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Today's racism and black frustrations

Ernest Elmo Clark

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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Clark, Ernest Elmo, M.S.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1991

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TODAY'S RACISM AND BLACK FRUSTRATIONS

by

Ernest Clark

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

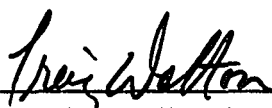
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Ethics and Policy Studies

**Ethics and Policy Studies
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May, 1991**

APPROVAL PAGE

**The thesis of Ernest Clark for the degree of Master of Arts in
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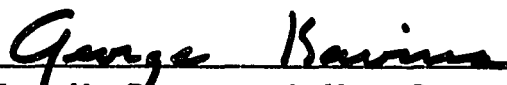
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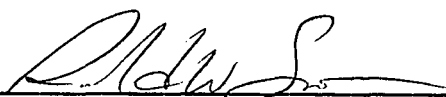
Examining Committee Member, Thomas Wright, Ph.D



Examining Committee Member, Jerry Simich, Ph.D



Graduate Faculty Representative, George Kavina, Ed.d



Graduate Dean, Ronal W. Smith, Ph.D

**University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May, 1991**

ABSTRACT

Today's Racism and Black Frustrations

by

Ernest E. Clark

This Ethics and Policy Studies project is about America's present attitudes and policies towards blacks, and their frustrations because of racism. I intend to analyze the structure and operation of racism, and how it frustrates black Americans. Particular attention will be directed towards the pluses and minuses of black progress in America, as blacks became an integral part of Western culture.

Will blacks be (across the board) accepted in American society, and if so, when? Of what must the moral and legal climate for a full citizenship be comprised? The problem is that racist and prejudicial acts still exist in the 1990's in most levels of our society. This investigation proved that racism has in some cases changed its face from being blatant bigotry to a high level of "sophistication" or deep institutional action. Sophistication in this instance means that you do not see bigotry, but you feel its effects.

It is necessary thoroughly to understand the beginning of American racism; therefore, Chapter 1 covers the problem of racism in detail, and the history of slavery follows. Chapters 2 to 8 cover an interpretation of how slavery felt to an African

"fresh" from his own continent. Next, a solid historical perspective of American blacks is presented, concluding with World War II.

The evaluation section (Chapter 9) shows the significance of modern racial problems and their effects on our society, and how black frustrations can lead to mental illness. Thus, the value and necessity for personal and group counseling for frustrated blacks--as a safety valve--will be integrated into this Ethics and Policy project. Such counseling will take into account the feeling, thinking, and behavior dimensions of America's frustrated blacks living under stress.

Chapter 10 is devoted to questions of evidence pro or con, and the merits of argumentation about racism. The conclusions derived from this project show: black progress, and better racial understanding between blacks and whites, since their emancipation. Yet, blacks have a road facing them loaded with sharp stones, boulders, and electrical storms--before they achieve complete equality.

Finally, as a conclusion, I offer policy proposals that could possibly make a difference.

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I. Introduction

Chapter 1 Black American History--Slavery

A. The Problem

The fundamental problem of American racism is itself a composite of a multitude of complex problems. But all such complexities lead to the same conclusion: Racist and prejudicial acts, habits and institutional practices still exist in the 1990's regardless of Black Americans' contributions through slavery (1621-1865), the blood sacrifices in America's wars, and black gifts of achievements and inventions which enriched America.

What this thesis shows are the unjust or just acts in America towards blacks. Aristotle states in his book The Nicomachean Ethics that "The just, then, is the lawful and the fair, the unjust the unlawful and the unfair"¹

In most levels of American institutions blacks still feel the sting of "institutionalized racism", which means simply that "the historical pattern of Negro-white relations in America...[shows] continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress through discrimination in employment and education" [underline added].²

Racism is still an intricate, sophisticated part of our institutions. And the problem is intensified by many white

Americans who still feel, after centuries of black achievements, that white mental or moral abilities far exceed black ones.

There are many blacks who have acquired the credentials, values, and behavior patterns of the dominant white race. Still, they are few in number, in relationship to the totality of blacks in America, and they do very little to promote their fellow blacks. However, they are very visible in appearance. One cannot help but note the very visible presence of blacks in high positions, as the general condition of blacks worsens. Such blacks, if they will not assist their own kind, are part of the problem.

There is in American society a class of American blacks, that Americans feel they understand; however, they deceive themselves. The "underbelly of society" (understand me, not the underclass), live by a unique set of rules. They deem their standards just as important as the norm of white American standards.

This underbelly of our society is nurtured on con games, lies, and corruption. They are raised within and surrounded by a criminal atmosphere, and those that are strong become successful in obtaining economic strength. They learn to love the real freedom, and respect, that coincides with the maneuverability of a wealthy black man.

Formal education, respect for the law, respect for mankind in general, and the white man or woman in particular, is not on

their agenda. These Black Americans are an intricate part of the black problem. Why? because countless black youth know they exist and desire to emulate them. They (the youths) would rather take a penitentiary chance, learning and involving themselves in sophisticated acts of crime, then become "bootlickers" in American white society.

Such criminals have experienced, or witnessed America's socio-economic system, negative political practices against blacks, and indifferent attitudes towards black problems. Dr. Robert Staples states in his book The Urban Plantation:

Since crime is often interpreted as a function of moral flaws among the "barbaric" coloreds, the white public is largely indifferent to the underlying causes of the political and economic conditions that propel individuals into criminal activity.³

Education is one of the serious problems facing American blacks. The era of the 80's is largely one of black decline in the education arena. The universities of the 1980's and 90's are less inclined to adapt themselves to the needs of minorities, than they were when minorities first appeared in large numbers on campuses in the 1960's.

There were some provisions in the early 1970's for minority students: special admissions programs, grants, loans counseling services, ethnic studies, etc. Many of these provisions for blacks in the 70's were eliminated in the 80's. The ethnic make-up of the faculty did not substantially change after

the entry of minority students into higher education, according to Mr. John Lujan, Director of Affirmative Action, at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Consequently, only those black students who accepted and adapted to Anglo-Saxon role models were relatively successful.

Thus, blacks in education suffered. There were and are blacks who cannot relate to higher education, because they lack black mentors in a university environment. The problem is that there are "profound influences of American racism on the black man's involvement in education. . . the systematic discrimination against black academicians and intellectuals is a dreary tale. . . ."⁴ It's a dreary tale because efforts to hire black professors for the most part met with futility. I sincerely believe there will come a time in America that racism will not be a problem.

I believe the time will come, because of increased realization by all nationalities of the economic waste of discrimination; it will come through our nation's awareness that racism is wrong.

My major conclusion is that essential changes have not occurred, of the kind that would alter the basic relationship between blacks and whites, in a racially stratified society. The substance of that relationship remains white superiority and black subordination, as the dominant racial motif in the United States social structure. "No imagination is required to see. . . [this reality] as a direct remnant of slavery." And until all

remnants of slavery disappear, there will always be a problem (Grier and Cobbs, 1968, 25) .

B. European's History of Slavery

From the very beginning of the Europeans' exploits in the New World, Africans were involved as explorers, servants and slaves. Many blacks accompanied Spanish explorers into the New World as free men after Spain relinquished her earlier ban on Africans in 1501. "Africans were in Europe in considerable numbers in the seventeenth century and had been in the New World since 1501."⁵ There is recorded history that blacks fought side by side with their Spanish masters. Negroes (as they were called in that day and time) moved into the interior of North America, with the Spanish and Portuguese explores, and assisted in the undertakings. It is significant to understand that the institution of "American slavery" as such had not been established.

Africans constituted a substantial portion of the pioneers who settled in the Mississippi Valley, which settlement was undertaken by the French in the seventeenth century. It is a matter of record that around 1790, Jean Baptist Point Du Sable, a French-speaking black, erected the first building on land that was soon to be named Chicago. There is a High School named after him in Chicago, and this city is proud of his achievement.

Indeed, there were not many examples of outstanding blacks during the earliest times of slavery, of whom blacks could be proud. However, once Africans were fastened to a lifetime status of slavery, their contribution to the new world was immense.

The development of the New World, and the exploitation of its natural resources, was first and foremost on the European Country's agenda. Labor was needed--the cheaper the better--and because Indians were readily available, they were used first.

Indians were imported from the New World, and employed as slaves in the mines of Haiti. The inhumanity of their treatment by the Europeans and their work in the fields of the Caribbean almost exterminated them. They died from the disciplined regime of the plantation system. Other sources of labor supply would have to be tapped, because nowhere had Indian slavery proved profitable. Also, "In the early years especially, Indians [in the New World] were in a position to mount murderous reprisals upon the English settlers....they were in their homeland" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 49).

By contrast Africans, on the other hand, were helpless in a new land. At first the European empire builders did not regard them as a solution to their labor problems. Blacks were well known in Europe, and had been there in considerable numbers in the seventeenth century. Also, they had been in North America

at least since 1501. Poor whites and convicts of Europe were used before blacks were enslaved. The colonists and their Old World sponsors were extremely slow in recognizing blacks as their best possible labor force.

Landless and penniless whites were brought over to clear the forest and cultivate the fields. Such whites came from prisons and worked for their freedom, or indentured themselves for a period of years. The supply of these poor whites proved insufficient. The terms of service for indentured people were the source of constant irritation for all concerned. White servants were unsatisfactory. Even with creative means to recruit white workers, there were not enough available for their (landowner's) tobacco, rice and indigo plantations.

White servants were constantly running away. Some of them actually sued their masters and ship captains. It became expensive and difficult to control or apprehend them once they had fled. As the Englishman searched for reliable labor, in a period when economic considerations were so vital, he discovered "black gold", Africans, and a solution to one of the most difficult New World problems.

Blacks slaves were cheaper, they were from a "pagan land", and their supply was inexhaustible. Africans were perhaps the last major development in the New World's commercial revolution. The Englishmen wanted slaves and all that the institution of slavery meant. The reasons were multiple

and realistic to whites of the New World. First of all, the "slave's loss of freedom was complete. . . [also], the slave was in the greatest subjection, for a slave is that person which is in servitude or bondage to another, even against nature⁶. . . ."

It was during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Christians of Western Europe began to give serious attention to the trade in human beings. Slavery was not new and had been a concern of Christians for countless centuries. These Christians practiced a strange brand of Christianity, for slavery's definition was tailored to their needs. Europeans professed belief in the teachings of Jesus Christ; nevertheless, they displayed much originality in their approach and technique designed to enslave Africans.

The question that has always surfaced in my mind when I research black history is this: Why did a race of people allow themselves to be enslaved? Africa's history is not a history of uneducated or unskilled people. Blacks were not educated in European ways, yet they were well educated as a race using their specific continental standards. Yet, regardless of their intelligence, they sold each other--tribe against tribe. I discovered a very simple answer to what was for me a puzzling question.

Understanding the history of Africa, and most of Europe, this perplexing problem solved itself. For many centuries not only Africans, but Greeks, Romans, etc. enslaved all persons

captured during times of hostility (wars). So it had been an accepted thing with Blacks, and other nations, to conquer and sell humans into bondage.

However, the disgraceful and inhuman treatment of slaves in the New World and in the Caribbean Islands--part of the New World--changed the meaning of slavery. Slavery in the New World was different in many ways than slavery, as it was projected in the ancient world, or, in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. "The harshness and severity that it possessed in areas where it was itself the foundation on which wealth was built. . .," was the major difference between that earlier slavery and New World slavery. The thought of slavery, and of never being able to gain freedom, sends chills up my spine (Franklin and Moss, 1988, 30).

As previously stated, slavery was not new to Africa or other continents; it was widespread during the earliest known history of mankind. The Egyptians enslaved everyone they captured of any color or any nationality. These slaves were Semitic, Mediterranean, or blacks from Nubia. The Greek and Roman empires are well known for their traffic in human beings from Western Asia and North Africa. However, there was a distinct difference between slavery brought forth by the Commercial Revolution and known bondage of earlier centuries.

Long before the extensive development of the slave trade in the hands of Europeans, the basic practices of the

international slave trade were established. By seizing women for their harems, and men for military and menial service, the Muslims before the 12th century, (when they invaded Africa) contributed to the institution of slavery. Thus, it was forces let loose by the Renaissance and the Commercial Revolution, that gave to man the idea of enslaving others for labor in the New World. But it was done in a new, creative kind of rational: "By the end of the seventeenth century dark complexion had become an independent rationale for slavery."⁷ And, this slavery virified by skin color is but one major difference between modern bondage and ancient slavery.

C. Blacks from Africa to the New World

Portugal, the first European country engaged in the African slave trade, was not one of the principal countries that realized great profits. The Dutch, French, and English companies developed the trade in men into big business in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There were wars between nations in their efforts at national monopoly of the slave trade. England's colonies in the Caribbean and on the mainland were paying handsomely for slaves. "With a strengthened navy and almost unlimited resources in capital for investment, England could now undertake to satisfy not only the . . . demand of its own colonies

for slaves but the demand of other colonies in the New World as well" [emphasis added] (Franklin and Moss, 1988. 34.)

England's colonies had become an important factor in the English economic system, and by the eighteenth century the slave trade became an important cornerstone of that system.

After years of trial and failure with techniques of trading in slaves, a workable system gradually developed. Goods of every description were used to trade for slaves. Some of the more important items to be exchanged for slaves, were loaded in London for Cape Castle on the west coast of Africa. Whiskey, brandy, rum, and cotton textiles of all descriptions; brass utensils, boxes of beads of many sizes and shapes, were a few valued items traded for slaves.

The politics of the English slave traders, up and down the Guinea coast, was everywhere in evidence. Permission from tribal chieftains was obtained to trade in their domain. Gifts were used to properly persuade the tribal leaders to cooperate. The chief then appointed various assistants who were at the disposal of the traders. Furthermore, protocol required that courtesy visits and negotiations were needed to keep local leaders in good humor. Trading in slaves was not a simple procedure.

Most Africans resisted their capture, sale, and transportation to the New World. Captured blacks would leap out of canoes, boats and ships, and into the sea. The mouths of

hungry sharks claimed many slaves; however, their desire for freedom over-powered all thoughts of hungry sharks, for enslavement was a dreaded nightmare.

Even though black men died rather than become slaves, "even though they [Englishmen] knew perfectly well that Negroes were men. . . Slave traders in Africa handled Negroes the same way men in England handled beasts, herding, and examining, and buying" (Jordan, 1974, 28).

A veritable nightmare is the best way to describe the slaves' voyage to America. Because the traffic in humans was such a profitable business, overcrowding was most common. Blacks were chained together and had little room to move around.

Diseases ran rampant on board the ships. During this period smallpox was one of the dread diseases. There were also hunger strikes that induced other illnesses. Nevertheless, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the slave trade was very profitable, and one of the most important sources of European wealth. "In eleven years, from 1783 through 1793, Liverpool traders alone were responsible for the importation of 303,737 slaves. . . Profits of 100 percent were not uncommon for Liverpool merchants" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 37).

Based on findings from exhaustive studies of slavers' records, at least a total of 9,000,000 blacks were imported into the New World. In one vast carnage the slave trade raped Africa

of Africans and their values. In less than four centuries millions of Africans were removed from their homeland. The effect of such acts on African life was devastating. The traders enslaved the best this country (Africa) had to offer, knowing that only the strong would survive and bring them profit. The youngest, largest, and the healthiest people were demanded from the tribal chiefs.

Europeans encouraged blacks in Africa to fight among themselves with European explosive weapons. The natives were actually fighting each other, to stop their capture, imprisonment, and the selling of their freedom into human bondage. Africa was deprived of an invaluable resource by the removal of the best of its population.

D. COLONIAL HISTORY of SLAVERY

Virginia and Maryland

The first twenty Africans were put ashore at Jamestown in 1619. They were not slaves in a legal sense. They were simply indentured servants and were listed as servants in the census counts of 1623 and 1624. Virginia in its first half century of existence had many Black indentured servants, and free blacks who had completed indenture as servants.

But Virginia's labor needs increased. Enslaved Indians, and white and black indentured servants, could not satisfy Virginia's

needs. Virginia began to understand that blacks could not easily escape without being identified. They were not Christians, so legal and moral punishment standards were permitted which were otherwise forbidden. Virginia's lands needed clearing so they could cultivate and plant better tobacco crops. The next important step was for the legislature to make new laws--and they did. The black man and woman was ordered to serve their masters for the rest of their natural lives. Thus, lifelong slavery of Africans was well on its way within the first generation of Virginia's existence.

