, 21:538-43, 1936.

[3]V. M. Sims and J. R. Patrick, "Attitudes Toward the Negro of Northern and Southern College Students?" Journal of Social Psychology, 7:192-204, 1936.

[4]G. W. Moore, "Social and Political Attitudes of Students at North Carolina State College, Unpublished Master's Thesis, North Carolina State College, 1931.

[5]E. Monjar, "Racial Distance Reactions", Sociology and Social Research, 21:559, 1936.

[6]J. P. Guilford, "Racial Prejudices of a Thousand University Students", Journal of Social Psychology, 2:179-204, 1931.

[7]Charles Spurgeon Johnson, "Racial Attitudes of College Students", Publications American Sociological Society, 28:24-31, 1924.

[8]Floyd Allport and Daniel Katz, Students' Attitudes, (Syracuse, New York: Craftsman Press, 1931).

The Attitude of the Negro Minority.- The initial studies of race attitudes concentrated exclusively on the attitude of the white majority towards the colored minority; the orientation represents the correct valuation of the relative importance of majority opinion in determining the attitudes of the minority. Recent attempts to describe the meaning of 'being a Negro' in the development of the personality have stimulated investigations of the attitudes of Negroes towards both the majority 'whites', and various segments of that large body.

Under the sponsorship of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, a series of studies have been made of Negro children and adults; the extended case history and the utilization of carefully selected samples representative of each economic and social level distinguish these works. Negro youth of the urban South (1), the Black Belt (2), Chicago (3), and a number of cities of varying sizes both North and South (4), have been examined by skilled interviewers. The relations between color, class and personality have been probed, and the importance of such factors as literacy, color of skin, occupational status and intelligence in the determination of varying adjustments to American

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[1]Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage. (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940).

[2]Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Growing Up In the Black Belt. (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education)

[3]W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, Walter A. Adams, Color and Human Nature: Personality Development in a Northern City, (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941).

[4]Robert L. Sutherland, Color, Class and Personality, (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942).

caste society has been described (1). The influence of such factors as segregation on the emergence of the consciousness of self in Negro pre-school children has been determined by the use of the Horowitz pictorial techniques (2). The acceptance by Negro students (3) of the stereotype given them by whites signifies an important area of social interaction. The fact that both Negro and white students agree to some extent on the characteristics of the former is critical; it can be utilized to demonstrate either the evident validity of the characterization, or the presence of pressure on both white and Negro to accept it.

The Experimental Modification of Attitudes towards the Negro.- The modification of attitudes towards the Negro by means of carefully planned and controlled experiences has been confined almost exclusively to the area of classroom teaching. Campbell and Stover (4), Schlorff (5), Remmers and

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[1]Samuel Strong, "Social Types in a Minority Group", American Journal of Sociology, 48:563-573, 1943.

[2]Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie K. Clark, "Segregation as a Factor in the Racial Identification of Negro Pre-School Children", Journal of Experimental Education, 8:161-3, 1939.
Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie K. Clark, "The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identification in Pre-School Children", Journal of Social Psychology, 10:591-9, 1939.

[3]Gwendolyn E. Bryant, "Recent Trends in Racial Attitudes of Negro College Students", Journal of Negro Education, 10:43-50, 1941.
James A. Bayton, "Racial Stereotypes of Negro College Students", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 36:97-102, 1942.
Max Meines, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of Negro College Students in 1935 and 1942", Psychological Bulletin, 39: 467-8, 1942.

[4]D. W. Campbell and G. P. Stover, "Teaching International-Mindedness in the Social Studies", Journal of Educational Sociology, 7:244-248, 1933.

[5]Schlorff, op. cit.

Peregrine (1), have measured attitudes of high school students towards the Negro before and after exposure to courses of instruction in international mindedness, civics and race relations. With minor variations, results of such courses have been very small but reliable shifts towards more favorable attitudes. Smith (2), Bolton (3), Droba (4), and Young (5) have subjected large groups of college students to lecture series of different lengths, and have found a regular pattern of slight improvement, followed by some regression and final maintenance of the new level.

More dramatic techniques in exposure to new contacts have been employed by Smith (6), who subjected a group of adults to social contacts with distinguished Negroes in their homes, and by Peterson and Thurstone (7) who measured the effects of the motion picture "Birth of the Nation" upon children who had had no previous contact with Negroes. An interesting

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[1]H.H. Remmers, "Propaganda in the Schools - Do the Effects Last?" Public Opinion Quarterly, 2:197-210, 1930.

[2]Mapheus Smith, "A Study of Change of Attitudes Toward the Negro" Journal of Negro Education, 8:64-70, 1939.

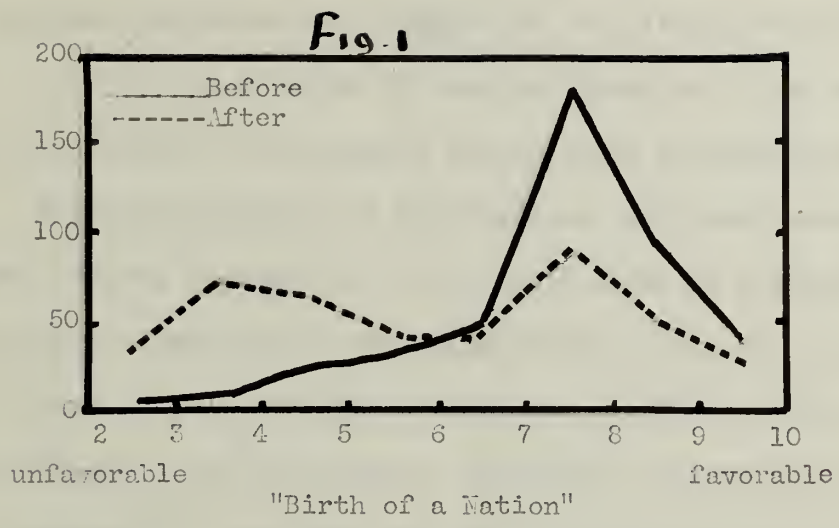
[3]Euri Belle Bolton,"Effect of Knowledge Upon Attitudes Toward the Negro", Journal of Social Psychology, 6:68-89, 1935.

[4]D. D. Droba, "Education and Negro Attitudes", Sociology and Social Research, 17: 137-141, 1932.

[5]Donald Young, "Some Effects of a Course in American Race Problems on the Race Prejudices of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 22:235-242, 1927.

[6]F. T. Smith, "An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Towards the Negro", Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University 1933.

[7]Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone,"Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children". New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.



Crystal Lake High School, Crystal Lake, Illinois
434 Children of Grades 6-12 Inclusive

$Mean_1$ (before)	7.41	$P.E.M._1$	.046	σ_1	1.4
$Mean_2$ (after)	5.93	$P.E.M._2$	.070	σ_2	2.2
$D_{m_1-m_2}$	1.48	$P.E._d$	.058	$D/P.E._d$	25.5

r_{12} .55

attempt to examine the influence of adult opinion on the formation of attitudes in school children was made by Manske (1), who found that the teaching of 'controversial' material by teachers who were known to be extremely friendly or hostile to the Negro produced unexpected results: the children frequently moved away from the bias of the teacher. Exposure of teachers to a course in race relations and other problems in education resulted in an overall reduction of friendliness scores (2).

Recent refinements of technigues in attitude measurement promise to make attitude studies more valid instruments in sociological and psychological description. The general criticisms of current attitude tests - that they do not differentiate successfully between public and private attitudes, that they tend to distortion because they isolate segments of the personality, and that they rely too much on statistical analyses at the expense of understanding of the meaning of attitudes for the individual exhibiting them, apply especially to the study of attitudes towards the Negro. The conclusion that a particular course of lectures, or film or book did not induce favorable attitudes towards the Negro is too often accepted as decisive proof that attitudes cannot be improved. Yet there is nothing more irrational than to assume that a single stimulus can overcome the valence of all those phenomena in American culture which foster prejudice and hostility rather than friendliness.

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[1]Arthur John Manske, "The Reflection of Teachers' Attitudes in the Attitudes of Their Pupils", Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936.

[2]I. M. A. Myers, "A Study of Anti Negro Prejudice", Journal of Negro Education, 7:617-22, 1936.

Stereotypy

In describing the American norm with respect to the Negro, we shall find the influence of stereotypy to be great. Surprisingly, Lippman's classical study of the stereotype (1) and its operation in the formation of public opinion has stimulated little research into the actual operation of the stereotype in crystallizing the opinions of members of any type of social organization. Only Katz and Braly (2) supporting the work of Allport (3) have examined the roles of names and stereotyped roles in imparting an emotional evaluation to 'race' traits. Meines (4), utilizing the Katz and Braly technique has explored the stereotyped attitudes of Negroes towards themselves and other minority groups, and the changes in those stereotypes over a period of seven years.

The major studies of the operation of stereotype with respect to the Negro have been made outside the field of psychological research, by students of literature and arts. Tandy (5), Gaines (6), Nelson (7) and

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[1]Walter Lippman, Public Opinion, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922).

[2]Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, "Racial Prejudices and Racial Stereotypes", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 30:175-193,1936.

[3]Floyd Allport, Institutional Behavior. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1933).

[4]Max Meines, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of Negro College Students in 1935 and 1942, Psychological Bulletin, 39:467-8, 1942.

[5]Jeannette Reid Tandy, "Pro-Slavery Propaganda in the American Fiction of the Fifties", South Atlantic Quarterly, 21:41-50,170-8, 1922.

[6]Francis Pendleton Gaines, The Southern Plantation, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924).

[7]John Herbert Nelson, The Negro Character in American Literature, University of Kansas Humanistic Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1926.

Brown (1) have studied the roles of Negroes in American fiction, while Adams (2), Winsten (3), Trumbo (4), Hutton (5) and Morris (6) have given us a well-rounded picture of the history of the Negro in the American theatre and movie, in which the process of casting gives a very illuminating picture of attitudes towards the Negro since his first appearance on the American stage in 1769. Although there has been widespread popular discussion of the dissatisfaction of Negroes with the roles they play in the American arts, few attempts have been made to analyze the responsibility of individuals and institutions for the perpetuation of the norm. Granville Hicks (7) has pointed out the psychological bases of literary creation, and the responsibility of the artist for the ideas conveyed through his media with respect to the depiction of the Negro.

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[1]Sterling Brown, "Negro Character as seen by White Authors", Journal of Negro Education, 2:179-203, 1933.

[2]Harold E. Adams, "Minority Caricatures on the American Stage", Studies in the Science of Society ed. George P. Murdock, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

[3]Archer Winsten, "The Negro Stereotype in American Pictures", New York Post, October 7, 1937.

[4]Dalton Trumbo, "Blackface, Hollywood Style", Crisis, pp. 365-7, 1943.

[5]Laurence Hutton, Curiosities of the American Stage, (London: R. Osgood, McIlvaine and Company, 1891).

[6]Olive Morris, "The Negro in the American Theatre", Players Magazine, 5:3-5, November, 1928, et. seq.

[7]Granville Hicks, "Assumptions in Literature", The English Journal, 25:709-17, 1936.

Humor

No attempts have been made to correlate the national humor with respect to the Negro with his status in America. The basic approach in psychological literature has been philosophical - an attempt to find a common denominator in all situations considered humorous. Willman (1) and Kline (2) have added new elements to the classical theories of Aristotle, Hobbes, Descartes and Schopenhauer. Kambouropoulou has made the only well-controlled attempt to discover the bases in personality organization for the apparent individual differences in sense of humor. Her results were disappointing, although she discovered some correlates between confidence in social intercourse and enjoyment of wit of superiority; the most important finding, however, was that the subject of humor was not easily explored through directed experimental techniques (3). Rourke's analysis of the content of American humor, with emphasis on the theatrical media, is the best available, although her material on the Negro is very scanty (4).

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[1]John W. Willman, "An Analysis of Humor and Laughter," American Journal of Psychology, 53: 70-85, 1940.

[2]L. W. Kline, "The Psychology of Humor", American Journal of Psychology, 18:421-41, 1907.

[3]Polyxenie Kambouropoulou, "Individual Differences in the Sense of Humor and Their Relation to Tempermental Differences", Archives of Psychology, #121, 1930.

[4]Constance Rourke, American Humor: A Study of the National Character, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931).

The literature on the Negro in America is vast. Recent attempts at an overall estimate of the position of the Negro in the American social order, like the excellent Myrdal study, have given a sociologically accurate and psychologically tenable picture of "the strains for consistency" in American democracy. Those studies provide a clear picture of the present determinants of relationships between Negroes and whites. Another approach to the problem of interracial attitudes has, we have seen, been made through the description and modification of attitudes.

Between these two fields lies a crucial area of social interaction. We can only understand and interpret the <u>institutions</u> and the <u>attitudes</u> by examining to what extent they have influenced each other. Merely to <u>describe</u> the institution does not explain how it got its present form: merely to measure an attitude does not explain how and why the individual expresses it.

The present study will attempt to interpret American economic and social history as revealed in laws, journals, diaries, debates, pamphlets, plays, graphic art, song, wit, etcetera, in order to demonstrate that -

1. American attitudes towards the Negro cannot be explained satisfactorily without reference to his unique position as a member of the only ethnic group which occupied a slave status in American history.
2. Present attitudes of prejudice and hostility can be traced to the institution of slavery which depended for its existence upon a legal and psychological separation of Negro and white.
3. The traditions, customs and beliefs engendered in the period of slavery form a norm which is succinctly expressed in a few

stereotypes of the Negro which are to be found in all aspects of American culture.

4. The expression of prejudice and hostility towards the Negro is socially facilitated in the United States, especially through the medium of humor. Refusal to conform to the norm, which is racist in construction, has led, and leads to loss of individual psychic as well as physical well-being.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF ANTI-NEGRO PREJUDICE AND HOSTILITY

The definition of the ideas of race and the phenomenon of race prejudice, and the more realistic delineation of the concepts of prejudice and hostility are essential prerequisites in the study of this complex problem. A critical examination is here made of all previously postulated roots of prejudice and hostility against the Negro in the United States. Special attention will be given to two most widely defended beliefs with respect to the sources of those attitudes. First of these is the notion that such attitudes as are to be found at present are the result of the disruption of the modus vivendi or system of accomodations which governed Negro-white relations before Emancipation. The second is derived from the thesis that the root of interracial antagonisms is to be found in the question of interracial sexual relations.

Race and Race Prejudice

Race prejudice is a term applied to a wide variety of psychological reactions which bear no real relationship to race conceived and analyzed scientifically. Although race prejudice is not a necessary result of 'race', has much to do with ideas of race - ideas which arise out of ignorance, wilful or opportune. The history of race ideas is a history of defense of inequality and exploitation. Where the defense of such disparities between ideals and practices is not yet required, theories of race, racial superiority, pure races, etc., do not make their appearance. (1)

Despite the fact that biologists, physical anthropologists and other

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[1]Jacques Barzun, Race, A Study in Modern Superstition, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1937). In South Africa, for instance, whenever and wherever the need for a cheap labor force has become acute, natives have been segregated into castes and assigned characteristics appropriate to their inferior position. See Hon. H. A. Wyndham "The Problem of Colour in Relation to the Problem of Inequality", Journal of Philosophical Studies, 1:211-233, 1926.

men of science find themselves unable to employ the term 'race' without grave doubt as to possible misunderstanding, the American public has been taught to speak without hesitation not only about what a race is, but also which are the superior and which the inferior races. (1) (An unusually high correlation is known to exist between the ancestry of the speaker and the race rated superior.) Scientists are willing to say only that a race is a "group of human beings set apart from others by one or more marks of physical differences (2), or "a large group of men possessing in common certain physical characteristics which are determined by heredity". (3)

Whether one classified mankind into races by geography (4), hair structure (5), the cephalic index (6), skin color (7), or any of a dozen other classificatory schemes by means of which three, or five, or twenty-four 'races' have been 'discovered', modern sciences (8) almost unanimously

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[1]Jannine Chapat,"Race Prejudice in the Pre-School Child", Unpublished Manuscript, Harvard University, 1944.

[2]F. H. Hankins, The Racial Basis of Civilization, (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1926).

[3]Otto Klineberg, Race Differences, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 13.

[4]Friedrich Mueller,Allgemaine Ethnographie,(Vienna:AHolder,1879).

[5]Sir Arthur Keith, Ethnos, or The Problem of Race Considered from a New Point of View, (London: K. Paul, Trencher, Trubner and Company, 1931).

[6]Guiseppe Sergi, The Varieties of the Human Species, (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1894).

[7]Johann F. Blumenbach, The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Blumenbach, trans. Thomas Bendyshe,(London:Longman,Green and Co., 1865).

[8]Ruth Benedict, Race: Science or Politics, (New York: Modern Age Books, 1940).
Earnest A. Hooton, Twilight of Man, (New York: Putnam and Son, 1939).
Otto Klineberg, op. cit.
Franz Boas, "Race" in Encyclopedia of Social Science. Edited by H.R.Seligman, Vol. XIII, pp. 25-36.

affirms that whatever the definition, whatever the terms, 'race' is of limited import in the modern world in which the number of stocks remaining remote and unmixed is so negligible as to make the use of the word meaningless and misleading. (1) The most important distinction between the use of such terms as race, racial group, ethnic group, etc., by scientists and by pseudo-scientific racists is that the former intend only a descriptive term for certain definite isolated groups exhibiting the requisite characteristics, while the latter seek a scheme by which all mankind can be encompassed, and further rated. (2)

> Il ya a, en effet, un fait absolument frappant aux yeux de l'historien qui e etudié l'evolution de ses nefastes doctrines, c'est qu'aucun anthropologie de valeur ne les a soutenues avec quelque decision. Les plus fanatiques theoriciens raciaux sont des dilettantes: Gobineau, Chamberlain, Driesmann, Gumplowicz, Dr. Le Bon. Vacher de Lapouge seul etait anthropologue de profession. Cette attitude est tout a l'honneur de cest modestes chercheur que la vogue insensee dont jouissaient leur plagiares surait pu detourner de l'austere voie de la science." (3)

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[1]"Geneticists believe that anthropologists have decided what a race is. Ethnologists assume that their classifications embody principles which genetic science has proved correct. Politicians believe that their prejudices have the sanction of genetic law, and the findings of physical anthropology to sustain them." Lancelot Hogben, "The Concept of Race" in Genetic Principles in Medicine and Social Science, (New York:Knopf,1932).

[2]See Magnus Hirschfield, Racism, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: V. Gollancz, 1938).

[3]Theophile Simar, Etude Critique Sur La Formation de La Doctrine des Races au XVIIIe Siecle et son Expansion au XIXe Siecle (Brussels: Lamertin, 1922).

To the name of Vacher de Lapouge, "The Fundamental Principles of Anthropo-Sociology, "Journal of Political Economy, 1897-88, should be added that of Sir Arthur Keith.

The extent to which the term 'race' is erroneously used in America is indicated in a study in which the high school texts in geography, history, civics, and biology of the accredited book lists in Texas, Virginia, St. Louis, Boston and New York were examined. That the misuse of the term 'race' is not confined to any particular area is indicated by the following.

Figure 2

DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTS MISUSING THE TERM RACE

	Number of Books	Kind of Books Misusing Term				Percent Misusing
		Geography	History	Civics	Biology	
Texas	48	3	16	6	5	62.5
Virginia	21	2	8	3	2	71.4
St. Louis	34	5	10	1	1	50.0
Boston	66	28	12	1	4	68.2
New York City	55	15	15	7	6	78.2

66% of the books examined used race where nationality or people was meant. 20% contains teachings of racial superiority. (1)

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[1] Can You Name Them? (New York: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, n. d.).

The Negroes in America, as a group, show a central tendency toward certain physical characteristics, by means of which they have a "high visibility". Among those characteristics are hair structure, facial angle, skin pigmentation, etc. Whatever the biological constitution of those Negroes who were brought from Africa (1), it can safely be said that this stock is greatly changed as a result of miscegenation so widespread that the disappearance of a black Negro "race" to be replaced by a brown race is envisioned by many (2).

The ignoring of the fact of this widespread race mixture in America is a psychological phenomenon of great interest. The denial of the sexual relations between the "superior" and the "inferior" races is a necessity, of course, in the maintenance of the theory of the instinctive and binding nature of inter-racial hostility, which makes impossible the existence of the two races side by side on equal terms. Where the presence of mulattoes cannot be denied, because of their number, it can be hidden by silence and concealment, or explained away, as by the Southerner (3) who coyly attributes the presence of mulattoes to a biological process in which the pregnant Negro woman, through her worship for her white master

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[1]Louis Wirth and Herbert Goldhamer, "The Hybrid and Problems of Miscegenation", Part V in Otto Klineberg, Characteristics of The American Negro. (New York: Harpers, 1944).

[2]Kelly Miller, "Is the American Negro to Remain Black or Become Bleached?" South Atlantic Quarterly, 1926, pp. 240-252.
Thomas T. McKinney, All White America, (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1937), p. 19.

[3]Marvin T. Wheat, The Progress and Intelligence of America: The Proof of Slavery as founded on Organic Law: Progress of Slavery South - South West, with Free Labor Advancing through the Acquisition of Territory: Advantages Enumerated and Explained. (Louisville, Kentucky, 1863).

and superior, delivers a light-complexioned child, without there having been any other relationship between the two. Where such explanations have not been tended, because of the mirth they arouse, mulattoes are pronounced to be the products of relations between members of the most degraded elements of both races, who have no "race pride". (1)

It daily becomes more difficult to determine what constitutes the Negro race in America. The difficulty is best illustrated in the diversity of definitions in legislation of the Southern states forbidding miscegenation. (2) Whether the Negro is one with one-fourth, one-eighth, one-sixteenth, or just "any trace of Negro blood" is not a function of science, but of political and geographic boundaries.

The race prejudice which is rampant in the United States is not a result of the erroneous ideas about the Negro 'race'; if it were, the correction of those ideas by scientific study would be encouraged by those who continually bewail their "problem". The advance of the Negro people everywhere, the evidence that they have knowledge and skills of great benefit to this country, would universally be hailed as the beginning of their emancipation from all discrimination. Race prejudice fortifies itself upon the circulation of erroneous ideas about race; its roots are much deeper in

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[1]The evidence concerning this widely disseminated explanation is contradictory; at least in slavery time, it was known, and frequently acknowledged that plantation owners kept some Negro slaves as prostitutes and frequently gave recognition to their offspring.

"Thomas Jefferson was reported, when President, to have regretted that certain of his own children were kept from voting because of their mother's color". Edwin R. Embree, op. cit.

[2]For summary of State Legislation, see Monroe Work (ed.), Negro Year Book, (Negro Year Book Publishing Co., Alabama, 1937-8), and Charles S. Magnum, The Legal Status of the Negro, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942, Chapter 1).
Fifteenth Census in the U. S.: Pop. II:1398-1399, 1930.

the national folk-ways, so deep that their disinterrment requires the aid of historical documents, psychological investigations, and a thorough understanding of the dynamics of social relations.

The question has frequently been raised in scientific study of racist dogma as to whether there is "evidence" of race superiority which would support "prejudice". Implicit in this question is the belief that were such congenital inferiority established, there would be an adequate base for prejudice against a whole people. At present, the only answer that may be given is that whatever the nature of the still undiscovered psychic concom itants of physical race differences, there is unquestionable overlapping in limits among various groups: hence, judgment passed solely on the basis of racial identification cannot be defended as rational.

The Definitions of Prejudice and Hostility

The mutual interactions between the white and the Negro people in America have been described most frequently in terms of prejudice, rarely in terms of hostility. Prejudice is the more basic attitude, and has manifested itself in every area of social contact.

Webster has defined prejudice as

> "A preconceived judgment or opinion; leaning towards one side of a question from other considerations than those belonging to it; unreasonable prediliction for, or objections against anything." (1)

Field (2) emphasizes, too, the intrusion of irrelevancies, while Ellsworth Faris (3) emphasizes that "prejudice is a sentiment always emotional and

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[1]See Edward Franklin Frazier, "The Pathology of Race Prejudice" Forum, 77, 856-62, May, 1927.

[2]Guy C. Field, "Prejudice and Impartiality" (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1932).

[3]Ellsworth Faris, "Racial Attitudes and Sentiments", Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly, 9:479-490, March, 1929.

irrational". This aspect of emotionality has been noted too by Kelly Miller (1).

The definition of prejudice is an important task in psychology. The distinction between the psychological mechanism and its emotional concomitants is basic. The definition of prejudice in terms of intrinsic emotionality has served to disguise those attitudes which emanate in an atmosphere of calm theorization, and at the same time have encouraged despair of ever eradicating them because of the known physical strength of emotional bonds.

Prejudice implies only judgment on the basis of insufficient or irrelevant data. The sequence leading to a prejudicial thought is intrinsically illogical: it of itself bears no criteria of emotionality, except in so far as all judgments are the result of some selectivity in the data accepted for study.

The prejudices of the psychotic are fruitful sources of study. The trend in psychiatry and psychotherapy to examine seriously the words and actions of the psychotic is promising. Freudian symbology has provided tools for the translation of apparently random behaviour into meaningful units (2). Delusions, so prominent in the major psychoses, are found to rest on a conceptual structure in which irrelevancies and inadequacies of data abound. Among so-called normal people who view the institutionalized as creatures of another world, the same mechanisms operate in the formation of prejudices which, because they are either not anti-social, or have social approval, permit them to remain on the preferred side of the asylum

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[1]Kelly Miller, "Is Prejudice Innate or Acquired?", Journal of Applied Sociology, 11:516-524, 1926.

[2]For reference to psychoanalytic symbology, see International Journal of Psychoanalysis. Index to Vol. I-X.

gate. The most striking factor in the attempt to cure psychotics is the absolute rigidity with which they maintain the veracity of their delusions. Attempts at persuasion fail because the original erroneous deduction has become firmly fixed in an amotional armor which protects it from the attach of new evidence. These isolated areas, impervious to reason, known as logic-tight compartments are a function of the organization of the personality, rather than of the intelligence level of the patient (1). Logic-tight compartments are found in such common areas as the position of women, smoking, birth control, The American Way ... in each a system of ideas is so rigid that it practically interferes with rational response. When an individual has a number of such prejudices, they may seriously handicap him in his social relations. However, when a vast part of the population of a nation exhibit such prejudices, and when there exists no major recognition of their psychotic potentialities, the danger is enhanced immeasureably.

Prejudices have been defended (2) as normal mental processes, as preliminary unreasoned judgments which are not sui-ganaris unreasonable. They are held to arise naturally in innumerable circumstances in which relevant data are momentarily unavailable, and are therefore considered expedient, if not desirable. Thus, opinions "at first sight" are almost invariably prejudices, because they rest on judgments made on inadequate evidence. The number of areas in which such prejudices can be considered wholly personal, is far more limited than is generally recognized.For the hermit or social recluse, the basis of judgment is a matter of wholly individual concern. Wherever the individual exhibits an opinion or preference

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[1]Bernard Hart, The Psychology of Insanity, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1931) 4th ed.

[2]John Grier Hibben, A Defense of Prejudice, and Other Essays. (New York: Scribner, 1913).

to others, he is contributing to the formation of a body of opinion, however remote or ineffectual, that may influence the majority trend. Thus Lancelot Hogben's self-confessed prejudice against bearded men under fifty may be a matter of little import to the world at large when he is considering his social companions. However, any opinion or preference he makes known, because of the importance of his personage, exerts an influence upon other individuals which, skillfully manipulated, may result in national legislation forbidding, on penalty of death, the growth of a beard more than 2 inches long! (1) The main criterion of prejudice is the reaction to a situation on the basis of inadequate evidence.

Hostility is distinguished from prejudice in that its main characteristic is the feeling of repulsion. It is an emotion, the intensity of which can be measured in terms of the vehemence which it arouses - a vehemence which may or may not be suppressed. Hostility may or may not arise from prejudice. Whereas hostility may arise from the false bases of prejudice, it may also arise from legitimate antipathy, rooted in negative values placed upon ascertained facts. For instance, an anti-fascist attitude may arise, in some individuals, from a prejudice in which opposition to fascist doctrine is dependent upon other factors than the actual knowledge of its meaning; on the other hand, adverse judgment about fascism and fascists are made by many, many people on the basis of sober analysis of the content of the doctrine.

The Definition of Race Prejudice and Race Hostility

Social scientists have in the past generally avoided the definition of race prejudice and race attitudes. Confusion in terminology has resulted

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[1]Lancelot Hogben, "Preface on Prejudices", Cedric Dover, Half Caste (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, Ltd., 1937).

in confusion in analysis - so that often psychologists discussing race prejudice are speaking of race hostility, ethnocentrism, racism, chauvinism, etc.

Race prejudice has been described as

1. "The tendency to react with varying degrees of hostility to a group regarded as racial" (1), in which the connotation is present of a precise emotional reaction which is not inherent in the definition of prejudice.

2. "An instinctive antipathy due to physical differences", in which the characteristic of innateness is highly debatable and the implication of aversion irrelevant (2).

3. "A person who has race prejudice, then, would be one who judged individuals or groups of another race not on the basis of experience, but in advance of any direct experience". (3) In this definition the element of experience is central, whereas Lasker and others (4) have minimized the importance of experience, and emphasized contact with attitudes.

4. "Racial prejudice is thus a generalized set of stereotypes of a high degree of consistency which includes emotional responses to race names, a belief in typical characteristics associated with race names, and an evaluation of such typical traits", (5) in which the psychological concommitants are confused with the essential elements.

5. "A general term pointing to the behavior by members of one ethnic group towards another ethnic group in the society contrary to the norm that is held for the relations among the groups" (6) is a definition which ignores the strategic fact that social approval may be given to prejudiced behavior.

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[1]W. O. Brown, "Rationalization of Race Prejudice", International Journal of Ethics, 43:294-306, April, 1933.

[2]John Moffatt Mecklin, Democracy and Race Friction. (New York: Macmillan, 1914).

[3]Henry Smith Leiper, Blind Spots: experts in the self-cure of race prejudice. (New York: Friendship House, 1929).

[4]Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929).

[5]Alfred L. Severson, "What is Prejudice?" Journal of Educational Sociology, 16:344-348, February, 1943.

[6]Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, "Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 30:175-193, 1936.

The definition of race prejudice which may be used as a tool in describing individual behavior, and evaluating its conformity with individual and group ideals must be based upon recognition of the following:

1. Race is a widely misunderstood part of morphological vocabulary whose applicability to the modern world is severely limited (1).
2. Prejudice is a function of inaccurate (because incomplete) deduction.

Race prejudice can accordingly be defined as "the tendency to evaluate the individual primarily on the basis of identity with a group thought of as racial.

A person is race-prejudiced, then, for whom group membership is both a primary and a ruling consideration. In this sense, prejudice cannot be considered an attitude which can be graded by points along a continuum from complete absence to complete presence, as is common in attitude measurement. Prejudice is an absolute - either one does or one does not react to individuals or groups on the basis of membership in an ethnic group. (2) It may be assumed, then, that persons who would have reservations about any step in our scales, such as the Bogardus (3) would have reservations about earlier steps which our psychometric devices are not designed to, or keen enough to gauge.

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[1]For a use of the discussion of the term 'race', see
Norman D. Humphrey,"American Race and Caste" Psychiatry, 4:159-160
M. F. Ashley Montagu, "Race, Caste and Scientific Method", Psychiatry, 4:337-8

[2]This overcomes the difficulty met by Serverson, op. cit., in deciding what differentiates prejudice in one situation from an attitude in another.

[3]Emory Bogardus, Immigration and Race Attitudes, (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1928).

Freedom from race prejudice does not imply blindness to differences - rather it implies an evaluation of those differences in terms of their actual worth. The person who is free from anti-Negro prejudice does not deny ugly facts - like the high rate of venereal disease among Negroes, or the low cleanliness standards of other people. In fact, the person who is genuinely unprejudiced is logically concerned with the ferreting out of the source of any inequalities of advantage among groups - and also in perpetuating those differences among them which may be of social value, as biological immunity or cultural heritage (1).

An appealing instance of total lack of race prejudice, which is extraordinarily rare in white America, is cited by Pearl Buck, who was informed by her daughter that a lady was waiting to see her. Mrs. Buck asked whether the guest was American or Chinese, to which the child, who had not learned such modes of discrimination, replied she hadn't noticed. The difference in "visibility" between the average Chinese woman and the average "American" woman is not very much less than that between Negroes and whites - but the characteristics that differentiate the two are noticed, because we have been taught in one way or another to differentiate them.

In contrast with race prejudice which is an absolute, hostility is an emotional response which may be measured both in its breadth and intensity (2). Race hostility, then, is the emotional response of antipathy and repulsion to the fact of race difference, rather than to an individual or situation. Whether hostility is overt or not depends upon the social

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[1]"The Russians have welcomed cultural differences, and they have refused to treat them as inferiorities". Editorial, Richmond News Leader, cited in Common Ground, 1944, p. 87.

[2]See Gordon W. Allport, Personality: A Psychological Interpretation, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937.

milieu, as well as the temperament of the individual experiencing it. Where overt acts of aggression are permissible, as in lynching or other physical attack upon the Negro, the presence of hostility is undeniable: however, the presence of adverse social controls may necessitate the indirect expression of hostility through the disguises of belittling, condescension, and other forms of verbal attack. All of these expressions of hostility may be crystallized in humor as we shall see later.

Prejudice and hostility are intimately woven: perhaps more intimately in the field of race than in any other, because of the heat with which such prejudices are defended or attacked. The tendency to see Negroes not as individuals, but as members of a group alien to oneself, makes for vulnerability to suggestion and social force for acceptance of stereotypes, myths and distorting generalities, all of which are based on a grain of truth vastly exaggerated, and assigned to all members of the group. The prejudice, arising from failure to include necessary data in the estimate, gives rise easily to the inability to see the same data. The question of whether or not the individual is intellectually and morally responsible for his race prejudice and hostility is thus irrelevant: he is responsible in precisely the same way as he is responsible for the utilization of full intellectual power in the making of any judgment or opinion.

In examining a situation to determine the presence or absence of race prejudice, the main criterion is reaction to the group rather than to the individual (1); any attitude at all which meets this definition must

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[1] In this sense, prejudice may have either a positive or negative connotation. Chauvinism is national pride based upon prejudice, i. e., the attachment of excessive value to one's own country and institutions. Popularly, prejudice implies prejudice <u>against</u>.

be considered prejudiced.

Race prejudice has been distinguished from color and skin prejudice (1). Most often the distinction is made between the race prejudice of the South, based on reactions to the Negro as a political, social and economic threat, and that of the North, based on skin color. Such skin prejudice is held to be impossible in the South where the affection between the Negro mammy and white child is an intimate part of the plantation legend. The northerner, it is asserted, does not and cannot be expected to feel the affection born of long living with the Negro.

Of color prejudice, Berkeley-Hill has stated,

> "... mankind has maintained so long these two conceptions (blackness and evil - N.G.) in close association as to justify in the most sophisticated of his kind an uneasiness about the color black or even milder shades of it. Hence, the "white" man is the victim of varying shades of repulsion when brought into contact with races whose skin is more pigmented than his own, to however slight a degree", (2)

to which Thomas Phillips answered, two centuries prematurely,

> "... nor can I imagine why they should be despised for their color, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleased God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsic value in one color more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think so because we are so, and are prone to judge favorably in our own case, as well as the blacks who in odium of the color, say the devil is white and so paint him". (3)

Color prejudice is more properly considered by Olivier as a sign of the presence of ethnic differences, and of the characteristics which are

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[1]William I. Thomas, "The Psychology of Race Prejudice", American Journal of Sociology, 9: 593-61, March, 1904.

[2]O. A. R. Berkeley-Hill, "The Color Question from a Psychoanalytical Viewpoint", Psychoanalytical Review, 11: 246-253, 1924.

