

A GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO HISTORY

IN THE CHURCHES

"I have seen a land right merry with the sun,
where children sing, and rolling hills lie
like passionate women wanton with harvest.
And there in the King's Highway sat and sits
a figure veiled and bowed, by which the
traveller's footsteps hasten as they go. On
the tainted air broods fear. Three centuries
thought has been the raising and unveiling of
that bowed human heart, and now behold a
century new for the duty and the deed. THE
PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE
PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE."

- W. E. B. DuBois in
SOULS OF BLACK FOLK 1904

"In the context of the Negro problem neither
whites nor blacks, for excellent reasons of
their own, have the faintest desire to look
back; but I think that the past is all that
makes the present coherent, and further, that
the past will remain horrible for exactly as
long as we refuse to assess it honestly."

- James Baldwin in
NOTES OF A NATIVE SON 1955

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This is a first experimental edition of this study guide. We invite all those who use it to send us their critical comments, corrections or suggested additions. A revised and completed edition is anticipated in the future. Please address correspondence to:

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WHY CHRISTIANS SHOULD STUDY NEGRO HISTORY

There are several reasons why Negro history is a crucial field of study for Christians today:

1. Christians are concerned about the truth. Negro history has generally been neglected or badly distorted in our society. Common popular myths prevail as a result. There is the popular myth that Africa is a "dark continent" in which there has never been any culture or social development. There is a myth that the Negro was essentially happy under slavery. There is a myth that Negroes have never made any significant contribution to history. Christians should not be content to let their views of the present day be shaped by a false view of the past.
2. Christians are concerned about persons. A person finds himself in relation to the past. The answer to the question: Who Am I comes largely from our relationship to history. James Baldwin says to the white community, "I am not who you think I am" and he is right. Discovery of who the Negro really is can come in large part from discovering who he really has been in history. James Baldwin goes further and indicates that the white man's inability to accept the Negro as a person is related to his inability to accept himself. Therefore, the study of Negro history may be revelatory in the white man's effort to understand himself as a person, as well as in his effort to understand the Negro as a person.
3. The Christian is concerned about repentance and renewal. We must study Negro history in order to face frankly the fact that the Christian church has often been less than Christian in its attitude and action where the Negro is concerned. Only after confession and repentance can the church wholeheartedly make a new beginning in its pursuit of justice and love for all persons.
4. The Christian is concerned about communion or communication. Many attempts at communication between Negro and white today are phony and superficial because they are attempts to communicate as though nothing had ever happened. Honest communication must begin by facing the events that have brought our world to its present tragic state. Perhaps as we face these facts together we can begin to communicate and discover a real common life as children of God that has so long been denied.

For the white community study of Negro history can mean the deliverance from false condescension if it brings to the white man the discovery that he has as much if not more to receive from the Negro as he does to give in the process of integration. In short, we must understand the past in order to face the present intelligently and bring about a different future.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study guide is designed for flexible use for young people and adults in various settings. It consists of ten sessions which are as follows:

1. African backgrounds
2. Slave trade
3. Slavery
4. The Civil War
5. Reconstruction and Jim Crow
6. Three alternative solutions to the Race problem:
 - Compromise
 - Militant protest
 - Back to Africa
7. Rise of Negro Protest organizations
8. the Negro in art, culture and literature
9. the Negro experience
10. the theological significance of Negro history

Each session consists of an introduction, of a list of recommended readings which is divided into three parts, and finally of a series of discussion questions. The three divisions of recommended readings in each lesson correspond to the three divisions in the bibliography at the back of the study.

Division I—consists of basic comprehensive texts which are likely to be useful through the entire course of the study. Any study group or any study group leader should have at least one of these basic texts.

Division II—consists of a basic working library of inexpensive paper backs which are currently available. Most study groups will probably want to purchase as many of these paper backs as possible to use on a circulating basis.

Division III—consists of a comprehensive bibliography of materials which are probably obtainable from any sizeable public library.

The reason for these divisions is to allow for as much flexibility as possible in making use of available resources for this study.

The purpose of the introduction to each section is to set forth the salient facts concerning that subject, to expose the most popular myths and to provide the focus for the session.

The purpose of the discussion questions in each section is to raise for thought the most significant issues presented in the reading materials.

It is the belief of the authors of this study that any Christian who takes the study seriously will find there a real call for commitment in the present struggle for racial justice and integration. It is hoped that as the study proceeds that the relevance of the past for understanding the present will become clear.

INTRODUCTION -- THE AMISTAD CASE

The Amistad is the name of a slave ship on which the slaves revolted in 1839. (Ironically, "Amistad" means "friendship" in Spanish.) Joseph Cinques, the son of a Sierre Leone chief, was one of 53 Africans captured and taken to Havana, Cuba, where they picked up additional cargo, and two Cuban planters. On the passage between Cuba and New York, Cinques exhorted the slaves to break their chains and gain their freedom. The slaves were able to take over the ship, having killed the pilot and captain, but they realized they must save someone to sail the ship back to Africa. With sugar cane knives at their backs, the Cuban planters were directed to sail the Africans home.

By day the planters sailed the ship toward Africa, but by night they sailed toward New York. With this criss-cross route, they managed to land at a New York harbor, whereupon the duped slaves were again taken captive. A New York judge heard the case of the slaves and decreed that they be returned to their homes, but the President of the United States, Martin Van Buren, disturbed with this decision for fear of additional slave revolts, requested the Attorney General of the United States to appeal the case to the Supreme Court.

While awaiting the trial, many New England abolitionists organized the American Missionary Society, in order to raise funds for the slaves' eventual return to Africa.

Furthermore, an ex-President of the United States, John Q. Adams, then 73 years old, and with a full career behind him, came forth to argue the case before the Supreme Court in behalf of the slaves. Adams argued eloquently for nearly five hours and gained freedom for the slaves. He states in his diary that this was the most important act of his life.

In the meantime, the American Missionary Society was able to procure a vast amount of money, part of which enabled the slaves to return home. Prior to leaving the United States, Cinques and several of the slaves toured the country for the anti-slavery cause. When Cinques arrived home, he found his entire family and tribe had been enslaved, but after a few years he was made an African chief.

The American Missionary Society used the remainder of its funds to found several Negro colleges, such as Hampton Institute, Berea College and, after the Civil War, Tougaloo College.

This story, which like many important aspects of the history of the Negro has been "lost" in the "mainstream" of history is a fitting introduction to this study for it contains the major themes ... the African background ... the slave trade ... the struggle for freedom ... the ambivalent response of white America. As we probe this unfolding drama perhaps we can better understand the problem of Amistad (friendship) between black and white in our present world - the problem that Gunnar Myrdal has called "the American Dilemma".

CHAPTER ONE — THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND

In his poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers", Langston Hughes expresses what is being increasingly recognized as an archaeological and historical fact: Negroes of Africa contributed to the development of ancient and contemporary cultures.

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and older
than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln

went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its
muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:

Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

Civilization dawned in the Fertile Crescent of the Near East where Europe, Asia and Africa meet. Here representatives of the three great groupings of man, Caucasian, Mongoloid and Negroid, built the first civilizations of the human family. New discoveries are spurring new evaluations by scholars of the ancient Africans from whom are descended one out of every ten Americans. "This re-evaluation has yielded a new perspective on African and human history. Africa, long considered the Dark Continent, is now regarded as the place where man first received light. Ancient Africans, long considered primitive and ignorant, are now revealed as creative contributors to Egyptian civilization and builders of powerful states in the Sudan." ¹

Discoveries made in Tanganyika, Africa (at Oldoway Gorge) suggest that "the earliest hominids emerged there, the earliest tool-making men, and perhaps, though by no means so probably, the earliest representatives of our own species, Homo sapiens." ² Thus in the long history of mankind "the continent that has the first claim to preeminence is Africa." ³

In monuments, paintings and inscriptions there is witness to the part played by Negro Africans in the great civilization of ancient Egypt. In 690 B. C. Taharks, the greatest of all the Ethiopian Pharaohs, ascended the throne of Egypt. "Prosperity was so extensive and his control was so absolute that Taharks styled himself the 'Emperor of the World.'" ⁴

Although throughout ancient times trade along the Nile Valley kept communication open between black Africa and the Mediterranean world, in the Middle Ages the rise of Mohammedanism placed a curtain between Africa and Christian Europe. For hundreds of years intercourse was cut off between the two continents.

Thus it was that Europe "discovered" Africa when in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Portuguese, Dutch and English ships began to explore her western and eastern coasts.

Africa is three times as large as Europe, but it has a coast line a fifth shorter. Africa's coast has few gulfs, bays, capes or islands. The rivers of Africa - the

Niger, the Congo, the Zambesi - though large and long have never served the function of transportation and communication between the coastal area and the interior of the African continent. The central portion of Africa is a high plateau rising in the north 500 to 2000 feet and in the south 2000 to 5000 feet. From these central plateau regions, the rivers plunge in rapids and cataracts to the narrow coastlands and the sea. This geography explains much of Africa's destiny in the modern world. Africa below the Sahara was out of easy access by the outside world and at the same time there existed in the interior no natural barriers that could give protection from invasion to emerging kingdoms and centers of culture. ⁵.

The battle of Tenkadibou in 1591 illustrates the political consequences of this lack of natural barriers. In that battle the Mohammedans pushing south from Morocco overthrew the last of the three great West African states, Songhay. With the defeat of Songhay, the area south of Sahara to the Gulf of Guinea knew in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no organization stronger than the tribe, exposed to the enmity of neighboring tribes. The constant warfare of the tribes provided at this early time the supply of slaves eagerly desired by the European traders. The European slavetrader arrived on the west coast of Africa at a time when its inhabitants were least able to offer effective resistance to his plunder and when the need for cheap labor in the New World was most acute. ⁶.

It is an ironic fact that the year of the discovery of that New World by Columbus was the year in which the most brilliant ruler of Songhay, Askia Mohammed, came to power. He encouraged the prosperity and the learning of his people, strengthened his empire, and by raising a professional army, he left his people to the enjoyment of peaceful pursuits. In 1497 Askia Mohammed made a trip to Mecca accompanied by scholars and officers of state. "He and his followers conversed with doctors, mathematicians, scientists and scholars ... 'In personal character, in administrative ability, in devotion to the welfare of his subjects, in open-mindedness towards foreign influences, and in wisdom in the adoption of non-Negro ideas and institutions, King Askia ... was certainly the equal of the average European monarchs of the time and superior to many of them.' " ⁷.

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1. Franklin, John Hope From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 3-4
 2. Hawkes, Jacquetta and Wooley, Sir Leonard Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization, pp. 34 and 40. Sponsored by UNESCO this is the first volume of a global history planned and executed from an international point of view.
 3. Ibid., p. 34.
 4. Franklin, John Hope, op.cit., p. 9
 5. DuBois, W. E. Burghardt, The Negro, p. 10.
 6. Ibid., pp. 153-155
 7. Franklin, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

SUGGESTED READINGS ON AFRICAN BACKGROUND

PART A Basic Texts

- I. Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1962. Lerone Bennett, Jr. Chapter 1.
- II. From Slavery to Freedom by John Hope Franklin—Chapters 1, 2 and 3.
- III. The Negro in Our History by Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley—Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

PART B From Working Library

- I. The Story of the American Negro by Ina Corinne Brown—Chapter 2
- II. The Lost Cities of Africa by Basil Davidson -- 1959, Atlantic, Little Brown--\$2.25
- III. Africa and the Africans by Paul Bohannon—Part 2, American Museum Science Books, Garden City, N. Y.--1964 \$1.25

PART C FURTHER SUGGESTED READINGS

- I. A Short History of Africa by Oliver and Page—Chapters 1 - 9.
- II. The Tree of Culture by Ralph Linton.
- III. The World and Africa by W. E. B. DuBois
- IV. Black Folk Then and Now by W. E. B. DuBois
- V. The Image of Africa by Philip D. Curtin

QUESTIONS

1. Often historians claim that the great centers of culture in North Africa and the Sudan were built by men who were not Negroes. Discuss the following statements in the light of that claim:
 - a.) All Africans except those in the extreme north ... were Negroes ... although not purely black ... (they) had a larger percentage of Negro blood than that of any other stock. Biased investigators referring to these, however, identify them as whites if they happen to discover evidences of advanced culture even if such persons have a small percentage of Caucasian blood. (The Negro in Our History, p. 16.)
 - b.) Great Negro scholars (W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, William Leo Hansberry) have insisted that the ancient Egyptians from Menes to Cleopatra were a mixed race, which presented the same physical types and color ranges as American Negroes - a people, in short, who would have been forced to sit on the back seats of the busses in Mississippi. (Before the Mayflower, p. 7.)

