



1971

Slavery and Stratification

Lee Andrew Irving
University of the Pacific

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop_etds

 Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [Demography, Population, and Ecology Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Irving, Lee Andrew. (1971). *Slavery and Stratification*. University of the Pacific, Thesis.
https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop_etds/1728

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in University of the Pacific Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact mgibney@pacific.edu.

SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION

A Thesis
Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Lee Andrew Irving, Sr.
August 1971

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi.
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
SOCIALIZATION AS A CHILD	2
MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIPS	6
SEGREGATION AND OCCUPATIONAL-EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES	9
SOCIAL SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH	11
SUBTLE SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION IN THE WEST	12
THE PROBLEM	14
II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND DEFINITION OF TERMS	17
Observers	17
The Observed	18
The Situation	19
Time and Its Passage	19
Slavery	22
Stratification	22
Stratification-Operationally Defined	24
Status-Prestige	25
Class	27
Power	28
Values	29

Chapter	Page
Race	30
Locale	30
Time	31
Color	32
Racism	33
III. HISTORICAL FOCUS: EUROPEAN AND BLACK AFRICAN PRELUDES TO NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN SLAVERY	37
EARLY ETHNIC AND RACIAL PERSPECTIVES: BLACK AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN SKIN-COLOR AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	37
SUMMARY	41
SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION IN THE BLACK AFRICAN TRIBAL SYSTEM	41
SUMMARY	44
EUROPEAN COLONIAL BLACK AFRICA AND SLAVE SYSTEMS	44
PORTUGUESE AFRICA	44
SPANISH AFRICA	45
BRITISH AFRICA	45
FRENCH AFRICA	46
DUTCH AFRICA	46
PORTUGUESE SLAVERY	47
SPANISH SLAVERY	48
BRITISH SLAVERY	48
FRENCH SLAVERY	49
DUTCH SLAVERY	49
SUMMARY	49
PRELIMINARY HISTORY: SLAVERY-NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA	50

Chapter	Page
SUMMARY	51
IV. UNITED STATES SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY WHITES	55
The Head Slave	62
The House Servant	62
Slave Artisans	62
The Field Hand	62
The "Pet Slave"	63
The Urban Slave	63
The Preacher Class	63
The Prime Field Worker	63
SUMMARY	65
V. UNITED STATES SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY NEGROES	70
RACIAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	70
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	73
RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS	75
ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS	77
The House Slave versus the Field Slave	77
SUMMARY	79
Racial-Physical	79
Social	79
Religious	79
Economic	79
VI. NEGRO SLAVERY, POST SLAVERY -- UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL	83
SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS -- UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL	83
POST SLAVERY -- UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL	86

Chapter	Page
THE NEGRO'S IMAGE IN THE SOUTH: 1914 . . .	88
WHITE-BLACK AND BLACK-BLACK STRATIFICATION CHICAGO-BAHIA	89
CHICAGO-BAHIA COMPARED	91
SUMMARY	94
VII. CONCLUSIONS	99
AMERICAN CHATTEL SLAVERY	103
OTHER CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS	106
VIII. PROJECTIONS	111
STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY WHITES	111
STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY NEGROES	115
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	117

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Stratification -- Other Related Variables . .	23

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION¹

It was in 1953 that I left Texas and moved out west to California. Since that time, many positive developments have been made in racial-social interactions between Whites and Negroes. I understand from my wife and others who have visited my home State and other parts of the South, that many of the legal and social inconveniences I encountered during my years there no longer exist, at least in the larger cities.

I cannot forget the Whites -- though small in number and a most powerful minority -- who treated me with kindness, dignity, and respect during those years when I lived in that area, even at the risk of persecution by members of their own race. I will be forever indebted to one person in particular of the White race, and his wife, both of my home State, who sacrificed and gave me the needed funds to graduate from college (when "friends" of my race refused to help me), because they truly believed in "liberty and justice for all." Also, I cannot forget the many "brotherly" and "sisterly" social relationships with friends of all races here in the West, who have helped me immeasurably in whatever success I have attained.

There were, however, other degrading, inhuman experiences, that I, as a Black American, encountered while living

in the Southern United States.

SOCIALIZATION AS A CHILD

I was born in a small town in Texas on August 17, 1925. My father often mentioned that he was working at the "Roundhouse" during those days and stated that he remembered my day of birth because "it was his pay day." My mother seemed proud to tell me over and over again how large a newborn I was -- "fourteen and one-half pounds!" She also mentioned, to my amazement, that my complexion at birth and during my first month of existence was very fair, causing some inquisitive stares at my father, whose complexion was somewhat darker. I also often heard my mother remark about my good hair during infancy, which probably meant that it was a reasonable fascimile of "white people's hair."

My mother, now deceased, had a rather fair complexion; my dad has a very dark complexion. As I viewed the married couples among my relatives, there seemed to be a predominance of darker-skinned males marrying what was called during my younger days a "yellow gal," or a darker-skinned woman marrying a "bright" (meaning light-skinned) man with "curly hair."

As a tiny tot going to the grocery store with my dad, I would notice that he would take off his hat in the presence of a White man, even though the man kept his hat on. It looked very peculiar to me; however, if my dad and other Black men did not mind, I just assumed they were more polite than the Whites. As I began to grow a little older, though, say six or seven, I saw that adult Black men and women were saying

"yes sir" and "yes mam" to White men and women irregardless as to whether the Whites were six or sixty. I was not yet old enough to fully understand and had not acquired insight into this obvious and excellent courtesy of Black people.

About the age of nine I began my business enterprise as a shoeshine boy. It was not uncommon for White customers to call me "boy," and I took it in stride, since obviously I was a boy. But I would ask myself; why do Whites refer to men of my father's age as "boy" when they were, obviously men? Then I would notice another peculiarity. Older Blacks were called, "mammy," "granny," "uncle," and "auntie" by Whites when in most instances they didn't appear to be blood related.

As a child, there was another phenomenon I could not understand; why did Negroes become so incensed when anyone called them black? I also noticed that my parents and other Negroes used bleaching creams and, in many families including mine, it meant prestige and status in your primary group to be of lighter complexion than your siblings.

Then, at about ten years of age, the great tragedy of my status as a Negro began to dawn upon me. I was beginning to experience the realities of two existing systems, involving social distinctions made of Negroes by Negroes, and Negroes by Whites. The lot of the Negro was not that even of a fourth-class American citizen. "Nigger," "Black," "darkie," and other racial descriptives pertaining to the Negro meant he was ranked as less on the human evolutionary scale than the White. Negroes and Whites were, by state law, prohibited from

eating, sitting, riding, worshipping, learning, drinking, and living together in the same restaurants, dining rooms, churches, schools, colleges, drinking fountains, bars, buses, trains, hotels, motels, theaters, and restrooms. Legally, it was described as "separate but equal." In reality it was "extremely separate" and extremely unequal.

I further learned the difference between a "good nigger" and a "bad" or "smart nigger." A good nigger accepted his status quo as a blessing from the master race, and always showed his humility, subordination, love, trust, and compassion towards Whites. This type-cast Negro rolled his eyes, grinned retardedly, while showing his teeth, and affected other child-like mannerisms while saturating his conversation with passive "yes sirs" and "yes mams." He never looked up and straight in the eye when requesting a favor from White people but kept his head downward, and his hat off. This Negro trusted the White "boss" with "all problems" and any other "secret business" of his people. If he held his mouth and head right, the White man or woman's heart would be "melted by his predicament" and prompt help to the full measure that "good niggers" deserved was forthcoming.

One thing I learned; if this "good nigger" ever decided to change his role or forget his script, once it had become fixed and symbolic in a given situation of social interaction, he could in all probability meet with severe injury and/or tragedy. Once I worked with two good niggers, "loved" in their roles by the "big boss." One day when one of them changed his role (or forgot his script) and "talked back," he

was struck by one of the lower status White bosses with a hammer and died shortly afterward. At a later date the other "talked back." I personally saw this same White boss in spite of the good nigger's pleading -- "please don't hit me Mr. _____" -- using his foot, backed by more than six feet of height and 200 pounds of body weight, to kick the Black employee out of a back door and to the ground. After this second "good nigger" recuperated enough to return to work, his face bruised and his eye bandaged, and re-established the "good nigger" role, all was well. In fact, the lower White boss even apologized!

"Smart niggers" seemed, in terms of my own experience, to be of four main types: (1) Those who couldn't stand the paternalistic role of subordinate the Negro had to play in order to stay alive, ambulatory, and out of jail. These men decided to give it up and go North or West. (2) Those who outwardly pretended to be traditional "good niggers" in order to gain certain objectives from Whites, but once away from them, expressed total dislike of racists, for their inhumanities. I often heard my dad, whom I placed in this category, describe his murder or "shoot-out" plan, to be put into action should a White man ever molest his wife or children. I admired both his plan and his bravery -- that which became a distinct part of my inner nature until its combustive potential was rechanneled to militancy through intellect by White-oriented Judean Christianity. (3) There was the White folks' symbol of the absolute "smart nigger," who would give "cuss for cuss," "blow for blow," "bullet for bullet," and occasionally by force "head to head," and "toe to toe" attest his manhood. These

persons had very short life spans and were considered as fools by their own people, rather than as the symbolic heroes of today's ghetto Blacks. Finally, (4) there were the Negro professionals, mainly preachers, teachers, and doctors, whose customers were at least publicized as Negro, and who kept aloof or apart socially from the Black mainstream. They were not ranked equal to Whites in the same professions. For example, they were forbidden to preach in White churches (except, maybe on Race Relation Sunday-Black gospel singers in White churches were always welcome), they could not perform surgery in White hospitals, and were restricted to teaching in racially segregated school plants with facilities greatly subordinate to those White schools. There was very little concern by the Whites as to the educational quality of the Black teacher or student.

Although a few of these professionals were in the "good nigger" class, the great majority of those I knew and worked with secretly and openly dared to prepare us for opportunities to come whenever the racial bars were lifted.

MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIPS

The Negro woman and the White man, I found during my twenty-eight years in the South, appeared to enjoy social and sexual freedom. Movies portrayed the White man as the "great lover," who swung like a monkey through the African jungle trees, Robinson Crusoe'd tropical islands, became the Caliph of Arabian kingdoms, love-god of the Orient, jetting to fictitious out-in-space places such as Venus and Mars (sometimes

faster than the speed of sound), captivating in amorous ecstasy women of every race, color, planet, island, and country with his superior love powers. Having studied some biology, chemistry, and anatomy, I always wondered how Tarzan remained so white after a lifetime of jungle life.

During my boyhood, some White men were seen frequenting the Black hovels of prostitution near where I lived. I have heard Black women boast of their White boyfriends, whom they "worked for." I have heard mulatto women and girls speak with distaste of Black men and boys. One thing puzzled me while in the South; White wives, as much as I can remember, did not outwardly publicize through divorce or separation proceedings, these "relationships," as they would have had the adultery of their men been with White women.

Let us return to the Negro male in the South. As a boy, I learned early from my father, that it was taboo for a Black male to be caught "looking" at a White woman, in the manner the White man looked at either White or Black women. Looking, or even thinking sexually about a White woman, could mean a brutal beating and even death to the Negro male.

The White woman appeared to represent to the White man the essence of purity and supreme beauty, the goddess, "holy pillar," and canonized principle of southern sanctification. For her to be touched by the White man's mythically created, fiendish, dirty, inhumanly sexed, rapishly intoxicated Black Animal, who, with the mere radiation from a White woman, changes to a half-beast like the gruesome "wolfman," whose uncontrolled sex powers then become menacingly alive, would create an

atmosphere of indescribable danger for these women and girls. Therefore, the solid, pure, white knight must always stand ready with whatever means possible to protect them. This hypocritical chivalry, often led to castration, as well as other mutilations, merciless beatings, tarring and feathering, and the murder of Black males -- those who were often paying for rape and murder committed by some White men. In many instances, it was the case of a Black male victim being at the "wrong place at the wrong (or should I say right) time, or just happening to be handy for the angry White male seeking a Black male victim in order to soothe his own adulterous conscience. I personally watched a White policeman mercilessly beat a young Black male porter whose only crime was to be seen by the White theater manager holding conversations with a young White girl and theater usher - "one time too many."

These racist male-female social distinctions indicated to me that certain aspects of stratification did exist. The Black male was psychologically ranked as having sub-human beast-like sexual motivations and behaviour. White males were psychologically ranked as the "true symbols" of what the male lover ought to be and that he was "endowed" with "certain rights" to select the constituents of his "harem" without restrictions. The Black female was ranked lower in morals or female "purity" than the White female. I don't ever remember reading during my stay in Texas where a White man was given a prison sentence for raping a Black woman.

SEGREGATION AND OCCUPATIONAL-
EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

I went to a good but poverty-ridden church-related college. During those years, 1942-1945, I was unable to attend the State University only ten blocks away because I was Black. The same denomination also had a world renowned university in another city of the State, but Black people of this same church denomination could not attend. In 1950, I was turned down admittance to one church-affiliated college, even though I was an ordained minister and pastor in the denomination -- because I was Black.

Let's go back to World War II. During 1944, when I was in college, even though I had a fair education and was an upper junior student, the predominate vocations for Negroes in the armed forces were those of porter, cook, dishwasher, grave digger, and "engineer" (construction laborers) -- a very biased ranking of human beings indeed!

I have worked on many jobs in the South from carhop to bell captain, coffee maker to head porter, cotton picker to school teacher and principal. I have noticed peculiar rankings on these jobs. When hired as janitor in a larger department store, I noticed there was a "store engineer" in charge of all custodial help. There was also the head Negro, an absolute stool pigeon working very closely with the engineer, "yes sirring" and "no sirring" and maintaining the expected "good nigger" happy expressions. There was the "suspicious White man," who always followed the head Negro around. I didn't find

out who he was until I had been there for some time. He was hired to watch the head Negro. Finally there was the "plant," a Black, easily detected (if you knew how), who usually did less work and more complaining than anyone else, yet amazingly, he did not get fired or even reprimanded for his "work incompetence." He reported on everyone, from the White "gestapo" individual to the engineer.

I was hired as principal of a southern country school shortly after graduation from college in 1945. The chairman of the school board, a White man who signed my contract with an "X," advised me in his briefing; "Boy! The las 'fessor didn' lass long cause he wus teachin them Nigra chillun to say yas an naw to White folks instead of sir and mam, an we got rid of his fass. So I wana warn you, we is peaceful folk wish an gun war cause trouble."

I taught there one month and earned one paycheck, making several legal and social mistakes after I had received my pay voucher from the "chairman of the board." I took the voucher by bus to the county seat to get it cashed (\$140.00) by the county superintendent. After getting off the bus at the station, I made my first mistake. I entered the front door of the bus station -- something no "good nigger" would ever do unless he was carrying White folks' bags or babies. There was an immediate and familiar exclamation from the White female ticket agent; "Go around to your own entrance 'nigger.'" With great yet controlled anger, I went to the "proper entrance--" the kitchen door, where the dishwasher graciously served me a cup of coffee. I then made my second mistake. I arrived at

the county courthouse and again did what no southern "White folks' good nigger" would ever do (unless he had a broom or mop in his hand) -- I walked through the White folks' entrance (namely the front door) of the county courthouse! I was met by a burly White deputy who with "kindness" synonymous to that of the ticket agent, "directed me" swiftly to the Negro entrance (namely a small side door). Then came the last and most dangerous mistake, I walked into the county superintendent's office with my hat on my head and replied to his inquiries with "yes" and "no." I was immediately ordered to take off my "damn hat," and called a "smart nigger." In order to save my life and/or ambulatory status, I took off my hat, and said "yes sir." My voucher was cashed and I got the hell out of that city and county - never to return!

SOCIAL SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

I used to pastor a small circuit which was composed of two churches, about 15 miles apart. The bus I regularly took stopped at a small outstation. Inside the station were comfortable resting and eating facilities for Whites; the bench outside was for Negroes. Many a Sunday night after my church service, I stood out in the rain and cold waiting for the bus while Whites sat in warmth and comfort inside.

On many of my jobs, Whites were allowed coffee breaks. Their women were allowed to rest if they felt ill. Blacks were not allowed these privileges. In one cafeteria where I worked, Blacks had to serve Whites while the Whites rested during breaktime. I never, because of racial segregation,

went to a drive-in theater until I was twenty-eight years old and had left the South. Whites could attend all drive-in theaters. Blacks and Whites were not allowed to attend the State Fair together. They had a special "Negro Only Day." The White policemen in my home town could arrest anyone committing a crime, but the few Black policemen could arrest only Blacks.

During my years in the South there was a time when Mexican citizens were also racially segregated; however, before I left the South, they were "graduated" to something more akin to White status while the Negro was still trying to convince the sons of the White South his color did not make him the lesser in human evolution. During my childhood, if a Negro and White person were caught fighting, police would usually arrest the Negro. The White went free, even if he were at fault.

