THE PROMOTION OF INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH THE STUDY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

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By
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Review of the Literature</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Negro in the American Social Order</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Studies</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Attitude of the White Majority</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Attitude of the Negro Minority</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Experimental Modification of Attitudes toward the Negro</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the Present Study</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. HISTORICAL FACTORS IN THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Slavery Period</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social Ritual of the Plantation</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Breakdown of the Slave System</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Civil War and the Coming of Freedom</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Reconstruction</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and the Struggle for Advancement</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Racial Conflict</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aftermath of the Reconstruction</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rise of Negro Leaders</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 1900</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOLS IN EDUCATION FOR RACIAL UNDERSTANDING.</strong></td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Purpose of the Schools</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Objectives of the Educational Policies Commission</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal of Race Relations</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The School Situation</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Needs of Students</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of Minority Groups</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of Dominant Groups</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of Non-Dominant White Groups</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs of Teachers</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School and Community</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interracial Education through Secondary School English</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives for Motion Picture Study</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives for Radio Study</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives for Television Study</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Statement</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions of Major White Authors</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet Beecher Stowe</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Nelson Page</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel Chandler Harris</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Washington Cable</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Twain</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DuBose Heyward</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia Peterkin</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Faulkner</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erskine Caldwell</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. S. Stribling</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene O'Neill</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Green</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Fiction: The Civil War</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Present Time</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Development of Literature by Negroes</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillis Wheatley</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Wells Brown</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Douglass</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booker T. Washington</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles W. Chesnutt</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. E. Burghardt DuBois</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Weldon Johnson</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Laurence Dunbar</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countee Cullen</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie Redmond Fauset</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter White</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zora Neale Hurston</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Wright</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langston Hughes</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwendolyn Brooks</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Negro Authors</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Negro Dramatist</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famous Negro Plays</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Statement</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. METHODS, TECHNIQUES, AND ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO HELP PROMOTE INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH THE STUDY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Survey of Techniques.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking.</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Verbal Activities</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Outline for the Study of the Negro in American Literature.</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry.</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism and Leadership.</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation.</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Tests and Scales</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Techniques of Evaluation.</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing the Evaluation Program</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY.</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PROMOTION OF INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING
THROUGH THE STUDY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world, at peace.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

We, the American people of today, are in the midst of a period in which the democratic way of life, the very foundation of our society, is being severely tested. An active state of Communism and a latent state of Fascism are competing for the allegiance of the underprivileged, the disgruntled, and the dissatisfied. The threat of a third world war and the frightening specter of atomic weapons present a grim outlook for the thoughtful citizen. In such a world the achievement of the democratic ideal is not a matter which can await our leisure. The greatest hope of democracy lies in a steady realization of "the American dream," which James Truslow Adams called "that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunities for each according to ability and achievement."\(^2\)

\(^1\)From the undelivered radio address by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, originally scheduled to be given on Jefferson Day, 1945 and released for publication after his death.

\(^2\)James Truslow Adams, The Epic of America, p. 404.
There is an American dream, regardless of how imperfectly it is realized. The American people believe in a democratic way of life. The majority would probably agree that democracy implies recognition of the value of the individual, such freedom of the individual as is consistent with the freedom of others, the right of the individual to be judged on the basis of his personal worth, and equality both of opportunity for education and of occupational choice. Furthermore, the success of a democratic way of life clearly depends upon every individual's receiving the kind of education and training that will make him a competent participant in a democratic society.

Yet from the beginning of our nation's history these democratic principles have been applied only within limits. When the founders of America proclaimed that all men were created equal they did not think of women as citizens; they did not even consider the Negro. The Declaration of Independence was made by a people who held, and for generations continued to hold, other men in the shackles of bondage.

Americans have come a long way since the days of slavery, and political discrimination against women is also behind us; but the problem of achieving democracy is still with us. For various reasons Negroes are the group most seriously affected by discrimination. Restrictive covenant laws are passed to prevent their living in "exclusive" communities; the privilege of holding many
responsible positions for which Negroes may be well qualified is beyond their fondest hopes; the doors of many educational institutions are closed to them, and nowhere in the United States is separate education equal education; the denial of hospitalization, not being served in many eating establishments, and a lack of justice in the courts are just a few of the discriminations against the Negro, which appear in sharp contrast to the American ideal.

From all quarters of the United States there have come protests against discrimination by highly influential people. Pearl Buck, whose ancestry is entirely Southern and who has lived most of her life among the Chinese people, calls attention to the "stupidities of race prejudice," and asks the American people to straighten out their thinking and their behavior with reference to "a white ruler race and a subject colored race."3

Early in World War II, Mrs. Roosevelt said, "The Nation cannot expect colored people to feel that the United States is worth defending if the Negro continues to be treated as he is now."4

In October of 1944, Wendell Willkie unleashed this scathing attack on discrimination:

The list of grievances of the Negro people is a long one. Not only is the Negro in many parts of the country denied his legal rights in violation of the Constitution, but he is denied the substance of freedom and opportunity in such matters as equal education, equal chance for economic advancement, and his just share of such public ser-

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4John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 580.
vices as playgrounds, hospitals, and community provisions for health and welfare of all kinds. He is systematically housed in the worst sections of our large cities, and for his poor housing is frequently charged exorbitant rents. He is traditionally the "last hired" and the "first fired." He is too often denied protection under the law. But of all the indignities and injustices Negro men and women suffer today, the most bitter and ironic is the discrimination practiced by the Armed Forces of their country — the country for which they are being asked to give their lives.  

Lillian Smith, the author of Strange Fruit, comes from a Southern background. She lives in Georgia, where, with Paula Snelling, she publishes the liberal magazine South Today. Miss Smith has this to say:

We have looked at the "Negro problem" long enough. Now the time has come for us to right-about-face and study the problem of the white man: the deep-rooted needs that have caused him to seek those strange, regressive satisfactions that are derived from worshipping his own skin color. The white man himself is one of the world's most urgent problems today; not the Negro, not other colored races. We whites must learn to confess this.