- c.) The mulatto (using the term loosely to indicate either an intermediate type between white and black or a mingling of the two) is as typically African as the black man and cannot logically be included in the "white" race, especially when American usage includes the mulatto in the Negro race. (The Negro, p. 14)

2. It is often said that Negroes in Africa made no contribution to culture and failed to develop any civilization. Discuss that statement in the light of the following:

- a.) The use of iron was developed very early in the economy of Africa. From Ethiopia to the Atlantic, there is much evidence of adroitness in the manufacture and use of iron. Indeed, many careful students of primitive civilizations credit the Negroes of Africa with the discovery of iron. Boas insists that Africans were using iron when Europeans and Asiatic peoples were still in the stone age ... (From Slavery to Freedom, p. 27).
- b.) From time to time, after 1703 B.C. when a new empire was founded, Negroes occupied positions of responsibility and honor in the Egyptian government. Nefertari, the wife of Ahmose I, Egypt's great imperial leader, has been described as a Negro woman ... she contributed a decidedly Negroid tint to her descendants who were to rule after Ahmose I. (From Slavery to Freedom, p. 7.)
- c.) Ghana (in West Africa), which was old when the Arabs first mentioned it in A. D. 800, dominated the Sudan for almost 300 years. It flourished in the ninth and tenth centuries and reached the peak of its power in the early part of the eleventh century. The rulers of Ghana ... were fabulously wealthy. (Before the Mayflower, p. 17.)

3. Proverbs often give a clue to the mind of a people. What value would you give to the wisdom and observation contained in these proverbs from black Africa?

1. To love a king is not bad, but a king who loves you is better.
2. If thou art poor, do not make the rich man thy friend.
3. It is better to be poor and live long than rich and die young.
4. Whoever works without knowledge works uselessly.
5. Lack of knowledge is darker than night.
6. Not to know is bad; not to wish to know is worse.
7. There is no medicine for hate.
8. The dawn does not come twice to wake a man.
9. Bowing to a dwarf will not prevent your standing erect again.
10. A butterfly that brushes against thorns will tear his wings.
11. He who goes with a wolf will learn to howl.

(Taken from The Negro in Our History, pp. 51-52.)

Chapter II - THE SLAVE TRADE

"Whole regions were depopulated, whole tribes disappeared. It was the rape of a continent seldom if ever paralleled in ancient or modern history."

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Though Europeans began to bring slaves into Europe in the late 14th century, the slave trade to the new world opened officially when Bishop Las Casas encouraged immigration to the new world by allowing each Spaniard to import 12 Negroes. Slave trade monopolies passed from one European power to another, sometimes going to the Portuguese; at others to the Dutch France or English. With plantations in the West Indies growing in size and importance the slave trade became a multi-million dollar enterprise. This enterprise was simultaneously having far reaching and devastating effects not only on the unhappy African transported to the New World. It also penetrated and eroded the foundations of African civilization as it engendered by the end of the 18th century unprecedented misery, chaos and social dislocation on the continent.

Africa, the Black Mother, which had given birth to the great Songhay, Mali and Ghana Empires in Western Sudan and the Zimbabwe culture in South Africa before the Europeans arrived now reeled before the theft of millions of her children and fell from her lofty status as one of the world's centers of culture.

"Africa before the Europeans came? It was neither anarchy or barbarism, nor unchanged and unchanging villages. It was movement and splendor, conquests and innovations, trade and art. It was above all wide variety and much experimentation." 2

The slave trade, operating on both coasts of Africa, had taken a spiritual as well as physical toll, having encouraged the African chiefs through bargains, persuasion and much coercion to participate in the dreadful traffic in human souls. The chiefs, thinking perhaps that their brothers were to rendezvous in the New World with slavery similar to Africa's own benign form were in many instances quite willing to cooperate with the European slavers. 3

Others chose death rather than to cooperate. The slaves for their part often offered fierce resistance to enslavement. They were consequently chained before being taken to the coastal ports to be sold. Franklin quotes a trader who remarked that the slaves were "so willful and loathe to leave their own country that they often leaped out of canoes, boats and ships into the sea and kept under water until they were drowned" rather than to be transported across the ocean to another harsher form of slavery. 4

What lay ahead for those shipped from the coast of Africa can best be compared to the treatment that the Jews received at the hands of Hitler. The voyage or "Middle Passage" was one long nightmare of incredible congestion with little room to stand, lie or sit.

"Chained together by twos, hands and feet, the slaves had no room in which to move about and no freedom to exercise their bodies in the slightest." 5

Disease and epidemics were engendered by the congestion and sharks would follow the slave ships from one side of the Atlantic to the other, awaiting the victims of this death passage. Smallpox and "flux", an illness which caused chills, nausea, fever and pains in the head and back plagued practically all the slave ships

The lack of proper ventilation and sanitation facilities coupled with the unwillingness to remove the dead immediately, called forth filth and stench that sickened the slavers after a few moments in the hold of the ship. Slave revolts on board ship, such as the Amistad mutiny, made the slavers fearful to even allow the slaves on deck for a breath of fresh air.

Conditions on the ships were so bad that the British Parliament passed laws designed to curb many of the excessive practices but they went largely unnoticed. English slavers, having seized a monopoly of the trade from the other European countries were reaping the quick profits.

The triangle trade developed. Ships would leave New York with rum, coins and other goods and trade them for slaves in Africa, exchange the slaves in the West Indies for molasses and return to New York.

The millions of slaves that survived the middle passage were not to survive the psychological and spiritual rupture that the trade generated. Not only were great civilizations shattered but hundreds of thousands of families were disrupted. The brutal hands of the slave traders were held aloft as poets and ministers, politicians and historians serve to blot the memory of the past from the minds of these sons and daughters of Africa.

" The most magnificent drama in the last thousand years of human history is the transportation of ten million human beings out of the dark beauty of their mother continent into the newfound Eldorado of the West. They descended into Hell; and in the third century they arose from the dead, in the finest effort to achieve democracy for the working millions which this world had ever seen. It was a tragedy that beggared the Greek; it was an upheaval of humanity like the Reformation and the French Revolution."

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1. DuBois BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW p 142
 2. Wallerstein AFRICA: POLITICS OF IDEAL DECE p 26
 3. Bohannon AFRICA AND AFRICANS p 106
 4. Franklin FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM
 5. Ibid p 56
 6. DuBois BLACK RECONSTRUCTION p 727

Recommended Readings

A. Standard Texts

- FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM Chapter 4
BEFORE THE MAYFLOW Chapter 2
THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY Chapter 4

B. Other Recommended Readings

- BLACK CARGOES by Daniel Mannix and Malcolm Cowley Viking Press NY 1962
\$6.95
BLACK MOTHER by Basil Davidson Little Brown & Co. Boston 1961
THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE W.E.B. DuBois

Chapter II Discussion Questions

1. How does the study of the slave trade affect the popular belief that the white man's burden has been to slowly undertake to civilize the savages that were brought over from Africa?
2. Why did Europe not invade Africa and conquer that continent until after the slave trade was over?
3. The burning of six million Jews in world War II was considered to be one of the great "crimes against humanity". How does the slave trade compare in scope?

Chapter 3 - Slavery and Abolition

Although African and white Europeans were brought to the English colonies as early as 1619, the Spanish were bringing Africans to their American possessions as early as 1501. By the mid 17th century indentured servitude gave way to slavery. Negroes became the logical source for slavery since whites, insisting upon their rights as Englishmen, could always appeal to the mother country or vanish undetected into the white population. Negroes, however, had no one to whom they could appeal and Africa seemed to contain an inexhaustible supply of slaves. Moreover, Negroes having come from tropical climates, did not die off as easily as whites when put to work in the tobacco and rice fields of the South.

At a time when slavery was waning in the South, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin greatly increased the need for slaves to convert the vast fields of cotton into millions of dollars in cash for Southerners, Northern bankers, and English textile manufacturers. Cotton not only became a basis for the expansion of slavery, but it also laid the foundation stones of the industrial revolution. The labor of the slaves forced from Negroes for more than two centuries thus was crucial in the development of industry in the western world.

Negroes were regarded as property; but they continued to be human beings even though not recognized as such. The price of a slave society was a combination of self-deception and brutality which ultimately was as destructive for the white community as it was for the Negro.

Self-deception was particularly acute in North America. As Tannanbaum points out the Latin tradition in South America brought with it long standing traditions of slavery and slave codes which in some measure preserved the identity of the slave as a person and which did not assign him to another order of creaturehood.

The egalitarian Protestants of North America however, believed that "all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Such a conscience could only live with slavery and justify it by assigning the Negro a place outside the human race; hence the doctrine of inferiority.

The Civil War was the final price of such self-deception:

Revolution is the natural consequence of stratification. The abolition of slavery in the United States was cataclysmic and violent because it seemed so eternal, so faultless, just because the gap between the Negro and the white man had been made so impassable and so absolute that it could not be bridged by any means of transition, by any natural growth and adaptation. It was broken by violence and war and social catastrophe because it could not be molded by other means. Revolution was the result because change as a principle had been denied. The fact that the Civil War was begun on the issue of secession is immaterial. Secession itself was but a final evidence of how stratified the Southern complex had become. It could not change from within, and it was therefore broken by force from without. The great lesson in this experience lies in the eventual outcome inherent in the two slave institutions. The principle of manumission provided Latin-American slavery a means of change. The denial of manumission encrusted the social structure in the Southern states and left no escape except by revolution, which in this case took the form of a civil war.²

One of the myths that accompanied self-deception in slave society was the belief that the slave was happy and contented with his lot. This myth gained popular cur-

rency in the Currier and Ives prints of happy Negroes dancing around their plantation cabins.

Herbert Aptheker traces the history of some 250 slave revolts and conspiracies in the ante-bellum south. Three of the most significant slave revolts were Gabriel Prosser's conspiracy (1800), Denmark Vesey's conspiracy (1822), and Nat Turner's revolt (1831). These revolts on the part of slaves struck fear in the hearts of slave masters causing them to impose still more rigid means of controlling the behavior of slaves. Perhaps one of the most personal and vivid accounts of the barbarity of slavery, however, is found in the Autobiography of Frederick Douglass. Read for example Douglass' account of his last flogging in Chapter 17.

The fact that many Negroes escaped from slavery via the underground railroad (the number eventually reached 100,000), led to securing of Fugitive Slave laws and the widespread use of slave patrols on the part of slave masters. The successful operation of the underground railroad depended greatly on the cooperation of sympathetic whites, particularly in the North. Among these white allies were Levi Coffin, President of the underground railroad; Calvin Fairbanks, who traveled in the South in order to free slaves, and John Fairfield, considered to have been one of the most daring of white conductors on the railroad. There were at least 3,200 active workers on the underground railroad; perhaps foremost among them was Harriet Tubman who returned to the South 19 times to free more than 300 of her people. William Still who himself had escaped from slavery was an outstanding conductor also.

Referring to the underground, John Hope Franklin has written: "Not only northerners participated in its management, but southern whites and Negroes were among its most valuable engineers and conductors, and all the 'passengers' were Negroes desperately anxious to get away from the peculiar institution of the South." 3

Some of the revelations of Christianity and the Church during slavery are not exactly pretty. As a slave Douglass observed the conversion of his master at a camp meeting:

"If he has got religion," thought I, "he will emancipate his slaves; or, if he should not do so much as this, he will at any rate behave towards us more kindly, and feed us more generously than he has heretofore done." Appealing to my own religious experience, and judging my master by what was true in my own case, I could not regard him as soundly converted, unless some such good results followed his profession of religion. But in my expectations I was doubly disappointed: Master Thomas was Master Thomas still. 4

Perhaps the full impact of his master's conversion came to Douglass when he formed a Sunday School class for fellow slaves only to have Master Thomas appear armed with a club to break it up. The myth of inferiority could never be perpetuated if the slave learned to read and understand the Bible.