[3]Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage made in the Hannibal of London, Ann. 1693-1694, from England to Cape Monseradae in Africa", in Churchill, Collection of Voyages and Travels, VI: 173-239, 1732.

assumed to accompany those differences (1). Color-prejudice is then merely one facet of race prejudice (2), an isolation of a single factor which serves to identify a group, rather than a constellation of factors necessary to identify others (3).

Anti-Negro prejudice must be defined as the judgment of the individual on the basis of his assumed membership in the Negro ethnic group. It is "anti" only in so far as it isolates the members of that group, and applies special standards of judgment and premises in reacting to them. Prejudicial thinking is racist thinking: thinking in terms of race. Thus, such laboratory tests as these which require that the subject check one of a set of nationalities or races as his choice, demands race prejudice and race thinking as the precondition for response to the test: ~~it~~ they demands that one evaluate all members of any definite national or racial group. The only basis for deciding whether or not one would prefer a Norwegian to a Negro is that of trait names associated with each.

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[1]Sydney Olivier, "Colour Prejudice", Contemporary Review, 124: 449-56, 1923.

[2]The way in which color and anti-Negro prejudices are linked is inadvertently betrayed in the following passage from Robert William Shufeldt, The Negro a Menace to American Civilization, (Boston, Richard G. Badge, 1907), p. 10.

"... I have met in my life time any number of people who have and are prejudiced against the Negro purely on account of his color. This has never been the case with myself, though I confess that, when taken as a race, and as a whole, what that color represents is extremely repugnant to me".

[3]"... Color has become a signal of inferiority by the mere habit of connecting the idea of a slave with that of a dark skin; nor can it be otherwise while the principle of association hold their places among the first elements of the human mind". Jared Sparks, A Historical Outline of the American Colonization Society, (Boston: 1824).

The emphasis currently placed on 'education for Tolerance' (1) raises new problems in personal interaction. The concept of tolerance implies permission of differences. To be tolerated implies being permitted to retain one's individual status as a member of a racial, religious or national group. Tolerance cannot reasonably be considered the equivalent of lack of prejudice. It is more properly a mid-point between hostility and freedom from prejudice. Were it possible to envision an era of social development in which the Negro was equated in intellectual, social, political and every other status with the white, the first victim would be hostility, the second 'tolerance', and, lastly, prejudice.

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[1] See -
William Francis Clarke, The Folly of Bigotry: An Analysis of Intolerance, (Chicago: Non-Sectarian League for Americanism, 1940).
Also -
Robert L. Duffus: "Where Do We Get Our Prejudices", Harpers: 153: 503-508, 1926.

Possible Roots of Anti-Negro Prejudice and Hostility in America

Anti-Negro Prejudice a Result of Ignorance or Unpleasant Experience

Bogardus has based his studies in Social Distance upon the theorem that "... racial problems are personality problems. They originate in personal preferences either direct or derivative". (1) He has postulated as contributory causes of race antagonisms such factors as low cultural standards, adverse sensory impressions, unreliability, trickiness, unfair business practices, etc. (2)

Programs for the alleviation and elimination of anti-Negro prejudice, on the sole basis of cultural, educational and other such contacts, imply a belief in the efficacy of direct experience without respect to social milieu: e. g. Collins' (3) assumptions that attendance at, and participation in Christian associations and conferences is the key to the ridding of prejudice against minority groups.

Yet, Chase (4) and the Horowitzs (5) have noted the unreliability of correlations between race friendliness and contact with members of the subject group. In the anxiety of the South to retain sectional control

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[1]Emory S. Bogardus, op. cit., p. 219.

[2]Emory S. Bogardus, "Causes of Race Antagonisms: an Outline", Sociology and Social Research, 124: 160-170, 1939.

[3]George L. Collins, "How Race Prejudice is Overcome", The World Tomorrow, 11: 410-12, October, 1928.

[4]Wilton P. Chase, "Attitudes of North Carolina Students toward the Negro", Journal of Social Psychology, 12: 367-78, 1940.

[5]Eugene L. Horowitz and Euth E. Horowitz, "Development of Social Attitudes in Children", Sociometry, 1: 301-38, 1938.

over its Negro population, it has proclaimed for a long time its special understanding of, and sympathy for the problems of the Negro people (1). Yet, somehow, there has been created such an atmosphere that Zeligs and Hendrickson have found that although acquaintenceship with a large number of other minority groups increases tolerance, acquaintanceship with Negroes does not result in as great a measure of tolerance toward them (2).

Race prejudice and race hostility may be decreased or increased by contacts between members of the groups involved. But the nature and extent of any changes thus made is not a function of their numbers, but of the attitudes, ambitions, personality integration, and social setting in which the meeting takes place. Failure to appreciate this results in distortion of the reality of race relations in this country, so that one does not see, as Orata did, that a group of white students holding conferences with Oriental students, were interested primarily in confirming their beliefs in the superiority of the white race (3).

Hunter (4) and Diggins (5) have found rank difference correlations

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[1]Nan Bagley Stephens, Contempo, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 3, "Maybe it was because my slave-owning ancestors were fond of their darkies and treated them as individuals that I see them like that. It seems to me that no one, not even the Negroes themselves can get the perspective reached through generations of understanding such as we have inherited".

[2]Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Racial Attitudes of 200 6th Grade Children", Sociology and Social Research, 18: 26-36, 1933.

[3]Pedro Tamesis Orata, "Race Prejudice", Welfare Bulletin, 18: 766-75, 1925.

[4]C. W. Hunter, "A Comparative Study of the Relationship existing between the White Race and the Negro Race in the State of North Carolina and the City of New York". Master's Essay in Columbia University Library. 1927.

[5]E. Diggins, "A Statistical Study of National Prejudice". Master's Essay in Columbia University Library, 1927.

between lack of race-nationality prejudice and famaliarity as high as a plus .82: yet the fact that familiarity is only a small segement of attitudes is revealed in the approval of segregation by 96% of the Northern white adults, and 96% of the Southern white adults, from which Murphy concludes that "... the concept 'contract means friendliness' is too general to help much in the present problem" (1).

The average person is daily exposed to dozens of persons who may be considered undesirable. Yet prejudice against red-heads, for instance, while amusing in a mild form, would be considered psychotic if, in the absence of more conclusive proof, it were proclaimed that red-heads were uniformly dirty, slothful, or hyper-sexed. We do not become enraged at "those red-heads" because nothing in our history, culture or education supports such attitudes. In the case of the Negro, ignorance or unpleasant experience nourishes the individual prejudice: but it must be preceded by identification and socially approved isolation of the Negro as a member of an out-group.

Anti-Negro Prejudices and Hostility a Function of Differences in Group Characteristics

Dewey has said, "The basis of race prejudice is instinctive dislike and dread of what is strange" (2). Hans Kohn has elaborated further to define strangeness in terms of appearances and ways of life (3). The belief

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[1]For a field study of race relations in a state with a wide variation in density of Negro population, and sentiment on slavery, see Frank U. Quillin, The Color Line in Ohio: A History of Race Prejudice in a typically Northern State. (New York: Macmillan, 1913).

[2]John Dewey, "Racial Prejudice and Friction", Chinese Social and Political Science Review, 6:1-17, 1922.

[3]Hans Kohn, "Race Conflicts", Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, ed. F. R. Seligman, Vol. XIII, pp. 36-41.

that striking differences beget prejudice and aversion has been expressed by Gilligan (1), Gavitt (2), Simpson (3), and Thomas (4), all of whom emphasize that race prejudice may be enhanced or encouraged by other factors - but its essential and inevitable root is instinctive.

The general disrepute into which the psychological theories of instinct have fallen has affected the tenability of a native race instinct. No evidence has been offered to substantiate the belief that the child who sees a Negro for the first time experiences any other emotions than those upon meeting a white person with similar characteristics. The fact that a Negro nurse is cherished in childhood indicates a reaction to a definite individual, rather than the indiscriminate reaction which may chacterize later relationships.

Watson's studies of the psychological responses of the child to the strange have demonstrated dramatically the role of conditioning in producing fears which are so prevalent that they are considered instinctive - the fear of furry animals, large animals, snakes, etc. (5) In the absence of conclusive evidence to the contrary, it cannot be held that reaction to the strange is more likely to arouse prejudice and hostility than curiosity and pleasure.

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[1]Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, The Morality of the Color Line, (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1938).

[2]Bertram L. Simpson (B. L. Putnam, pseud.) The Conflict of Color: The Threatened Upheaval throughout the World. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910).

[3]John Palmer Gavit, "Plain Talk about Race Prejudice", Parents Magazine, 13: 15 ff., February, 1938.

[4]William I Thomas, "The Psychology of Race Prejudice", American Journal of Sociology, 9: 393-411, March, 1904.

[5]See E. Franklin Frazier, "What's the Evidence? Human Nature and the Nature of Race Contacts", Nation, 157-165, August 7, 1943.

Lasker's study of race attitudes of children (1) has given concrete evidence of the wide variety of reactions with which white children meet Negroes. Certainly there is nowhere in this or other studies the kind of initial violent withdrawal from the stranger described so dramatically by the apostle of racist dogmas, Houston Stewart Chamberlain:

> "It frequently happens that children who have no conception of what 'Jew' means, or that there is any such thing in the world begin to cry as soon as a genuine Jew or Jewess comes near them! The learned can frequently not tell a Jew from a non-Jew; the child who scarcely knows how to speak notices the difference. Is not that something? To me it seems worth as much as a whole anthropological congress ..." (2)

It is not surprising that Chamberlain should have evaluated such an improbable anecdote above the scientific measurement of race differences, which has nowhere substantiated either a hierarchy of races, nor an instinctive repulsion on the basis of race difference alone.

Consciousness of Kind

The theory that race prejudice is based upon the natural propensity of human beings for forming themselves into groups, and then defending and exalting their group is the most widespread in the sociological study of the phenomenon.

Sumner's historic study of the formation of the Folkways (3) and of the role of in-groups and out-groups in stimulating ethnocentric and chauvinistic attitudes (reflecting in part Gumplowicz's Syngenism (4)) have

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[1] Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929).

[2] Houston Stewart Chamberlain, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century. (London: John Lane Company, 1911) 2 Vols. Vol 1, p.537.

[3] William Sumner, The Folkways, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906).

[4] Ludwig Gumplowicz, Grundriss der Sociologie (Vienna:Manz'sche k.k. Hof-Verl. u. Univ. Buchhandlung, 1895).

laid the basis for Gidding's consciousness of kind (1), and Wissler's ethnocentric thesis (2).

A "tribal instinct" cited by Keith (3) and described by Bryce as "that natural tendency which draws men toward those who resemble themselves in speech and customs - especially religious customs" (4) is alleged to be the result in every historical instance in which large numbers of peoples have met one another.

Davidson (5) has noted that the mere existence of the idea of an instinctive basis for race prejudice and hostility based on consciousness of race has served to perpetuate those attitudes: Dover (6) believes the fallacy of the belief is exposed by the lack of evidence of an original tribal society, by the presence of mulattoes indicating no instinctive sexual antipathy, and by the indifference of children to differences in race.

One basic issue left unanswered by the theory of the in-group and out-group is the determination of the basis upon which an individual selects the group to which he becomes attached. The Gestalten, which humans make in deriving their feelings of group-consciousness, are dependent, it is assumed, on the recognition of differences. But within the genus homo sapiens there are hundreds of potential points of discrimination, which would

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[1]Franklin Henry Giddings, The Principles of Sociology, (New York: MacMillen Company, 1923).

[2]Clark Wissler, Man and Culture,(New York:Thomas Crowell Co., 1923).

[3]Sir Arthur Keith, The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization, (London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1931).

[4]Rt. Hon. Vis. James Bryce, Race Sentiment as a Factor in History, (London: University of London Press, 1915).

[5]Cedric Dover, Half Caste, (London:Martin Seckers and Warburg, Ltd., 1937).

[6]Henry A. Davidson, "The Anatomy of Prejudice", "Common Ground, 1: 3-13, Winter, 1941).

enable us to categorize individuals- size of feet, height, hair color, literacy, age, etc. Which grouping we select is a function of social learning and institutionalization and cannot be instinctive. The fact that in one society the unmarried young form a class having certain definite relationships with every other group in that society is contrasted with others in which the sex membership is the determinant of all attitudes and behaviour. That color gives a'high degree of visibility' is helpful in the demarcation of groups: that color difference cannot be the basis of race prejudice and hostility is demonstrated by the traditional inclusion of almost-whites with the Negro group, which is characteristic of American race relations.

Sumner's concept of group identification, like his theories on the formation of the folk-ways and mores is tenable only in a relatively small static society isolated from the main stream of world changes. Theories based on more or less permanent group identification appear to be utterly inapplicable to fast moving modern society, in which the means of mechanical communication multiply with such rapidity.

Changes in status cause realignment of groups, in which members of the out-group pass into membership in the in-group. Without any change in physical characteristic, and retaining much higher visibility than any ethnic group will ever show, women in recent decades have moved rapidly to a position in which their membership in a sexual group is becoming of relatively little significance in the consideration of their individual worth. The change is a result of a rapid increase in education, sexual and economic freedom. The transition is a very slow process, but their acceptance on an equal plane with men has not only been regularized legislatively, but is commonly accepted as an earmark of an approach to a higher civilization in

which the maximum use is made of individual potentialities. We still speak of "lady doctors" and"women lawyers" but that usage may be expected to disappear when their attainment of professional status is less infrequent. With respect to Negroes, who are a far more disadvantaged group, we are still in the era when racial identity is a prime factor in consideration of the individual in any activity. Ideological weapons of major importance in the attempt to fix women permanently in an inferior caste position have been the myths whose widespread currency gave them an aura of absolute sanctity. Included among those fixed stereotypic ideas were these: woman was a special creation of God, whom He intended should occupy an entirely different position from that of man: woman was physically and mentally incapable of the work of men; men would never be able to accept women as working companions because of the wide psychological gulf between them, etc. It should be noted that each of these ideas, together with many others derived from them, have been exerted in the perpetuation of prejudice against ethnic groups.

Women have not ceased to be women because they are becoming the equals of men. The basic distinction remains, precisely as the visibility and special characteristics of ethnic groups may be expected to persist - what will diminish will not be the distinctiveness, but the values placed upon it (1).

Patriotism or love of nation is a frequently cited example of the operation of in-group, out-group mechanism. Yet patriotism and nationalism are products of recent capitalistic development, and have arisen precisely in a period when small highly-inbred political units have disappeared from the main currents of world history. Love of nation in America is shared not

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[1]See James A. Thome, Address to the Females of Ohio, April, 1836. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Ohio Anti-Slavery Comm., 1836).

only by the predominant white Protestants but by all the religious and ethnic minorities. If such nationalism is a recognized and tangible product of historical events, there is no reason to believe that cosmopolitan attitudes on race and race differences are not equally attainable.

Anti-Negro Prejudice a Result of Group Competition

It has been said that

> ... racial prejudice arises when we have on the one hand a dominant habitat-controlling group and on the other hand an "inferior" group making the superior group's habitat it's own. (1)

The American prejudices against the Turks, or hostility towards the Chinese and Japanese are not based on the threat of loss of habitat. In one case, the total national population is 50,000, in the other the members are so localized that they are densely concentrated in a few areas, although the prejudice has become nationwide. Whereas for a few individuals, hostility may be augmented by the feared loss of their homes or land, the soil of hostility must have already been prepared with an attitude of expectancy to be repelled by the strangers.

No argument has received more widespread currency than that one naturally feels prejudice against a group like the Negroes, whose presence in a community automatically lowers real estate values (2). The ecological data show clearly that population movements are a constant factor, and that in general the areas into which Negroes move are those which are completing a cycle of residential usefulness, and have already passed into a semi-

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[1]Fred Brown, "A Socio-Psychological Analysis of Race Prejudice", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 27: 364-74, 1933.

[2]See Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), esp. Section V.

business stage: the careful study of real estate values has shown, wherever it has been undertaken, that the occupancy of an area by Negroes does not per se decrease real estate values below the value it would reach through the normal processes of population movement; and that, further, income from such properties frequently shows a profit, because of the restriction of areas of Negro tenancy to small parts of the larger community (1). In the normal growth of cities, especially large cities, new peoples are always moving in: yet the only group which has experienced restriction by covenant (with the exception of Jews) in the majority of American cities is the Negro one. These covenants have been given the support of law enforcement agencies, and frequently of violence against the Negro and white violators. The circular nature of the argument that the presence of Negroes depreciates the value of a clientele or neighborhood is patent: value is depreciated only because prejudice against the group can be canalized into permissable acts of discrimination. To the argument that the presence of Negroes is undesirable because they damage the prestige of a community, it can only be said that the damage arises from the attitudes of the majority, rather than the existance of the minority.

Race and Class Prejudice

Anti-Negro prejudice and hostility are widely held to be part of a larger pattern in interpersonal relations, in which the factor of economic competition is a major determinant.

So long as class and race coincide, class prejudice and race prejudice may be considered as a unitary phenomenon rooted in essentially eco-

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[1]For a most recent occurence in a northern city, see P. M., February 29, 1944, p. 7.

nomic relations. Both in primitive and advanced society, the search for economic goods occupies so strategic a position in the life of the individual that any factor which interferes with the successful completion of the search becomes easily the target of deepest antipathy.

Klineberg (1), Cayton and Mitchell(2), Freeman (3), Oldham (4), Miller (5), Johnson (6), and others have given voice to the opinion that Negroes are held in contempt and degradation by reasons of economic forces: by the upper classes, who bear the same attitudes towards all members of the working classes, and by the workers who are in direct, and sometimes violent competition with a group whose history of willingness to accept low wages and resistance to unionization makes him an attractice tool in industrial relations.

The major conflicts between Negroes and whites in the United States today are the industrial ones. In no other field are Negroes the victim of such intensive discrimination. Although the prevention of the employment of the Negro is not as codified in law as discrimination in such areas of life as entertainment, travel, etc., it is embodied in 'policy' which exerts an enormous influence in preventing their initial employment, the pay-

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[1]Otto Klineberg, "Race Prejudice and the War", in "Minority Peoples in a Nation at War", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1942.

[2]Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions, (Chapel Hill:University of North Carolina Press, 1939).

[3]Ellis Freeman, Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936).

[4]J. H. Oldham, Christianity and The Race Problem, (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924).

[5]Herbert Adolphus Miller, Races, Nations and Classes,(Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1924).

[6]James Weldon Johnson, A Negro Looks at Race Prejudice", American Mercury, 14: 52-56, May, 1928.

ing of equal wages with those of the white worker, upgrading to positions for which they are qualified, and appointment to supervisory positions.

In the economic field, Negroes have more fellow-victims than in any other. Other national groups, such as the Italians, Poles, and Filipinos, and religious groups like Jews and Catholics have been subject to discrimination at some place and some time. Yet for each of these there has been an escape. They have become "Americanized", adapted themselves to our language, customs, dress: members of minority religious sects have reached the highest government positions in which they have become integrated into a larger community where their affiliations have become of no significance. Only the Negro, unable to escape the signs of his ethnic identity, has been unable to escape the evaluations placed upon them.

The history of labor in the United States, as we shall see, affords accurate data on the actual competition between members of various ethnic groups; the pattern of discrimination differing with changes in the immigration stocks. That there exists today friction between Negroes and whites is grimly illustrated in the following data:

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor lists the strikes in Detroit to prevent employment and upgrading of colored workers for the three-month period March 1, 1943, through May 31, 1943. The record shows that 101,955 man-days, or 2,446,920 man-hours of war production were lost by these stoppages. The record is as follows:

Figure 3

WORK STOPPAGES MARCH 1, 1943, THROUGH MAY 31, 1943

	Beginning Date	No. of Workers	Man-Days Idle	Issue
1. U.S.Rubber Company	March 19	1,064	3,955	(1)
2. Vickers, Inc.	March 25	40	60	(2)
3. Hudson Motor Car Co.	April 20	15	45	(3)
4. Hudson Naval Arsenal	May 17	750	750	(4)
5. Packard Motor Car Co.	May 26	22,883	97,145	(5)

Issue: *
(1) Hiring colored workers and demand for separate sanitary facilities.
(2) Colored help placed in Production Department.
(3) Hiring of colored plant guards.
(4) Refusal to work with colored tool-maker.
(5) Upgrading of colored workers.

Most significant in the understanding of the ways in which economic strains can be canalized with overt hostility against the Negro is the evidence of competent students (1) on

1. The prevalence in Detroit of semi-Fascist organizations with official backing. KKK, Black Legion, Father Coughlin, etc.

2. The fact that at such plants as the Willow Run Bomber Plant,(where work stoppages because of the upgrading of Negro workers have been particularly prominent),of those employed in July, 1943, between 40% and 50% were laborers recruited from the Deep South.

3. The desire of certain employers to abet the reactionary forces among the employees who incite race hatred, e. g., the evidence of connivance between workers and officials of the Packard Company in preventing employment of Negro workers.

* In at least four of the five strikes, the issue was one of the placement of Negroes in positions guaranteeing them important status, either because of their authority, or the recognized high level of their skill.

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[1] Walter White and Thurgood Marshall, What Caused the Detroit Riot, (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1943).

The analysis of these data leaves two important questions unanswered. The first is that of determining the extent of the influence of agitatory groups who set out deliberately to create disunity and animosity. In every single study of economic group competition, especially between Negroes and whites, there has been evidence of some incitation, direct or indirect, by groups trying to preserve hegemony or to prevent unity. The second question is that of determining why the entrance of Negro workers at the same wages, frequently by virtue of membership in the same union is considered as a threat to white security.

The postulation that economic competition is the basis of present anti-Negro prejudice and hostility needs careful amendment to include the recognition that -

Negroes do not automatically constitute a rival competitive group.

For their position to be competitive, they must be an actual or imagined threat to the security, both physical and psychic, of other workers.

Competition between Negroes and whites in the United States has a different historical background from relationships among any other groups. Negroes are members of the only ethnic group in American history, a majority of whom occupied a fixed, legal position of economic inferiority as slaves. To ignore this in the postulation of a possible root of present attitudes is indefensible.

Race and Caste

A sociological concept of great value, the consideration of the Negro problem in the United States as one of caste has enabled social

scientists to view race relations in a new light: to show how Negro-white relations are similar to and different from relations between the majority and other minority groups in America (1). The Negro status has been described as that of a group, none of whose members is allowed to compete with any of the members of the dominant white caste. The caste line is unbreakable ... it is not possible to cross it except by being or seeming to be white.

It does not facilitate the understanding of anti-Negro prejudice in the United States to describe it as a form of caste prejudice, viz., the reaction tendency of members of the upper caste in their relations with members of the lower caste. While such a terminology is a convenient tool, it does not clarify the workings of historic forces. When was class transformed into caste, as far as the Negro in America is concerned? The important question is one of determining whether Negroes were ever considered anything but a caste: if they had any other position, why has it changed? What forces, both inherent in the economic structure of this democracy, and abetted by the forces which desired the extension and intensification of slavery, were responsible for the feeling of caste which characterizes the present era?

Frustration and Aggression

Freud has described convincingly the process by which interference with the satisfaction of the primary human drives, and repressions resulting from the pressure of inner inhibitions, or external force, produce accumulated tensions which must be released. The elaboration of this thesis

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[1] For a discussion of the literature on caste, see Review of the Literature, p.4.

by Dollard, Doob, etc., has resulted in the most satisfactory psychological approach to the problem of race prejudice (1).

According to Dollard et al., race prejudice is the infallible sign of frustration in the prejudiced person. The frustration results either in direct aggression against the offending member or group (the legitimate aggression against Negro workers who take the positions of white workers at lower pay), or in displaced aggression; the latter phenomenon, scrapegoating, results in a temporary and incomplete reduction of the original instigating drive. The psychological process of scrapegoating involves the search for and infliction of psychic or physical punishment upon a suitable object.

The role of social approval and "permission-to-hate" has been noted. Dollard points out the human inheritance of social traditions which defining the objects and persons against whom one may aggress without incurring community displeasure. The use of the Negro as a scrapegoat in arenas of social conflict in which aggression against the legitimate offender is interdicted is, of course, a time honored tradition in the United States. Statistical study of cotton prices and number of lynchings have shown that the annual per acre market value of cotton correlates -.67 with numbers of Negroes lynched in selected Southern communities (2): that lynching exists

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[1] John Dollard, et al, Frustration and Aggression, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).
John Dollard, "Hostility and Fear in Social Life", Social Forces, 17: 15-26, 1938.

[2] Carl Iver Hovland and Robert R. Sears, "Minor Studies in Aggression: VI Correlations of Lynchings with Economic Indices", cited in John Dollard et al, Frustration and Aggressions, p. 31.

as an available mode of alleviation of individual and group frustrations is indicative of serious defects in our social order: wherever lawlessness is considered a legitimate mode of meeting problems, the foundations of national, as well as individual security, have been undermined. (1)

In emphasizing that race prejudice is always a product of frustrations, Dollard has made what appears to be a serious psychological error, which may be attributed either to the lack of any precise definition of such prejudice or a disregard of the important matter of social conditioning.

When the psychologist describes an act of aggression, he must define more precisely who is aggressing and who is aggressed against. Do expressions of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility always indicate frustration? The importance of answering this question will be enhanced later in this study, in which the conventional norm or standard of behavior with respect to the Negro is described as being based on prejudice and hostility: behavior which is in conformity with that norm cannot reasonably be called necessarily rooted in individual frustration. (2)

The frustration - aggression hypothesis does not have any reality independent of such sociological phenomena as economic competition. It merely aids by describing the individual mechanism, without reference to particular circumstances.

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[1]For a discussion of the psychological bases of lynching, see Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1941).

[2]For an elaboration of this point with respect to humor, see Chapter IV.

The Lack of a Modus Vivendi between Groups

Wherever groups of individuals bearing distinct ethnic marks meet, they are faced with the need of adjustment. The acculturation process is always two-sided, whether the ultimate adjustment is military defeat, enslavement, mutual equality or any of the many other possible solutions to a race contact. The pattern of relation between the Negro and the white in the United States is one involving the introduction of an alien group in a slave status. For 144 years that status received the sanction of law: at the end of that period, the slaves were rid of their statutory enslavement.

Shaler has said:

> "The one condition in which very diverse races may be brought into close social relations without much danger of hatred, destructive to the social order, is where an inferior race is enslaved to a superior ... In the first place, the condition of slavery, all rivalry between the races is made impossible. The gulf between master and slave appears in the nature of things". (1)

The regulation in law or custom of race relations is held by Park (2), Royce (3), Gillin (4) and others as the pre-condition for the elimination of prejudice and hostility. Thus, it is assumed that during the period of Negro-white relations preceding Emancipation there was no race prejudice

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[1]N. S. Shaler, "Race Prejudices", Atlantic Monthly, 58:510-18, 1886

[2]Robert E. Park, Introduction to J. Steiner, The Japanese Invasion, (Chicago; A. C. McClung, 1917).

[3]Josiah Royce, Race Questions, Provincialism, and other American Problems, (New York: MacMillan, 1908).
..... Race Questions and Prejudices, International Journal of Ethics, 16: 265-288, 1905-6

[4]John Lewis Gillin, Clarence G. Dittmer, Ray Colbert and Norman M. Kastler, Social Problems, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1943.

or hostility: it arose because of the disruption of the previously held relations at the time of Emancipation.

Kohn's assumption that "As long as the lower races accept their position as natural or as ordained by God, as long as they do not feel the humiliation and discomfort of their status, race conflict is not acute" (1) is to be challenged factually: was there ever such an "inferior"race which showed no sign, however subdued they might be, of the struggle to assert its selfhood?

The belief that race prejudice and hostility arise only in situations in which there is overt war or apparent struggle postulates the existance of some society in which there are no tensions. It is not necessary here to discuss the possibility of the existence of such a society in the modern world. It certainly cannot be asserted of any of the areas of race contact today that there is a static situation in which both sides are contented, with the 'inferior' and 'superior' races accepting those respective positions without any effort to extend power on the part of either. It can certainly not be said of race contact in Africa (2), Britain (3), Australia (4), or any of the other places where groups with different ethnic constitutions are meeting. The fact that the world is

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[1]Hans Kohn, op. cit. p. 37.

[2]Basil Joseph Mathews, The Clash of Colour, London: Edinburgh House Press, 1924.
Richard C. Thurnwalk, Black and White in East Africe, Anonymous, "Miscegenation in South Africa", Nature. No. 3698, p. 357. (British) (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1935).

[3]David Freeman, "Colour Prejudice in the British Empire", Contemporary Review, 139: 348-54, 1931.

[4]Hon. H. A. Wyndham, "The Problem of Colour in Relation to the Idea of Inequality", III, Journal of Philosophic Studies, 1,211-33.
See Basil Joseph Matthews, op. cit., p. 45 for Statement of Prime Minister of New Zealand on race prejudice against Asiatics in Australia.

growing rapidly smaller is in itself a major influence on the pattern of race relations within any specific country. The disparity of evidence on race relations in France and England (1) indicates that blanket statements that there is no tension in a specific place are questionable until an exhaustive study has been made. The pattern of race relations in Great Britain at the present moment, for instance, is subject to the influence of the presence of American Negro troops, Indian colonial troops, and other colored peoples occupying new positions with respect to white England (2). How far the pattern will change is a function of the flexibility of the race pattern already established: even if the English code shows no statutory changes, it is to be expected that new attitudes will have been developed which will influence the development of new folkways and customs.

Emancipation brought about Anti-Negro prejudice by upsetting the status quo. The belief under examination has been stated as,

> ... There was no serious race problem under slavery. The problem arose with the sudden and complete destruction of the old social arrangements and the necessity of making a new racial adjustment (3).

The belief that race prejudice and hostility were non-existent in the days of slavery, and arose only at Emancipation is so widespread that it has not yet been challenged by students of race relations. The belief rests

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[1]Richard La Piere, "Race Prejudice in France and England", Social Forces, 7:102-111, 1928.
S. P. Adinarayanish, "A Research in Colour Prejudice", British Journal of Psychology, 31:217-229, 1941.

[2]Joseph Julian, "Jim Crow Goes Abroad", Nation, 155: 610-12, December 19, 1942.

[3]"So long as blacks remained in slavery, there was little race friction", John Lewis Gillin, et al., Social Problems, (New York: D.Appleton Century Co., 1943).

on certain primary assumptions:

1. In the pre-Emancipation United States, there was a solidly established system of social and economic relations in which all the Negroes formed one group and all whites another.
2. Emancipation abolished all vestiges of Negro slavery, and therefore the system of social accomodations which accompanied it.

The importance of examining the bases of these beliefs cannot be overestimated. They have more than historical interest. They betray an ignorance of social forces and methods of progress which can lead to erroneous and dangerous approaches to problems in race relations today.

When it is stated in modern studies of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility that they are facets of an essentially caste prejudice, very little aid has been given in discovering how an original class attitude became transformed into a racial caste one. What is assumed is that relations were fixed: all Negroes were slaves, and all whites slaveowners. The last is patently untrue, and automatically discarded. What has not been discarded is the notion that all Negroes were slaves until the moment of Emancipation, and that their lot and their relations to whites were identical throughout America.

When slavery as an institution is discussed, it is almost always forgotten that the United States was not a feudal state, in which all authority rested in the hands of an upper caste having exclusive access to all forms of information and education, and experiencing no competition from members of the lower caste. It is forgotten that this was an incipient democracy, resting upon a body of doctrines enunciating firmly the principles of the equality of men: that efforts to impose Negro slavery and caste were contrary to the spirit of those documents: that there was a group, both

among the Negroes and the whites who were determined to enforce the democratic principle: that slavery from its very inception was open to attack as unAmerican. (1)

The dynamics of social change must be sought in situations-in-transition. The belief is current in history textbooks and elsewhere that the Civil War began as a war having nothing at all to do with slavery; that it suddenly and accidently resulted in the emancipation of the slaves as a result of expediency. Such crude approaches to the dynamics of social change, based on "great Man" theories lead to gross distortion of facts. The struggle over slavery was not waged entirely within the confines of the United States. It was affected profoundly by the pronouncements of the French codes , of the Emancipation Act of 1833 in Great Britain (2), by the Haitian Rebellion (3), and also by the appearance of Count DeGobineau's works which, quickly translated and published in the United States, gave authoritative voice to the upholders of white supremacy (4).

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[1]See, for example, the statement of Wirth that "Under the static feudal order of the plantation system, the Negro and the white group each lived within a separate and distinct social world, and each accepted the order which this world imposed". Louis Wirth, "Segregation", Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, ed. E. R. Seligman, Vol. XIII, p. 644.

[2]William Law Mathieson, British Slavery and Its Abolition, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[3]See A Letter on the Greater Necessity of an Abolition of the African Slave Trade in consequence of the Insurrection of San Domingo, (Bath: Crutwell, 1792).

[4]See John T. Gillard, "Racism Rampant in the United States," Catholic World, 148:152-157.

The Negro and his Place

"I want to give you niggers a few words of plain talk and advice. No such address as you have just listened to is going to do you any good: it's going to spoil you. You had better not listen to such speeches. You might as well understand that this is a white man's country as far as the South is concerned, and we are going to make you keep your place (emphasis mine - NG). Understand that. I have nothing more to say".

Complete address of Governor Oates, personal friend of Booker T. Washington, guest speaker at Tuskegee Institute commencement 1894 (1).

"Where everyone knows his place" is the Garden of Eden the Southerner sighs for, wistfully recalling an ante-bellum era in which the whites and Negroes lived in a state of perfect understanding, each aware of his duties and privileges with respect to the other. What was the Negro's place under slavery? Was it uniform throughout the country, or was it a function of local needs, and so variable that it is readily apparent that he occupied no fixed place, except in the romantic literature of the plantation legend?

The Negro Never Had a Place

The concept 'place' as here used implies a niche into which all Negroes could be placed without reference to any particular period in American history or geography. If it can be shown that all Negroes did fall into a single classification with respect to all white men, there is reason to believe that that 'place' was a reality. If, on the other hand, it can be established that no such place ever existed, then the nostalgia for it is either pathological, or evidence of the attempt, deliberate or unconscious,

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[1]Horace Mann Bond, Social and Economic Influences on the Public Education of Negroes in Alabama, (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1939,)p. 211.

to create one, despite the existence of contemporary constitutional laws forbidding it.

There are three separate factors to be considered in the delineation of the 'place' assigned the Negro - the Negro slave, the Negro freeman, and the reaction of the white man to each of these.

The early census of slave population are, unfortunately, sparing in details about the occupations of the slaves. Of the total slave population of 3,204,313 in 1850, 2,500,000 have been recorded as engaged in large scale agriculture. It is probable that at least 300,000 were engaged in industries and trades outside of agriculture (1).

That the economic institution of slavery was itself an impediment to the progressive industrialization of America is generally recognized. What is not so clear is that the Negro slave, individually, was the economic rival of the white worker. We find evidences of this in the following few advertisements for runaway slaves:

> Robert .... a carpenter by trade, who has managed rice and sawmills (2).
>
> ..... a finished house carpenter, a perfect workman (3).
>
> One hundred and fifty Negroes for sale - consisting of field hands, house-servants, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, blacksmiths, painters, seamstresses, shirtmakers ... (4).

As early as 1734, competition between white and Negro (slave) labor had so sharpened that the following plea was made:

> ... the importation of Negroes, We crave leave to inform your Majesty is a species of Trade that has exceedingly increased of late

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[1]Compendium of the Seventh Census of 1850, p. 94.

[2]Charlestown Mercury, December 26, 1853.

[3]New York Tribune, August 29, 1854, quoting the Charlestown Mercury.