A comprehensive slave code was soon established in Virginia. There was very little a black could do without permission from his white master. They (slaves) were given sixty lashes and their ears cut off for robbing a house or store. Considering how most of them were fed, there probably were many earless blacks in the state. Blacks were readily hanged for murder, or rape, without a trial.

If they associated with whites or free blacks they were whipped, branded, or maimed. Provision for punishment was designed to break all blacks, the weak and the strong. White masters should have experienced no difficulties in maintaining peace--but ironically this was not the case. Many whites feared for their lives.

As far back as 1687 blacks of Virginia were showing clear signs of dissatisfaction. They began to plot rebellion against

their masters. I am amazed that they did not kill every white face in sight--a long time ago. There was general disobedience and lawlessness; however, the laws and codes were elaborate enough to cover most slave activities. The slave codes were so effective that they served as a model for other mainland codes.

Even with these codes Europeans in Virginia were afraid of serious rebellious blacks. They realized, even then, that there was a "race problem". "Historians' records... reveal that the founding fathers considered colonization as the favorite solution to the race problem" (Staples 1987, 10).

In 1638 slavery discussions were recorded in the Maryland legislature's records, but slavery was not recognized by law in Maryland until 1663. Not surprisingly, the colonists had no difficulty in acquiring slaves before 1663. The governor of Maryland himself, even before the slave law passed, owned a number of slaves. The law that passed in 1663 was drastic; it stated that all blacks, even those who had been freed were still slaves.

In Maryland, whites felt that they should import Africans and convert them to Christianity, and justify the act of holding them in slavery because they were classified by Christians as heathens until fully converted. Slavery according to their plan would help the cause of Christianity.

There were occasions where whites died at the hands of their slaves. "In 1742 seven blacks were executed for the

murder of their masters". New laws were always in the making because whites were nervous about their safety. For example, a law was passed in 1695 in Maryland that prevented frequent meetings of blacks-- a sad state of affairs (Franklin and Moss 1988. 56).

Carolinas and Georgia--SLAVERY

The Carolinas had blacks from the beginning. John Locke, a respected English philosopher, wrote in his Fundamental Constitution [for "planting" the Carolinas], that "every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over their Negro slaves--of what opinion or religion whatsoever" (Franklin and Ross 1988 56).

The Colony also sanctioned slavery and protected the institution from any possible destruction through the conversion of slaves to Christianity. Incentives were offered for the importation of slaves in the Carolinas. "In 1663 they offered to the original settlers twenty acres for every negro man slave, and ten acres for every Negro woman brought into the colony in the first year." Patrols had the authority to whip those blacks who they thought were a threat to peace. Punishment to slaves for offenses was severe (Franklin and Ross 1988, 57).

It is interesting to note that the white populace was always afraid of black uprisings. Thus, after much debate, the Carolinas actually designed one of the most stringent sets of

laws governing slaves to be found anywhere in the New World. Cruelty to slaves was frowned upon; slave owners were warned that nothing must be done to incite them to revolt. A law was passed that forbade working a slave more than fifteen hours a day. The average slave worked sometimes sixteen hours a day. It is a wonder as to how the black race survived this long. The slave population had grown so large that blacks were indeed dangerous.

The Quakers in North Carolina became the slaves' friend, they urged slave masters to treat their slaves well. Also, Quakers discouraged members from purchasing slaves, and in 1770, they described the slave trade as an "iniquitous practice" and actively sought its prohibition. Above all, Quakers encouraged masters to permit their slaves to attend religious services. "It is interesting to note there was no real slave insurrection in North Carolina during the colonial period" (Franklin and Ross 1988, 71).

The Middle Colonies--SLAVERY

The Dutch made substantial profits from the slave trade. In the valley of the Hudson River in New Netherlands, by 1638, many large plantations were cultivated, largely with slave labor. Manumission among the Dutch was not an uncommon thing for slaves. It is interesting how the various states differed in their

treatment of those in human bondage. Slaves in Dutch colonies received fairly humane treatment and consideration for their personal rights.

In New York the black population grew substantially. By 1706 this state had harsh slave laws. Blacks could be executed if two credible witnesses stated they were caught traveling forty miles north of Albany. New York colonists did not want blacks running away to Canada. Blacks were forbidden from appearing at night without a lighted lantern.

This stern and dehumanizing treatment of Blacks caused serious problems for blacks and whites. Slaves defied authority and disobeyed the laws. In 1708, twenty-three armed slaves set fire to a slaveholder's house. Nine whites were killed and six were injured. Most of the blacks were caught and executed. However, this was not the only uprising. Thirty years later (1738) there was a larger insurrection; one hundred blacks were convicted, and eighteen were hanged.

New York colonists began to change their thinking around the time of the revolution. They began to recognize the moral and economic undesirability of holding human beings in bondage. As often happens, it took *flowing blood* to change the perceptions of the white colonists.

Slavery created wealth for many, and death for those who were unfortunate enough to be at the wrong place at the wrong time. Slavery was one of the important economic backbones

that cemented the beginning of America. The evidence is indisputable: the contribution blacks made in America cannot be measured solely in dollars and cents.

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II. Interpretation

Chapter 2

The Character Development of a Slave

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

(1818-1895)

Character is the complex of mental and ethical traits marking and often individualizing a person , group, or nation; also it refers to a person marked by notable or conspicuous traits. An overwhelming number of blacks, from the inception of their slavery, retreated from life. They took the low road because of their environment. Nevertheless, many blacks stepped out from under slavery and developed strong character. Frederick Douglass was such a one.

The character of Frederick Douglass developed and was nurtured in slavery. He was a black American writer born into slavery, who obtained his freedom with money he earned, and began a journalistic career. He proclaimed injustices to blacks enslaved by whites. Mr. Douglass became a foreign diplomat and held many diplomatic posts for the American government. His approximate birth date was 1818 and he died in Washington D. C. in 1896, a leader and credit to the Black race.

His experiences in slavery formulated and strengthened his character; such experiences promoted an insatiable thirst for

knowledge which would ultimately lead to his freedom from slavery. Mr. Douglass, in his narrative, paints a comprehensive picture of his aggressive attitude towards learning, in his youth, with detailed observations about the barbarity of slavery. Thus, an insight into the savage mentality, (in the pre-civil war period), of the white race towards blacks is accomplished.

Frederick Douglass had no accurate knowledge of his age; this he affirms in the first paragraph of his narrative, The Character Development of Frederick Douglass. In addition, he states that "this was a source of unhappiness. . . even during childhood."¹ Subsequently, although many years had passed, his statement (even during childhood), emphasizes the fact that as an adult, he had not overcome this unhappiness. Moreover, as a child, he could not understand why he was deprived of the same privilege as the white children--of knowing his own age.

The memories of his mother's death evoked sadness because of their lack of communication during her lifetime. The attachment of son to mother was slight. In spite of this fact, the logic of character was not denied. His mother, because of her master's harsh rules, worked in the fields from sunup to sundown and never saw her son by the light of day. He wrote, "Never having enjoyed her presence I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotion I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger." Without a doubt, slavery can

destroy the natural affection of a child towards his mother (Douglass 1986, 651).

The foundation of his character had its early beginnings from inhumane perceptions. His first master's overseer, a Mr. Plumer, "was a miserable drunkard, a profane swearer and a savage monster." This was a cruel man hardened by the life of a slaveholder (Douglass 1985, 652).

Frederick Douglass as a child witnessed terrible spectacles of barbarity. He shows us how his Aunt was lashed, why she was lashed, and the effect it had on his behavior. His Aunt was a beautiful woman, possessed by his master and lashed at will. One day he witnessed the lash tearing her flesh; as a result, he ran from this monstrous scene thinking he might be next. He states, "I never shall forget whist I remember anything" (Douglass 1985, 653).

There were various circumstances that contributed to his mental image of slavery. The inhumane treatment of children cold and hungry was a dominant characteristic of this sadistic system, and one of many circumstances contrived in hell. Without a doubt, the children suffered. Their feet cracked with the frost and they were naked most of the time. "Children unable to work in the fields were given neither shoes, stockings, jackets nor trousers" (Douglass 1985, 653).

The songs sung by slaves were compositions he did not understand most of the time; nevertheless, they always

depressed his spirit and filled him with sadness. The depression and emotional power of these songs followed him throughout his lifetime. Such songs were his first insight into the depth of pain suffered by slaves. He wrote, "While I am writing these lines, an expression of feeling has already found its way down my cheek." With relationships blotted out of slaves' minds early, because of separations, few had strong family ties. Again, with no family ties, many slaves died *lonely and depressed* (Douglass 1985, 667).

Frederick Douglass, at the age of seven, received news that brought him joy. His master was sending him to Baltimore to care for his son-in-law's child. He left without any regrets. The expressed thought that a new home might be an improvement was his feeling before leaving the plantation.

The smiling face of his new mistress in Baltimore was sensitive and sincere, a new sight to little Douglass. This kind face marked the first recorded turning point in his life. She represented a bright light shining in a dark tunnel. Consequently, meeting a white entity for a change, "beaming with the most kindly emotions," opened up a new mental attitude (Douglass 1985, 666).

His new mistress pointed him in an educational direction, and his new master solved a problem that had perplexed him for a long time. Where did the power come from that allowed the white man to keep the black man enslaved? Truly, he respected

his ability to hold a black man subservient. "It was a grand achievement" [he wrote] and I prized it highly". The insight into this statement could cause confused thinking--if not understood. Frederick Douglass respected the white man for understanding that an uneducated man leans toward slavery; moreover, an educated man breaks all mental chains (Douglas 1985, 667).

His master discovered his wife had taught little Douglass the alphabet. He showed his sentiments; "A nigger should know nothing but to obey his master. Learning would spoil the best nigger in the world. . . ." Frederick Douglass was glad to hear these words. Indeed, from that moment on, he was determined to educate himself at all costs (Douglass 1985, 667).

Every friend he made (mostly poor white boys) he turned into teachers. We are struck with the realization that prejudice is learned and *position* is an equalizer. There was an abundance of bread available at his master's house. I quote, "This bread I used to bestow upon the hungry little urchins, who, in return would give me that more valuable bread of knowledge" (Douglas 1985, 670).

Nevertheless, he began to feel that learning to read was the beginning of misery. It opened his mind to his true condition. In addition, such knowledge failed to show him how to cure his present abominable condition.

It took him seven years. However, he surmounted his obstacles and learned to read and write. It strengthened his character and his determination to become a free man. "The silver trump of freedom, had aroused my soul to eternal wakefulness". Freedom now appeared, to disappear no more (Douglass 1985, 671).

His master in Talbot county, Maryland, died. Frederick Douglass, a boy of fourteen, was summoned home like so much livestock to be counted. His new master noticed the change in his attitude and leased him out to be broken like a wild horse that needed taming. Thus, his leased master, known for breaking wayward slaves, whipped, kicked, starved and degraded him in every way.

One fair day his master reached for him in anger. Frederick Douglass, sixteen years of age, resolved to fight and seized his master by the throat. "He [his master] trembled like a leaf". They fought hand to hand, man to man for two hours. This fight was a major turning point in his career as a slave; immediately, his spirit rose and he vowed never again to be a slave in fact. Steel was inserted into the fiber of his backbone. This was a glorious resurrection, from the tomb of slavery, to the heaven of freedom. Violence sometimes, even though it is considered the tool of a savage person, can change the course of a man's history (Douglas 1985, 689).

Frederick Douglass earned his master's respect because of his courage. His master was also embarrassed that he could not break his will. At the first opportunity his master sold him to erase an unpleasant memory. God stepped in; Mr. Douglass could have been killed.

The author's tales of the growth of his character came to life in a very real way and ring true. They ring true because of the degree in which they come alive. This is the mark of skill achieved by Mr. Douglass. The character of Frederick Douglass is one of a courageous child, who developed into a brave man, a scholar and an historian in spite of the environment of slavery. My point is, that a man can achieve greatness regardless on his circumstances.

Endnotes/ Chapter 2

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- ¹Douglass, Frederick. "The Character Development of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave." Maynard Mack, ed. The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces 1985. 659. All further references to this work will appear parenthetically throughout the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example, "(Douglass 1985, 659),"

Chapter 3 Revolution

A. REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY

At least something of American revolutionary philosophy began with religious groups, notably the Quakers who voiced their opinion, “. . . the Slave Trade is a very wicked and abominable practice. . . contrary to the natural Rights and Privileges of all mankind. . . .¹ This was a revolutionary philosophy statement. They began to question the right of a person to own slaves, or to hold another person in human bondage. The problems of the colonists were serious, and they had little concern for the slavery question. Human bondage was not a problem to slavers. As long as the slaves were docile, as long as they were not helping the French or Indians, there was little reason to be concerned over their condition. Thus, this general attitude prevailed down to the end of the French and Indian War in 1763.

One of the effects of the French Revolution on America, was the Continental Congress passing an agreement not to import any slaves after December, 1775. Of course this had nothing to do with the hiring out of slaves throughout the colonies. And, it is recorded that the importation of slaves did not stop; however, there was evidence that it slowed down.

It is interesting that in March 1770, a black man Crispus Attucks, lost his life defending the ideals of white America. He

was a fugitive slave who resisted England. It gave many colonists food for thought: here was a black man who fought for freedom, and was *not free himself*. This fight was known as the Boston Massacre.

B. THOMAS JEFFERSON and the Declaration of Independence

After the Boston Massacre the colonists turned against England and slavery at the same time. Thomas Jefferson, even though he owned slaves himself, was a staunch advocate of non-slavery ideas. He wrote the first draft of the Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Jefferson submitted the first draft for corrections, to Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Mr. John Adams, with various charges against the King of England and his institution of slavery.

[The King] " has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither."²

Such charges were not accepted by the Southern delegation at the Continental Congress. "Those who favored slavery at all realized that if Jefferson's views prevailed in the

Declaration of Independence, there would be no justification for the institution. . . . "³

Tragically, the final draft of the Declaration of Independence gave little support to the abolitionists. With the exception of the passage that all men were created equal, and endowed with inalienable rights, the final draft of the instrument was silent on the matter of slavery. We must not forget that blacks, in the eyes of many, were not considered men. Blacks were still considered "brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious" (Jordan 1971. 90.)

When the federal Constitution was adopted it signaled the end of an era. No longer could America blame the mother country (England) for slavery. A stable government was established and we (white America) *proudly accepted the responsibility of continued enslavement of blacks.*

New Safeguards and machinery were part of the new order of continued slavery. Slaves were property, and the fathers of our Constitution supported this proposition. During this third quarter of the eighteenth century, many Americans awoke to the fact that a hitherto unquestioned social institution had spread its roots not only throughout the economic structure of much of the country, but in their own minds.

Endnotes/ Chapter 3

¹Jordan, Winthrop D. White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812 Baltimore, Maryland: Kingsport Press, 1971. 293.

²Carl, Becker, The Declaration of Independence: A study in the History of Political Ideas New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1982. 147.

³Franklin, John H., and Moss, Alfred A. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 6th ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988. 67.

Chapter 4 - Slavery

A. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION--SLAVERY

American Independence

At the end of the war for Independence, hundreds if not thousands of blacks secured their freedom. They were free, in specific states, because of laws passed that granted their freedom in return for fighting in the armed service. This newly won freedom did not go unchallenged by slave-owners. The fact that blacks risked their lives for America meant absolutely nothing to the slave owners.

There were slaves who fought in the British lines; such slaves were considered runaways and denied freedom. They readily embarked with the British fleet at various American ports, returning with English soldiers to England. "Even General Washington expressed alarm at the news that Negroes were embarking with the British fleet. . .and he asked a friend. . . to help him retrieve some of his own runaways."¹

The industrial revolution brought about changes that affected every state in the union. The price of slaves was declining, tobacco had glutted the market, and also there was soil exhaustion on most plantations. New inventions, of spinning and weaving machinery, stimulated the demand for cotton fiber. All of these events happened when the planters were

desperate for any situation that would bring new life to a sluggish plantation system. Again, slaves were in demand. They were used to cultivate the crop, and to separate the fiber from the seeds as well.