What is most disturbing of all however is that churchmen should have stooped to defend the barbarous institution:

Letters, speeches, and pamphlets literally rained down upon the people of the North, reminding them of their constitutional duty to hunt down and return to bondage runaway slaves. In this the preachers were not much behind the press and politicians, especially that class of preachers known as Doctors of Div-

ity. A long list of these came forward with their Bibles to show that neither Christ nor his holy apostles objected to returning fugitives to slavery. Now that that evil day is past, a sight of those sermons would, I doubt not, bring the red blush of shame to the cheeks of many.⁵

It is interesting to note that the present day debate between violent and non-violent methods was present among the Abolitionists:

Speaking at an antislavery convention in Salem, Ohio, I expressed this apprehension that slavery could only be destroyed by bloodshed, when I was suddenly and sharply interrupted by my good old friend Sojourner Truth with the question, "Frederick, is God dead?" "No," I answered, "and because God is not dead slavery can only end in blood." My quaint old sister was of the Garrison school of non-resistants, and was shocked at my sanguinary doctrine, but she too became an advocate of the sword, when the war for the maintenance of the Union was declared.⁶

It is difficult to determine accurately just how many human beings were the victims of slavery. At the time of the Civil War only one eighth of the approximately 4,000,000 Negroes in the United States were free. During a period of over two hundred years in our history slaves were bought and sold like cattle, families were broken up, women were violated by their masters, men were denied their manhood, children were torn from their mothers, all without any recourse to protection by the law.

Only when the full effects of this prolonged crime are understood can we comprehend the necessity of the Civil War and the tragedy of Reconstruction.

1. Manumission refers to the liberation of slaves.
2. Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen, pp. 109-110.
3. Franklin, Slavery to Freedom, p. 256.
4. Douglass, p. 108.
5. Ibid., p. 279.
6. Ibid., p. 275.

Recommended Readings

Part I. General Texts:

1. From Slavery to Freedom, Franklin, Chapters 6,7,8,10,11,12,13,15.
2. Before the Mayflower, Bennett, Chapters 4,5,6.
3. The Negro in our History, Woodson, Chapters 6 through 20.
4. The Negro in the United States, Chapters 2 through 5.

Part II. Current Available Paperbacks

1. The Story of the American Negro, Ina Corinne Brown, Friendship Press, \$1.50. Chapters 3,4,5.
2. Documentary History, Herbert Aptheker, Citadel Press, N.Y. 1962. \$2.25.
3. Let My People Go. Story of the Underground Railroad, Henrietta Buckmaster, 1941 Beacon Press, 1959.
4. Slave and Citizen, Tannenbaum, Vintage Book, 1963, \$1.45.
5. The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Douglass, Collier Books, N.Y. 1962, \$1.50.

6. American Negro Slave Revolts, Aptheker, International Pub., \$2.25.
7. Free Negro in Slave Era, Charlotte Forten, Collier Books, N.Y. 1961, .95.
8. Crusade Against Slavery, Louis Filler, Harper Torchbooks, \$2.25.
9. Anti-Slavery Origins of the Civil War, Dwight Drummon, U. of Michigan Press, 1959, \$1.65.
10. The Militant South, Franklin, Beacon Press, 1964, \$1.95.
11. Lay My Burden Down, Botkin, U. of Chicago Press, 1961, 1.65.
12. John Brown, W.E.B. DuBois, International Publishers, 1962, \$2.25.

Part III. Other Selected Readings:

1. Anti Slavery Movements in America, Dwight Dumond
2. The Abolitionists, Louis Ruchames
3. Wendell Phillips, Irving Bartlett
4. Thaddeus Stevens, Fawn Brodie
5. A John Brown Reader, Louise Ruchames (Ed.)
6. Thunder at Harpers Ferry, Allan Keller.
7. The Bold Brahmins, Lawrence Lader
8. The Masters and the Slaves, Gilberto Freyre.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is it right to classify John Brown, Nat Turner, and Denmark Vesey with Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson as heroes of the struggle for American democracy?
2. Do you think that attempts to give slavery a Christian justification actually made slavery more demonic?
3. What was the impact of slavery on the Negro family?, on the Negro man?, on the spirit of the white slaveholder?
4. Were there any positive or creative results of the era of slavery?
5. To what extent was the driving motive in the institution of slavery economic? To what extent does the same motive govern the enforced second class citizenship of the Negro today?

CHAPTER IV -- THE CIVIL WAR

As in earlier wars involving the United States, the Negro participated in the Civil War. Frederick Douglass, the father of the Negro revolt in the 19th century, insisted from the outset that "the sable arm" was the best defense against the arm of the slaveholder.

"Liberty won by white men would lose half its luster. Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." 1.

Though Negro readiness to engage in the war was evident from the outset, it was not until the Emancipation Proclamation that Negroes fought with the sanction of the Federal government. Their enlistment was born of military necessity in the face of a possible confederate victory. The Proclamation issued at midnight on the last day of 1862 applied only to areas controlled by the Confederacy. Its issuance symbolized the fact that the war had become one to free the slaves since victory seemed unlikely as long as Negro participation was not permitted.

Prior to the proclamation the Lincoln Administration had asserted that its war aims were to maintain the Union and the Constitution. The Administration feared that the use of Negro troops from the north would raise the issue of slavery, an issue which Lincoln wanted to avoid. Moreover the feeling was widespread that Negroes were not intelligent or independent enough to make good soldiers. The manhood of Negroes was still being questioned despite impressive records made by Negro troops in previous wars.

When the long awaited hour came Douglass urged "Men of Color to Arms!" With the issuance of the proclamation it became evident that the North's most nagging problem during the first two years of the war -- the problem of adequate manpower -- was to be resolved.

By March, 1863 Lincoln's thinking on the use of Negro troops had crystallized into a definite positive form:

"The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once and who doubts that we can present that sight if we but take hold in earnest." (To Governor Andrew Johnson, March, 1863)

"The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed force for restoring the Union to now avail ourselves of this element of force is very important if not indispensable." (To General Banks, March 29, 1863)

"General Thomas has gone again to Mississippi with a view of raising colored troops.... I believe it is a resource which if vigorously applied now will soon close the contest." (To General Grant, August 9, 1863)

Secretary of the Navy, Gideon P. Wells stated, "There is an unconquerable prejudice on the part of many whites against black soldiers. But all our increased military strength now comes from them."

Before Negro enlistment began, Negro troops had served unofficially in the war under Generals Butler, Hunter and Phelps. The total of regular Negro troops enlisted in

the war was 136,017. At the war's end Negro troops numbered 123,156 in 149 regiments. 36,847 Negroes fell in battle. Regular Negro troops engaged in 251 battles. More than a third of the Union Navy was composed of Negroes. Twenty one Negroes won the Congressional Medal of Honor. 2.

Though Negro troops returning to the north (53,000 northern Negroes participated on the Union side) were to enjoy increased respect on the part of whites as a result of their military valor, Negroes returning to the South were to meet with hostile receptions which indicated the perilous times awaiting the freedmen during Reconstruction.

Facts:

Negro troops fought in segregated units and almost always under the command of white officers. Only at the close of the war after persistent protest did some Negro troops serve under Negro officers.

Not until July 1864 was the pay of Negro and white troops equalized. Until then white privates received \$13 a month, sergeants \$21, and chaplains \$100. All Negroes received \$7 a month.

Although the Confederacy enacted a Negro soldier bill which promised freedom to slaves fighting for the Confederacy evidence has not been found of actual participation by Negro troops in any of the south's military campaigns.

Herbert Aptheker has written that "a quarter of a million Negro men and women labored ... as teamsters, nurses, cooks, fortification builders and pioneers while many more served as guides, spies and scouts."

With the nearly 200,000 participants in the Union army and 30,000 in the Navy, a total of almost half a million Negro people were involved in what was for them a war of liberation from the outset. 3.

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1. Aptheker: A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, p.478.
 2. Rogers, J. A. "Civil War Centennial, Myth and Reality" in Freedomways Volume 3, No. 1 Winter 1963, p. 16.
 3. Ibid.

SUGGESTED READINGS --THE CIVIL WAR

PART I GENERAL TEXTS

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|---|------------------|
| 1. <u>Slavery to Freedom</u> -- Franklin | Chapter 16 |
| 2. <u>Before the Mayflower</u> -- Bennett | Chapter 7 |
| 3. <u>The Negro In Our History</u> -- Woodson | Chapters 21 & 22 |
| 4. <u>The Negro in the United States</u> -- Frazier | Chapter 6 |

PART II CURRENT AVAILABLE PAPERBACKS

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|---|--------|
| 1. <u>Army Life in a Black Regiment</u> -- Thomas W. Higginson (Edited by Howard N. Meyer) -- Collier Books, 1963 | \$.95 |
| 2. <u>Documentary History of the Negro People, Vol. 1</u> -- Herbert Aptheker | |
| Citadel Press, N. Y. 1962 | \$2.25 |
| 3. "Civil War Centennial - Myth and Reality" -- J. A. Rogers in <u>Freedomways</u> , Volume 3, No. 1 Winter 1963. | \$1.00 |

PART III OTHER SUGGESTED READINGS

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|---|--------|
| 1. <u>The Negro in the Civil War</u> -- Benjamin Quarles -- Boston, 1953 | \$5.00 |
| 2. <u>The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army</u> -- Dudley Cornish | |
| Longmans, 1956. | |

QUESTIONS

1. Would it be more accurate to say that "Lincoln gave the slaves their freedom" in the Emancipation Proclamation or that the Civil War was "an armed slave insurrection under the auspices of the American flag?"
2. Why did a war that "began to save the Union" become "a war to end slavery?"
3. Comment on the following statement: "The Negroes who were essentially content under slavery were indifferent to the Union cause and loyal to their masters."
4. Were the Negroes "ready" for the freedom which the Civil War brought?
5. Did Negro participation serve to challenge the assumption that Negroes were not equal to whites in battle? Comment on Higginson's diary.

"But there is no question, now, that Congress did a monstrous thing, and committed a great political error, if not a sin, in the creation of this new electorate. It was a great wrong to civilization to put the white race of the South under the domination of the negro race. The claim that there is nothing in the color of the skin from the point of view of political ethics is a great sophism. A black skin means membership in a race of men which has never of itself succeeded in subjecting passion to reason, has never, therefore, created any civilization of any kind." 1.

In these words of Professor John W. Burgess, writing at the turn of the century from Columbia University, we see how prejudice can distort the writing of history. Americans have been brought up on this distorted view in high school and even in college. Now we must begin all over again to understand what really happened.

Dr. DuBois warred against these traditional historians as early as 1935 in his *Black Reconstruction* and, since the 40's, a few others have joined the fight. 2.

Dr. DuBois asserts that the object of writing the history of Reconstruction is "... simply to establish Truth, on which Right in the future may be built." 3.

The Truth of Reconstruction begins with the task created by the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. This task was to build a new social order not based on slavery. This task was threatened from the start by the founding of the Ku Klux Klan in 1865 and by the Black Codes which subjected the Negro to humiliating restrictions especially with respect to job opportunities and vagrancy. The Freedmen's Bureau was inadequate to handle the many problems of the four million Negroes in the South. The Southern states refused to comply with the Civil Rights bills. Their violent reactions to such laws was seen in two riots of 1866 whereby nearly one hundred Negroes were killed and nearly 300 injured. Congress realized it must overrule the authority of the President and in the Reconstruction Act of 1867 it set up five military districts in the south.

The Military Reconstruction, vetoed by President Johnson, required the southern states to form constitutional conventions of delegates elected by all male citizens, except those disfranchised Confederate leaders, and to adopt the 14th Amendment. The states would then be allowed representation in Congress. This 1867 legislation was the greatest test of democracy in this nation. But, as witnessed by the traditional historians, the American color blindspot doomed the experiment in democracy.

With the ballot box guarded against the Klan by Federal troops, both white and black, the Reconstruction governments were (by 1869) in a position to rebuild the South through democratic means. Seligson, however, are these Reconstruction governments discussed on the basis of merit. Rather, historians delight in convincing us that Negro suffrage produced governments wrought with extravagance, ignorance, incompetency and dishonesty. Yet, one thing the South feared more than Negro dishonesty, incompetence and ignorance was Negro honesty, knowledge and efficiency. The latter was evidenced in such men as Francis L. Cardozo, secretary of state 1868-72 and state treasurer 1872-76 in South Carolina, Jonathan J. Wright, member of the South Carolina supreme court for seven years, P.B.S. Pinchback, Lieutenant Governor and Governor, for forty-three days, of Louisiana, Jonathan C. Gibbs, secretary of state 1868-72 and superintendent of education 1872-74 of Florida, and the men who represented their states in the national Congress. 4.