[4]New Orleans Picayune, January 29, 1853.

in this Province, where many Negroes are trained up to be Handicraft tradesmen, to the great discouragement of Your Majesty's white Subjects, who come here to settle with a View of Employment in their several Occupations, but must often give way to a People in Slavery; which we daily discover to be a great Obstruction to the Settlement of this Frontier with white people". (1)

In 1734, the employment of skilled Negroes had already reached such proportions that the South Carolina Council Chamber felt it necessary to plead for the first of what was to be a long series of legislative acts designed to restrict the competition of free and slave labor (2). It is clear from this and other petitions that the objection to the employment of Negroes was raised neither on the basis of the quality of their work, nor the deficiency of their work habits (both of which were to form the basis of the defense of those who refused to employ Negroes after Emancipation)but because as slave labor, they ruined the market for the white worker and made it impossible for him to secure a livelihood. The way in which such a sentiment has been manipulated so that the attention comes to be directed towards the Negro because of his race rather than his position is illustrated by an indignant letter in the newspaper "The Whig" of 1845, describing

... Those whose hearts are now sickened when they look into the carpenter's shops, the blacksmith's shops, and the shops of all the different trades and see them crowded with Negro apprentices and Negro workers are ready to quit in disgust". (3)

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[1]South Carolina Council Chamber to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, April 9, 1934. Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade,(Washington,D.C.:Carnegie Institute,1930) Vol. III, p. 285.

[2]The codes which restricted the employment of Negro labor almost inevitably engendered codes restricting training of Negro slaves. See Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925, (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), Section"Economic Status of the Free Negro".

[3]Lorenzo Greene and Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Wage Earner, (Washington,D.D.:The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930), p. 15.

In 1850 it was proposed that slave labor be used in extracting granite and coal (1), and in 1854, for public construction (2). The hiring out of Negro slaves was governed in general by contract, and the average annual wage paid to the owner is variously estimated at one hundred twenty dollars for males (3), forty to fifty dollars for women (4), and four hundred thirty dollars for a highly skilled blacksmith (5).

Not only did slave labor provide for the skilled and unskilled work on the plantation and in the town, but it provided an ample labor market for the manufacturing of the South. In 1845, local factories were using slave labor, according to Gov. Clarkson of South Carolina (6). The desire of the South to build up an industrial center with the aid of Negro slave labor was due to her need to make even larger groups of white men dependant upon the slavery system, to enhance her profits through the use of nearby resources, and the achievement of more complete independence from the North.

Negro slave laborers were everywhere considered to be useful, and, in many cases, superior to the new English and Irish immigrant stocks. Several thousand worked at the iron mills and furnaces of Tennessee, others in the tobacco plants in Virginia and Florida, and throughout all of the South. So capable were the slave operatives, and so profitable the ventures, that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, numerous moves were made towards the re-opening of the slave trade. The demand for slaves rose

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[1] DeBow's Review, 9:435, July - December, 1850.

[2] DeBow's Review, 17: 76-82, July - December, 1854.

[3] DeBow's Review, 17: 77, July - December, 1854.

[4] New York Tribune, January 20, 1854.

[5] DeBow's Review, 29:374

[6] James Danwoody DeBow, Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, (New Orleans: Pudney and Russell,1852), Vol.II, p. 338.

quickly and decisively as can be seen from the following data:

Production of Cotton (in Bales)	177,824	in	1810	
	334,728	in	1820	
	732,218	in	1830	
Prices of Slaves - - - - -	$300	in	1793	
	$600	in	1813	
	$800	in	1830	(1)

The lower houses of the legislatures of Georgia (2), and Mississippi (3) and South Carolina (4) considered bills for the renewed importation of slaves and indentured servants. The formation of the African Labor Supply Association, with the powerful De Bow at its head signified the pooling of local efforts to re-introduce the trade (5). At the Southern Commercial Convention of May, 1859, repeal of all laws prohibiting the slave trade was requested by delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Louisanna, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas, and only Tennessee and Florida dissented (6).

The efforts of white laborers to guarantee freedom from unequal competition with Negro slaves took various forms - the effort to prevent the training of Negro slaves in skilled work (7) and a drive to place restrictions upon the hiring of Negro slaves to do work which free white

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[1]H. V. Faulkner, American Economic History, (New York: Harpers, 1924), pp. 247, 249, 355.

[2]Savannah Republican, March 13, 1858.

[3]DeBow's Review, 25:627.

[4]Report of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives of South Carolina Legislature, 1857, p. 24.

[5]DeBow's Review, 26:231-235.

[6]DeBow's Review, June, 1859, p. 713.

[7]Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia, 1831-1832, p. 2.

labor might otherwise perform (1). The accumulated resentment of the white workers against the multiple evils of the slavery system is revealed in a petition to the City Council of Atlanta in 1858:

> ... there exists in the City of Atlanta a number of men who, in the opinion of your memorialists, are of no benefit to the city. We refer to the Negro mechanics, whose masters reside in other places, and who pay nothing toward the support of the city government, and the Negro mechanics can afford to underbid the regular resident citizen mechanics of your city to their great injury, and without benefit to the city in any way (2).

A visitor to the United States, noting the effects of legislation designed to prevent the training and employment of Negro workers,

> I may first observe in regard to this disgraceful law, which was only carried by a small majority in the Georgian legislature, that it proves that not a few of the Negro race have got on so well .... that it was worthwhile to legislate against them in order to keep them down, and prevent them from entering into <u>successful</u> rivalry with the whites (my emphasis) (3).

If the Negro slave, by virtue of the protection of his master, undermined the economic security of his white <u>competitor</u>, how much sharper was the conflict in interest between the free Negro and the free white.

According to the census of 1850, there were in the United States at that time 434,495 free Negroes, of whom 45.5 per cent were in the North, 54.2 per cent were in the South, and 0.3 per cent were in the West. It should be remembered that freedom was obtained for the most part through running away and manumission; in most instances, therefore, the Negro

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[1] <u>Supplement to the Revised Code of the Laws of Slavery</u>, 1833, pp. 246-7.

[2] W. E. B. Du Bois and Augustus Dill, et., <u>The Negro American Artisan</u>, (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1912), p. 33-34.

[3] Charles Lyell, <u>A Second Visit in the United States</u>, 3 Vols. (London: J. Murray, 1849).

perforce accepted employment at a lower wage scale than he could have bargained for if he had had some resources to fall back upon.

Concern over the competition of free Negro and white labor is expressed in most diverse quarters. A Slaveholder's Convention in 1859 notes that free Negroes were in keen competition in the towns with white labor (1). The migration of hordes of white workers from the South to the West where they were unhampered by the competition of an economically degraded class caused widespread concern over the future of Southern industry and agriculture (2). Best formulated of all the movements to weaken the power of the free Negroes was the organization of the American Colonization Society.

It is interesting to note that the members of the Colonization Society who felt that the only solution of the Negro problem lay in their being sent back to Africa were vitally interested only in the free Negroes who were an inspiration to insurrection for the slaves. The anonymous author of a defense of the aims of the Colonization Society thus defends slavery, and simultaneously encourages hostility against the Negro, by asserting that the white worker is to be admired for his antipathy against the free Negro, who is his competitor. He warns that "The time is fast approaching when those who employ free blacks and leave the honest and industrious whites to suffer will be lowered in the good opinion of their fellow citizens" (3).

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[1] New York Tribune, June 14, 1859.

[2] New York Tribune, August 15, 1854.

[3] "Agricola", An Impartial View of the Real State of the Black Population of the United States and the Advantages Pointed Out to the Free Blacks of Embracing the Generous Offer of the American Colonization Society, (Philadelphia, 1824).

Prejudice against the Negro, it is demonstrated by this and other statements of the Colonization Society, was prejudice not against his person but his aspirations. So long as he was enslaved, he was the backbone of American progress; as soon as he was free, he became a vicious enemy of that progress.

The diversity of the positions held by free Negroes is illustrated by the list of occupations in which they were engaged, both North and South. Of the nine hundred thirty-five free Negro males in Boston in 1850, one hundred thirty-six were seamen, one hundred thirty-five laborers, and substantial numbers basketmakers, hairdressers, mariners, tailors, tenders and waiters. In Charleston, in the same year, of the five hundred seventy-nine free male Negroes, by far the largest number, one hundred twenty-two were carpenters, other major classifications being those of draymen, fishermen, shoemakers and laborers. In St. Louis, the occupational picture is somewhat different, with fifty-six of the seven hundred eighty males employed as boatmen, and large groups of barbers, cooks, draymen and stewards.

More revealing are the statistics on the number of Negroes in skilled and professional work. Thus, of the free colored population of New York City, sixty were clerks, doctors, druggists, lawyers, merchants, ministers, students and teachers, or about one in fifty-five, while the ratio in New Orleans was one in eleven, and in Connecticut one in a hundred, and for Louisianna as a whole one in twelve.

Olmstead, in his comprehensive, and relatively non-partisan survey of the Cotton Kingdom (1) has encompassed the enormous variety of positions

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[1]Frederick Law Olmstead, The Cotton Kingdom, (New York: Mason Brothers, 1862).

occupied by Negroes, both with respect to white persons, and within their own community. From the vast majority of slaveholdings, which consisted of only five slaves each, with a margin of profit so small that overwork of the slaves was a necessity for business success (1), to the large holdings which depended on the advantages in crop production, the fertility of the land and the accessibility to shipping for their superiority over the small slave holders and non-slave holders, to the Negro slaves who hired themselves out or were hired out by their masters to do highly skilled handicraft work in the towns and on the plantations, the Negro occupied a dozen different places.

The second variable in the 'place' occupied by the Negro was that of geographical division between the North and South. Due to the course of the development of its industries, the North never developed an economy dependent upon slave labor. Close scrutiny of the colonial documents reveals little interest in the continuance of the slave trade, although Brown (2) and Winthrop (3) both defended it, because it was already in existence; they considered it poor policy to ignore a profitable trade.

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[1]In 1860, there were less than eleven thousand planters possessing fifty or more slaves, and they constituted approximately three-fourths of 1% of the total free population.
L. C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States of 1860. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institute, 1933), I, 483.

[2]John Brown of Rhode Island, Annals of Congress, (Washington,D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1851), April 26, 1800, pp. 686-7. Brown said he was certain that our having an act against the slave trade would not prevent the exportation of slaves from Africa. Therefore, we might just as well engage in the trade as leave it to others.

[3]Reply to Judge James Winthrop, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, (Boston,Mass.:Historical Society,1877),Vol.III, pp.390-1. Winthrop claimed "... It would be more worthy of an enlightened legislature to regulate a trade which is woven into our nature and has been carried on and considered lawful from the earliest antiquity than to try to abolish it ..."

A most interesting point of view is given by the Council of New Jersey in its plea to Governor Morris in 1744, in which it is begged for the continuance of slavery because its other source of labor had diminished dangerously, due to the success of the linen trade in Ireland, the war of German dominions, and the British wars, all of which had deprived it of the labor necessary to maintain its farms and small industries (1). Despite these occasional protests, and the apparent firmness with which slavery, rather than the slave trade was defended, it is clear from the study of the major Northern industries that there were none in which Negroes occupied the numerical importance that they held in Southern agriculture. Too, the form of employment in which Negroes were most useful, and Negro slavery considered most defensible, farm work, was already fading as the major source of occupation, and being quickly replaced by the large-scale industries which were to characterize Northern life until now.

The pattern of relations North and South shows deep cleavages. In the North, the main influence appears to have been that of Christian morality. The tenets of Puritanism required that Negro marriages be encouraged, that they be solemnized by Christian services, and that the Negro family become as sanctified a unit as the white man's (2). The stories of lust and unfaithfulness which were to characterize later literature on the ante bellum South never took root; the Cotton Mathers and other Christian disciples who wrote the main body of literature of colonial New England filled

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[1]The Council of New Jersey to Governor Lewis Morris, New Jersey Archives, (Newark, New Jersey: Daily Advertiser Printing House, 1882) I,222-3. For all these reasons, a bill to lay a duty on Indian, Negro and Mulatto slaves was rejected because "it would be more for the interest of the people of this Colony to encourage at this time the importation of Slaves, than by a law to prohibit them altogether".

[2]Cotton Mather, Rules for the Society of Negroes, (Boston: 1693). The Negro Christianized, (Boston: B. Green, 1706).

it with Negroes made content with their abysmal lot by the sweetness of Christianity.

Hostility between the Negro and the white was everywhere evident in the pre-Emancipation Era. That hostility was directed against the Negro as a member of ethnic group is a result not alone of 'high visibility', but of the fact that the Negro as a slave, or a former slave, occupied a special position in the labor market. There are many evidences that despite this, genuine cooperation and friendliness characterized Negro-white relations on an equal plane in some places. Laborers of both sexes and races worked side by side in cotton mills in Georgia: according to one observer there was"no difficulty among them on account of color, the white girls working in the same room and at the same loom with black girls: and the boys of each color ..... working together without apparent repugnance or objection" (1).

Given the conditions of antagonism between slaves (Negro) and free (white) labor, the defendants of the slavery system skillfully manipulated it to stimulate fear that the Negro, once emancipated, would automatically depreciate the status of the worker.

Governor Adams of South Carolina gave voice to the need of the planters in his note that slavery was the necessary preventive of friction between capital and labor: that whites could not be made to work as cheaply as Negroes, and were they compelled to do so, they would attempt overthrow of the capitalist class (2).

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[1] J. S. Buckingham, The Slave Status in America, (London: Fisher and Company, 1842), Vol. II, pp. 111-112.

[2] "The Revival of the Slave Trade", Southern Presbyterian Review, 11: 100-135, 1858.

Stringfellow was more crude in his plea to the distressed white worker for the support of slavery. His thesis begins a long line of demagogic pleas to the white worker, in an effort to give him a measure of prestige over some class of persons.

> ..... with us, color not money marks the class: black is the badge of slavery: white the color of freemen: and the white man, however poor, whatever be his occupation, feels himself a sovereign ... Where Negro slavery exists, money is not necessary to make the freeman; the white man takes his rank by color: it is his patent of nobility, and until forfeited for dishonour, entitles him and commands for him all the privilege of his class ..." (1) (author's emphasis).

The Negro never acknowledged the place assigned him:- It has already been established that the Negro had no place to which all members of that group could be accurately assigned: that they were in active and bitter competition with large sections of the white population, the white workers (2). With the white capitalists and slave owners, they were in another kind of competition which must be examined to round out the picture. That competition arose from their refusal to submit to the attempt to impose a 'place' upon them.

Aptheker (3) has asserted that the concealment of the role of the

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[1]Benjamin Franklin Stringfellow, Negro Slavery No Evil, (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1855).

[2]"The weight of evidence shows that there was a great increase in numbers (of slave artisans - ed); that they were of much greater value than untrained slaves: that they were much sought after: that they did compete with free white labor, especially in the towns: and, finally, that they were the most important agency in the rise of plantation manufactures", Marcus Jernigan, "Slavery and the Beginnings of Individualism in the American Colonies". American Historical Review, 25: 220,240, 1920.

[3]Herbert Aptheker, Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, (New York: International Publishers, 1939).

Negro in seeking his own emancipation is a result of a deliberate attempt of the Southern oligarchy to apologize for and justify the slavery system, by the pretense that the slaves themselves were both too stupid and too lazy to attempt to escape a system under which they were sublimely happy. He and Carroll (1) have unearthed records of at least 200 recorded slave plots and revolts between 1526 and 1860, in which the Negroes were the main instigators. It should be remembered that slave revolts were only one form of protest - individual running away, sabotage, feigning illness, stealing were other forms (2). With the exception of the last, which appears to have been accepted as inevitable by the slave owners, all constituted constant threats to the security of the slaveowners, making it necessary for them to have armed guards always prepared to subdue such revolts (3).

That there was intense and genuine fear of slave revolt throughout the entire South cannot be doubted after scrutiny of the history and legislation of the ante-bellum era. The fear resulted both from the occurrence of slave revolts and the suspicion, heightened by rumor of impending insurrection. The Denmark Vesey Plot of 1822 (4) which was betrayed by a slave, the Nat Turner revolt (5), and the innumerable other smaller-scaled attempts to win freedom appear to have engulfed the South with fear and dread.

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[1]Joseph C. Carroll, Slave Insurrection in the United States, (Boston: Chapman, Grimes, 1938).

[2]Raymond A. Bauer and Alice H. Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery", Journal of Negro History, 27:388-449, 1942.

[3]Charles Nordhoff, op. cit.

[4]An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection of the Blacks of the City of Charleston, (Charleston: 1822).

[5]Thomas R. Gray, The Confession, Trial and Execution of Nat Turner, (Baltimore: 1831).

Governor Floyd of Virginia remarked "I could not have believed there was half the fear among the people of the lower county with respect to their slaves" (1). The fear of insurrection in Mississippi, generated by the psychopathic delusions of a white woman, resulted in the nightly gathering of all the women and children in a central place, to be guarded by one group of armed men, while others, also armed, patrolled the county looking for slave insurrectionists (2). In the year 1856, a wave of panic in fear of slave insurrection spread over Arkansas, Kentucky, and several other Southern states, which was based undoubtedly on both alarm at the large number of slave plots executed in that year, and the fear of the election of a Republican President (3). That fear of slave insurrection may have been enhanced by political motives, the psychopathic preoccupations of some Southerners with the problem, and the efforts of the abolitionists to stir up sentiment against slavery, is not to be denied. That such fear existed, although occasionally suppressed, is noted in the diary comment of the English actress Fanny Kemble, who remarked that although Southern men sometimes denied fear of slave insurrection, in general the women were willing to confess their terror (4).

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[1] C. H. Ambler, The Life and Diary of John Floyd, (Richmond, 1918), p. 170.

[2] Thomas Shackelford, Proceedings of the Citizens of Madison County, Mississippi, at Livingston, in July, 1835, in Relation to the Trial and Punishment of Several Individuals Implicated in a Contemplated Insurrection in this State, (Jackson, Miss., 1836).

[3] Harvey Wish "The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856", Journal of Southern History, 5: 206-22, May, 1939.

[4] Frances Kemble, Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-39, (New York: Harpers, 1863).

The most convincing evidence of the lack of "adjustment" and "mutual understanding" in the ante-bellum era is contained in the laws of the various state legislatures designed to limit or punish any activity which might result in the freedom of the slaves without the consent of their masters.

The legislation penalizing runaway slaves and guaranteeing their re-enslavement include permission for any white to whip Negroes found away from their plantations without permission (1). By the law of Maryland for "rambling", riding or going abroad in the night, or riding horses in the daytime without leave, a slave may be whipt, cropped, or branded on the cheek with the latter R, or otherwise punished, not extending to life, or so as to unfit him for labor" (2). The advertisement by an enterprising businessman of "a fine pack of dogs for catching Negroes" (3) is only one of many indications that the runaway slave problem already was endangering the security of the slave system.

Most telling of all, however, are the proscriptions on free thought made necessary by the Southern fear of the efforts of Negroes and their white friends to stimulate anti slavery sentiment.

The law of South Carolina -

> Whereas, the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing may be attended with great inconvenience: Be it enacted, that all and every person and persons whatsoever who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe ... shall, for every such offense forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money" (4)

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[1] Jay's Inquiry, p. 134, cited in Goodell, op. cit., p. 228.

[2] ibid. 229.

[3] Ouachita Register, June 1, 1852. Ad titled Negro Dogs.

[4] Goodell, op. cit., p. 318.

is paralled by legislation prohibiting mental instruction of slaves, all evening meetings of slaves. The response of the Virginia legislature to the distribution of anti slavery literature was the passage of a law (1) providing extreme punishment for members or agents of abolition societies who maintain that "... owners of slaves have no property in the same, or advocate or advise the abolition of slavery": persons found guilty of circulating or printing books, or other materials intended to incite the slaves to rebellion were to be judged felons.

As the forces outside and inside the South marshalled their strength in the attempt to overthrow the slavery system, the legislation designed to curb such efforts became increasingly severe. Penalties were inflicted for the sending or receiving of abolitionist literature, for the espousal of abolitionist ideas from the bar, bench, stage, or pulpit, even to free white men.

If any signle conclusion must be drawn concerning the 'place' of the Negro before Emancipation, it must be that he had many: he was a field hand conforming to the stereotype of the Negro slave, he was a houseservant of traditional New England literature and legend, he was a slave artisan learned in mechanical trades requiring skill, he was a free Negro hiring himself out perforce at wages lower than those of the white man. In each of these positions, he menaced some section of the white group. As a slave laborer on field or in the home, he took positions from which white men were excluded, or chose to exclude themselves because of the threatened loss of status; as an artisan, he was the object of bitter aggression because he, unlike the white workingman, had a master who protected him in

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[1] Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1835-6. (Richmond: 1836), 67: p. 48.

periods of unemployment. As a free man, so long as his wage standards were lower than those of the white man, he was a buffer between the white worker and the capitalist, capable of undermining the white man's economic security.

On the other hand, the picture of the placid South is not in any way substantiated by the evidence of its laws. The "system of accomodations" which has so frequently been described as being the basis of Negro-white relations in the Slavery Era was non-existent. That Negroes and whites did make adjustments to one another is not to be denied. But these adjustments were not the static relations of two inanimate bodies, but the strategic adaptation to the reality of possible conflict between them. The abolitionists' description of the South under slavery was:

> The influence of slavery upon slave traders and the slave states are an abiding sense of insecurity and dread. The press cowering under a censorship, freedom of speech struck dumb by proscription, a standing army of patrols to awe down insurrection, the mechanic arts and all vigorous enterprise crushed under an incubus, a thriftless agriculture smiting the land with barrenness and decay, industry held up to scorn, idleness a badge of dignity ... (1)

Is this the status quo, the modus vivendi, which is a desirable basis for race relations? When it is stated that before Emancipation there was no hostility and prejudice against the Negro, it is important to ask whether the white slaveowner was satisfied with the position of Paul Cuffee, the Negro of New Bedford, Mass., who left an estate of $25,000 at his death in the middle of the last century, or of the barbers, blacksmiths, builders and caterers who monopolized their trades both North and South, or of John Chavis, a Negro, who conducted a school for white children in North Carolina

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[1] Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Putnam, April 22, 23, 24, 1834. (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1834).

in 1830, or of Professor Allen, Negro, teacher of white and negro students at Moravian College in New York (1), or of the Negro pastors of white churches in Troy and Courtlandville in New York (2). Clearly, the 'place' in which the Negro ought to stay is none of these: it could only be that of the traditional "darkey", completely subjected to the rule of his master. The relationship desired, however, is no longer possible in this era of American democracy: without complete counter-revolution and reversal of historic forces, this kind of feudal master - servant relation is impossible. The aspiration for it is not only pathological, but profoundly un-democratic.

Contrary to the prevalent belief that there was no prejudice or hostility to the Negro before the Civil War, that was the only period in which such prejudice was inevitable and logical. The conflict of Negro slave and white free labor was not local or accidental: it was national and natural. The dependence of slavery upon the intimidation of all Negroes engendered *per se* an attempt to isolate the white from the Negro. From each of these causes, prejudice and hostility resulted inevitably.

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[1] William G. Allen, The Prejudice Against Color, (London: Cash, 1853).
Anonymous, Prejudice Against the Coloured People in the United States of America, (London: Cash, 1853).

[2] James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930).

Interracial Sexual Relations

In America, it has been repeatedly found, the main focus in interracial problems is placed upon sexual relations. In general, the white man places the most, the Negro the least emphasis upon this as the most important barrier between the races. The sexual problem actually has several components; the postulation of an innate antipathy to any kind of interracial sexual relation, the absorption with the possible superior sexual desire and power of the male Negro, and the determination to preserve the "purity of the white man", and to prevent its 'mongrelization'.

The absorption of white America with the question of interracial sexual relations is a unique phenomenon: nowhere else in the world is the question of one's potential brother-in-law considered a fitting retort to the Negro demand for equal pay, decent housing or the vote. The grave reminder that even the most liberal of the friends of the Negro will not discuss the question of race amalgamation spotlights an area in which anti-Negro prejudice and hostility have been most thoroughly sanctified. The refusal of responsible leaders in American life to discuss a question affecting the relations of all of the people is a phenomenon unique in democratic living. The insistence of the South that it will not even discuss an essentially private affair (intermarriage) has made inviolable also that which it considers to be unalterably attached to that question - segregation of the Negro and white.

The first of these problems, that of innate racial antipathy to interracial sexual relations, may be described as a belief that relations between Negroes and whites, legal or illegal, productive or unproductive of children are <u>per se</u> abhorrent, and as pathological as such sexual per-

versions as necrophilia or pederasty.

The second aspect is that of sexual competition which a psychoanalyst has described as follows:

> ... Indeed it seems to me that it is not unlikely that there probably exists in the Unconscious of most, if not all, non-African races, a horror of the Negro which can be traced, ultimately, to sexual jealousy ... In my opinion, the phenomenon of 'lynch law' against Negroes can only be explained by supposing the idea of intercourse between his woman kind and a negro stirs up in the depths of the white man's mind a fury that is the entire product of sexual jealousy". (1)

Dover has linked sexual competition as the basis of the colour problem, considering anti-Negro prejudice as a sexual psychosis involving desire, resentment, jealousy and revenge (2).

Thirdly, according to one student of race relations, "The desire to stop by law interracial marriage and the birth of a hybrid population is natural" (3).

In evaluation of the psychological validity of each of these three facets of problems in interracial sexual relations, it must be remembered that they are uniformly conceived of as instinctive and therefore universal. For purposes of validation, the comparative study of norms and attitudes in Brazil and the United States is invaluable. In each country, there is a national history of slave trade and Negro slavery, (abolished in Brazil several years after our own Emancipation Proclamation). Yet the disparity in quantity and quality of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility illuminates clearly the role of interacting historical forces in shaping public opinion.

With respect to more primitive society, sociological study has out-

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[1]A. R. Berkeley-Hill, op. cit., p. 251.

[2]Cedric Dover, op. cit. p. 68.

[3]John Walter Gregory, The Menace of Colour, (London:Seeley, Service and Co., 1925).

lined the practices of endogamy and exogamy, and shown how they determined the whole pattern of reactions within the group, and its responses to aliens. Reichard has pointed out the difficulty in finding any adequate explanation for the marriage mores in various societies: the interraction of customs and environment is dependent upon a more complete knowledge of the origin of folkways than is generally available. Attempts to unearth the sources of support for endogamy and exogamy inevitably lead to the conclusion that they are supported and defended because they are 'traditional'.

United States:- The American folkway with respect to marriage is a loosely organized body of principles in general conformity with Christian ethics and morality. Aside from the specific interdiction of marriage within the immediate family group, or the marriage of minors not competent to make so important a decision, the general attitude to be found in the law is one of laissez-faire. Marriages between members of widely separated economic classes, while not common, are part of a romantic tradition. The pattern with respect to marriage with the Indian, the Oriental and the Negro is so markedly different that it appears to be the product of an entirely different social system, completely alien to the democratic code.

According to reliable students of American social history, interracial sexual relations both legal and illegal are to be found in every era since the importation of the first Africans (1).

Concern with this as a moral problem is nowhere to be found in the early literature or laws of the United States. Interracial relationships, both legal and extra legal, were, however, the subject of some of the first

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[1]Melville J. Herskovits, The American Negro (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928).
A. W. Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1917), 3 Vols.

enactments on slavery - the immediate determination of the status of the products of such relationships was essential to the legal security of slavery as an institution. These are rulings on property, not morality.

In 1662, only forty-three years after the arrival of the first slaves, the number of mulattoes in Virginia was so large that a law was enacted "to fix a rule by which the status of mulatto children could be determined" (1). The preamble to the Maryland Act of 1661 illuminates sharply the motivation of and intention of such laws:

> And forasmuch as divers freeborn English women, forgetful of their free condition, and to the disgrace of our nation, do intermarry with Negro slaves, by which also divers suits may arise, touching to the issue of such women, and a great damage doth befall the master of such negroes, for preservation whereof for deterring such free-born women from such shameful matches, be it enacted: that whatsoever free-born woman shall intermarry with any slave ... shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband, and that all the issues of such free-born women shall be slaves as their fathers were ... (2)

A subsequent act of the Maryland General Assembly, in 1728, further extending the punishments for the crime of producing bastard children, acknowledged that the unions of free mulatto or Negro women and white men were as "unnatural and inordinate as between white women and Negro men, <u>or other slaves</u> (my emphasis) (3).

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[1] J. H. Russell, <u>The Free Negro in Virginia</u>, 1619-1865, (Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Series 31, Number 3, 1913).

[2] <u>Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the General Assembly</u>, 1637-1664, pp. 533-34. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1883) It should be noted that such legislation, making slaves of the children of free women, violated the commonly accepted lay and religious dictum that the status of children is derived from that of the mother.

[3] <u>Clement Dorsey, The General Public Statutory Law and Public Local Law of State of Maryland</u>, 1692-1839, p. 79. (Baltimore, Maryland: J. D. Toy, 1840).

Despite the exertions of the Maryland legislative bodies, the census of 1755 showed 3,592 mulattoes out of a total Negro population of 42,764, or about eight percent mulattoes. In Pennsylvania, despite a general law of 1725-26 forbidding mixture of the races, by 1781 the mulattoes constituted twenty percent of the slave population of one county (1). The early laws of New York, Connecticut, North Carolina, New Hampshire and most of the other colonies, specified consistently the legal obligation of fathers to their legal and bastard mulatto children, and the punishments inflicted both on white and Negroes for participation in mixed relations.

That intermarriage did take place at all between Negroes and whites is a salient factor: almost everywhere in the colonies, to perform or to participate in such a ceremony was dangerous. Two such marriages were recorded in Pittsburgh in 1788, and in one case the couple was considered one of the most respectable in the city (2).

The development of sentiment on mixed marriages is traced by Turner in Pennsylvania:

> After a while a strong feeling was aroused, so that in 1821 a petition was sent to the Legislature, asking that mixed marriages be declared void, and that it be a penal act for a negro to marry a white man's daughter ... later (1841) a bill to prevent intermarriage was passed in the House, but lost in the Senate ... Nevertheless, what the law left undone was largely accomplished by public sentiment and private action.
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> As time went on marriages of white people with negroes came to be considered increasingly odious, and so became far less frequent. When a case occurred, it was usually followed by swift action and dire vengeance (3).

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[1]Edward Raymond Turner, The Negro in Pennsylvania, (Washington: American Historical Association, 1931). p. 31.

[2]Brissat de Warville, Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats Unis, (Paris: Buisson, 1791).

[3]Edward Turner, op. cit., pp. 195-96.

The background for the laws preventing intermarriage, which are to be found in thirty states, can be seen from the debate over such legislation in the South Carolina Convention of 1895. When a resolution was introduced ordering that

> The marriage of any white person with a negro or mulatto person who shall have one-eighth or more Negro blood shall be unlawful and void,

Robert Ingalls, a Negro representative, proposed an amendment

> ... and any white person who lives and cohabits with a Negro, mulatto or person who shall have one-eighth or more Negro blood shall be disqualified from holding office of emolument or trust in this State, and the offspring of such living or cohabiting shall bear the name of their father and shall be entitled to inherit and acquire property the same as if they were legitimate. (1)

It was, needless to say, defeated.

Intermarriage cannot be dissociated, as is often done, from the institution of slavery. That institution required (as we shall see later) that every Negro be presumed to be a slave. Every contact with a Negro was contact with a slave, either in his person or enforced psychological association with slave status. The <u>class</u> line had already been transformed into a race-color caste line by the simple linkage of the fact of race membership with common economic status (2). Anything which tended to break down or <u>blur</u> that line was itself a menace to the institution of slavery. Interracial sexual relations did precisely that in several different ways. They were inappropriate and offensive, inconvenient and confusing because the legal status of the issue of such relations was not easily fixed, because they so frequently led to the manumission of the child where the master

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[1]Theodore Jervey, <u>The Slave Trade</u>, (Columbia, S. C.: The State Company, 1925), p. 191.

[2]See Carter Woodson, "The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks", <u>Journal of Negro History</u>, 3:335-353, 1918.

acknowledged relations with a female slave, and finally because they conferred human dignity upon the slave.

The problem of sexual jealousy and competition is a knotty one. It involves, undoubtedly, guilt over the socially facilitated exploitation of the Negro woman, whose 'easy virtue' must reasonably be measured both in terms of the marriage mores encouraged under slavery and her relatively defenseless position as a member of an inferior caste. (1) Its second part is the alleged sexual power of the Negro which leads him to rape and, incidentally, excites the interest of perverted white women.

There was in the early legislation governing interracial relations no allusion to proclivity for such relations as a Negro or racial phenomenon. They were described as the result of loss of dignity, disregard for public opinion and moral laxness upon the part of white paupers and indentured servants. Rape, or sexual barbarities on the part of the Negro are never mentioned as possible bases for more complete segregation of Negroes and white.

According to Johnston, "allusions to the rape or attempted rape of white women or girls, by Negroes or mulattoes, are rare in the literature of the United States prior to 1870". (2) Scrutiny of the legislative debates on slavery in the South, indeed, reveals no such charges, although an early reference to the "disorders, rapines, and inhumanity of the slaves" may or may not refer to the obsolete terminology for rape (3).

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[1]See Richard Hildreth, ed., The White Slave, (London: Ingram,Cooke and Company, 1852), for the romanticized and probably fictional account of the inability of a near-white slave to protect his wife from sexual exploitation of her master. The mulatto figure is the sentimental idol of abolitionist literature.

[2]V. B. Phillips, "Slave Crime in Virginia", American Historical Record, 20: January, 1915. Phillips records 1,418 crimes of which Negroes Slaves were accused or actually guilty . Of those, 105 or 7 percent involved the commission or attempt to commit rape.

[3]Hinton Helper, The Negroes in Negroland, (New York:G.W.Carleton,1868)

That allusions to rape should not occur often in the United States until after Emancipation signifies the role the myth of Negro bestiality was to play in crushing the possibilities of his real emancipation from hostility. Both the Bible Defense of Slavery, in which Sodom and Gomorrah were pictured as dens of Negro rapacity and unchastity, and Hinton Helper's works (especially Nojoque, of 1867) laid the bases for the later works of Dixon, in which the rape motif was exploited with keen dramatic effect. The motivation for the creation of the idea, which had not previously generally appeared may be indicated in Hinton Helper's The Negroes in Negroland in which he advocated the removal of the rapacious savage Negroes from the cities to the farms

> ... our agricultural districts would receive a large addition of laborers and consequently the quantity of our staple products ... would be greatly increased. Crowds of enterprising white people would flock to our cities and towns, fill the vacancies occasioned by the egress of the Negroes, and give a fresh and powerful impetus to commerce and manufacture. The tides of both domestic and foreign immigration which have been moving westward for so long a period, would also soon begin to flow southward, and every where throughout the whole length and breadth of our land new avenues to various branches of profitable industry would be opened". (1)

Thus, by the casual discovery that Negroes in cities were likely to be rapacious, he has developed the idea of maintaining a cheap labor force in the fields, and encouraging the importation of cheap immigrant labor for local industry. Such are the fruits of the new discovery!

The theme of the rapacious tendencies of the Negro has been enlarged most skillfully with respect to the defense of lynching. The transparency of this rationalization of the resort to extra legal means of achieving relief of tensions, engendered elsewhere in the individual or social mileiu

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[1]Hinton Helper, The Negroes of Negroland, (New York: G.W. Carleton, 1868). Helper was the author of the incendiary The Impending Crisis, which was forbidden in the South because it indicted the slavery system as unprofitable.

is revealed by the evidence that of the 4,672 persons lynched in the United States between 1882 and 1936, only 1,190 of the victims (97 whites and 1,093 Negroes), or 25.5 percent were accused of the crime of rape. Because lynching is so unique and uniformly-patterned a phenomenon in the United States, it is even more interesting to find that the crimes which inspired the other 75 percent of the lynchings were such as talking about a lynching, discussing the vote, insisting upon service in a restaurant, impertinence to a white man, etc. These are crimes, it should be noted, against the artifically created superior status of the white man.