There are many among us who think of segregation as merely a Southern tradition, a Southern "custom" that grew out of poverty, out of certain economic patterns, out of certain racial dilemmas, when in reality segregation is an ancient psychological mechanism used by men the world over whenever they want to shut themselves away from problems which they fear and do not feel they have the strength to solve. When men get into trouble they tend to put barriers between themselves and their difficulties. We white people got into deep trouble long ago when we attempted to enslave other human beings. A trouble
we have never faced and never tried with all our strength to solve. Instead, to shut our troubles from us we have used a mechanism so destructive that it, in itself, has become a menace to the health of our culture and our individual souls.

To remain silent while the demagogues, the Negro haters, the racists, the mentally ill, loudly reaffirm their faith in segregation and the spiritual lynching which their way of life inflicts is to be traitorous to everything that is good and creative and sane in human values.6

Both the complexity and the urgency of the American race problem have been increased by a global war and the difficulties involved in achieving peace. War and its aftermath speed changes, accentuate tensions, and increase the potentialities for progress or retrogression. Our race problem cannot be ignored until times are "normal." Rather, what the American people do now about race relations may well be the crucial test of democracy, not for ourselves only but for the world.

We can expect little success in winning acceptance abroad for a democratic ideal which we have imperfectly realized at home. Our arguments for free elections in Europe and our talk of the rights of minorities will have a hollow sound so long as there are "gentlemen's agreements" north of the Mason and Dixon line and "white primaries" or their equivalent to the south of it. Viewed from any angle, the American race problem is now part of a world problem.

We must learn how to live peaceably with people who are different from us, because most of the people in the world do differ

in one way or another. In this country white people are in the majority, and most people behave as though the same were true everywhere. The fact is that a majority of the peoples of the world are colored; at least sixty out of every hundred human beings on the earth are black, brown, or yellow. Peoples differ not only in looks but also in speech, religion, and customary behavior.

In our rapidly shrinking world it would be discouraging if the most striking facts about peoples were their differences. But physical differences are superficial; the likenesses are greater than differences. Furthermore, the really important differences are acquired or learned and can therefore be changed. Even physical race differences are a matter of degree and not of kind. These differences consist of little more than the shade of color in the skin, the degree of curl in the hair, slight variations of measurement in one part of the body or another.

Is it possible for two thousand million people to live in peace and harmony in a world grown small? No sane person will consider the task easy, but there are certain well-known principles and procedures which, if followed, should increase the probability of success.

In the first place, harmonious global living calls for greatly increased knowledge and understanding on the part of every one of us. We need not ignore differences, but we must try to see them in their proper perspective and must realize that the likenesses are greater
and more significant than the differences. If we think of the customs of each group of peoples as resulting from their efforts to meet their basic needs, we are less likely to judge all customs by our own standards or to raise any question of which are better or worse. In a neighborhood made up of different people, uniformity of customs may be neither possible nor desirable, but harmonious living is possible so long as there is respect for differences on the part of all.

Certainly there is little hope for a peaceful world unless we face honestly some of the problems of race. For a long time people of the white race have been in a position of dominance, and many of them have taken it for granted that this will always be so. But, white people can no longer rely on the comfortable assumption that colored peoples are naturally inferior, because the findings of scientists offer no support for the notion that there are superior races.

In a world which can be circled in sixty hours, a world in which rocket bombs, super-fortresses, radar, and the atomic bomb are at man's disposal, we must learn to live together or we shall perish. We want "brotherhood," but simultaneously demand that some people "know their place" and stay in it. We want peace, but we want the kinds of power, privileges, and economic advantages that might easily lead to war. We want a decent world, but we want to hold on to self-
ish habits that make a decent world impossible. Perhaps, therefore, the most important single thing any of us can do is to face alternatives — cooperation or annihilation; one world or none.

If we are to get along in a world of two thousand million neighbors, the obvious place to begin is at home. It may not be romantic or exciting, but learning to get along with people in our own community is the first step toward living in a world neighborhood. We in America have a minority-group problem which is being watched by the rest of the world. If we handle that problem wisely, perhaps we shall gain wisdom and experience which will help solve the global problems.7

Let us examine briefly the attitudes toward the Negro in America and the enigma of racism. In the fields of employment, housing, education, and politics, the Negro occupies a unique position in American society — a position so firmly entrenched in the national folkways that many believe it is unchangeable. The Negro has the distinction that, despite the length of his residence in the United States and his contributions to its material and spiritual culture, he is forcibly prevented from achieving full participation in the American social order.

7 Ina Corinne Brown, Race Relations in a Democracy, pp. 1-5.
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Negro in the American Social Order

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

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

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

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

Anti-Negro prejudice is seen by Myrdal as a psychological system made necessary by the presence and pressure of the American Creed; without that code, Negroes could be exploited without resource to a psychological defense based on rationalization of the

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8 Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma.

9 Ibid., p. xl.

10 Ibid., p. xliii.
logic of prejudice and discrimination. Konvitz has pointed out that anti-Negro activity is actually in conformity with local legislation, although it is vaguely prohibited by national law and creed.\footnote{Milton R. Konvitz, "Nation within a Nation: The Negro and the Supreme Court," \textit{American Scholar}, XI (January, 1942), pp. 69-78.}

Charles S. Johnson, in his book \textit{Patterns of Negro Segregation},\footnote{Charles Spurgeon Johnson, \textit{Patterns of Negro Segregation}, pp. xv-332.} has analyzed the prevalent patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in America as well as the behavioral response of Negroes. Part I of the study deals with three aspects of the problem under consideration: First, it treats customs as codes and rules of conduct which become embedded in the conventions and the established racial etiquette, the unspoken imperatives of tradition, and the social forces which define the respective spheres of the two groups. Second, it deals with the attempts to regulate race contacts and relations by legislation. Third, it considers the definition of Negro status inherent in the racial orthodoxies, taboos, and stereotypes, and the interpretations of personal experiences and sentiments which combine to establish the basic social attitudes and reactions of the members of the Negro group.