~~Yet, these Whites would allow Blacks to cook and serve food in their homes and in their restaurants, as well as care for their children, clean their houses, make up their beds, wet nurse their babies, and do their laundry. They would stand in line with Black people in grocery stores, go in the front doors of department stores with Blacks, and were constantly expressing their love and friendship for Blacks, especially the "good niggers," "Uncle John's," and the "Mammys."~~

SUBTLE SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL

SEGREGATION IN THE WEST

In 1953 I went West, motivated by the fictional claims

that all prejudice was in the South. There I found the most subtle and vicious kind of prejudice hidden behind, "I just rented the apartment," "sold the house," "hired someone else," or; "See, we are fully integrated (portraying one extremely light or dark-skinned Negro employee) but have no openings!" One would see such profound defacto segregation that it made southern school integration in some areas of the South seem in contrast, not decades behind, but decades in the future. . .

A Black person enters a restaurant and after waiting an hour or so without service, finally gets the message and leaves. One of my brothers entered a bar once, ordered a drink, which was served quickly, however; an increase of one dollar was added to the price of each additional drink. When he protested, he was advised to "go elsewhere" if he didn't like the service. There are frequent signs seen in restaurants, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

According to my White acquaintances there exist many all-white neighborhoods with racially restricted covenants. We hear slogans such as; "save our neighborhoods," "save our children," "save our schools," and "we don't want busing." Some of this concern by parents is genuinely motivated. It is incited by bigots in real estate and government, who prey upon fears handed down through generations. However, according to Whites reporting to me on surveys they had made during the height of busing controversies, the real reasons given were "we just don't want Blacks in our neighborhood."

Even in the West, I still see that "great White" lover on the screen. I did, however, see the movie "Guess Who's

Coming To Dinner" where it took a Black male, BS, MA, MD, etc. (super Negro), to rank equally enough to make love to a White female college dropout. Where is the great Black lover in movies and on television, subduing females of all colors? Why aren't there more Black middle class blue and white collar persons on television and in movies? Why isn't there more Negro female beauty portrayed on this media, with Black males as lovers? Why is everything of so-called high prestige status in the media drenched in "lily white?"

In my early school years, black movie idols were Bill Robinson and Stephen Fetchett, who in spite of their greatness, were cast in stereotyped roles. These men remained as heroes until Joe Louis appeared. All of my school and college books were of lily white sources, and Santa Claus was lily white. In Black churches, major songs were saturated with "Lord make me white as snow." Preachers moved their congregations in hypnotic trances about white robes in a "White heaven." I now look around me while attending many church meetings and conventions, and it appears that darker Negro males and females marry lighter mates. "Black" still remains a dirty word to most Negroes whom I meet.

THE PROBLEM

My own experiences as an American have led to questions concerning stratification of Negroes by Whites and Negroes by Negroes. What, if any, is the history behind these social distinctions, based primarily on variables such as race and skin-color gradations?

Evidence as to achievements by people representing all races and skin-color gradations is more available today than say, during slavery, because of better opportunities for all citizens of this country to become informed via the mass media. What is there in history that lends basis to these ridiculous myths based on race and skin-color gradations? Could the institution of slavery in the United States be associated with these stratifications? If so, what are the aspects of slavery that helped produce these stratifications? What are the relationships between the stratifications of Negroes by Whites and Negroes by Negroes?

In addressing myself to this problem, I intend to first list and operationally define the key variables in my problem. Then the probable associations among these variables will be inferred, followed by a triangulation historical analysis utilizing multiple data from various sources, to test my problem. Webb, Campbell, et al view that triangulations of data is the best method of controlling for rival explanations and/or data contaminations.²

It is my hope that this thesis will be an addition to the somewhat limited current collections of works about the Negro and stratification, by "insiders" such as myself.

FOOTNOTES

¹The first person is used in Chapter I only, to set the writer's background, for the problem and general hypothesis. Subsequent chapters will respect the third person tradition.

²Eugene Webb, Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz, and Lee Sechrest, Unobstrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences, Sixth Printing (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally and Co., 1970), pp. 174-181.

Chapter II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DEFINITION OF TERMS¹

The research design has been constructed to deal with the problem: "Are there relationships between the institution of slavery and the social stratification of Negroes by Whites, and Negroes by Negroes? And if so, what are these relationships?"

There are many contaminating variables involved in historical research such as: observers, observed, situation, time, and its passage. An attempt in the analysis will be made to control for these. On reviewing Norman K. Denzin's presentations on observational encounters, and applying them to this research, the following distinctions can be made:²

Observers

Observers of social phenomena, such as stratification and slavery, vary according to interactive styles, self-concepts, interpretation of research material, and ability to relate to those observed. The historical observer could be a rival and contaminating factor affecting the relationship between stratification and slavery, if he were, say, anti-slavery, or pro-slavery, and what he wrote was viewed through a more subjective than objective focus. The race and slavery views of the historical observer's reading constituency could also affect this printed interpretation of the material, thus

contaminating the stratification-slavery relationship. The actual ownership and treatment of his own slaves might affect the observer's recordings of historical events concerning stratification and slavery. For example, Thomas Jefferson, owner of slaves, is said to have abhorred slavery, but felt that Negroes would always remain an inferior race.³ Further, the historian's material might not be based on his own personal observation but from second and third-hand sources.

The Observed

Those observed will differ in characteristics though of same racial origin. Roles portrayed by the observed in these interactional situations may only be being performed to benefit the observer or to protect the observed. The fact of observation as a contaminating and rival factor could affect the stratification-slavery relationship. Out of fear, the owner might not wish to advertise his "love" for Negroes, nor would the slave wish to display his inner hostility toward slavery. The observed master and slave could have possibly been content with their roles as "entrepreneur" and "unit" of production. Because of miscegenation, the slaver could be part Negro, and the slave (indentured servant), White. The master and slave might even be supporters and practitioners of abolitionary methods. Another element of bias could be that the available historical resources do not present any evidence of random or even representative sampling of the Negro slaves, as to how they felt about slavery in a setting where their lives would not be in jeopardy.⁴

The Situation

Since behavior occurs in social situations, the locale of the study could effect the slavery-stratification relationship. A poll of the house-servant about his conditions might differ from that taken from the field hand. A poll of cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane planters about their slaves might be different from one taken of urban dwellers about their servant slaves. Views of a master taking his clan and slaves to church on Sunday might be different, if he saw a male black slave staring at one of his daughters. Slavery in the United States might not be the same as in Brazil.⁵

Time and Its Passage

Interaction, the sequence of events, and time are related. Slavery and stratification systems being products of social interactions, exhibit a certain historical sequence as they unfold. ~~During this time, events do occur that effect~~ such relationships as those between stratification and slavery. Time and its passage as a rival and possibly contaminating factor could then effect the relationship between stratification and slavery in a manner such as follows: Events occurring during the passage of time effecting stratifications within White society might help create the necessity of making adjustments in those social distinctions resulting from slavery. Old psycho-social beliefs about people, unless adjusted to changing value-orientations and socio-legal decisions, might become outmoded and die. Slavery during one period of time might be nationwide, but at a later period might be localized.

to the southern part of this country. Historical recording, therefore, will have to be treated as that process of focusing on life styles of a certain time -- quite often for that time only. Any effort to project the historian's presentations beyond his period of time, unless he specifically recommends it, might seriously contaminate the resource material.

These potentially rival and contaminating factors (the observer, the observed, the situation, and time and its passage) must be taken into account. Unless one is aware of their existence, one cannot attempt a sound test of one's proposition or hypothesis. If not taken into account, these factors, in varying along with the independent variable, could either distort or actually be the cause of any inferred relationship between this variable and the dependent one. It will be impossible to completely control the rival factors, as there are so many, however, this research tries to do the very best possible under the circumstances, utilizing Denzin's suggestions concerning triangulation.⁶ Denzin recommends triangulation of research methods in investigations in order to help minimize those factors that might create distortions in research, designs, and research presentations. In the presentation of historical research, such as in the following two chapters, he recommends the use of multiple triangulated research designs; that is, the use of a multiple of historical observers, multiple sources of data, and multiple approaches in examining or analyzing historical data.⁷

An attempt in the analysis will be made to control for these factors by:

1. The triangulation of observers -- also in terms of race.
2. Looking at the observed in differing situations and times -- also in terms of race.
3. Situation -- Looking at stratification systems in more than one locale (Africa, Colonies, North and South America).
4. Time and Its Passage -- First, pre-slavery attitudes, then examining stratification systems during formation of slavery, and finally, after slavery.

Since slavery and stratification have been defined as key variables, the research topic will be "Slavery and Stratification." Because of the author's experiences as participant observer in the empirical world (as described in Chapter I of this thesis), an inference or assumption will be made (the general hypothesis) that there do exist certain relationships or associations between slavery and stratification. In order to test this general hypothesis, it will be necessary to identify the concepts and variables associated with the research problem as well as the direction of the hypothesized associations between the variables of slavery and stratification. This task will also involve operationally defining the concepts and variables as they are to be viewed with relation to the research. In order to test the general hypothesis and the validity of the posited directional associations, the research method of historical survey and analysis will be used to determine what, if any, effects slavery had on stratification.

The general hypothesis, as formulated, infers that slavery was not only associated with certain variations in existing stratification systems, but was also associated with the establishment of new symbols of stratification, resulting in unique social distinctions. With such a focus in this design, slavery will be posited as the independent variable to be examined with respect to its effects on the dependent variable of stratification throughout this research.

Emphasis throughout is on understanding the effect of slavery on United States' system of stratification of Negroes by Whites and Negroes by Negroes. In order to do this, one has to define variables.

Slavery

DeRenk and Knight refer to slavery as those conditions of servitude that vary between the two extremes of indebted or indentured slavery, whereby the person offered services as payment of a debt, and chattel slavery, whereby the subject is the absolute property of the slaver or owner.⁸ Operationally, the slavery described in this research will be the chattel type as practiced in the United States and South America with main focus on the Southern United States, where the slave had "rights" ranked with those of domestic animals.

Stratification

Stratification is a general concept, that has been operationally defined in terms of many variables, among them, status-prestige, class, power, value orientations. Many other variables and labels have also been used (see Table 1).

Table 1

STRATIFICATION -- RELATED VARIABLES AND LABELS

<u>Class</u>	<u>Status-Prestige</u>	<u>Power</u>	<u>Values</u>
Occupation		Control	Religion
Income ✓	Consumption	Possession	Culture
Production ✓	Distribution	Domination	Sacrifice ✓
Education ✓	Wealth	Authority	Fortune
Interests ✓	Character	Might	Mysticism
Folkways	Honor	Superiority	Mythology
Customs	Association	Strength	Beliefs-Faith
Mores	Success	Force	Rituals
Institutions	Talents-Skills	Position	Good
Social Rank ✓	Distribution	Monopoly	Evil
Quality	Motivation	Party-Group	Sin
Equality	Appearance		Salvation
Life Chances ✓	Popularity		Rights
Market			
Opportunity ✓			

According to Cuber and Kenkel's views, stratification means that process or rule-of-thumb which involves the assigning and achieving of prestige, status, class, power, and value orientations.⁹ It was pointed out in a class on "Social Stratification" that social stratification is a process of ranking, that is, differential evaluation of different people, in terms of their importance. Those who fill positions of great importance are considered to be of great importance; thus they enjoy higher prestige, status, class, and power. These distinctions may be based on inherited differences (such as physical features and skin color) and acquired social distinctions (based on positions held in the occupation and professional fields). The instructor's position was, that a pre-scientific understanding of individual differences (that is mystical) might provide the basis for judgments leading to ranking, and on to class and strata.¹⁰

Stratification -- Operationally Defined

Slavery, according to Greenidge's research, had its initial origin as a consequence of war and conquest resulting captives who were used in forced labor.¹¹ This origin is also supported by Clarkson.¹²

Landtman states, "Most ethnologists. . . associate the origin and development of slavery with that of agriculture and fixed habitations." In analyzing his research, it appears that the view is that slavery appeared only at the point in human cultural development when enforced labor was deemed profitable. These slaves could then perform the unattractive and toilsome

tasks.¹³

White points out:

Slavery as an institution will exist and endure only when the master can derive profit and advantage by exploiting the slave. . . when in the course of cultural evolution the productivity of human labor was sufficiently increased by technological progress so as to make exploitation profitable and advantageous, the institution of slavery came into being.¹⁴

Since slavery for the most part appears to be economically determined, stratification in this thesis will be studied as it affects this particular variable, although other variables have been operationally defined and will be touched upon in the following chapters.

Status-Prestige

Status, according to Weber, normally involves communities.¹⁵ He points out:

We wish to designate as status situation, every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor. This honor may be connected with any quality shared by a plurality. In content, status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific life style can be expected of all those who wish to belong to the circle.¹⁶

Weber and Kahl point out:

Stratification by status goes hand and hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunity. . . status honor. . . always rests upon distance and exclusiveness. . . The decisive role of a "style of life" in status "honor" means that status groups are the specific bearers of all conventions. As soon as there is not a mere individual and socially irrelevant imitation of another style of life, but an agreed-upon communal action of this closing character, the status development is underway. The development of status is essentially a question of stratification resting upon usurption. Such usurption is the normal origin of almost all status honor.¹⁷

According to Weber and Kahl, prestige means ". . . a

sentiment in the minds of men that is expressed in personal interaction."¹⁸ ". . . the behavior of a man in a given role leads to esteem in the eyes of others, but the importance of the role itself is the source of prestige."¹⁹ ". . . it is necessary to study prestige in two ways: by asking people about their attitudes of respect toward others and by watching their behavior."²⁰ (Weber and Kahl appear to be inferring that prestige is role-based and esteem is person-based.) Prestige was described in "Social Stratification" class as that aspect or by-product of stratification which determines in what social status one will be placed. Some characteristics of it are being an object of admiration, for both ceremonial and technical reasons, in which social deference is given on one hand and demanded on the other. Having prestige means being an object of imitation (Blacks imitating Whites). Prestige is often associated with the gifted individual. Prestige in our society rests upon or includes a non-technical evaluation of technical skills. It is a ceremonial ranking of skills.²¹ Operationally, status-prestige will mean that mystic ceremonial self-esteem, Whites felt they possessed over Blacks, and some Blacks felt they possessed over other Blacks founded basically on psychological and sociological beliefs about race, skin color, and physical features. It will also include the historical stereotyping of the Negro's roles in society as that of low sub-human esteem, while at the same time canonizing the role of the Whites as those deserving high esteem. These mythical estimations of honor served as a basis for the determination of the status-prestige symbols that became roots from

which grew the life styles between Whites and Blacks, and Blacks and Blacks.

Class

Class, according to Weber, differs from status in that it is purely economically determined. Whereas property and propertyless persons can remain in the same status, in class situations, the greater the property, the higher the class. Conversely, the lesser the property, the lower the class. Unlike status, a class in itself does not constitute a community.²² Weber states:

. . . If classes as such are not communities, nevertheless class situations emerge only on the basis of communalization. The communal action that brings forth class situations, however, is not basically action between members of the identical class; it is an action between members of different classes. Communal actions and the entrepreneur are: the labor market, the commodities market, and the capitalistic enterprise. Status groups hinder the strict carrying out of the market principle.²³

Weber points out:

The term class refers to any group of people who have the same typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences insofar as this chance is determined by the . . . power . . . to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order. . . class situation is in this sense ultimately market situation.²⁴

Muzumdar describes class:

. . . defines the rank and position of the person in the social hierarchy. It involves . . . stratification, i.e., the concept of the higher and the lower or the upper and the lower.²⁵

A class in logic is an aggregation of units with common characteristics. In sociological classes are sections of the population with differential access to the rights and privileges as well as the goods and services available in a community.²⁶

Class, operationally, will encompass the economic status and/or role of the Negro slave as a unit of production against the status and/or role of the White slave as the entrepreneur. This will also include beliefs and methods that aided in polarizing Negroes in certain "brawn" vocations and lower level production endeavors.

Power

Power, according to Weber, is associated with domination, on the one hand traditional domination and on the other, legal domination.²⁷ In explaining these, he states:

In each case, the type is considered on three levels: the beliefs in legitimacy that sustain system of domination, the organization that enables it to function, and the recurrent issues that characterize the struggle for power.²⁸

Weber also defines power as, ". . . the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their sum will in a communal action. . . ."²⁹ Weber appears to be describing power as that probability of possessing the capability to control the actions of others.

Warner defines power as:

. . . the possession of control over other beings. . . in the social. . . environments, making it possible to act on them to achieve outcomes that would not take place if control were not exerted.³⁰

Operationally, power will include those traditional, historical, sociological, anthropological, and biological analogies that produced the "beliefs" in the legitimacy of the domination of Whites over Blacks.³¹ It will also include the processes leading to the establishment and enforcement of certain legal-social codes, to institutionalize this domination, possession, and

control, and those sanctions invoked when slaves failed to abide by them.