What did these Reconstruction governments, comprising both Negro and white legislators, actually do? They allowed no racial restrictions on franchise, set up laws

regarding finance, the building of penal and welfare institutions, new roads and, perhaps, most important, established the first system of universal public education in southern states.

When we speak of the Reconstruction period following the Civil War, we have to keep in mind that we refer to a short twelve years from 1865 to 1877. By the mid-1870's the Republican party was disintegrating in the South. Northern members of Congress, who were responsible for the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments and the setting up of military districts in the South, were becoming involved in the corruption of Grant's administration and generally losing faith in the crusade for the Negro. Consequently, Negroes were frequently threatened when attempting to vote since the Klan alone was supervising many elections. Then, in 1877, the final end of Reconstruction was brought about by the famous Hayes-Tilden Compromise. In the presidential election of this year, Hayes, Republican, needed one more electoral vote and the Southern Democrats, greatly in need of federal aid for their economy, agreed to return this vote if the federal troops were removed from the South.

Negroes did continue to vote in the South until the 1880's and 90's, but in decreasing numbers and at the will of the small Southern white ruling clique. However, for a brief period following Reconstruction poor whites and Negroes came together and demanded greatly needed economic reforms. The ruling elite threatened the poor whites with social equality if they demanded economic equality and, consequently, the alliance was forgotten.

In the 1890's the South, reunited under the banner of white supremacy, eliminated the Negro from voting by writing new constitutions, enforcing literacy tests and poll taxes. Thus, we see the beginnings of segregation or Jim Crow which is simply to assign the Negro to what the South considers his "proper place." This system included segregation of public transport, waiting rooms, theatres, boarding-houses, water fountains, libraries and schools.

In this same period, the Klan operated in the most dire manner to assure white supremacy and segregation and to insure that Reconstruction would never occur again on Southern soil. A Negro was lynched every two days during the 1890's for such reasons as seeking a job, testifying in court, attempting to vote, not removing his hat or not saying "Mister" to a white man. If the Negro was not lynched, he would be arrested and sent to county chain gangs to build levees and railroads. It is from this experience that we see the emergence of chain-gang songs, such as "Take This Hammer" and the famous "Blues".

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1. Burgess, John W. Reconstruction & The Constitution, p. 133
 2. See Reconstruction After the Civil War by John Hope Franklin
 3. DuBois, W.E.B. Black Reconstruction, p. 725
 4. See 60 Years in Congress and 28 Out by J. H. Moseley

SUGGESTED READINGS — RECONSTRUCTION & JIM CROW

General Texts:

<u>From Slavery to Freedom</u> -- Franklin	Chapters 17 - 20
<u>Before the Mayflower</u> -- Bennett	Chapters 8 & 9
<u>The Negro in Our History</u> -- Woodson	Chapters 23 & 24
<u>The Negro In the United States</u> -- Frazier	Chapter 7

Current Available Paperbacks:

<u>Reconstruction After the Civil War</u> -- John Hope Franklin University of Chicago Press	\$1.75
<u>The Strange Career of Jim Crow</u> -- Woodward Oxford University Press, 1957 -- Galaxy Books	\$1.50
<u>Black Reconstruction</u> -- W.E.B. DuBois -- Meridian Books, 1964	\$3.45

Other Suggested Readings:

<u>Andrew Johnson & Reconstruction</u> -- Eric McKittrick	
<u>60 Years In Congress and 28 Out</u> -- J. H. Moseley --	\$2.95
(Biographies of 28 Negro U. S. Congressmen & Senators)	Vantage Press, N.Y.

QUESTIONS

1. Comment on the following excerpt from a farewell address of a white officer to Negro troops in the Union army at the close of the Civil War in the light of what happened afterwards:

" Now that you are to lay aside your arms, and return to the peaceful avocations of life, I adjure you, by the associations and history of the past, and the love you bear for your liberties, to harbor no feelings of hatred toward your former masters, but to seek in the paths of honesty, virtue, sobriety, and industry, and by a willing obedience to the laws of the land, to grow up to the full stature of American citizens. The church, the school-house, and the right forever to be free are now secured to you, and every prospect before you is full of hope and encouragement. The nation guarantees to you full protection and justice, and will require from you in return the respect for the laws and orderly deportment which will prove to every one your right to all the privileges of freemen." (Army Life pp. 278-279).

2. Comment on the following statements:

Negroes were unfit to vote during Reconstruction.

The Black Codes and the Ku Klux Klan were merely the South's natural resistance to the imposed inefficient governments.

In the decade of the Civil War the dominant theme in the Negro community was the hope of freedom; immediately following the war the preoccupation turned from visions to the hard realities of the new life. By the end of the century and in the first decades of the present one, there was forced on the Negroes a new type of subordination, grounded in segregation and accompanied by flagrant denials of his rights, often in the form of terror. This period was coincident with a new age of commercialism and expansion in the United States both internally, as it became more industrialized and wealthy; and externally, as it sought both new markets and prestige abroad by an enlightened imperialism, often with the veneer of the "white man's burden".

In the context of these baffling and regressive developments two Negro leaders came to the fore: Booker T. Washington, the astute and publicly acknowledged spokesman for the Negro in his efforts to adjust to this new age of hostility; and W. E. B. Du-Bois, the impassioned voice of the Negro's reluctance to accept his segregated position.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Context: The War had left the entire South in dire economic straits, and exposed the lack of any system of education for whites or negroes, all at a time when new skills for the growing industrial opportunities were needed. Also exposed was the heritage of slavery in the ignorance and poverty of the Negro and the erosion of his independence and initiative. Such was the failure of Reconstruction, and the success of the White counter-revolution, that toward the end of the century the only signs of visible improvement for the Negro were the schools which had been begun in many areas by northern philanthropy and foundations; these became all the more crucial as they were the only recourse open to him.

Up From Slavery: A reading of this autobiography gives a very real flavor of the man and his thought, as well as an insight into the conditions of the times. It chronicles his childhood as a slave; his emotions at freedom; his subsequent struggles to gain an education at Hampton Institute; and from there to the founding of his own Tuskegee Institute amid unbelievable obstacles; and finally his emergence as the great compromiser between two increasingly hostile worlds. Washington faithfully reflected the spirit of the times in his incessant moralisms, and good advice and his Horatio Alger outlook that an individual can overcome obstacles and rise by himself, helped along by cultivating all the Christian virtues.

As Educator: He was preoccupied with the idea that the Negro's success depended on his being useful, on proving to the white that his education would be useful to both. This was the rationale behind his emphasis on industrial education; at Tuskegee the first steps were not studying books, but learning how to work with one's hands, and developing good personal habits. His education always had moral overtones, and he gloried in the strength which Negroes would gain from overcoming obstacles. (Up From Slavery, p. 27)

In all this Washington reflected a trend to industrial education already in vogue. This was the era of industrialization, and it was this education which would attract northern philanthropy and be acceptable to the southern white. Also the economic realities were that Negroes needed jobs. Critics felt that Washington was merely giving the Negro menial skills which would encourage him to remain in a subordinate role, but Washington answered, "I plead for industrial education for

the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him." (quoted in Meier, p. 98.) In the end it was a question of emphasis because most negroes agreed both industrial and liberal education were necessary.

As Preacher of Economic Prosperity and Self-Help: Here again Washington reflected the commercialism and individualism of the age. He always felt the Negro's rise depended on their developing a substantial propertied class of landowners and businessmen. The Negro himself was mainly responsible for his own rise. This emphasis on self-help meant on the one hand blaming the negro for his present condition, and on the other, an appeal to his racial pride. Washington was always ready to tell about the negroes who had an organ in their living room and owned only one fork (Up From Slavery, Ch. 7); and he was always ready to add that any Negro who developed intelligence, and virtue, and economic importance would soon gain respect and rights.

As Conciliator with the White Community: Washington's rise to power was marked by his famous Atlanta speech in 1895 in which he said, "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Thus political and civil rights were of ultimate rather than immediate importance. He repeated constantly his love of and faith in the southern whites, and his gratitude for all they were doing. In this same vein he was against protest: "We have a right in a conservative and sensible manner to enter our complaints, but we shall make a fatal error if we yield to the temptation of believing that mere opposition to our wrongs will take the place of progressive constructive action." (quoted in Meier, p.107). Indeed as conditions worsened his conciliatory gestures merely increased - witness his remark in Up From Slavery that the Ku Klux Klan no longer exists, and "the fact that such ever existed is forgotten by both races. There are few places in the South now where public sentiment would permit such organizations to exist." (p.55). This statement was made in 1903, the same year in which there were 103 lynchings.

Summary: In drawing together a fair picture of Washington it would seem one has to say two things: On the one hand he reflected his time as well as shaped it; he was realistic about the conditions and needs of a majority of the southern negroes; in many hidden ways he did work to lessen discrimination; he saw his educational and economic programs as merely first necessary steps for the Negro. On the other hand, he was incredibly naive in accepting the current myth that the future was in one's own hands, especially in the Negro's case; he was unaware of the economic realities of the new industrial order in training negroes to be artisans, and in urging them to remain on the farms; he encouraged the white community in their desire to see the Negro as inferior; finally, his desire for personal power caused him to oppose any Negroes who disagreed with him.

W.E.B. DuBOIS

DuBois was, in many ways, a perfect foil for Washington's failures. He began writing at the close of the century when most intellectuals accepted the ideas of inborn racial differences. A northern born and educated Negro, he began as a sociologist in Philadelphia, and later went to Atlanta as a professor. Up until 1900 DuBois accepted Washington's beliefs, however reluctantly, but the deterioration in race relations and Washington's abuse of his powers, led him to an open criticism in 1903. During these same years a radical movement of protest was shaping itself among a few of the more educated Negroes, and DuBois soon became their

most articulate spokesman. He stepped forward with his eloquent book of essays The Souls of Black Folk, which included a formal critique of Washington, (Ch. 3); sociological studies of the Negroes' present condition in the rural south, (Ch. 7 & 8); an incisive study of the Freedman's Bureau, (Ch. 2); and a moving piece about the death of his infant son, and his sorrow softened by the knowledge that now his son would not have to grow up in this demeaning environment.

As Educator: He tried to reconcile the two educational trends of the day: learning a trade, and learning to live a broad cultured life. He felt the lack of college openings for Negroes was unfortunate both for its own values and because it was necessary to develop an indigenous leadership. As time passed, he became stronger in his defense of a liberal arts education as prior to an industrial education for the masses, and spoke of the Talented Tenth of his race who must not be denied their desire for culture, and who were necessary as teachers for the others. (Souls, Ch. 6)

As Opponent of Washington: In his famous essay in Souls he claimed that Washington all but preached Negro inferiority, permitted economic concerns to become most important; failed to grasp the importance of the ballot if the Negro were to use his economic training, and that by conciliating the white south he was undermining the very self-respect he was urging on the Negro. (Souls, Ch. 5).

As Militant Protester: The final estrangement between the two came when DuBois took part in organizing the Niagara Movement. In 1905 twenty-nine delegates met at Niagara Falls and resolved that Negroes should protest against the curtailment of their civil and political rights, and the inequalities in their educational and economic opportunities. In the following years race riots in the north stirred several whites, in the spirit of the abolitionists, and they called a conference in 1909 to which they invited the Niagara radicals. This biracial group became the NAACP, and DuBois was its foremost Negro leader, and the editor of its monthly magazine Crisis, (which is still published today). In later years DuBois continued his protest by organizing the pan-African movement.

As Expressor of the Negro Conscience: In his introduction to Souls, Saunders Redding wrote that in many ways this book created the Negroes' consciousness of himself and his world. (p. 18). DuBois had a deep sensitivity about the problems of being a Negro. He frequently expressed his sense of "twoness". "One feels his twoness-- an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body ... The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, - this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self." (Quoted in Meier, p. 190). He also talked about the twoness he felt as an educated Negro: he wanted on the one hand to combat the stereotype of the Negro and develop his intellectual and cultural tastes; and yet he felt compelled to share with and serve his people. (Souls, p. 18).

A Third Alternative to Injustice Emerges: Back to Africa and Marcus Garvey

Historical Context: The era of World War I saw an increase in racial tension and atrocities. The Ku Klux Klan was revived and became a militant group of 100,000 by 1916 and sparked a spread of race riots and mob violence all over the country. Official Negro protests had little effect, except for some token headway in the courts. Moreover, the lower class negroes, recently emigrated to the northern urban slums, were not touched by the Negro Protest movement. This was also the

period of world wide sentiment for self-determination of the emerging nations of the world.