The Cotton Gin was invented in 1793, a machine that could separate the fiber from the seed. A period of economic changes began, marked by increased demand for slaves whom many whites had kept against their better judgement. Consequently, during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the importation of slaves into the United States flourished. In 1803, all states in the United states were legally closed to slavery. South Carolina was the only state to legally reopen their ports to slavery. After a long legislative battle, "Carolina's ports were at last thrown open. . . .

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B. PERSISTENCE of the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

The slave trade in the United States grew despite laws forbidding it. Many whites were afraid of the unruly blacks from Africa or the cunning blacks from the Caribbean, but they were also in desperate need of slaves. Cotton was in great demand and they needed blacks to cultivate the land.

Anti-slavery groups fought hard to secure stringent federal legislation against the slave trade. Free blacks of Philadelphia

requested Congress to revise the laws of the slave trade, but no conclusive steps were taken by Congress.

In the year 1807 England outlawed the slave trade, and once again, in the same year, the United States passed new laws outlawing the trade. The only effect this had upon the trade in America was to drive it underground. Blacks were bought and sold, imported by merchants and others, by the thousands. The new anti-slavery laws meant nothing to the "traders".

The slaves were one of the most rapidly growing elements in the population. "In 1790 there had been less than 700,000 slaves. By 1830 there were more than 2 million." Slavery increased by 1 million, 300 thousand. This shows how serious the slave trade was to America. Slaveholders were a part of a select class. The states that owned the most slaves, had the best productivity in cotton (Franklin and Moss 1988, 112).

C. SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

There were no social considerations as such for slaves; all statutes (regulatory) were repressive. Slave codes covered every aspect of slave life. Such codes forbade slaves' access to a court system. They could not be a party in a law suit, make any contracts, nor could they strike a white person. Whites, through these codes, intended to insure their maximum protection, and to maintain discipline.

Slaves had very little time to call their own and they were under constant surveillance. Moments of satisfaction and enjoyment in a slave's life were few. They worked long hours, and periods of free time were used for much-needed rest. There were few activities a slave could engage in even if they found the time. They could go fishing if a stream was near; however, fishing in most cases was a serious sport--slaves needed the food.

Election days, fairs, and races created holidays for the slaves; most of them had a chance to sing and dance. If blacks were not allowed to sing and dance, indeed, they would have no reason to live. "There were two periods to which slaves could look forward to as periods of recreation and relaxation: the summer lay-by and Christmas." (Franklin and Moss 1988, 122).

Christmas and the end of the cultivation period was welcomed by the slaves. The season of Christmas brought a week of merrymaking, and slaves engaged in recreation, singing or telling stories.

There was no socialization between whites and blacks, so it was impossible for blacks to feel anything but alienation. "Alienation is a feeling of psychological deprivation arising from the belief that one does not feel a part of society, and that the values of a nation are not congruent with the individual's own orientation."³

Whites in the 19th century who held slaves believed in some form of religious activity among their slaves. They controlled such meetings specifically when the abolitionists began their crusade against slavery. White Christians invited blacks to attend their churches to keep a close eye on their activities. Nevertheless, the Baptists and Methodists of the lower South provided opportunities for releasing pent-up emotions. Whites and blacks sang together, shouted together, and surprisingly had interracial religious fellowship.

The most interesting observations concerning the church are those describing its ministers. Ministers doing God's work not only instructed slaves to be obedient to their masters, but owned slaves and sanctioned the continuation of slavery. "In Louisiana the Episcopal Bishop Polk owned four hundred slaves; and although he regularly gave them religious instruction, there is no indication that he attempted to set them free" (Franklin and Moss, 1988 125).

D. FREE BLACKS

During the 19th century blacks who were free made progress, but not without great difficulty. Most of the nation formed strong opposition to blacks, especially in the white artisan class. Intimidation and violence eliminated competition from free blacks, and legislation barred them from many trades.

Most free blacks were without any kind of skills, and had to contend themselves with being common laborers.

There were organizations that helped free blacks get a start, such as the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, or, the Society of Friends. Because of such assistance, the benevolence of some masters, and their own efforts, blacks gradually accumulated property. In many States blacks owned hundreds of thousands of dollars of taxable real estate, and this was before the civil war. The down side of this is that history records some free blacks as slave owners.

In general free blacks seemed to do very well. The church, again, was as important to the free black as it was to the slaves. It gave blacks a chance for social intercourse as well as a spiritual uplift. Blacks found it necessary to join fraternal organizations, such as the Masonic Lodge, and other benevolent societies. These organizations were formed where there was an abundance of free blacks. The deep South at this time would not allow these organizations to be formed. This was another reason why blacks left the South whenever they could.

It is refreshing to learn that before the Civil War blacks leaned towards education. "Of 2,038 [free blacks] in Boston in 1850, almost 1,500 were in school. There were 1,400 at school in Baltimore and 1,000 in New Orleans. In the states and territories as a whole, 32,629 Negroes were in school in 1860." These numbers indicate a sincere interest in education. Also,

there evolved poets, playwrights, historians, newspaper editors and others who set sterling examples for blacks to educate themselves (Franklin and Moss, 1988, 149).

To apologize for slavery or to admit the crime of human bondage, never became a real goal to most Southerners. Instead, they expressed and accepted slavery as a positive good. As long as slave labor was deemed an absolute essential to the economic development and prosperity of the south, the racial inferiority theory would be in tune with and promote the institution of slavery. [The] "total acquiescence by government officials and Northern public opinion gave the white South all the permission it needed to institutionalize its white-supremacist beliefs."⁴

The South's atmosphere became bitter, and in the early nineteenth century there was indeed a war of words. Those who lived in the South and did not agree with southern ideas were ostracized. The South loved action too well to allow the conflict to remain on an academic level. Rewards were placed on the heads of anti-slavery preachers. Any person distributing anti-slavery literature was arrested.

Endnotes/ Chapter 4

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- ¹Franklin, John H., and Moss, Alfred A. From Slavery to Freedom. A History of Negro Americans 6th ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988. 75. All further references to this study will appear parenthetically throughout the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example, "(Franklin and Moss 1988,12)."
- ²Jordan, Winthrop, D. White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812 Baltimore, Maryland: Kingsport Press, 1971. 127.
- ³Staples, Robert, The Urban Plantation: Racism and Colonialism in the Post Civil Rights Era. Oakland California: The Black Scholar Press, 1987. 10.
- ⁴Stitkoff, Harvard, The Struggle for Black Equality 1954-1980 Toronto Canada: Collins Publishers, 1989, 25.

Chapter 5

INTERSECTIONAL STRIFE-- SLAVERY

A. Scott v. Sanford: DRED SCOTT CASE

The Dred Scott case is important because it seriously widened the breach between the North and the South. Illinois was a free state in 1857. Dred Scott was taken to live in free Illinois first, and then to a fort in the Northern part of the Louisiana purchase, where slavery was excluded by the Missouri Compromise. When they returned to Missouri, Scott sued for his freedom, with the highest court in the land, on the grounds that he twice had residence on free soil.

Scott was not considered a free citizen according to the Supreme Court; therefore, he could not bring a suit to this court. More important, it signaled all slavers that a slave could reside in a free state and not achieve freedom. The Supreme Court openly justified the pro-slavery doctrine, and this showed the north there was little hope the slaves, without a social revolution, could attain their freedom. "This very attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enslaved people may be one necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the complete overthrow of the whole slave system."¹

It seems as though the highest court tried to remove all hope for an enslaved people to overcome the slave system. "Nourished by anger, revolutions are born of hope. They are the

offspring of belief and bitterness. . . . " If all hope could have been snatched from black Americans and the abolitionists' hearts, indeed, the decision would have been a clear victory for the South (Franklin and Moss 1988, 3).

B. JOHN BROWN'S UPRISING

John Brown is significant because he started a war of his own against slavery in 1859. He is also important because he became tired of a talking war and took concrete action. John Brown had worked for the cause of freedom for many years. The anti-slavery forces in Kansas, and the Underground Railroad out of Missouri were but two positive actions in his resume'. In the year of 1859 he desired to strike a more significant blow to separate the chains that held blacks in human bondage. Mr. Brown traveled extensively in the North raising money to fight slavers. He recruited serious anti-slavers and talked with white and black abolitionists.

On October 16, 1859 with less than fifty men he attacked the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry. John Brown desired unlimited ammunition, and intended to pursue a large-scale operation against Virginia slaveholders. This action was a mistake. Federal and state governments combined to defeat John Brown and his company of men. Blacks and whites both were hanged, and one escaped.

The raid of this small band of dedicated men had a lightning effect on the slaveholders. They were upset and afraid. Their slaves became insolent, feeling freedom in the air. "Aggression leaps from wounds inflicted and ambitions spiked. It grows out of oppression and capricious cruelty. [But] it is logical and predictable if we know the soil from which it comes."²

This raid also alerted the South and they placed themselves on a semi-war footing. Troops began drilling regularly, not knowing when another insurrection would come.

John Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859. He was a man of courage, although many called him a madman. This epithet is understandable. No pro-slaver wanted to believe that a man, or group of men, felt so dedicated to black freedom that they were willing to perish for such freedom. He died heroically and the crusade against slavery had a martyr. A martyr was the ingredient to this cause that changed the hearts of thousands of hitherto indifferent people, and persuaded them that slavery must be abolished.

C. LINCOLN'S ELECTION

In late February 1861 President-elect Lincoln arrived in Washington. The nation was rapidly falling apart. At least seven states in the lower South had already seceded from the union. They were slave states and other states were poised ready to

follow. Lincoln was dedicated and wanted to stop the tide of national disintegration. Eight slave states remained in the union and President Lincoln moved cautiously. He did not want to offend the remaining states.

When Fort Sumter was attacked Lincoln's leadership was tested and he acted promptly. Consequently, the defence of Fort Sumter was the beginning of the Civil War. The abolitionists wanted war to irrupt; they knew that action was needed to free the slaves. Lincoln tried hard to pacify the slave states. He sought to keep the union together at any cost. There were thousands of whites in the North who did not want to go to war for slavery. The abolitionists supported Lincoln in the general election, even though they were not sure he was the right man for the cause.

The government at the beginning of the Civil War would not allow blacks to fight for the North. "In the nation's capitol they made repeated requests of the War Department to be received into the army." There was considerable agitation for arming blacks. It was cruel to deprive blacks of the opportunity to fight for the freedom of their brothers. Also, many Northerners did not want to fight for blacks if they would not be allowed to fight for themselves. Finally, in the autumn of 1862 Lincoln permitted the enlistment of some blacks in the armed services (Franklin and Moss 1988, 184).

D. BLACKS FIGHTING for the UNION

"A bill was introduced in the Confederate Senate in 1865 providing for the enlistment of 200,000 Negroes and their emancipation if they remained loyal through the war." The South wanted and needed to put weapons in blacks' hands; time had changed their attitude. The war had been in progress for four years, when they finally decided to allow the black man a chance to fight for the South. This shows their fear of a black uprising (Franklin and Moss 1988, 195).

Thank God blacks were sharp enough to see this blatant attempt by the South to misuse them over and over again. The Confederacy waited too late to enlist slave help, for the South had already been destroyed. Very few black troops fought for the Confederacy.

Most blacks in this era knew what side of the war comprised the least possible harm to them. Black leaders like Frederick Douglass rallied blacks to fight in the Northern army-- for their country and their freedom. Hundreds of thousands of blacks enlisted and many died for the cause of the Union. "More than 38,000 Negro soldiers lost their lives in the Civil War" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 198).

The Confederate army surrendered in 1865, and President Lincoln won a personal victory. Slavery was abolished with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment late in 1865. To the

abolitionists as a group the victory was complete. For a generation they had worked hard for the freedom of blacks. The end of the Civil War was a victory for blacks, for it closed a period of enslavement that had lasted for almost 250 years. The war was finally won and those who struggled for centuries were momentarily victorious.

Endnotes/ Chapter 5

¹Franklin, John H., and Moss, Alfred A. Jr. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 6th ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988. 179. All further references to this study will appear parenthetically throughout the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example, "(Franklin and Moss 1988, 14)"

²William H. Grier, and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage New York, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968. 3.

Chapter 6 - Reconstruction

A. RECONSTRUCTION--BLACK CODES

There were serious policy problems regarding how to treat blacks during the reconstruction period. The Southern whites seriously intended to control blacks. Even though they did not mind voting for the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, Southern whites insisted that laws be established to control blacks and insure their labor for the south. "Vagrancy laws imposed heavy penalties that were designed to force all Negroes to work whether they wanted to or not."¹

The passing of Black Codes placed blacks in almost the same position as they were in before the civil war. Blacks could be arrested if they quit their jobs. There was no enfranchisement for blacks. The South made a big mistake when they installed the black codes in 1865. Such codes rattled the bones of the Abolitionists and stirred them again to fight for black rights. Republicans wanted black suffrage in the south, fearing the political consequences of a Democratic controlled South. Industrialists did not want the old agrarian system to return. Their eyes were open and they would not allow cheap labor to again surface in the south. This was accomplished "in two bills, one to strengthen the Freedmen's Bureau and extend its life, and the other to guaranty civil rights to Negroes" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 206).

President Andrew Johnson, who followed Lincoln in the White House, was anti-black, and a serious objector to black rights. Congress and the President locked in a bitter fight over black rights, and the congress's victory over the President was complete. Blacks were enfranchised and a new reconstruction program was implemented through stern and severe treatment. Nevertheless, many of the original problems would reoccur and persist to our own day.

There were many economic adjustments to be made from the emancipation of 4 million slaves. The release of so many blacks had serious implications for the economic structure of the South. Many blacks would not work, they were too busy enjoying their new freedom. Others refused to work for the low wages generally offered. The white plantation owners tried desperately to force blacks to work. The Black Codes were created with this goal in mind.

The Federal Government failed to give blacks much land (as promised) and they were forced to go back to many of the farms they came from. Their circumstances in most cases were bad. Upon close investigation the quality of their lives was the same as before the civil war. Once blacks were back on the farm, other systems known as sharecropping and tenant farming took over. "At the end of the [reconstruction] period both black and white workers in the South were suffering from want and privation" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 216).

The whites of the South (as I have stated before) were interested in opposing black suffrage and Civil rights. The situation for Northern blacks was substantially better; however, they were no match for the industrialist who controlled the South economically.

B. BLACKS IN POLITICS

In 1867, the reconstruction Act of 1867 changed the lives of all Southern blacks in politics. Blacks held public offices in the Southern states during reconstruction. They assisted in enacting laws and in most Southern states during reconstruction received both praise and condemnation. White Southerners felt they were disenfranchised. Blacks and their allies, loyal whites from the North who had come to stay, enjoyed the ballot. "From the white Southerners point of view all power was to be placed in the hands of those least qualified to control their destiny" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 217).

Although responsible blacks, some of considerable intellectual stature, were law-makers all over the South, they never achieved power of any importance. Some black leaders in the legislature naively believed that the Southern white man was their friend. This shows the level of ignorance of the black politicians of that era.

From 1867 to 1876, an election year, blacks held many important positions all over the South. They were members of Congress, lieutenant governors, sheriffs, and prosecuting attorneys; nevertheless, blacks at no time ruled any part of the South. Why? because in most states they were not in sufficient numbers to secure positions of power.

(1) Triumph of White Supremacy

After the election of 1876, Southern Democrats came back to power. Because of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments complete disfranchisement was not possible, but intimidation increased in its intensity. Night riders and Red Shirts hung blacks and put the fear of God in their blood. Once the white man understood that blacks were afraid of violent acts, he pressed his advantaged and again became supreme ruler of the South.

Blacks were not allowed to show their faces on election day. Every conceivable unconscionable act was used to keep blacks from voting. Polling places were set up far away from black communities and blacks failed to find them, running into blocked roads, etc. Whites held dances and gave away barbecue and whiskey to blacks; their vote was bought for a piece of meat and a drink. Other whites completely controlled their

blacks, herding them to polling places like so many sheep going to market.

Because the black vote at times became so important the white Southern Democrats decided they must find a way to completely disenfranchise blacks. "As early as 1886 sentiment was strong for constitutional revision; a convention met [in Mississippi] in 1890, for the primary purpose of disfranchising blacks" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 250).

A clause was created by Southerners that called for two years' residence, a poll tax of one dollar, and the ability to read and write. Specifically, the United States Constitution must be read and understood. By 1913 blacks had been completely disenfranchised by constitutional provisions in North Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, Georgia and Oklahoma. The South hailed the disfranchisement of blacks as a constructive act of statesmanship. The new century tragically opened with 214 lynchings in the first two years.