Values

Values, according to Kahl, mean:

. . . convictions shared by people in a given culture or subculture about the things they consider good, important, or beautiful. They tend to become organized into systems.³²

These values might be a result of folkways, and mores, that become customs and then institutions supported by laws written and unwritten. Muzumbdar, pointing out Sumner's definitions of folkways and mores:

Whatever helps in the preservation, survival and thriving of the species is good and right; whatever thwarts these goals is bad and wrong. Man - collective man - not only realizes the validity of this thought but he also articulates it and thereby initiates the formulation of ethics. In course of time, . . . these responses blossom forth into folkways. Folkways in a sense become the first installment of capital in the accumulation and growth of culture. In their own right folkways begin to bind the members of the group together, and the emergence of the cultural imperative in the realm of the superorganic reinforces the process of group solidarity.³³

"when a particular folkway becomes associated with value judgments of right and wrong, the mores come into being." As to folkways, mores, and institutions,

They all have certain features in common. . . folkways, mores, and institutions are alike collective modes of response or behavior. . . all prescribe a well-defined way of doing things, all bind the members of the group together.³⁴

Another related dependent variable is religion, used operationally to show that prestige, status, class, and power are sometimes considered as "acts of God" or "divinely bestowed."

Weber, according to Bendix, saw the "Protestant Ethic" as being a major influence in the shaping of value systems in the western cultures.³⁵ According to Bendix, Weber felt "the Protestants had introduced a thorough-going regulation of private and public life."³⁶ Operationally, values will cover the religious, as well as historical, anthropological, sociological, and psychological bases for these valuations of white as good, and black as evil, by Whites in their relationships with Blacks, and Blacks in their relationships with other Blacks.

Other independent variables to be examined and whose effects I will roughly attempt to hold constant will be those of race, locale, and time. These variables are operationally defined as follows:

Race

Muzumdar defines race as ". . . the term race has to do with physical traits, with anatomy."³⁷ In the historical data, some definitive biological material will be produced; however, the main operational emphasis will be on those sociological explanations of race as utilized in the United States, that served as support for the "creation" of its "legalized" races of Negro and White. In other words, the focus will be our legalized racism.

Locale

Locale, will mean continents and their countries, such as: Europe, Africa, South America, North America, and Portugal, Spain, England, France, the Netherlands, East Africa, West

Africa, South Africa, Brazil, and the United States. There will also be research presented on two major cities located in the countries having the largest Black populations in North and South America, Brazil and the United States. These cities will be Bahia, located in the State of Bahia, Brazil (the northern section of country); population approximately 700,000 -- 50 percent or 350,000 considered as Black; and Chicago, State of Illinois, United States (northern section); black belt area of 360,000 Negroes. 38

Time

Denzin, speaking of social interactions and the time factor, points out, "Interaction involves a sequence of events that unfold over a temporal period."³⁸ The chronological dates of this material will run from early Biblical history to 1968. Emphasis during the earlier periods (BC 4004 through the thirteenth century) will be on Biblical and other historical resource information pertaining to colors, black and white, light and dark, and the ranking of Black Africans by early Europeans. Later dates (1518 to the 1880's) will cover material relating to the early background and establishment of the Black African slavery system by European colonists and later by Western Hemisphere nations, with major historical emphasis on slavery "Southern United States Style." The research will also emphasize certain historical factors during the post slavery period in this country (from 1863 to 1900). The last time period will cover research material from 1900 to 1939 on White-Black and Black stratification, with a

later focus during the early 1940's in Bahia, Brazil, and Chicago, United States of America.

Color

Color, as viewed by Darwin and Muzumbdar, refers to those skin pigmentations considered as being either black, mulatto (an admixture), or white.⁴⁰ Muzumbdar's research shows:

The wall paintings of ancient Egyptians used four pigments for the complexions of four people they knew; red for themselves, yellow for their enemies in Asia, white from the north, and black for Negroes. . . the most generalized category into which human beings are zoologically divided. . .⁴¹ white skinned. . . yellow skinned. . . black skinned.

Operationally, color will refer to skin color considered as black, white, and mulatto (admixture).

Racism

Since stratification systems are to be distinguished by race, it is also discussed and defined;

Muzumbdar defines racism as:

. . . exalting one's group and judging out groups by the norms of one's own group. . . the doctrine that correlates mental abilities to physical traits, such as fair complexion versus dark complexion, thin lips versus thick lips, etc. The logic. . .: Certain physical traits are associated with certain mental traits; certain mental traits alone can create certain culture traits; the cultural inferiority which finds manifestation in their physical traits. This fantastic mode of thinking, which completely eliminated the role of human migrations and culture contacts, is called racism. . . .⁴²

Operationally, racism will incorporate specific areas beyond the values - culture - religion aspects to the psychological beliefs about certain ascribed characteristics, such as the

Negro's color and the "Caucasian's" color, including the association between color gradations and status. This will also include the association between "like-white" physical features and status. Then, it will cover, in part, how these psycho-social beliefs became the institutions that helped establish and sustain slavery and its stratifications.

Even though effort is made to hold certain variables constant, others will not be controlled because we hold only what we can (what has been isolated by others) but do not have randomization, and cannot control for variables that the historians and we ourselves did not consider (even if they might be important ones).

In summary, analytic induction has been utilized⁴³ to arrive at a general hypothesis, and to narrow it down to the point whereby it may be tested further through the triangulation of historical materials. At this point in the research, the author can be more specific in the hypothesis. Since slavery will operationally mean chattel type slavery, the locale of emphasis will be the Southern United States, and stratification will be defined in terms of class, the specified hypothesis will be: There are relationships between the American institutions of chattel slavery and the stratification by class of American Negroes by American Whites and by American Negroes.

FOOTNOTES

¹Norman K. Denzin, The Research Act (Chicago, Ill.: Adline Publishing Company, 1970).

²Ibid., pp. 20-24.

³F. Ray Johnson and Thomas R. Gray's, The Confession, Trial and Execution of Nat Turner as a Supplement, The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection (Murfreesboro, N. C.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1966), pp. viii, 1.

⁴Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution (New York, N. Y.: Alfred A. Knaph, 1965), p. 323.

⁵Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

⁶Ibid., pp. 20-25.

⁷Ibid., pp. 21, 301-313.

⁸Anthony DeRenk and Julie Knight, Cast and Race (Boston, Mass.: Brown Little and Co., 1967), p. 10.

⁹John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, Social Stratification (New York, N. Y.: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 12.

¹⁰W. Lewis Mason, Instructor, University of the Pacific, Social Stratification (Stockton, Calif.: First Summer Session, 1969).

¹¹Charles Wilton Greenside, Slavery (New York, N. Y.: Macmillan Company, 1958), p. 15.

¹²Thomas Clarkson, Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species (Miami, Fla.: Mnemosyne Publishing Co., Inc., 1969), p. XVII.

¹³Gunner Landtman, The Origin and the Inequity of the Social Classes (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 231.

¹⁴Leslie A. White, The Science of Culture (New York, N. Y.: Faver, Straws and Company, 1949), p. 128.

¹⁵H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Max Weber's Essays In Sociology (New York, N. Y.: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 186.

- 16 Ibid., pp. 186-188.
- 17 Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber, An Intellectual Portrait (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 105-106.
- 18 Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York, N. Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 19.
- 19 Ibid., p. 20.
- 20 Ibid., p. 8.
- 21 Mason, op. cit.
- 22 Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 185.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 184-185.
- 24 Bendix, op. cit., p. 105.
- 25 Haridas T. Muzumdar, The Grammar of Sociology. Man in Society (New York, N. Y.: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 188.
- 26 Ibid., p. 190.
- 27 Bendix, op. cit., p. 330.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 181.
- 30 W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (New York, N. Y.: Harper and Row Publishers, 1960), p. 265.
- 31 Chapter IV
- 32 Kahl, op. cit., p. 10.
- 33 Muzumdar, op. cit., pp. 160-161.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 162-163.
- 35 Bendix, op. cit., pp. 77-85.
- 36 Ibid., p. 78.
- 37 Muzumdar, op. cit., p. 250.
- 38 David P. Mannix and Malcom Cowley, History of the Atlantic Slave Trade Black Cargoes (New York, N. Y.: The Viking Press, 1962).
- 39 Denzin, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴⁰ Charles Darwin, Origin of the Species, Sixth Edition
New York, N. Y.: Hurst and Co., 1897), pp. 745, 749, and 777.

⁴¹ Muzumdar, op. cit., p. 239.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 251-252.

⁴³ Ibid.

Chapter III

HISTORICAL FOCUS: EUROPEAN AND BLACK AFRICAN PRELUDES TO NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN SLAVERY

Historical research is studied in this chapter as follows. The first part will focus on certain aspects of early historical pre-slavery European value orientations and religious traditions. It will also present some Black African cultural evaluations of the White Europeans. The second part will give information showing that certain forms of slavery did exist in tribal Black Africa. The third part will present material showing how certain European nations operated their Black-African, White-European-colonial class systems in Africa and the Americas. The latter portion will include data on Western European Slavery, and a preliminary historical focus on early North-South America slave-trade.

EARLY ETHNIC AND RACIAL PERSPECTIVES: BLACK AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN SKIN-COLOR AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

"Light" and "white" were given predominant rankings even in the Bible. In the Old Testament, it is written, "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep." And God said, "Let there be light: and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness" (Genesis 1:2).

Note that God saw that the light was good, and divided (segregated) the light from the darkness. This section of the Bible, also describes light as "excelling over darkness, as wisdom over folly," and that one is "a fool to walk in the darkness" (Ecclesiastes 2:13). Again, note that folly has to do with lack of sense or rational conduct. In the New Testament, it is written -- (Jesus Christ) that, "He . . . was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John 1:9). Christ's followers, were also referred to as the light of the world, and in the transfiguration, His face was said to have "shined as the sun," with His raiment being "white as snow" (Matthew 5:14 and 17:2). It is also written in this section of the Bible, (Jesus) "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world -- Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you" (John 9:5 and 13:35). The power of Satan is also equated with darkness (Acts 26:18), white equated with light, and emphasis, that "there is to be no communion between light and darkness" (Second Corinthians 6:14). Communion means sharing possessions in common (refer to definition of class given in Chapter II).

Throughout the Bible, black and darkness are equated with evil, death, stupidity, damnation, Satan, gloom, uncleanness, sinners, Hell, and many other negatives. White and light are equated with goodness, holiness, life, wisdom, salvation, God, Jesus Christ, joy, happiness, purity, Christians, Heaven, and many other positives. Other research will show strong associations between these religious perceptions and later

bases for the class rankings of Negroes as an inferior species, and whites as superior. Add to these the Biblical positives and negatives of colors (relating to black and white), the portraits of God, Jesus, Angels, saints, etc., shown as being white -- no wonder early Negro Christian believers (and even some now) wanted to hurry and get to Heaven "so they could become white as snow!" "One of their spirituals even pleads" O precious is that flow (Jesus' blood) that makes me white as snow. It is often heard sung by Negro parishoners -- in this author's experience. It is also interesting to point out that Western Europe, as well as North and South America and specifically the United States, are historically and predominately Judean Christian in religious beliefs.¹

The Merriam Webster Dictionary, first copyright 1847, defines the colors black and white as:

Black, 1: of the color black; Also: very dark. 2: Swarthy; Also: of or relating to a group of dark-skinned people 3: soiled, dirty, 4: lacking light 5: wicked, evil 6: dismal gloomy 7: sullen.

White, 1: free from color 2: of the color of new snow or milk; 3: light or pallid in color 4: of relating to, or being a member of a group or race characterized by light-colored skin 6: free from spot or blemish: pure, innocent 7: blank, 8: ardent, compassionate.²

Distinctions as to the Black African's color, according to Snowden, were made as early as 380 BC by Romans and Greeks.

The Ethiopian, especially the Negroid type, was the yardstick by which antiquity measured colored people. The Ethiopians' blackness became proverbial.³

He emphasizes in his views, that there were no legal Negroes,

such as in the United States, whereby blood or ancestry in any amount could by certain proclamations, codes or statutes, make one a member of that race.⁴

An analysis by Davis on distinctions made by Europeans as to the Black African's color, shows that the Portuguese, French, and English, in calling him Ethiopian, Moor, Negro, noir, and Black, were emphasizing connotations of gloom, evil, baseness, wretchedness, and misfortune. Europeans felt that the Black Africans came out of Hell and were dreadful to look upon. Davis's research found support from Oliver Goldsmith in the describing of the Black African's color as one of gloom. It also appears to describe the White European as being in great horror at the first sight of a Black African's color.⁵

As to the Black African's impressions of the White European, Darwin's research showed that East Africans believed the first Europeans were white apes, rather than humans, and that natives admired their own very black skin more than one with a lighter tint. This horror of whiteness could have been because these Africans believed that demons and spirits were white and that white was a sign of ill health.⁶

His further research also shows that the Black African looked with aversion to the White European's skin-color and blue eyes. He felt the White people's noses were too long, and lips too thin. To a Black African male, the most beautiful European woman would not equal his admiration of a good looking Negro woman.⁷ In a summary statement, Darwin points out:

It seems at first sight a monstrous supposition that the jet-blackness of the negro should have been gained through sexual selection; but this view is supported by various analogies, and we know that negroes admire their color.⁸

SUMMARY

In summary, it appears that there were associations between Biblical impressions of black and darkness and the White European's impressions of the Black African's skin-color before slavery became a major market for them. It also appears, from this part of the historical research, that Whites of Europe, as per their cultural values prior to Judean Christianity, did believe "White" to be a more beautiful skin-color than Black. The Black African, in his cultural values before exposed to "European" Judean Christianity, did believe "Black" to be a more beautiful color. This would infer that any theory showing that Negroes have always preferred White to their own color is a myth based on racism. Whatever affinity that existed was through the process of learning (or white-washing) and not original in the mores.

SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION IN THE BLACK AFRICAN TRIBAL SYSTEM

When the first Europeans collected Black Africans for slave purposes, slavery in varying degrees had long been a way of life in many tribes.

Slavery within the Black African tribal system probably began originally as a result of war, when captives were taken and became property of the victors. Sumner lends some

support to this:

The savage African would rarely take male prisoners in war, for either the enemy escaped or was killed, consequently slaves captured in war were practically only women and children. But these often became wives and concubines.⁹

His research shows that any resemblance to slavery as commonly defined by Western nations, was found in East Africa, where the natives had been captured, and/or otherwise exposed to the system by Arab slave traders and others in the business. Once the tribe started this kind of slavery, each freed slave would obtain some slaves, and so on.¹⁰

One could hardly equate early African slavery by the natives with the kind institutionalized in the Western world. The slave, though at the lower end of the totem pole, remained a human being with a personality. This is associated with the ancient Roman and Grecian concepts. Sumner states:

In reality, the primitive slave had a better standing not on account of sentiment, but for practical reasons. The fundamental reason is economic. There was not much choice in the matter and the best thing to do was to settle serfs in their own homesteads and let them take part in cattle breeding or the cultivation of the soil in much the same way as the master himself. Thus, primitive law is far from manifesting any sharp contrasts between the social orders and from degrading slaves to the position of cattle or tools. The lower classes were dependent, but they were not devoid of personal rights and judicial protection. The root of this lies in the necessities of the economic situation to which customs and morals had to adapt themselves.¹¹

It is interesting to note that the early Africans used the supernatural to support their systems of slavery. He goes on to state:

Slavery has had a less ritual and more incidental connection with religion. Wherever

it has existed, in the mores, slavery has been sanctioned by Ghost-fear and its derivatives.¹²

The presentation of later research will show strong associations between his view and the methodology used by White Westerners to support their slavery institutions.

Debt-indentured slavery existed in early Africa, whereby the indebted offered his services as collateral, and performed tasks as required until the debt was paid. Landtman's research shows this as existing in the early Congo and Gold Coast, and in Southwest Africa. The pawn ranked in prestige and status somewhere between the purchased slave and the free man.¹³ In other tribes, members were made slaves as punishment for crimes.¹⁴ Most North and South American Black slaves were brought from the 3,000 miles coastal areas of West Africa, particularly the Gold Coast.¹⁵ Landtman also reveals that in Northeast Africa, a man became a serf as punishment for crimes. If it happened to be adultery, his whole family became slaves.¹⁶ In Northern Nigeria the helpless, such as those sick and disabled, were sold as slaves. The same applied to the castouts and good-for-nothings.¹⁷ On the Gold Coast, widows, orphans, and other destitutes, were sold as slaves.¹⁸

The major factors influencing stratification systems in these tribes appear to be for the most part economic: human "booty" from war, for payment of debts, meeting social welfare needs for the sick, disabled, lazy, widows, and orphans. The one social aspect was that the "convicted" were made slaves as payment for crimes.

In these stratification systems, there is a version of

the chattel-type slavery whereby the captive in war was considered as property, and the indentured or indebted-type whereby the native offered his services as collateral until a debt was paid.

SUMMARY

Although the Black African was exposed to slavery in his native land prior to the European systems, this slavery should not be viewed as synonymous with that institutionalized later in Europe and the Americas, especially the Southern United States. The tribal slave, though at the lower end of the totem pole, remained a human being with a personality.