Part II of \textit{Patterns of Negro Segregation} is an attempt to describe and to interpret the behavioral responses of Negroes to segregation and discrimination, to give their personal behavior
in varying types of interpersonal relations with whites, and to mention some of the dilemmas which result from the efforts of Negroes to make satisfactory individual and racial adjustments.

Johnson's study is based largely upon special investigations in selected areas in the United States which represent, according to their structure, organization, and traditions, different stresses and facets of the American bi-racial system. The areas selected for intensive study were as follows: the rural South, the urban South, the border area, and the urban North.

In each of these areas systematic inquiry was made on a wide variety of social institutions. Personal experiences and racial attitudes of recognizably different social and economic classes were secured through intensive interviewing, and were observed objectively in both normal and crisis situations. Attitudes of white persons were drawn from interviews and behavior observed in racial situations in cities from Maine to Arkansas. The assembling and analysis of these materials has made possible a consideration of the exclusion of Negroes from group participation on the basis of race in so far as this factor can be isolated from other social and economic influences on the order of life to which Negroes in America belong.

The most successful applications of the sociological concepts of caste and class and the most comprehensive study of complete
patterns of Negro-white interaction on a local basis have been made
by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations,¹³ Lloyd Warner,¹⁴ and
Hortense Powdermaker.¹⁵

In the first study, the Commission investigated the underlying
causes of the race riot of 1919, reporting on the population and
housing problems, the nature and extent of race contact, especially
in industry, and the general character of public opinion. The care­
ful analysis of statistics together with the extensive interviewing
of the local population demonstrated that the riot itself was a mob
action stemming from ignorance, deliberate falsification, and an
imagined threat to white security through the increasing uncon­
trolled migration of Negroes from the South into Chicago. Attitudes
of both children and adults toward Negroes, and the reaction pattern
among the latter were found to be relatively fixed, and governed
by the pressure for conformity to the community pattern.

Warner and Powdermaker have made studies in the Deep South.
Warner has emphasized the rigidity of separation of the Negroes
and whites; Powdermaker in her study of a primarily rural, predom­
inantly Negro community has emphasized the beliefs of the members

¹⁴Lloyd Warner, Deep South.
¹⁵Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom.
of each group with respect to the characteristics of the other.

Recent race riots throughout the United States have stimulated intensive study of the necessary ingredients for the occurrence of mass overt aggression between groups. White\textsuperscript{16} has given an analysis of political and economic factors generating conflict, while Lee and Humphrey,\textsuperscript{17} in addition to their firsthand observation of the riot pattern, have postulated as basic to the predisposition to participate in a race riot the frustration of the desire for ego satisfaction, the presence of demagogic leaders, and the lack of any conscious preparation for democratic living in the midst of tensions which must remain, at least temporarily, unrelieved.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Attitude Studies}

Gordon W. Allport\textsuperscript{19} has stressed that attitudes have come to be the core of social psychology: the recognition of the directive power of attitudes, of their influence upon the structuring of the individual personality, and of the responsiveness of the individual to his environment has created problems in descriptive and experi-
mental social psychology for which new statistical and mechanical tools are still being developed.

In the study of attitudes, Nelson\(^2\) has emphasized four basic facets which must be examined: the integration of numerous specific responses of the same general type, the coarse and diffuse reactions out of which attitude patterns are selected, the dramatic experiences (including the traumatic) which underlie many biases, and the widely prevalent acceptance of ready-made attitudes from other people without supporting experiential background. Each of these four aspects of attitudes can be clearly seen in current biases toward the American Negro.

The Attitude of the White Majority

Emory S. Bogardus pioneered, with his Social Distance Scale, in the measurement of the attitudes of the white majority toward a large number of national and ethnic groups. Social distance is defined by Bogardus as the degree of understanding and fellow-feeling found between two races. If these degrees can be measured, then race attitudes, particularly those of antipathy and friendliness, can be analyzed and changes noted.\(^2\)

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Through personal interviews, letters, and case studies from every large section of the United States, Bogardus found that the following causes of antipathies of whites toward Negroes were generally expressed: antipathies due to differences in biological appearances and forms, to variations in cultural levels, and to widespread propaganda. These antipathies often begin with children becoming steeped in the prejudices of their parents. Fear images springing from a few emotionally shocking experiences, and aversions based on reactions against color, hair, etc., were also common expressions.

In achieving, the Negro invades the white man's conventions. He is thereby subject to all the prejudices that competition in status arouses everywhere. To have him compete successfully against them is especially repugnant to many white people. To have one's friends invade one's status and receive recognition that would otherwise come to oneself is hard to bear, but to have persons of another race, who have been "despised," rise to a position alongside one is "simply unthinkable." 22

Bogardus believes that education is the supreme adjustment process in developing and changing human attitudes. If unfavorable racial contacts lead to racial antipathies and pleasing contacts to friendliness, then a sound educational program may be

22Ibid., pp. 21-2.
built around the control of racial contacts. The author states further that an effective educational program will attempt to minimize the spread of gossip from person to person and from "yellow journalism" to its millions of readers. The atmosphere which is created when racial experiences are reported by one person to others is all important. The manner in which a thing is said is effective in developing true or false attitudes. The attitudes of parents and other leaders in repeating the ill-advised actions of racialists is often more significant than the actions themselves. Systematic education under broad-minded and well-trained teachers in racial problems is the outstanding factor in a sound educational program.23

The development in children of sentiments regarding their closeness to or distance from the Negro has been studied most exhaustively and with greatest control by Horowitz.24-25 The use of a fairly large sample representing the North and South, urban and rural, with and without contact with the Negro, has made his findings highly reliable. Horowitz discovered that attitudes toward Negroes are equally unfriendly among children of varied backgrounds. The prejudice begins very early in the life span,

23 Ibid., pp. 242-53.

24 Eugene L. Horowitz, The Development of Attitude Toward the Negro.

develops gradually, is not innate but is formed by the continued impact of wide-spread social forces, is expressed diffusely, and in the early stages may appear as lacking the integration which it gradually achieves. Horowitz also found that the social forces involved may be controlled and an impartial attitude developed.26