The absorption of the American people with the problem of interracial sexual relations is seen by some authorities as decreasing under the pressure of new scientific knowledge, the probable decrease in the number of such relations at the present, and the general formulation of new attitudes. By others, it is expected to increase in proportion to the threatened loss of status by whites in a more equal battle with Negroes. At present, interracial sex taboos are codified into laws against intermarriage in thirty states (in 1933)(1).

Brazil:- Recent research on Brazilian race relations (2) has uncovered invaluable data on the influence of historical events upon such phenomena as race prejudice and hostility. The similarity between the United States and Brazilian patterns of slavery - the importation of African Negroes, the long years of enslavement, and emancipation in the latter part of the nine-

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[1]Phillip Wittenberg, "Miscegenation", in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, ed. E. B. Seligman, Vol. X, p. 531-534.

[2]Arthur Ramos, The Negro in Brazil, (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1939).
Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1942).
Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Brazilian Empire: A Comparison with the United States of America, "Journal of Negro History, 15: 315-36, 1930.

teenth century, has previously been allowed to conceal the enormous differences in race attitudes.

Brazilian economic and social institutions are almost entirely Portuguese in origins. The first settlers from the home country, unlike their English counterparts, had already been victims of invasion by Greeks, Romans and Moors. Portugal was a land of Celts, Greeks, Phoenicians, Carthagenians, Romans, Nordics, Vandals, Arabs, Moors, and probably a sprinkling of every other peoplethen on earth. The relations of the original 'pure' Portuguese to the Africans was undoubtedly tempered by the fact that another dark-skinned peoples, the Moors, who overran the Iberian Peninsula, occupied, by virtue of conquest, the position of superiority (1). The Portuguese were, and knew themselves to be, culturally inferior to the Moors.

The initial contact of the Portuguese with the Moore as a superior people, and the teachings of the Catholic Church on the dignity of every man, together with the promotion by the Church of all marital relationships so long as they were properly celebrated, contributed to the pattern of race relations in Brazil today.

Brazilian race relations are far more dependent than ours upon their initial contact with the Indians. The original Portuguese colonizers of Brazil arrived in that country without any of their women, who did not make the treacherous voyage from the homeland until several centuries later (2). The only commercial value in these early exploratory efforts lay in the immediate peopling of the land, so as to make the foundation for a secure

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[1]Stanley Lane-Poole, The Story of the Moors in Spain, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886).

[2]Gilberto Freyre, Casa Grande e Senzala, (Rio: Maia and Schmidt, 1936).

economy, and build up a force adequate to protect it from invaders. Therefore, the colonizers were encouraged by their home advisers to marry the native women, who were predominantly Indian, and to establish large Catholic families. Whereas illicit relations might have been expected to occur anyway, on the basis of evidence from all other contacts between racial groups, inter-marriage was approved. When, however, the need for increased population became more urgent, the church went so far as to sanction ade jurat marriage (without sacrament) so long as it was consummated.

With the advent of Negro slavery, the pattern of relations thus established was extended to the Negroes, who were brought into contact immediately with the church. According to one authority,

> Brazilian society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came to be founded upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers. Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring ... (1).

Despite the fact that Brazilian Negro slavery appears to have been somewhat milder than its North American counterpart, slave revolts were not infrequent. The rebellion at Bahia in 1835 was said by some to be, not the revolt of slave against master, but of men of superior culture against domination by men of inferior culture (2). The revolts sharpened as the Negroes achieved a high stage of organization (3). The movements of the Negroes for their freedom was, however, accompanied by larger and more courageous support from their white friends, so that Emancipation was

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[1]Albert G. Keller, Colonization,(Boston: Ginn and Company 1908)p.104

[2]Vera Kelsey, Seven Keys to Brazil,(New York:Funk and Wagnall, 1940).

[3]There is, interestingly, in Brazilian folklore, a mate for our docile, humble Uncle Tom: his name is Poe Toao.

merely the climax rather than the starting point of a war against the slave holders.

When Negro slavery was abolished in 1888, the Negroes who were thus emancipated passed into the lower classes of Brazilian society. That they did so was not a function of a rigid line based on color, but of economic position: they had few resources, and many of them hired out to their previous masters. In this, the situations of Negroes in the United States and Brazil were similar. The important difference lies in the valuations derived from attitudes previously engendered. In the United States, because of the rigid conformity to the ideal of white man purity, a morality based on subjection of the Negroes was operative. In Brazil, the Negroes, when free, were simply Brazilians, or in the words of the Brazilian Negro proverb, "Who is a rich man is white, who is poor is a black".

In Brazil, color distinctions have not entirely disappeared. They cannot disappear, further, until class distinctions have been overcome. So long as the majority of the members of any ethnic group are to be found in a distinct class, their relationship to other races will be a function of their relationship to other classes. In this sense, it is not entirely accurate to say, as has been done rhapsodically and inaccurately by some deplorers of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility in the United States, that there is no prejudice or hostility in Brazil. The organization of Movemento Brasiliero contra o Preconcuto Racial in Rio in 1935 resulted from awareness that race prejudice was to be found (1). It does exist, but in a trans-

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[1]The infiltration of German agents propagandizing for facist policies in Brazil has resulted in an unprecedented interest in 'pure races', 'Aryan blood', etc. See interview with Gilberto Freyre in I Like Brazil.

formed character, from which it can be rooted out by changes in economic relationships.

The indifference of Brazil to the fact of miscegenation engenders an indifference towards the matter of any sexual relations between whites and Negroes. For this reason, the myth that the Negro is likely to commit rape is nowhere found in Brazilian folklore or beliefs. The myth cannot be operative, because it would be detrimental to the prestige of the vast majority of Brazilians, who have some Negro inheritance. Interest in rape is non-existent, and cannot be found in any of her sayings or poems.

Accordingly the concept of 'mulatto' or 'half-caste' is not to be found. They are only tenable where there are two sharply divided groups. Where the color shading of the population follows a continumm from dark black to absolute white, with a large number in between representing all proportions of Negro inheritance, the meaning of mulatto is lost.

In contrast with the American practice, an individual is assigned to an ethnic group, wherever that is necessary, on the basis of the only important index of membership in any group - i. e., appearance. Thus, the exclusion from the 'whites' of persons with one-sixteenth Negro inheritance would be a logical impossibility in Brazil.

Brazilian law, in fact, prohibits not only discrimination on the basis of race or color, a step which would be considered revolutionary in the United States, but even recording of race membership in the census returns. Acknowledgement is thereby made of the increasing homogeneity of the Brazilian nation - which, whether it is approved or not, is conceded to be the inevitable law of human relationship.

Sexual relations in Brazil are neither interracial, biracial or mono racial. They are non-racial, i. e., they are no more concerned with race

than with height or weight. Reflecting this, Brazilian thinking is non-racial. It is not a problem - and racist, or prejudicial thinking, as we have defined it, is non-existent. Prejudice and hostility between members of widely separated classes, the predominantly white upper class and the predominantly black lower class are economic not racial, and can reasonably be expected to disappear as the expected and awaited homogeneity is achieved.

Summary

We have examined here some possible roots of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility. Evidence substantiating an instinctive basis, whether or not qualified by an ethnocentric approach, is found to be lacking. Similarly economic and habitat competition are derived and superficial aspects, rather than prime roots, because they depend for their existence upon previously constructed attitudes of hostility and prejudice. Most attention has been given to the postulates of a lack of a satisfactory modus vivendi, and a possible basic sexual antipathy. The first was found to rest on historical inaccuracies and static sociological principles, while the second, by a comparative study of Brazil and the United States, is shown to be a product of economic and social rather than fundamentally psychogenic drives.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF RACIST THINKING IN AMERICA

The norm which governs Negro-white relations in the United States today is essentially racist in character. It is based upon a combination of beliefs in Negro inferiority, the need for blood purity, and insuperable barriers between the two groups. This norm, which includes customs, traditions, standards, rules, fashions and "all other criteria of conduct which are standardized as a consequence of the contact of individuals" (1) is a frame of reference which determines the mode of individual response to any particular situation which is structured on the basis of the perception of field-and-ground and in-group-and-out group socially determined. (2) The racist norm which determines how Negroes and whites meet each other today is not, however, a function entirely of relations in the present or even the recent past, but of the history of slavery in America.

In this section, we shall apply the Sumnerian doctrine that 'stateways and legislation don't make folkways and mores' to the influence of the slave trade, slavery, and the systems of segregation and discrimination which succeeded them upon the formation of a racist creed in America.

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[1]Muzafer Sherff, The Psychology of Social Norms (New York: Harper and Brothers, New York) p.3.

[2]See Kurt Lewin, "Psychol-Sociological Problems of a Minority Group," Character and Personality, 3: March, 1935. Number 3.

Sumner has given most explicit voice to the sociological concept briefly summarized by him in the catch-phrase "Stateways don't make folkways." Sumner was here advancing the doctrine that the folkways and mores of any culture existed beyond the realm of any lawmaking body in any single generation although the accumulated laws and revolutions in society would in time affect them. That the folkways and mores are subject to strains of improvement and consistency he admits.(1) But in general, he believes that

> It is not possible to change them (the mores) by any artifice or device, to a great extent or suddenly, in any essential element: it is possible only to modify them by slow and long-continued effort if the ritual is changed by minute variations. (2)

It is important to note here that Sumner is not speaking of the normal processes of cultural lag, in which drastic changes in material culture and new modes of adaptive behavior are not developed simultaneously. He is rather emphasizing that 'the masses' are essentially reactionary and pathologically attached to the old mores and folkways. In postulating an inevitable return to the old folkways after any social revolution, Sumner has given a picture of decadent society powerless to progress despite material advances. It is not surprising, in view of this, to find that Sumner considered the South of the ante-bellum period as a

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[1]William Graham Sumner, Folkways (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906) p.5.

[2]ibid, p.87

static society: according to him

> In our Southern states, before the Civil War, whites and blacks had formed habits of action and feelings towards each other. They lived in peace and concord and each grew up in the ways which were traditional and customary. (1) .....
> The mores of the South were those of slavery in full and satisfactory operation. (2)

He believed that the continued existence of prejudice and hostility against the Negro was proof that legislation, i.e. The Act of Emancipation, was powerless to dissipate deeply rooted attitudes.

We shall apply here Sumner's thesis to the history of the slave trade and slavery, in order to determine to what extent and in what ways each of these influenced the development of a folkway, a tradition of racist thinking which divides the Negro as a Negro from the mainstream of American life. We shall then examine the specific complaint that, were attitudes subject to legislative action, the elimination of slavery would also have meant the elimination of prejudice against the Negro. We shall examine the character of the legally-supported segregation and discrimination which date principally from the period of Reconstruction, in order to demonstrate that it is precisely because of these institutional and legislative forms that prejudice and hostility continue to exist.

Finally, we shall apply the thesis that slavery itself engendered a racist norm, by tracing the history of the utilization of

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[1] ibid, p.77.

[2] ibid, p.90.

the Negro in the armed forces. This example is chosen because it so clearly illustrates the principles set forth here, and is so important a subject in the present consideration of possible changes in the tradition with respect to the Negro soldier.

The Slave Trade, Slavery and Racism

The chief sources for the study of the attitudes of the first visitors to Africa are the journals of the slave traders and missionaries. Although the first were bent on the highly profitable task of capturing men for a slave market, their appraisals of the Negroes do not differ markedly from those of the missionaries, chiefly Portugese and Spanish Catholics whose attention was directed to the rescue of souls for Christ. Both are characterized by a casual attitude towards the business at hand, without special reference to inordinate congenital inferiority, bestiality or criminality.

The trader Gomes Eammes de Azuara in 1453 recorded his sympathies with the Ethiopians whose suffering upon being separated from their families and friends appalled him. Of those Africans who were brought to Lisbon he said

> ...But from this time forth they began to acquire some knowledge of our country, in which they found great abundance, and our men began to treat them with great favor. For as our own men did not find them hardened in the beliefs of other Moors, and saw how they came into the law of Christ with a good will, they made no difference between them and their free servants born in our own country. (1)

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[1]Gommes Eammes de Azurara, Chronica de Desobrimento e Conquisto de Guine translated by Charles Ramond Beazley and Edgar Prestage. (London: printed for Hakluyt Society, 1896) Vol. 1, p. 84.

Gomez Pirez, leader of an expeditionary group to Africa in search of slaves addressed his fellowmen

> ...My friends, you well know how we are come to this part chiefly to do service to God and then to the Lord Infant our master, and all not without a profitable return to ourselves. (1)

In elaborating the reasons why the Lord Infant had commanded the search of the lands of Guinea, Eammes said

> His great desire to make increase in the faiths of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to him all the souls that should be saved...Not only did he see the first captives but their children and grandchildren as true Christians .... (2)

The main defense of the slave trade was religious. Freedom of the slaves from the threat of English heretics (3) was met by the equally convincing justification by the English that they were rescuing the natives from the thrall of a superstitious Papacy. (4)

Careful scrutiny of these early journals (of which a great many were available by the late 1700's in the United States) discloses a wealth of data on Negro-white relations which was entirely obscured by the emphasis given them by the upholders of slavery. Thus, they abound

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[1]Cited by Gommes Eammes, op.cit., Vol.II, p.296.

[2]Cited by Gommes Eammes, op.cit., Vol.I, p.29.

[3]Brother Luis Braisdon, Letter to Father Sandoval, March 12,1610, cited in Jose Antonio Saco, Historia de la Esclavitud de la Raza Africana (Barcelona: Jaime Jepus, 1879) Tomo I, 253-254.

Father Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, A Voyage to Congo and Several Other Countries chiefly in North Africk IN Awnshawn Churchill and J. Churchill, A Collection of Voyages and Travels (London: Henry Lintot, 1744) Vol I, pp. 521-616.

[4]See "Minutes of the Council of Indies" Archivo General de Indias, 153: pp. 7-10.

in descriptions of the loathesome (to the alien) practices of polygamy, occasional cannibalism,(1) lack of respect for, or irrational worship of the dead, cheapness of human life, low standards of morality, etc. But these same journals are filled, to the same extent, with advice that the white men who visited Africa were no better than the Negroes. The Portugese were particularly described as criminals who had been banished from the homeland.(2) The men who came as missionaries clearly recognized the difficulties of converting heathens to Christianity when the teachings of the Church and the conduct of its adherents were so widely divergent. According to two of these missionaries,

> Some years past there was another mission of our order into these parts: but because the chief man gave no good examples himself, few of the Blacks were converted, and those that were gave little attention to what was taught them, giving for reason that if the law of God was so negligently observed by whites, how could they be expected to practice it more devoutly. (3)

The onus of blame for defects in the blacks is placed here, as it was later by the Abolitionists, upon the white man. Barbot warned that "These Blacks, both men and women are good-natured and very civil to strangers <u>who do not use them ill</u>." (4) Further, the Negroes were acute observers of the nefarious practices of the traders, and "The Blacks here

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[1]In Colonel Norwood's <u>Voyage to Virginia</u> in Awnshawn Churchill and J. Churchill, <u>A Collection of Voyages and Travels</u>, Vol. VI,p.6, he records the acts of cannibalism of white adventurers in Virginia.

[2]John Barbot, <u>A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea</u> (London: Henry Lintot, 1746)

Thomas Phillips, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.237, said that "...I verily believe the Portugese in these islands to be greater rogues and villains than the Negroes are..."

[3]Michael Angelo and Denis de Carli, <u>A Curious and Exact Account of the Voyage to the Congo, 1666-7</u> in John Pinkerton, ed. <u>A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels</u> (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1814) Vol. XVI.

[4]John Barbot, op.cit., p. 130.

are not much addicted to steal or pilfer from one another, but make no scruple of taking what they can from strangers." (1)

The missionaries and traders soon learned that the African Negroes were not the stupid brutes that later defenders of slavery were to make them. The Negroes learned with amazing and perhaps annoying rapidity that they could profit by the murderous competition of the English, Portugese and other slave purchasers. (2) The picture later given to Americans of a wild people unable to accomodate themselves to higher civilization except in slavery is not borne out by the observation that

> The Blacks of the Gold Coast having traded with the Europeans ever since the beginning of the fourteenth century, are very well skilled in the nature and proper qualities of all the European wares vended here....(3)

If the Negroes were indeed ignorant, there would have been no need for the warning of Bosman to his fellow participants in the slave trade that the captains of the slave ships were

> ...of such boorish nature that they hardly know how to preserve the honor of the company amongst the Negroes... and being totally ignorant of the manners of the people, don't know how to treat them with that decency which they require, and the natives here, being very judicious have doubtless lessened their esteem for them...(4)

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[1] ibid, p. 119.

[2] Thomas Phillips, The Journal of a Voyage in the Hannibal of London Ann. 1693,1694 in Awnshawn Churchill and J. Churchill, op.cit. The Negroes, according to Phillips, "....make it their business and endeavour to create and foment misunderstandings and jealousies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the disposal of their slaves." op. cit., p.234.

[3] John Barbot, op.cit., p.233.

[4] William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea in Churchill, op. cit., Vol. XVI, p.378.

How judicious the natives were in the arts of higher civilization may also be judged by his elaborate description of the ways they had devised for counter feiting gold so cleverly that the members of the 'higher race' were woefully deceived. (1)

With respect to the 'innate sexual immorality' which was a cornerstone of the American tradition with respect to the Negro, the missionaries especially were shocked by the polygamy and diversity of sexual relationships permitted either by local cults, or the tenets of Mohammedanism which was popular in various parts of the slave coast. Efforts to reform these practices were, of course, almost wholly unrewarding: the missionaries, themselves celibate, had difficulty in substituting a positive value for the systems to be abandoned. Of one tribe Father Angelo notes significantly, "The women are constant to their husbands whether black or white." (2) Observers often recorded that the white traders were themselves the cause of the looseness of the sexual code, because they entered into promiscuous relations with the native women.

The methods utilized by the slave traders to capture and convey the natives to the port of sale were often barbaric themselves. There was no allusion, however, that such practices were less painful or more Christian for blacks than they might be for whites. When one slave trader, finding that the Negroes occasionally practiced voluntary starvation in preference

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[1] ibid, p. 373.

[2] Michael Angelo, op.cit., p. 3.

to slavery, advised, "the teeth of these wretches to be broken"because they would not open them for food, Phillips, commander of the slave ship Hannibal, said of this and other modes of punishment,

> I could not be persuaded to entertain the least thought of it, much less put into practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of Christianity and true religion (their misfortune rather than their fault) are as much the work of God's hands and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves.(1)

The opinions of the men who had first contact with the African Negro we have seen, were based entirely on the attitude of superiority of position (as determined by habitat and subjection to slavery) and not upon race. The slave trade was a loosely organized structure, dependent for the most part upon the courage and daring of pirates. The traders were, in general, responsible to no authority or government. Their work required only the delivery of merchandise in the best possible condition for the largest possible profit. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the slave traders and the travellers formulated no defenses for Negro slavery based on inferiority, bestiality or any peculiar racial qualifications. They developed no racist thinking, because they did not need it.

The American nation was, however, not long able to give ideological support to an institution, a stateway which contraverted the ideal of democracy. The discrepancy between the willingness to tolerate a system which at first appeared to be a matter only of individual enterprise, and the desire to uphold the democratic ideal was bridged immediately and successfully by beliefs about the Negro as a Negro rather than as a slave. So, we find both Barbot and Bosman chiding the folks back home on their

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[1]Thomas Phillips, op.cit., p. 235.

willingness to believe that Africans customarily sold members of their families into slavery. According to them, "if it ever happens, is so seldom that it cannot justly be charged upon a whole nation, as a custom and a common practice." Both noted that the myth had wide currency among people who, unlike them, felt the need to defend themselves from the critics of the trade: it helped them to feel that they were themselves guilty of no crime against personal liberty, because their victims had, in fact, never desired or enjoyed such liberty.

Samuel Sewall advertised for sale in 1741

> Several Irish Maid Servants time
> Most of them for five years one
> Irish maid Servant, who is a good
> Barber-Wiggmaker, also Four or
> Five likely Negro Boys. (1)

The history of slavery in the United States is incorrectly thought of as a history of Negro slavery alone, a belief which fortified the later defense of slavery as an institution peculiarly adapted for the relations between Negroes and whites. It is not necessary to revert to facts about Greek and Roman slavery to establish that slavery is an economic system whose roots are in the desire to exploit a weaker or temporarily weakened group, race itself being an irrelevant factor.

American economic history has seen in addition to Negro slavery, Indian slavery (2) Indian servitude (3) and white indentured slavery and

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[1]Advertisement by Samuel Sewall, September 7 and 14, 1741 in Boston Gazette.

[2]Almon Wheeler Lauber, Indian Slavery in Colonial Times (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913.)

"They, (the Indians) have so long been recognized as slaves in our law that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary decision at the present day, as it would in the case of the Africans, and as useless to investigate the manner in which they originally lost their freedom." The State vs. Waggoner, April term 1797, cited in William Goodell, The American Slavery Code (New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853.

[3]Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer, Dec. 27, 1776.

and servitude. (1) Neither Indian or white slavery took real root in America, although there were innumerable instances in which it was resorted to because of the possibility of persons becoming public charges, and as punishment for serious crime.

As late as 1706, a resolution was introduced into the Massachusetts legislature, pleading for the substitution of white for Negro slavery.(2) The reasons given were wholly economic: the high initial cost of obtaining Negroes (the outfitting of ships, payment of crews, the losses in the middle-passage, etc.) the high death rate among Negroes with the consequent financial loss, and the fact that Negroes were prone to stealing and purloining small objects in lieu of payment for their services. It was also objected that the Negroes did not propagate the country fast enough, and therefore did not augment the American military strength as whites might do.(3)

The diminution in white slavery can probably be attributed to the fact that there were no adequate sources of supply where large numbers of slaves could be recruited at bargain prices: it was feared that the immigration, so necessary to the expansion of the land, would cease if white slavery were known to exist in this country. The citizens were

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[1]Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (New York: D. Appleton Century, 1918) Bernard Steiner, History of Slavery in Connecticut, John Hopkins University Study in Historical and Political Science, Eleventh Series, IX-X, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1896.)

[2]"The Importation of Negroes into Massachusetts," in News Letter of June 19, 1706. Document 26 in Elizabeth Donnan, op.cit. Vol. III.

[3]McCord's Statues, Vol. VII, p.352.
Contrast with later complaints that Negroes multiply too fast.

certain that it would be impossible to distinguish free whites from slave whites, so that losses through runaways would diminish the profit of slave-owning. A Christian defense was not possible on the grounds of rescuing converts to the church, since those whites who were enslaved came from countries in which they were already communicants of some denomination. (1)

When, in 1740, the legislature of South Carolina enacted laws defining the conditions under which a Negro or Indian might bring suit for freedom to which he believed he was entitled, a general principle of great importance was contained in the notation that "the burden of proof shall lay upon the plaintiff and it shall always be presumed that <u>every Negro, Indian, mulatto or mestizo is a slave</u> unless the contrary be made to appear.."(2) The immediate effect of this legislation was to establish a legal procedure in which a Negro who claimed to be free had to find a white sponsor willing to take the trouble and expense of sponsoring him in a trial before a judge presumably a slaveholder, with all white witnesses; in case the suit failed, the claimant for freedom was subject to corporal punishment of any extent short of execution.

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[1]By an act of Virginia in 1682, it was declared that all servants brought into that colony by sea or land, not being Christians, whether Negro, Moors, mulatoes or Indians, (except Turks and Moors in amity with Great Britain) and all Indians sold by neighboring Indians or any other trafficking with us as slaves should be slaves to all intents and purposes. George M. Stroud, <u>A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery</u>, Philadelphia, 1856)

[2]<u>Brevard's Digest</u> Vol. II, pp. 229-30, cited in George M. Stroud, op.cit. p.53. A similar statement is contained in an Act of the Georgia Assembly of May 10, 1770. <u>Cobb's Digest</u>, Vol. II, p.971.

The general effect of this and other similar legislation (1) affirming that every white person had a right to challenge the status of any Negro is to create a psychological system in which the Negro and slavery are inextricably bound together. Prejudice against the Negro is forced by the presumption that, whatever his present status, he is in the eyes of the law, a potential slave.

> In the case of a person visibly appearing to be a Negro, the presumption is, in this country, that he is a slave, and it is incumbent upon him to make out his fight to freedom: but in the case of a person visibly appearing to be a white man or an Indian, the presumption is that he is free, and it is necessary for his adversary to show that he is a slave.(2)

That such laws were passed, making the return of freedmen and runaways to slavery a constant threat, is not to be considered an abuse under the slavery system. From the point of view of the slaveowners, and the legislatures which they controlled, these were measures necessary to protect their property. The threat of runaway slaves was, as we have seen, real and ever present. The slave owner was to be expected to take all measures necessary for the prevention of the loss of so valuable a piece of property: included among such measures were punishment for slaves (3) free Negroes (4) and whites (5) who harbored runaway slaves.

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[1] Henning and Mumford's Report, Vol I, pp. 133-43.
Harris and McHenry's Reports, Vol III, pp.501-2.
Bibb's Reports, Vol II, pp. 238-9
Halsted's Reports, Vol II, p.253.

[2] Jacob D. Wheeler, A Practical Treatise of the Law of Slavery (New York: Allen Pollock,Jr., 1837.) p. 394.

[3] Maryland Act of 1748, Chap. 19, section 4.

[4] Law of South Carolina, Goodell, op.cit., p.253.

[5] Law of Maryland of 1715, Chap. 19, Sections 2 and 4.

Similarly, stupendous obstacles were put in the way of those slave owners who wished to emancipate their 'property'. The statutory limitation of the rights of free Negroes is a result of the will of slave owners to crush the aspirations for freedom on the part of their slaves. Thus a Louisianna law solemnly states that

> ....free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites: but on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak or answer them but with respect, but under penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offense. (1)

The law of slavery required that every Negro be presumed to be a slave: the law of self-protection for the defenders of the slavery system required that the association of Negro with slavery be maintained at all times. Each of these engendered an attitude of prejudice, by setting the Negro in a group apart from the white, and hostility against any effort on his part to overcome the association with slavery and slave status.

Emancipation of the slaves, and the passage of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth admendments are generally assumed to be a sharp and decisive break in the established relations between the Negro and the white in the United States. Had the war over slavery been climaxed here, as it was elsewhere, by confiscation of the lands of slaveowners, the

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[1]Jacob D. Wheeler, op.cit., Section 19.

granting of 'forty acres and a mule' to the freedman, and the punishment of any attempt to reinstate restrictions upon the freedom of the Negroes, the failure of prejudice and hostility against the Negro to disappear seventy years later would have substantiated Sumner's dictum, or shown that Negro-white animosity is instinctive.

But the history of Reconstruction is a very different one. Whether or not historians agree upon the real history of that turbulent era, they can universally affirm that it was characterized by a hasty, desperate and violent attempt to impose new burdens upon the recently freed Negroes, and to approximate as closely as possible their previous economic, political and social inferiority. The restrictions upon voting privileges, training and employment opportunities were multiplied many times. But, psychologically, the most important successor to the slave code itself as a device for dividing Negro and white is the system of segregation and discrimination which have the support of governmental law and policy.

Aside from the prohibitions against intermarriage (1), the largest body of American laws, both county and state, are designed to guarantee systems of segregation. The principle of 'separate but equal' dominates the race relations of all the Southern, and most of the middle states. Exhaustive studies have already been made of the complexity and extent of these laws (2), and of the systems of etiquette which they set

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[1]Chester G. Vernier, American Family Laws,(California: Stanford University Press, 1931.)

[2]Milton Konvitz, "Nation Within a Nation: The Negro and the Supreme Court," American Scholar, 11: 69-78, January, 1942

in motion. (1) No attempt has been made at describing the psychological systems generated by a body of laws, which, however, fairly upheld, mark firmly a line beyond which neither group may pass.

It has been charged by students of the Negro problem that there does not exist a single area of life in which the segregation of Negro and white has not resulted in inferior provision for the former: Wilkerson's well-known study of Negro education has highlighted the greatest grievances with respect to the differentials in provision for teachers, salaries, schoolrooms, books, property, etc., for Negroes. Whereas the standards of education in the South are in general far below those of the nation, the standards for the education of the Negro are lowest of all. (2)

The essence of segregatory laws is that they provided that in any particular activity, i.e., education, amusement, recreation, etc. members of both ethnic groups are not permitted to mingle, whatever the circumstances, whatever the personality of the persons involved, or their mutual desire to transgress the boundary. It has been alleged by some (3) that, in reality, segregatory laws curb the freedom of the whites as much as the Negroes - no matter how inconvenient, the white person must stay on his end of the trolley car, or bus. These students do not point out that the division between the facilities for white and Negro is generally determined by the needs of the white, or that the original

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[1]Doxey Wilkerson, Special Problems in Negro Education, (Washington, D.C. United States Government Printing Office, 1939)

[2]Bertram Doyle, The Etiquette of Race Relations, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937)

[3]John Lewis Gillin, Clarence G. Dittmer and Ray Colbert, Social Problems, (New York: D. Appleton-Anterry Co. 1943,) 3rd ed., p. 103.

segregatory legislation was a product of their own legislative bodies from which Negroes have been assiduously and totally excluded.

Wirth, in his analysis of segregation (1) has pointed out that, sociologically speaking, segregation is "that form of isolation in which social distance is based upon physical separation." Segregation may be either passive, in which the isolation is a result of voluntary association of persons with like characteristics, or active, forced and often legal setting apart of the individuals.

What is the psychological meaning of segregation?

A segregatory law implies principally that there is a difference between people so basic that intermingling between them is per se productive of evil. There may in isolated cases be provision for facilities that are separate but equal, but there can never be people who are forcibly separate, but equal. Separation by force implies inequality - both in the initial formulation of the law and in every specific instance in which it is acted upon.

The system of etiquette which defines the relations between Negro and white in the South is, according to Doyle, merely a caste device, designed to fix the status of members of the superior and inferior group, and to make transgression subject to law or personal censure. (2)

Segregatory laws are frequently defended as measures designed to prevent any race tensions, and to avoid conflict situations in which

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[1]Louis Wirth, "Segregation", Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, ed. by H. R. Seligman, Vol XII, pp. 643-647.

[2]Bertram Doyle, op. cit.

members of both groups might meet under adverse circumstances. Yet, tensions instigated by the existance of just such regulations forced the conservative Richmond Times-Dispatch to advocate, in November, 1943, the abandonment of segregation on urban street cars and buses, which has led to delays in reaching vital war work, and to overcrowding of white and Negro passengers both. While asking for the repeal of local legislation The Times-Dispatch hastened to emphasize strongly that it was not asking for the repeal of the laws requiring segregation in hotels, restaurants, schools, or colleges, and expressed the opinion that ninety-eight percent of white Southerners favor retention of these laws.(1) The gradual abolition in many Southern communities of segregatory laws is always preceeded by the emphasis that this particular act is not to be considered a general retreat from the principle upon which, it is said, the South will stand or fall. As Johnson has pointed out,(2) and others have affirmed, the study of segregatory and discriminatory practices reveals an unusually wide variety in them, and further, the conviction on the part of each section that its particular mode of adaptation is most suited to the solution of the problem of race relations.

When Graves states, "...segregation is not an argument in the South, it is a major premise...." he is clearly investing segregation with a value not always so apparent.

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[1] Virginius Dabney, "Plea to Ease Jim Crow Law Widens," New York Times, December 5, 1943.

[2] Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943) p. 103

Myrdal asserts that segregation is defended in the South as necessary because of the biological inferiority of the Negro, the desire of the Negro himself to be segregated, the necessity of avoiding 'friction' between the two groups - and the ultimate defense that it is a God-given arrangement which mortal man ought not to question. (1) The most powerful and popular defense is, of course, that any break in the color line will result in a mongrelized, degenerate population.

Complete segregation and possible ultimate colonization have been described as the only possible bases of peaceful relations by Shufeldt,(2) Rankin (3) and Murphy.(4) Recognition that segregation very often begets discrimination has led Gilligan (5) and LaFarge (6) to give only qualified

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[1]Gunner Myrdal, op.cit., p. 582 ff.

[2]Robert Wilson Shufeldt, The Negro a Menace to American Civilization (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1907.) Shufeldt proposed as an even better solution "to emasculate the entire Negro race and all of its descendants in this country and effectually stop the breed right now, and thus prevent any further damage from them, and the horrors of their crossing continually with the Anglo-Saxon stock." p. 153.

[3]Edgar Gardner Murphy, The Task of the South (Virginia: the author, 1902) "The adamantine insistence of the South upon the social separation of the races has not only been best for the white man, it has been best for the Negro." p.9.

[4]John Rankin, "Is Segregation the Solution to the Race Problem?" Negro Digest 2: 73-4, March, 1944.

[5]Francis J. Gilligan, The Morality of the Color Line (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1928)

[6]John LaFarge, The Race Question and the Negro, (New York: Longman, Green and Company, 1943) p. 174ff.

approval: when Negro-white relations have been normalized, they feel, it should be possible to eliminate segregation.

The recent resulution of the Klu Klux Klan, opposing a bill in the Indiana legislature raising to three hundred dollars the civil penalties for discrimination because of race or color that "said bill will have the natural effect of increasing friction between the races and seriously hamper all efforts to promote interracial good-will,"(1) must be considered with more than a grain of salt in view of the KKK's record in re race relations.(2) That the Klan has actively instigated inter-racial strife where none might have existed is the testimony of observers of recent race riots in Detroit. (3)

A study of Jim-Crow legislation in the United States shows that in most instances the legislation was designed to disrupt peaceful relations between Negroes and whites, as a result of which the hostility and prejudice between them might have been dissipated, and their attention turned towards mutual enemies. Thus, in a letter to Archibald Kennedy in 1757, David Jones communicated his distress upon learning that a great intimacy had grown up between Negro slaves and the French in America, as a result of which, he feared, insurrection against the English in America would be successfully plotted. Against such

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[1]Monroe Work, ed. Negro Year Book (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Year Book Publishing Company, 1938) p. 135.

[2]For the policy of the Klan, as told by one of its defenders, see Thomas Dixon, The Clansman: an historical romance of the Ku Klux Klan. See also Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York: Random House, 1943)

[3]Walter White and Thurgood Marshall, What Caused the Detroit Riot (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1943) p.9.

possibilities, he advocated stringent segregatory laws prohibiting meeting of Negroes and whites.(1)

Such pieces of legislation as those penalizing any individual or corporation which allows the mingling of the students of both races in an educational institution(2) or the prohibition of voluntary legitimatizing of the product of an interracial illegal relationship, or the refusal to serve whites and Negroes who wish to eat together (3) reflect a fear that without legislation, rapprochment would be quickly achieved between Negro and whites.(4)

That Negroes and whites can live together, work together and study together without race friction has been demonstrated too often to permit the belief that such lack of segregation breeds tension. The evidence of the Detroit and Chicago riots showed that in those residential areas in which Negroes and whites lived together, there were no racial clashes.(5)

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[1]Calendar of the New York Historical Society, Mss. Vol II, (Albany, 1866) p. 677.

[2]See, for example, Kentucky State Annual (Carroll, 1930) 4526a (1-4)
Tennessee Code (Will. Shan and Harsh,1932)11,395-7.