EUROPEAN COLONIAL BLACK

AFRICA AND SLAVE SYSTEMS

PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The Portuguese, in their areas of Black Africa, showed little concern or irritation as to the color of the natives' "skin." Miscegenation was a "way of life" in their colonies.

The Portuguese do not talk of colonies, they refer to them as overseas provinces, and there is less sense of a color bar than in any other European colonial territories in Africa. Those few Africans who can pass a test means education and the European way of life.

They felt that the Black African, though somewhat lower in class, did have human identity, and was given the freedom to attain "equal" status-prestige if the Black African "passed" the White man's tests. The main concern of the Portuguese was not the color of the Africans, but how much natural resources

they could exploit and ship to their homeland.

Also the black citizen has far less fear than any other African country ruled by Europeans of being snubbed on account of color of his skin.²⁰

SPANISH AFRICA

The Spanish, like the Portuguese, ranked the Black African as a human being, though somewhat lesser, however, he was allowed upward mobility, provided he passed the "color test." This was aided by miscegenation.

Castillian pride of race in the Spanish colonies made it inevitable that social inferiority should go hand in hand with colour; the blacker a man was the lower in the social scale he would be, and there, with a few exceptions, he would remain. Similar conditions applied in Portuguese, Brazil.²¹

BRITISH AFRICA

In British Africa, there were also gradations ascribing to color, aided by intimate social relationships between European and Black African. The lighter the African's color, the higher his rank and prestige. The more they embraced the "White version" of Christianity, the greater the acceptance by the British.

The creoles tended to build their society round ideals and practices they had learned from European administrators and missionaries.²²

The creoles or mixed bloods, who had accepted Christianity, and copied the British life-styles, enjoyed a higher class status than the non-Christians and "unmixed" Blacks. The British used the Christian religion (Calvinism) as one method to divide and conquer the Black Africans;

Calvin's doctrine that a man's fate was fore-ordained made each of his followers anxious for proof that he lived in the light of divine favor and must be numbered among the elect. It was popularly believed that a man's worldly success was a sign of favor.²³

FRENCH AFRICA

Some racial prejudice did exist in French Africa.

This is supported by Hargreaves:

Despite the French claim to be freer than the British from racial prejudice, most channels of normal contact between the two species of homo sapiens-natives and Europeans, seem to have broken down in their empire also. French policy nevertheless influenced sometimes very remotely, by commitment to some concept of human equality. Applied to peoples of such different cultural background, and at such different stages of social development, as those of French West Africa, this concept often seems to have had little relation to what actually happen.²⁴

To the French, as with the Portuguese, Spanish, and British, the Black African, though at a distinctly lower level, was accepted as being human and as having a personality. Black Africans were employed in the skilled-labor-trades, including that of river captain. Some were motivated on their own to move into commercial fields.²⁵ Miscegenation was a common way of life in French Africa, and these mulattoes were acknowledged in colonial registers. Their children were ranked higher than non-mulatto children, receiving better education and career opportunities.²⁶

DUTCH AFRICA

The Dutch (as will be found later in this chapter), like the United States of America's Southern slavers, believed

that the Black African was a sub-human, near-animal species. The Blacks were described as having a very offensive odor, and equal to dogs. In South Africa, the Dutch proposed to dig a large ditch across the continent, from ocean to ocean, in order to segregate the Whites and Blacks.²⁷ However, strange as it might seem at this point in the thesis, miscegenation was indeed practiced by the Dutch in South Africa, producing the mulattoes and Cape Coloreds of their present-day caste system.

There was then not much talk about miscegenation; white man Boer or British, produced babies by black women or brown women.^{28, 29}

The early Europeans, in colonizing Black Africa, felt the natives possessed different physical and mental qualities, rendering them more suited for certain physical labor than Whites. Bartlett's "research" reveals that Negroes were found to suffer less exhaustion and fatigue, since they lost less salt through perspiration than Whites.³⁰

Sumner's research shows that the Black African needed a certain amount of compulsion -- that it was foolish for missionaries to teach him equality with men. The Black African takes this to mean he has a choice as to whether he wants to work or not. The Negro being the only serviceable labor in Africa, will remain so.³¹

PORTUGUESE SLAVERY

According to Quarles's Portuguese Slavery,³² the Portuguese began slavery as early as 1441.

Davis's research describes the Portuguese in dealing with slavery in Brazil as attaching much prestige to the relative lightness of skin-color or the part of the Negro.³³

SPANISH SLAVERY

Spain, according to Corwin's research, was involved in Black African slave trade as early as 1510, and this was urged by religious authorities of the West Indies.³⁴ The Spanish, as will be seen later with the Portuguese in Brazil, allowed their slaves the privilege of maintaining and practicing tribal rituals, while embracing Catholicism.³⁵ In the colony of Cuba, the house slave ranked higher than the field slave, as will be seen later in the Southern United States of America.³⁶ Davis's research shows that among the Spanish, the child of the slave mother and White father inherited her status.³⁷

BRITISH SLAVERY

The British, as per Marsh's and Kingsworth's research, controlled by 1770 half of the Atlantic slave trade, having some 200 ships, with cargo space for nearly 50,000.³⁸ However, Corwin's research shows them as endeavoring to give recognition to slaves of color, the mulattoes, and freed natives.³⁹

Quarles's study of the French reveals that they were engaged in slave trade almost equal to the British and as early as the 1570's.

FRENCH SLAVERY

Davis's research shows that the French, by ordinance in 1713, required a master to have written permission from the Governor before manhandling a slave.⁴⁰ The French males met their "needs" created by a shortage of White females by "living" with Negro mistresses.⁴¹

DUTCH SLAVERY

The Dutch, through their West India Company, controlled a large section of South Africa and were in the slave business as early as 1621.⁴²

In the Dutch colonies, the slave mistress and her children by the White owner occupied positions of rank and prestige over the unmixed Negroes.⁴³ The Dutch from 1621 to 1700 were the number-one slave traders in the world.⁴⁴ In 1619, a Dutch frigate landed at Jamestown, Virginia, with the first Negro slaves (17 men and 3 women).⁴⁵ The Dutch later introduced slavery as an organized system to New England Colonies (New Netherlands) in 1664 through the Dutch West India Company.⁴⁶

SUMMARY

Under Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, and even the Dutch slave systems the mulattoes (or mixed-bloods) were ranked as a higher class than the Blacks ("unmixed-bloods"). It seems that only the Dutch, ranked the Negro with animals, such as dogs, etc., whereas the other European nations mentioned considered the Negro as being human with a personality,

as did the Greeks and Romans. Therefore, prior to the institution of Chattel Slavery in America, certain factors are seen to have already been in existence. These are: the ranking of Black Africans as a lower class species; having lesser developed physical and mental qualities than the White Europeans, who were considered a higher "order" in the evolutionary process; skin-color gradations and status; ranking the Negroes with animals such as dogs, etc.; and that "supervision" by the Whites was necessary for them (Negroes) to attain their potential for upward mobility -- as servants.

PRELIMINARY HISTORY:

SLAVERY-NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

Slavery legally existed in the Americas for more than 350 years. Mannix and Cowley, in their research, show it as existitive from 1518 to the 1880's.⁴⁷ The Black African and White slaves often served as "partners in business."⁴⁸ Most slavers were sold by Black African chiefs and not kidnapped by White traders. Their research also estimated only one or two out of every 100 as being kidnapped. The slave captains had very few morals against man-stealing, but it was a highly dangerous venture among very hostile Africans. Crews were often massacred by Blacks and the slaves were sold to other traders. The Black African chiefs, being shrewed bargainers, were preferred by the White traders rather than independent shopping in the jungles.⁴⁹ This is also supported by Osofsky.⁵⁰

The items used in trade for these slaves were, interestingly, of the kinds that could be used by Black Africans.

to collect other humans to sell to the White traders. Guns, gunpowder, and whiskey, were the major trade commodities paid for the Black African slave. The greater the slave trade, the greater the state of war between West African coast tribes.⁵¹

The early White slaver came from many and varied life situations. Mannix and Cowley support this.

The early slavers were as mixed a lot as the slaves. There were respectable merchant captains taking on a little extra cargo, derelicts who had no other means of making a living, sadists finding an opportunity to gratify their passions for cruelty, picturesque gentlemen adventurers, money-mad speculators, serious young clerks sent out by their firms (and dying of fever before they got home with savings), seamen treated almost as harshly as the slaves, criminals planning to be pirates, dilligent surgeons, and pious Christians.⁵²

SUMMARY

Some Black Africans, as well as White Europeans, were responsible for Black African slave capture and trade. Whereas, other Black Africans made slave "collection" a dangerous venture for the White traders. Items used as medium of exchange served to perpetuate the collection and trade.

Like the Western United States' gold rush, the slave-trade enticed Whites from all walks of life who hoped to enhance their class in society.

FOOTNOTES

¹George Park Fisher, History of the Christian Church (New York, N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889).

²The New Merriam - Webster Pocket Dictionary Sixth Edition Pocket Books (New York, N. Y.: G and C Merriam Company, 1970), pp. 49 and 576.

³Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Blacks In Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1950), p. vii.

⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁵David Byron Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 447.

⁶Charles Darwin, Origin of the Species, Sixth Edition (New York, N. Y.: Hurst and Company, 1897), p. 745.

⁷Ibid., p. 749.

⁸Ibid., p. 777.

⁹William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, The Science of Society, Vol. I (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 223.

¹⁰William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, The Science of Society, Vol. III (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 1976.

¹¹William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, The Science of Society, Vol. II (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 233.

¹²Ibid., p. 234.

¹³Gunner Landtman, The Origin of the Inequity of Social Classes (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 237.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 241.

¹⁵Benjamin Quarles, The Negro In The Making of America (New York, N. Y.: Collier Books, 1964), pp. 15 and 22.

¹⁶Landtman, op. cit., p. 217.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 265.

- 18 Ibid., p. 266.
- 19 Vernon Bartlett, Struggle For Africa (New York, N. Y.: Praeger, Inc., 1953), p. 85.
- 20 Ibid., p. 86.
- 21 Anthony de Renk and Julie Knight, Caste and Race (Boston, Mass.: Brown, Little and Company, 1967), p. 193.
- 22 Michael Banton, West African City (London, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 6.
- 23 Ibid., p. 113.
- 24 John D. Hargreaves, West Africa: The Former French States (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 142.
- 25 Ibid., p. 67.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Bartlett, op. cit., p. 20.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Philip Mason, Pattern of Dominance (London, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1970), Chapter IX, p. 191.
- 30 Bartlett, op. cit., p. 14.
- 31 Sumner, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 232-233.
- 32 Quarles, loc. cit.
- 33 Davis, op. cit., p. 275.
- 34 Arthur F. Corwin, Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1967), p. 4.
- 35 Ibid., p. 52.
- 36 Ibid., p. 53.
- 37 Davis, op. cit., p. 277.
- 38 Corwin, op. cit., p. 38.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
- 40 Davis, op. cit., pp. 263-264.
- 41 Ibid., p. 273.

42 Quarles, op. cit., p. 20.

43 Davis, op. cit., pp. 277-278.

44 Quarles, loc. cit.

45 Ibid., p. 33.

46 Ibid., p. 36.

47 David P. Mannix, in collaboration with Malcom Cowley, The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade Black Cargoes (New York, N. Y.: The Viking Press, 1962, 1965, 1968), p. viii.

48 Ibid., p. 26.

49 Ibid., p. x.

50 Gilbert Osofsky, The Burden of Race (New York, N. Y.: Harper and Row Publisher, 1967), pp. 5-6.

51 Mannix, loc. cit.

52 Ibid., p. 21.

Chapter IV

UNITED STATES SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY WHITES

In this chapter, stratification will be studied and defined in terms of class. This variable is being defined in terms of economics, particularly as related to property ownership, whether it consists of land, buildings, farm machinery, livestock, or Negro slaves. Although other related class distinctions will be touched upon, the main focus will be directed toward the two major productive elements of slavery, Southern (United States of America) style, the Negro slave worker (the production machine), and the White slaver (production Owner-Manager or entrepreneur). This will also include some sociological and psychological beliefs that aided in polarizing Negroes in certain "brawn" vocations, and lower level production endeavors.¹

In the United States, Black African slavery became a very profitable economic venture for many, especially the slave trader who was eager to profit economically from this "black gold." His primary concern being to collect transport and deliver for sale his human merchandise. Curtis and Lewis support this as they point out, "Slavery was planned as a rational order based on mercantilism."²

In the Southern United States, where farming rather

than industry was the major production entity, with tobacco and cotton as the number one crops, slavery was at least initially based on purely economic motivations. In Stamp's view, the use of Negro slaves seemed the best of several alternatives (such as White planters doing the work themselves, or using hired White labor). In fact, Negro slave labor was by far the cheapest possible, and this type of worker became a deliberate choice. In emphasizing the economically deliberate use of the Negro slave, Stamp rules out the old mythical theories that Whites cannot adjust as well to hot and humid climates. Because men are able to adjust to varied weather extremes, colonial Whites had no trouble adjusting to Africa's climate for many centuries. On the other hand, slaves were not necessarily needed to sustain the existence of the southern plantation, since this life-style existed in the area before slavery, and continued after its legal abolition.³

Although at the beginning, plans for slavery were geared for establishment of a unique economic dynasty in the South, slavery also gave this part of the United States a social system, with a class order, unlike those in any other country at the time. Genovese supports this view:

. . . slavery gave the South a social system and a civilization with a distinct class structure, political community, economy, ideology, and set of psychological patterns, and that, as a result, the South increasingly grew away from the rest of the nation, and from the rapidly developing sections of the world.⁴

His view is that slavery, in giving the South this life-style, provided the nucleus for a regional social order in which slave labor dominated all others. Slavery, in becoming the

foundation and center of a proper social order, also became the essence of morality in all human relationships in the South.⁵

It is also interesting to note the numerous supporting social, biological, physical, cultural, and religious beliefs used to stereotype the Negro as a distinct sub-human class, made-to-order for slavery -- Southern style.

Biologically and physically, some Southern Whites ranked Negroes with the ape species. De Renk and Knight's research shows one "elite" German scientist, in dissecting the bodies of two Negroes in 1760, as having "established" that their brains were darker than those of Europeans, and that Negroes had black blood. A "prominent" German anatomist was reported as having established that the internal parts of the Negro's body resemble those of the monkey.⁶ Nolan's research shows that biology, related to the above German research, was used in the South "to prove" the Negro as being mentality inferior, especially in areas such as his skull and brain. Southern researchers theorized that the Negro had an extremely thick skull, necessary for ramming purposes and a very small brain within its confines.⁷ Black skin had a special chemical underneath, causing a shine as protection against solar rays. The Negro's skin carried perspiration into the body, dissipating excess external heat. The negative about this perspiration was the supposed existence of a certain chemical substance that produced an obnoxious, extremely offensive odor.⁸ The Negro's face was analyzed as an example of animal simplicity; round, rolling, white eyes, flashing

smile, highly emotional. One White even went so far as to suggest that miscegenation would help improve these bleak animal-like features.⁹ They felt the best skills Negroes could acquire were those necessary for picking and hoeing cotton or simple-type field labor.¹⁰

Culturally, some Southerners felt that whenever diverse cultures came in contact, such as Whites and Negroes, in any social or physical conflict, the superior always won.¹¹ There appears to be some association between this view and Darwin's "survival of the fittest" theory. The first book with "sociology" in its title, written in the United States, was a Treatise on Sociology by Henry Hughes, a Mississippian, published in 1854, utilizing the ideas of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer to support slavery. Southerners felt slavery to be a great cultural assist to the Negroes, pointing to past history to "show" how Black Africans were elevated from savagery by Egyptians, Romans, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Southern United States of America's superiors. In other words, they believed that history authoritatively asserted the cultural superiority of Whites over Blacks.¹² This view is also supported by Nolan,¹³ and in his describing of the Southern view as: "The institution of slavery was a social compact whereby the master enacted from the slave obedience and industry, in return for peace, plenty, and security."¹⁴ Southerners pointed out further that slavery was common among Black Africans -- that they domesticated their own people.¹⁵

Religiously, some Southerners felt that it was "God's

will" that Black Africans should be their slaves. This is supported by Stamp, who pointed out that they felt ". . . God created the African for labor needs in the South."¹⁶ Nolan's research showed that some Southern Whites quite often referred to Biblical sections concerning the colors white and black, and light and darkness. In the Old Testament, Abraham, "God's chosen" father of "His selected children" was blessed and prospered even though he held slaves (Genesis 30:43). Using the New Testament to support their views and codes of slavery, these Southerners pointed out that Jesus came to fulfill rather than destroy the law (Luke 9:56). Saint Paul called for servants to obey their masters (Titus 2:9).¹⁷ Some Southern Bible scholars, even went to the extreme claiming that the Serpent in the Garden of Eden was Negro, and that this "Black" serpent was also responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus.¹⁸ Church leaders preached from their pulpits that Whites were God's chosen people and should not be corrupted by heathen such as Negroes.¹⁹ Nolan aptly summarized these Southern-style religious views; "So the creator had blessed these savages by prompting Southern Christians to become their Masters."²⁰

In referring to other "analogies" of the Negro, he points out that:

Other of the Negroes inferiority included indifference to personal liberty; want of domestic affections; Submissiveness to Authority; weakness, timidity, cowardice; and improvidence. It was obvious that Negroes were natural slaves and that it was merciful to enslave them. From savagery they were subdued to usefulness. The influence of Negro slavery upon Whites was also said to be good; their probity was made strict; their pride of character increased and their sense of honor

strengthened. The masters being responsible for the well being of his dependents, was encouraged to practice rigor and justice in governing them. Thus the South produced great leaders.²¹

Whites who owned slaves in the South felt that these biased, distorted, and shaky foundations were vital to insure a form of "Southern capitalism" primarily dependent upon this "Black human gold." To support this, Curtis and Gould point out: "By 1790, \$104,639,900.00 had been invested by owners of South and Southwestern slaves."²² Negro slavery affected the existing class stratifications in such a revolutionary manner, that according to Stamp, ". . . the omnipresent slave became the symbol of the South and the cornerstone of its culture."²³

Curtis and Gould described plantation life as a "status society," headed by master, mistress, and overseer.²⁴ Just being a Negro slave in the South constituted one of the lowest possible class levels. They support this by stating that the " . . . welfare of Blacks rest upon the mercy of whites. . . who owned them."²⁵ Goffsky's research shows that according to the Louisiana Slave Codes, a slave must always be considered as property, and must never possess any property of his own.²⁶ Frederick Douglass, as a participant observer of the slave system, saw many disadvantages such as deprivation of basic education (reading and writing,²⁷ being considered as chattel or property, such as furniture and livestock, having to hold his head down when addressing master, lash marks on slave's back associated with militancy and protest, bring lesser appraisal values, and having to sit on floor in church, during services. Nat Turner's views, according to Johnson and Gray, as a participant observer of the slave

system, were that slave auctions portrayed the most inhuman ranking of the Black people.