Bruno Lasker's Race Attitudes in Children offers a collection of anecdotes and incidental observations on race prejudice in children. The first part of the study shows what the race attitudes of children are, the second how they have been acquired, the third what intentional teaching has gone into their formation, and the fourth how they can be modified. His findings concerning the formation of race attitudes are quite similar to those of Horowitz. Lasker states emphatically, however, that undesirable race attitudes in children must be modified, if they can be, in childhood -- and wherever possible at the very time of their first appearance or observation.27

Zeligs and Hendrickson,28 in their series of studies of racial

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26 Horowitz, The Development of Attitude Toward the Negro, pp. 5-47.


attitudes among city children, have placed special emphasis on the reasons given by children for their attitudes: these reasons reflect sharply the community and family attitudes accepted uncritically.

The majority of currently available studies of attitudes toward the Negro in the United States have been made on high-school and college students. High-school students have been examined by Haag,29 Closson,30 Cole,31 Remmers,32 and Schlorff.33 The studies uniformly demonstrate that the Negro is the group least favored socially; that there are small and unreliable differences in attitudes between boys and girls, and various age levels within the adolescent range; and that there are not significant indices of correlation with intelligence, achievement, or knowledge about the Negro.


The initial studies of race attitudes concentrated exclusively on the attitude of the white majority towards the colored minority; the orientation represents the correct valuation of the relative importance of majority opinion in determining the attitudes of the minority.

Gwendolyn Bryant conducted a most enlightening study entitled "Recent Trends in Racial Attitudes of Negro College Students." The purpose of this study was to determine the degree of tolerance and intolerance of Negro college students toward American white people. A comparative analysis of the attitudes shows that Negro students in the North are slightly more tolerant than those in the South. Negro seniors are more conservative in their attitudes toward whites than underclassmen; sophomores are the most liberal. There seems to be a slight difference between the sexes, for Negro males are more liberal than Negro females. Paradoxically, graduate students apparently are less conservative than undergraduates, although the students between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five are extremely conservative while those between the ages of seventeen and twenty inclusive are rather liberal.

The Negro student prefers Negro teachers in Negro schools, according to the data, which shows that he feels that white teachers

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are not superior to Negro teachers. A neutral attitude is indicated in regard to preference in attending Negro schools, theaters, hotels, and the like. For the cultural development of the Negro, Negro schools are regarded as desirable.

Charles S. Johnson found that the attitudes and behavior of Negroes vary in a general way according to the cultural region in which they reside. There are marked regional differences in the racial institutions, and one would expect responses to be influenced seriously by the variety and intensity of types of racial segregation and discrimination. Negroes as well as whites grow up with conceptions of their role in a given racial setting, and they tend to act accordingly; but Negroes within each of the areas vary widely in their attitudes and behavior, and this suggests consideration of other factors such as social class, age, sex, education, appearance, occupation, and degree of intimacy. The reactions of Southern Negroes to segregation and relationships with whites are expressed in the following remarks quoted from Johnson's study:35

I never think about them. I just take life as it comes, and goes on.

I ain't studyin' 'em.

I stay as far away from 'em as I can. The farther they is from me, the better I like it.

35Johnson, op. cit., pp. 231, 253-93.
I don't want 'em around me. First thing you know they be putting something on one of my boys and hanging them. I like them in their place.

You have to be pretty careful driving on the streets here in town. The whites drive so wild and crazy here that you have to be on your toes... The best thing I know is to stay on the right side, and as far out of the way as possible.

I never go to the theaters in the South. I just think that if I am not good enough to go in the front door I am too good to go in the alley entrance.

I usually say "judge," "lawyer," or "colonel," just like they do to us. I know that none of them are judges, and some of them I call lawyers are not lawyers. I just do it because they do us that way, and they like it. They think I am just fine.

In order to determine racial attitudes for his study Growing Up in the Black Belt, Charles S. Johnson administered his Race Attitudes Test to Northern and Southern Negroes. He found that Northern urban youth, on the average, are more race conscious and have more race pride than Southern youth, rural and urban. Northern Negro youth are both less prejudiced toward whites, according to Johnson, and more favorable in their attitudes toward other Negroes. This is not necessarily a self-contradiction, for increased race pride contributes to the security of identification with some acceptable group, and in the end this security tends to decrease the racial maladjustment which expresses itself in bitter anti-white racial feeling.36

Under the sponsorship of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, a series of studies have been made of Negro children and adults. These studies are distinguished by the use of extended case histories of Negroes who are carefully selected from all social and economic levels. Negro youth of the urban South, the Black Belt, Chicago, and a number of cities of varying sizes both North and South, have been examined by skilled interviewers. The relations between color, class, and personality have been probed, and the importance of such factors as literacy, color of skin, occupational status, and intelligence in the determination of varying adjustment to American caste society have been described. The effect which these factors have on the formations of attitudes toward whites is not emphasized. These studies do show two basic attitudes of Negroes: (1) Some Negro youth take over the attitudes of their parents and grandparents,

37 Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage.*


40 Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality.*

who have accepted the unequal status of the races as natural and inevitable. (2) The desire of Negro youth is not for admission into white society, but for a chance to support a way of living which would mark anyone, white or colored, as belonging to a culturally superior group.

The influence of such factors as segregation on the emergence of the consciousness of self in Negro pre-school children has been determined by the use of the Horowitz pictorial techniques. The acceptance by Negro students of the stereotype given them by whites signifies an important area of social interaction. The fact that both Negro and white students agree to some extent on the characteristics of the former is critical; it can be utilized to demonstrate either the evident validity of the characterization, or the presence of pressure on both white and Negro to accept it.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{The Experimental Modification of Attitudes toward the Negro}

Do classroom materials and study of controversial issues modify the attitudes of students? This question has a direct bearing upon the soundness of this study, and it is well to consider just what effect classroom teaching has upon the racial attitudes of boys and girls.