Marcus Garvey: In the post war years Garvey capitalized on the estrangement and confusion of the urban Negroes by appealing to their racial pride, and the image of the "noble African", with a practical program to settle in Liberia. He proceeded from the premise that the Negro would never be treated justly by the white man, and contended that the NAACP really wanted the Negro to be gradually amalgamated into the white race. The result was a vast network of organizations all exalting the Negro and promising visions of freedom and self-government. Finally arrested for fraudulent use of the mails, Garvey succeeded primarily in staging a protest against anti-negro sentiment rather than a positive desire to emigrate.

SUGGESTED READINGS ON CHAPTER VI

Part A Basic Texts

- I. From Slavery to Freedom - Franklin Chapters 21 - 25
- II. Before the Mayflower - Bennett Chapter 2 pp. 274-297
- III. The Negro In Our History - Woodson Chapters 25-31
- IV. The Negro In the United States - Frazier
pp. 460 ff, 528 ff, 544 ff, 555 ff

Part B Current Available Paperbacks

- I. Up From Slavery - Booker T. Washington Bantam Books, 1963 \$.60
1901
- II. Souls of Black Folk - W. E. B. DuBois Premier Books, NY 1961 \$.50
1903
- III. Black Moses (Marcus Garvey) - Edmund Cronon
University of Wisconsin Press 1962 \$1.95
- IV. The Story of the American Negro - Ina Corinne Brown
Friendship Press \$1.50 pp. 93-116

Part C Other Recommended Readings

- I. Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 - August Meier Part 3 and Part 5
University of Michigan Press 1963 \$7.50
- II. The Negro in American Life & Thought 1877 - 1901 - Rayford Logan
Dial Press 1954

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

1. Washington held that the degradation of the Negro went a long way to explain white hostility toward him. Implicit in DuBois' critique was the belief that prejudice is as much a cause of degradation as its result. Comment in terms of DuBois' time as well as our own.
2. A paradox emerged in that Washington insisted the Negro must develop talents and respectability in order to be accepted by the South; however, in many cases it was the Negro businessman and educated minority who were most resented.

In the same context we might ask what was significance of the fact that the white world was ready to accept Washington, yet completely rejected DuBois who was far more educated. This would seem to call into question the present myth that "white people don't want to go to school with Negroes because the latter are not sufficiently educated."

3. Washington believed racial injustice had hurt the white race: In Up From Slavery (p. 12) he shows how the existence of slavery left the whites unprepared to carry on when they no longer had slaves; and later (p. 117) he held that disenfranchisement had done a "permanent injury to the morals of the white man ... The white man who begins by cheating a Negro usually ends by cheating a white man."

As one historian, Franklin, writes: "It was a dear price that the whites of the south paid for this color line. Since all other issues were subordinated to the issue of the Negro, it became impossible to have free or open discussions or problems affecting all the people." (p. 338).

4. How pertinent for contemporary youth is the following statement by Washington? "When a white boy undertakes a task, it is taken for granted that he will succeed. On the other hand, people are usually surprised if the Negro boy does not fail. In a word the Negro youth starts with the presumption against him." (Up From Slavery, p. 25)
5. While the mainstream of Negro thought and leadership opposed Garvey's movement (just as the somewhat similar Black Muslims are opposed today), in what respects must it be taken seriously?

CHAPTER SEVEN -- RISE OF NEGRO PROTEST ORGANIZATIONS

The protest movement of the 20th century had no easy birth. The first massive protest took place when a group of 100 slaves in the vicinity of present day South Carolina rose in rebellion and escaped to the Indians in 1526. Aptheker reports that at least 250 slave revolts took place.¹ We know that more than 100,000 Negroes escaped from the South via the underground railroad, and countless Negroes, from the 17th century to the advent of the Civil War, were engaged in varied forms of non-violent resistance: work stoppages, the general strike, sit-down strikes, etc. Sabotage--the destruction of machinery and burning of property--was widespread throughout the slave period. And, to be sure, the greatest of all Negro protest movements, the lifting of the sable arm during the Civil War, provided the necessary leverage for the Union Army to uproot the slavocracy in the South.

There were revolts, conspiracies and forms of protest that represented the highest order of organizational skill and intelligence. And there were black men who distinguished themselves in a manner which compares most favorably with the highest order of leadership evidenced by whites in the nation's history.

Foremost among Negro leaders of the 19th century were David Walker, Henry Highland Garnett and Frederick Douglass. Douglass possessed a blend of intellect, character and vision that was only approached in the 20th century by his most avid admirer, W. E. B. DuBois. It may be said, in fact, that DuBois provided the connecting link between the militant tradition established by Walker, Garnett and Douglass and the militant black forces at the turn of the 20th century, his life having spanned both centuries.

TWENTIETH CENTURY PROTEST ORGANIZATIONS

The Niagara Movement, fathered by W. E. B. DuBois, represented the first 20th century attempt on the part of Negroes to mount an organized national protest organization. Meeting at Niagara Falls, Canada, in 1905, the men of Niagara asserted: "We will not be satisfied to take one jot less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to assail the ears of America."²

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1909. The Niagara militants were invited to the founding meeting and W. E. B. DuBois became a co-founder of the association. Unlike Niagara, the N.A.A.C.P. was to be interracial in composition. The demands of the Niagara movement became the demands of the N.A.A.C.P. and the N.A.A.C.P. set for itself the task of "working for the abolition of all forced segregation, equal education for Negro and white children, the complete enfranchisement of the Negro, and the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."³

The approach of the N.A.A.C.P. has been one of attempting to secure complete equality for Negroes through the courts. To this end, the

N.A.A.C.P. has utilized some of the most brilliant legal minds in the country to topple laws designed to prevent Negroes from enjoying equality of opportunity: "In the courts the N.A.A.C.P. has handled and won most of the recent Supreme Court cases dealing with discrimination and segregation. It has brought about the abolition of judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants in housing. It has brought about the invalidation of state statutes requiring racial segregation in education, transportation and recreation...By far, the greatest of N.A.A.C.P. triumphs in recent years was the Supreme Court decision in the five public school segregation cases of May 17, 1954...."4

The N.A.A.C.P. has the most distinguished record, and wields the greatest power, of all Negro protest groups.

The Congress of Racial Equality, now headquartered in New York, was founded in 1942 in Chicago, Illinois. Dedicated to eliminating segregation through the use of non-violent tactics, CORE members were not the first to utilize this method: Frederick Douglass, for example, staged sit-ins and freedom rides in Massachusetts in the 1850's. CORE conceived and launched the Freedom Rides of 1961 and, more than any other organization, supported the student sit-ins which preceded the Freedom Rides.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed as a direct outgrowth of the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56. Urging Negroes of Montgomery not to ride segregated busses, after Rosa Parks' initial example, their leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stated that he "who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to perpetrate it. He who accepts evil without protesting against it is really cooperating with it."5

Under the banner of SCLC King has urged his followers to resist evil by engaging in massive, non-violent resistant efforts in order to "wear down" the opponent morally, thus forcing concessions that will not only win rights for Negroes but, through returning love for hate, provide a common ground upon which a reconciliation of the races can take place. SCLC has, in addition to conducting its own anti-segregation direct action projects, supported, on a number of occasions, the efforts of student and other groups in the South.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was formed in 1960 with the specific objective of coordinating student protest throughout the South. SNCC now initiates its own projects and is spearheading voter registration in the deep South. Its greatest victories were scored in desegregating lunch counters in scores of communities in the South.

Commenting on CORE, SCLC, and SNCC successes, W. Haywood Burns has written: "As far as working change is concerned, the sit-ins and Freedom Rides have been an immense success. However, all is far from being well. Many a Southern community is still entrenched in its 'way of life'."6

The most commonly held criticism of the above mentioned groups, is the fact that they have been unable to win the confidence of the Negro masses, particularly those who live in the large urban centers of the North. With

the exception of SNCC, these organizations have also been accused of not being militant enough, of effecting too many compromises with power structures across the nation.

The Nation of Islam, formed in Detroit, Michigan in the early 1930's, has in recent years attempted to fill the vacuum and articulate the frustrations, despair and rage that actuate the black masses across the country. Commonly referred to as the Black Muslims, the Nation of Islam symbolizes a loss of faith, on the part of thousands of Negroes, in the American Dream.

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| 1. Aptheker, Herbert | <u>American Negro Slave Revolts</u> |
| 2. DuBois, W. E. B. | <u>An A.B.C. of Color</u> p. 31 |
| 3. Franklin, John Hope | <u>From Slavery to Freedom</u> p. 439 |
| 4. Burns, W. Haywood | <u>The Voices of Negro Protest in America</u> pp.25&26 |
| 5. King, Martin Luther | <u>Stride Toward Freedom</u> p. 40 |
| 6. Burns, W. Haywood | <u>The Voices of Negro Protest in America</u> p. 58 |

Recommended Readings:

I. General Texts

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| FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM | Chapters 21 - 25, 27, 29 |
| BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER | Chapter 11 |
| THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY | Chapters 25 - 31, 36 - 38 |
| THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES | Chapter 20 |

II. Current Available Paperbacks

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| THE VOICES OF NEGRO PROTEST | Hayward Burns | \$1.75 |
| STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM | Martin Luther King | Ballantine Books 50¢ |
| BLACK NATIONALISM | Essien Udom | Dell Books 75¢ |
| NEGROES WITH GUNS | Robert Williams | |

III. Other Recommended Readings

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| FIGHT FOR FREEDOM | STORY OF THE NAACP | Langston Hughes |
| THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA | | C Eric Lincoln |
| THE ANGRY BLACK SOUTH | | Mitchell & Peace |
| THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY | | Wilson Record |
| BUT NOT NEXT DOOR | | Rosen |

Discussion Questions:

1. How would you compare the effectiveness of pursuing Civil Rights through court action with direct non-violent action such as sit-ins or boycotts?

2. In the book "Negroes With Guns" how would you resolve the contrast between the non-violent approach of Dr. King and the "armed resistance" view of Truman Nelson?
3. Beyond the passing of civil rights legislation what are the most effective ways of changing entrenched patterns of segregation?
4. Would you agree that the Black Muslims are in part a creation of white injustice? Are certain of their convictions valid?
5. To what extent is "respectable" civil rights leadership responsible for the existence of Black Muslims?
6. Why are the masses of Negroes still not involved in the Civil Rights Movement? Are the Civil Rights groups themselves partly to blame?
7. Would you agree that the underlying issue in the protest movement is the full manhood of the Negro?

CHAPTER VIII THE NEGRO IN CULTURE, ART & LITERATURE

"It is one of the paradoxes of our society that among the dominant free talent was so bound by anxiety that it would not be released; while amongst the slaves and the segregated, talent burst forth spontaneously." ¹ The above quotation by Lillian Smith, a Southern white woman, reflecting on her heritage points up the vastly underestimated contribution of the Negro to American life and culture.

Possibly the best introduction to this subject is a book entitled "The Negro in American Culture" by Margaret Just Butcher based on materials left by Alain Locke. Margaret Butcher comments "The Negro in spite of his deprivations and handicaps-- indeed, in some respects because of them, has played two constructive roles in the course of his three hundred years in America. He has acted as what might be termed a potent, artistic leaven in American arts and letters, and he is serving as a powerful catalyst of American democracy." ² The creative contribution of the Negro has been made in the face of the persistent myth that our culture was an Anglo-Saxon creation, a myth created to justify the institution of slavery and perpetuated in order to assign the Negro a place of isolation in the Ghetto and a second class citizenship.

The contribution of the Negro to our culture is perhaps most evident in the world of music. It has often been noted that jazz and the spirituals are the chief musical creations original to America. The Negro slaves who constituted the peasant masses of the plantation South have provided us with our richest tradition of folk music. The ballads and more humorous songs provided the content for minstrel singing. It was the fore-runner of vaudeville. "Strange trick of destiny this, that the group of the population most subject to oppression and its sorrows should furnish so large a share of the population's joy and relaxation." ³

This "happier" contribution of the Negro was accepted rather readily by the white majority because it provided amusement and eased the conscience. Not so readily understood or appreciated was the more serious creation of the slave community-- namely, the spiritual. The spiritual combined the experience of suffering with the rich resources of the Bible in the dimension of music to enable the slave to endure his suffering and to nurture his hope of freedom and of a better world to come.