[3]Cohn vs. Goldgraben, 103 Miscellaneous 500,170 New York Supplement 407 (1st Department, 1918)

[4]A Monthly Survey of Events and Trends in Race Relations 1:No.7,p.9, Shrevesport, La.: Following repeated reports that Negro and white soldiers had been eating together in 'white' restaurants, Mayor Sam. S. Caldwell authorized the city authority to draw up an ordinance providing for a fine and/or imprisonment for the owner of any establishment allowing whites and Negroes to dine together.

[5]Louis E. Martin, "Behind Detroit's Terror", New Masses, p.15-18, August 3, 1943.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, despite the attempts of local individuals and organizations to enforce segregation,amixed project has been established with absolutely no 'incidents' (1) Recent incidents of racial clashes have too often borne the marks of deliberate efforts to promote disunity to make credible the assertion that they are inevitable.

A report of the committee discussing mixed education for the children of Boston in 1846 is especially illuminating:

> No doubt, however, there would be some complaints if the colored children were admitted into the schools. No doubt some parents would feel aggrieved and the delicate sensibilities and aristocratic prejudices of others might be moved - but we doubt if we should meet as much complaint upon the admission of colored children as we now do respecting the admission of Irish children....That these complaints would however soon decline and die out, especially if the district and local committees should discharge their duties with firmness, tempered with discretion and mildness we see no reason whatever to doubt. (2)

It shows the extent to which prejudice against the Negro had spread to the North, and the fear of arousing 'race friction' which paralyzed even the abolitionists into an unwillingness to make a change in the system of segregation.

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[1] William M. Ashby, "No Jim Crow in Springfield Housing," Opportunity 20: pp. 170-1.

[2] Report of the Minority of the School Committee of the Primary School Board of the Caste Schools of the City of Boston. (Boston: A.J. Wright's Steam Press, 1846)

The Fair Employment Practices Committee

Executive Order 8802

"Reaffirming Policy of Full Participation in the Defense Program by All Persons, Regardless of Race, Creed, Color, or National Origin, and Directing Certain Action in Furtherance of Said Policy.

"Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the Unites States, regardless of race, creed or color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

"Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of consideration of race, creed, color or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

"Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby affirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation, but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to the performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violations of provisions of this order, and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House
June 25, 1941

The story of the dramatic events leading to the creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee is a story of great pressure upon a President facing a Congress unwilling to make so drastic a change in the status of minority groups in this country.

Objections to the creation of such a committee, with power to break down the wage differential which is a cornerstone of Southern economic policy (and a very popular usage throughout the country) and to withhold profit-making possibilities from important industries which so discriminated left no doubt about the fear that the guarantee, federally, of the rights of the Negro was a threat to the 'white supremists'. The bald statements of Governor Dixon of Alabama, and the forthright denunciation heaped upon him somewhat concealed the real meaning of his reason for refusing to sign a contract with the Defense Supplies Corporation for cloth to be made by Alabama convicts. By adroit distortion of the text of the President's order, he charged that it would break down segregation of the races.

> ".....The Fair Employment Practice Committee has been operating to break down this same principle of segregation of the races, to force Negroes and white people to work together; intermingle with each other, and even to bring about the situation where white employees will have to work under Negroes (1) (Emphasis mine)

The fear of such acts as Order 8802 is not, then,a fear of erasing the basic inequality between Negroes and whites in ecomonic competition but a fear that the breakdown of the system in which Negroes have been underpaid and non-unionized will in some way break down the prestige of white people.

It has been charged that the Fair Employment Practices Committee cannot hope to eliminate prejudice and hostility against the Negro, because it agitates a situation to which the Negro and white have both become accustomed. That neither has become 'accustomed' is dramatically evident in the revival of the Klu Klux Klan, which has enlarged the scope of its activities to include not only religious and ethnic groups, but particularly that brand of unionism which includes both Negro and white.(1)

Force and persuasion - Unfortunately, it is thought by many,the FEPC has only limited powers to guarentee compliance with the order, and has been challenged by Southern companies. Nevertheless, it has been charged that persuasion and coercion, both, serve merely to consolidate antagonistic attitudes, and to create tensions where none existed. That this argument has been employed prior to the Civil War has already been demonstrated: its applicability to the present situation is equally illuminating.

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[1]Earl Brown, op.cit., p.6 ff

The net effect of the FEPC, and of state laws patterned on it, is to prohibit the employer from practicing discrimination, or his employees from attempting to practice it. The effect of any such order, must, perforce, be examined with respect to its influence upon the majority, rather than upon the minority who may be disadvantaged as a result of the effect of the law. Although it is important, as management has been warned (1) that all guarantees be made that as many persons as possible are favorably predisposed to the proper acceptance of the Negro worker, the antagonism of a few cannot be considered an objection to a law - the net effect of which is to prohibit practices which in themselves are prejudicial and per se engender hostility against the Negro.(2)

The effect on the prohibition of discriminatory acts is that no group may be legally discriminated against: it is no longer possible to place the Negro in an inferior position, without facing the law. For the first time a federal dictum, which, however, is not supported by Congressional action, affirms that the Constitution of the United States applies to the Negro in the field of employment, and that violation of the order is a violation of the Constitution. Thus the order is an educational medium of enormous prestige, which gives basis for the defense of Negro rights. In this respect, it becomes a definite weapon in the elimination of prejudice and hostility.

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[1]New York State War Council, Committee on Discrimination in Employment, How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries, New York, 1942.

See also,
Herman Feldman, "The Technique of Introducing Negroes into the Plant". Personnel, 19: 461-6, Sept. 1942.
Herman Feldman, Racial Factors in American Industry, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931)

[2]For the discussion of New York State Laws on Discrimination, see Godfrey Schmidt, "Enforcement and Persuasion" Commonweal 36:102-105, May 22,1942.

The attempt to abolish segregatory law is subject to two kinds of opposition-

1. The warning (generally from politicians of the South) that to do away with segregation is to 'mongrelize' America. To this can only be answered that the wide variety of segregatory laws, the different methods of interpreting and administering them and the gradual abolition of many which were deemed too annoying and expensive demonstrate that there is no sure legislative formula which can be said to be effectively operating to reduce the chances of amalgamation.

2. The regret (national in scope) that until the races learn to get along better, segregation is necessary to prevent clashes between them. But, as we have seen, segregation operates to prevent friendly relations between Negroes and whites by threat of punishment, and to create prejudice and hostility by, in effect, creating unequal opportunities and standards of living which lay the basis for economic and political competition between the members of the two groups.

Prejudice against the Negro cannot reasonalby be expected to disappear until segregation- the forced isolation of all members of one group from all the members of the other is no longer legally defensible.

Carey McWilliams has advocated a Fair Racial Practices Act which would establish as a matter of national policy that there should be no discrimination against individuals because of race, creed, color or national origin. Such an act would govern all spheres of action among individuals. The resistance which has been manifested against all attempts to enforce such a code with respect to employment alone augurs

that the passage of this proposed legislation cannot be envisioned in the near future. The value of the proposal is that it serves as a core and a stimulus for national discussion concerning the position and rights of minority groups. When such legislation has been passed the nations will have brought into being and made legal a new phase in race relations. (1) Such legislation is embodied in the Constitution of the Soviet Union which states:

> Equality of rights of citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural and political life is an indefeasible law.
>
> Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens, on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt is punishable by law.

Paradoxically, this legal prohibition of the teaching of racist doctrines arises out of the conviction of Lenin that a mere act of social revolution, and the establishment of a state based on the principle of equality of all peoples did not itself constitute a guarantee of the disappearance of anti-Semitism, Russian ethno-centrism or anti-Mongolianism. Such attitudes arose, he stressed, from ignorance and lack of education. "Without literacy," he said, "only rumor, small talk and prejudices." (2)

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[1]Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin (New York: Boston: Little Brown, 1913) Also speech at Ethical Cultural Society, New York City, March 9, 1944.

[2]V.I. Lenin, Uber die Judenfrage (Moskau: Verlagenossenschaft Auslandischer Arbeiter in der Ud SSR, 1932)

The first step, then, in the elimination of the hostility and oppression of minority peoples which had characterized the Tsarist regime was the program for eliminating illiteracy, and equalizing the standards and opportunities of all people. Simultaneously, legislation was formulated and enacted penalizing any spreading of racist doctrine. The two measures were intended to reinforce one another: the first laid the basis for a general improvement in cultural level and the elimination of all inequalities: the second guaranteed that the introduction of racist ideas either by discontented elements within who were unable to accomodate themselves to the idea of Equality, or propagandists from outside should be severely punished.

Legislation against prejudice and hostility can not be expected, except by the foolishly idealistic, to eliminate attitudes which have the sanction of every other agency of social control. But the restriction on the privilege of exercising a personal animosity and the withdrawal of official support for anti-Negro acts is the sine qua non for the ultimate elimination of the attitude. The champions of the rights of minority groups have long claimed this: perhaps the most cogent proof that legislation can affect the mores and folkways comes from their enemies who defend segregatory and discriminatory legislation with such vigour.

The Negro Soldier. - The tracing of the history of the use of the Negro in the armed forces of the United States is a fascinating exposure of the growth of an idea, implemented through stateways, that Negroes were not qualified to serve in the same capacity as white citizens.

One of the first challenges to the new Republic, and the democracy it was professing was the question of the enrollment of the Negro as a soldier in the Army of the Revolution. Hart's assertion that "to admit that some Negroes had the intelligence or patriotism necessary for a soldier was contrary to the basis of slavery: and the share of the colored people in the Revolution was throughout minor" (1) is entirely misleading. On the other hand, Bancroft's assertion that "the right of free Negroes to bear arms in the public defense was at that time as little disputed in New England as their other rights" (2) is equally extreme: it must be qualified by the decision of a committee designated to devise means for their improvement of the army to reject Negro soldiers altogether. (Washington disapproved of this prohibition and, in effect, nullified it.)

By acts of their general assemblies, several colonies urged the enlistment of Negro slaves, who should be immediately emancipated upon completion of their military service. That the promise of freedom for the slaves was occasionally and conveniently 'forgotten' by their former owners is evident in the Act of Maryland of 1783, providing for the immediate freeing of such slaves, and prosecution of such masters. (3)

The inconsistency of using slave labor to defend a free country caused the Committee of Public Safety to proclaim

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[1]Albert Bushnell Hart, Race Elements in Washington's Time, (Massachusetts: George Washington Bicentennial Committee Pamphlet No. 3, 1932.)

[2]George Bancroft, History of the United States, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1834-74) Vol VIII, p.421).

[3]Hening Statutes at Large of Virginia, Val.XI, pp. 308,9.

> That it is the opinion of this Committee.....that the admission of any persons as Soldiers into the Army now raising, but only such as are Freemen, will be inconsistent with the principles that are to be supported, and reflect dishonor on this colony: and that no Slaves be admitted into this army upon any consideration whatever." (1)

The main source of objection to the employment of Negroes in the Revolutionary War was the southern colonies. The opposition of Georgia and South Carolina to the employment of Negroes as soldiers was generally considered to be one result of the large number of Loyalists in their ranks: in fact, John Adams thought that the only reason why the British did not recruit many Negroes into their armies in those colonies as they did elsewhere was because they would be depriving their American Loyalist slaveholder friends of valuable property. (2) Actually the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina did not even fill their quotas in the army of the Revolution: all the states south of Pennsylvania together provided but 59,493 regulars, or 8,414 less than Massachusetts alone.(3) These states could least afford to deprive the nation of needed manpower.

General Greene (4) proposed to Governor Rutledge of South Carolina that

> The natural strength of the country in point of numbers, appears to me to consist much more in the blacks than in

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[1] Force's American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol II, p. 672

[2] Works of John Adams Vol II, p.428.
See Cruden's denial of this in George Livermore, An Historical Research Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens and as Soldiers. (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1862) p. 143.

[3] Lorenzo Sabine, The American Loyalists, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1847) p. 30.

[4] William Johnson, Life of Greene, (Charleston: A.E.Miller, 1832) . Vol. II, p. 274.

> the whites. Could they be incorporated, and employed, for its defense, it would afford you double security ...They would make good soldiers, I have not the least doubt...

The legislature, considering the proposition exceedingly dangerous to the institution of slavery, 'compromised' with an arrangement by which slaves served as slaves in the army without promise of freedom. (1)

When Colonel Laurens of the Revolutionary Army undertook to induce the slaveholders of the southern colonies to allow their Negro slaves to enlist with the Rebels, he found that "The single voice of reason was drowned by the howlings of a triple-headed monster, in which prejudice, avarice and pusillanimity were united." (2) Washington counselled Laurence that in contrast to the initial ardor of their love for their country, war-weariness had already made men anxious to protect their own interest: they would not endanger their financial interests in slavery, even if it meant the loss of their own liberty. (3)

That the early Americans were aware of the dangerous attitudes that would result among the Negroes as a result of the failure to permit them to serve the colonies is apparent in the correspondence of John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and others, especially with respect to the order of Lord Dunmore, Royal Governor of Virginia, who,in a proclamation in November, 1775, promised freedom to all slaves joining the army of the British.(4)

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[1] op. cit, p.275.

[2] Jared Sparks, Correspondance of the American Revolution, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1853) Vol II, p.506.

[3] Jared Sparks, Life of George Washington, (Boston: Ferdinand Andrews, 1839) p. 322,323.

[4] Force's American Archives, Fifth Series, Vol II, pp. 1 602. ibid. Vol. III, p.1385.

If the colonists were afraid to use Negroes because they feared a breakdown in the slave system, they were equally concerned with the strength Negroes might add to the rebel army. In any case, the Negroes were considered a not insignificant factor in the calculation of military strength. In a proclamation to the Negroes of Virginia, they were assured that Lord Dunmore intended only to free those who served actively with him - not their families, and that his plan was actually to use the Negroes as an army for the enslavement of all the peoples of America. In conclusion, it states:

> Be not, then, ye Negroes, tempted by this proclamation to ruin yourselves. I have given you a faithful view of what you are to expect....Whether you will profit by my advice, I cannot tell, but this I know, that, whether we suffer or not, if <u>you</u> desert us <u>you</u> most certainly will...(1)

The advice here is tempered with the threat of severe punishment: in both cases, it is apparent, the revolutionary leaders were concerned with the way in which the Negroes would throw their strength. Washington (2) and others (3) stressed the importance of guaranteeing protection to those slaves who joined the Revolutionary armies.

The suspicion that Negroes recruited into the armies of the Republic would be dissatisfied elements, or possibly spies for the British who constantly reiterated their promises of freedom led General Gates to order in 1775 that they, together with all persons suspected of being enemies to

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[1] <u>ibid</u>. Vol III, p. 1387.

[2] Letter of George Washington to Joseph Reed, in William Reed, <u>Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed</u> (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847) Vol I, p. 135.

[3] See Declaration by Representatives of the People of Virginia, in Force, op.cit. Fourth Series, Vol IV, pp. 84,85.

America be rejected from the armed services.(1)

There are no satisfactory statistics on the number of Negroes who served in the regular Army during the Revolutionary Period. In most cases, the lists of soldiers included no designation of race: in any event, the number of Negroes regularly enrolled was augmented by large numbers, fitting more properly the description of John Adams of the group which initiated the Boston Massacre as "a motely rabble of saucy boys, Negroes and mulattoes, Irish Teagues and outlandish Jack tars". In according honors for the heroes of the Revolution, Negroes were treated as others: Crispus Attucks, former slave, who died a heroic death in the Boston Massacre was buried in the same tomb with three white heroes of the attack. (2)

The eagerness of the white personnel to guarantee that their Negro comrades be properly honored is typified in the following resolution signed by two colonels, one lieutenant colonel, three captains, and other

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[1]Frank Moore, Diary of the American Revolution (New York: Charles Scribners, 1861) Vol I, p. 110.

[2]The inscription over their tomb reads,

> Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend,
> Dear to your country shall your fame extend
> While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
> Where Caldwell, Attucks Gray and Maverick fell.

officers of a Massachusetts regiment:

> To the Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay
> The subscribers beg leave to your Honorable House (which we do in justice to the character of so brave a man) that, under own observation, we declare that a Negro man called Salem Poor, of Colonel Frye's regiment, Captain Ames' company in the late battle at Charlestown, behaved like an experienced officer, as well as an excellent soldier. To set forth the particulars of his conduct would be tedious. We would only beg leave to say, in the person of this said Negro centres a brave and gallant soldier. The reward due to so great and distinguished a character, we submit to Congress. (1)

In the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson made the following proclamation:(2)

> "To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisianna:
> ...Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freeman and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper companions or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will be undivided, and receive the applause of your countrymen."

By 1812, the apology for slavery was being transformed into an offensive against the abolitionists. New restrictions were being made to curb the rights of the freemen. By 1790, the number of free Negroes in the United States had increased to 59,557, and was showing signs of increasing so that the slave power was seriously threatened. Prejudice and hostility against the Negro were increasing, so that Commodore Crancey, when questioned concerning his use of Negroes, became irate, and said, "...and I have yet to learn that the color of the skin, or the cut and trimmings of the coat, can affect a man's qualifications or usefulness.

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[1] Archives of Massachusetts, Vol. 180, p. 241.

[2] Andrew Jackson, "To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisianna," cited in Geor. Livermore, op.cit., p.7.

I have nearly fifty blacks on board, and many of them are among my best men.(1) Despite the reluctance to use Negroes in some quarters, a physician for the American Army in the War of 1812 reported that "...there seemed to be an entire absence of prejudice against the blacks as messmates among the crew."(2)

The history of the reluctance of the Union Armies to employ Negroes has been told many times.(3) The forces of the Union were apparently already beginning to face the possible consequences of the deeds they were about to commit. The prediction of Worthington at the Ohio Constitutional Convention was coming true:

> "The gentlemen says that at the time of the Revolution there was less prejudice against the black race than there is at present. That is undoubtedly true; and it is also true that the prejudice, if you will so call it, has increased at each successive period of time, and the irresistable inference from such a state of facts is that the longer the two races occupy the same soil, the greater will be their repulsion and the stronger the prejudice."(4)

Despite the handicaps that were placed in their way, 187,000 Negroes served in the Union Army. (5)

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[1]Alexander MacKenzie, The Life of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841) Vol 1, p. 186-187.

[2]Letter of Dr. Osler Parsons to George Livermore, op. cit.,p.160.

[3]See Herman Schluter, Lincoln, Labor and Slavery (New York: Socialist Literature Company, New York 1913.

[4]Convention Debates (1850-1851) II, p.639, speech of Mr. Worthington, delegate from Chillicothe, Ohio, at Ohio Constitutional Convention, Feb. 17, 1851.

[5]Edwin R. Embree, American Negroes: A Handbook, (New York: The Day Company, 1942) p.46.

The struggle of Negroes to participate in a war for their own liberation is personified in Harriet Tubman, (1) the Negro freewoman, who led successively the battle for her own freedom, then for that of her family, for the maintenance of the Underground Railroad, served as a nurse to Union Army forces, both black and white, fought against the halving of the pay of Negro soldiers, who received seven dollars instead of the fifteen dollars given white troops, and then was rebuked in her effort to obtain the pension which was due her as a soldier of the Union Army. (2)

The history of the Negro soldier in the American armies is a unique record of the genesis of a tradition, each step of which can be clearly delineated. The nature of the original solution determined every subsequent action. That solution, arrived at at the time of the Revolutionary war was based upon the absurdity of defending freedom with slaves, together with the suspicion that slaves might take that opportunity to avenge their just grievances. The question of using Negroes as soldiers was a question of expediency, not of inferiority. The participation of the Negro in the first wars was inappropriate, because military service equalizes men per se. The institution which made that participation inappropriate was slavery: had the roots of that system been completely eradicated from American economic life, there would be

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[1] Earl Conrad, Harriet Tubman, (Washington, D.C., The Associated Publishers, 1943)

[2] For an account of the participation of Negroes in the Civil War, see Herbert Aptheker, The Negro in the Civil War (New York: International Publishers, 1938.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPRESSION OF THE NORM IN AMERICAN CULTURE

as little question about the rights of Negroes to bear arms as there is of the rights of Catholics or Finnish-Americans.

The stateway..the institution of slavery, with its economic and political support has created a general usage or code which makes the appearance of a Negro soldier grotesque. It is not surprising to find that the American history textbooks in use in a large number of Southern states seldom mention the exploits of Negro troops in any of the American wars: where they do appear, they are costumed ridiculously and are obviously intended to be amusing.[1]

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[1]Lawrence D. Reddick, "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks", Journal of Negro History, 19: 225-265, 1934.

The institutions of slavery, we have seen, conditioned the attitudes of white and Negroes towards one another, and determined the mores and norms governing interracial relations.

Those norms can be found expressed in every single aspect of American culture. They are crystallized into a few major stereotypes, each of which clearly reflects the economic and political interracial relations of the period in which it arose and had widest currency. We shall examine the expressions of those stereotypes in several selected cultural media - the song, ~~with~~ graphic art, drama, literature and film. The omission of consideration of the formal modes of indoctrination in the prevalent norm is intentional. It arises from the conviction that research into the growth of attitudes has concentrated far too much on the definite measureable forms of education, as though the school and the textbook were more important, or even as important as the multitude of cultural factors which are expressive of attitudes towards the Negro.

Tests designed for the measurement or experimental modification of attitudes towards the Negro commonly demand information about the previous contacts of the subject with Negroes - whether he has any Negro friends, acquaintances, how many, whether he has heard of Booker T. Washington, Benjamin Brawley, etc. They do not ask whether the individual listens to Amos and Andy, uses such expressions as 'nigger in the woodpile', likes 'darkey' shows, etc. Yet these, far more than the planned education of our school system (which is negative with respect to the Negro) determine attitudes towards the Negro.

The Stereotype

Stereotypes, according to the classical thesis of Lippman on the formation of public opinion, are "pictures in the head", which arise from the limitations in the accessibility of facts - limitations due to artificial censorships, restrictions in time and experience and other such factors: they are maintained because of "the fear of facing those facts which would seem to threaten the established routine of men's lives." (1) The essence of stereotypy is the simplification of cues required to evoke any affective pattern of responses. Stereotypes are socially significant only when they are shared by a large number of persons. Stereotypes are convenient abstractions which categorize traits and characteristics, so that a one-to-one correlation between a large number of traits can be made. Rice, (2), Zillig (3) and others have demonstrated the potency of stereotypy in affecting the judgment of the individual, and his responses to a wide variety of situations. Stereotypes, according to Albig (4) are results of psychological tendencies to reification and simplification. Stereotypes are convenient, but distortive tools. Their usefulness in foreshortening

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[1] Walter Lippman, Public Opinion, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922.

[2] S. A. Rice, "A Source of Error in Judging Human Character", Journal of Personality Research, 5:267-76, 1926.

[3] M. Zillig, "Einstellung und Aussage," Zeitschrift fur Psychologie, 106: 58-106, 1928.

[4] William Albig, Public Opinion, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1939) p.58.

the thought process is in direct proportion to the accuracy with which they can be shown to operate. Thus, the stereotype of the business man may be fairly accurate in predicting the responses and characteristics of the average business man: the source of error lies in the fact that the individual who strikes the statistical average in one trait will not consistently do so with respect to all others, so that the stereotype, while accurate in some areas, will be grossly false in others.

Stereotypes represent a reaction tendency, and are heavily weighted affectively. They connote a prejudice per se, because they enlarge the scope of judgment on the basis of inadequate evidence concerning the correlation between characteristics not known to be related. Stereotypy of professional, religious, racial, age, educational groupings can be found in such expressions as 'just like a", "just what you would expect a ---- to do", etc.

The prevalent norm in any area of experience may or may not be transformed into a stereotype. The customs, traditions, standards and fashions which control the behaviour of any well-defined racial group with respect to any other are supremely vulnerable to stereotypy. Because the differences between the group must be clarified in order for discrimination to be upheld, those differences must be exaggerated, and their divergence from the majority 'center' made clear. Where a culture is built upon the recognition of race differences, racial stereotypy is likely to be prevalent. Thus, it has been noted that the English, who pay much less attention to national and racial differences than

Americans, have neither race names equivalent to our "dago", "nigger", polack", etc., nor the opprobrious adjectives which usually accompany them.

The extent to which a racial minority has been subject to stereotypy is one measure of the social distance placed between it and the majority group. Thus the English, and other English-speaking peoples who generally place high in social distance ratings, have been stereotyped to a limited extent: generally the simplified picture includes such attributes as slowness in catching jokes, dryness of humor in general, worship of tradition, etc., all attributes which are socially acceptable in the American tradition. With respect to the Chinese, Negro and Turk, on the other hand, the stereotype includes a wide variety of characteristics, all of them completely alien to American folkways.(1)

The stereotype which has been built up around the Negro in America has been captured by Mencken and Nathan in their study of the American Credo. (2) Thirteen of the four hundred and eighty-eight statements which they found prevalent in the thinking of Americans refer to the Negro. They are cited here because they delineate the stereotype so accurately:

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[1]James A. Bayton, "Racial Stereotypes of Negro College Students", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 36: 97-102, 1942.
Gwendolyn E. Bryant, "Recent Trends in Racial Attitudes of Negro College Students," Journal of Negro Education, 10:43-50,1941.
Max Meines, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of Negro College Students in 1935 and 1942", Psychological Bulletin, 39: 467-8,1942.

[2]George Jean Nathan and Henry L. Mencken, The American Credo, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1920)

1. That all male Negroes can sing.
2. That every colored cook has a lover who never works, and that she feeds him by stealing the best part of every dish she cooks.
3. That every Negro who went to France with the army had a liason with a white woman, and won't look at a 'nigger' wench any more.
4. That a Negro's vote may always be readily bought for a dollar.
5. That if one hits a Negro on the head with a cobblestone, the cobblestone will break.
6. That all Negroes born south of the Potomac play the banjo and are excellent dancers.
7. That whenever a Negro is educated, he refuses to work and becomes a criminal.
8. That every Negro servant girl spends at least half of her wages on preparations for taking the kink out of her hair.
9. That all Negro prize fighters marry white women, and that afterwards they beat them.
10. That all Negroes who show any intelligence whatever are actually two-third white and the sons of United States senators.
11. That whenever Prohibition is enforced in a region populated by Negroes, they take to morphine, heroin and other powerful drugs.
12. That the moment a 'nigger' gets eight dollars, he goes to a dentist and has one of his front teeth filled with gold.
13. That a Negro ball always ends up in a grand free for all fight, in which several 'coons' are mortally slashed with razors.

A most interesting revelation of the way in which stereotypes influence the thinking of those who are themselves studying the phenomenon is contained in the introduction to that study, in which the authors describe the psychological process of the translation of fears into indignations as the American announces what he has to say in terms of raucous indignation "like a Negro having to go past a medical college at night, intones some bellicose gospel-hymn." (1)

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[1]George Jean Nathan, op.cit., p. 68.

The American stereotype with respect to the Negro is a fertile field of research into social interaction. The picture constructed by Nathan and Mencken is based upon the Negro's peculiar vices (2,4,7, 11,12,13), his desire to be white (3,8,9,10), special virtues (1,6), and lack of intelligence (5). Although the Nathan and Mencken study may not be admitted as genuine evidence, because of the lack of standardization, it outlines the stereotype Negro to be found in literature, advertisements, the comic strip, and all other avenuesfor communicating community norms.

To the stereotype of the Negro here drawn, Sterling Brown has added historical data derived from the scrutiny of literature, and evolved a more complete picture: the contented slave, the wretched freeman, the comic Negro, the brute Negro, the tragic mulatto, the local color Negro and the exotic primitive. (1)

That the Negro should be the object of stereotypy is not surprising: every distinct national and ethnic group in the history of this country has passed through a phase in which it was a sharply defined unit on the American scene which differentiated it from the general body of "Americans". But the Negro stereotype persists because this group continues to be the most sharply differentiated: its integration into the body American has not been accomplished. Thus the Negro stereotype

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[1]Sterling Brown, "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors", Journal of Negro Education, 2: 179-203.

not only records the historical lines of his development as a minority in thiscountry, but it is perpetuated and expressed through every action, either individual or social, which can be considered evidence of prejudice or hostility against him.

The Contented Slave

When, in 1781, a hopeful owner advertised

> To be sold, an extraordinary likely Negro wench, 17 years old, she can be warranted to be strong, healthy and good-natured, has no notion of freedom, has always been used to a Farmer's kitchen and dairy, and is not known to have any failing, but being with child, which is the only cause of her being sold. (1) (my emphasis)

the virtue of the 'contented slave' was already being exploited on the slave mart. It would have been impossible to advertise a person who would be likely to revolt. Therefore, it was necessary to assure the prospective buyer that a slave had no notion of liberty. The process by which this convenient strategem, together with the secrecy maintained by the slaves in the management of their efforts to rebel against the system of slavery, combined to produce a most important stereotype in American culture is of great psychological interest.

The most important of all the stereotypes of the Negro, and the one most clearly connected with the desire to guarantee and excuse his economic exploitation, is that of the contented slave who loved his master

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[1] Continental Journal, March 1, 1781.

hated poor whites and loathed the Yankees who sought to set him against his master and to bring him to freedom he didn't want.

Close scrutiny of the legislation of the slave-owners does not substantiate the reality of the contented slave stereotype. The disparity between the literature and the legislation is bridged only by an examination of the needs of white America.

Scrutiny of the songs, particularly, shows that the contented slave stereotype was preceded by that of the disconsolate unhappy slave. Before the war of 1812, the two main trends in the presentation of the Negro in song were the comic complaints (in dialect) and tragic complaints in lofty, sentimental poetry.

A typical example of the first is "Dear Heart" of 1788 (1)

Dear heart! What a terrible life I am led
A dog has better that's sheltered and fed
Night and day 'tis the same
My pain is dere game
Me wish to de Lord me was dead.
Whate'ers to be done,
Poor Blacky must run;
Mungo here, Mungo dere
Mungo everywhere.
Above or below
Sirrah come, Sirrah go;
Do so and do so,
Oh! Oh!
Me wish to de Lord me was dead.

Woven in with the complaints of the Negroes about their own lot were parodies and satires on white people which were plainly labeled as such:

My missy for one black dog about the house me kick
Him say, my nassy tawny face enough to make him sick
But when my massa he go out, she then no longer rail
For first me let the captain in and then me tell no tale.(2)

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[1] American Songster (New York: Campbell, 1788)

[2] American Songster (Baltimore: Warner and Hanna, 1799)

The Negro character in these parodies was often very frank in his appraisal of the white marser. A late example of this genre contains the lines

> Great way off at sea, when at home I benee
> Buckra man steal me from the coast of Guinea
> Christian massa pray, call me heathen doggee
> Den I run away, very much he floggee
> Ri tol lol lol la. (1)

The most important and popular of the sentimental ballads of the 'uncontented slave' was that of "The Negro Boy" which was sung in performances of Oronooka and Othello, performed as a solo act. The lament of the white man who sold his Negro for a watch is told thus:

> When avarice enslaves the mind
> And selfish views alone hold sway
> Man turns a savage to his kind
> And blood and rapine mark his way.
> Alas! for this poor simple boy
> I sold a blooming Negro boy. (2)

Other songs of this type were "The Slaves Lament", "Pity for Poor Africana", "The Desponding Negro," "The Dying Negro," and "On Slavery."

By the 1820's the despondent despairing Negro slave had passed, and was being supplanted by the jolly, 'dandy' figure of the comic recitation, in which the essential elements were the distortion of words, elaboration of costume and foolishness of general demeanor.

By 1818, according to Damon (3) "the satiric complaint had simmered down to anemic content in dubious dialect." The beginning of the contented

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[1] Songster's Repository (New York: Nath, 1811)

[2] Columbian Songster (Wrentham, Massachusetts: Heaton, 1799)

[3] S. Foster Damon, "The Negro in Early American Songsters" Bibliographical Society of America 28: 132-63, 1934.

slave stereotype is foreshadowed in Bonja Song of 1818-21.

> What are the joys white man here
> What are his pleasures, say?
> Me want no joys, no ills me fear
> But on my Bonja play.
> Me want no joys, no ills me fear
> But on my Bonja play.
> Me sing all day, me sleep all night
> Me have no care, my sleep is light
> Me tink, no what tomorrow bring
> Me happy so me sing.

The transition in song from the unhappy Negro to the contented slave is paralleled in the history of the drama. Thus, while the early plays frequently used Negro characters for comic relief, the roles thus developed differed markedly from the later stereotype. The Negro slaves in one of the earliest American dramas, "The Fall of Tyranny" (1) are necessary to the play: the humor is situational and topical, although undoubtedly augmented by the impossible dialect. The play, a stinging satire on the hypocrisy of the British and, incidentally, on the American Tories who worshipped them, used the Negro to demonstrate the Tory duplicity. Thus, the boatswain who has secured the blacks for the use of the British says to Lord Kidnapper -

> Why, aye, that's true, please your honor, any port in a storm - if a man is to be hand'd or have his throat cut, d'ye see - who are so fit to do it as their own slaves? Especially as they're to have their freedom for it; nobody can blame 'em, nor your honor either, for you get them for halfprice, or nothing at all, d'ye see, and that will help to lessen Owld England's taxes.

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[1]John Leacock, "The Fall of British Tyranny", in Montrose J. Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists (New York: Dutton, 1918) Vol I, 277-350

The scene between Lord Kidnapper and the Negroes is especially illuminating because it outlines several of the stereotyped features of later Negro roles - the crude dialect, the credulity, etc.

Kidnapper	Well, my brave blacks, are you come to 'list?
Cudjo	Eas, massa Lord, you preazee.
Kidnapper	How many are there of you?
Cudjo	Twenty-two, massa
Kidnapper	Very well, did you all run away from your masters?
Cudjo	Eas, massa Lord, ebry one, me too.
Kidnapper	That's clever; they have no right to make you slaves, I wish all the Negroes would do the same, I'll make them free.

Not at all humorous, or mocking, on the other hand, was the treatment of the Negroes in "The Yorker's Strategem or Banana's Wedding" in which the problems of a West Indian Negro and a shrewd Yankee are hopelessly entangled: one interesting aspect of this dramatic failure is the scene in which the Negro is being forced to marry this white girl, much against his will, by ambitious friends. Equally interesting is Dunlap's "The Africans" (1) which was performed principally on the Philadelphia stage. This farce of life in Africa is a biting satire on slavery, Englishman in general, and English snobs in particular. The plight of the white Englishman who is sold into slavery under Negro Africans is amusingly portrayed. Especially cleverly handled are the color prejudices of the English -

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[1] George Colman, The Africans, or War, Love and Duty, (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1811.

Mug (white Englishman)	But, ah, Sutta, should you ever go with me to Snowhill, what pretty things I should turn for you.
Sutta (native Negro girl)	Wish you turn ugly thing for me, now.
Mug	How?
Sutta	Turn your face to other way, massa Mug. Cause when you look me full, make me jump.
Mug	Jump! What for?
Sutta	Skin like tooth. White all over.
Mug	.....So you object to my complexion. (Sutta nods) And my features, too, perhaps.
Sutta	No; pity you not black - for your features look like negro man, very.
Mug	Damn me, if the best looking Londoner musn't be smoked-dried, like King Charles at Charing Cross before he has any chance in this country! Why, I tell you, as I told you over and over again, white is the handsomest.
Sutta	Ah! Black for me.

In none of these early dramas do we have the rhapsodic idyls of slave life which characterized later drama and song. The malcontented slaves of "The Fall of Tyranny", the dignified Negro of "The Yorker's Stratagem", and the color-conscious Negroes of "The Africans" were representatives of forms of protest against and satire upon the sanctity of slavery.

The change in content from the unhappy satiric Negro to the contented slave became so prominent in the 1820's and 1830's that it demands special attention. We can only judge its historical background from our previously cited data on the increasing profitability of cotton culture under the slave system - which inspired a change from a negative defensive "we inherited slavery from the British, what can we do about it?" to"slavery is a positive good" offensive of the South against the abolitionists. That change in attitude is reflected in the careful cultivation

of the contented slave legend - which effectively demonstrated that it wasn't only the white man who needed slavery (whatever his reasons) but the slave who wanted it.