The attempt at modification of attitudes toward the Negro by means of carefully planned and controlled experiences has been con-

\textsuperscript{42}Naomi Friedman Goldstein, \textit{The Roots of Prejudice Against the Negro in the United States}, pp. 5-14.
fined almost exclusively to the area of classroom teaching. Campbell and Stover,\textsuperscript{43} Schlorff,\textsuperscript{44} and Remmers and Peregrine\textsuperscript{45} have measured attitudes of high-school students toward the Negro before and after exposure to courses of instruction in international mindedness, civics, and race relations. With minor variations, results of such courses have been small but reliable shifts toward more favorable attitudes. Smith,\textsuperscript{46} Bolton,\textsuperscript{47} Droba,\textsuperscript{48} and Young\textsuperscript{49} have subjected large groups of college students to lecture series of different lengths, and have found a regular pattern of slight improvement, followed by some regression and final maintenance of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{44}Schlorff, \textit{op. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{45}H. H. Remmers, \textit{op. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{46}Mapheus Smith, "A Study of Change of Attitudes toward the Negro," \textit{Journal of Negro Education}, VIII (January, 1939), pp. 64-70.
\item \textsuperscript{47}Euri Belle Bolton, "Effect of Knowledge upon Attitudes toward the Negro," \textit{Journal of Social Psychology}, VI (1935), pp. 68-89.
\item \textsuperscript{49}Donald Young, "Some Effects of a Course in American Race Problems on the Race Prejudices of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania," \textit{Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology}, XXII (1927), pp. 235-42.
\end{itemize}
the new level. Reuter supports the position that sentiments and attitudes undergo change which is in some measure the result of an increase of information.\textsuperscript{50}

More dramatic techniques in exposure to new contacts have been employed by Smith,\textsuperscript{51} who subjected a group of adults to social contacts with distinguished Negroes in their homes, and by Peterson and Thurstone,\textsuperscript{52} who measured the effects of the motion picture "Birth of a Nation" upon children who had had no previous contact with Negroes. An interesting attempt to examine the influence of adult opinion on the formation of attitudes in school children was made by Menske,\textsuperscript{53} who found that the teaching of "controversial" material by teachers who were known to be extremely friendly or hostile to the Negro produced unexpected results: the children frequently moved away from the bias of the teacher. Exposure of teachers to a course in race relations and other problems in education resulted in an overall reduction of friendliness.

\textsuperscript{50}Edward B. Reuter, \textit{The American Race Problem}, p. 427.

\textsuperscript{51}F. Treadwell Smith, "An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes toward the Negro." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933.

\textsuperscript{52}Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, \textit{Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children}.

The use of a pamphlet on the Negro in American history (America's Tenth Man) received such wide and enthusiastic endorsement in white secondary schools that the project was approved by almost every state department in the South, and more than 60,000 copies were ordered. The report was also made that not only had there been no unfavorable comments, but that "It is our conviction that some such study in the regular curricula of the public schools would do much to normalize racial attitudes and conditions in the South."\(^5\)

In Biloxi, Mississippi, America's Tenth Man was studied for one week by 188 students in three sections of American history, three junior homerooms, and two sections of European history. Seventy papers were written on the subject and a prize was awarded the best. Other activities included a study of the native African in contrast with the present-day Negro, and a general assembly and three junior homeroom programs which dealt with Negro progress, health, education, literature, religion, and music. As a result of a book shower, forty-eight books and other equipment were presented to the Negro school by thirty-two white students,


who wrote reports regarding their visit. Newspapers and magazines were watched for articles about the Negro for current-events reports, and several articles on the project were published in the school paper. Essays, posters, and booklets were made by ten classes in English and civics, which enrolled 224 students. The superintendent of Biloxi schools had this to say about the project:

The Biloxi City Schools have participated in the "Tenth Man" project for several years. We find that it has been very beneficial. The students have gained a deeper understanding of the problems of the American Negro -- more sympathetic and more thoroughly American than would have been possible without the study. The city officials, the school board, and the public spirited citizens of Biloxi are in accord with this program.56

A similar study of the changing attitudes of Southern students supported Reuther's conclusion that "gathering facts around a central theme will lead into many normal relations which may change attitudes.57 Another and more formal study led its author to the conclusion that "Prejudices are not innate, but due to continued impact of widespread social forces. The social forces may nevertheless be controlled and an impartial attitude developed."58

A different systematic test of attitudes made among white


college students of the South disclosed that low or unfavorable
attitudes scores tended to accompany low information scores.59
The testing of students in five small high schools and two colleges in Iowa revealed that race prejudice showed a constant
inverse relation to their information about Negroes and decreased
with additional time in school. The high-school boys had slightly
more information and showed slightly less racial antipathy than
the girls.60

F. Treadwell Smith, in 1933, summarized some earlier findings
in the following way: "Taken with the experiment of Schlorff,61
the results found by Harper,62 and by Biddle63 encourage confidence
in the reward to be expected from a serious search for effective
educational procedure," and added his own conclusion that there were
some changes in attitudes as shown by tests before and after contact
by white adults with some aspects of Negro life.64

59 Walter C. Reckless and Harold L. Bringen, "Racial Attitudes
and Information about the Negro," Journal of Negro Education, II
(April, 1933), pp. 128-38.