(2) Booker T. Washington's Philosophy on Education

Booker T. Washington was a pacifist. He seemed to be the first Affirmative Action officer in American history. "The vast majority of blacks acclaimed him as their leader, and few whites ventured into the matter of race relations without his counsel" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 250).

Booker T. Washington was the first black educator to leave a lasting impression on blacks, and he created an educational philosophy of service. He favored programs that he felt were acceptable to whites, such as how to farm, learn mechanics, and how to become a good domestic servant. He did not advocate classical education, as did many Northern educators.

In 1872 the Hampton Institute received Washington, at the time he was a lad of sixteen. This was a school molded from the ideas of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who was its' founder. "He taught his students that labor was a "spiritual force" [creating] accuracy, honesty, persistency, and intelligence." His thoughts pleased Southern whites, because they needed blacks to work their fields. He also pleased most blacks giving them a dream, and teaching them skills to make them home owners (Franklin and Moss 1988, 245).

Washington graduated, instilled with Armstrong's ideals. He was convinced that useful services were what the world wanted. He spent a lifetime finding ways in which blacks could be useful in a white society.

The community at Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1881 was hostile to the idea of a school for blacks. Whites were not interested in educating blacks with ideas of equality. However, B. T. Washington, the inspiration for the school, understood the motivation of Southern whites and tailored his thoughts and

moves accordingly. He needed not only good will from whites, but their money as well.

Assurances were given in many ways to every white citizen, and the ruling class, that his educational institution was in the best interest of the South. From a Southern standpoint he proved himself right. Educating blacks was by far better than riots, killings and an unsettling racial environment.

As long as blacks stayed away from politics and civil rights, he was by white standards a "good darkey." They knew in a life of servitude blacks would always be inferior. Also, when a man is seriously busy working, he is often too tired to think. Thus, Washington won the good will of everyone and his school prospered. He was a firm believer in integration--that is, as far as the white community would allow blacks to integrate. "Washington never tired of urging blacks to develop habits and skills that would win places for them in Southern communities" (Franklin and moss 1988, 246).

B. T. Washington "conned" blacks and whites into moving in a direction of his choosing. Whites were lulled into thinking Washington did not want equality for blacks. Consequently, they made him their champion. In reality he was quietly financing some of the earliest court cases against segregation. "By private action he fought lynching, disfranchisement, peonage, educational discriminating, and segregation" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 270).

Blacks were persuaded to placate the white man, to better or strengthen their position in life. He urged blacks to make friends with their white neighbors in every "manly" way. What exactly does that mean? Let us keep the thought in our mind that blacks had only been free for 30 years at this time. In that day and time how much manhood could you possibly show a Southern white man, without rubbing him the wrong way?

Washington's prestige skyrocketed. He was regarded as the spokesperson for millions of blacks, and an outstanding exponent of industrial education. He was unquestionably the central figure--the dominant personality--in the history of black Americans until his death in 1915.

(3) W. E. B. DUBOIS, Educator

W. E. B. DuBois was an educator. First he educated himself by attending Fisk and Berlin Universities, and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard. He also taught at Atlanta University. Dr. DuBois studied the conditions of blacks in the south, and gained first hand knowledge about the Southern situation. Although he respected B. T. Washington, DuBois did not agree entirely with his ideas on education.

Dr. DuBois wrote essays and books opposing Washington's goals and objectives in his educational programs. The curriculum of Higher Education, rather than predominantly vocational

education, was what Dr. DuBois taught and believed in at the University. He believed in the concept of manhood and its relationship to true life. "If we make money the object of men in training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men. . . . " DuBois was not a compromiser, he was a black intellectual rebel. In contrast, Washington offered a palm branch to white Southerners; Dr. DuBois believed that because of this disfranchisement of blacks was the result. Washington also believed that blacks held their future in their own hand and DuBois knew that was not entirely true (Franklin and Moss 1988. 249).

Dr. DuBois was the originator and driving force behind the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People organization. Now, after some research, I can better understand the philosophy of this great organization and its relevance to Dr. DuBois. He believed in "manhood" for blacks, and I interpret his meaning of manhood as fighting for equality. The effect on black history, of this great leader of blacks is a matter of record.

The sordid picture of life for blacks in America in the twentieth century inspired the "Niagara Movement", a group that was inspired by Dr. DuBois. They were a group of young educators and businessmen who had become tired of racism and decided to fight to the finish. From this organization, the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was born.

Endnote

- ¹Franklin, John H., and Moss, Alfred A. Jr. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 6th ed, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988. 201. All further references to this study will appear parenthetically throughout the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example, "(Franklin and Moss 1988, 21)."

Chapter 7

A. AMERICA'S VIOLENT MANIFESTATIONS

From the beginning of blacks' presence in the New World, violence was a part of everyday living for blacks. "In the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century there had been more than 2,500 lynchings."¹ The South led the way in numbers for the lynchings of blacks. Mississippi and Georgia were the leading states, and their reputation for violence has been well documented.

Most blacks that were lynched were accused of raping a white woman--this was the standard charge. But the records do not substantiate this general impression. "In the first fourteen years of the twentieth century only 3315 lynch victims were accused of rape or attempted rape. . . , 500 or more were accused of homicide, robbery, and insulting white persons. . . ." In the twentieth century, regardless of the crime, hanging a black was standard procedure. It became an illegal punishment for blacks in the United States (Franklin and Moss 1988, 282).

The new century for blacks meant more bloodshed, and violence against blacks continued to be a part of the American way. It is the first thing young blacks learned about their relationship with white America. The fact that blacks lived with the reality of their own black world, and a separated white violent world, affected their thoughts, feelings and actions. Violence was an intricate part of both worlds. There are two

standards of justice in America for blacks. For example: There was a time in America when blacks could kill each other and not do one day of penitentiary time. However, if a black man killed a white person justice was swift, and all blacks understood that (then as now) a double standard is a realistic part of America.

Blacks who lived through the 1960's riots, seemed to feel that riots originated in the 1960's. However, nothing could be further from the truth. In the early 1900's there was an epidemic of race riots; they rocked America from one section of the country to another. These riots occurring in and after 1904, and were mostly whites going on a rampage killing and terrorizing blacks. Blacks did not understand the power of violence at that time, and for the most part allowed themselves to be slaughtered.

The talk among whites was that Negroes were becoming insolent. In the state of Georgia whites seemed to be looking for a reason to put blacks into their place. In August 1904, two blacks were accused of brutal murder. "This was the signal for wholesale terrorism against blacks. The Negro mother of a three-day-old infant was beaten and kicked, and her husband was killed." Many blacks who were beaten and terrified left Georgia (Franklin and Moss 1988, 283).

In September 1906, an irresponsible press in Atlanta intensified the feelings against blacks by calling for the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. They also wrote of successive assaults on

white women by blacks. Mobs began to attack every black they saw. The city was paralyzed for days, factories were closed and all transportation stopped. "Despairing Negroes loudly protested, but no one listened. Even [Teddy] Roosevelt's door of hope was apparently being shut in their face" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 283).

In the early years of the new century the south was not the only section of the country hostile to blacks. White hoodlums attacked blacks in Northern cities. There were many occasions when whites dragged blacks off the streetcars in Philadelphia with their voices ringing "Lynch them! Kill them!" The increase of immigration by blacks to Northern cities was feared by many whites and hostility toward blacks grew.

This history of whites' persecution of blacks is sad indeed. In towns all over the North, from Springfield, Ohio to Springfield, Illinois, riots occurred. Homes of blacks were burned, innocent people were beaten and others were driven out of town.

DuBois called racism "the greatest problem of the twentieth century." The United States of America proved B. T. Washington's well-publicized philosophy of uplift and accommodation to be a "joke". Dr. Washington wanted blacks to accommodate whites while they were being slaughtered all across America (Franklin and Moss 1988, 286).

B. SOLUTIONS

The NAACP had its beginnings in 1905. Without a doubt, in many cases, it has proved to be one strong solution to racism. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois started the Niagara Movement. They demanded freedom of speech, black suffrage, and the respect for the working person, among other things. DuBois' presence and philosophy was so strong that he drew the support of other prominent organizations to his cause. There were three or four fruitful meetings, but soon Dr. DuBois' organization would be absorbed by a new and more resourceful organization comprised of many whites.

It's interesting that the NAACP, as one of the most positive forces for blacks was started by a majority of whites. Thank God there was at least one black who had the foresight, and the respect from serious whites, to forge ahead for the civil rights of blacks. Dr. DuBois started a magazine named Crisis, to "widen the industrial opportunities for Negroes and to seek greater police protection for them in the South, and to carry on a crusade against lynching and lawlessness. The [new] publication was a huge success" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 289).

Black attorneys became apart of the new organization and worked with white attorneys, and within fifteen years they achieved many important decisions before the United States Supreme Court, and blacks were proud. Progress in America--

specifically civil rights progress--for blacks is very slow. Not only must blacks fight hard to accomplish a semblance of justice, they must fight harder to sustain any gains previously made.

Other solutions to "the black problem" were found in the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women Christians Associations. The first black YMCA was organized in 1853, but it became connected with the white movement after the Civil War. The NAACP, YMCA, YWCA, and the National Urban League tried to infuse social reform, regeneration, and reason together to keep the door of hope open. Nevertheless, "passion and prejudice were pressing with all their might to close it" (Franklin and Moss 1988, 290).

Endnotes/ Chapter 7

- ¹Franklin, John H., and Moss, Alfred A. Jr. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 6th ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988. 282. All further references to this study will appear parenthetically throughout the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example,"(Franklin and Moss 1988, 33).

Chapter 8

World War I and II, and its effects on Blacks

A. World War I

World War I came in 1917, and blacks were not concerned because they had enough difficulties and serious problems to claim their attention--problems they never seemed to solve. At the same time, to add to their grief, Booker T. Washington died. Even though many blacks did not agree with his approach to black problems, he was a beloved black leader.

Blacks, though not concerned at the beginning of the war in Europe, were especially eager to participate by April, 1917 because they hoped to earn true freedom. Negroes were among those who thronged the recruiting stations in April 1917, seeking to volunteer their services, but "for the most part they were not accepted."¹ The army accepted blacks but they were barred altogether from serving in the marines, and served in menial capacities in the U.S. Navy.

The discrimination in the U.S. Army, and in civilian agencies that served it, caused problems. Prompt action and understanding by administrators prevented an escalation of such problems. The War Department issued orders insisting that blacks be treated fairly and impartially. Nevertheless, complaints flooded the offices of the War department, and such complaints stated that white officers "referred to Negroes as "coon," niggers," and darkies," and frequently forced them to

work under unhealthy and difficult conditions" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 296).

Despite the ill treatment displayed toward black soldiers they remained enthusiastic about serving their country, although at times it was very difficult. In the North they were denied service in restaurants and admission to theaters. Also, there were racial problems in the South, and these problems caused the greatest concerns. Race riots broke out in Houston Texas, and Spartanburg, South Carolina, and these were but two of the hot spots of disorders. In order to avoid a violent racial eruption the first contingent of black troops made its way to Europe--ordered there by the War Department.

"Many could not have resisted the temptation to conclude that the penalty for insisting upon full equality in the United states, was a sentence to face for a full season the onslaught of the German armies" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 298).

The effects of World War 1 on blacks were numerous. The most important was the migration (by the thousands) of blacks out of the South during the war. Partially because of the war the wheels of Northern industry increased the demand for laborers. Economical and social consideration, also effected the Southern black population as Southern blacks moved to the North.

Overseas black soldiers were treated with respect by French men and women. They moved freely in France and had

pleasant associations with the French. American white soldiers took it upon themselves to try to poison the French against blacks. "American whites told the French. . .that they [blacks] were rapists, and that Americans were compelled to lynch and burn Negroes in order to keep them in their place" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 303).

In 1919, after the end of World War 1, W.E.B. Du Bois secured permission through Diagne, a Senegalese member of the Chamber of Deputies, a highly respected man in French circles, to hold a Pan-American Congress to meet in Paris simultaneously with the peace conference. There were fifty-seven delegates, including sixteen black Americans, twenty West Indians, and twelve Africans. The meetings were not effective or important to world order; however, the world's attention was called to the fact that darker people in various parts of the world were seeking democratic treatment--treatment for which some of them had fought and died in World War 1.

B. World War II

Europe was plunged into war as a result of Hitler's invasion of Poland in September 1939. Within months Congress passed an act permitting arms to be purchased on a cash and carry basis. And, as the United States put itself on a war footing blacks

wondered to what extent they would be included in the war effort.

The federal government seemed always to make gestures to discourage discrimination, but most of such gestures never had any teeth. When the Selective Service Act was passed in 1940, it was amended by a clause forbidding discrimination in the drafting and training of men. This held up "for a time; however, some draft boards accepted only white men for training, on the grounds that there was a lack of housing facilities for blacks in the camps." Blacks protested loudly at the first signs of such discrimination (Franklin and Moss 1988. 387).

Blacks found great difficulty, as plants began to convert for the production of war weapons, in securing employment. Without any doubt blacks hated Hitlerism, and wanted to fight and work for their country. Now, somehow they must fight against two fronts, the powerful threat of fascism plus racism in the world. The United States needed both black and white soldiers to win Word War II. Consequently, maintaining an army separated by race was going to prove itself counterproductive.

The president issued his famous Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941 because of a meaningful threat by A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, advanced the idea of fifty to one-hundred thousand blacks marching on Washington for their rights.

The march was prevented after heated debates, strong lobbying by government officials (black and white), and the government's sincere commitment in the form of a law that changed the hiring practices in defense industries. The executive order was hailed as a significant document. This order prohibited discrimination and was placed in all defense contracts. Certainly, there was continued discrimination in hiring practices. "The inability of the United States to enunciate a strong position on democracy that stemmed from honest practices doubtless had the effect of weakening its position as the arsenal of democracy" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 389).

Also, there was discrimination in the armed services, but blacks' opportunities were better in World War II than the previous war. Blacks were even allowed to train and fly, a real honor for blacks in 1940. Interestingly whites often kicked the black man in the seat of his pants while he died for his country.

Before the war was over blacks were in every part of the service, and established themselves as fighting men, no less courageous than white soldiers. Even with blacks dying for their country, and demanding equality whenever they could without breaking military discipline, most of white America was not impressed. "In several communities in the South, Negro soldiers were refused food in places where German prisoners of war were eating and enjoying American hospitality." When I read this statement, tears came to my eyes. I fully realized how sick

our society was at this point in American History (Franklin and Moss 188. 396).

Of course blacks resisted discrimination and this led to fights on and off military posts. There were clashes on just about every post in the armed services. There were riots at Fort Bragg, Camp Robinson, Camp Davis, Camp Lee and Fort Dix. Why white America felt blacks would die for their country, and continually allow themselves to be abused is beyond my comprehension. The morale of blacks in the service was low, and could only be substantially raised by granting to them the "four freedoms" for which we all had fought.

The effect of the war on the home front was indeed sad. There were many disgraceful experiences that outraged blacks. For example: Joe Louis, heavyweight boxing champion of the world and an honored black man, fought Buddie Baer in January 1942. He gave his entire purse to U.S. Navy relief. This was thought of by many blacks as a disgraceful act, because at the time blacks were only accepted in the Navy to serve in a menial capacity. The Red Cross separated Black and White blood regardless of the fact that a black physician, Dr. Charles Drew, had created the concept of blood banks, and that there is no basis for identifying blood in this way!

Eleanor Roosevelt made this statement early in the war. "The nation cannot expect colored people to feel that the United

States is worth defending if the Negro continues to be treated as he is now" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 405).

But eventually, the effect that World War II produced on black equality was encouraging. The position of blacks in the United States changed after the war. The climate of the war was such that substantial gains, for American blacks, were made in the United States. All organizations, black and white, pressed more vigorously for full equality for blacks. The NAACP led the charge and numerous groups (some of them new) and political organizations, plus religious groups made a progressive impact for justice for American blacks.

The federal government, specifically the executive branch became aware of both domestic and foreign pressures and responded favorably. "The interaction of these forces created a better place for Negro Americans as the nation moved into the second half of the twentieth century." The practice of American democracy was becoming more of a reality for blacks, and the interaction of all positive forces created a better place to live and work for black Americans (Franklin and Moss 1988. 411).