The period from 1830 to the recent past may be considered the era of the Plantation Legend, which Gaines has apprized so skilfully in his study of the development and accuracy of the tradition. The plantation legend is based on:

> The old plantation; a great mansion; exquisitely gowned ladies and courtly gentlemen moving with easy grace upon the broad veranda behind stalwart columns; surrounding the yard an almost illimitible stretch of white cotton; darkies singingly at work in the fields, Negro quarters,off on one side, around which little pickaninnies tumbled in gay frolic. (1)

The plantation legend, according to Gaines, arises from an innate American love of feudalism: there is, of course, no substantial basis for this assertion. The American love of pagaentry is easily transferred from the plantation ball to the drum major corps at the opening of the baseball season.

The appelation "darky" is perhaps the key to the plantation legend of the contented Negro. It is not surprising, therefore, that militant Negroes who repudiate the contented slave tradition, and point continually to the attempts of slaves to escape their bondage, should have protested the use of that name in a recent Irving Berlin song: nor is it entirely surprising that the author consented to the deletion, in order to avoid offense to a minority group heretofore powerless to overcome

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[1] Francis Gaines, op.cit., p. 1.

such evidences of anti-Negro prejudice. The darky conjures up immediately loyal retainer of minimum intelligence, but a vast heart.

The earlier novels in the plantation legend tradition were transparent efforts to prove that slavery was the ideal system for the Negro, and the only system of prosperity for the South. Thus Kennedy conjectures in his narrative of Swallow Barn that

> No tribe of people have ever passed from barbarism to civilization whose progress has been more secure from harm, more genial to their character, or better supplied with mild and beneficent guardianship, adapted to their actual state of their intellectual feebleness...(1)

Haliburton, who is more critical than his contemporaries of the wiles of the slave owners, asserts that slavery is natural to the Negroes who are, however, in no worse position than the woman who is the slave of her husband!

In Simms' popular Yemassee of 1832, Hector, the Negro slave is the vehicle for the defense of slavery. When it is proposed that Hector be freed, he replies

> I d---n to h-ll, massa, if I gwine to be free...Enty I know wha' kind of ting freedom is wid black man? Ha! You make Hector free, he turn wuss more nor poor buckra - he tief out of do shop - he git drunk and lie in de ditch.... (2)

Simms, who wrote prolifically of the South and slavery is unique in his conscious attempt to defend slavery through literature. (3)

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[1] J. P. Kennedy, Swallow Barn (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1832)

[2] William Gilmore Simms, The Yemassee (New York: American Book Company, 1937.

[3] Vernon Parrington said of Simms, "He set up as a militant defender of slavery and collaborated with other eminent Carolinians to developmthe pro-slavery argument." Vernon Parrington, Main Currents of American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927-30) Vol II, p. 125.

"Himself a slave owner, he naturally believed in the institution of slavery". (1) The incidental figure Hector voices in dialect the warning that Simms the political agitator gave later

> We beg, once for all, to say to our Northern readers and writers and publishers that in the South we hold slavery to be an especially and wisely devised institution of heaven devised for the benefit, improvement and safety, morally, socially, and physically of a barbarous and inferior race....(2)

The most intense stimulus to the growth of pro-slavery literature of the contented slave was the publication and overwhelming popularity of Mrs. Stowe's works. Victim of abuse and villification from the Southerners who were not satisfied even with the large number of characters in Uncle Tom's Cabin who conformed to the prevalent stereotype of the Negro (3) Mrs. Stowe's extraordinary success stimulated the production not only of controversial pamphlets, but of no fewer than fourteen pro-slavery novels and one long poem in the three years, (1852-5) following the appearance of Uncle Tom's Cabin. (4)

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[1]Alexander Cowie, ed. The Yemassee (New York: American Book Company, 1937) Introduction, p. xxxix.

[2]William Gilmore Simms, "Summer Travel in the South," Southern Quarterly Review, September, 1850, pp. 28-30.

[3]Negroes recently protested vigourously against the proposed filming of Uncle Tom's Cabin because its central character embodies values no longer heroic. See Metronome, March, 1944. The name Uncle Tom, together with 'handkerchief-head' is given by militant Negroes to those of their own group who seek personal salvation through favors from white people.

[4]Jeannette Reid Tandy, "Pro-Slavery Propoganda in the American Fiction of the Fifties," South Atlantic Quarterly, 21: no.1., p. 41.

Not all of these defenses of slavery were as clearly labelled as Smith's Uncle Tom's Cabin As It Is. (1) Rush's romanticization of plantation life was designed for the explicit purpose of inspiring in the Northerner a sympathy with the trials of the Southerner who gives his Negroes the kind of freedom they don't have in the South - exemplied in the stroking of the head of a quadrrom servant by her mistress. (2)

A study of the songs of the nineteenth century is in some ways far more revealing of the extent of the contented slave stereotype. As Scarborough has noted, "In the early days on the plantation, when books and newspapers were less plentiful than now, songs formed a larger part of the social life than they do at present." (3) The songs of Stephen Foster, of Dan Bennett of the black-face minstrels were the most important music of the period. The widespread publication of these songs, through sheet music and the performance on the minstrel stage gave them a tremendous audience. A typical song was

I Wish I Was in Old Virginny

Oh, I wish I was in old Virginia
Wid Dina and the picaninny.
Just sitting down at gumbo!
Oh! dat is de place for gumbo!
Chorus
For old Virginny is de place, boys
(Repeat three times)
Where a saucy nigger neber dars to show his face, boys.
etc. (4)

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[1]William L. Smith, Life at the South, or Uncle Tom's Cabin As It Is. Buffalo: G. H. Derby and Company, 1852)

[2]Caroline E. Rush, North and South, or Slavery and its Contrasts (Philadelphia: Crissy and Markley, 1852)

[3]Dorothy Scarborough, On the Trail of Negro Folksongs,(Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1925)

[4]Wood's Minstrel Songs (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1855)

Another typical reminiscent song called "The Days When This Old Nigger Was Young" speaks of the time when

> Dem gals wore bonnets their faces to protect, sir,
> An' didn't keep 'em fast to de back of de neck, Sir
> Den darkies staid at home 'stead of fugitive slavin
> An' mad politicians didn't go about ravin'

"Carry Me Back to Tennessee," "I Wish I Was in Dixieland", "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," and "Happy Are We Darkies So Gay" are a few of the more descriptive titles of minstrel songs. They confirm Wittke's assertion that "The minstrels generally stressed the lighter side of the Negro life - some songs were definitely pro-slavery and pro-Southern and perhaps useful as propaganda." (1)

The songs of Stephen Foster represent the 'plantation melody' at its best. They are most artistic representatives of this genre, but the presentation of such melodies without the accompaniment of the laments of the slaves, or the work songs is so unbalanced that as early as 1910 the students of Howard University protested at singing those 'plantation melodies' as they had been requested by the white president of the university. They voiced the opinion that white people fostered such music because it accorded with their wishful thinking about Negroes. (2) Later, Paul Robeson said, "They (the people of America) want Negro religious songs from which they take, not the suffering but the comfort of the resignation they express, (not heeding that the songs' cry for heaven is only a reflex from the Negro's having suffered hell on earth." (3)

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[1] Carl Wittke, Tambo and Bones (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1930) p. 176.

[2] The Sun (New York) December 21, 1909.

[3] Julia Dorn, "I Breathe Freely" New Theatre 2: 5, July, 1935.

The contented slave stereotype is the basis for the Jim Crow of minstrelsy which Charles S. Johnson has characterized as

> He is lazy, shiftless, and happy-go-lucky, loves watermelon, carries a razor, emits a peculiar odor, shoots craps, grins instead of smiles, - is noisily religious, loves red, dresses flashily, loves gin and can sing. (1)

The sudden and complete success of T. D. Rice's Jim Crow brought the new art form of minstrelsy to the American stage, and guaranteed its success for many years. The multiplication of companies in the forties and fifties indicate that the new form met with immediate approval. The statement of the enthusiastic salesman for the Ethiopian Joke Book that

> Although at first inseparably associated with humor of doubtful broadness, there has been a steady improvement in the character of these Ethiopian entertainments, and now families of the highest respectability patronize them without fear of offense to the eye or the ear. (2)

is almost entirely false: the humor of minstrelsy became broader as the form matured and the content changed. But minstrelsy was the most popular form of entertainment of its era, and reached all sections and classes of Americans.

Both the inspiration and content of the early minstrel performances were derived from actual observation of Negro life. The locale of the earlier minstrels were the cabins of the Negroes: the subjects their loves, sins and trouble. At its outset, then, minstrelsy was an attempt at a new folk figure in American drama, in the place accorded him in national life. It could not be legitimately expected except in rare instances, that the Negro should occupy any other role. The only possible casting of Negro

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[1]Cited in Francis Gaines, op.cit., p. 17.

[2]Charley White, New Ethiopian Joke Book (New York: Garrett and Company, 1855)

figures in heroic proportions would have been that of the unhappy slave who revolted for his freedom. The only persons who knew and were in close touch with these Negroes were the abolitionists of the North: with the exception of the dramatization of Uncle Tom's Cabin no major propagandistic efforts of the Abolitionists reached into the theatre.

The white man who blackened his face in order to portray a Negro slave, sang at first, "Zip Coon", "Clar de Kitchen", "Lucy Long", "Settin' on a Rail", "We are Coming, Sister Mary" and other songs which might reasonably be sung by the Negro plantation hand.

The alterations in the content of the minstrel (the form remained practically the same throughout its history) is an illuminating instance of the effect of social change upon art forms.

The minstrel show began with all-white casts. The members blackened their faces in order to portray the life of black people. The songs they sang were those black people might sing. The characters they portrayed were intended as genial entertainers. The relationship between artist and audience was one of inferior to superior: the black man was acceptable and entertaining because he was contented with his lot - so contented, because he spent so much of his time laughing, singing, eating watermelon and contriving little puns and ditties.

The success of the minstrel of the era of T.D. Rice depended upon a combination of good voice, skilful patter and a keen sense of observation of Negro life. The minstrels who followed him had varying abilities. Their talents can only be judged from the fact that they relied on more ludicrous

make up, more gorgeous livery and more exaggerated mannerisms of speech in order to make their living. Gradually, minstrelsy ceased to be an enactment of Negro life, and became instead a variety entertainment of good songs, dances and wit. But blackface had given minstrelsy its start, and it was retained until late in the 1800's when numerous white performers appeared without it. Minstrels imitated Presidents, spoke in Jewish, Irish and Chinese dialects - all in blackface!

What was the psychological base of the phenomenal success of minstrelsy, which may be considered the most successful and popular vehicle of the contented slave stereotype? One answer has been attempted -

> Nothing can be more silly and absurd than these Negro rhymes...Yet out of all this nonsense, somehow rises a humanizing influence which gives to an innocent recreation a positive philanthropic sentiment. This sentiment connects itself with them as a colored troupe. With white faces the whole affair would be intolerable. It is the ebony that gives the due and needful color to the monstrosities, the breaches of decorum, the exaggeration of feeling.....(1)

This is not itself an answer, but a lead to a more important question. Why was the fact that the character was in black face an important aspect of early minstrelsy? The only reasonable answer is that blackface minstrelsy filled a national need - of believing that the Negro was not really unhappy because of his status. When a blackface minstrel sang a tragic song, it was "Nelly Gray" or some other song of personal loss. When, occasionally, a 'political' song was sung like "The Slave's Lament"

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[1] London Illustrated News, cited by Wittke, op.cit.,p.54.

it was performed in outlandish costumes and when published, illustrated by caricature.

Americans both North and South, needed the contented slave. For those who defended slavery, it was indeed a propaganda weapon: on the other hand, it served equally well those who felt vaguely the sinfulness of slavery but lacked the vision and courage to oppose it.

Minstrelsy, the most important art form representing the contented slave stereotype has virtually disappeared as a commercially profitable venture. That it is certainly not dead, however, can be seen from a study of the publication of sketches, jokes and plays of that type for the use of amateurs and professionals. Since 1920, thirty-six single minstrel plays and collections of minstrel parts have been published in the United States. Blackface, despite an occasional performance of the comedians Eddie Cantor and Al Jolson is, by and large, a lost art. But the tradition of the contented slaves, with many changes continues: together with its inseparable twin, the clown Negro, it represents the most frequent presentation of the Negro in the American arts.

If the contented slave has disappeared from music he has gotten new life from literature. Whereas the stereotype of the contented slave was a major propaganda weapon for the defense of slavery, after Emancipation it served a more subtle and important purpose. The events of Reconstruction clearly proved that the South intended to return the Negro to a place of economic and social inferiority from which he had barely escaped under Black Republicanism. For this purpose, both to convince itself and its

northern critics, it encouraged a renaissance of the 'beautiful South' of magnolia blossoms, mint juleps and obsequious Uncle Toms and Mammies.

The tradition of Uncle Remus was carried on with most skill by Page, whose Sam and Billy are vocal in their regrets about Negro freedom, saying, "Dem wuz good old times, marster... Niggers didn't hed nothing 'tall to do...Hyar warn' no trouble nor nothin'" Harris, Edwards, Hopkinson Smith, Grace King, Kate Chopin are a few of those who embellished the contented slave legend as developed before the Civil War by adding authentic dialect, a genuine respect for the loyal Negro and a somewhat great appreciation of the occasional abuses of the slavery system. Mitchell's Gone With the Wind is the most recent and successful of these historical novels of the plantation legend, abounding in Southern grace and hospitality. Gone With The Wind's nostalgia for the beautiful pre-war South was sharpened and rendered far more convincing by the stupendous spectacles of the debauchery and slaughter of the Union Armies, bringing freedom to slaves who wanted only to serve their masters.

The flourishing of the literature of the Plantation Legend is similarly paralleled by the post-bellum era of sketches of genial, ignorant, devoted and superstitious Negroes. Kemble's work, including Comical Coons and Blackberries (1) is generally representative of the school of genial caricaturists, including Ludwell Sheppard and Sol Eytinge. Murrell re-

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[1] E. W. Kemble, Kemble's Coons (New York: R. H. Russell and Son, 1897)

commends Kemble thus:

> "To Kemble the Negro was not a butt of jokes on ignorance, but a being with infinite capacity for the enjoyment of life, and his drawings of Negroes are sympathetic to the simplicity and geniality of the colored people." (1)

The contented slave stereotype has been transformed slowly and subtly into a far more dangerous characterization of the present era - that of the second-rate human, of little intelligence, few needs, great religious fervor, and a congenital incapacity for the apprecitaion of the white man's civilization. The endless stream of Negro servants across the stage of the American theatre, each of the same mold, cannot easily be disassociated from their slave predecessors of the pre-war era. The most important vehicles for the presentation of this new stereotype is that of the all-Negro production, in the film and the theatre. The all-Negro films such as "Cabin in the Sky", "In Abraham's Bosom," "Green Pastures," "Porgy and Bess," "Stormy Weather," etc., have, in general focussed attention upon the little material comfort with which Negroes are content, emphasizing religion in precisely the same role as the generous 'massa' of the plantation legend. The most popular Negro performers on the stage and screen, such as Louise Beavers, Clarence Muse, Stepin Fetchit, Hattie McDanields are all known for roles lacking dignity and individuality. (2) The assessment of responsibility

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[1]William Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor, (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933) p.iii.

[2]Archie Winsten, "The Negro Stereotype in American Pictures" New York Post, October 7, 1937.
Dalton Trumbo, "Blackface, Hollywood Style," Crisis, 50: 365-7., December, 1943.

for the portrayal of such roles is described by Muse himself, who answers his Negro critics that a Negro artist must choose definitely whether he wishes to portray the kind of Negro the white audience wants or the kind the Negro audience wants: each represents a different scale of values. (1) Significantly, a recent film, "Imitation of Life," which was hailed as the first serious handling of the problems of the mulatto, contains the following dialogue between the white mistress and the Negro cook.

> "Now, Delilah, you're going to be rich. You'll be able to move away and buy yourself a nice house."
>
> "Don't send me away, Miss Bea. Ain't I always been a good cook? Don't send me away, Miss Bea. I wan to always be here and take care of you." (2)

The contented slave stereotype, and the new picture of the Negro as congenital inferiors are equally satisfactory to the South. True to its claim that it loves the individual Negro, perhaps far more than Northerners who know him little, the South has welcomed performances of such plays and films as depict the Negro "in his place." Langston Hughes has shown most profound understanding of the way in which such presentations serve to entrench rather than to dislodge the prejudices and hostility against the Negro. At the Washington, D.C. performance of "Green Pastures", the all-Negro film based on a religious allegory, an all-white audience applauded the superb acting of the cast, and then proceeded with new fervor to the task of enforcing the local ordinances which exclude Negroes

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[1] Clarence Muse, The Dilemma of the Negro Actor (Los Angeles: The Author, 1924)

[2] Robert Stebbins, "Hollywood's Imitation of Life," New Theatre, 2: 8, July, 1935.

from the theatre, even in the traditional 'nigger' heaven. The claim that such media will improve Negro-white relations by enabling whites to understand Negroes better is based on a peculiar ineptitude at seeing that "understanding" is a loose term covering a vast area of social interaction which may have little or nothing to do with mutual appreciation.

The contented slave inevitably fathered the wretched freeman stereotype, which was almost as popular, and equally as effective in showing the appropriateness of the slavery relationships of Negro and white.(1) After the Civil War this genre received a renaissance, depicting alternately the knavery of the Negroes under the spell of the Northerners, and the absolute 'inborn' devotion of the really good servants who knew their 'place'. The wretched freeman stereotype emphasized particularly the fate of those Negroes who went North and found there discrimination, indifference and occasional violence. That these sketches were based on actual incidents and hardships is undoubtedly true. What is important is they were never pleas for the support of such agencies as the Freedmen's Bureau but were demands for the return of slavery, or an approximation thereof. The fact that the Negro is not often welcomed in the North and West to which he has migrated has great potential propaganda value in the hands of those who would confine him to the rural South.

That the argument that the slave is really better off than the freeman is not wholly an American product is indicated by the admonition of

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[1] W. J. Grayson, The Hireling and the Slave (Charleston: 1854)

Carlyle to the English that no matter how great the abuse heaped upon the enslaved Negro, he was far better taken care of than the free Irish. Carlyle's writings on the Negro question were self-admittedly intended both to support Negro slavery, and crush the fight for Irish independence.(1)

The Brute Barbarian

Herskovits has stated:

> " ...For though it has often been pointed out that the skin color of the Negro makes him an all too visible mark for prejudice, it is not so well realized that the accepted opinion of the Negro's cultural heritage is what makes him the only element in the peopling of the United States that has no operation past except in bondage." (2)

Although he has accumulated a vast amount of data to show that the Negro has an exceptionally fertile cultural history in Africa, and that that history has been neglected or suppressed in America, Herskovits has not established his thesis that the neglect of this history is an important basis of race prejudice and hostility. That prejudice and hostility do not rest on erroneous ideas alone has been demonstrated. There must exist a social climate which makes it easy for the individual respondant to accept those prejudices and attitudes, and perpetuate them. Thus, the denial of Negro culture is an implement for the intellectual defense of prejudice, but is not operative in the ordinary day-to-day relationships in which those attitudes are visible. He has overemphasized the intellectual content of such attitudes, to the neglect of motivation.

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[1]Thomas Carlyle, Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question, (London: Thomas Boworth, 1853)

[2]Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (New York: Harper, 1941)

The denial of African culture is merely a vehicle for the assertion of the presence of instinctive traits which set the Negro unalterably apart from other Americans. Thus:,

> "The barbarous usage of those unfortunate wretches makes it appear that the fate of such as are bought and transported from the coast to America, or other part of the world, by Europeans, is less deplorable, than that of those who end their days in their native country: for aboard ships all possible care is taken to preserve and subsist them for the interest of the owners, and when sold in America, the same motive ought to prevail with their masters to use them well, that they may live the longer and do them more service. Not to mention the inestimable advantages they may reap of becoming Christians and saving their souls, if they make a true use of their condition...."(1)

The essential characteristics of the brute Negro are, his recent past in savage Africa, his rapacious tendencies, his predilection for crime, and his insensitiveness to the finer qualities of man. Significantly, these brute instincts could never entirely disappear. They would reappear, at some unexpected time and place, in a person who appeared to be "all white" but actually had some Negro inheritance.

The "brute Negro" stereotype had no important expression before Emancipation, though Van Evrie,(2) Wheat,(3) Sleigh,(4) and others wrote pamphlets describing a sub-normal creature incapable of integration as an equal into the American democratic society. In order for his bestiality to be curbed, he would have to be held in slavery.

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[1]John Barbot, op.cit.

[2]John H. Van Evrie, Negroes and Negro Slavery (Baltimore: J. D. Troy, 1854)

[3]Marvin T. Wheat, op.cit.

[4]William Willcocks Sleigh, Abolitionism Exposed (Philadelphia: D. Schneck, 1838)

The full character of the "brute Negro" emerged sharply after the Civil War, when the effort to impose new burdens upon the Negro took the form of reconstruction. Then, the vague warnings concerning the possible state of affairs when the slaves were freed turned to shrill cries to undo the damage of Emancipation by the immediate restriction of all Negro rights.

The motivation towards the concept of the "brute Negro" is revealed by "Sister Sallie" author of a pamphlet devoted to "the Restoration of good government, putting an end to Negro authority and misrule and establishing a white man's government in the white man's country, by organizing the white people of the South."

> We have been through a devastating war. We have lost our parents and our property has been destroyed by the war. We have...been driven to hard work...I to the schoolroom..As slavery was the wealth of the Southern people, and 'bone of contention' and 'apple of discord' between the North and South, and the remote and exciting cause of the war, I determined to study the Bible with special reference to Negro slavery, and convince myself if it was the sin which the Northern people said it was." (1)

It can not be considered surprising that, with such motives and such bitterness of having lost economic wealth, her conclusion is that the Negro is a brute whose emancipation spells the doom of the nation.

Carroll's important study of the bestiality of the Negro is encompassed in a book significantly titled:

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[1] Sister Sallie, The Color Line, (The South: n,n,nd.)

> The Negro a Beast, or In the Image of God. The Reasoner of the Age, the Revelator of the Century! The Bible as it is! The Negro and his relation to the human family. The Negro a beast, but created with articulate speech and hands, that he may be of service to his master, the White man. The Negro not the son Ham, neither can it be proven by the Bible, and the arguments of the theologians who would claim such, melt to mist before the thunderous and convincing arguments of this masterful book by Charles Carroll, who has spent fifteen years of his life, and $20,000,000 in its compilation. (1)

The Negro is here pictured as a depraved form of animal life. Carroll's work is significant for its late date of publication (1900), its theological defense of slavery when slavery was already dead, the reliance upon Gobineau as a scientific source, the hatred of the modern church for the espousal of the idea that the Negro is one of the races of man (whether or not a special Hamitic race), and the vindictive note in the hope of eternal and terrible punishment of man for the crime of amalgamation.

Page and Dixon have given most articulate literary voice to the stereotype of the Negro as a beast. Dixon, whose influence is directly traced in such later works as The Birth of the Nation and Gone With the Wind, evolved new stereotypes to fit in with the Negro one he had already accepted. To the lecherous, rapacious murdering Negro of The Leopard's Spots, and The Clansmen, he added the corrupt Yankee and the degenerate mulatto.

The brute Negro represents the highest chord attainable in the hymns of hate which were sung with a definite purpose - as a battle

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[1]Charles Carroll, The Negro A Beast, or In the Image of God (St. Louis, Mo.: American Book-Bible House, 1900)

Fig. 4~~133~~. FEAR OF NEGRO RULE IN NORTH CAROLINA. BY NORMAN E. JENNETTE, 1900.

song for the Klu Klux Klan, whose 'Americanism' Dixon was explicitly defending. To his critics, Dixon answered

> "The accusation that I wrote "The Clansman" to prejudice or assault the negro race, is, of course, the silliest nonsence. For the Negro I have only the profoundest pity and deepest sympathy..." (1)

The delineation of the "brute Negro" is essentially vindictive in source: it arises in a period when the Negroes gained control of political weapons, and came close to achieving economic and political equality, or, in places where they were a majority, supremacy. The restrictive measures of Reconstruction which quickly and violently withdrew those rights, were bolstered by such sketches as the powerful one of Negro Rule which appeared in Raleigh, North Carolina at the turn of the century.

What the influence of the brute Negro portrayed in such a cartoon may have been it is difficult to calculate; whatever its effect on the immediate status of the Negro vote its effect on subsequent generations cannot be denied.

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[1] Thomas Dixon, Jr., "Why I Wrote "The Clansman," The Theatre, 6: 20-22, 1906.

The most important media for the creation of a fixed association between Negro and crime are American newspapers. The first complete analysis of newspaper items about Negroes was made as a result of the Chicago riot of 1919. Of 1,338 items about Negroes appearing the Chicago Tribune, Chicago Daily News and Chicago Herald Examiner, in 1916 and 1917, 309 or forty-five percent were concerned with news of riots, clashes, crime and vice.(1) Gist, in his study of items about Negroes in seventeen white daily newspapers in a sixty day period in the fall and winter of 1928-9 found crime news predominating. In the recent Detroit riots, the role of the press in stimulating violence by inaccurate and misleading reportage of events was traced.

The differential treatment of news about Negro and white crime is epitomized in the reporting in the New York Times of April 2, 1943, of a mass rape of a white girl by thirteen white youths in a New York theatre, and of a robbery of $8.75 committed by two Negro youths. The first received a one line, small, light-faced headline: the second rated a bold face italic two line header. The incident occurred during a wave of reports of 'muggings'. The technique of building up a stereotype of the criminal Negro was illustrated by the successive steps of identifying Negroes with crimes known as muggings, (the citing of 'negro' or 'colored' (after the name of the criminal or accused) and the subsequent calling of all crimes, ranging from assault and battery, attempted larceny, and schoolboy fights mugging. After much protest on the part

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[1]Chicago Commission on Race Relations, op.cit., p.524.

of Negro and white leaders, some newspapers dropped the designation of race. By this time, however, the designation was no longer necessary. The conditioned association was so firmly fixed in public opinion that the designation of a crime as mugging authentically called forth the paired symbol 'Negro'.

The potency of the Negro criminal stereotype can be judged from two startling incidents in New York City during the period in 1943. The first was the accusation of a nurse that she had been the victim of assault and battery(and attempted rape), the assailant being an escaped, unidentified Negro. Subsequent investigation established that she had merely designated a Negro in order to protect the real criminal, her own husband. She cited a Negro, because she knew her story would be believed, and the police would find a 'likely' offender. Shortly thereafter, several schoolboys reported to the police that they had been assaulted by some Negroes: they later confessed having been engaged in a free-for-all among themselves. Fear of parental disapproval led to scape-goating the most available victim - the Negro.

The movement to remove racial identification from reports of all news (1) has gained sufficient momentum to justify the belief that it may soon be accomplished. The mere removal of the label is insufficient: in recent accounts of crime committed by two Negro girls the designation of their homes as in 'Harlem' served to identify them as members of the Negro group.

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[1] New York Times, April 14, 1943. Magistrate J. Roland Sala seeks "to enjoin any newspaper or new agency from identifying a defendant according to race, creed or color."

The Comic Negro- The Negro in American Humor

We have already seen that there exists a well crystallized set of beliefs about the Negro in the United States, the currency of which has been augmented by formalized institutions such as laws. These beliefs have been the inspiration for a style or mode with respect to the Negro, so that an expected pattern of behavior has been delineated, and deviations from the pattern result in expression of social disapproval in some way.

We should expect to find that the role of the Negro in American humor conforms to this norm, which includes attitudes and valuations upon his person, his behavior, his aspirations and his role in the American order. In this respect, of course, the Negro does not occupy an entirely unique position. He is merely one of a number of social groups which are the objects of humorous attention.

In general, according to Kambouropoulou (1) theories of humor may be divided into two classes-

> A theory of humor as a rule involves a double definition, one part defining amusement, subjectively as glory, triumph, superiority, sympathy, relief from tension, surprise, a shift, ambivalence, or some form of perception, and the other part defining the funny thing as ugly, defective, degrading, sudden, unaccountable, outlandish, incongruous, or contrary to the order of things prevailing in the level to which the thing belongs.

Defectiveness and inferiority are emphasized by Aristotle (2), Hobbes (3)

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[1]Polyxenie Kambouropoulou, "Individual Differences in the Sense of Humor and Their Relation to Temperamental Differences," Archives of Psychology, No. 121, 1930.

[2]S.H. Butcher, ed. Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1907).

[3]Thomas Hobbes, "Of Human Nature," in L.A. Selby-Bigge, British Moralists (Oxford: 1897) Vol II.

and Descartes (1), while a second group, leaning on incongruity, are represented by Schopenhauer (2) and Lipps (3).

The numerous attempts to synthesize these apparently conflicting schools of thought on humor (4) have led to excessive attention to the mechanics of humor, its language, etc. A theory which is psychologically more satisfactory has been offered by Freud, who postulates another division in the bases of the humorous- between tendency-wit ("The pleasure in tendency-wit results from the fact that a tendency whose gratification would otherwise remain unfulfilled is actually gratified." (5)) and harmless or abstract wit, in which no basic psychic need is fulfilled other than generalized reduction of individual or social tension.

Freud has given only a hint of the importance of attitude in humor. In what does incongruity or superiority reside? From the works of Kambouropoulou and others cited one is led to believe that they are inherent in an object or situation, without reference to the persons experiencing them.

The study of humor as a major avenue of expression of attitudes is a sorely neglected area of sociological and psychological research. The history of the humorous reveals a complex pattern of attitudes towards objects and peoples. The fact that an item is no longer funny is indicative

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[1]The Philosophical Works of Descartes, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1911).

[2]Arthur Schopenhauer, The World as Will and Idea, translated by R.B. Haldane and J. Kemp (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1906).

[3]Theodor Lipps, Aesthetik (Hamburg: L. Voss, 1903).

[4]John W. Willman, op. cit. Willman adds to superiority and incongruity the element of playfulness or indifference. L.W. Kline, op. cit. Kline emphasizes a 'liberty' or 'freedom' theory in which a minor incident evokes laughter in an easy carefree atmosphere. John Young T. Greig, op. cit.

[5]Sigmund Freud, Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious (New York: Dodd Mead and Co., 1916, p. 177).

of the fact that it is no longer appropriate to the present time and that the expressed attitude toward either the person or situation described is no longer tenable.

Rourke (1) in her analysis of American humor as evidence of national character has delineated a pattern to characterize the main course of the humorous.

> A figure enters as a comic: then gradually when the full light of comedy has been cast upon him, human lineaments begin to appear, and he is included in a larger realization. (

Her analysis is made entirely credible by the history of the role of such groups as the Dutch, French and Irish, each of whom was the butt of a large number of jokes at the time of, or immediately after the peak of their immigration into this country. The Dutchman and his long pipe and clean streets, the Frenchman with his dimity trousers and waxed moustaches are no longer as excruciatingly funny as they used to be. The Irishman, on the other hand, has persisted as a comic figure, with heavy reliance upon his brogue and his liquor: the former one aspect of word play, and the latter a vehicle for the expression of otherwise repressed thoughts and actions.

> A strange people- merry 'mid their misery- laughing through their tears, like the sun shining through the rain. Yet what simple philosophers they; they tread life's path as if 'twere strewn with roses devoid of thorns, and make the most of life with natures of sunshine and song. (2)

Contrary to the expectation of every observer of the role of stereotypy in current American life, this does not refer to the Negro but to the Irish. In the middle of the last century, when the Irishman was the object of undisguised hostility as virulent as any experienced by any minority

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[1]Constance Rourke, American Humor: A Study of the National Character, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931).

[2]John Fitzgerald Murphy, The Shamrock and the Rose (Boston: Walter H. Baker Co., 1889).

immigrant group (1), culminating in riots in New York, the picture of the sub-normal man of Eire who could never be fully integrated into American life was complemented by the birth of a tradition that the Irish, poverty-stricken though they were, could be happy, ' 'spite all adversity'.

The most important single stereotype of the Negro pervading American culture from the end of the eighteenth century, and assuming pre-eminence over all others at present as a generator of prejudice and hostility is that of the Comic Negro. The stereotype embodies all of the reasons why the Negro was contented as a slave and wretbhed as a free man- his love of fun, irresponsibility, dependence upon white folks, etc. The comic Negro comprises a whole scale of values in which the Negro contention for equality with the white man is equated with that of a donkey for the same. It implies a shrugged shoulder, and an indulgent "What can you expect from such children, see how happy they are with such little things?"

The vaudeville skit, the radio play, the newspaper and magazine cartoon, the advertisement, the greeting card- all these are popular forms of indoctrination in a social norm in which the Negro is the object of attention not given any other group in proportion to its importance on the American scene. The value inherent in each of these presentations is that of condescension and amusement- a dangerous value in an era in which the minority group is demanding the rights and responsibilities of adulthood. The success of Irvin Cobb, Octavius Roy Cohen, E. K. Means, Rochester, etc. are indicative if the acceptance of the Negro on a certain level- that of a congenital inferior.

The history of the Negro as a comic figure in American life is of necessity confined to the written and graphic forms of humor- an unfortunate fact which reduces greatly the material available for study. Nevertheless

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[1]For a study of early anti-Irish prejudice, see Matthew Carey, Letters on Irish Immigrants and Irishmen generally. An attempt to place both on more estimable grounds than in the opinion of some members of this community they occupy at present. (Philadelphia: 1838)

it is possible to reconstruct a sequence of events by which the Negro, originally a necessity to the art form, became flattened out into a caricature of great durability, which is only recently being interpreted as an aspersion on the dignity and ambitions of the Negro people.

The essential element in the understanding of the figure of the comic Negro is that it has always been a caricature. (Although stereotypy and caricature are used interchangeably, the first refers to "anything repeated or reproduced without variation" while a caricature involves "a picture or description of a person or thing so exaggerated as to appear gross or ridiculous".) In the case of the Negro, stereotypy has operated in the perpetuation of a few 'types' which represent the Negro in American culture- the philandering preacher, the chicken-stealer, etc.; caricature has operated in the exaggeration of skin color, uniformly thick white or red lips, kinky hair, slow drawling speech, etc. (1) Together they combine to form the figure of the clown which determines, to a large extent, the position of the Negro in the American social order.

Adams, in his excellent sociological study of the way in which the development of minority caricatures illustrate the processes of variation, selection, transmission and final synthesis of all these processes has said:

> Minority caricatures are the result of the ethnocentrism of the majority... Stage caricatures of minorities are comical because they present forms of dress, dialect and manners which differ from those of the majority. The folkways of the latter constitute the norm, the centric, while those of the minorities constitute the abnormal or eccentric... there is an ethnocentric tendency to stereotype racial, cultural and nationality groups on faulty, limited observations. (2)

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[1]Paskman, op. cit., notes that all members of minstrel teams were colored uniform black: when Negro minstrels entered the field, they too overcame the wide range of their natural differences in skin color by the elaborate use of black greasepaint.

[2]Harold E. Adams, "Minority Caricatures on the American Stage," in Studies in the Science of Society, ed. by George P. Murdock, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

Freud's analysis of the potency of caricature (1)

> .....Caricature brings about the degradation by rendering prominent one feature, comic in itself, from the entire picture of the exalted object, a feature which would be overlooked if viewed with the entire picture. (My emphasis)

is subject to the error, previously cited, that there is no such thing as a person, object or situation, comic in itself.