60 Glosso, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

61 P. W. Schlorff, op. cit.


63 W. W. Biddle, Propaganda and Education.

64 F. Treadwell Smith, op. cit.
A high-school teacher who for some time offered a three-week study of the Negro as part of a course in Problems of Democracy found that though pre-tests usually discovered indifference as well as prejudice, this unit became very popular with students. She noticed that sometimes attitudes changed, while in some instances the students' minds were simply awakened to the Negro as a factor in American life.65

A professor at the University of Pennsylvania found that a sociological approach to the study of the Negro seemed to change the thinking of some of the students, and yet the remarks and behavior of other students showed that former attitudes were retained. He believed, however, that effort was not wasted if nothing more was accomplished than the development of a willingness to argue and to realize that there was more than one side to the problem.66

Another type of study was made of twelve Jewish boys and girls at successive grade levels in order to see if changes were produced in their attitudes and attitude reactions toward thirty-nine races. The conclusions were that racial attitudes are formed early in childhood and remain relatively fixed. Nevertheless, the

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suggestion was made that there is need both for giving to high-school students more definite, unbiased information about racial groups and for teaching them to appreciate the contributions of cultures that are different from their own.67

To the author of a more recently reported experiment it appeared that "courses of a factual and analytical nature do not effect reliable attitude changes, while favorable personal experiences with members of the race tend to produce more favorable attitudes." He found that the tests have shown some changes to more liberal attitudes, however, on the part of students taking a course in Immigration and American Race Problem.68

A survey of colleges in the South showed that many of them were giving attention to the study of the Negro in the content of various subjects. In answer to a question as to the extent to which the material aided in the modification of students' attitudes, fourteen professors said "a great deal," thirteen replied "considerably," four answered "somewhat," three said "very little," one wrote "not at all," and one seemed unable to judge whether there had been a change of attitude.69 The comments ranged from such statements as "Students' attitudes modified to a very great

68Mapheus Smith, loc. cit.
69College Courses in Race Relations, Conference on Education and Race Relations, p. 5.
extent" to one which confessed "I'll have to admit that student attitudes are stronger than my ability to change them," and in consequence the latter was going to give up the course.\textsuperscript{70}

Rose Zeligs, who has done a great deal of work in measuring attitudes of pupils, seized a special opportunity for teaching favorable intergroup attitudes in April, 1945.\textsuperscript{71} A charming young woman who worked in the New York office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People visited Miss Zeligs' class, Grade VI of a Cincinnati suburban public school. She asked the children if they thought she was white or colored. Most of them said that she was white, and she agreed with them. Then she told them that Walter White, the executive secretary of the NAACP, was a colored man and that in her office white and colored people work together.

According to Miss Zeligs, the visit of the NAACP representative and the discussion she stimulated probably helped to develop more favorable attitudes toward the Negro. The children decided to elect committees to visit the offices of the Division of Negro Life and History and the offices of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and report back to the sixth-grade class. The visiting committee elected by the children was made up of three

\textsuperscript{70}Ibid., p. 6.

white and two colored children.

These visits and discussions gave the children experiences of lasting worth. They gained valuable information and were made conscious of the problems of minority groups who are attempting to obtain equal rights, of the need for cooperation in the war effort, and of the rights of all people to work in accordance with their talents and abilities. Although some of the children still expressed prejudices, many of them had acquired better attitudes toward the Negro and a greater understanding of the meaning of American democracy.

Audrey Kathleen Wright wrote a Master's thesis entitled "Relationship between Attitude and Information Based on a Course of Study in Intercultural Education." Her study lay within the general area of educational sociology. Miss Wright set up the hypothesis that there is a relationship between attitude and information, and that the well-informed student will be more tolerant. She selected seventy-five students in an eleventh- and twelfth-grade sociology class, and gave them pre- and end-tests of beliefs and knowledge. The pre-test was administered before a course in intercultural education was taught, and the end-test afterwards.

Within the limitations imposed by (1) the testing method for getting data, (2) the scattergram technique for showing correlation and change, and (3) the size of the group studied, the
experiment tended to show that (1) there is a degree of relationship between beliefs and information, (2) there is a gain in both tolerance and information as a result of the course, and (3) the correlation between these two variables becomes somewhat closer after the course than it was before.\textsuperscript{72}

Russell and Robertson conducted an interesting study\textsuperscript{73} which, aside from its practical value, was designed to discover whether racial attitudes of junior high-school students could be changed through planned assembly programs and through the reading and discussing of printed materials. The purposes of this investigation were (1) to study attitudes toward Americans of European origin and toward Negroes in a junior high school serving a California community which experienced a tremendous influx of industrial workers for war production and (2) to discover whether such attitudes could be influenced favorably by assembly programs and the reading and discussing of materials which describe some of the cultural, scientific, and athletic achievements of these peoples. The time of the experiment was shortened to about two months by a situation

\textsuperscript{72}Audrey Kathleen Wright, "Relationship between Attitude and Information Based on a Course of Study in Intercultural Education," \textit{pp. 1-14.} Unpublished Master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1948.

\textsuperscript{73}David H. Russell and Isabella V. Robertson, "Influencing attitudes toward Minority Groups in a Junior High School," \textit{School Review, LV} (April, 1947), \textit{pp. 205-13.}
of intergroup hostility, which arose a few weeks after school opened, by demands for segregation by some parents, and by a threatened student strike. The situation may have influenced the validity of the experiment, including the scores made on the test, *Grice's Scale for Measuring Attitude toward Races and Nationalities.*

Some of the conclusions were as follows:

1. Both the initial and the final tests showed that the students who were involved had a more favorable attitude toward Americans who come directly from Europe than toward Negroes. The percentages of favorable scores toward European Americans were over 80 on both tests but under 50 on both tests toward Negroes.

2. During the two months' experimental period, the favorable attitudes toward Negroes rose by 7.2 percent in the area above 6.0, or the point of indifference, on the Grice Attitude Scale. This figure suggests that, though home and community influences may be unfavorable, the school can make a positive contribution to the development of favorable attitudes toward minority groups, even in a relatively short time.

3. The teacher's attitude and behavior seem to be among the most potent influences in the formation of attitudes at this level. The students of every English teacher except one gained in positive attitudes. However, for this one, the loss was less than 2 percent, and the group was already above the median in positive attitude.
4. The experimental program of assemblies and the use of printed materials did not seem to change attitudes in any relation to intelligence scores but was more effective with the lower grades than with the higher grades in the junior high school.

5. The attitudes of fifty Negro students were more favorable toward the white student than were the white students' attitudes toward the Negro. In classes where Negro and white children work together, the attitude of the whole class toward the Negro was more favorable than the general average for the school.