Human Chattels were placed on tables, and in various stages of undress, turned around so that the prospective buyers could appraise them from different angles. Mouths were opened to show teeth, much in the same manner as an owner might show teeth of a horse for the inspection of customers. Crowds of bidders and bystanders observed the spectacle.²⁸

Slaves were often divided between the family clan members on the plantation.²⁹ ministeral leaders, such as Nat, were considered a privileged class and, therefore, allowed more freedom of movement than the ordinary slaves,³⁰ and that fear was used to control the slaves, as Africans often lived in terror of various gods. The slave was frightened with terror of the wrath of God, if he didn't obey the master. If the slave bore his crosses with obedience and patience, he would experience great glory in the hereafter.³¹

Nat Turner, according to Styron in further describing the system, stated:

Two hundred yards or so behind the room where my mother and I stay, at the end of a path through the back meadow, is the ten-hole privy shored by the house servants and the mill hands living in the compound of cabins near the big house. Sturdily built of oak and set above the steeply sloping bank of a wooded ravine, the privy is divided by a board partition; five holes are for the women and small children, the other five are for the men. Because the big house is isolated from the mill and field, and because the affairs of house servants transpire as if in a world apart, this privy is one of the few places where my daily life intersects with the lives of those Negroes who already I have come to think of as a lower order of people -- a ragtag mob, coarse, raucous, clownish, uncouth. For even now as a child I am contemptuous and aloof, filled with disdain for the black riffraff which dwells beyond the close perimeter of the big house -- the faceless and nameless toilers who at daybreak vanish into the depths of the mill or into the

field beyond the woods, returning like shadows at sundown to occupy their cabins like so many chickens gone to weary roost.³²

Even in this observation, Nat Turner gives some idea of the slave-system divisions of class and labor. The slave system produced certain "divisions of labor" and/or distinctions that might be called classes such as:

The Head Slave: This was the master's "number one" "nigger." He was the master's "eyes and ears" among the slaves.³³

The House Servant: The males often served as cooks, porters, butlers, and were handy for any other "inside chores." The females were "mammys" over the White children, maids, cooks, and other "inside chores."³⁴ They represented upper status United States slavery.³⁵

Slave Artisans: These were more highly valued slaves trained in certain vocations, such as watchmen, storekeepers, shoemakers, carpenters, weighers, machinists, masons, cobblers, weavers, tailors, seamstresses, factory workers, and other kinds of manual arts. Those slaves who showed certain "self-direction" were chosen for this journey toward upward mobility. Their labor was hired out to those Whites requiring these services. In other words, the owner kept title to the slave, but the employer purchased the labor for a definite purpose, time, and stipulated price. It might also be added that ownership of these slaves was also a status symbol for these White masters.³⁶

The Field Hand: This slave was part of the "Task System" that worked in the fields. They were divided into the "plow-hands" and the "hoe hands."³⁷ They enjoyed lower status

than the house servant.^{38, 39}

The "Pet Slave": Very often there were more slaves than work to do on the plantations, and these slaves were often seen standing and seated near the master as are pet dogs and cats, or acting in parent-child and conceal roles at his pleasure.⁴⁰ During the author's life in the South, "associated descendents" of these "pet Negroes," stayed near the "White Boss" because "the Boss" felt the need to rub their heads for good luck, while fishing and other such activities. Some Whites would call a Negro "boy," "shine," or "snowball," just to see him say a child-like "yassuh" and grin adolescently.

The Urban Slave: According to Genovese, the urban slave enjoyed higher status, as he worked in factories, and was considered more efficient than the White laborers (often poor Whites, small slave holders, and non-slave holders). The urban slaves were paid wages, bought their own food, and found their own lodging.⁴¹

The Preacher Class: Black preachers "whitewashed" with Southern Christianity enjoyed considerable freedom of movement on the plantations.⁴²

The Prime Field Worker: The faster the field worker, the higher the prestige-status, these peons soon became a social order of their own, "admired by the master."⁴³

There were also the Breeding Women for slave reproduction, Children's Chore Gangs ("slave candidates"), Fancy Girls, Concubines, and the Master's "admixtures" through miscegenation.⁴⁴

The slave codes seem to point out more than any other item of research, the insidiousness of the slave system. For

example, they provided that should any slave strike his or her master, mistress, or overseer, appointed to superintend by said master, so as to cause a contusion or shedding of blood, his punishment would be death. Whites were given twelve months in prison just for teaching slaves to read and write.⁴⁵ Slaves were always expected to sing while working. If they failed to sing, it meant disfavor with the "whip toting" slave driver, the overseer, and the master. To sing constantly "showed" they were contented with their lot (no wonder the historical observer's reports could possibly be saturated with rival and contaminating factors -- refer to Chapter II). This could be why Southern Negroes are a singing people.⁴⁶

The following is an explanation of research on the United States Southern Slave System by Black educators, DuBois and Frazier: DuBois's research reveals that Whites used Christianity to capture Black Africans and to sustain slavery and its stratifications,⁴⁷ and that portrayals of Negro life on the slave plantations, as both brutal and serene, were both true as they represented different sides of the same shield, varying according to the social attitude of the masters. One side of the shield pictured "happy" house servants in larger cities and towns, and on the other, laborers toiling in the great cotton, tobacco, and rice fields. House service represented the earliest "upper level" United States slavery, Southern-style, and the field worker, the "lower level."⁴⁸

In studying the Southern United States Slave System, Frazier felt that there was nothing to enable the slaves to retain their African heritage. They were mated like livestock

and were considered human chattel. Deprived of their native mores, their sexual relations with the nearest female depended on their urges.⁴⁹ There might be some association between this and the White racist's view of the Negro man's "sex powers" -- or threat.

The house slave enjoyed higher status-prestige than did the field slave. There were also fundamental differences in their deportment. The closer the proximity of the slave to the master and class, the more he "patterned" himself after the master in life-style and behavior. The slaves, as much as possible, tried to be carbon copies of the Whites.⁵⁰ Although the longevity of marriage was dependent mainly upon the master's will, the slaves developed their own communal codes from certain "togetherness" ventures, such as planting, cultivating, and harvesting small plots given them -- and by having children.⁵¹ The Negro woman pictured as the loving consoling "mammy" to White children was often cold and indifferent to her own. These "mammys" occupied "prestigious" positions in the master's household -- even wet-nursed the White babies.⁵²

Negro preachers enjoyed a certain "social" distinction and influence with the slave master.⁵³ Negroes needed passes to attend church.

SUMMARY

Some of the effects chattel slavery seemed to have on White stratification of Negroes are:

The Southern United States major slave holders convinced other Whites that the Negro was a "unique missing link,"

biologically and mentally suitable to become the basic unit of production of their major crops of "king cotton," tobacco, and rice. With "sociological," "historical" -- and above all Church support, the Negro slave was reduced to chattel or property. Slave codes were then enacted to keep the slave in his place and equal to livestock, goats -- and even skunks.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Refer to Chapter III, pp. 39 and 46.
- ² The Black Experience In America, edited by James C. Curtis and Lewis L. Gould (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1970), pp. 6-7.
- ³ Ibid., p. 4.
- ⁴ Eugene D. Genovese, The Political Economy of Slavery (New York, N. Y.: Vintage Books, Random House, 1961, 1964, 1965, 1967), p. 3.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 71.
- ⁶ Anthony de Renk and Julie Knight, Caste and Race (Boston, Mass.: Brown, Little and Company, 1967), p. 193.
- ⁷ Claude H. Nolan, The Negro Image in the South, The Anatomy of White Supremacy (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), p. 4.
- ⁸ Ibid., p. 5.
- ⁹ Ibid., p. 4.
- ¹⁰ Genovese, op. cit., p. 4.
- ¹¹ Nolan, op. cit., p. 40.
- ¹² Ibid., p. 36.
- ¹³ Ibid., p. xiii.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Genovese, op. cit., p. 73.
- ¹⁶ Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution, "Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South" (New York, N. Y.: Alerd A. Knaph Company, 1965), p. 323.
- ¹⁷ Nolan, op. cit., pp. xii and xiii.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 9.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 38 and 39.
- ²⁰ Ibid., pp. xii and xiii.

- 21 Ibid., p. xviii.
- 22 Curtis and Gould, op. cit., p. 9.
- 23 Stamp, op. cit., p. 6.
- 24 Curtis and Gould, op. cit., pp. 38-39.
- 25 Ibid., p. 18.
- 26 Osofsky, op. cit., p. 19.
- 27 Frances T. Humpreville, For All People -- The Story of Frederick Douglas (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mufflin Company, 1969), p. 17.
- 28 F. Roy Johnson and Thomas R. Gray's, The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection (Murfreesboro, N. C.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1966), p. 23.
- 29 Booker T. Washington, The Story of the Negro, The Rise of the Race from Slavery, Vol. II (New York, N. Y.: Peter Smith, 1940, Outlook Company, 1909), p. 18.
- 30 Ibid., p. 224.
- 31 Ibid., p. 399.
- 32 William Styron, The Confessions of Nat Turner (New York, N. Y.: Random House, 1966, 1967), pp. 135-136.
- 33 Curtis and Gould, op. cit., pp. 27-28.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 18-26.
- 35 W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro (New York, N. Y.: Henry Holt and Co., 1915), p. 190.
- 36 Curtis and Gould, op. cit., pp. 13-16.
- 37 Stamp, op. cit., pp. 53-54.
- 38 DuBois, loc. cit.
- 39 Osofsky, op. cit., p. 13.
- 40 Stamp, op. cit., pp. 336-337.
- 41 Genovese, op. cit., pp. 223-227.
- 42 Washington, op. cit., p. 399.
- 43 Stamp, loc. cit.
- 44 Osofsky, loc. cit.

- 45 Ibid., p. 19.
- 46 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 47 DuBois, op. cit., pp. 124-125 and 129.
- 48 Ibid., p. 190.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 17 and 19.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 25 and 28-29.
- 51 Ibid., p. 30.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 38-39.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 23 and 25.

Chapter V

UNITED STATES SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY NEGROES

In this chapter, the specified hypothesis is one of a relationship between Southern United States chattel slavery and stratification, in terms of class, of Negroes by Negroes. In order to give emphasis and deeper insight, comparative analysis with like situations in Brazil will be pointed out where appropriate. The first part of the chapter will examine the racial and physical characteristics of this stratification. The second part will present its social characteristics. The third part will focus on religious characteristics. Finally, the fourth part will deal with the economic aspects of this stratification.

RACIAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Aided by intentional psychological and sexual assists from their masters, some Negroes soon learned to make social distinctions as to the status-prestige of other Negroes based on skin-color and physical features. Negroes, once "Americanized" by the Southern slavers, began to believe that the color "black" was evil and dirty, and "white" was good and clean. White-style Judean Christianity was a great influence in fusing these concepts into their thoughts and actions.

According to Frazier, Negroes felt that the faintest admixture of "White blood" and "their blood" raised them in the scale of humanity.¹ The mere prestige of the White race during slavery was so great in the eyes of the Blacks that the Negroes went to any means to resemble them or copy their life-styles, in spite of the contempt it would bring from Whites and other Blacks. Negro women, with the aid of white men, formed the nucleus for physically "upgrading" the Negroid features. Frazier's research quotes certain mulatto women as saying ". . . they would rather be a white man's concubine than a 'nigger's' wife."²

Mulattoes, according to his data, felt their lighter skin color to be so superior that they often refused to sit with darker Blacks in church. To avoid "integration" with these Blacks, many, if possible, would go North and attempt to pass as Whites.³ In Brazil it was a distinct privilege for a Black woman to bear a White master's child. The Black woman is depicted as carrying the baby on her back if it turned out to be "Black and ugly," and in her arms, advertising to all, if it were "White and pretty."⁴ Note the associations between "Black and ugly," and "White and pretty." (Refer to Chapter III, pp. 38 and 39). Research, after the period of Southern United States slavery, by Isaacs showed that a considerable number of Negroes rejected their blackness and Negroid features and yearned to be White. This meant raising the value of whiteness rather than blackness to the highest level or model in life, which, in turn, institutionalized a color-caste system within the racial-social structure. This ranking involved the emphasis

on skin lightness, hair straightness, and the likeness of certain facial factors such as eyes, nose and mouth to the Caucasian type.⁵ This helps to polarize ancient myths (see Chapter III, p. 37) regarding light and dark, white and black, within the Black social structure, and enhances the status of the mulatto.

Mulattoes were better educated and enjoyed more freedom than the darker "unmixed" Negroes. They took pride in tracing their "family lines" to early United States pioneers.⁶ During slavery they had preferred spots in the big house and favored posts away from the fields.⁷ The mulatto families often claimed a distinguished ancestry of senators and governors. When slavery ended legally, they, because of superior training and in many cases long established freedom, either already had or took over positions of Negro leadership. They became great leaders. Having had a head start over the rest of their race, from their ranks emerged doctors, preachers, lawyers, and publicists.⁸ In viewing portraits of Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglas, and W. E. B. DuBois, the author noted that they were light-skinned -- so is Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. It would appear then that to a significant number of slaves and their descendents, White was a psychologically superior color, black a psychologically inferior color, and that there is some relationship between color gradations, physical features, and status within the Negro social structure.

The mulatto thus emerges as a status symbol, an upper class, in the eyes of a significant number of Negroes. This mixed-blood exemplifies the "possibility" that Negroes can

"once and for all" rid themselves of the Biblical "curse of darkness."

Two "sadder" epilogues to this exist. The mulattoes who could not "pass" had to be contented in being "upper class Negroes." Black males desiring White female companionship in the Southern United States had to accept the mulatto female as the "next best thing."

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

In studying social characteristics, a primary focus will be made on family group interaction. The "granny" occupied a position of power in the slave household. Being the "high priestess" of the group, she was often the final court of appeals. From sheer memory, she was able to relate historical information to the family members based on empirical experience as a participant observer. "Granny" could always remember, point out, and describe to the "younguns," times that were much worse. She firmly entrenched female dominance of the Negro household, a factor this present writer sees clearly even to this day. Frazier also supports this association between past and present Black female household domination.⁹ In describing "granny" he points out:

During slavery the Negro grandmother occupied in many instances an important place in the plantation economy, and was highly esteemed by both the slaves and the masters. In the master's house, she was very often the "mammy" whom history and tradition have idealized because of her loyalty and affection. Because of her intimate relations with the Whites, all family secrets, as Calhoun observers, "were in her keeping, she was the defender of the family honor." The tie of affection between her and her charges was never outgrown. Often she was the

confidential adviser of the older members of the household. To young mothers, she was an authority on first babies. Age added dignity to her position and her regime, Thomas Nelson Page says, "extended frequently through two generations, occasionally through three."¹⁰

It might also be pointed out that the dominance of "granny" might be found in the White family structure ("The Beverly Hills" Columbia Broadcasting Company, New York--Television Program). This very popular show has been on for years.