Also, out of the Negro experience came the "Blues" which eventually combined with a number of other influences both African and European to emerge as Jazz. Jazz first became famous in New Orleans and then traveled to Chicago and New York where it underwent successive stages of development. Negro folk music and Jazz have had a profound influence on many of the more classical American musicians, including Ferdi Grofe, George Gershwin and Aaron Copeland. Negro themes are also influential in Anton Dvorak's "New World Symphony". Chief among the Negro classical composers have been Edmund Jenkins, William Grant Still and Florence Price, and among contemporaries there are John Work, Howard Swanson and Ulysses Kay.

A detailed analysis of the origin and nature of Negro folk music can be found in the volume by Harold Courlander. An analysis of Negro music as a reflection of the Negro experience in white America can be found in the book "Blues People" by LeRoi Jones.

The Negro contribution to literature also has its roots in the era of slavery in Negro folk poetry and folk thought. Among the most useful resources here are a

folk history of slavery entitled "Lay My Burden Down" edited by B. A. Botkin and a little volume entitled "Deep River" by Howard Thurman. In addition to the thoughts contained in the spirituals, ballads and work songs was the redemptive sense of humor in tales such as the Uncle Remus stories. The outstanding element of this folk heritage was the "optimistic faith to which the Negro slave persistently clung in spite of infinite causes prompting him to morbidity, pessimism, or unmitigated despair. DuBois regarded this as an important cultural gift because it enabled the Negro to survive under the hardships of slavery; by the disarming quality of his optimism, the Negro was able to come psychologically very close to the people who were exploiting him." 4.

The chief formal contribution of the American Negro to formal literature has come during the twentieth century and seems to have coincided with the maturing of American literature in general and with the increasing militant protest of the Negro community as it seeks its inheritance in the promised land.

Among the greatest of the Negro poets have been James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Sterling Brown, Gene Toomer and Claude McKay and, of course, most recently Gwendolyn Brooks. Among the outstanding novelists have been Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, Arna Bontemps, Zora Hurston, John Oliver Killen, and, of course, James Baldwin.

Probably the most outstanding literary figure, in the area of both fact and fiction, is the notable W.E.B. DuBois, who has served as novelist and prophet, sociologist and philosopher in the Negro community's pilgrimage of discovery.

Prior to the twentieth century, the Negro as a literary figure was the victim of the racial conflict. Before the Civil War his character was distorted in both pro-slavery and abolitionist literature. During and after reconstruction, the treatment of the Negro suffered from the same polarization, especially with the emergence of a Jim Crow culture. For the most part, it was only in the twentieth century that literature by and about Negroes began to have a sensitive relationship to reality.

The role of the Negro in American drama followed a somewhat similar course, and he began to be seriously seen as a person in the works of Eugene O'Neil and Paul Green after World War I. Among the more successful contemporary dramas are "Raisin in the Sun" by Lorraine Hansbury, and "The Blacks" by Genet.

Among the outstanding Negro artists in America have been Henry Tanner, Meta Fuller, Laura Wheeler Waring, Hale Woodruff, Aaron Douglas, Sargeant Johnson and Richmond Barthe. One of the best collections can be found in the book "American Negro Art" by Cedric Dover.

The creativity of the American Negro has been both stimulated and shaped by his unique experience as an oppressed minority in America. The hope for the future would be that as the Negro finds his rightful place in American society, his themes and his treatment of themes might become more universal even as his contribution remains unique.

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|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Smith, Lillian | <u>Killers of the Dream</u> , p. 188 |
| 2. Butcher, Margaret | <u>The Negro In American Culture</u> , p.13 |
| 3. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 35 | |
| 4. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 92 | |

PART A -- Basic Texts

1. From Slavery to Freedom -- John Hope Franklin Chapter 26
2. The Negro in Our History -- Carter Woodson Chapters 35 & 38
3. The Negro In the United States -- Franklin Frazier Chapter 19

PART B -- RECOMMENDED PAPERBACKS

1. The Negro in American Culture -- Margaret J. Butcher
Based on materials left by Alain Locke. Mentor Books, 1956. \$.75
2. Lay My Burden Down (A Folk History of Slavery)
Edited by B. A. Botkins, 1945
Phoenix Books 1961 University of Chicago Press 1.45
3. Uncle Tom's Children -- Richard Wright -- 1936
Signet Books 1963 .60
4. Native Son -- Richard Wright -- 1940
Signet Books 1963 .75
5. Go Tell It On the Mountain -- James Baldwin -- 1952
Signet Books 1963 .75
6. Selected Poems -- Gwendolyn Brooks -- 1963
Harper & Rowe 1963 1.65
7. Killers of the Dream -- Lillian Smith -- 1949
Doubleday Anchor 1963 .95

PART C -- OTHER RECOMMENDED READINGS -- Hardcover

1. American Negro Art -- Cedric Dover
New York Graphic Society 1960 10.00
2. Negro Folk Music U.S.A. -- Harold Courlander
Columbia University Press, New York 1963 10.00
3. Blues People - LeRoi Jones
William Morrow & Co., New York 1963 5.00
4. Soon One Morning (New Writings by American Negroes 1940-1962)
Edited by Herbert Hill - Alfred Knopf, N. Y. 1963 6.95
5. American Negro Poetry - edited by Arna Bontemps
Hill & Wang New York 1963 4.95
6. Deep River - Howard Thurman
Harper, 1955 2.00
7. The Negro Novel in America - Robert A. Bone
Yale University Press, 1958

QUESTIONS ON THE NEGRO IN CULTURE, ART & LITERATURE

1. Do you think that social guilt can cripple artistic creativity?
2. What happens to literature and art when it becomes an instrument of political and social propaganda?
3. Is there a legitimate manner in which art forces may serve the cause of social protest?
4. What unique insights has the Negro experience given the Negro artist and writer to share with the world?
5. Is there a connection between suffering and creativity?
6. What do you think of these statements:
 - A. "We who have had less of the material assets, who, therefore, have not been driven by power forces, and who have attached greater significance to human values, may well have to take the lead in recasting universal social values." (The Negro in American Culture, p. 226.)
 - B. "If the only civilization that can survive is a civilization of humanity, the men and women who bring this civilization into being must be citizens of the world. Curiously enough, it has been easier for Negro Americans to be full citizens of the world than to be full citizens of their native land." (The Negro in American Culture, p. 227.)

CHAPTER NINE — THE NEGRO EXPERIENCE

"No one, not even a Saint, can live without a sense of personal value. The white race has masterfully defrauded the Negro of this sense. It is the least obvious, but most heinous, of all crimes because it kills the spirit and the will to live. It was too much. Although I was experiencing it, I could not believe it. Surely, in America a whole segment of decent souls could not stand by and allow such massive crimes to be committed." ¹

What is it like to be a Negro in America? Very few white men have tried to find out. One man did, and he received a rude shock. John Howard Griffin, a Southern white newspaperman, (quoted above) shaved his head and darkened the color of his skin and lived as a Negro for a time in the deep South. He found himself exposed to hatred and viciousness. He found that the new color of his skin confined him to a closed world in which there was no future. Griffin describes the impact of his experience most vividly in his book "Black Like Me".

To see the effects of segregation on the Negro community in America, we recommend Part V of the book entitled "The Negro in the United States" by Franklin Frazier. The chapters deal with the problems of health and survival, of unemployment and poverty, of family disorganization, of crime and delinquency, of mental deficiency and insanity. Of particular importance is Chapter 27 which deals with the nature of race prejudice and its effect on the Negro. As Frazier points out, the word prejudice means "pre-judgment" in the sense that it is a judgment concerning objects and persons not based upon knowledge or experience" ² In short, the white majority has built up a whole set of ideas and behavior patterns concerning the Negro which are groundless. The Negro suffers the consequences of this falsely based behavior.

What is it like to be a Negro in America? Ralph Ellison suggests that the Negro is the "invisible man". Because of prejudice, the white man does not really see the Negro as a person. Instead, he sees a figment of his imagination, and Ellison says, "I am invisible simply because people refuse to see me. The invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact." Ellison reflects on the consequences of being invisible and notes, "You are constantly being bumped against by those of poor vision. Or, again, you often doubt if you really exist." ³

Ellison's comments point up a basic Biblical conviction that to be a person depends upon being accepted as a person. This would suggest that if the Negro seems inferior to people in the white community, that it is perhaps because the white man has denied the humanity of the Negro rather than because the Negro is really inferior.

Saunders Redding suggests that being a Negro in America involves a double reaction to life. "In the state of which I speak, one receives two distinct impacts from certain experiences, and one undergoes two distinct reactions—the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other entirely different but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness." ⁴

In other words, since the Negro has been taught that Negroness is less than human, he finds himself in conflict between his humanity and his Negroness. Redding suggests that this conflict even affects his readiness to respond to God. "I rejected God. Not my instincts, but my deepest feelings revolted compulsively—not because I was I, a sort of neutral human stuff reacting directly to experience, but because I was Negro. It is hard to make it clear; but there were two people sharing my physical existence and tearing me apart. One, I suppose, was the actual self which I wanted to protect and yet which I seemed to hate with a consuming hatred; and the other was the ideal self which tried compulsively to shape the actual self away from all that Negroes seemed to be." ⁵

Perhaps the most poignant part of Redding's book entitled "On Being Negro in America" is the story in chapter twelve of his son's first encounter with prejudice and his dilemma in trying to interpret it.

What is it like to be a Negro in America? Richard Wright suggests that it requires the constant role of deception. The Negro must constantly hide his true self and present the false face that the white man wants to see. In order to survive, the Negro's life must become a deliberate lie. As a friend advised him, "When you are in front of white people, think before you act, think before you speak. Your way of doing things is all right amongst our people, but not for white people. They won't stand for it." This advice proved difficult for Richard Wright for, as he put it, "It was simply impossible for me to calculate, to scheme, to act, to plot all the time. I would remember to dissemble for short periods and then I would forget and act straight and human again, not with the desire to harm anybody, but merely forgetting the artificial status of race and class." ⁶

All of the above accounts point to one basic fact that the subordinate or inferior role has not come naturally to the Negro as some races have tried to suggest. Rather, it is a role that has been forced upon him in basic violation of his personality. As James Baldwin puts it: "It is the peculiar triumph of society - and its loss - that it is able to convince those people to whom it has given inferior status of the reality of this decree; it has the force and the weapons to translate its dictum into fact, so that the allegedly inferior are actually made so, insofar as the societal realities are concerned." ⁷

To be a Negro in America is to be caught between the natural desire to fulfill one's being as created by God and the unnatural need to fulfill one's being as prescribed by white society—i.e. to be of no consequence or to become "white".

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| 1. Griffin, John Howard | <u>Black Like Me</u> Page 111 |
| 2. Frazier, E. Franklin | <u>The Negro In the United States</u> p. 665 |
| 3. Ellison, Ralph | <u>The Invisible Man</u> p. 7 |
| 4. Redding, J. Saunders | <u>On Being Negro in America</u> p. 12 |
| 5. <u>Ibid</u> , p. 144 | |
| 6. Wright, Richard | <u>Black Boy</u> pp 203-204 |
| 7. Baldwin, James | Notes of a Native Son, p. 20 |

SUGGESTED READINGS ON THE NEGRO EXPERIENCE

Part A Basic Texts

- I. The Negro in the United States by Franklin Frazier
Part V — Problems of Adjustment, and especially
chapter 27 "Race Relations"
- II. Before the Mayflower by Lerone Bennett—Chapter XII
- III. From Slavery to Freedom by John Hope Franklin—Chapter XXX

Part B Working Library of Currently Available Paperbacks

- I. The Story of the American Negro by Ina Corine Brown
Chapters IX and X—Friendship Press, New York—\$1.50
- II. Black Boy by Richard Wright—Signet Books, New York—\$.75
- III. Black Like Me by John Howard Griffin—Signet Books, New York
\$.50
- IV. On Being Negro in America by Saunders Redding
Charter Books, New York — \$1.35
- V. Notes of a Native Son by James Baldwin — Beacon Press,
Boston—\$1.45
- VI. Nobody Knows My Name by James Baldwin — Dell—\$.50
- VII. The Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison—Signet Books, New York
\$.75
- VIII. Souls of Black Folk by W. E. B. DuBois—Premier Books,
New York—\$.50

QUESTIONS

1. What do you think of the following statements?
 - A. "During the period of slavery when the inferior status of Negroes was fixed, race prejudice tended to be absent. Whatever race prejudice was manifested toward the Negro was directed against the free Negro. In a society based upon slavery, there was no place for a free Negro. The reference here to "place" is not "place" in a spatial sense, but to place in a social sense, status. Those who are prejudiced against a racial group are generally eager to keep the members of that group in a subordinate social status."—Frazier, The Negro In the United States, p. 667

- B. "The two most important personal factors which appear to be responsible for intense prejudice on the part of individuals are the feeling of insecurity and frustrations. The Negro becomes the scapegoat for failures and frustrations." Ibid., pp.670-671.
- C. "While, on the one hand white Americans have denied the Negro the right to compete with whites, on the other hand they have given millions of dollars in philanthropy to aid him in overcoming the effects of discrimination." Ibid., p.676.
- D. "White Americans do not know Negroes for the simple reason that race prejudice and discrimination have prevented normal human intercourse between the two races." Ibid., p.276.
- E. "The so-called liberal white man or "friend of the Negro" generally views the Negro with a feeling of pathos or a patronizing attitude." Ibid., p. 677.
2. To what extent have you had any honest personal communication in depth with someone of the other race about the issue of prejudice and segregation? If not, what is the basis of your thinking?
 3. If you were a member of the other race, how would you act in the present situation in America?
 4. Do you believe that deep rooted guilt feelings in the white community might increase their ability to rationalize the situation, and even to intensify their capacity for injustice?
 5. After reading chapter XII "On Being Negro in America", how would you go about explaining the present racial situation to your children?
 6. After reading the entry in John Howard Griffin's diary for November 24 beginning on page 99, how would you view the often debated question on racial intermarriage?
 7. We have seen in this section the effects of racial discrimination and segregation on the Negro as a person. If the Christian Church is really concerned about persons, what should be the role of the church in the present crisis?