6. In a community where crowded living conditions and a degree of economic insecurity exist, unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes are strong and are reflected in the attitudes of junior high-school pupils. A planned school program, backed by a teacher who has favorable attitudes toward minority groups, can do much to improve attitudes even in communities of this type.

The effect of teaching on group attitudes needs a great deal more study and testing. Up to the present, the general conclusion is that given information does make a positive and significant contribution to the development of favorable attitudes toward minority groups.

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

Purpose of the Present Study

The purpose of this study is to present materials, methods, and techniques which the high-school teacher of English may employ in order to effect better interracial relationships among high-school students. Studies have shown that there is a definite correlation between tolerance and the amount of information which a person has about a particular minority group. The more information one has, the more tolerant and understanding he is apt to be. Therefore, the hypothesis on which this study rests is that the American schools, through a constructive educational
program -- with especial emphasis here on the teaching of English -- can improve considerably race and culture relations within the United States, thereby making progress toward a solution of this major domestic problem, which, in turn, will help build a better world in which to live.

This study is limited in that it will attempt to do the following: (1) to show the need for interracial education in American schools, (2) to point out a sound democratic philosophy for intergroup education, (3) to make a study of literary materials by representative American white and Negro authors as to their suitability for inclusion in a modern English program, and (4) to suggest methods, techniques, and a course of study whereby the teacher may make the most effective application of the indicated works in the study of American literature.

Chapter II will present an historical and sociological study of the Negro in order to determine (1) the role the Negro has played in American history and society, (2) the roots of anti-Negro prejudice, and (3) the current status of the Negro in the United States.

Chapter III will be an examination of (1) the objectives of modern education in terms of democratic living, (2) the function of the school, the teacher, and the society in the furtherance of democratic ideals, and (3) how the aims for English instruction in the present-day high school can contribute to the objectives of inter-
racial education.

Chapter IV will be an analysis of literary materials by representative American white and Negro authors, many of which are unfamiliar to teachers of English. The analyses of these works will (1) give added insight into Negro character and experience in America, (2) reveal the biases and attitudes of the various authors toward the Negro, (3) assist the teacher in setting standards for selecting and evaluating literature about Negroes for young people, and (4) aid the pupil in developing his critical faculties so that he will become a more discerning and thoughtful reader.

Chapter V will consist of (1) a description of the various activities that the English teacher may provide in the classroom as an outgrowth of the study of literature about the Negro, (2) a suggested course of study which will integrate the aforementioned literary materials into the usual survey of American literature, and (3) a program of evaluation which will estimate as comprehensively and objectively as possible the progress toward the desired goals of interracial education.

Chapter VI will summarize the general findings and conclusions reached in this study and make certain recommendations on how interracial understanding may be promoted through the high-school English program.
CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL FACTORS IN THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

The purpose of this chapter is to present a short history of the Negro in America, to show the historical and sociological aspects of anti-Negro prejudice, and to consider the evolving status of the Negro by citing some of the gains which he has made toward greater participation in American society.

To understand the American race problem one must know not only how white and Negro people feel about one another but why they feel as they do. This knowledge involves the history of the relations of the two groups, as well as present-day social and economic factors. Seldom, from the opening of the slave trade to modern times, have American Negroes been treated as persons and valued as persons rather than as instruments. Their involuntary migration to this continent, their labor for more than two centuries, even their emancipation and their enfranchisement were accomplished in the interest of other people and not primarily for the sake of the Negroes themselves. Yet nothing is more significant in the present race-relations patterns of the United States than the rapidity with which the patterns are changing.

An effort has been made here to show the trends of race relations, since the direction in which we are moving is of more sig-
nificance than the particular place at which momentarily we may be. In such an uncertain situation it is difficult to foresee what change might occur next, and whatever does happen may affect the future of not only America but of the world. It is of greatest importance, therefore, that our approach to the race problem be based on factual knowledge rather than on vague or slanted information.

The Slavery Period

In 1619 twenty Negroes were purchased from the captain of a Dutch frigate by the early settlers of Jamestown, Virginia. Since there was no precedent in English law for slavery, these Negroes and those imported for the next two hundred years were "absorbed in a growing system which spread to all the colonies and for nearly a century furnished the chief supply of colonial labor."¹

The fact that the Negroes were an alien race bearing distinctive physical marks was, doubtless, the basis for differential treatment from the beginning and later facilitated their enslavement. But it was not due solely to difference in race that Negro slavery grew and finally supplanted white servitude. There were powerful economic factors, such as the demand for a cheap and permanent labor supply, that decided the fate of the Negro. Court decisions and statutes only gave legal sanction to customary practices

¹James C. Ballagh, A History of Slavery in Virginia, p. 32.
that were becoming an established fact. Later, because of the invention of the cotton gin and the rise of the textile industry in England, the slave system became the foundation of the economic life of the South. When, for economic as well as moral reasons, slavery was attacked by the North, the Bible and political philosophy were invoked to give an absolute sanction to the slave system.

The growth of the institution of slavery was inextricably tied up with the development of the plantation system of agriculture. As in other parts of the world, the plantation in America was a form of settlement requiring some kind of forced labor. Since it was generally difficult to force the native population to work, it was necessary to import laborers. In the beginning the great body of laborers on the plantations were white indentured servants, who were generally "bound" for seven years and under the "supervision" of the officers of the colony. The supervision which was exercised by the officers of the colony was another important element in the plantation. The plantation was not only an industrial institution, but it was a political organization as well. Under the frontier conditions in which the plantations flourished the planter was the absolute ruler of a small principality. His supreme

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authority was exercised primarily in the maintenance of a disciplined and efficient labor force.

Since profit was the main consideration in a system of commercial agriculture, the relative costs of different types of labor were a primary consideration. Negro slavery displaced white servitude because of certain economic advantages to the planter. There was, first, the fact that it was more difficult for the Negro than for the white servant to escape and lose himself among the colonists. Second, there was the economic advantage of employing the black women as field hands since white women as a rule were exempted from such work. It appears, however, that the cost of maintaining a white servant was only slightly greater than maintaining a black slave — the difference in cost of clothing being the chief item.