Endnotes/ Chapter 8

- ¹Franklin, John H., and Moss, Alfred A. Jr. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 6th ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988. 294. All further referecces to this study will appear parenthetically throughout the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example,"(Franklin and Moss 1988, 36)."

CONCLUSION

Chapters 1 to 8

From the foregoing study of black American history I can readily conclude, that Africans participated in adventurous undertakings in the “New World” as freemen before the institution of “American slavery” as such had been established. However, the enslavement of blacks became a preferred solution to the Europeans’ labor problems in the colonies. Black slaves were cheap, they were from a so-called “pagan” land, and their supply seemed inexhaustible. Indeed, enslaving Africans was perhaps the last major development in the New World’s commercial revolution. Solving their labor problem completed the commercial revolution’s productivity problems.

Trading in slaves was not a simple procedure. Most Africans resisted their capture, sale, and transportation to the colonies, but tribes sold members of other tribes. By the eighteenth century, the slave trade became an important cornerstone of the English economic system.

The slave trade raped Africa of people and their values. Based on findings from exhaustive studies of slavers’ records, “in eleven years, from 1783 through 1793, Liverpool traders alone were responsible for the importation of 303,737 slaves. . . .”¹ The traders enslaved the best Africa had to offer.

As far back as 1687 blacks of Virginia were showing clear signs of dissatisfaction. Consequently, slave codes to control rebellious problems were created in Virginia, and used as a model for other mainland codes. Nevertheless, Europeans in the colonies were still afraid of serious rebellion problems. There were occasions where whites died at the hands of their slaves. As often happens, it took flowing blood to change the perceptions of the white colonists. Some colonists began to recognize the moral and economic undesirability of holding human beings in bondage.

Slavery created wealth for many, and death for those Africans who were in the wrong place at the wrong time. Without a doubt, slavery was one of the important economic backbones that cemented the beginning of America toward a bright future. However, the contribution blacks made in America cannot be measured solely in dollars and cents.

Some black slaves were the exception to the rule; they abolitionists were slaves who became freedom fighters, inventors, and educators. Three such famous blacks were Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. These men stepped out from under slavery and developed strong characters; they became serious educators and meaningful politicians. From their lives we must conclude that a man can achieve greatness regardless of his circumstances.

There were whites who advocated non-slavery ideas. Among such whites were the Quakers who developed a revolutionary philosophy and questioned the rights of people to own slaves. Thomas Jefferson, one of the founding fathers and first author of the Declaration of Independence turned against slavery even though he owned slaves himself.

America was not ready, even with the creation of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, to dismantle slavery. Blacks were considered "brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious." When the federal Constitution was adopted, the new safeguards and machinery were part of the new order of continued slavery (Franklin and Moss 1988. 90).

The industrial Revolution and the war for independence brought about changes that affected every state in the union. The price of slaves was declining, tobacco had glutted the market, and new inventions stimulated the marketplace. Although the price of slaves declined in 1830, they were still one of the most rapidly growing elements in America's population. The slave trade was serious to America's Southern economy, and the new anti-slavery laws of the 18th century meant nothing to the "Traders" of human beings. "In 1790 there had been less than 700,000 slaves. By 1830 there were more than 2 million" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 112).

Blacks went through a terrible ordeal as they moved towards freedom. Even the most fortunate ones in the nineteenth century were not entirely free. In the South some free blacks became slaves again, which is an explanation of the black person's despair in the South at this time. They were uneducated, frustrated, and a stricken people.

Most Southerners expressed and accepted slavery as a positive good. We must conclude, that as long as slave labor was deemed an absolute essential to the economic development and prosperity of the South, the doctrine of racial inferiority would be in tune with and promote the institution of slavery.

The Dred Scott case (1857) is important because it seriously widened the breach between the North and the South. The Supreme Court openly justified the pro-slavery doctrine, and this showed the North there was little hope the slaves, without a social revolution, could attain their freedom. "This very attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enslaved people, may be one necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the complete overthrow of the whole slave system" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 179).

In February, 1861, Lincoln became President, as the nation was rapidly falling apart. Lincoln was dedicated to saving the union, but national disintegration had progressed too far. The civil war was inevitable.

African-Americans fought in the civil war. Black leaders like Frederick Douglass rallied blacks to fight in the Northern army for their country and their freedom. "More than 38,000 Negro soldiers lost their lives in the civil War." We must conclude from this fact that hope was alive in black hearts (Franklin and Moss 1988. 195).

The Confederate Army surrendered in 1865. Slavery was abolished with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment late in the same year. The end of the Civil War was a victory for blacks, for it closed a period of enslavement that had lasted for almost 250 years. Those who had struggled for centuries were momentarily victorious.

In 1867, because of the Reconstruction Act, blacks held public offices in the Southern states during reconstruction. They became members of Congress, lieutenant governors, sheriffs, and prosecuting attorneys. Although responsible blacks, some of considerable intellectual stature, were law-makers all over the south, they never achieved power of any importance. Why? because in most states they were not in sufficient numbers to secure significant positions of power.

After the election of 1876 blacks were voted out of what power they had wielded. Complete disfranchisement was not possible, because of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, but intimidation increased in its intensity. Night riders and Red Shirts hung blacks and put the fear of God in their blood.

It is easy to conclude from history, that from the beginning of blacks' presence in the New world, violence was a part of everyday living for blacks. "In the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century there had been more than 2,500 lynchings." The new century (the 1900's) meant more bloodshed for blacks, and violences against blacks continued to be the American way (Franklin and Moss 1988 382).

The NAACP had its beginnings in 1905. Without a doubt, in many cases it has proved to be one strong solution to racism. Other solutions to "the black problem" were found in the Young Men's and Young Women Christians Associations and the National Urban League. The first YMCA was organized in 1853, but it became connected with the white movement after the Civil War.

The NAACP, YMCA, YWCA, and the Urban League tried to fuse social reform, regeneration, and reason together to keep the door of hope open. Nevertheless, "Passion and prejudice were pressing with all their might to close it" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 394).

World War 1 came in 1914 and blacks at first had a problem concentrating on this momentous event. Blacks had serious racial difficulties and for all practical reasons were still slaves. Most blacks reasoned consciously or unconsciously, that volunteering their service, and showing a sincere williness to die for America would hasten equality for black Americans. White America's thoughts were so negative towards blacks, that at

first for the most part, they would not accept them in the armed services. And, those that were finally accepted were treated like "dogs" in a dog pound.

The effects of World War 1 on blacks were numerous. The most important was the migration by the thousands of blacks out of the South during the war. Partially because of the war the wheels of Northern industry increased the demand for laborers. The beatings and hangings of blacks in the South also had there effect on the Southern black population.

In World War 1, as in World War II, the federal government seemed always to make gestures to discourage discrimination, but most of such gestures never had any teeth. "In several communities in the South, Negro soldiers were refused food in places where German prisoners [World War II] of war were eating and enjoying American hospitality" (Franklin and Moss 1988. 396).

But eventually, the effect that World War II produced on black equality was encouraging. The position of blacks in the United States changed after the war. The climate of the war was such that substantial gains were made in the United States. All organizations black and white, pressed more vigorously for full equality for blacks. Certainly, the NAACP led the charge and made a progressive impact for justice for blacks. It is sad that it took two world wars, and their circumstances, to make a

differences in black's equality in America. According to a report by The United States Commission on Civil Rights in July 1974:

"The racial attitudes of Americans must changes, because the racial isolation in which most Americans live has a psychological effect on individuals of all races. It creates suspicion and fear about persons of different races, which in turn create or heighten feelings of racism."²

Endnotes/ Conclusion

Chapters 1 to 8

¹Franklin, John H., Moss, Alfred A. Jr., From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 6th ed. New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc. 1988. 37. All further references to this work will be cited parenthetically in the text with page numbers indicated, as, for example, "(Franklin and Moss 1988, 45)."

²Buggs, John A., Staff Director Equal Opportunity in Suburbia: A Report of The United States Commission on Civil Rights. July, 1974.

III EVALUATION

Chapter 9-Frustrations

A. Institutional Racism (Kerner Report) 1968

In the first nine months of 1967 there were 164 reported disorders. "Some (5 percent) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20 percent) were serious but not major; (75 percent) were minor. . . ." A Senate subcommittee studied 75 disorders, in which 83 deaths were reported. Black civilians were the overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders.

The riots and disorders studied in The Kerner Report began in 1963; however, the report specifically is about the year 1967 climaxing in the summer of the same year. In Birmingham, Savannah, Chicago, and Philadelphia there were serious disturbances in 1963.

In Birmingham (1963), the police used firehoses, dogs, and cattle prods against blacks who marched for their civil rights. Many of these blacks were kids. Blacks were shot at by white racists, and their residences were bombed. Blacks retaliated by burning white-owned businesses in black areas. Four young girls were killed in a black church during Sunday school by a bomb that exploded beneath a church.

The arrest and conviction of civil rights demonstrators, in the spring of 1964, also provoked violence in Jacksonville

Florida. A black woman was shot in Jacksonville. Students in an all-black high school in the city were forced to evacuate because of a bomb threat. Blacks became restless and stoned policemen and firemen. They also burned cars of newsmen. "For the first time Negroes used Molotov cocktails" (Kerner 1986, 36).

In 1964 there were violence and riots in many cities. Blacks were killed all over the South and the North. A black United States Army lieutenant colonel was killed driving through the state of Georgia. There were lynch murders in which law enforcement officers were implicated in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Police responded to blacks throwing bricks and stones with gunfire in Harlem, and the Bedford Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Then as now, the Bedford Stuyvesant community has had racial problems.

"The Jungle," a ghetto area in Philadelphia was the scene of the final violence in the summer of 1964. A black couple's car stalled at an intersection in this area. This was a high crime neighborhood with disease, unemployment and extreme poverty. When police officers attempted to move the car and the wife of the owner became abusive, the officers arrested her. Black spectators and police officers gathered at the scene. Two nights of rioting resulted in extensive damage and was the result of this "triggering" incident, though the real causes lay far deeper.

Civil rights protesters in 1965 staged a nonviolent demonstration in Selma, Alabama. The march was forcibly interrupted by police and state troopers. "Within the next few weeks racists murdered a white clergyman and a white housewife active in civil rights" (Kerner 1986, 37).

Many people thought that race relations had improved in the North, but were shocked by a riot August 11, 1965 in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California. A patrolman stopped a young black man for speeding who seemed intoxicated and they arrested him. A crowd gathered and law enforcement officers were called to the scene. A black woman, dragged into the middle of the street, was accused of spitting on the police.

The crowd became unruly after the police left and began hurling rocks at passing cars, beating white motorists, overturning cars they set on fire. The National Guard was called 36 hours later because the business area in Watts was being looted and burned. "Almost 4,000 persons were arrested. Thirty-four persons were killed and hundreds injured. Approximately \$35 million dollars in damage had been inflicted." This riot in Los Angeles was the worst in the United States since the Detroit riot of 1943 and evoked a new mood in the black ghettos around the country (Kerner 1986, 38).

Forty-three disorders and riots were reported during 1966. There were considerable variations in circumstances, intensity,

and length. They were usually ignited by a minor incident fueled by antagonism between the black population and the police.

Spring, 1967

In the spring of 1967, at three Southern black universities, disorders broke out at which SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), had been attempting to organize students. SNCC was a militant organization.

Stokely Carmichael, president of this organization and a black militant leader, was speaking at two primarily black universities Fisk and Tennessee A&I, in Nashville. A black soldier was allegedly intoxicated and a restaurant operator summoned the police. This restaurant was located near Fisk University.

Students began to picket the restaurant within a few minutes after police arrived. Many of them were members of SNCC. Spectators gathered; riot police arrived and became the focus of attention. Shots were fired by police in the air, and shots were returned by blacks. Rocks and bottles were thrown and more police were called forth.

There were other college protests, as stated previously. One black person and one white police officer died in the Spring of 1967 because of riots at Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi.

Americans, who experienced three years of reports of riots, as the summer of 1967 approached, expected violence.

However, no one had any answers to many hard questions: What was the cause of the riot? Was there a pattern to the disorders? How fast did the police respond?

On a hot summer Sunday, June 11, 1967, Tampa Florida became one of the first cities to have a serious disturbance. A black running away from a crime scene, a burglar, was shot in the back while his hands were raised trying to climb a fence. The bullet passed straight through his back and exited his chest. "Rumor quickly spread through the neighborhood that a white police officer had shot a Negro youth who had had his hands over his head and was trying to surrender" (Kerner 1986, 42).

Interestingly, officials prided themselves on good relationships with blacks; yet, they had not one black person on the Tampa city council, or the school board. No blacks were on the fire department and the police department had not one black of higher rank. It is my opinion that, and examples of this kind suggest that, many whites go out of their way to insult the black man's intelligence.

Three businesses were set on fire. Firemen began to extinguish the flames that had spread to several establishments. No resistance was met. Governor Claude Kirk flew to Tampa and control was soon reestablished by the State troopers. The Governor held a meeting and black leaders expressed their thoughts.

The concept of a Youth Patrol was a suggestion made to Sheriff Beard of Tampa. In this concept the Youth Patrol, along with others, would be given an opportunity to keep order. They would replace the National Guard who had been summoned to maintain order. It was a brilliant concept that worked. The Youth Patrol was expanded. "Participants were identified first by phosphorescent arm bands, and later by white hats." The theme of blacks controlling blacks was first introduced in black history when tribes captured and sold other blacks to Europeans--for the slave market. On Southern plantations, the biggest, strongest blacks were made overseer over other blacks (Kerner 1986, 46).

Now, in 1967 they placed white hats and phosphorescent arm bands on poor blacks who were starving for a little dignity and gave them the power to keep the peace. If there were any disputes, or violence, under this arrangement all blacks would suffer. This formula seems to weave a thread throughout black history. However, if such plans were successful, hopefully blacks would get the credit.

From Tampa, riots spread to Cincinnati, Atlanta, Newark, Northern New Jersey and Plainfield New Jersey. These cities were just part of a long hot summer. In Plainfield the worst violence outside Newark took place.

Plainfield failed to realize the change in character which the city had undergone. They were unprepared to cope with the

problems of a growing disadvantaged population. This city as other cities were accustomed to viewing politics as a gentlemen's pastime, so naturally they were startled with the intensity of demands issued from the ghetto.

When the demands were not respected the usual riots and disorders occurred. In this instance an unusually violent act occurred. Black youths chased and stomped an officer of the law to death.

The youths had witnessed a policeman shooting a black youth. Their cup of injustice became full and they reacted. "Gleason [the police officer killed] stumbled, regained his balance, then had his feet knocked out from under him. A score of youth began to beat him and kick him" (Kerner 1986, 80).

Interestingly, this single act is recorded as an outstanding brutal occurrence, yet blacks were hung by their necks and rotted on trees--like so much dead fruit. If a black kills a white person in all of black history it's a sad event, but blacks were killed like flies and few whites noticed most of the time. Of course, this is a black's perception of the situation.

Detroit-1967

Open warfare had been a reality between the Detroit blacks and the Detroit Police Department for many years. There was a race riot in this city in 1943, "in which 34 persons died, [it]

was the bloodiest in the United States in a span of two decades" (Kerner 1986, 85).

The 1967 disorder became so disruptive in Detroit that paratroopers were called in because the National Guard troops were pinned down by sniper fire. The situation was so critical that the National Guardsmen were afraid, the residents were afraid, and the police were very nervous. Blacks were being injured by gunshots of undetermined origin. Paratroopers spent five days in the city trying to restore order.

"In all, more than 7,200 persons were arrested. Almost 3,000 of these were picked up on the second day of the riot. . . ." Of the 43 person killed during the riot, 33 were black, and 10 were white. Police killed at least 20 blacks and private citizens the rest. This Detroit riot was an expensive and damaging affair. According to the State Insurance Bureau, insurance payments will come to about \$32 million dollars. This represents about 65 to 75 percent of the total loss (Kerner 1986, 106).

The National Guard was the last to move out of the city even though Thursday, July 27, most riot activity had ended. The paratroopers were removed from the city on Saturday the 29th. On Tuesday, August 1, the curfew was lifted and peace or a truce at last claimed the city of Detroit again.

Patterns of Disorder

The Kerner Commission was given instructions to give the President answers to specific questions about the nature of riots. He wanted to know the kind of communities they occurred in, how to cool the situation and the impact various social programs had on depressed conditions. Also, he wanted to understand the parts of the community that suffered the most as a result of the disorders.