CHAPTER X — ROLE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The dramatic events that have happened within the context of American life since the Brown decision (May 17, 1954) have in a very real way forced various reactions from the Christian Churches. These reactions have by no means reflected a unanimous understanding of what the Church is called to do; nor have they in a real way caused the ripples of unrest to subside or to reach even more dramatic proportions.

Unfortunately, the churches have had to respond to the actions of the courts and to direct action, i. e., the demonstrations. Some of these responses have within them the possibility of a creative thrust; while some are mere platitudinous mouthings. The 1964 gathering of Methodists in Pittsburgh saw a real struggle between those that would abolish the All Negro Central Jurisdiction and those that would advocate voluntarism or "don't rock the boat". The United Church of Christ (formerly the Congregational Christian Churches and The Evangelical Church) at its last General Synod voted, after much debating, to establish a "Racial Justice Now" fund, to help in specific situations. The Southern Baptist Convention meeting in the Spring of 1964 failed to act creatively as a body in urging open membership. The American Baptist Convention, meeting simultaneously, was struggling to arrive at some form of ministry in the present situation. Difficulties are not solely Protestant. Roman Catholics with their more structured system have been guilty of offering the right words at this time, but in many instances find it difficult to implement these at the parish level.

These aforementioned reactions have not taken into account what every church has done, but these are indicative of the ambivalence that exists within all churches on the American scene as they confront the Negro (?) problem. But whether they react creatively or indifferently the Gospel of reconciliation they are required to preach is present; and because it is present and they (the churches) act thusly they will become even more paranoid.

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We need not deal at length with the problems relating to the response of the slaves to the new world and their place in it, but it is necessary to say that having been torn from "his land" and thrust into an alien niche of existence it is no small wonder that he responded to a new world view regardless of the fashion in which it was given.

"... the slaves who had been torn from their homeland and kinsmen and their friends and whose cultural heritage was lost, were isolated and broken men, so to speak.

... not only did religion draw the Negroes into a union with their fellowmen, it tended to break down barriers that isolated them morally from their white masters." 1.

Prior to the Revolutionary War, efforts were made to be somewhat humanitarian toward the slaves. The royal houses in Europe with ties in the colonies insisted that the Christian religion be given to the slaves. Much of this was brought about with the help of the Missionaries. With their peculiar brand of piety many of the missionaries saw no conflict between what they taught and the status of their pupils. Notable exceptions in this early stage were the Quakers and the Anglicans.² Following the Revolutionary war the slave holders, who previously had not been interested in making Christians of the slaves began to do an about face. They found scriptural justifica-

tion for slavery and felt that Christianity, in a real way, would help them placate their slaves.

"During the latter part of the 17th century and throughout the 18th, there were rising to power in the United States two sects, which, because of their evangelical appeal to the untutored mind, made such inroads upon the Negro population as to take over in a few years thereafter the direction of the spiritual development of most of the Negroes throughout the United States."

The success of these two groups (Methodist and Baptist) was shortlived, owing to the conflicts that arose between the Northern and Southern factions over slavery. Consequently, there came into being the Northern Baptist and the Southern Baptist; the Northern Methodist and Southern Methodist. The Presbyterians also split along sectional lines.

Concomitant with the emergence of Christianity among the slaves there was developing a center of power and authority embodied in the Negro clergy. Because of this many of them were suspect and were allowed to hold services only under the watchful eye of the slaveowners. Two such famous men were George Liele and Andrew Bryan.

Amongst the freed Negroes, located predominantly in the North, there came into existence churches that were primarily Negro. Richard Allen organized the Bethel Church in 1794 and began to establish similar churches. In 1816 the African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. Peter Williams, Sr. began a movement that resulted in the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. After the Civil War still another Methodist group emerged from Jackson, Tennessee. Patterned after the Methodist Episcopal church it became the colored Methodist Episcopal, now called the Christian Methodist Episcopal. The Baptists, more loosely structured, were organized into Conventions. Other denominations established churches among Negroes on a much smaller scale.

Even though some denominations established churches, on smaller scale, they were active in the era following the Civil War in establishing educational institutions for Negroes. Another thrust of the churches was in the area of economic development. The major Negro groups made efforts to establish beneficial societies to help the newly freed persons gain some foothold economically.

"They (rural mutual aid societies) were formed among the poor, landless Negroes who were thrown upon their own resources".⁷

During the period of Reconstruction when the Negroes enjoyed a modicum of freedom, the Clergy began to emerge as political leaders. Several of them were elected to Congress. Following the Reconstruction when Negroes were barred in the South from the political life of the Community the Church again became the primary stage for any kind of leadership.⁸ The Church was the sole institution in which power was used both creatively and otherwise. In many instances the Church serves today in the same capacity.

However, there is a wide variance in the role or roles the church plays in the life of the contemporary Negro. This might be attributed to such factors as sectional differences, education, and an emerging Negro Middle Class.

In the South there still exist barriers preventing the full participation of Negroes in the total life of the community. But at the same time there are those instances in which the Church has served as the prime mover to bring about change. Witness the Montgomery situation of 1955 during which the Negro clergymen, including Martin Luther King, were able to effect changes in the total community. An outgrowth of this is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led by Dr. King that seeks to provide a Christian witness and thrust in the current struggle. Even the white antagonists recognize the role of the Negro church. Witness the dastardly act of bombing the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in September, 1963.

In the Northern urban centers the church does not necessarily serve the same function. Several factors must be noted: (1) Many of the migrants seek to establish a semblance of church life characteristic of areas of the South. Hence, the preponderance of store front churches. (2) The emerging Negro Middle Class has found other entrances into the total life of the Community which has resulted in a very real way in less importance attached to the Church and a change on the part of many to more formal denominations, e.g., Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational.⁹ (3) Cults have emerged as a new phenomenon in Negro life.

Whatever their outlook may be the Northern church has left much of the action in the social realm to other organizations. However, some persons have emerged as leaders from within the context of the church, e.g., Adam Clayton Powell, a member of Congress from New York and pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church. Even though the churches in a sense have abdicated their function it is the contention of this writer that the church can perform a most vital role in the current crisis, and both Negro and White Churches alike must move beyond the points of paternalism, uncertainty and ambivalence.

From many quarters the cry for integration is heard. But amidst the struggle to have Negroes enter the main stream of American life as it now exists the Church has within it the one hope for our society. Will Campbell, in his provocative book, "Race and Renewal of the Church" states the church's plight and promise clearly.

Ours is not a message of law and order, of man's rights, of constitutions. The Christian view of race is not limited to the principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. When we tell the segregationist that the gospel is to obey the law and accept the Supreme Court decision, he can see no gospel, no "good news" here. This, for him, is only bad news, and he is not wrong to ridicule the church and tell it to mind its own business.

But if he is told, as he must be told, that the Christian gospel was and is a message of grace and redemption, then it is an entirely different matter. Tell the segregationist that by this grace God became flesh--flesh meaning 'like one of us.' Tell him God was in this flesh. Tell him the Christian message on race relations and all human relations: God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself. God was in Christ reconciling his children to one another and thus to himself. God was in Christ breaking down the walls of hostility that separate man from man and all men from God. God, furthermore, was in Christ loving him--the segregationist himself; loving him, accepting him, forgiving him, even if he cannot yet love and accept and forgive his brother.¹⁰

"It is nonetheless true that if there is to be real renewal of the church in our century it is possible that it will be achieved through the predominantly Negro communions, especially if there is no drastic change from their comfort-loving, status-ridden complacencies by white Protestantism. It has always been that a suffering people seem to respond more readily to the call of God.

"But again the danger is that the response to the call will not be a true 'covenanting' with God. It is a false idea of covenant to say to God: 'If you will deliver us out of our afflictions we will be your people.' This is not what a covenant relationship means. If Negro churchmen in America can see the covenant only as the privilege of serving God and living in communion with him, aware all the while of the dangerous condition of being a special agent of his holy concern, if they see man's role in the covenant as the acknowledgment of the unconditional sovereignty of the Ruler of the nations, then there is hope that Christianity will survive this period of testing. But if Negro churchmen begin to assume that on the basis of the covenant they are entitled to claim selfish rights before God and to be dealt with in some favored manner that accords with their own notion of what is good for them, there will not be a renewal of the church through them. The word 'covenant' does not mean a bilateral contract between two equal parties. This was precisely Israel's sin. It is cause for alarm to hear repeatedly at freedom rallies: 'We are going to win because God is on our side!' This is assumed in every revolution. It was assumed in the American Revolution, but what happened? 'Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked; ... then he forsook God who made him, and scoffed at the Rock of his salvation.' (Deut. 32:15.)"

Not only are the opportunities for witnessing as Christians available to Negroes, but to predominantly white communions as well. And unless all grasp the opportunity there will still exist a feeling of guilt because of the continued violation of the Gospel given us.

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1. Frazier, Franklin, The Negro Church in America, pp. 8 & 9.
 2. Weatherford, W. D., American Churches and the Negro, ch. 1 & 2.
 3. Woodson, C. G., History of the Negro Church, p. 22.
 4. There was a merger of three branches of the Methodist Church in 1939, but the factions still exist and persist as was mentioned earlier.
 5. Woodson, C. G. Ibid., Chapter III.
Frazier, Franklin, Ibid., p. 26
 6. Frazier, op. cit. p. 38 ff
 7. Op. Cit. p. 36
 8. Op. Cit. p. 44
 9. See Frazier's treatment of this in Black Bourgeoisie
 10. Campbell, Will D., Race and The Renewal of the Church, p. 38.
 11. Campbell, Will D., Ibid. pp70 and 71.

Recommended Readings Chapter 10

Part A. Current Paperbacks

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| RACE AND THE RENEWAL OF THE CHURCH | by Will D Campbell | Westminster Press |
| | 1962 | \$1.25 |
| THE KINGDOM BEYOND CASTE | by Liston Pope | Friendship Press |
| | 1957 | \$1.25 |
| THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE | by Kyle Haselden | Harper Torchbooks |
| | 1959 | \$1.25 |

Part B. Other Recommended Readings

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|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--|-----------------|--------|
| MY PEOPLE IS THE ENEMY | by William Stringfellow | Holt, Rinehart
and Winston New York | 1964 | \$3.95 |
| THE NEGRO CHURCH IN AMERICA | by E. Franklin Frazier | Schocken Books | 1963 | \$3.95 |
| THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO CHURCH | by Carter Woodson | Associated Publishers | Washington D.C. | 1945 |
| A CHURCH, A SCHOOL | by Ralph McGill | | | |
| AMERICAN CHURCHES AND THE NEGRO | by W. L. Weatherford | Christopher Pub.
House | 1957 | |

Discussion Questions

1. Read Galatians 3: 26 - 28. Does this conflict with your ideas about the groups in which you are involved? Are these groups shaped or established according to race, status or economics?
2. For the white Christian: is there a difference between "doing good" for the Negro and taking him seriously as a person?
3. For the Negro Christian: is there a difference between submission to Jesus Christ and submission to the white power structure?
4. How does the idea of non-violence relate to the idea that each man has a right to protect himself? Is non-violence a tenable position?
5. In the current racial struggle how different would you expect the views and behavior of the Christian to be from those of the non-Christian? In what way?
6. What do you think should be the major strategy of the major religious groups in the current racial crisis?
7. How did you react to the formation of the National Conference on Religion and Race in 1963?