The Comic Negro in Stage and Film. The main role played by the Negro in all forms of dramatic art has been one of comedy. In each period of dramatic history since 1830, the Negro clown has been in the forefront: in the brief history of the film the happy-go-lucky, shuffling buffoon type portrayed by 'Rochester', Stepin Fetchit, etc. has predominated.

Comic roles for Negroes in American theater were infrequent before 1830. In Dunlap's A Trip to Niagara, the Negro comic figure appears together with other caricatures of Yankees, Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen. This extraordinary satire on the foreigners who visit America with unseeing eyes and unbridled national chauvinism presents the Negro as a dignified person. In the wit battles he emerges the superior of the bigoted and presumptuous English maidservant. The Negro dialect is restrained and the language lofty. It is clear that the Negro is one of the people included in the ecstatic finale, in which the previously asocial Wentworth says, "When the film of prejudice is removed from the eye, man sees in his fellow men of every clime a brother." (2)

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[1]Sigmund Freud, op. cit., p. 324.

[2]William Dunlap, A Trip to Niagara (New York: E. B. Clayton, 1830).

In Murdock's The Politicians the four Negroes, Cato, Sambo, Pompey and Caesar appear, speaking a peculiar coarse dialect: in Beach's Jonathan Postfree, a curious Chinese-like dialect is spoken by the Negro Caesar who is, however, clever:

> Caesar: I no likee this massa Fopling. I don't know what ole missee can see in him to make her likee him so much: he no ha'f so good as Jemmy Seamore: and younga missee Maria she knows it..... But I must holee my tongue... (1)

Fashion, a typical play of American social satire of the early nineteenth century is a sharp criticism of the New York society people who were worshippers of European culture and haters of American democracy. It contrasts effectively the exaggerated learning of Mrs. Tiffany, and the equally exaggerated ignorance of the servant Zeke:

> Mrs. Tiffany: Your name, I hear, is Ezekiel. I consider it too plebeian an appellation to be uttered in my presence. In future you are called A-dolph. A-dolph, place that fow-tool behind me.
>
> Zeke (looking around him): I habn't got dat far in de dictionary yet. No matter. A genus gets his learning by nature. (Takes up the table and places it behind Mrs. T., then expresses in dumb show great satisfaction)...
>
> Mrs. T.: You dolt! Where have you lived not to know that fow-tool is the French for arm-chair? What ignorance. Leave the room this instant.
>
> Zeke: Dem's de defects ob not having a libery education. (2)

The role of the Negro here is integrated into the whole comedy: the author is poking fun at the foppish Count, the foolish French maid, and the haughty mistress. The Negro character is not a special one. This integration rapidly disappears and is replaced by the interpolation of Negro acts, dialogues and dances as extraneous matter. The tradition of the special

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[1]L. Beach, Jonathan Postfree (New York: D. Longworth, 1807).

[2]Anna Cora Morvatt, Fashion (New York: Samuel French and Son, 1854).

role of the Negro as a buffoon had its beginning in the large group of 'parlor' dramas of the middle of the nineteenth century. When Mrs. Neville, in The Darkest Hour before Dawn audibly regrets "I wish it were not the fashion to keep colored servants- they are so troublesome" she is voicing the woes of dozens of mistresses of shuffling, lazy, clownish Negro servants of that and later periods. (1) Such a servant, brought into the play solely for his comic dialogue and dress is Anthony of The Mischievous Nigger who pleads to the man who has threatened to beat him black and blue, "I golly! Wish you would beat me white, 'cos I don't think you can make me much blacker than I is." (2)

The comic Negro is found in three separate roles in the history of American drama. In the first, he is necessary to the development of the plot, e.g. The Fall of British Tyranny, A Trip to Niagara, etc. In the second, he is an auxiliary introduced for his clownish performance: in the modern theatre such roles are filled by servants in sophisticated comedies like those of Luce, etc. In the third role, the Negro (or reasonable facsimile thereof) occupies the whole stage: the minstrel show, the original of this genre, has been succeeded by the all-Negro vaudeville acts such as those of Buck and Bubbles, Amos and Andy (white minstrels), etc.

From an examination of abolitionist drama, and the modern Negro 'problem play' both of which were designed as propaganda weapons in defense of Negro rights, we find a scrupulous avoidance of comic roles. This

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[1]R. E. Mac, Tis the Darkest Hour Before Dawn (New York: Samuel French).

[2]C. White, The Mischievous Nigger (New York: Harold Roorbach).

purposeful disdain signifies a self-consciousness of vulnerability: the deliberate re-creation of the comic Negro figure by advanced Negro playwrights can be expected only when inter-racial relations have been normalized and the concept of 'minority' will be wholly statistical.

Closely allied to the drama as an art form, the film has assumed a far more significant role as an indicator of group attitudes. Appealing to a vastly greater audience, the moving picture not only reaches larger numbers, but involves, as an industry, a far greater personnel. In addition, absorption of Americans, particularly younger Americans, with the movies, movie personalities, etc. has created a far greater responsibility for those responsible for their contents.

The most significant fact about the role of the Negro in the film is that with the exception of such films as "Birth of the Nation", he has until recently been only a very incidental figure. That he has been only incidental does not mean that his role can therefore be dismissed. On the contrary, the failure to present full-length portraits of the real aspects of Negro life is in itself indicative of the norm which has been established. On the one hand the number of films which could be definitely characterized as likely to incite prejudice and hostility is small: it includes "Birth of the Nation", in which a Negro is pictured as a ravenous beast, "Gone With The Wind" which resurrected the plantation legend to show both the supreme happiness of the slave and the knavery of the abolitionists, and such studies as "Man on America's Conscience", based on historical incidents of doubtful reality. Although each of these films is a block to the effort to establish the rights of Negroes, they represent only a fragment of the films produced, and their importance should not be over-estimated. Although their numerical importance as representative films is thus negligible, they can and have been bases of individual experience and trauma which permanently affect group attitudes. Every single study of

racial attitudes wherein serious probing of the underlying bases of those attitudes has been undertaken reveals the importance of such trauma as seeing a 'Negroid monster' or a character from such a film in early childhood: in general the source of the emotional experience has been long since forgotten. The subject, forgetting the source, has come to believe in a 'natural' basis for the repulsion.

Between the films which villify the Negro and those which have presented him as a human with problems common to all humans (such as "Sahara", "Bataan", "In This Our Life"), lies a vast area of characterization in which the Negro appears as a buffoon. The Movie Negro might be constructed thus: He is a maid or valet, slothful in his work, always happy, singing or whistling, engaging in all forms of petty thievery, extraordinarily gullible, prone to every conceivable form of petty gambling, loving long words whose meaning he doesn't know, and likely to begin soft-shoe or tap dancing without any apparent provocation. The Negro is thus, in the vast majority of presentations a comic figure, grotesque in the exaggeration of features common to every individual.

The presumption may be made that whenever a Negro role is indicated in a Hollywood film, it is a comic one. Mammy and her pickaninnies in "Holiday Inn", the chicken stealer of "Breezing Home", the zoot-suiters of "This is The Army", the credulous idiots of "Tales of Manhattan", the endlessly repetitious roles of Stepin Fetchit in "Hearts in Dixie", "The Ghost Talks", "Carolina", "County Chairman", "David Harum", "Judge Priest", are all comic figure. In each case the scene might have been performed by a white person. But the humor was heightened and prepared by blackface, in precisely the same way that hobo costumes, elaborate grimaces, queer garbled speech or drunken movements unfailingly provoke a disposition towards humor.

In the history of American graphic art, the Negro was an incidental servant figure, without humor, until the middle of the eighteenth century. Scrutiny of all available copies of colonial art show only house servants: the single most important exception to this is the depiction of the heroic Peter Salem in the painting of the defense of Boston in the Revolutionary War.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, a new comic figure emerged- the free Negro. Clay produced a book of sketches entitled Life in Philadelphia, a group of satiric drawings on the exotic fashions and extravagent conduct of the Negroes of that city. It should be noted that the costumes and manners were not the original creations of the Negroes- but imitations of those of whites. However, on the Negroes, they appeared infinitely more ridiculous: the humor can lie only in the fact that the wearers were only recently slaves. The effect of such sketches as these can be gauged by the warning to her readers given by a Southern author of a book called Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia (literary, not graphic)

> The idea of 'higher classes' of colored society is, it must be confessed, a novel one; and will, undoubtedly, excite the mirth of a prejudicial community on its annunciation. Nevertheless, it is perfectly correct and proper....Others, again, there are, who like to see their neighbor's merits caricatured and their faults distorted and exaggerated will expect burlesque representations and other laughter exciting sketches, and probably be led thereby to procure this little volume for the purpose of gratifying their penchant for the ludicrous.(1)

In 1837, Easton described the process by which the white child was educated in prejudice against the Negro. "Cuts and placards descriptive of the Negroes' deformity are everywhere displayed to the observation of the young with corresponding broken lingo.."(2). Book stores displayed these comic

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[1] A Southerner, Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia, (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1841).

[2] Reverend H. Easton, A Treatise, (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1837).

figures in their windows, newspapers published them. The Negro in American art is a striking exception to Sorokin's generalization:

> Since the Visual Art depicts, not the lasting but the passing visual aspect of things, an incessant novelty, change and variety in its pictures and sculptures are its traits also; otherwise the same thing becomes sensuously boring, too familiar, devoid of a sense of novelty...(1)

The most important component of the Negro figure in American graphic art was the exaggeration of his desire to imitate white people. The forceful presentation of this ludicrous desire is made in the caricatures by H. R. Robinson of the visit of the Negro President of Haiti to President Van Buren in 1839, and of the Nigger Emperor of Nicuragua on His Throne. In the latter, the Emperor is seated on a rum barrel, holds a rum bottle in one hand, and part of his royal costume in the other. Similarly, the cartoon Soloque, Emperor of Hayti Creating a Grand Duke, shows the Emperor, a haughty, grotesque figure, saying to a subject who appears before him,

> Come along, nigger. Come along, don't be affraid, we's flesh and Blood, little furder, now den, put your knee on dat cushion, now den, I, Soloque, Emperor of Haiti, In de autority in my West do Create de Grand Duke ob de Empire, Captain ob de Horse, Squire ob de Bed-Chamber, Chief Cook and Bottle Washer to her Imperial Highness- our Royal Consort...

On the side, French, English and American spectators hold their noses and make fierce grimaces while watching the ceremony.

The discrepancy between their previous condition of servitude, and their present aspirations for full stature, which made the figure of a regal Negro, whether in the United States, Haiti or Nicaragua, so comic was elaborated in the period of the Civil War.

The depiction of the assorted groups supporting the Republican Party

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[1]Pitrim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics, (New York: American Book Company, 1937-41). Vol I, p.261.

and the Union cause was a favorite subject for the cartoonists of the Civil War. One sketch, The Great Republican Reform Party shows the petitioners to the party as a prohibitionist, a vegetarian, a feminist, a socialist, a free love advocate, a Catholic priest and a free Negro. Another, Worship of the North shows an altar of free love, spirits, witchburning, socialism, atheism, rationalism and puritanism: above all these cults, sits a dissolute Negro. The English portrayals of the Civil War show the Negroes as comic, bewildered idiots who neither desire nor know how to use their new freedom. However, in the case of the English, the satire is not confined to the Negroes: the leaders of the Union, Lincoln, Grant, etc., are as thoroughly depraved and foolish as the Negroes. (1)

The distortion of historical truth which makes the cartoon An Heir to the Throne so effective leaves no doubt as to the propaganda intent of the figure of the comic Negro. In this sketch, Horace Greeley and Abraham Lincoln are seen with a poor, bewildered Negro between them. Greeley is saying,

> "'Gentlemen, allow me to introduce to you this illustrious individual in whom you will find combined all the graces and virtues of black Republicanism, and whom we propose to run as our next candidate for the Presidency."
>
> Lincoln is saying:"How fortunate! that this intellectual and noble creature should have been discovered just at this time, to prove to the world the superiority of the colored over the Anglo-Saxon race; he will be a worthy successor to carry out the policy which I shall inaugerate."
>
> The Negro between Greeley and Lincoln, throwing up his hands in despair, says simply," What can dey be?"

Needless to say, neither Greeley nor Lincoln every made statements approximating those attributed to them here. Distortion of their interest in

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[1] Charles Dryden, War in the Midst of America, (London: Ackerman and Company, 1863)

V. Blada, Sketches of the Civil War in North America, 1861,1862,1863 (London, 1863)

the abolition of slavery into a desire to prove the superiority of the Negro over the white, with the addition of the figure of the simpleton Negro produced a political warning through a comic medium. (1)

The graphic presentation of the figure of the comic Negro has not been confined to the artist's sketchbooks. Children's coloring books, (2) children's records (3), and other juvenile works have been found to be liberally illustrated with pictures of little'pickaninnies'. In all these, the Negro child is a farm boy or girl, barefoot, and in general, eating watermelon, while a huge be-handkerchiefed 'mammy' stands at his or her side.

Negroes have been for a long time favorite humorous subjects for the covers of national weeklies. The picture of the foolish-looking Negro lad with front teeth out, (4) the old washerwoman working as her man watches her idly (5), or a ridiculously clothed African native (6), are significant not for their numbers, but because they are not contradicted or supplemented by pictures of serious, dignified, or hard-working colored people.

The advertisements for Nigger Head Brand Oysters and Nigger Head Shrimp in which a ludicrous, gaping figure of comic proportions is presented to sell a food product in the South is particularly effective propaganda. They are only varied by the stereotyped mammy of Aunt Jemima cereal products, or the genial menials embellishing the advertisements of Southern hotels and hospitality.

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[1] American Caricatures Pertaining to the Civil War, (New York:Brentano,1918)

[2] The Funny Little Darkies, (New York: McLoughlin Brothers)

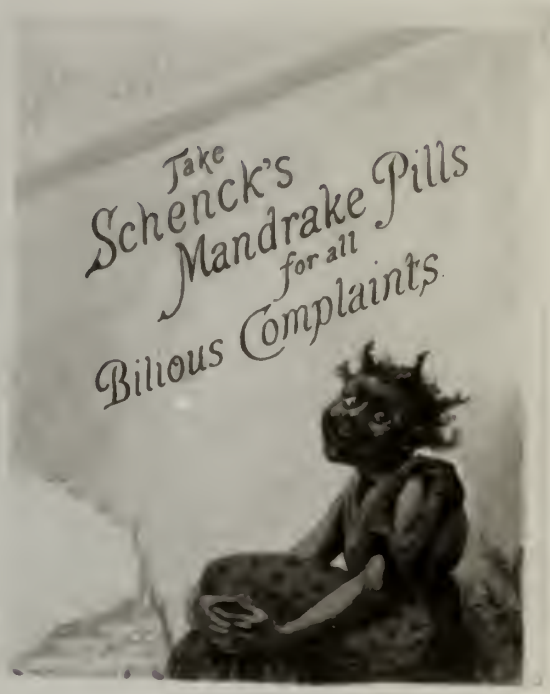
[3] Little Black Sambo, etc.

[4] Cover of Liberty Magazine, May 18, 1940

[5] Cover of Saturday Evening Post, June 15, 1940

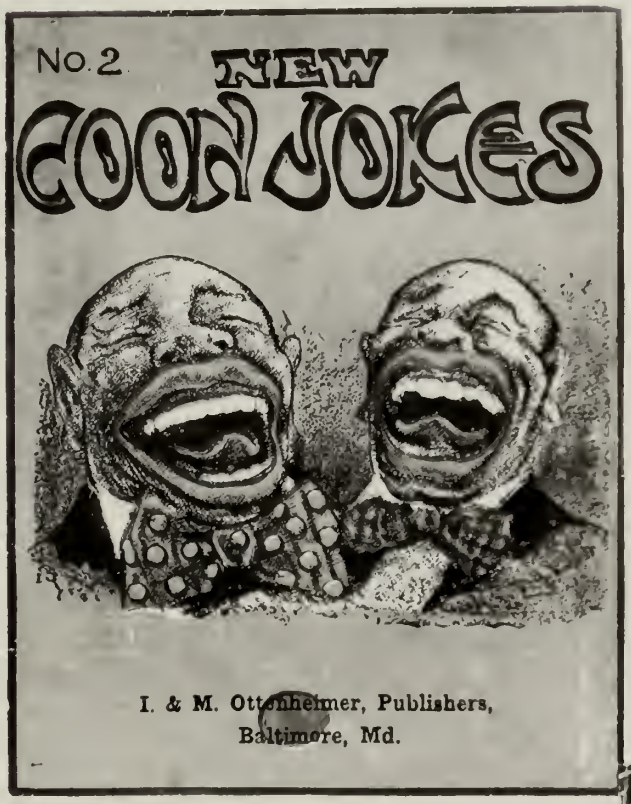
[6] Cover of Collier's Magazine, January 15,1944. The war has stimulated the production of cartoons on life in Africa. In the first six months of 1943, of thirteen items on the Negro in this magazine, six were cartoons on the African Negro.

Trade Cards in Use 1800-1900



Look yere, old man! What kind o' stove blacking you call dat? Ise been rubbin' on dat stove all mornin' an' it don't gib it a polish worf a cent. You jest git de RISING SUN STOVE POLISH right away, or dar'l be trouble. You think I got time to 'speriment with such mud?

Hambone's Meditation



The cartoon and the comic strip are forms of visual art which reach farther into the depths of the nation than any other. The solidification of the ownership of newspapers, and the growth of the syndicate have enlarged the power and scope of those artists who specialize in the drawing of cartoons for daily or weekly publication.

The study of the contents of these avenues of communication of ideas has been confined, in the main, to the analyses of the changing content of the major foci of attention. Thus, the history of political movements and issues has been traced through cartoons of single newspapers. (1) For the most part, the background figures have been ignored, because their appearance is incidental and unessential to the basic character of the cartoon or strip. With few exceptions, the Negro is neither the center of attention, nor essential to the main line of development.

An examination of the content of these forms gives no data, therefore, on the intent of the creator, nor his attitudes towards the Negro. But Dinah in "Gasoline Alley," Mushmouth in "Moon Mullins," and the Negro characters in such comic strips as "Joe Palooka" are important for the consistency with which they appear as gaudy, impossible-featured creatures occupying subservient positions in which they habitually say stupid things in an intolerably intricate manner. The single exception to this presentation of the Negro in this form occurs in the strip "Little Orphan Annie." That these forms exert a tremendous educational influence is apparently realized in some places: Graves records the consternation of a Mississippi white farmer with the fact that in the latter strip, a Negro child was accepted as the equal, and even superior of the white children. (2) The fear that the children of the South would learn from such media modes of interracial adaptation of which their formal educational system keeps them ignorant appears to be well founded.

1Edna Hines, "Cartoons as a Means of Social Control," Sociology and Social Research, 17: 454-64, 1932

2John Temple Graves, The Fighting South, (New York: Putnam's, 1943) p.148.

The caricature of the Negro as a comic figure is evident not only in such stylized forms as the cartoon and comic strip, but in such incidentals of refined living as greeting cards. (1) With the exception of cards designed for such special holidays as St. Patrick's Day, no other group in American life is subject to presentation on greeting cards with such absolute consistency as the Negro. In each case, the Negro appears on a 'funny' card: none are to be found on serious cards, although people are frequently depicted on the latter. The cards here presented are representative of Negro caricatures to be found in New York City. Although they are only a small part of the total greeting card production, they are important for two reasons: 1) No other group is so frequently presented, and 2) Whenever a card depicts a Negro, it is a humorous card. The extent of stereotypy is remarkable, although these are the products of many manufacturers. Noteworthy are the uniformity in drawing of mouth, eyes and hair, the dialect, and the 'plantation-style' clothing. In each case, the sentiment expressed is in itself not humorous, e.g. regret at illness, lonliness, etc. Similar cards with white characters depend on clever puns, or rhymes for their humor. In this case, the element of comedy lies wholly in the predisposition to consider the Negro as funny.

The most important area of American humor, its wit, is the least amenable to careful analysis. Not only is it necessary to be an established member of a community in order to be able to absorb its wit, but one must

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[1]See small collection of representative cards in Appendix

be able to maintain contacts over a long period of time, in order to ascertain how representative is the particular sample of the local humor as a whole.

> Winston-Salem, N. C.- Judge Thomas Watson of Municipal Court threw a bombshell into the realms of 'Southern Buffoonery' here Tuesday when he disclosed the fact that white folks had taken the lead in chicken-stealing, according to the records of the cases tried in court. "If this condition keeps up," opined the judge, "there will have to be a white man instead of a Negro in the familiar chicken stealing cartoons and stories." (1)

The occurrence of such a statement in a North Carolina court is of great interest for the reason that it demonstrates that there is occasional recognition of the influence of humor in reflecting and creating social norms. The examination of the anthologies of American wit demonstrates that chicken stealing is the form of petty thievery most often attributed to the Negro. Like all other jokes about the Negro, it is based on an accurate primary observation: there is no question in the minds of any of the narrators of life under slavery that such stealing was common practice. The South bewailed it as its peculiar vice, and the North pointed to it as the extreme to which ill-treatment under slavery drove the Negro. The particular economic circumstances which gave rise to that breed of vice have disappeared: according to Judge Watson, the frequency of the crime among Negroes has either diminished, or the white people in places have been depressed to the conditions of the Negroes. It may be expected in time, that the choice of a Negro subject and the use of dialect will be discarded from this particular story: it is difficult to conjecture its future. Either the story will cease completely to have point, and will die a

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[1]Noel P. Gist, "Racial Attitudes in the Press," Sociology and Social Research, 17: 25-36, 1932.

natural death, or it will be so revised that it can be told concerning any man without reference to his racial identity. It is certain, however, that in the latter case, it will not be told as "There was this white man who..." The expression 'white man' conjures up no ready-made stereoytpe which predisposes one for humor. To most Americans, a white man is an individual as likely to have sorrow as joy.

That informal wit can be a weapon in the forging of new social ideas is demonstrated by the attention given it by the Nazis, in their effort to propagandize subject peoples. The realization that informal wit can be utilized to perpetuate erroneous beliefs, and to stimulate prejudice and hostility is pointed out by Vail, who believes that anti-Semitic jokes can reasonably be called treasonous. (1) The current attention to the importance of casual gossip and rumor which may undermine national morale (2) and our amusement at the list of things it is verboten to laugh at in Nazi Europe are good omens in the proper evaluation of wit as a means of social control.

The flowering of the 'nigger' joke occurs in the period of minstrelsy, in which white performers in burnt cork followed an elaborate programme, of which wit was a definite portion.

The background of the joke of the minstrel is laid for us by one of their early collectors:

> The plantation matin bells waking them, from their rush-covered huts to catch up a hasty repast- a few indispensable hoe-cakes, buttered with molasses...their day's toil is over, their evening meal gone through, and again sounds the weird notes of the corn doodle, and the

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[1]Sol Vail, This Is Treason (New York: International Workers Order, 1943)

[2]E. Mc Cormick, "Boston's Fight Against Rumors," American Mercury, 55: 275-81, September, 1942.

sweet, airy tunes of the violin. A gala night is the time to view Negro transitions in all their attractive jollity, and their overdone phases...(1)

The 'jokes' of the minstrel were, in large part deprecatory: some, on the other hand were mere telling, in dialect, of puns, conundrums and little pieces which would have been amusing without the dialect. Typical examples of both are

1. "Why are the audiences that visit minstrel concerts like a despairing man?" "Because they are looking at the dark side of the pictures."

2." Look here, Sam, we am like some ob de volunteers what went to Mexis and Texico." "How you make it so, Bill?" "Case we am serving under Wool, or to be more splicit, dy served under Gen. Wool, and we serb under nigger wool, in general."

3. "Mr. Johnson, did you eber see dat wire bridge at Nigger Falls?" "Oh, yes, last summer. Wonder what dat cost?" "Don't know, Johnson; if you cross ober, you'll be toll'd."

4. "Why are minstrel companies like midnight robbers?" "Because they live by their deeds of darkness."

Such collections as Our Colored Conductors, Obeying Orders, Ethiopian Military Sketches, The Darkey Breach of Promise Case, and The Stage Struck Darkey provided the witty dialogue for the minstrel show. (2) Particularly popular were the burlesques of Negro aspirations for education,

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[1] M. C. Campbell, ed. Fox's Ethiopian Comicalities, containing Strange Sayings, Eccentric Doings, Burlesque Speeches, Laughable Drolleries, Funny Stories, Interspersed with Refined Wit, Broad Humor and Cutting Sarcasm, (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1859).

[2] George Coes, Our Colored Conductors, (Boston: Walter H. Baker and Co., 1893).
John Arnold, Obeying Orders, (New York: De Witt, 1874).
J. Barnes, The Darkey Breach,(New York: Fitzgerald, 1898).
The Stage-Struck Darkey, (London: French and Son, 1876).
Nigger Jokes and Stump Speeches (New York: French and Son, n.d.).

economic opportunity or legal equality.

> "Mr. President," said the member of the Colored People's Debating Club, " I rise to git up and ain't a bit backward 'bout comin' forward, in de cause of edercatshun; fur if it hadn't a bin for edercatshun, I nought have been as ignorant as yourself, Mr. President." (1)

The role of attitude in wit concerning Negroes is best illustrated by a comparative study of samples of jokes about Negroes told by whites and those told by Negroes themselves. In this, it must be constantly recalled that for every derogatory one told by a white man, there can probably be found an equally derogatory one told by a Negro. Tichenor said of Sam Manning, a Negro Harlem entertainer, "It reflects on the strength of Manning's talent that he is able to satirize his race and get away with it." (2) Typical of Manning's jokes are

> "There are three kinds of pipple in Harlem. There's the dollar-twenty-five, the seventy-five and the two-bits kind. The two-bits kind- at 9 o'clock they're at some social dysfunction, at 10 o' clock they're cutting and shooting and 11 o'clock they're on their way to jail.."

The psychological mechanism operative in the self-derogatory humor of Negroes is further illustrated by Evans (3) who found that Negro children who spoke correctly liked stories in dialect because they had been conditioned to expect it.

The jokes white men tell about Negroes are based on certain fixed conventions. Thus, chicken stealing, laziness, disdain of conventional morality, ignorance and presumption of knowledge are the most important components.

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[1] Nigger Jokes and Stump Speeches

[2] George Tichenor, "Colored Lines," Theatre Arts Monthly, 14: 485-90, May, 1930.

[3] Eva Knox Evans, "The Negro in Children's Fiction," Publishers' Weekly, August 30, 1941

The Readers' Digest had for the year 1942 twenty-one items concerning Negroes, of which thirteen were jokes and eight articles. Ninety-percent of the humorous items were in dialect. Typical are

> Propped up against a tree on the bank of a stream, were two colored lads holding fishing rods. Finally one nudged his slumbering pal. "Say, Sam," he yawned, " Yo' has a fish bitin' at de end of yo' line." The other opened one eye. "Doggone," he sighed unhappily, "Ah knew we picked out de wrong stream." (1)

In this magazine, stories about Negro morals are particularly common, as is true of the Negro anecdotes in such professional journals as Modern Medicine in which the local color augments physician's experiences.

This genial poking fun at the Negro, combining traditional beliefs and dialect is in contrast with the wit found in the Negro Digest, which is comparable in format and material to the Readers's Digest. Here, among the many items classifiable as humorous we find the macabre bitter humor Langston Hughes has described. (2) Of the seventy seven humorous items to be found in the issues from November 1943 to April 1944, there is not a single one in dialect. In most, the dialogue involves a white man: in each instance, the Negro emerges the victor, or a white authority is in some way undermined.

> A portly colored woman was seated in a street car and her white neighbor asked her to get up. She refused. "You know what I'd do if I had you down South," he began. "I'd know exactly what you'd do," was the swift rejoinder. "You'd come around to my back door at night and I'd say 'no'." (3)

Similarly, situations are seen as humorous, from a Negro point of view: for example, the Digest reprints a newspaper item recording the fact that white members of colored Fletcher Henderson's band had to put on blackface while playing in Alabama, where mixed orchestras are not permitted. (4)

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[1] Readers' Digest, 44: 34, 1943

[2] Langston Hughes, "White Folks Do the Funniest Things," Common Ground 41:6 Winter, 1944.

[3] Negro Digest, March, 1944.

[4] Negro Digest, January,1943.

William Pickens, himself a Negro has said of the traditional 'nigger' stories, and anecdotes about members of minority groups,

> Class pride, group clannishness and race prejudice should not be permitted to taboo any art but certainly not the art of good humor. People of certain groups have sometimes resented stories that seem to imply that the human frailty illustrated is characteristic, of that group. It may be said that no human frailty belongs exclusively to any race, group or class. But a story, like any work of art, must be specific and clear in the picture which it draws, not general and hazy. It uses the race or class which by circumstance has been made the handiest vehicle- and , after all, who in earth could excel an American Negro in the enjoyment of a luscious watermelon or the appropriation of a stray chicken? And who in human history has ever excelled the merchant Jew in boosting the ratio of price to value or in outwitting the antagonist in a commercial transaction?" (1)

Apparently Pickens has found it easiest to accept as somehow culturally innate the liking for watermelon or the avarice for money, without reference to social dynamics. Actually, in the telling, the 'nigger' story reinforces and confirms prejudice. It is the concealed recognition of this, one suspects, that keeps Pickens from publishing in his Aesop the kinds of dialect stories which are so common in other collections, and which prompted him to include so shrewd a one as this-

> One of the less orthodox Negro preachers explained that God could hardly have made any 'hell' because God had evidently made Georgia, and convict camps and peonage- and that he wouldn't be so uneconomical of time and space and material as to make two places of the same sort. (2)

The ignorance of the correct use of language which makes the success of Irvin S. Cobb, Octavius Roy Cohen and E. K. Means is equally well exploited in the wit of the Negro.

> Referring to her colored servant, the white woman said, "I and John will look after the chickens." "Mother," said her sixth grade son, "The grammar says it must be John and I." "Grammar or no grammar, I won't put any Negro ahead of me." (3)

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[1] William Pickens, American Aesop, (Boston: Jordan and More Press, 1926)

[2] ibid, p.19

[3] ibid.p.80

The wit of the Negro, in general, is wit at the expense of the white man. It is a transparent psychological device for the restoration of self esteem and dignity in a society in which such values confliect with social and economic reality.

The psychological usefulness of the 'nigger' story the white man tells is not as close to the surface. In the first instance, as Myrdal has pointed out, white men and women in America are profoundly ignorant of the effects of discriminatory acts upon the Negro. They are aware of no responsibility for the creation or perpetuation of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility. This applies in general to conformity with laws and customs governing interracial relations- but especially to the field of wit. The person who tells a 'nigger' story follows either of two motives.

1. The desire for social approval and conformity. One educated student of race problems was astonished to learn that a Negro member of his audience had been offended by a story he had told: his only defense was that the only good stories he knew were about Negroes- and he never thought that anyone would be offended. He lacked sensitivity to the potential meaning of an apparently 'harmless' social diversion. The Negro member of the audience realized that, no matter what the intent of the teller, the net result of the story-telling episode was that he had been isolated as a member of a group, about whom one could be facetious.

2. The need to bolster to self-esteem. American social and economic history has developed a social code in which the Negro is the inferior of the white man. In any social situation in which this relationship is maintained- where Negroes are absent, present in small numbers or in inferior status, the opportunity is available for the white man to assert

The more precarious the relationship of superiority-inferiority, the coarser the wit: the less precarious, the more sophisticated and subtle.

Recently an earnest worker for interracial unity pleaded that the 'nigger' joke be obliterated from American social life. (1) How effective the plea will be cannot be judged at present. But it signifies a recognition that humor is serious business. Whatever the conscious intention of the teller or delineator, the treatment of the Negro as a comic figure in conformity to the traditional pattern is derogatory. Sensitivity to the potential meaning of such actions is slowly developed. Our system of education does not encourage, in general, the use of such race names as 'chink', 'dago' or 'nigger! But neither do they correct or penalize them as undemocratic or offensive to members of the minority groups. The use of special race names must be consciously linked to the prejudicial treatment of Negroes according to rigid stereotypes.

The future of the Negro in American humor, and the popularity of the Rochester's, Stepin Fetchit's, Mushmouths, and others may parallel that of the minstrel form, which collapsed because of sheer boredom and the lack of real artistic merit. But until the Negro has been emancipated from every present disability- economic, social and political, he will continue in American culture as a stereotyped figure,essentially inferior. Conversely, as long as he is represented in such roles, the expression of hostility and prejudice will be encouraged and facilitated.

CHAPTER V

THE PERPETUATION OF THE AMERICAN NORM WITH RESPECT TO THE NEGRO

As we have seen in previous sections, there exists at present in America a well-defined attitude towards the Negro which is codified in legislation (state and local) and expressed most thoroughly through various cultural forms. That norm establishes a hierarchy of races, in which the white is always uppermost, the Negro always below. That such a hierachy exists has been proven again and again the results of attitude scales. Yet, as we have seen, the prejudice and hostility thus exhibited are products of an economic relationship, i.e., slavery which no longer is legally permissible and a body of folkways derived from the slavery system. The perpetuation of the physical and psychological isolation of the Negro from the white has been achieved by the complex of laws and etiquette which at present underlie the superiority-inferiority relationship. Attitudes towards the Negro today remain very much as they were in 1830 and 1860. Lest we despair that those attitudes, if not instinctive, are at least too deeply rooted to be eliminated, it is important to examine what special rewards anti-Negro prejudice brings which make it possible for well-meaning democrats to exhibit it in one form or another, and conversely, what special penalties have been suffered by those who, in the history of Negro-white relations have been a few steps ahead of their more norm-observant fellows.

Norms are interiorized and accepted and acted upon because in some way the social climate indicates the importance of absorbing that norn. Thus, the current American norm with respect to the reckoning of time is accepted, not because it is the only correct way of reckoning time, but because to refuse to conform to the accepted mode involves serious

inconveniences. The remarkable tenacity of the few champions of a calendar eliminating leap year cause amusement at present. Yet, it is not impossible that in the near future, so logical an arrangement will be accepted because it is actually more accurate and economical. That the time sense can be abruptly and completely readjusted to a new cultural pattern is indicated by the experience of a visitor who shed the American names for days while in the Soviet Union, where a five-day week and the exclusive use of dates made necessary an entirely new adjustment: the adjustment was easily and rapidly made because it had the approval of all the agencies of social control.(1)

It is important here to examine historically those rewards and punishments which were available in each period of Negro-white relations in America. They illustrate simultaneously the function of the instruments of social control, and the psychological motivation for the interiorization of the prevalent norm with respect to Negro white relations.

The history of those relations in the United States is a chronicle of barriers each of which was thought to be insuperable, no matter how strongly men desired their elimination.

The first such barrier was the slavery system itself. In the words of the editor of the Charlestown Courier, "The people of the South hold it (slavery) to be absolutely necessary to the proper cultivation of the soil, and to be the great source of their prosperity, wealth and happiness;

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[1]Ella Winter, Red Virtue, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1923) p. 171.

without it their fertile fields would become a wilderness and a desert".(1) The profitability of the slavery system, and the desire to prevent abolitionist sentiment from reaching the American people resulted in a reign of terror and deprivation of free speech which is unparalleled in the history of this democratic nation.

As early in 1729, the pressure of influential slaveholders had directed the formation of public opinion on the question of slavery. In a bibliographical note (2) to an anti-slavery booklet (3) we find:

> Although threatened with a severe penalty if he permitted this protest against keeping Negroes in slavery to be circulated, in the Province of Pennsylvania, the author, disregarding all consequences.....distributed not only this, but also a second edition, in the following year...

The absolute uniformity of opinion which Alexander Hamilton thought he saw around him led him to say in 1779:

> The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the blacks makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience; and our unwillingness to part with property of so valuable a kind will furnish us with a thousand arguments to show the impracticability or pernicious tendency of a scheme which requires such a sacrifice. (4)

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[1] Charlestown Courier, July 25, 1833. Cited in William Sumner Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina, 1935.