The Negro mother often ranked her own children lower than the White children she cared for. The same love and compassion given to the White children was withheld from her own. Frazier viewed that:

. . . the idealized picture of the Negro mother has not grown out of the stories of her sacrifices and devotion to her own children, but has emerged from the tradition of the Negro mammy -- a romantic figure in whom maternal love as a vicarious sentiment has become embodied. There is plenty of evidence to give a solid background to the familiar picture -- stories of cold, and often in-human indifference toward her own offsprings and undying devotion to the children of the master race.¹¹

As to the males, before they could come "courting" certain females, they had to show evidence of "culture and refinement of character" -- White version. These "debutantes" who were graduates of the mistress's (master's wife) "finishing school," offspring of the house servants (who will be described in next section), were not to be married to "just any ole low-breed slave." Therefore, these male suitors, made very sure that they measured up to these "fine" young damsels. In socially "upgrading" themselves, they learned to think of other "lesser cultured" Black males as lower in status.¹²

Negro males, during slavery, were deprived of their manhood in many ways. Their women were often taken by White men for sex partners; swift death was the "prize" always dangling ominously, should they even be caught looking "wishfully" at White women -- and to "rub the salt in firmly," some of these Black women felt prestigious in this interracial relationship, ranking the sometimes resulting offspring higher than "unmixed" Negro children. Any militancy by these males either received the "slave breaker" or the "Nat Turner" treatment. No wonder Black males could not counter the dominance of "granny" and "mammy."¹³ Another interesting and important factor was that the slave mammy was allowed to give certain preferences to their girl children. In referring to these mammys, Frazier writes ". . . if the child was a girl, she was never separated from her until she was twenty-one."¹⁴ It would seem that a male child born to a mammy would suffer some problems of rejection. In this author's Texas life experiences, it was noted in observing relatives that the Negro women showed more preference for their female than their male children.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS

Previous chapters have pointed out, how in various ways, Christianity was utilized to support beliefs that Negroes were the cursed of God's creation, doomed to lives of drudgery and toil.

According to Mason, some White Christians professed belief in the brotherhood of man. Others, such as many in the Southern United States, either totally ignored such a belief

or compromised it to mean that although men might be equal in God's sight, among men it was a different matter.¹⁵

The Whites indoctrinated the Negroes into believing that the world was a sorrowful, sinful place, and that things would be better in the "other world." Osofsky gives some support to this view.¹⁶ He states, regarding Christianity, that "masters were convinced that the words of the Lord, properly interpreted, would create a more docile and contented slave population."¹⁷ For example, White ministers, in preaching and converting slaves to Southern style Christianity, exhorted them to work just as hard when the master or his "foremans" were not watching them -- remembering that Jesus was "also watching" -- and exhorted them to be faithful to the master in all things -- always serving him "cheerfully." This is supported by Osofsky.¹⁸

This background laid the groundwork for the Negro preacher who, either through stupidity and ignorance or cleverness and understanding, became the highest symbol of status among the slaves and later freed slaves of various Southern plantations. He used (and still uses today, from the writer's experience) masterfully dramatic sermons portraying the world as a miserable, gloomy place; the Negro should seek and expect nothing in this world, only in the next. These ministers preached bearing "crosses and burdens" in this world (such as slavery) as payment for a future crown. No wonder they sang (and still do); "One of dees mornin's I gowna lay down ma cross and get ma crown" -- "Gonna shout all over God's heaven" "Dis ole world is a mean ole world to try to live in." Frazier

supports this view and states:

Undoubtedly, the most influential personalities among the slaves were their preachers. These preachers became the interpreters of a religion which the slaves developed on American soil.¹⁹

In analyzing DuBois's research in this area, it seems that once the Blacks had overwhelmingly embraced the White version of Judean Christianity, the Negro priest, or preacher, became number one in rank and prestige among the Blacks. He had close contact with the supernatural, receiving "revelations" from the Almighty as to how his people should be led. From this, the Black Church became its greatest institution.²⁰

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Frazier's view is that property ownership is associated with the element of consumption.²¹ The Negro slave was considered chattel and property, and forbidden by law to legally own any property (refer to Chapter III, pp. 41-44). This section focuses on those Negro versus Negro social distinctions forced upon them as units of economic production as follows:

The House Slave versus the Field Slave. The "social" class distinctions between these two production groups were real. The house slaves felt more socially and emotionally attached to the masters and families. They often wept over White household tragedies. These servants were the early "psychiatrists" for the White households, always ready with the compassionate ear. They copied the White family's lifestyles, manners, values, and so on and used these as a means to make certain distinctions, ranking the field slave as a

lower class. Frazier supports this:

In the social life of the slaves, the superior status of the house servants was generally recognized. The prestige of the house servants was not due entirely to artificial distinctions and hollow pretensions. There was often a fundamental difference between their deportment and that of the semibarbarous fieldhands.²²

He also states that the houseslave ". . . tended to take over the attitudes and sentiments of his master toward religion, sex, and marriage, and the other relations in life."²³ It also seemed that children of houseslaves, who grew up with White children of the "big house," felt more prestigious than the children of the field slaves. Frazier also supports this and, according to his views, even after these Black and White children grew up and became master and slave, the Negro children continued to identify with the master. These distinctions between the house slave and field slave are also supported by the observations of DuBois²⁴ and Nat Turner.²⁵

Slaves who worked for the Planter Class felt higher status-prestige than those who were owned by poorer small slave owners. Osofsky writes, "Being a slave was bad enough, being a poor man's slave was worse. Slaves even boasted of their master's wealth."²⁶

It seems then that those who operated the slave systems, and probably others, by granting and withholding certain favoritisms to Negroes were able, in some cases with the Negro gladly accepting these "social gains," to help create within the Black social structure, certain stratifications in terms of class. The question arises at this point: Were there any

White--Black, and Black-Black stratifications existing, long after slavery was legally abolished in this country (January, 1863), that appear to be associated with some of those social distinctions described in Chapter IV, and this Chapter?

SUMMARY

The effects of chattel slavery on the stratification of Negroes by Negroes are seen as:

Racial-Physical: Through miscegenation, skin-color gradations, caucasoid physical features, and status, the lighter the slave's skin pigmentation, the higher he ranked himself above the darker-skinned slaves. The more caucasoid the physical features, the higher the slave considered his status-prestige over the other slave.

Social: The more the slave acquired certain folkways, customs, mores, and so on, from the master and clan, the higher he ranked himself over other slaves. By demeaning the Negro male slave, and "exalting" the Negro female slave to "mistress" and "mammy" status, the female species became the dominant factor in the slave household.

Religious: By exhorting the "White version" of Christian Protestant ethic (pie in the sky -- nothing in this world) "canonized" especially for the slaves, the Negro preacher became the highest symbol of status-prestige.

Economic: By "division of labor tactics," that is, by granting certain favors to some slaves, such as house servants and bearing down with cruelty and withholding favors to field hands, those in the system created in the house slaves feeling

that they were of a higher class than the field hands.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro Family In The United States (Chicago, Ill., and London, Eng.: The University of Chicago Press, 1939 edition), pp. 50, 54, 56, and 102.

² Ibid., p. 102.

³ Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro Family In the United States (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 16.

⁴ Donald Pierson, Negroes In Brazil (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 120-121.

⁵ Harold R. Isaacs, The New World of Negro American (New York, N. Y.: The John Day Company, 1963), pp. 72-74.

⁶ Frazier, The Negro Family In The United States (1968), p. 16.

⁷ St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis--A Study of Negro Life in A Northern City, Vol. II (New York, N. Y., and Evanston, Ill.: Harper and Row Publishers, 1945), pp. 495-503.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Frazier, Negro Family In The United States (1968), pp. 245-247.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 33.

¹² Ibid., p. 29.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 50-56.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 324.

¹⁵ Philip Mason, Patterns of Dominance (London, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ Osofsky, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 39-44.

¹⁹ Frazier, The Negro Family In The United States (1968),
p. 23.

²⁰ DuBois, op. cit., p. 188.

²¹ Ibid., p. 324.

²² Ibid., p. 25.

²³ Ibid., p. 27.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

²⁵ Johnson and Gray, op. cit., p. 14.

²⁶ Osofsky, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

Chapter VI

NEGRO SLAVERY, POST SLAVERY ---

UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL

The first portion of this chapter will compare American chattel slavery to the stratification developed with Brazilian slavery. The second part will focus on post-slavery to the early 1940's (mostly United States material). Finally, the third section will include a study of White-Black and Black-Black stratification in Chicago, Illinois, and Bahia, Brazil.

SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS ---

UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL

~~By presenting some of the similarities and differences~~ between the institutions of slavery in these two countries, it is hoped that greater insight may be gained as to the class system slavery produced in our Southern states. The presentation is also intended to help point out the uniqueness of the chattel-type skin-color based on Southern United States style slavery as it was practiced in this country.

In Brazil, the slave was considered as a human being, although lower class.¹ In the Southern United States, the slave was considered as chattel, property, sub-human, and ranked with the lower animals .

The slaves were well fed in Brazil.² They were also well fed in the Southern United States.³

Fraternization between masters and slaves was encouraged in Brazil.⁴ Strict codes, with prison sentences, and loss of reputation were used to discourage such a practice in the Southern United States -- even though in actuality it was practiced considerably.⁵

In Brazil, the skin-color of the slave was the yardstick in measuring the social distance between masters and slaves. The lighter the skin, the higher the ranking and the closer the association.⁶ Slave color gradations and status were also important in the United States Southern system.⁷

To the Brazilian, the Negro's so-called adaptable, happy, merry manner made him superior to the Portuguese.⁸ In the Southern United States, these "mannerisms" meant the Negro was a sub-human, inferior species.

The Brazilian slavers, as those in the Southern United States, believed that the "biological" assist was good for the Negro. This could lighten his skin-color and change those "hindering" features, thus eliminating part of the Negro's "curse."⁹ According to Frazier's research, Brazilian slavers believed that White women were for marriage, mulatto women for fornication, and Negroes (unmixed) for work.¹⁰

The Brazilians, as did the United States Southerners, sought and gained Church support for their system.¹¹

Blacks of African royalty were allowed to retain their status and were given proper courtesies in Brazil. In the Southern United States, any show of "royalty" on the part of an African Black would have been met with sudden and final terminating force.¹²

As in the United States South, the Brazilian house slaves enjoyed greater prestige, adopting the White's language and life-styles. The field hand, as in the Southern United States of America, enjoyed much less prestige. In Brazil, the new arrivals from Africa were the most militant. There is no mention, however, of the presence of the "slave breaker," who in the Southern United States of America took care of these "problems."^{13, 14}

As in the Southern United States, it was a symbol of social esteem for the Brazilian master to be seen taking his slaves to church. They were considered part of the family and not chattel. One depiction of the "Church procession" in Brazil shows in single file, the master, his daughter, her female assistant, the mistress (master's wife), her female assistant, the master's manservant, and last, a young Negro slave "intern" in training.¹⁵

In Brazil slaves could own property, earn money and buy their freedom. In the Southern United States, the strict slave codes provided that they could never own any property.^{16, 17} Skilled artisans (carpenters, shoemakers, and the like) kept their surplus earnings and bought their freedom.^{18, 19}

The planters in Brazil were not able to transform slavery into a social system based on race, as did those in the Southern United States. These slave masters in Brazil would not tolerate anyone dictating their "social relationships" with the slave woman. In referring to the abolition of slavery in the United States and in Brazil, Mason points out:

The South was threatened by the North and forced to abandon slavery; the whole structure

of Southern society was shattered by the Civil War. In Brazil, slavery, as we have seen, dwindled long before abolition and was eventually ended by a consensus of opinion in which the church was united with the liberals, intellectual with merchants. There was, therefore, no need to make Negroes the scapegoats for hostility to abolitionist.²⁰

POST SLAVERY --

UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL

In focusing on the post-slavery periods in the United States and Brazil, research shows slavery as having been "legally" ended in the United States in 1863, and in Brazil in the 1880's. According to Frazier's research, by 1880 the Blacks had long been "assimilated" into the Brazilian culture through massive amalgamation of the races, creating one of the world's most "colored" countries.²¹ Some other post-slavery comparisons between the two countries were:

Black Codes, and restrictions, enacted by Whites in the Southern United States of America, and based on those used earlier to support the institution of slavery, were enforced to keep the Negro in "his place." This meant in a caste-like system, intended to forever polarize the Negro in a servant-master relationship with Whites. Revengeful Black politicians, former White abolitionists, and carpetbaggers,²² were great influences to the existent racial prejudices.²³ Blacks' rights were "protected" in some southern states if they stayed out of politics.²⁴ There were no such codes in Brazil.²⁵

The one post-slavery code²⁶ most severely enforced without trial or mercy pertained to a Negro male "raping" a

White woman -- lynching was often the "methodology" of prevention and discouragement. This did not apply to White men raping Black women.²⁷ No such "code" is mentioned in the resources on Brazil.

Negroes of White parentage were better educated in both countries.²⁸ According to Washington, only 1 percent of Negroes were in professional jobs in 1890. The rest were engaged as follows: 59 percent in farming, 28.7 percent as domestics, 4 percent in trade and transportation, and 6 percent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Only ten percent were literate immediately after slavery.²⁹ By 1915 two-thirds of Negroes could read and write. There was certain upward mobility in the fields of poetry, literature, music, and painting.³⁰ Research shows the economic and educational status of the post-slavery Negro in Brazil to be similar to that in the United States; however, the big difference was that in Brazil the major restrictions in achieving upward mobility were class rather than race.^{31, 32, 33, 34}

In Brazil, the predominately mulatto class were freed in 1828. By 1835 only one out of four were slaves. It is interesting to note only one out of every six Blacks (non-mulatto) were free. These freed slaves were not "legal Negroes" but free Brazilians.³⁵ Mulatto children in the United States, though always "legal Negroes," and labeled "mule niggers," were for the most part considered free. Even the master's mulatto mistresses enjoyed special prestige, along with "their colored" offspring. These masters often

economically supported their "other wives."³⁶

It might be said at this point that some of the "unique" distinctions of the chattel slavery of the American South have been presented. Some objectivity has hopefully been achieved by comparing this system with that of Brazil. The American Southerners used extremely fanatic, unscientific, and illogical means to "keep the Negro in his place" Genovese, in describing what he felt was Southern slavery's main weakness, states, it was a ". . . system based on contradictions."³⁷ This evil institution, not only served to stratify Whites by Whites, and Negroes by Whites, but it also "programmed" certain Negroes to stratify other Negroes.

THE NEGRO'S IMAGE IN THE SOUTH: 1914

According to Claude H. Nolan,³⁸ Thomas Pearce Baile, in his Race Orthodoxy in the South and Other Aspects of the Negro Problem, published in 1914, described certain racial doctrines of the Southern people, which he pointed out were part of the socio-religious culture:

1. Blood will tell.
2. The White race must dominate.
3. The Teutonic peoples stand for race purity.
4. The negro is inferior and will remain so.
5. This is a white man's country.
6. No social equality.
7. No political equality.
8. In matters of civil rights and legal adjustments, give the white man, as opposed to the colored man, the benefit of the doubt; and under no circumstances interfere with the prestige of the white race.
9. In educational policy, let the negro have the crumbs that fall from the white man's table.
10. Let there be such industrialization of the negro, as will best fit him to serve the white man.
11. Only Southerners understand the negro question.

12. Let the South settle the negro question.
13. The status of peasantry is all the negro may hope for, if the races are to live together in peace.
14. Let the lowest white man count for more than the highest negro.
15. The above statements indicate the leadings of Providence.'

These views seem not too far removed from those held prior to and during slavery (as presented in Chapters III and IV) pertaining to stratification of Blacks by Whites. Yet, the Southerner, when pressured by the changing events of history effecting value orientations and other social moves,³⁹ exhibited in spite of his illogical racist rigidity amazing, and yet even more strange flexibilities and adaptations. Even after Negroes had made certain advancements refuting the above "fifteen" Negro class typings, Nolan's research shows Southerners then, ". . . conceded that Negroes might not, after all, be inherently inferior. Although the mass of Negroes, they believed, continued to be disorderly, shiftless, given to stealing, and sexually promiscuous. . . ."40

WHITE-BLACK AND BLACK-BLACK STRATIFICATION CHICAGO-BAHIA

Certain comparisons have already been made in this chapter of slavery and stratification in the United States and Brazil.⁴¹ This section will focus on Black-White and Black-Black stratification in the cities, Chicago and Bahia. The author feels that there are similarities between the two cities. The comparative analysis will hold many variables constant while checking the effect of region on the stratification of Blacks by Whites and by Blacks.