APPENDIX — ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Among resources developed by public school educators in the field of Negro history, there is a booklet entitled "Struggle for Freedom and Rights" available for fifty cents at the Board of Education, 1354 Broadway, Detroit 26, Michigan. A curriculum bulletin for secondary schools entitled "The Negro in American History" is available from the Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.
2. Among the more extensive bibliographies are the following:
 - A. The Negro. A List of Significant Books, compiled by Dorothy R. Homer available for \$.35 from the Countee Cullen branch of the New York Public Library, 104 West 136th Street, New York, N. Y.
 - B. Books About Negro Life for Children by Augusta Baker available for \$.25 from the New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York 18, New York
 - C. An extensive list of books by and about Negroes, which are for sale, can be obtained from the University Place Bookshop, 69 University Place, New York 3, New York
 - D. Selected Reading Lists for Both Adults and Children can be obtained from the George C. Hall branch of the Chicago Public Library at 4801 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
3. Other useful sources of information include:
 1. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
 2. The Museum of Negro History and Art at 3806 S. Michigan,
Chicago, Illinois. c/o Mrs. Margaret Burroughs
 3. The American Society of African Culture, 15 East 40th Street,
New York 16, New York.
 4. The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue,
New York 16, New York
 5. The National Conference on Religion and Race, 150 Fifth Avenue,
Room 632, New York 11, New York.
 6. The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National
Council of Churches of Christ, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27,
New York.
 7. UNESCO Publication Center, 317 E. 34th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
4. For listings of available longplaying records of authentic American Negro folk music and spirituals, write to the Library of Congress, Music Division, Recording Laboratory, Washington 25, D. C.

PERIODICALS

1. **THE CRISIS** The Official Organ of the NAACP 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York -- Subscription \$1.50 per year.
2. **FREEDOMWAYS** Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement--Suite 542 799 Broadway, New York 3, New York \$1.00 per issue
3. **INTEGRATED EDUCATION** Published bi-monthly by Integrated Education Associates 343 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois \$4.00 per year
4. **EBONY** -- published monthly by Johnson Publishing Co., 1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 16, Illinois -- \$3.50 per year
5. **THE NEGRO DIGEST** Published monthly by Johnson Publishing Co. \$5.00 per year
6. **PRESENCE AFRICAINE** 42 Rue Descartes Paris V France \$5.00 per year
7. **THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY** -- Published Quarterly by the Association for the Study of Negro Life & History, 1538 9th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
8. **THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN** -- Eight issues per year - published by the Same Association. \$2.00 per year.
9. **RENEWAL** -- Published monthly Sept. through June by the Chicago City Missionary Society, 19 S. LaSalle St., Room 1302, Chicago, Ill. 60603.

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS

1. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, New York. CHICAGO OFFICE: 431 S. Dearborn, Chicago 939-5365.
2. National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, New York. CHICAGO OFFICE: 2410 S. Michigan CA 5-0600.
3. Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, New York.
4. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Chicago Office), 1316 E. Madison Ave. Pk 268-5077
5. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
6. United Presbyterian Commission on Religion & Race, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York (Official body of the United Presbyterian Church)
7. Presbyterian Interracial Council, 235 West 53rd Street, Chicago, Ill. DR 3 - 7297 Mr. James McDaniel, Sec.

VISUAL AIDS

I. Available from the Anti Defamation League of B'nai Brith.

The following films can be ordered from:

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

OR

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

1. A CITY DECIDES -- 27½ minutes/black & white/cleared for TV
Here is a true story about integration of the public schools of St. Louis, a border city in a border state. It revolves around a teacher who was directly faced with a "racial incident" in his class at Beaumont High School shortly after integration took place. (Adult and secondary school levels) \$5.00
2. A MORNING FOR JIMMY--28 minutes/black & white/ cleared for TV
A true story of a young Negro boy who encounters racial discrimination while seeking part-time employment. His disillusionment is slowly overcome through the wise counsel of his teacher who takes Jimmy on visits where Negroes are successfully employed in their chosen fields. Jimmy begins to understand that with proper education and training he, too, can find his proper place. (Adult and secondary school levels) \$5.00
3. ALL THE WAY HOME -- 29½ minutes/black and white/ cleared for TV
A house in an all-white neighborhood is up for sale. When a Negro family stops to inquire about it, neighborhood fear and anxiety mount to a dangerous point, until responsible community leadership asserts itself. Film shows that integrated communities can work. (Adult and senior high school levels) \$3.00
4. THE BURDEN OF TRUTH -- 67 minutes/black and white on two reels/cleared for TV
A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems--and the prejudices-- that the young Negro father faced in growing up. Sponsored by the United Steelworkers of America (Adult and secondary school levels)\$4.00
5. CRISIS IN LEVITTOWN --- 31½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV
A series of interviews with residents, both for and against the integration of the first Negro family to move into Levittown, Pennsylvania. Dr. Dan Dodson of the New York University Center for Human Relations offers comment and analysis. Will evoke discussion on problems of equality of opportunity in housing. Widely recommended for social science classes. (Adult and senior high school levels) \$5.00

6. EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW — Five independent 30-minute black and white films/clearance for television use must be granted by the National Office of the ADL. \$7.50 ea.

This series of illustrated film-lectures on the dynamics of inter-group relations in the United States focuses on the history and current situation of the Negro American. The historical, political, sociological and psychological forces which shape patterns of prejudice and discrimination are reviewed, and new advances in inter-group relations are discussed. Produced in cooperation with the National Educational Television Network and Harvard University, Dr. Thomas Pettigrew of the Harvard faculty is host narrator.

"14th Generation Americans" ... The history of the Negro American and contributions by Negroes to all aspects of American life are emphasized.

"Face to Face" ... Dr. Pettigrew explores the problems of bringing diverse groups together and the value of various kinds of contact in actually bettering intergroup relations.

"A Tale of Two Ladies" ... A review of the history of Negro protest against racial discrimination.

"The Newest New Negro" ... The meaning and value of the newest forms of direct-action protest against segregation are discussed with Whitney Young, Director of the National Urban League.

"Conformity and the Crutch" ... The psychology of bigotry and the differences between pathological bigotry and bigotry arising out of social conformity are discussed in the light of recent sociological research.

7. FACE OF THE SOUTH — 30 minutes/color/cleared for TV

Historical analysis of economic and social factors which have made the South what it is today. An illustrated lecture by George Mitchell, former director of the Southern Regional Council. (Adult and secondary school levels) \$5.00

8. THE NEW GIRL — 30½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV \$3.00

Produced by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, this film dramatizes the internal problems of a plant having a government contract (thus unable to discriminate in its employment policy) and the emotional tensions felt by the new girl herself. The pro and con arguments in hiring a Negro girl in an all-white company are presented in an interesting dramatic format. (Adult and secondary school levels)

9. REPORT FROM ALABAMA — 29½ minutes/black and white/ not cleared for TV

A kinescope of the special NBC telecast on the Federal Civil Rights Commission hearings in Montgomery, Alabama, devoted to an investigation of charges of the denial of voting rights in Alabama. (Adult and secondary school levels) \$5.00

10. TO LIVE TOGETHER — 34 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV
The difficulties encountered and experiences shared by children at an interracial summer camp. The film shows that to learn democracy, children must have a chance to live it. (Adult and secondary school levels) \$3.00

II. The following are available from the Chicago Public Library
78 East Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

KEY TO SYMBOLS: c--color film jh--junior high ad--adult
p--primary sh--senior high
el--elementary c--college
g--guide material (e.g. script, discussion questions etc.)
is available for film
numbers--indicate total running time of films

1. THE HOUSE ON CEDAR HILL (17 m. g) jh-sh-c-ad
Events in the life of Frederick Douglass, the runaway slave who became an editor, orator and statesman, dramatized through historical documents, period drawings, photographs and mementos kept in the Douglass home in Washington, D. C.
2. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (18 m. g) jh-sh-c-ad
Dramatized episodes in the life of Booker T. Washington present his constant struggle to free his people from ignorance, poverty, and fear; his hardships in obtaining an education; the problems in building Tuskegee Institute and his tragic personal life.
3. MARIAN ANDERSON (30 m.) jh-sh-c-ad
Marian Anderson sings seven selections in concert and in rehearsal. Her singing, together with some biographical information, give a measure of her stature as an artist and as a person.
4. THE NEGRO SOLDIER (40 m.) sh-c-ad
An account of the many contributions and accomplishments of the Negro soldier, from Crispus Attucks, a hero of the American Revolution to Robert Brooke, the first American soldier to die in World War II. Originally made to show to Negro troops, the film is interesting, historically for its presentation of changing ideas and concepts. Produced by the U. S. Army Signal Corps; directed by Frank Capra.
5. TEAMWORK (20 m.) jh-sh-c-ad
The combat record of the famous "Redball Highway," the Negro unit which delivered material, under fire, from the docks at Cherbourg to the waiting armies at the front. The important contributions made by the Negro soldier at all levels of skill toward winning the war, and official recognition of them is touched on.

6. SIT IN (54 m) sh-c-ad

Nashville, Tennessee, was the first city in the South to integrate its lunch counters. Influenced by the non-violent approach as practiced by Martin Luther King, college students marched on six downtown stores. Chet Huntley of NBC-TV narrates as the film focuses on the actual sit-ins, their preparation and repercussions. Interviews with the participants, their parents, the mayor and other citizens are highlights.

7. BLACK & WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA (30 m) sh-c-ad

A dispassionate appraisal of the motivations behind the apartheid policy, the doctrine of complete racial separation propounded by the government of the Union of South Africa.

8. AFRICA DISTURBED (28 m.c) sh-c-ad

Dr. Emory Ross, a former missionary, discusses the recent changes in Africa and the part the Christian church has played in bringing them about. A non-sectarian approach.

9. CAST THE FIRST STONE (60 m.) sh-c-ad

One of Bell and Howell's TV series, "Close up," the film probes the different faces of prejudice north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Includes Chicago's Grand Crossing neighborhood, Grosse Point, Michigan and Los Angeles.

10. GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER (12 m.c) jh-sh-c-ad

A penetrating profile of the famous Negro scientist. His philosophy, his work and his contribution to science.

11. CROSSROADS AFRICA - PILOT FOR A PEACE CORPS (54m.) c-ad

An on-the scene film report of a successful building project by fourteen American college students in the young Republic of Guinea during the summer of 1960, followed by President Kennedy and R. Sargent Shriver discussing the Peace Corps.

III. Available from the Presbyterian Distribution Service, 200 West Adams Street, Chicago 6, Illinois

1. 557 N THE BROKEN MASK (1957) Dramatic

A delicate and provocative handling of the problems of race relations not only in a youth camp but also in the church. Reconciliation is a two-way street. Golden Reel award. 30 minutes. Sound. Color. Free.

2. 156 N FOR ALL PEOPLE (1947) Dramatic documentary

An adventure in race relations with young people in a bi-racial church in Los Angeles. Age level, young people and adult. 22 mins. Sound. Free.

3. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS (1951) Dramatic Documentary

The story of a Negro boy face to face with discrimination and injustice. 26 minutes. Sound. Free.

IV. Available from Harmon Foundation (Filmstrip) .

A film strip in color of OUTSTANDING AMERICANS OF NEGRO ORIGIN made from a selection of portraits from Harmon Foundation's Exhibit Together with Thumb-Nail Write-Ups for each of the 36 Portrait Subjects.

35mm. color film strip -- 56 single frames -- and write-ups -- \$6.00

Order from: Harmon Foundation, Inc, Division of Visual Experiment,
140 Nassau Street, New York 38, New York

V. Teaching Pictures of Outstanding Negro Americans

Available from: Harmon Foundation
140 Nassau Street
New York 38, New York

Association for the Study of Negro Life & History
1538 Ninth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.