In their investigation the commission was unable to identify constant patterns in all aspects of civil disorders. However, they categorized the information learned about the 1967 riots, its patterns of disorder, and made the information available.

One of the most important findings seemed to be the fact that disorders did not typically erupt without preexisting causes. The riots were triggered as a result of a single incident, but developed out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere. Typically, there was a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months. Such incidents became linked in the minds of many blacks in the community, with a shared reservoir of underlying grievances.

The powerlessness that blacks often experienced in the community, the discrimination, and prejudice caused serious grievances. Thus, the severely disadvantaged social and economic conditions of many blacks, as compared with those of whites in the same city, caused problems.

The thought always seems to surface in the minds of many that typical rioters were hoodlums, habitual criminals or riffraff. The Commission found that "instead he was a teenager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, . . . and almost invariably under-employed or employed in a menial job" (Kerner 1986, 111).

The research also showed that blacks were proud of their race, and extremely hostile to both whites and middle class blacks. They are informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system and of political leaders. Blacks who were better educated and had higher income tried to cool the rioters down, because they generally had much to lose.

Basically, the riot and disorders seemed to accomplish very little towards creating a better understanding between blacks and whites. The status quo of daily life before the disorders generally was quickly restored. Consequently, despite some notable public and private efforts, little basic change took place. The conditions underlying the disorder remained the same. "In some cases, the result was increased distrust between blacks and whites, diminished interracial communication, and growth of Negro and white extremist groups" (Kerner 1986, 112).

Why did it Happen?

The behavior of white Americans towards black Americans has shaped our future and is one of the basic causes of riots and

disorders. White racism is like cancer when it eats at the minds of white America. Discrimination, segregation, and the continuing "smothering" of blacks by the hundreds of thousands, such actions kept them from obtaining a sound education, and worthy employment, causing an explosive mixture which irrupted on a large scale in (riots and disorders) 1967.

Because of a poor black migration from the South, and a white exodus of the middle-class to the suburbs, there was an increased burden on the resources of the northern cities. Such unmet human needs by blacks created a crisis in many cities. Thus, the black ghettos were born. Also, there were jobless men and women, crime, narcotics and welfare. From all of these realities sprang "resentment against society in general and white society in particular" (Kerner 1986, 204).

Forces have converged in recent years in the inner cities, on the people who inhabit the ghettos, brought by whites and blacks outside of the ghettos. Television shows depict blacks and whites who have prospered, and blacks have a serious problem when such prosperity is flaunted in their face. Poor blacks, because of a dream that has been realized by both blacks and whites seek the same dignity, respect, prosperity, and acceptance as these other Americans.

The economic inequalities were heightened because of the struggle in the South for equal rights and such a struggle showed the persistent gap between promise and fulfillment.

"These expectations were also aroused by the legislative and judicial victories of the civil rights movement." All of these situations encourage the feelings of frustrated blacks. (Kerner 1986, 204).

Violence has been legitimized by whites since the beginning of black enslavement. White terrorists showed blacks, by their own examples, that in many situations terrorism works. Whites have used many forms of violence against blacks, and blacks showed in the 60's that they were capable of retaliation for wrongs perpetrated against them. "The frustrations of powerlessness have led some to the conviction that there is no effective alternative to violence as a means of moving the system" (Kerner 1986, 205).

A new mood surfaced among blacks. The young replaced apathy and submission with self-esteem and enhanced racial pride. The young who made up over half of the ghetto population showed a growing sense of alienation. The hate they had in their hearts for whites and for middle class blacks, (whom they hated, but not nearly as much as whites), was fanned into a roaring flame that brought destruction.

Because of these conditions, a volatile mixture of attitudes and beliefs begged for a spark. And, when that spark came mass violence rocked America. If such violence on the part of blacks had been seriously organized, the history of the 60's would have been radically different. I am thankful that such a history, the

history of riots, was not organized because the black man could have been destroyed.

I cannot overlook the significant role that police played in the black world. From the time a black person is born into the ghetto, his image of a police officer is foul. Most police, black or white, walk the ghetto streets as if they were anointed by God. It seems to black youth their mission on earth is to keep their foot up a black man's rear-end. As black youth grow and learn white society's ways, they discover that the only power that is respected by everyone in the ghetto and outside the ghetto is economic power. From that perspective, it is easy for black youth to dedicate themselves to a life of dishonesty.

The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a "widespread perception among blacks of the existence of police brutality and corruption, and of "protection"--one [standard] for Negroes and one for whites" (Kerner 1986, 206).

Police and the Community

One of the primary reasons for disorders surveyed by the Commission was the hostility between police and ghetto communities. Abrasive relationships between blacks and police and other minorities have caused grievances, tension and ultimately disorders. "In a fundamental sense, however, it is wrong to define the problem solely as hostility to police. In

many ways the policeman only symbolizes much deeper problems" (Kerner 1986, 299).

There was a time in America when third-degree interrogations were standard procedure. Justice dispensed with a nightstick and indiscriminate arrests on suspicion were generally accepted. Because of police brutality and harassment which occurs repeatedly in black neighborhoods, blacks firmly believe all police are their enemies. Nevertheless, "the true extent of excessive and unjustified use of force is difficult to determine" (Kerner 1986, 302).

In almost every city in the United States the Commission heard complaints about harassment, dispersal of social street gatherings, and blacks being stopped and questioned for no reason at all. Police verbal abuse was degrading and had great impact in the ghetto. Blacks in the ghetto were stripped of the one thing that they may have had left--their dignity.

From the policeman's viewpoint, he sees ghetto youth out of work that are hostile, and eager to show their own masculinity. The police are subject to taunts and provocations which test their self-control. Police are under constant pressure most of the time to deal with black youth forcefully. Members of the community have been known, because of fear, to pressure the police and often endorse harassment of youths. Such harassment is often viewed by police departments as proper crime prevention technique.

Many police officers have limited knowledge of the black community. The improper acts of a relatively few officers may create severe misunderstandings and tensions between the community and their police department.

The Kerner Crime Commission conclusion about police misconduct is stated thus: "all such behavior [police misconduct] is obviously and totally reprehensible, and when it is directed against minority-group citizens it is particular likely to lead, for quite obvious reasons, to bitterness in the community" (Kerner 1986, 304).

What can be Done?

There was a communication failure at all levels of government which was reflected by the racial disorders of the summer of 1967. Because of such failures there was a widening gap between public resources and human needs. Neither leadership nor the commitment of community institutions met the needs of the community. "Finally, some cities lack either the will or the capacity to use effectively the resources that are available to them" (Kerner 1986, 283).

First, there must be devised a way to open channels between government and the residents of the ghetto. Second, the city administration must improve its capacity to respond effectively to community needs. And third, opportunity must be provided for meaningful citizen participation in decision. These

are but a few of the meaningful suggestion put forth by the Kerner Report on Civil Rights Disorders.

A Task Force approach, suggested by the Kerner Report commission as a form of neighborhood organization, could possibly do what other organizations have not been able to do. It could cement the community, and connect the real needs of the ghetto with the resources of both city government and the private sector. It could improve the quality of services to ghetto areas. If this plan succeeds a new sense of community relations will be generated.

"Many of the grievances identified in our study of the conditions underlying civil disorders can be redressed only through legislative actions." It was also recommended that each city with a substantial minority population hold a series of meetings on ghetto problems. Such meetings could be held in the ghettos to facilitate full citizen participation. This is but one way to bridge the communication gap between the poor and the white community. A understanding of the true conditions could be better understood (Kerner 1986, 293).

Employment opportunities must be improved. It was recommended by the Commission that municipal authorities take prompt action to remove barriers to employment of residents living in the ghetto. These actions will in turn stimulate private employers to take action. "Re-evaluation is particularly necessary with respect to requirements relating to employment

qualification tests and police records." Leadership is of urgent priority by city government to assist minorities in every way possible (Kerner 1986, 294).

Some style of multi-service centers should be created because frequently, services vital to the ghetto resident are inaccessible. Services such as job placement and location, health care, and legal assistance are located at considerable distance from the ghetto. There are now available, (and also in 1967 there were available), such services as (OEO) Office of Economic Opportunity, that serves the needs of those in the ghetto. However, the problem has been that most centers have not been comprehensive enough, and are seldom located in the same center. This has been the principle problem with O.E.O. funded services. The Commission recommends increased federal funding for comprehensive centers, and a new dedication to serious implementation of new policy guidelines proposed above.

These are but a few of the recommendations by the Kerner Commission on what can be done about riots and disorder by minorities in America. There were literally hundreds of suggestions, and in-depth investigations, all approved by the Commission. The Kerner Report is one the most detailed reports ever produced by a body of men, as to the cause and explanation of the alienation of a large minority within a society of "institutionalized racism." For example: An administrator of a

corporation a President, Vice President, or a Personnel Manager, if they chose to fill a job vacancy with a minority because he is the most qualified applicant, this is honorable.

Nevertheless, after extensive investigation he discovers that in the history of the institution, no minority has ever held the position. Further investigation reveals that his peers and superiors frown on minority hiring for this position, and such resistance can cause him serious problems. When he bends his morals, and unjustly denies the minority a position he is so rightly qualified for, this is a prime example of "institutionalized racism." Racism that is imbred in the system.

B. The Kerner Commission: Twenty Years Later

Black Americans' problems, because of the riots of the late 1960's have become America's pressing problems. "The Reverend Joseph Lowery, former aide to Martin Luther King, has said: When America catches a cold, the black community gets pneumonia."² This is a good figure of speech, because black Americans are disproportionately harmed by America's problems.

However, we must look at American blacks' successes since the 1960's to make a realistic judgement of the status of black Americans today. And, there have been many success stories particularly in the political arena, which are the most visible. Karl Zinsmeister states in "Black Demographics":

From 1968 to 1987 the number of black elected officials nationwide rocketed up six times over, to a total of nearly 7,000. The number of black mayors increased from 48 to 303, and many of our most important cities, including Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. now have black chief executives (Zinsmeister 1988, 41).

Most Black Americans seem to understand clearly that education is the key to success in the United States. Since the sixties educational levels have risen dramatically for blacks. Also, because of such educational levels, high status jobs for blacks have risen sharply.

The accomplishments of blacks are not across the board. For example, they have not excelled in small business; however, the general improvement of conditions has been impressive. "For people who have followed the traditional American path to success--finish high school, go to college, get married--the economic playing field is now level for both races" [underline added] (Zinsmeister 1988, 41).

But, the lower third of America's blacks are considered the underclass and they have severe problems. They are not "on" the playing field. The deterioration of the poor black family is the deepest of these problems. Marriage rates are relatively low and divorce and separation are high for blacks. There is and has been a collapse of the black family.

Despite great hopes and high determination, other social institutions have had little success in compensating for the collapse of the lower-class black family. Not the churches, certainly not the welfare system, and unfortunately not

the schools have been able to staunch the bleeding at the bottom of black society (Zinsmeister 1988, 43).

One of black's sad statistics is that presently half of all felony convictions in this country are young black males. Most of their victims are other blacks, and homicide is now the leading cause of death among black youth.

There is a distinct separation between the prosperous, well-adjusted top two-thirds of black Americans from those in the underclass. They are isolated from the rest of American society. Black successful Americans need to become a working example and model or source of promise to other blacks who need encouragement. Successful blacks need to take a more active role in helping the black underclass.

Before the 1960's and the civil rights movement, blacks found it difficult to disassociate themselves from the ghetto. However, after the movement, those who where upwardly mobile had a chance to escape the ghetto. There were many blacks who made it up the ladder, removing themselves psychologically and physically from the black community. As I have stated before, what is needed are more active, visible, examples for others to follow. For example: If every other successful black educator, or businessman, donated just two hours per week to kids, students, convicts, or juveniles would make a large difference.

On specific racial issues since the Kerner Report in 1968, a difference between races in perception of racism continues to

exist, even though there is a considerable and hopeful narrowing of the gap in attitude differences between black and whites since 1968. For example: The election of black politicians across America and the acceptance of black programs on television.

Diane Colasanto, states in "Black Attitudes":

Blacks and whites hold different beliefs and values on many political and social issues. More important, blacks and whites believe that racial differences that cut across class lines exist. These social facts indicate the continued existence of some of the key underlying factors highlighted by the Kerner Commission as leading to racial conflict. ³

Without a doubt, civil rights activism has declined over the past twenty years. This decline in activism has moved whites to a different point of view, contrary from thoughts of the 60's. They switched from stating blacks were pushing too hard, and too fast, to saying blacks' speed is about right. Indeed, blacks now realize they are moving too slowly and at times seemingly become complacent with their present status.

There have been some positive changes in race relations in the last two decades. Nevertheless, the picture is decidedly a mixture of many gaps in black and white thinking. Gaps in understanding and perception still exist with respect to the cause of poverty among blacks. For example: many whites still feel that blacks are naturally lazy, and want the good things of life without putting forth any effort, and that laziness is therefore the cause of poverty. And, blacks state over and over

again, that all they want is a level playing field, a fair chance, and then poverty of the magnitude related to blacks in the 90's would be a thing of the past.

In conclusion, "the persistent frustration of blacks--both poor and affluent--with the political system points to our failure to live up to the central challenge of the Kerner Commission to create a true union" (Colasanto 1988, 49).

C. Black Frustrations in the 1970's, 80's & 90's

There was a dream among blacks some years ago, that because of a large concentration of blacks in urban centers and the power of numbers in achieving political power, that they would rise to new economic heights in America's cities. Such a dream by black Americans was proven to be only a delusion. Cesspools of crime, unemployment, family breakdown and physical blight were and are, the reality of our cities all across this "great land." "In spite of the profound shifts in [black] power. . .the United States seems to have a domestic objective of 'business as usual' with no change needed or. . . wanted."⁴ This realistic assessment is a source of black frustrations in the 90's as it was when these words were written.

The decline of black faith in the urban dream is symbolized by blacks who in the 1970's returned to the South. They returned to the South for career opportunities, less

discrimination and a better quality of life. Most of the returnees were middle class blacks who moved into skilled jobs or professions. Southern blacks have exceeded the progress of their Northern brethren. Many blacks were able to leave behind some of the frustrations felt in the North by moving to the South. Working class blacks, and the underclass, remain the most frustrated of black society.

There seems to be a prevalent view among white Americans that blacks have overcome most of the obstacles to racial equality. This view from white Americans in the 1990's frustrates any black, regardless of his intelligence or status in life. The reason for this confusion among some Americans is because of the tendency of researchers and federal agencies to compare a minority group's progress only with its last performance. On that basis blacks have improved their status in U.S. society--in an absolute sense.

However, when you compare their progress with that of white males (the dominant group), a racial gap in education, jobs and income is evident. And this fact can be attributed to race discrimination. John F. Kennedy, in his special message to the Congress on Civil Rights spoke on race discrimination:

Race discrimination hampers our economic growth by preventing the maximum development and utilization of our manpower. It hampers our world leadership by contradicting at home the message we preach abroad. It mars the atmosphere of a united and classless society in which this Nation rose to greatness. It increases the costs

of public welfare, crime, delinquency and disorder. Above all, it is wrong.⁵

One of the most important instruments for progress in American society and a source of great frustration for blacks is education. Educational institutions represent a measure of freedom and equality for the black man. In the black/white confrontation education has always been an important issue; it is seen as the major means to upward mobility. To limit the access of blacks to educational systems, in any way, by any means, is to maintain the racial privileges of the white majority.

The history of blacks in education reads like a roller coaster ride. The efforts and decisions made by blacks who were serious about their education, showed they had a hunger for knowledge. However, black efforts for equal educational rights were blocked in many ways and for many years. Black's hunger for education had everything to do with the issue of school desegregation. In Franklin and Moss's, From Slavery to Freedom the authors state:

The process of school desegregation . . . showed how illusory [educational] freedom could be. Because of the opposition to decisions in the school desegregation cases and the techniques used to delay desegregation altogether, Negroes soon discovered that desegregation both in the North and South would be a slow process." (455)

Another system in America that frustrates millions of Americans, is our system of welfare. Welfare is another racist code-word for the voters. For Example: Most white Americans

believe with all their hearts that blacks on welfare should find employment and when politicians alude to changing the welfare system, they touch a sensitive spot among poor blacks and most of white America. This system has torn many families apart, dehumanized them, and managed to make many blacks into wards of the political state.