As aforementioned, Blacks in Brazil were not, as in the Southern United States, considered Negroes first and humans later. They were considered as human being from the very inception of slavery by the Portuguese, and later the Brazilians. Black people in the United States of America, whether they reside in the inner city or move to the suburbs, whether they live in poverty or affluence, are illiterate and unskilled, or highly literate and skilled, irrespective of the shade of their skin (unless they are able to pass for white) and their physical features must for a lifetime carry the lower-class, legal status of being a Negro. The byword in this country seems to be, by legal decree, "once a Negro (or nigger) always a Negro." Mason calls it, ". . . dominance by proclamation. . . ."42

This is not so in the cities of Brazil, as they are ~~Brazilians first~~, then they are ranked as to class. Upward mobility in society may be gained, either by being of mixed blood and interracial marriage, or by gaining education, money, and so on. There are alternatives to gaining prestige and status, as Brazilians open to all Blacks, irrespective of color.

The following comparative analysis of Black life in the Cities of Chicago (called Bronzeville) and Bahia, is from a review of research in Chicago by Drake and Cayton, first published in 1945, and in Bahia by Pierson, initial publication in 1942, placing the two studies' association in time to within three years.

CHICAGO-BAHIA COMPARED

The Black population in Chicago was around 360,000 during this period. Bahia, about the size of Minneapolis, had a population approximately 700,000 -- 50 percent or 350,000 considered as Black.^{43, 44} It would seem, therefore, that the Black populations correlated closely in number.

In Bronzeville Negroes of all color were for the most part segregated in ghetto areas, whereas in Bahia only the Blacker Negroes segregated themselves in certain residential areas.^{45, 46}

Blacks migrated to Chicago to flee Southern slavery-patterned oppressions; whereas Bahia had been home for its Blacks since landing from Africa. Since Bahia was said to be typical of all Brazil, Blacks would not have had to migrate to this Northern Brazilian city, or any other one to escape racial prejudice due to color.^{47, 48}

In Bronzeville, Negroes were unwanted by Whites as neighbors, with objections tied to the Negro's color; whereas in Bahia, they were accepted by a large majority, objections not being as to race, but to class and poor living conditions.^{49, 50}

Chicago shared the characteristics of original United States mores as to Black and White, slavery and stratification. Bahia was also said to be typical of original Brazilian mores of liberality in social interactions between Whites and Blacks.^{51, 52}

In Chicago, lower-class Whites, many foreign born as

well as Lake Michigan, served as walls to confine the Blacks in the ghetto. In Bahia, there were no such walls to confine Blacks. There was no Mason-Dixon line based on race, only color and class distinctions -- upper and lower, mulatto and upper-class Black versus the peasants (White and Black) -- sort of a have and have-not societal arrangement. 53, 54

Blacks in Bahia were able to maintain their African cultural forms to a significant extent; however, this was not so in the United States, Chicago included, since early slavers deliberately broke up and erased any acts and customs resembling prior tribal life. 55

In Chicago, the old slavery stratification syndrome of "keep the Negro in his place" found great support in both White and Black fears of intermarriage. Generally, both Blacks and Whites were against intermarriage; however, lower-class Negro women in significant numbers were for it, as to them it carried with it certain status prestige. In Bahia, the slavery syndrome supported intermarriage, thus both Whites and Blacks were wholeheartedly for it, most especially darker males and females, as light children meant prestige. 56, 57 In Bahia, the mixed-bloods identified themselves with Whites. There was also a significant amount of this seen in the study of Chicago. 58, 59

In Bahia, to the Whites and Blacks, the hair texture of the Negro was more important than the color of his skin, though light skin was a significant preference. Good hair meant hair more like that of Whites -- curly or straight

rather than hard and kinky. In Chicago, this "good hair" was also preferred by Black people, however, the "light skin" ranked higher. Whites in general did not prefer good hair or light skin if they knew the person was Negro. The word Negro, to Whites, was the independent variable, causing all sorts of variations in attitudes and behavior among them.^{60, 61} Both in Bahia and Bronzeville, studies showed that significant number of Blacks, both male and female, preferred and married lighter-skinned mates.^{62, 63} Lighter-skinned Negroes were preferred in prestigious job positions, both in Chicago and Bahia.^{64, 65}

One study in Bahia shows that objections given by Whites as to why they preferred not to marry Negroes were based on class and not race; whereas in Chicago, distinctions were basically racial.⁶⁶

At this point, a question arises; if Brazil is much more tolerant racially than the United States, then why is the American Negro more advanced economically and educationally than his Brazilian counterpart? Pierson feels that the lack of a color bar tended to neutralize the incentive for upward mobility of many Brazilian Blacks, whereas racial distinctions in this country have tended to motivate the Negro to prove he was as good as, or better than, Whites; this resulting in noteworthy upward mobility.⁶⁷ There have been many empirical studies in history to support this interesting analysis.

In the United States, there is a tendency to dignify the word Negro by those "of color;" however, this term is hardly used by Blacks or Whites in Bahia, unless they have

come in contact with Blacks and Whites from the United States of America.⁶⁸

Finally, all is not roses in Bahia, as the lower-class, very Black-skinned Negro was reported to be embittered about his lot and was initiating numerous protests, in hopes of betterment.⁶⁹

SUMMARY

The following is a summary of the similarities and differences as described in the two cities probably resulting from such factors as United States and Brazilian slave systems:

Similarities were in white master-slave mistress "socializations;" skin-color gradations and status-seeking; obtaining religious support for the systems; the ranking of house slaves over field slaves; and the copying White life-styles and status-prestige.

Differences seen were: the slave was considered as property in the United States and a lower-class person in Brazil; certain "mannerisms" attributed to the Negro ranked him as sub-human in the United States South, yet were considered as superior qualities in Brazil. Slavery was transformed from an economic system in the United States to the most unique social system in the world, whereas in Brazil it remained economic.

In post-slavery United States, the ground word was laid for the creation of "Negro status for eternity" by legal jurisprudence. Brazil never had legal Negroes, therefore, when slavery was legally abolished, the slaves had long been

Brazilians. There were Black codes in post-slavery United States of America to keep the Negro in his place -- no such codes were found in Brazil.

As to Negro--Negro stratification, the most far reaching "influence" of chattel United States and Brazilian type slavery has been in the area of skin-color gradations and status reflected in the study of Negroes in Chicago and Bahia. Second to this appeared to be physical characteristics, such as "caucasoid like" hair, nose, eyes, and so on.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves "A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization, Second English Language Edition Translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam" (New York, N. Y.: Alfred Knopf Company, 1963), p. 279.

² Ibid., p. 66.

³ Stamp, op. cit., pp. 191-194.

⁴ Freyre, op. cit., p. 83.

⁵ DuBois, op. cit., p. 51.

⁶ Freyre, op. cit., p. 66.

⁷ Washington, op. cit., p. 125.

⁸ de Renk, op. cit., p. 289.

⁹ Ibid., p. 279.

¹⁰ Davis, op. cit., p. 8.

¹¹ de Renk, op. cit., p. 86.

¹² Donald Pierson, Negroes In Brazil (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 75.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 75, 90-91.

¹⁴ Mason, op. cit., p. 311.

¹⁵ Pierson, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

¹⁶ Mason, op. cit., p. 308.

¹⁷ Roy F. Johnson and Thomas R. Gray's, The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection (Murfreesboro, N. C.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1966), p. 14.

¹⁸ Mason, op. cit., p. 311.

¹⁹ Curtis and Gould, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

²⁰ Mason, op. cit., Chapter VII, p. 315.

- 21 G. Franklin Edwards, E. Franklin Frazier on Race Relations "Selected Papers, edited and with an Introduction" (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 87.
- 22 Washington, op. cit., p. 16.
- 23 Ibid., p. 224.
- 24 Nolan, op. cit., p. 14, 38-39.
- 25 Edwards, op. cit., pp. 87 and 89.
- 26 Osofsky, op. cit., p. 19.
- 27 Nolan, op. cit., pp. 37-39.
- 28 Washington, op. cit., p. 125.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 67 and 114.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 231, 259, and 296.
- 31 Edwards, op. cit., pp. 93 and 95.
- 32 Freyre, loc. cit.
- 33 Pierson, loc. cit.
- 34 Mason, op. cit., p. 308.
- 35 Davis, op. cit., pp. 312-313.
-
- 36 Ibid. pp. 277-279.
- 37 Genovese, op. cit., p. 9.
- 38 Nolan, op. cit., p. 203.
- 39 Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York, N. Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 10.
- 40 Nolan, op. cit., p. 204.
- 41 Chapter VI, pp. 83-89.
- 42 Mason, op. cit., pp. 216-217.
- 43 Drake and Cayton, loc. cit.
- 44 Pierson, op. cit., p. 25.
- 45 Drake and Cayton, loc. cit.
- 46 Pierson, loc. cit.
- 47 Drake and Cayton, loc. cit.

- 48 Pierson, op. cit., pp. 25 and 342.
- 49 Drake and Cayton, loc. cit.
- 50 Pierson, op. cit., p. 25.
- 51 Drake and Cayton, loc. cit.
- 52 Pierson, op. cit., p. 343.
- 53 Drake and Cayton, loc. cit.
- 54 Pierson, op. cit., p. 25.
- 55 ibid., p. 73.
- 56 Drake and Cayton, op. cit., p. 131.
- 57 Pierson, op. cit., pp. 120-121.
- 58 Drake and Cayton, op. cit., pp. 162-164.
- 59 Pierson, op. cit., p. 173.
- 60 Drake and Cayton, op. cit., p. 155.
- 61 Pierson, op. cit., p. 140.
- 62 Drake and Cayton, op. cit., p. 497.
- 63 Pierson, op. cit., p. 173.
-
- 64 Drake and Cayton, op. cit., pp. 498-499.
- 65 Pierson, loc. cit.
- 66 Ibid., p. 153.
- 67 Ibid., p. 176.
- 68 Ibid., p. 220.
- 69 Ibid., p. 25.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

The hypothesis in this thesis has been: There are relationships between the American institution of chattel slavery and the stratification by class of American Negroes by American Whites and by American Negroes. In light of this hypothesis, historical material has been presented showing:

That there existed early pre-slavery European value orientations that considered the Black African's racial features (skin-color and physical traits) as being repellent to look upon and that these Africans represented to Europeans a lower order human species. Religious tradition supported this by emphasizing the purity of "whiteness" and the sordidness of "blackness," until some of these Europeans believed the African Negro to be the "cursed of God's creation."

That there were many slave-type stratification systems existing in tribal Black Africa (mostly economic in nature) long before advent of the European systems.

That the European Colonials in Africa, by basing their stratification systems on skin-color gradations, and the copying of White life-styles by Black Africans and Black African embracement of "white style" Judean Christianity, were factors leading to a "divide-and-conquer" ethic which kept most of the Black subjects in lower-class status. The Black African slave systems continued to rely upon skin-color gradations and race to

rank the Negro. In these "processes" of stratifying Negroes by Whites, Negroes "of color" were learning to stratify other Negroes in the colonies, who were of darker hues or "unmixed."

That the Dutch ranked the Black African as animal-like and believed in strict racial segregation. Yet, even among the Dutch, through miscegenation, one's family could graduate to a "Colored" -- even a "White." The Dutch introduced slavery to the North American Colonies, and were the number one slave traders to these colonies for some 80 years.

That chattel-type Southern United States of America style slavery was initially introduced as an "economic necessity" to aid White Planters in the cotton, tobacco, and rice crops (the numbers one, two, three production exports of the South), upon which the total economy rested. Soon, millions were invested in slaves, until the Negro slave became the symbol of the South and the cornerstone of its culture. Feeling that they had finally found the better alternative, the perfect "species" superbly created "racially, mentally, and physically" for the toil and drudgeries of their agrarian economy, White Southerners committed all resources of capital to the "potential" production capacities of the Negro slave. To protect this investment, it was necessary to "proclaim" White dominance over Negroes in all areas except in extremely hard labor. White Southerners felt it necessary to tap earlier reservoirs of racist European pre-slavery religious traditions, cultural values, and to add "other" religious, cultural, and historical interpretations of their own to show that God created the Black African for labor needs in the South. These interpretations

were "supported" by racist sociological, psychological, medical, anatomical, anthropological -- and even theological hypothesis, thesis, and exegesis suggesting that the Negro was more animal than human. Then legal codes were enacted to keep the Negro slave in "his place," which led to the accomplishment of a historical first -- one that the Romans, Greeks, Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, and even the Dutch "overlooked," the "legal creation" of "Negro" as an "eternally" intended and degrading socio-cultural level -- irrespective of skin-color and other physical traits. Thus the Negro slave became property, chattel, ranked with furniture, and domestic animals, stripped of his African culture, his rights, all status-prestige, class, manhood, womanhood, morality; finally becoming the White man's robot. This master-property relationship did not last long, as social distances were reduced by the White masters frequent "mating sessions" with Negro female slaves, and slaves such as the "mammy" and "Uncle Toms" becoming "wet nurses," babysitters, and "psychoanalysts" for the White slaver and clan. From these "unions" and slave-White family associations, came the mixed-bloods and house slaves, who were treated more prestigiously than the "darker" slaves and the field hands. There were also, the slaves who copied the White life-styles being ranked higher than those who did not, and the Negro slave-preacher, who by preaching the "for slaves only" gospel, became the "number one" favorite of the Whites. In the Negro slave family group, the women were treated more "prestigiously" by the Whites than the men, and the girls more than the boys. The urban slaves were given more privileges by their masters than

the farm slaves by their masters. Slaves who were artisans (skilled laborers) were ranked higher by Whites than the "unskilled" farm hands.

That Negro slaves stratified other Negro slaves; house slaves over field slaves, artisans over field slaves, mix-bloods over the "unmixed." Negro females were ranked over Negro males, Negro girls over Negro boys, the Negroes who copied the White life-styles over those who didn't, the freed slave over the slave. Negroes with caucasoid physical traits were ranked over those who had Negroid physical traits, and the preacher ranked as the "High Priest," possessing the only telephone line to commune with the "gods."

That in Brazilian type chattel slavery, the Black slave was property of the owner, but human property and not "livestock." That the Brazilians in their system did not feel the need to create a "legal Negro" and, therefore, did not think it necessary, as in the United States of America system, to deprive him of his native folkways, customs, and mores.

That in post-slavery United States of America, when legally deprived of the slave codes, the Whites eventually enacted "Jim Crow" laws intended to perpetuate the insidious stratification of Blacks; by continuing favoritism to "colored" Negroes and "Uncle Toms," sought and succeeded to cause stratifications of Negroes by Negroes. No such codes or Jim Crow laws were found to exist in Brazil.

Studies of racial stratifications in cities such as Chicago (United States of America) and Bahia (Brazil) reveal these stratifications of Blacks by Whites and Blacks resulting

from slavery to be seen as existing in the early 1940's. The author has experienced and observed these types of stratification in the United States up to and including the present day (see Chapter I, pp. 1-15).

In viewing this material in light of the hypothesis, certain aspects of the class stratification of American Negroes by American Whites and by American Negroes were determined by American chattel slavery, and others by factors such as values, race, sex, economic, social, time, and locale.

AMERICAN CHATTEL SLAVERY

American chattel slavers consumed all that was available of racist religious, historical, and scientific "interpretations" as to the Black African's inferiority to the White man, then added other "sociological," "religious," "biological," and "anatomical theories," of their own. Through a unique process of assimilation emerged one of the most hideous forms of chattel slavery, ranking the slave completely as property, without any human rights, considering them as cattle, monkeys, skunks, goats -- and even less. This assimilation produced another first, the legal United States of America Negro (evolution not by bio-physical process, but by decree). This "feat," was not even accomplished by so-called refined civilizations of Greeks and Romans, nor by the Portuguese, Spanish, French, British -- even the Dutch allowed "biological" evolution to "Caucasionhood." The long-range plan was this; once legally defined as a Negro, always a Negro, irrespective of skin-color and other bio-physical features.

In Chapter III, it was pointed out that the American chattel slavers' motive behind this process was to burn into the Negro's mind that God created him as the one and only species uniquely fitted mentally and physically to forever be servant and slave to the White race. Because of the "thoroughness" of this purposefully instituted system, American Whites learned to look upon the word "Negro" and its "synonym," "Nigger," to describe the "untouchables" of the United States; Black slaves, and (even to this day) free Black Americans. This system, through slave codes, stratified the Negro as sub-human during slavery and was "updated" after slavery by Jim Crow laws to caste the Negro as a lower class human being, depriving him of the economic means to becoming recognized as an entity of consumption. Historical studies and the author's own experience have revealed that racist White Americans, holding on to "canonized" social beliefs about the Negro, preserved remnants of slave codes and Jim Crow laws to maintain certain insidious stratifications of Negro Americans, even to this day. It would seem then that the event of American chattel slavery did lead to stratification of American Negroes by American Whites, then and now.