[2] Charles Evans, American Bibliography (Chicago, Blakely Press, 1903) Vol. I, p. 409.

[3] Ralph Sandiford, A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times (Philadelphia: Franklin and Meredith, 1729)

[4] Alexander Hamilton to John Jay, March 14, 1779. Cited in George Livermore, An Historical Research Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, As Citizens and as Soldiers.(Boston: John Wilson and Company, 1862.)

At the turn of the century, Bishop Ashby believed that Virginia and the other colonies would not be rid of slavery for ages to come, "for there is not a sufficient sense of religion nor of liberty to destroy it. Methodists, Presbyterians, in the highest flights of rapturous piety still maintain it." (1)

In 1787, Moses Brown wrote to his friend Samuel Hopkins that he had attempted to get an anti-slavery article published in the Newport (Rhode Island) Herald.

> But he (the printer) has since told me that he cannot print it, and has returned it. He says he has consulted his friends, and they tell him that it will greatly hurt his interest to do it; that there is so large a number of his customers either in the slave trade or in such connection with it or so disposed with respect to it, to whom it will give the greatest offence, that it is not prudent to do it. (2)

Later, in 1840, Rev. Brisbane said boldly that the largest obtacle to his renouncing slaveholding was "the prospect of having to diminish my means of support by yielding to my convictions of duty."(3) Further,

> Indeed, my regard for them (his relatives), my anxiety for my own family, my sympathy for my friends, the appeals to my feelings, the vituperation and abuse, the threats of violence, all conspired to hinder me from coming to any definite conclusion with regard to the morality of slaveholding. (4)

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[1] Jenkins, op.cit., p.4.

[2] Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown in Moses Brown Papers, VI,ii, August 13, 1787.

[3] Reverend William H. Brisbane, Speech, Containing an Account of the Change in his Views on the Subject of Slavery (Hartford: S.S. Cowles, 1840)

[4] ibid, p. 5.

That the Southern slave owners exerted herculean efforts to prevent abolitionist literature from reaching both the whites and Negroes is evident in the laws examined by Savage.(1) Not the least of these was the award of four thousand dollars offered by Governor Lumpkin of Georgia for the arrest and trial of the editor of the Liberator.(2) A Virginia law of 1836(3) provided severe penalties for members and agents of abolitionist societies who maintained that "the owners of slaves have no property in the same, or advocate or advise the abolition of slavery." Laws such as this were enacted throughout the lower South and in most of the upper South. The possibility of the complete suppression of all shades of opunion as a result of such laws alarmed some Southerners: soon, however, such opposition disappeared. The state of free speech in the South on the issue of slavery can be gauged by the trial of Samuel Janny for the crime of refuting the arguments of a defender of slavery who proclaimed that the Bible sanctioned human slavery.

Andrew Jackson widely advocated that federal and local postmasters record and publicize the names of all men of the South who subscribed to abolitionist literature. Exposure to public censure he considered the

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[1]W. Sherman Savage, The Controversy Over the Distribution of Abolition Literature, 1830-1869, (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1938)

[2]William Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery (New York: W. Goodell, 1855) p. 410.

[3]Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1835-6, Chao. LXVII, p. 44.

[4]Samuel M. Janney, Memoirs (Philadelphia, 1881)

most powerful weapon in wiping out anti-slavery sentiment, for "there are few so hardened in villainy as to withstand the frowns of all good men."(1)

The attempt at forcible prevention of formation and dissemination of abolitionist ideals reached the Southern educational system most decisively. It engendered a four-pronged attempt to purge the South of textbooks bearing sentiments favorable to emancipation,(2) the prevention of the enrollment of Southern students in Northern college, the establishment of local institutions of learning, and the persecution of liberal sentiment within the college. The harassing, discharge and occasional physical violence against teachers in Southern institutions led Professor Harris of the University of North Carolina to say:

> You may eliminate all the suspicious men from your institutions of learning. You may establish any number of new colleges which will relieve you of sending your sons to free institutions. But as long as people study and read and think among you, the absurdity of your system (slavery) will be discovered and there will always be found some courageous intelligence to protest against your hateful tyranny. (3)

The suppression of free speech through legal and extra legal devices which characterized the South was not confined to that region. William Garrison was dragged by a rope through the streets of Boston, while the state guards looked on disinterestedly.(4) Elijah Lovejoy(5)

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[1]Andrew M. Jackson to Amos Kendall, August 9, 1835, in John Spencer Bassett, ed. Correspondence of Andrew Jackson (Washington, D.C.: 1931) Vol.V, pp. 360-1.

[2]Bessie L. Pierce, Public Opionion and the Teaching of History in the United States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926),see especial section on Attempts to Control Textbooks."

[3]Cited by Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1940) p. 205.

[4]Wendell Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison (New York: 1855) Vol. I, Chapter XIV and Vol. II, Chapter I.

[5]Joseph C. Lovejoy and Owen Lovejoy, Memoir of Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy, (New York: 1938)

and Reverend Samuel May were both assaulted repeatedly by mobs in New England. Both suffered physical injuries, as well as social ostracism. Although there were occasional outbursts of this sort in the North, the climate of opinion was never that of the South described by Shaw.

> Gradually a funereal pallor has been drawn over any rational discussion of the slavery question and if there be any now here who hold the sentiment once openly expressed, they are only whispered in confidence. No person can safely reside in the South who is suspected of liberal views on the subject of slavery. (1)

The twin currents of defense of slavery and advocacy of colonization of the Negroes in Africa run together throughout American history. The proposals for colonization (2) were based on two maxims: "We don't like this prejudice, we consider it sinful," and "The prejudice is an existing fact, and can't be altered, therefore we act on it." Enemies of colonization, both among the Negroes and the whites pointed out that the first was a challenge and the second an admission of stupidity and national degeneracy.(3) The colonization scheme was escapist in doctrine and method. As its critics pointed out, those who were most

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[1]Charles B. Shaw, A Reply to Professor Bledsoe (Boston, 1857) p.7.

[2]Fifteenth Report of American Colonization Society, p.17.

[3]Samuel Cornish and Theodore S. Wright, The Colonization Scheme Considered in its Rejection by the Colored People in its Tendency to Uphold Caste - in its Unfitness for Christianizing and Civilizing the Aborigines of Africa. (Newark: Aaron Guest, 1840)

concerned about the damaging effects of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility did least to overcome it. While confident that they could by their efforts, uproot the essential economic basis of the slavery system, they were afraid of the task of removing prejudice. (1)

It is reasonable to ask why the struggle over slavery and Negro rights which culminated in a successful war against that system was accompanied by more severe attacks upon abolitionists and Negroes than upon the slave sellers and slave owners, and why it resulted in a norm which is hostile rather than friendly to the Negro.

The answer to the question like those to questions we have previously examined, lies in the historical forces of American history. First and most important of the needs of the young American nation was that of unity, a pooling of the resources of all the colonies. Anything which tended to disrupt that unity threatened the very existence of the American nation. The policy of conciliation towards the slave holding forces shaped attitudes towards slavery and the Negro.

The first important governmental battle over slavery was occasioned by Jefferson's inclusion of anti-slavery clauses in his instructions to the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress: the Virginia Convention rejected his proposals. It was Virginia and the Southern colonies who prevented the insertion into the final form

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[1] An Address to Christians of All Demoninations on the Inconsistency of Admitting Slave-Holders to Communion and Church Membership (Philadelphia: S. C. Atkinson, 1831)

James Cropper, Letter to Thomas Clarkson, Prejudice Vincible, or the Practicability of Conquering Prejudice by Better Means than Slavery or Exile (Liverpool: Egerton, Smith and Co., 1832)

of the Declaration of Independence of the condemnation of George III for vetoing Colonial anti-slavery acts Jefferson had written into his first draft of that document. (1) The slave-holding colonies made a direct threat. They would not enter into compact with the other colonies unless a 'laissez-faire', 'state's rights' policy obtained with respect to slavery. In the face of this, slavery was permitted to continue.

The same fear of forcing the issue and creating disunity in America was stimulated by the defender of slavery who saw in it a superb ideological weapon. Thus the editor of DeBow's Review said

> ....what others think is nothing: for us there has come to be but one sentiment now - as Southerners, as Americans, as men, we deny the right of being called to account for our institutions, our policy, our laws or our government.(2)

Fear was further stimulated by such politicians as Turnball of South Carolina who warned that

> South Carolina (will) assuredly be ruined, if at this day, there are twenty men in Congress who are for emancipation, sudden or gradual, and the right of Congress to take <u>even a vote</u> is not resisted as an act of war by South Carolina ....(3)

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[1]See Alice Felt Tyler, <u>Freedom's Ferment</u> (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1944) p.46.

[2]<u>DeBow's Review</u>, May, 1847, p. 421.

[3]R. J. Turnbull, <u>The Crisis</u> (Charleston, 1827) p. 132.

The Abolitionists, enraged at this ruse which placed the blame for American social unrest upon them, cried:

> ...when we are asked, what are you doing? Why make a social and political earthquake? We answer, not we. We are not making a crisis; we are only trying to prevent a catastrophe....The national body is too sick to be cured by quackery, but you will not let us examine it or talk about it or discuss the way of the cure...(1)

The incredible hold of slavery on the American republic and the multitude of its financial dependents in the churches, schools and industries, bred an atmosphere described by Ross as "first homogeneous, then imperious, then intolerant." (2) The result was the intimidation of those forces advocating the abolition of the slave trade, the amelioration of the abuses of the slavery system, the elimination of slavery itself, the granting of the vote to the Negro....and at present, the elimination of prejudice and hostility against the Negro and his aspirations.

If opposition to slavery required courage, then sympathy and understanding of the Negro as a fellow man was an impossible task. The climate of public opinion, as described in 1866 does not differ very much from that of today:

> .....and it may well be confessed, once for all, that to treat a man's sentiments in respect to Negroes as of any importance in making up your estimate of his character; or to announce as your own motive, in whatever you may do

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[1]William Jay, Slavery in America (New York: n.n. 1835) p.xvi.

[2]E. A. Ross, Social Psychology (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908) p.5.

> for colored people, the simple desire to do them good, because it is just, irrespective of any object beyond, such as to save recruits, to weaken an enemy, or to gain possible future votes - is to bring upon yourself the contempt, secret or open, strong or mild, of nine-tenths of the people you meet. (1)

The system of punishments which operates today to prevent amicable Negro-white relations is extra-legal for most of the country. Its roots are two-fold: the absence of stimulation to friendly interracial approaches, and the power of social disapproval and withdrawal of affection.

The first mechanism is that of impression. We have traced the development of the American norm with respect to the Negro. We find it expressed in drama, movies, literature, songs and wit. But most important of all was the informal education of the child in the norm - the process by which he learned the norm and the importance of conformity.

Then, as now, there was no more important educational tool than the conditioned association of Negro and inferiority. Fortunately through an abolitionist, the more popular sayings of the 1800's have been preserved. They include:

> Go to sleep - if you don't the old nigger will carry you off.
> The old nigger's coming.
> How ugly you are - you are like a little nigger.
> You will be as poor and ignorant as a nigger.
> Nigger seats in a classroom (rear)
> Nigger pew (rear or balcony)
> Nigger priest (2)

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[1] Why Colored People are Excluded from the Street Cars. (Philadelphia: Benjamin C. Bacon, 1866)

[2] Reverend H. Easton, A Treatise (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1837)

To these we can add the rhyme taught to all American children, "Eeny-meenie, mynie-mo, catch a nigger by the toe", the "nigger-baby" dolls sold everywhere, the "nigger-head" games at curcuses, the expressions, "nigger in the woodpile", "that's white (decent) of you", etc. These are informal means of indoctrination in the social norm. They supplement the inaccurate teachings of our textbook with respect to race, the caricatures and stereotypes of our art forms, and most important of all, the pressure for social approval.

The history of Negro-white relations in the United States, based on the institutions of slavery has established a pecking-order in which the Negro represents the lowest rank, upon whom all may peck, with social approval and freedom of fear from censure. Not only is pecking at the Negro thus regarded by the approval of parents, neighbors and the community, but refusal to peck is an offense against a revered tradition.

The desire to peck as a means of release of tensions generated by the frustration of goal-directed drives is a basic psychological device: its canalization is a function of tradition. There are two separate groups interested in the maintenance of this pecking order and privilege. The first is characterized by Pearl Buck as those who willingly or unwillingly acknowledge prejudice, but are beginning to believe in varying degrees that their prejudice is wrong. (1) These people interiorize the American norm with respect to the Negro because they know no other way of responding to their social stimuli. Of them, Freeman has

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[1]Pearl S. Buck, "A Letter to Colored Americans, "Opportunity 20:71-3, March 1942.

said, "....the effort towards reeducation is never made because the incentive is absent. With them prejudice is infinitely pervasive and insusceptible of direct detection." (1) The child has been given his most essential emotional need - that of security in parental love through conformity to the community mores: the adult continues the conformity because it is easy.

The second group, whose motivation and methods have been consistently overlooked by students of race attitudes are those whose vested interests lie in the division of the white man from the Negro, whether through slavery, economic, social or political discrimination. It is not accidental that among the defendants in currect sedition trials are two who had been previously indicted for organization and participation in the riots ensuing upon the occupation of the Sojourner Truth Housing Projects in Detroit. (2)

Barzun has asserted that he does not choose to differentiate between the makers of race systems, and the casual users of race-adjectives - the latter being no more excusable than the former. He errs gravely in disregarding the fact that American society fosters the use of race adjectives, so that individuals who are not exposed to stimuli from currents of thought beyond the prejudiced norm cannot reasonably be expected to contravert that norm. The prime need is that of raising

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[1] Ellis Freeman, Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936) p. 91.

[2] See People's Voice (New York City) May 20, 1944, p.7.

to a conscious level the mode of racist thinking characteristic of present attitudes towards the Negro. The formulation of the aims of the present war, the increasing research into the problems of minority peoples, the growth of interracial movements (cultural, social, political, labor, etc.) have promoted an awareness of the role of attitudes in determining the position of the Negro in the American order. The stereotypy of the Negro is a form of suppression of freedom of thought which is basic to the perpetuation of the norm. Until efforts to overcome that stereotypy are successful, prejudice and hostile behaviour will continue to be rewarded. The overwhelming evidence of the activity of organized groups of fascists in recent race riots and disturbances indicates that the desire to exploit grievances through scape-goating the Negro is still a relatively safe technique in America.

The interiorization of the American norm with respect to the Negro is a psychological process involving economy of inhibition, thought and emotion. It facilitates social approval. Its essential character is defense, its mechanism that of avoidance. The epithet 'nigger-lover' is a dangerous one in America: to avoid speech or action worthy of that name is a basic need in the anchoring of the personality of most Americans. Avoidance guarantees not only freedom from economic disadvantages, but also the measure of psychic stability which comes from the knowledge that one is following closely the prevailing mode.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study was based upon a psychological approach to the phenomenon of prejudice and hostility against the Negro in the United States. As a result of the probing of the history of this country, as revealed in laws, journals, diaries, pamphlets, plays, art forms, wit, etc., it has been possible to demonstrate that

1. No single theory of the roots of anti-Negro prejudice is adequate for the satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon. The psychological-psychoanalytic approaches fail to account for the different patterning of responses under varied social stimuli: analyses based on patterns of competition, whether political, sexual or economic, tend to ignore the fact that such competition must be preceded by the demarcation of contending groups.

2. Contrary to popular theory, the period of slavery was the only one in the history of Negro-white relations in which prejudice and hostility against the Negro were necessary and inevitable: the institution of slavery engendered those attitudes by the enforced association of the Negro with inferior economic status. The theory of the keeping of "place" as the basis for pacific adjustments in the pre-Civil War era is shown to rest on a basic error: the Negro neither occupied nor acknowledged such a place.

3. American pre-occupation with the problem of interracial sexual relations conceals the fact that the initial responses of Negroes and whites in America were determined by class, and not race membership. A comparative study of interest in interracial sexual relations in Brazil and the United States demonstrates the social determinants of widely held beliefs and attitudes.

4. The influence of stateways upon the formation of folkways and mores is epitomized in the history of the utilization of the Negro in the armed forces of the United States. The initial decision at the time of the Revolutionary War that it was inappropriate to defend freedom with slaves has determined the subsequent hesitancy and refusal to employ Negroes on the grounds of inefficiency.

5. The institution of slavery in the United States, and the perpetuation of the disabilities it imposed upon the Negro through discriminatory and segregatory acts have resulted in the delineation of a racist norm or standard of behaviour toward the Negro. That standard is based upon responses to three basic stereotyped representations of the Negro in American culture. The stereotype of the contented slave was a direct product of the 'positive good' defense of slavery as the desire of the Negro as well as the profit of the white. The Brute Barbarian characterization, appearing first as the defense of the appropriate relation of civilized master and uncouth and wild slave, was augmented and elaborated in the period of Reconstruction as a fear-inspiring device to curb the briefly experienced threat to the superior status of the whites during the era of Black Republicanism. The most popular stereotyped presentation of the Negro at present is in a comic role. The Negro occupies a unique position in American humor. The repeated presentation of the Negro as a clownish figure has created a predisposition to consider him as a congenital inferior, whose aspirations for improved status are both ludicrous and offensive. Prejudice and hostility are inherent in the consistently humorous treatment of the Negro in American culture: the expression of such attitudes through the medium of humor is, in general, an unconscious mechanism for agression against and assertion of superiority over the Negro.

6. The development of an American norm hostile to rather than friendly to the Negro is a result of the operation of a system of punishments applied in each period of Negro-white relations. The initial need for the unification of slave and free states resulted in a policy of conciliation towards slaveholders which conditioned later opposition to any act in behalf of the Negroes which might conceivably be disruptive of apparently pacific adjustment between members of both groups. The continued existence of prejudice and hostility against the Negro, eighty years after statutory emancipation is not a result of the instinctive quality of the attitudes, but of the twin factors of the subsequent enactment of segregatory and discriminatory repressive legislation against the Negro, and of the activity of groups definitely interested in the prevention of interracial amity.

7. American cultural media promote attitudes prejudicial and hostile towards the Negro. At present, behaviour reflecting such attitudes constitutes the American norm: deviation from the norm in friendly and unprejudiced approaches to the Negro are the result of ab normal experience. Until American culture promotes non-racist thinking in America, it is idle to expect isolated segments of formalized education, such as courses, lectures, etc. to result in lasting changes in attitudes.

Having explored the roots of anti-Negro prejudice and hostility in the United States, several problems relating to the psychological processes operative in the expression of such attitudes suggest themselves-

1. A psychoanalytic study of persons exhibiting anti-Negro prejudice. Such an intensive study, based on a few selected cases, and utilizing the life-history technique would examine the meaning of prejudice to the individual-how the community mores affect the expression of attitudes, under what circumstances he can be persuaded that his beliefs and attitudes are erroneous,etc.

2. The experimental modification of attitudes towards the Negro through the change in content of cultural media (in contrast to the previous emphasis on teaching attitudes through courses, lectures and other more formal avenues) The technique employed by Thurstone and Peterson should be extended to the presentation of radio characters, such as Amos and Andy, Rochester, etc in new roles varying from the accepted stereotype.

3. A comparative study of two or more communities with the same proportion of Negro inhabitants, and an approximately similar general structure, to determine what local institutions, individuals, laws, etcetera govern interracial relations and determine the responses of both races to each other. Such a study should emphasize the role of personalities, leadership, organizations and such in the formation of public opinion. A similar study could profitably be made of two industrial plants, employing approximately the same proportion of Negroes, to determine the function of foremen, unions, old and young workers, and company 'policy' in creating good or bad feeling between Negroes and whites.

4. An investigation of the feeling of responsibility for the creation or perpetuation of acts and policies discriminating against or in some way depressing the status of the Negro. Such a study could be made in a newspaper, to determine the ultimate responsibility for the emphasis of Negro crime, etc., or in a university, such as Princeton, which does not admit Negro students.

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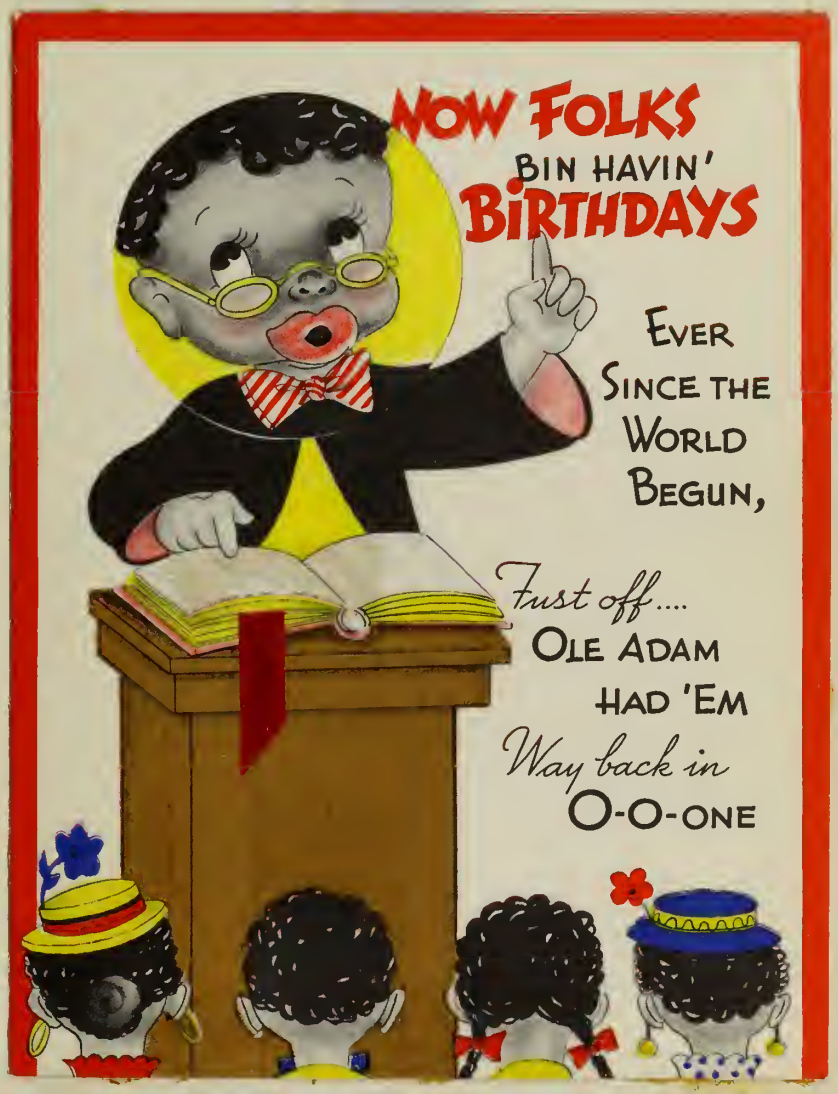

NOW FOLKS
BIN HAVIN'
BIRTHDAYS
EVER
SINCE THE
WORLD
BEGUN,
Just off....
OLE ADAM
HAD 'EM
Way back in
O-O-ONE

And since then

EVER'BODY

Has had the same

COMPLAINT —

Now it's

YOU

that's got 'em

And pore ole Adam

AIN'T!

HAPPY BIRTHDAY *and* MANY MORE!


Hopes yo' all feels pert
REAL
SOON!


NOTHIN'
'cept YOU jes'
GET WELL

And yo' all makes it snappy!
'Cause while yo' all
iz in dat bed,
Me all iz sho'
unhappy!

Ah don't want nothin nohow –

Ain't nothin' interests me

'Cause yo'

COMPLETE RECOVERY

Is all Ah wants to see!


GOING AWAY!
Well,
Have A
SWELL
Time!


SICK, IS YO'?
DAT'S JES' A TEMPORARY
BLACKOUT...
SO JES' REST A WHILE,
AN' DEN....

Whether you RIDE

or FLY or THUMB

Here's to a trip

As swell as they come!


Dey will sound dat ALL CLEAR SIGNAL
showin' yo's CLEAR WELL again!
PILLS
POT


AH'S CUTTIN'
IT SHORT
BUT — —


THINKIN' OF YOU
SOMETIMES AH'S BLUE AS BLUIN'
AND THINGS JES' SEEMS SO WRONG,


IT'S STILL MIGHTY FRIENDLY~
"HAPPY BIRTHDAY"

AH THINKS AH'LL
START BOO-HOO-IN'
IF DEY DON'T
CHEER UP
'FORE LONG,

BUT WHEN MAH SKY'S MOS' CLOUDY,
AH THINKS OF YOU --AND DEN

DAT OLE SUN JES' SAYS,
"HOWDY!"

AND MAH WORLD AM
BRIGHT AGAIN!

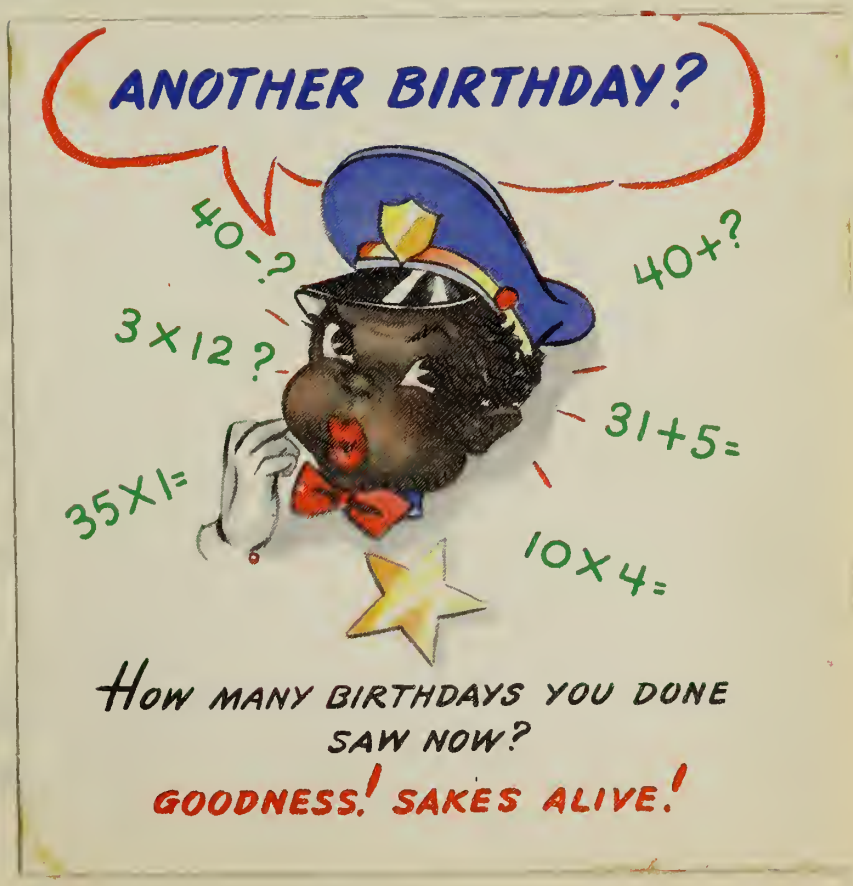

TICK
TOCK
TICK
TOCK
WHEN AH AIN'T WHERE YO' IS AT
DE MINUTES L-A-G A-L-O-N-G LIKE DAT,


This ain't from the
BLACK MARKET
NO-SIR-EE!

It's jes from lil' ole innocent ME!

HAPPY BIRTDAY


MISSIN' YOU
NO WONDAH DAT
AH'S SO DE-JECTED...


ANOTHER BIRTHDAY?
40-?
40+?
3×12 ?
31+5=
35×1=
10×4=
How MANY BIRTHDAYS YOU DONE SAW NOW?
GOODNESS! SAKES ALIVE!

IT SUAH AM "HELL"

TO BE NE-GLECTED!


YOU KNOW DAT HIT'S AGIN' DE LAW NOW
TO GO OVAH THIRTY FIVE!
MANY HAPPY RETURNS!
LIMIT
35
FOR THE
DURATION

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THE ROOTS OF PREJUDICE AGAINST THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

The conviction that a more or less rigid separation between the Negro and white is either necessary or inevitable underlies the majority of studies of the structure of race relations in America. Observation of current practices of discrimination and segregation in every single field of social and individual living, together with concrete results of experiments in the measurements of various forms of social distance confirm the belief that the problem of Negro-white relations differs qualitatively from relations of the majority whites with members of every other minority group.

The present study examines the materia of American culture, including literature, drama, laws, songs, drawings and the objective evidences of historical processes, in order to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the psychological mechanisms operative in the feelings of prejudice and hostility toward the Negro? To what extent are such attitudes the result of conscious or unconscious indoctrination through various media?

2. In what way does the Negro's past in slavery determine his present status in the American social order? What folkways and mores were derived directly from the economic relations between free (white) and slave (Negro) men?

3. In what ways and to what extent do American cultural products constitute a major device for the dissemination of the American norm with respect to the Negro?

4. Why has the American norm with respect to the Negro been interiorized in each period of American history? What systems of rewards and punishments operated to perpetuate a basically hostile code?

Previously social scientists have utilized definitions of race prejudice which are based upon the concept of an attitude or tendency which can be graded by points along a continuum. The definition here evolved is based upon the more accurate consideration of prejudice as an <u>absolute</u>: race prejudice, whatever its overt physical or inner emotional concomitants, is <u>racist</u>. It is present wherever the individual structuralizes a situation in terms of the fact of race difference. Race hostility is the term more appropriately utilized to describe the precise emotional response, measurable both in its breadth and intensity.

Among the postulated roots of prejudice against the Negro in the United States, the belief that the present existence of acute tensions and hostility is a result of the disruption of a <u>status quo</u> established

prior to the Civil War , is of greatest currency. An examination of historical data discloses that—

1) In the pre-Emancipation era there was no solidly established system of social and economic relations in which all Negroes formed one group and all whites another.

2) The period prior to Emancipation was characterized by intense tension and struggle. Severe economic struggle between free and slave labor, and between free Negro and free white labor, was augmented by widespread and diversified efforts to escape from slavery.

The picture of a pre-Emancipation placid South is not substantiated by examination of historical data. The "system of accomodations" which has so frequently been cited as the ideal basis for Negro-white relations in the pre-Emancipation era is non-existent. That Negroes and whites did make adjustments to one another is plain; but there were not the static relations of two fixed bodies but rather the strategic adaptation to the reality of the basic conflict between them.

Second in importance as a possible explanation of the fundamentals of American race relations is the peculiar role of interracial sexual relations. The wide currency of beliefs that interracial sex relations are unhealthy, degenerative, immoral and debilitating obscures the observable fact that the whole question of sex relations arises directly and inescapably from the system of economic slavery. A comparative study of Brazil discloses that interracial sexual relations become an issue only where color and class are wholly correlated. American interest in such relationships is derived directly from the preoccupation with the economic problem of the status of the issue of such relations. The problem is economic and not moral.

Among the many postulated roots of prejudice against the Negro in the United States, viz. ignorance, unpleasant experience, difference in group characteristics, consciousness of kind, group competition for economic security, and the expression of frustrated drives through aggressive acts, none provide a really tenable explanation. All are misleading because they depend for their existence upon the previous structuralization of American society in terms of race difference. The institution of slavery itself provides the only adequate clue to the evolution of the attitudes which underlie each of these more superficial aspects of the social situation.

The racist norm which governs interracial relations today (a norm is a frame of reference, and includes customs, traditions, standards, fashions, etc.) is a result, contrary to the respected Sumnerian tenets, of the influence of the stateway of slavery upon the American folkways and mores.

The slave trade itself, based on the practices of piracy, and having only quasi-governmental supervision, demanded only the delivery of saleable merchandise; in the absence of the need to account for itself to any examining public, the trade developed no racist thinking.

The American nation, however, was not long able to give ideological support to an institution, a stateway, which contraverted the ideal of democracy. The discrepancy between willingness to tolerate a system which at first appeared to be a matter only of individual enterprise, and desire to uphold the democratic ideal was bridged immediately and successfully by the transfer of attention from slavery to the peculiar proclivities of the Negro.

The economic success of the institution of slavery depended directly upon the legally established axiom that every Negro (Indians, mulattoes and mestigoes were generally included) be presumed to be a slave unless the contrary could be proved. The general effect of this and similar laws examined which affirm the right of every white person to challenge the status of every Negro is to create a psychological system in which the Negro and slavery are inextricably bound together.

The economically necessary and legally supported separation of Americans into two hostile indentifiable by color was not destroyed but further entrenched by the Act of Emancipation. The need for national unity resulted in a laissez-faire attitude toward the new statutes designed to approximate as closely as possible the previous servile status of the recently emancipated. The essence of segregatory laws is that they provide that in any single activity, members of two ethnic groups may not mingle, whatever the circumstances, personality of persons involved, or their mutual desire to transgress the boundary. An intensive study of the origin of Jim Crow legislation in the United States shows that in most instances it was designed, contrary to popular opinion, not to prevent tension, but to disrupt previously peaceful relations between Negroes and whites. Prejudice against the Negro cannot reasonably be expected to disappear until segregation is no longer legally defensable.

Recent attempts to penalize acts of discrimination against the Negro demand investigation of the way in which such legislation affects the generation ofprejudice against members of that group. Restriction on the privilege of exercising a personal animosity and the withdrawal of official support for anti-Negro acts is the sine qua non for the ultimate elimination of the psychological systems which divide Negro and white.

The history of the utilization of the Negro in the armed forces of the United States demonstrates aptly the influence of the stateway of slavery on the spread of mores which classify the Negro as adapted only to very limited service. The inconsistency of using slave labor to defend freedom caused the Founding Fathers to give only qualified support to the enlistment of Negroes. The fears of Southern slave-owners that the growth of a substantial Negro armed service would endanger the security of their economic system combined to establish a tradition, embodied in Army policy, which has ruled in every subsequent instance. The question of using Negroes as soldiers was, at the beginning, one of expediency, not of inferiority.

American culture reflects the norms established through the peculiar relations of Negroes and whites in the period of slavery. The examination of expressions of the norm in such media as the graphic arts, drama, literature, etc. is undertaken in the belief that research into the growth

An examination of American historical documents provides an adequate explanation for the interiorization of attitudes and prejudices hostile to the Negro.

The profitability of the slavery system, and the desire to prevent the American people from absorbing Abolitionist sentiment resulted in a reign of terror and deprivation of free speech unparalleled in American history, and not heretofore subjected to study. As early as 1728, believers in Abolitionism and the improvement in the status (rather than the condition) of the Negroes, were subject to violence from slave-holders. The foremost need of the young American colonies— unity— was met by conciliation toward those who rejected the Jeffersonian plea for denunciation of economic tyranny both within and without.

The system of punishments which operates today to prevent amicable Negro-white relations is largely extra-legal. It is based upon the absence of stimulation to friendly interracial relations, and the power of social disapproval and withdrawal of affection for behavior contrary to the prejudicial anti-Negro norm.

The history of Negro-white relations in the United States, based on the institution of slavery, has established a pecking-order in which the Negro represents the lowest rank, upon whom all may peck with social approval and freedom from censure. The desire to peck as a means of release of tensions generated by the frustration of goal directed drives is a [redacted] basic psychological device. Its canalization is a function of tradition.

American cultural media promote attitudes prejudicial and hostile toward the Negro. At present, behavior reflecting such attitudes constitutes the American norm. Deviation from the norm in friendly and unprejudiced approaches to the Negro are the result of <u>ab</u> normal experience. Until American culture promotes non-racist thinking in America, it is idle to expect isolated segments of formalized education, such as courses, lectures, etc. to result in lasting changes in attitudes.

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