Welfare recipients are subjected to the most dehumanizing practices, such as invasion of privacy, sterilization, and bureaucratic intrusion into their lives. It also fosters a dependency in the native population and erodes ambition and the work ethic..

Welfare, for many black families is the ultimate degrading experience of frustration, and the migration of blacks to cities was a direct contribution to the system.

"For many black newcomers to the city, employment failed to materialize. Without decent places to live and with unemployment or underemployment as their fate, they were vulnerable to most of the forces that operated to debase and degrade them." (Franklin and Moss 1988, 493).

In conclusion, frustrations of blacks in the 1970's 80's and 90's were only exceeded by their just social grievances. There will hopefully come a time, that all of America will rise above all forms of social injustice.

D. Blacks and Mental Illness

Emotionally troubled blacks experience problems that are by no means confined only to black persons. The experiences of Afro-Americans in this country are unique. However, the principles of their psychological functioning are by definition universal. The importance of such principles was first understood in the study of Caucasian men, and the color of a person has nothing to do with the validity of such principles. It is safe for me to assume that white males were studied by psychiatrists long before black problems were even acknowledged.

The psychological growth and development of blacks can show forms of many psychoses, because of their history of oppressive slavery. "Of all the varieties of functional psychosis, those that include paranoid symptoms are the most prevalent by far among black people" (Grier 1968. 35).

Historical reflections, without a doubt, bring to light the fact that North American slavery was one of the harshest forms of involuntary servitude. Its impact is most vividly reflected in Afro-American culture and family life. For example: slave mothers came home from their labor to nurse their children, a feat which required great psychological courage, since their children were born to be slaves. It has been widely reported that many killed their young to prevent them from entering slavery. Such women were used as breeding instruments to

produce future slaves. And, black males were denied their formal roles as protector and provider for their families. I suggest that mental instability entwined itself with blacks during their days of slavery. In 1974, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights committee stated:

The attitude of [white] people is negative. A great many [whites] are without personal knowledge of black people. They respond to stereo-typed ideas that we have all been brought up to inherit in a segregated society. Such ideas do not contribute to a black healthy mind.⁶

Throughout history American blacks have had a difficult time maintaining a healthy mind. Why? Because the black man realizes that his survival in America depends, in a large measure, on the development of a healthy relationship with all the colors in the rainbow--but specifically the white man. Normally the Afro-American man must maintain a high degree of suspicion (unless current evidence proves otherwise) toward the motives of every white man he meets. Nevertheless, he must understand that no two individuals on this God's abundant earth are the same, or, he will not be successful. This suspicion plus possible trust, together, makes for a demanding requirement and not every black person can handle it with grace.

Every complaint of racial discrimination raised by every black paranoid, could not possibly be pursued. Such a pursuit would be literally impossible. With rare exceptions every paranoid black man is troubled about white persecution. This

perceived persecution (whether factual or not), can eventually cause serious mental problems, if an emotional safety valve is not obtainable in one form or another.

Mental problems of blacks are also derived from others of the same nationality. For example: blacks speaking negatively about other blacks with no evidence, and voicing assumptions about their character, should be seriously taken to task.

Also, if a black man has no family support system, he can easily develop a feeling of personal bankruptcy. A man/woman needs encouragement at times of crisis, and if they attach themselves to the wrong perspective of family life mental disorders can manifest themselves. A black having a mentally healthy supportive black family is not necessarily highly probable today: "The decade of the eighties finds the black family a fluid and complex institution."⁷

If a man (any man) abandons his personal drive for achievement, and in so doing admits personal bankruptcy, then any failure of the "family" to meet his need for support and status can cause serious mental disorders. His esteem can drop to dangerous levels.

There is a problem of isolation that affects hundreds of thousands of blacks. It is one of the clearest afflictions of the black underclass. The sharp separation of the prosperous well-adjusted top two-thirds of black Americans, from the poor and broadly dysfunctional bottom third, sheds light on a serious

black American problem. This isolation (separation) is not only from white America, but from the example and promise of blacks who have made a success of themselves. Such a separation of blacks from other Americans, also can lead to mentally dysfunctional minds.

The riots and disorders of the 1960's are perfect examples of the results of depressed, unhealthy black mentalities in American society. Fortunately, such riots were not organized. Hopefully, America will move towards positive changes in race relations. Attitudes of blacks and whites must converge, and gaps in understanding and perception must close. And, the mental health of blacks must improve. Without such improvement, understanding that nothing stands still, and situations either improve or degenerate themselves, America's potential for a blood bath could conceivably become a reality.

William H. Grier, and Price M. Cobbs, state in their book Black Rage:

Black men have stood so long in such peculiar jeopardy in America that a *black norm* has developed--a suspiciousness of one's environment which is necessary for survival. Black people, to a degree that approaches paranoia, must be ever alert to danger from their white fellow citizens. It is a cultural phenomenon peculiar to black Americans. And it is a posture so close to paranoid thinking that the mental disorder into which black people must frequently fall is paranoid psychosis (206).

Depression and grief are hatred turned on the self. It is instructive to pursue the relevance of this truth to the condition of black Americans.

(1) Personal and Group Counseling-Blacks

The nature of the economic position for lower-income people, blacks specifically, can be a significant generator of stress; it can support or interfere with life's vital transitions. What are limited for blacks, such as to injure their mental stability are jobs, promotions, housing, education, and social mobility. And, as a consequence of mental as well as financial instabilities, black families are less likely to remain intact.

For lower-income black families, the rate of mental and physical illness is higher, while life expectancy is lower. Even though many blacks need counseling desperately, they are unable to compete for social resources; their leverage on social organizations is relatively weak. With limited power, ignorance about their mental condition and their rights, and with no negotiating skills, the reality of depression or a breakdown is highly likely.

During World War II there was a shortage of personnel trained to provide individual therapy. Group therapy assumed a traditional therapeutic role because of such a shortage of personnel. "Many people participated in [personal and group] therapy to try and alleviate specific systems or problems. . . In

group therapy attention is given to unconscious factors in one's past as well as to personality changes."⁸ No matter what problem that frustrated blacks may have, whether personal, educational, social or vocational, a group counselor can structure a climate favorable to productive work.

"Personal-growth groups offer an intense experience. . . concerned with exploring personal issues that most people struggle with at the various transition periods of life." Also, there are structured groups that are structured to focus on one theme. The specific topic varies according to the population of the group (Cory 1982 11).

The groups that would be most helpful to frustrated blacks are the self-help groups. These groups serve a critical need for certain populations that are not met by professional mental-health workers. Self-help groups reduce psychological stress, they are composed of people with a common interest, and provide a strong support system. "Such groups stress a common identity based on common life situations to a far greater extent than do most other groups" (Cory 1982 113).

The prime importances to blacks of confidentiality, within a group, is that it cements a healthy working relationship. Special problems of a racial nature would not surface if confidentiality were not assured. At best it is hard for blacks to reveal their true feelings about racial problems even to each other. There is a prevalent feeling, specially among lower-income blacks, that

nothing can be done about most situations of color. Youth have a way at times of accepting racial problems, as an unsolvable American policy that cannot be changed. The needs of black children, adolescents, and adults, can be related to their developmental stages of growth, and the experiences that have confronted them.

Group counseling is described as a preventive, growth-related, and remedial process. It is preventive if it is implemented at the first sign of inappropriate coping behaviors. It is remedial if it is applied before persons have extreme difficulty functioning in society. "If counselors know where individuals should be in their development, they can truly be preventive with timely interventions. Both group counseling and life-skills training are intervention strategies."⁹

The abilities to manage one's emotions, to take advantage of one's creative potential, and to cope with difficult problems are life-skills that blacks can perfect in group counseling. If such groups were available many black youths would benefit from participation. From interaction with groups, an astute counselor can readily realize who needs personal counseling. Thus, he can advise the client to move in another direction for personal counseling.

At the beginning of a counseling session, the counselor is actively trying to build a base of mutual trust and caring. As the counselees develop this base, the group counselor assists the

counselees to move to a greater depth of exploration. Counselors must conclude that patients seeking group psychotherapy or, similarly, counselees seeking group counseling, will provide the best overall plan for building a therapeutic climate. Those clients who have been properly educated, about potential personal problems, make the best clients for group or personal counseling.

It has been suggested that special programs (for which there is a need) targeted towards lower income blacks, would significantly reduce the pressure felt because of discrimination and racism. "Our society is crying out in pain. Those. . . who claim to be in the helping professions will find [themselves] being called on to assist in many new and alien situations."¹⁰

The perception of black counselors in relationship to blacks, and the perception of their black clients towards counselors are worlds apart. For example: If a black counselor's background does not blend with his lower-income clients, chances are a communication problem could exist. Consequently, there would exist a gap in communication that must be closed, by seeking Counselors who can relate to lower income blacks.

In conclusion, there is a serious need for black counselors, since they hold one of the keys needed for better communication with our black populace. And, a black counselor's communication with black clients, can supply the

preventive therapy needed to promote healthy black mentalities. Black professionals must reach back and assist those who need their help. Without such assistance blacks will be a danger to themselves and their environment.

Endnotes

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III EVALUATION

Chapter 10

Merits of Evidence and Argumentation

The evidence presented describing the problem, in the introduction, shows reasons for Afro-Americans dissatisfaction with racist acts and prejudicial treatment against them. That black Americans made blood sacrifices and are still suffering from a multitude of complex racial problems in the 1990's are recorded facts. There are counterarguments against such recorded facts, but such arguments are not sound.

Many influential Americans argue that blacks have come a long way from slavery; others insinuate that blacks should be happy with the progress made--and shut up! This is not sound reasoning to any person of normal intelligence, who would understand that in life all things are relative to each other. For example: a black government administrator does not think on the same level as a black street cleaner, or a black who has been kicked in the shins most of his life. If you tell a hungry black he has come a long way, he might laugh in your face; a successful middle-class black might agree.

Evidence of the remnants of slavery appears in American society on many levels and with a different intensity on each level. On the lower level you have blatant police brutality, and on the higher level there are many forms of institutionalized racism.

For example: A corporation may have a policy that has been implemented for years, of hiring only qualified white males in a specific department. A new administrator could come along and desire to place a qualified minority or a woman in such a position. However, when he touched bases with the others in the corporation he discovers that a change in policy could hurt his carrer; therefore, he placed a white male in the position. Thus, a example of institutulized racism.

True, there have been many meaningful changes for blacks in America since slavery; however, essential changes have not occurred of the kind that would alter the basic relationship between blacks and whites--in a largely racially stratified society. This is the problem and recorded evidence substantiates the statement.

The first Africans who set foot in the New World (1501) were free men. The institution of "American slavery" as such had not been established. Recorded evidence shows us that poor white convicts were used, and Indians were enslaved before blacks became slaves. White servants were constantly running away, and Indians mounted murderous reprisals to stop their enslavement. They were in their homeland. Blacks were living in a foreign land and their "supply" was inexhaustible.

Would America have become a great country without the enslavement of blacks? What does the evidence show? The evidence shows that a total of about 9,000,000 blacks were

imported into the New World as slaves during slavery. "In eleven years, from 1783 through 1793, Liverpool traders alone were responsible for the importation of 3,003,737 slaves. . . .[underline added].¹

These facts in themselves do not prove that America would not have become great without slaves; nevertheless, such facts argue that black slaves had a serious impact on the economics of America in its formative days, and this is a very sound argument. The evidence is indisputable: the South was built on the backs of black slaves, and they became one of the important reasons for the economic beginning of America.

Frederick Douglass was an exceptional man. He rose to great heights though initially shackled by the chains of slavery. He was indeed the exception to the rule. His conclusion, that any black man can achieve any goal he desires, if he works to attain it, is based on pure assumption and few facts. Frederick Douglass has often been used as a ruler to measure the progress of other blacks. Those who use this comparison argue that to overcome slavery, or the effects of slavery, and rise to great heights is up to the individual.

My counter-argument is that the evidence shows slavery was an inhuman policy, and few blacks overcame the stench of this barbaric institution. Bad policies are not made right because some few are able to succeed in spite of them.

The evidence is strong that throughout history American blacks have deluded themselves as to their position in American society. For example: Crispus Attucks lost his life in March 1770, (Boston Massacre) defending the ideals of white America, a fugitive slave who resisted England. Here was a black slave, who saw daily the oppression of his people, and yet he chose to fight for his oppressors. Again, Crispus Attucks along with many blacks who followed him lost their lives fighting for the colonies. My research did not reveal to me that the carrot of freedom was offered to Crispus Attucks, as it was offered to most slaves if they fought for the colonies.

Thomas Jefferson, even though the evidences shows he owned slaves in 1776, tried through his first draft of the Declaration of Independence to outline slavery as a cruel war against human nature. I argue that Thomas Jefferson was a just man, but caught up in a form of institutionalized slavery in the South. As stated on page 29 above, the final draft of the instrument was silent on the matter of slavery.

In 1803, all states in the United States were legally closed to slavery. However, as long as there was a need for slave labor, slavery flourished. The evidence is clear and irrefutable, that the economics involved with the buying, selling, and utilizing of slaves benefitted every nook and crevice of white America.

To most blacks John Brown is a hero. He was a white man who understood the power of violence. Citizens of his day and time argued that he was a mad man. I counter that argument by stating that he was not mad, but overestimated the attitudes of black slaves. He sincerely believed that blacks everywhere would rise and fight, specifically those in the South. However, this was not the nature of black slaves. John Brown worked for the cause of freedom for many years, and yet he misread the minds of black slaves. This mistake cost him his life.

Since I was a child, the first serious statement that has always come to my mind, is, Lincoln freed the slaves. This is what I heard in grade school over and over again. It is a prime example of a half truth. Lincoln, as everyone knows was interested in preserving the union; this was his foremost interest. The evidence shows us that if Lincoln could have negotiated a settlement without war, and preserve the union, Southern states just might still have slaves today.

Some argue that Northern blacks were finally allowed to fight for their cause, because whites felt it was cruel to deprive blacks of this opportunity. My counter-argument is what my research shows. The North suffered heavy casualties, and Lincoln needed soldiers to lay down their lives in a very bloody war in order to preserve the Union.

Slavery was abolished with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. The end of the civil war was a victory for

blacks. It closed a period of enslavement that lasted for almost 250 years, and opened a new area of economic and political slavery of blacks.

Black Codes placed blacks in almost the same position as they were in before the war. For example: Vagrancy laws were created to force blacks to work for practically nothing. Many refused and others left the South. Again, economics was behind all movement. However, industrialists would not allow the old agrarian system to return. The system of cheap or free labor was on the table.

During a nine year span, from 1867 to 1876, blacks held important positions in the South. However, my research shows that they had no real power, because of their relatively small number who participated in politics. After the election of 1876 black Southern politicians were mostly removed. Blacks in this election were kept from voting, and their uneducated minds were exploited. Their vote was bought for a slab of barbecue ribs and whiskey, and when that didn't work, violence did. White Southerners regained the South by laws and violence.

Booker T. Washington & W.E.B. DuBois

Any evaluation of Booker T. Washington would not be fair without seriously understanding the climate in which he operated. If Booker T. Washington had not adopted the policy of black service to whites, he would not have been allowed to

improve blacks' position in life. He taught blacks to stay in their place until they were strong enough to make a difference. "He taught his students that labor was a "Spiritual force". . .

[creating] accuracy, honesty, persistency, and intelligence." This is why the South is known for it's black brick masons, painters and other skilled tradesmen (Franklin 1988 245).

B.T. Washington's gave the Southern black man a way to literally build a roof over his head. He showed blacks in the 19th and 20th century how to stay out of the way of the willfully ignorant Southern white man whose sole commitment in life, was to abuse, use or exterminate blacks. Without B.T Washington understanding of the times he lived in, there would have been no Tuskegee University in 1881. It is one of American blacks' oldest and proudest educational institutions.

The problems of racism caused a negative response by many blacks, to Washington's well-publicized philosophy of uplift and accommodation, because blacks were being slaughtered all across America. The evidence shows that blacks did not understand the power of violence and disorder at that time. For the most part they allowed themselves to be slaughtered.

W.E.B. DuBois, educator, was a man whose basic concepts on black education differed from B.T. Washington. Dr. DuBois earned a Doctorate of Philosophy degree from Harvard. He was a rare black bird. DuBois was an intellectual rebel, in contrast to

Washington who offered a palm branch to white Southerners.