In spite of these most overwhelming odds against him, the Negro slave in desperation tried to "win" more equal ranking with and by the White American. These efforts included imitation of Whites in attitudes, behavior, and life-style. The slaves embraced the White version of Judean Christianity, accepted God, Jesus, Angels, Saints, and Heaven as "White" --- even professed desires to be white and wear white robes in the

"sweet, bye-and-bye." To erase the stigma attached to being a legal Negro slave in the system, the slave women often readily accepted the role of "sex-mistress" to the White males to "Caucasionize" their offsprings. The slave codes, Jim Crow laws, and their descendant prejudiced and canonized social beliefs, have seen to it that in this country no Black American can ever become a White American, even if he "looks like one," unless he lives the torturous life of "passing."

Lighter-skinned Negro slaves and their descendants, convinced that being Black was sub-human, felt that they had higher status-prestige than the darker slaves. Later, their descendants also felt they were higher class than darker Negroes. Darker males married lighter-skinned women, and darker-skinned women married lighter-skinned men all hoping to at least psychologically erase some of the stigma attached to being a legal Negro.

Slaves who were in closer contact with whites, such as house servants copied White life-styles, customs, and so on and felt that in acquiring these Caucasioned social qualities, they were becoming more refined with more class than the "crude," "savage" field hands. As late as the early 1940's, studies in Chicago show Negroes who had lived as neighbors to Whites, and had become established in White life-styles, resenting the "uncultured" Black refugees from the Southern farms. In this author's experience, even today, many Blacks seem to rank associations with Whites as being of higher prestige than association with Blacks. These Blacks, "surrounded" by White acquaintances, often ignore other Blacks in

the group. It would also seem that the event of American chattel slavery did lead to stratification of American Negroes by American Negroes, then and now.

OTHER CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS

Some other factors in determining these two systems of stratification were:

Values: Black skin-color, was considered repulsive by White Europeans before the institution of United States chattel slavery. This view was already deeply imbedded in their folkways, customs, mores, and religious traditions.

Race: White Europeans considered their racial physical features superior to those of the Black African before United States chattel slavery.

Sex: Miscegenation between White Europeans and Black Africans existed on the African Continent before the inception of United States chattel slavery. This "biophysical process" had already established skin-color gradations and status as factors in stratification of Blacks by Whites and other Black of "color."

Economic: White Europeans considered the Black African as an excellent slave species and unit of production in Europe and Colonial Africa, long before United States chattel slavery, in ancient Greece and Rome. Black slaves were brought to Portugal from Africa as early as the middle fifteenth century, over 300 years before United States chattel slavery. "Slave factories" were set up on the African Continent by these Europeans to collect the "green stuff" from the "gullable"

White United States Southerner, drunk with slave fever.

Social: White European colonists felt that close associations between them and Black Africans, including copying their life-styles and embracing their "version" of Judean Christianity, would "upgrade" the Africans in status-prestige and class. Many Black Africans were whitewashed into believing this, resulting in Blacks stratifying other Blacks who preferred to retain their native customs -- long before United States chattel slavery.

It goes without saying that descendants of these Roman, Grecian, Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, and Dutch migrated to this continent, and helped to establish the thirteen colonies that later became the United States of America, with its unique chattel slavery.

Time: Historical timing -- the Industrial Revolution, with Western European and the Northern United States building textile factories wherever possible, made cotton the number one market. Since "King Cotton" was the number one product of Southern United States of America, these White Americans took advantage of the times and created by "decree" a "species" mentally, ethnically, and physically fit to plant, cultivate, and harvest this crop -- the Negro. When cotton ceased to be king, Negro slavery, as it existed, became a liability to the South.¹

Locale: The type of chattel slavery with its "legally created," sub-human Negro slave existed only in the United States South, and neither in Europe, Colonial Africa, nor in other nations in the Americas, such as Brazil.

In viewing the importance of time and locale, it might be said that "time and place" worked hand in hand in history to help produce the worlds most rigid stratification system, based primarily on illusive variables such as race and socio-cultural interpretation.

One other factor might be Tribal. The Black African was already lowly stratified by his other Black "fellowmen" who sold him to the White slave trader. In retrospect, it might be said that Black Africans were familiar with tribal stratifications, akin to slavery, long before they saw the first White way.

In spite of all of these other factors, this historical research has pointed out that the United States chattel slavers "refined" all of these views and practices into the most unique system of all time, creating a racial stock by legal jurisprudence, lasting even to this day and seen in continuing White-Black and Black-Black social stratifications.

These Southerners "controlled" United States Congress in the early 1860's prior to Civil War, rendering the Government too weak or indifferent to abolish slavery -- even President Lincoln was reluctant to do so. These Southerners, in 1860, while their legislatures were voting against African slave trade, continued their greed by contaminating the apathetic North, and using ports of New York and Boston to bring in Blacks. United States marshalls "turned the other way" when sent by Washington to investigate.

After reconstruction, Southerners again controlled Congress, blocking all civil rights legislation in behalf of

Negroes by filibuster until the 1960's. Even today, conservative Republicans and Southerners continue to block legislation to granting equal rights to Blacks.² Because of Southern chattel slavery, the North, as well as South, was contaminated by racism and the two systems of stratification -- they still exist today.³

FOOTNOTES

¹H. C. Carey, Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign
Philadelphia, Pa.: Henry Carey Baird Industrial Publisher,
1872), pp. 367-368.

²W. E. B. DuBois, Ph.D. (Harvard), The Suppression
of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America
(New York, N. Y.: Longman's, Green and Company, 1886),
pp. 183 and 188.

³Ibid., pp. 178-179.

Chapter VIII

PROJECTIONS

On the basis of this study, the following are predictions concerning the changing American class system:

STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY WHITES

Beginning with the time period ending the historical study (early 1940's) to the present (1970), certain alternatives were seen by the present writer for the American Negro in a society whose social roots in White-Black relations were planted in racism:

1. They could despair and through suicide and other means of destruction exterminate themselves.
2. They could settle down to their grim state, adjust to some kind of contentment, blot out the future, and "make the best of it."
3. They could pretend to be contented, and through religious means anesthetize themselves against the social agonies, hoping for some Divine intervention that will eventually "save them."
4. They could leave and go to another national setting whereby they might be better accepted.
5. They could try in massive effort to win acceptance of the dominant group, whatever the price paid, and by whatever means possible, from extreme acts of humility to outright

imitation.

6. They could take up arms (a la Nat Turner) and fight.

7. They could enlist the aid of sympathizers and "opportunists" in the majority group to help them through legal process.

8. They could, by rediscovering their cultural identity, create a parallel sub-group entity, whose symbols are synonymous with those of the majority except that they would be saturated with the Black group "insignia."

Historical research has pointed out rather clearly that the major responsibility for removal of racist stratifications of Blacks by Whites in the United States rests with the Whites who started it in the first place. However, this research to 1945 showed no over-all national effort on the part of organized White-controlled government, or the White majority to do this. Then, in order to start a social process that would someday eliminate traditional and cultural racist stratifications, the Negro would have to take the leadership in at least having abolished the legal barriers that protected White dominance over him since the Emancipation Proclamation. In the last twenty-five years, American Blacks utilizing the alternatives in points 6, 7, 8 (presented above) under leadership of groups such as the Black Panthers, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Council, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Black Muslims, and others, have brought about such

revolutionary legal and social changes that the United States and especially its Southern States began to look upon them once again as the "cornerstone" or thermostat of its culture. The Negro, until the early 1940's, was considered primarily a unit of production. Since that time, White United States of America has learned to view him as an integral part of consumption, demanding equality in distribution of wealth -- even demanding reparations for "damages" incurred during slavery. Whites, who own production means, began to utilize the Negro in advertising. Negroes are competing with Whites in many of the previously all white professional fields, in advanced educational technology and especially in sports. More and more Blacks are becoming "middle class."

In spite of Negro advancement in the United States of America, this author predicts that a significant number of Whites will mentally and otherwise continue to stratify Negroes mainly on the basis of race. Some Negroes will continue to emphasize that Black is "psychologically" a more beautiful -- even superior, color than White. Some will continue to relate violent interactions with Whites as prestigious behaviors, reject so-called "White" social and economic values. Black militants will continue to emphasize Black African features, dress, and other life-styles in contrast to those of the Whites, and continue to "prove" in certain sports that Blacks are "biologically superior." There will be continued use of economic pressures and population size, to gain control of White dominated business, civil services, and politics in all areas, especially in the deep

South. This author sees at least four Black governors in the future: Mississippi, Georgia, New York, and New Jersey (with Michigan, Illinois, Alabama, and California as dark horses). Even a Vice President of this nation is seen in twenty-five years -- not because of White "regeneration," but because of "Black" non-violent militancy, international pressures, and because finally, even the White racists, out of sheer necessity, will realize (like it or not) the Black people have always been "God's blessing to America." "Black" will legally and socially replace "Negro," "Colored," "Nigra," and "Nigger" to describe these most "pigmentated" Americans. However, with the exception of those who hold membership in "diehard" social groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and its subsidiary, the White Citizen's Council, and their sympathizers, White racists will express their prejudices against Negroes in secret and vocally support strong law enforcement against minorities, de facto segregation, status rights, right to hire, rent and sell as they please, ultra-conservatism, etc. They will oppose busing, liberals, militants, welfare to "lazy, immoral" minorities, hippies, and label any person or movements threatening their traditional biases as communists -- sort of a sublimation of the "disease of prejudice." Some Whites will increase arms purchases for protection against "Black violence." These racists will seek and gain in some areas the election of officials supporting their racial views, stricter crime laws, establishment of hidden racist neighborhood housing and school covenants, drastic reduction of public welfare and other poverty oriented

programs -- some of these persons may migrate to more "suitable" countries such as South Africa.

STRATIFICATION OF NEGROES BY NEGROES

The advent of "Blackness" as the number one status symbol to try and erase early cultural-religious degradings of this color, and "Negroid" features as being "psychologically" superior to "Caucasoid" features, will cause much anxiety among an increasingly small minority of mulattoes in this country, especially those who are "passing." The Black drive to establish its "own cultural symbols" will be taken as a threat by those who have copied the "White" life-styles. Blacks, who continue to try and establish a more "colored" theological view of Judean Christianity, will be seen as a dangerous threat by those "Black Puritans" who have been "Whitewashed" by European type Christianity (White God, Jesus, Angels, Heaven, etc.). The Black proletariat (field slave) of the urban ghetto, will continue his militance against the Black bourgeoisie (house slave) of the urban suburbs -- feeling that these Negroes are "Uncle Toms." The middle class White and Blue Collar Black populations will increase, whereas the "cultural-economic" distance between the lower class blue-collar Black and the lower-lower class (welfare recipient) Black will also increase. A considerable number of Blacks, especially the young will totally reject the "Christian religion of their fathers, and a new" Black Theology, will emerge, professing that God has always been "dead" as he relates to the Black man. Other Blacks will continue to

demand complete segregation from Whites as the best course for the Negro, demand and receive separate, "cultural rights" on college campuses, including "Black studies programs," dormitories, dining facilities, "soul food," etc. The majority of "mixed bloods" will cease to be a species without a racial "niche," and hail "Blackness" as the color beautiful! The Black female, as in early Africa (before the "Whitewashing" process), will become the symbol of beauty, rather than the "White-type" female. The Black preacher, once the number one in prestige, will be replaced by the non-Church, secularly oriented non-violent black militant as the symbol of "new Blackness."

Finally, the present writer predicts, based on this study, that stratifications of Blacks by Whites and other Blacks, because of race, skin-color gradations and other factors, will be diminished to a significant degree. Instead of uniting society as a whole, it appears that a kind of polarization will set in, with those of both races who prefer "whiteness," being accepted as White, and those preferring to be black irrespective of ethnic origin being accepted as black. Most Americans of all colors, who at that time in the future don't "give a damn" about race, color, creed or national origin, will join together in helping to make this nation one, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all -- pitying the other two "polarized societies" yet respecting their right to "do their thing."

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

- Aptheker, Herbert. American Negro Slave Revolts. New York, N. Y.: International Publishers, 1963.
- Banton, Michael. West African City. London, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Bartlett, Fredrick A. Struggle For Africa. New York, N. Y.: Praeger Company, Inc., 1953.
- Bendix, Reinhard. Max Weber, An Intellectual Portrait. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960.
- Carey, H. C. Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign. Philadelphia, Pa.: Henry Carey Baird, Industrial Publisher, 1872.
- Clarkson, Thomas. Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species. Miami, Fla.: Mnemosyne Publishing Co., Inc., 1969.
- Corwin, Arthur F. Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1967.
- Cuber, John F., and William F. Kenkel. Social Stratification. New York, N. Y.: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954.
- Curtis, James, and Lewis L. Gould (ed.). The Black Experience In America. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1970.
- Darwin, Charles. Origin of the Species. 6th ed. New York, N. Y.: Hurst and Co., 1897.
- Davis, David Bryon. The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Denzin, Norman K. The Research Act. Chicago, Ill.: Adline Publishing Co., 1970.
- de Renk, Anthony, and Julie Knight. Caste and Race. Boston, Mass.: Brown Little Co., 1967.
- Drake, St. Clair, and Horace R. Cayton. Black Metropolis. Vols. I and II. New York, N. Y.: Harper and Row, 1945 and 1962.
- DuBois, W. E. B. The Negro. New York, N. Y.: Henry Holt and Co., 1915.

- The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America. New York, N. Y.: Longman's, Green and Co., 1896.
- Edwards, G. Franklin (ed.). E. Franklin Frazier on Race Relations: Selected papers with an introduction. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Fisher, George Park. History of the Christian Church. New York, N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro Family in America. 4th ed. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- The Negro Family in America. 1st. ed. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1939.
- Freyre, Gilberto. The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization. 2nd English language ed. New York, N. Y.: translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam, Alfred Knopf Company, 1963.
- Genovese, Eugene D. The Political Economy of Slavery. New York, N. Y.: Vintage Books, Random House, 1961, 1964, 1965, and 1967.
- Gerth, H. H., and C. Wright Mills. Max Weber's Essays in Sociology. New York, N. Y.: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Greenside, Charles Wilton. Slavery. New York, N. Y.: Macmillan Company, 1958.
- Hargreaves, John D. West Africa: The Former French States. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Humphreville, Frances T. For All People - The Story of Frederick Douglas. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969.
- Isaacs, Harold R. The New World of Negro Americans. New York, N. Y.: John Day Co., 1963.
- Johnson, F. Roy, and Thomas R. Gray's. The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection Confession-Trial-Execution as a Supplement. Murfreesboro, N. C.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1966.
- Landtman, Gunner. The Origin of the Inequity of Social Classes. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1938.
- Leach, Edmund R. Caste, Class, and Slavery: The Taxonomic Problem. (ed.) Lawman, Edward O., Seigel, Paul M., Hodge, Robert W. Chicago, Ill.: Markham Publishing Co., 1970.

- Mannix, David P., and Malcom Cowley. The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Black Cargoes. New York, N. Y.: The Viking Press, 1962, 1965, and 1968.
- Mason, Philip. Patterns of Dominance. London, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Mayer, Kurt. Class and Society. 2nd. ed. New York, N. Y.: Random House, 1955.
- Muzumbdar, Haridas T. The Grammar of Sociology, Man in Society. New York, N. Y.: Asia Publishing House, 1967.
- Nolan, Claude H. The Negro Image in the South-Anatomy of White Supremacy. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1967.
- Osofsky, Gilbert. The Burden of Race. New York, N. Y.: Harper and Row Publishers, 1967.
- Parrinds, Geoffrey. The Faiths of Mankind. New York, N. Y.: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964.
- Pierson, Donald. Negroes In Brazil. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- Quarles, Benjamin. The Negro in the Making of America. New York, N. Y.: Collier Books, 1964.
- Selltiz, Claire, and others. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York, N. Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Snowden, Frank M., Jr. Blacks in Antiquity. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1970.
- Stampp, Kenneth. The Peculiar Institution. New York, N. Y.: Alfred A. Knoph Co., 1965.
- Styron, William. The Confessions of Nat Turner. New York, N. Y.: Random House, 1966 and 1967.
- Sumner, William Graham, and Albert Galloway Keller. The Science of Society. Vols. I, II, and III. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927.
- Sweet, William Warren. Religion In Colonial America. New York, N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951.
- Ward, Baldwin H., and others (ed.). Pictorial History of the Black American. New York, N. Y.: YEAR, Inc., 1968.
- Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells. Social Class in America. New York, N. Y.: Harper and Row Publishers, 1960.

Washington, Booker T. The Story of the Negro - The Rise of the Race From Slavery. Vol. II. New York, N. Y.: Outlook Co., 1909.

Webb, Eugene J., and others. Unobstructive Measures. Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally and Co., 1970.

Webster Pocket Dictionary. The New Merriam. 6th. ed. New York, N. Y.: G and C Merriam Co., 1970.

White, Leslie. The Science of Culture. New York, N. Y.: Faver, Straws and Company, 1949.

B. CLASSES

Lewis, George. Fundamentals of Sociological Methods. Stockton, Calif.: University of the Pacific, Instructor: Fall Semester, 1970.

Mason, Lewis. Social Stratification. Stockton, Calif.: University of the Pacific, Instructor: First Summer Session, 1969.