Dr. DuBois believed that because of Washington's approach to the problem, disfranchisement of blacks was the results. He believed in "manhood" for blacks, (as discussed on page 55), and I take this to include blacks fighting for equality. DuBois steered blacks into law and reasoning. He believed in organizing, law, the printed word and integration among prominent blacks and whites with high ideals. The effect on black history of both Washington and DuBois is a matter of record, and defies all minimizing.

World War I and II

Blacks were caught in a vise in both World Wars, I and II. White society, for the most part, did not want blacks to fight for America's rights. Truly it did not make sense to fight for a freedom you did not possess. Yet, blacks hoped to earn true freedom and thronged the recruiting stations in April 1917.

The discrimination in the Army caused problems Blacks were refered to as "coon," "niggers," and darkies," and frequently worked under unhealthy conditions. At this time there were racial problems all over the states. The first contingent of black troops made its way to Europe--ordered there by the War Department before their time to avert a riot. . . "the penalty for insisting upon full equality in the United States,

was a sentence to face for a full season the onslaught of German armies" (Franklin 1988 298).

The opportunities for blacks were better in World War II than in the previous War. My research shows that although there were riots in many army camps, and the morale of blacks in the service was low, eventually, the effect that World War II produced on black equality was encouraging. A progressive impact for justice for American blacks was in evidence.

Kerner Report

The Kerner Report shows evidence that racial disorders studied in their report, from 1963 climaxing in 1967 reflect the failure of our society's institutions to come to grips with the problems of our cities. A widening gap between human needs, and public resources in the ghetto was evident. A cynicism regarding the commitment of community institutions and a lack of leadership to meet these needs were but two dimensions that caused the riots of the 1960's. The Kerner Report showed that the problem had many dimensions.

Evidence presented to the Commission in hearings, field reports and research analyses of the 1967 riot cities, establishes that blacks were angry about local government's failures to solve their problem. Further, because of a long history of racial discrimination these grievances became personal to many blacks.

As the facts of this sad situation presented themselves to the Commission, it was learned that the charge of lack of communication in the ghetto rang true. The absence of regular contacts with ghetto residents prevented city leaders from learning about problems and grievances as they developed.

The Kerner Report showed a divided nation. The first paragraph by Tom Wicker in the Report states:

This report is a picture of one nation divided. It is a picture that derives its most devastating validity from the fact that it was drawn by representatives of the moderate and "responsible" establishment--not by black radicals, militant youth or even academic leftists. From it rises not merely a cry of outrage; it is also an expression of shocked intelligence and violated faith [underline added].²

The most outstanding, interesting, and thought provoking variable concerning the Commission of Civil Rights report, (Kerner Report) was the moderate political men appointed to the Commission by President Johnson on July 27, 1967. There were no militants on the Commission, or even those influenced by them.

The argument that only those representing inter-racial moderation could conceivably have a voice that is effective, and sure to be heard by white moderate America, is sound. The merits of such an argument speak for themselves. In the end the Commission summed up their thoughts by stating that "What had to be said has been said at last, and by representatives of that

white, moderate, responsible America that, alone, needed to say it" (Kerner 1986. 81).

To evaluate the progress of blacks twenty-some years after the formation of the Kerner Commission Report is not an easy task. The evidence is clear that progress has been made on many fronts. If black progress is measured by looking at the past, then blacks have made enormous strides in every way. The most visible of these is politics. Education levels have risen dramatically, business executives and professionals, in high status jobs have risen sharply.

However, in contrast to measuring black progress by looking at the past, we can look at our position now (1991) and the treatment the majority of blacks in white America, by white Americans and this is an entirely different scenario. It is evident that a racial difference in perception continues to exist, despite considerable narrowing of attitude differences between blacks and whites since the late 1960's.

In particular, there is a gap between beliefs about principles of racial equality and about implementing specific policies to speed the pace of true racial equality. If blacks use white Americans as their yardstick for equality, the evidence is the reality blacks are still in trouble, and in many cases, serious trouble. In an article, "Black Demographics", by Karl Zinsmeister published in February 1988, a series of questions was asked of

whites, in a poll taken across America. The results were eye-opening.

On the average negroes in (your city) have worse jobs, education, and housing than white people. Do you think this is due mainly to negroes having been discriminated against, or mainly due to something about negroes themselves? Fifty-two percent of these whites in 1987 blamed blacks directly for their poverty, 35 percent attributed the cause to discrimination or other societal factors and 13 percent could not give a main reason for black poverty. ³

The evidence is clear, there is a prevalent view among white Americans that blacks themselves are the obstacles to social improvement and racial equality. This view from white Americans in the 90's frustrates any black, regardless of his intelligence or status in life.

Blacks and Mental Illness Counseling

The cause of black wrath which has always threatened to destroy America, is the unwillingness of white Americans to accept blacks as fellow human beings. Because blacks in many situations are not treated fairly on many levels, their psychological growth and development can show forms of many psychoses. The best examples of mentally disturbed blacks are the riots and disorders of the 60's.

Isolation affects hundreds of thousands of blacks. The evidence of such isolation is everywhere. For example: Blacks

moving from city to city instinctively look for black communities. Why? Because this is the only place that they know, without a shadow of a doubt, in which to find any comfort for them. Isolation is a physical fact; and it is one of the clearest afflictions of the black underclass. Mentally dysfunctional minds are aggravated by such separations from other Americans.

“Black people have shown a genius for surviving under the most deadly circumstances. They have survived because of their close attention to reality.”⁴ But by contrast, a black dreamer who dreams he is treated with the same yardstick as whites in America will not survive. Such a dreamer refuses to face reality, and could possibly have a mental problem when reality sets in.

Thank God for the concept of group counseling; if any nationality in America needs special access to counseling it is black America. As stated on page 109 of my thesis: The abilities to manage one's emotions, to take advantage of one's creative potential, and to cope with difficult problems, are life-skills that blacks can perfect in group counseling. And finally, blacks need more communication with each other to be outstandingly successful in America, and new policy proposals must be forthcoming.

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**Conclusion
Chapter II
Policy Proposal**

A comprehensive policy that will remove racism from America completely at this phase of our history is (in my opinion), an impossibility. The evaluation of my research shows me that the damage caused by racism, whites towards blacks and black's hatred of whites, cannot be nullified in the 1990's by one particular policy proposal.

It will take a complexity of policy proposals and at least a 250 year period, before all vestiges of bigotry and racism leave the hearts of black and white Americans. Indeed, this is not hard to understand when we consider blacks have been in slavery, and been deprived for 475 years.

To formulate policies that will heal festering wounds is one thing, but how do you make proposals to heal new atrocities that continually show themselves? How does a man or woman make a policy to unite the hearts of all Americans, irrespective of their nationality, religion, or color, and target them in a progressive direction? If I could conceptualize a successful working policy, I would become an American hero.

The overall problem that America faces is that of healing old wounds, and preventing new ones. Billions of dollars have been spent, and think tanks of all sizes have been organized, and still the problem of American racism has not been solved.

There is a thread (a philosophical approach) that has not been intertwined in the fabric of black history, that could make a difference. The thread of reasoning skills, if interwoven in black consciousness, could have changed the perception of black's appreciation for each other--and stopped senseless slaughter.

The question asked most often is, what policies should America formulate to solve her black problem? But the question that should be asked is, what course of action should black Americans take to help themselves and gain the hearts and respect of white America? Let me conclude this study with the following six proposals:

1) A policy must be devised, preferably by blacks, that is accepted among blacks in every walk of life, that would cement their hearts and souls together, and stop the blood-letting that has been going on for an eternity. For example: before World War II, blacks in the North and South were given unwritten permission to kill each other without serious repercussions--and they did! The valued lesson learned in my childhood was not to kill a white man. But I could slaughter a black man without punishment, or, minimum imprisonment.

In the 1990's blacks still love to slaughter each other for peanuts. The gangs across our nation, encouraged with dope running through their brains, are slaughtering each other and innocent black people by the thousands. Blacks have been in a

self-destruct mode for so many years, that it will take a strong attitude shift to correct a serious and inbred situation.

2) With a correct attitude shift blacks can then be more receptive to a policy implemented to draw them closer, to a single society and a single American identity. Blacks must formulate a definite course or method of action, selected from among alternatives, understanding given conditions and devising policy proposals that will prove successful. A policy that would increase black employment would be a good start.

Unemployment and underemployment are among the most persistent and serious grievances of blacks. A policy should be generated by blacks on a national scale, in which employed blacks help those less fortunate obtain employment. For example: Classes should be organized by volunteers, employed by blacks to teach the underprivileged how to present themselves to prospective employers. For example, they must be taught the correct way to fill out an employment application, how to interview, and how to cope with setbacks.

Employed successful black professionals and non-professionals must stress neatness and teach other blacks the value of being prompt in their obligations. Also, correct attitudes during interviews can go a long way towards obtaining employment; such attitudes must be explained in detail. Support is needed by the "hard-core" unemployed during initial job

experience; this need must be filled by policies adopted to help blacks.

There must be an established practice that carefully evaluates the individual's vocational skills, potentials and needs. It is hard to instruct those needing help unless you understand their potential. It is sinful to force anyone into academics when they may lack that talent, but have a talent for one of the trades. The most compelling and difficult challenges is presented by the hard-core unemployed. Those who lack a basic education, work not at all or only from time to time, and are unable to cope with the problem of holding and performing a job are in dire need of assistance. Blacks must learn to support each other in preparation for employment.

The lack of black support for each other not only flows in our streets, it gains sophistication, and moves to the top of black organizations. For example: When Jesse Jackson ran for President in the summer of 1983, what he needed more than any other variable was support from leadership in the major black institutions. Jesse did not receive such support. What he did receive from influential black leadership was strong negative rhetoric:

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, said, "If an overwhelming number of blacks voters are voting for a black, then we've lost our voice in selecting the white candidate who will be the Democratic choice." John Jacob, president of the National Urban League, added that "A black presidential candidate would be a retreat to symbolism and would shatter black expectations".¹

3) In my third proposal, an organization can be formed to instruct black parents, and encourage them to support their kids of all ages in the education system. The time is overdue for parents to take a sincere interest in their children and assist teachers in their quest to educate black youngsters.

A structured organization that parents would be proud to be a part of is what is needed. They must be weaned off of the thought that school is of secondary importance. There are many factors that make academic achievement difficult for black students, such as loving but untrusting parents, discouraged teachers, and institutional opposition to a learned black community.

Higher educational instruction from a Doctor of Sociology, Philosophy or related degree, instructing thousands of classes for parents with teacher-input on how to motivate their youngsters, and move them up the academic ladder, would be rewarding. Such an instruction policy by a prestigious black organization could possibly command the attention of black parents.

Without the cooperation of parents, generations of children could be lost. Children are responsive to the expectations of their environment. The child is in danger of being what both parents might have been: stupid, ignorant, and contemptible. The very ordinary process of learning has vaulted children into the center of everyone's conflict.

Parents must be taught to teach their children how to study, when to study, and the best place for them to study. If this is done, there is a good chance that their capacity to learn will remain fresh and broad. Parents also must be instilled with faith in their children's success. The black psychiatrist: as Grier and Cobbs speak on this in their book Black Rage:

So our black child has been raised by parents who have lived all their lives in. . .brackish waters, who may have held onto a perception of their own intelligence and capability but at great psychological expense. It is more likely, however, that the parents absorbed some of the poison of white society and to some extent they felt about themselves as their country felt about them.²

Most parents need instruction themselves before they can motivate their children; with such instruction future black generations would stand a better chance in our society.

For any new black policy proposal to work, the momentum of the NAACP when it was first organized by Dr. DuBois, and the ethics and character of B.T. Washington's educational institution, must be in evidence.

4) All over America there are segments of black society in trouble. Youngsters, 8,9,10,11,12 years old, admire gangs and polished criminals, and look upon them as the only way to exist. Furthermore, there are many blacks in the penitentiary who could be saved, if only someone cared, whom they respected. And, among the homeless and poverty-stricken blacks, if provided with love from their own kind, a high percentage could

conceivably turn their lives around. We need to re-create the concept of neighborhoods. A recreation of a caring neighborhood could solve many problems, and mainly this involves blacks cooperation with each other.

5) My Fifth policy proposal involves the hundreds of thousands of blacks who have graduated from college and are successfully living a wholesome life. If a substantial percentage of these blacks would cooperate with each other, reach back, and touch the lives of those less fortunate, it would make a difference.

I propose a self-help policy program that would benefit all blacks, those in need of understanding, and others who can profit by one-on-one counseling or other assistance.

To explain, a pilot program is needed, a well thought-out policy proposal of self-help, instituted at the right time, in the right place and by an influential black who seriously feels that a self-help policy would work, and could possibly be successful. This must be a dedicated person preferably a politician, who will be heard by blacks, and must also have the respect of white America.

The concept of blacks helping blacks is not new. However, a program emphasizing a substantial number of black college graduates, professionals with Masters and Doctorate degrees, cooperating with each other, and contributing specified hours of

time (a self-obligated plan) to help other blacks, to my knowledge has not yet been conceptualized.

For example: If all black professionals in a designated city/town donated at least four hours per month counseling, and rendering other assistance, teaching classes, etc., a progressive note would be struck for a policy of self-help programs. Gang members who could be salvaged, and other youth groups, or convicts who would benefit by professional examples, are among the many members of black society who would be benefited. And, if every black who benefited helped in turn, by assisting other underprivileged blacks, a multicausal, progressive effect could take place--like a rock turning a ripple into a wave. The in-depth particulars of such a self-help program is beyond the scope of this thesis.

As a practical solution for blacks, I firmly believe that blacks should help themselves in every conceivable way. Through self-help policies they can feed off of themselves, and become determined, energetic, powerful, and truly free and respected Americans.

6) Sixth, a new policy proposals concerning police conduct is sorely needed across our nation. Blacks firmly believe that police brutality and harassment occur repeatedly across our great nation. This belief is unquestionably one of the major reasons for intense black resentment against the police as the

Kerner Report discovered. Every other black knows of at least one case of police brutality on a first hand basis.

The true extent of excessive and unjustified use of force is difficult to determine. And, although almost all of those subjected to such forces are poor, more than half are white.

Police misconduct--whether described as brutality, harassment, verbal abuse, or discourtesy--cannot be tolerated even if it is infrequent. Police departments must enforce policies (new or old) that prohibit such misconduct and enforce them vigorously.

Officers with bad reputations, as a matter of policy should be immediately reassigned to other areas upon assessment. This will serve the interest of both the police and the community. Screening procedures should be developed to ensure that only officers with superior ability, sensitivity and the common sense necessary for enlightened law enforcement officers are accepted on the force.

With proper training and adherence to strong policies by policeman, and high standards for recruitment of new officers, in a long run most policeman will meet such policy standards.

Martin Luther King Jr. spoke of justice by stating that:

...law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and when [moderates] fail to do this they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. [injustice] Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air

and light, and injustice must likewise be exposed. . . .
 [Underline added].³

* * * *

In conclusion, we must face up to the reality of what justice or injustice is all about. Justice is that state of character which makes people disposed to do what is just. Conversely, injustice is that state which makes men act unjustly and wish for what is unjust. Justice in relation to our neighbor is often thought to be the greatest of virtues. Aristotle states that justice towards our neighbor is complete virtue because many men can exercise virtue in themselves, but not as many can drift towards neighbors. In the creation of America, this more full sense of justice to all neighbors was not one of the virtues practiced.

As America grew, even though many white Americans still practiced slavery, a sense of the justice of equality began to become a part of their consciousness. As time passed it took the courts to restore a measure of equality, and laws by courts were ignored for as long as possible. If, after a period of time, legal justice could change the hearts of white and black unjust Americans, by changing their practices, then the ethical concepts of justices could penetrate the problem of institutionalized injustices. Aristotle states it this way:

For justice exists only between men whose mutual relations are governed by law; and law exists for men between whom there is injustice; for legal justice is the discrimination of the just and the unjust. And between men between whom

injustice is done there is also unjust action...Men seek to return either evil for evil--and if they cannot do so, think their position mere slavery--or good for good--and if they cannot do so there is no exchange, but it is by exchange that [we] hold together.... [emphasis added] ⁴

At present, we are still a nation divided by racism; we must undertake to strive for "justice for all".

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