During the Revolutionary War, and for a brief period afterward, the system of Negro slavery was subject to attacks which seemed to portend the gradual disestablishment of the slave system. Jefferson had attacked the system in his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, where he stated that the king of England had "waged cruel war against human nature itself" in maintaining the slave trade. During the War the employment of black soldiers in the South was recommended by the Continental Congress to the Southern states with the provision that the masters would be reim-

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bursed and the slaves set free at the end of the War. In the North there were provisions in the various state constitutions that put an end to the slave system. In the majority of these states the abolition of slavery was achieved by making the children born of slave parents free upon reaching a certain age. Although the measures providing for the emancipation of the Negro during this period reflected some of the current idealism respecting liberty, the attitude of the North as well as that of the South reflected economic interests. In the North, Negro slavery was already dying a natural death, because there was no demand for slave labor. Likewise, opposition to Negro slavery or the importation of Negro slaves was expressed in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, where a diversified agriculture was supplanting the production of tobacco. In the lower South, where the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo was important, there was still strong opposition to the suspension of the slave trade as well as the emancipation of the Negro. When the states had achieved their independence, the provision that Congress could not prohibit the slave trade prior to 1808 was all that could be achieved in view of the fundamental conflict of interests in regard to slavery.

When the compromises on the status of slavery in the new Republic were embodied in the Constitution,\(^5\) some of the Founding

\(^5\)These compromises included the provisions that the slave trade could not be prohibited before 1808 and that a slave would be counted only as three-fifths of a person in determining the number of representatives which a state would have in Congress.
Fathers looked forward hopefully to the gradual disappearance of the institution. But soon after the birth of the Republic, the institution became even more deeply rooted in the economy of the South as the result of technological developments both in the South and in England. During the closing years of the eighteenth century, the cultivation of the long-staple sea-island cotton on the islands and adjacent mainland of South Carolina and Georgia reached considerable proportions. But the cultivation of this variety of cotton became a specialized industry and was always restricted to a small area of the South. It was the short-staple upland variety, demanded by English manufacturers, that became the foundation of the Cotton Kingdom in the South. The increase in the demand for the short-staple variety of cotton was due to inventions and developments in the cotton textile industry in England. In order to meet the demands it was necessary for Southern planters to find some means of separating the seed from the close adhering lint. The problem was solved through the invention by Eli Whitney of the cotton gin, the first model of which appeared in 1793. Within two years cotton gins began to appear on plantations all over the South. The invention of the cotton gin enabled American producers to meet the growing demands of the English market. Between 1780 and 1800 the annual importation of cotton into Great Britain increased eightfold.  

The growth of the slave population and expansion of the slave system coincided with the rapid growth of cotton production and the plantation economy. Although it is impossible to know the exact number, it appears that during the years 1790 to 1808, the year in which the external slave trade became illegal, over 100,000 slaves were brought into the United States. Even after 1808, because of the failure of the federal government to suppress the trade, between 250,000 and 300,000 slaves were smuggled into the United States.7

As the plantation economy spread over the South and became the basis of its culture, the interests of this section came into conflict with those of the North. The Missouri Compromise in 1820, which placed a limit upon the northward expansion of slavery, fore-shadowed the growing conflict of interests between the two regions. Within another decade the Southern planter with his interests began to resist the protective tariff program, and in 1832 South Carolina came out for the nullification of the federal tariff laws. The economic interests of the South and the East were becoming more sharply differentiated through the rapid industrialization of the East and the concentration of financial control in Eastern cities.8 The militant South, represented by the planter


8William E. Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, pp. 186-206.
class, encouraged the Mexican War in order to extend the Cotton Kingdom. Later there was agitation for the reopening of the slave trade. In the contest over Western lands this class sought to maintain its political ascendancy by increasing the number of slave states. The Compromise of 1850 was an attempt to reconcile the conflict between the two sections over the status of slavery in the Western lands. In the end the industrial and financial interests in the East were able to win the support of the Western farmers and white laborers who did not want to compete with black slaves.

The conflict between the divergent economic interests of the two regions began to assume the character of a moral struggle over slavery after 1830. The moral attack upon slavery was led by Northern abolitionists who were associated with the American Anti-Slavery Society organized in Philadelphia in 1833. In reply to the moral attack upon slavery, the South passed more stringent laws respecting slavery, and its leading writers and thinkers developed an elaborate defense of the system. Slavery, it should be remembered, had become a part of the mores of this region as the cotton production and the plantation had become the basis of the economic life of the South. Therefore, the attack upon slavery by the North called for moral and philosophical justification of a system that was considered indispensable to the welfare of the South.
One of the most influential philosophical justifications of slavery was that of Thomas R. Dew, Professor of History, Metaphysics, and Political Law at William and Mary College, Virginia. In a book published in 1832, which was the outgrowth of his testimony before a committee of the Virginia legislature, he presented a study of the origin and history of slavery from ancient times and an analysis of the economic and social aspects of the system in Virginia. He concluded that slavery was a positive good, that it was profitable in Virginia, and that it provided the only mode of living for the two races in Virginia. According to Professor Dew, the Negro possessed the form and strength of a man but had the intellect of a child and was therefore unfit for freedom.

The justification of slavery was also set forth in 1854 in the first books on sociology published in America. In the preface of his Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical, Henry Hughes stated that those who understood the working of the slave system regarded it as "morally and civilly good" and that "its great and well-known essentials should be unchanged and perpetual." His treatise attempts "to expound the philosophy of the Perpetualists: or in other words, to express some of the views of the Southern people on Slavery." During the same year there

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10 Henry Hughes, Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical, p. v.
appeared George Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South; or the Failure of Free Society.* As indicated in the title, this book was not only a justification of Negro slavery, but it propounded a political philosophy directly opposed to the democratic theory of society.

In the year in which these books appeared, Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court, which was dominated by the South, handed down the famous decision, "A Negro has no rights which a white man need respect." In its examination of the meaning of the words "people of the United States" in the Constitution, the court decided that Negroes did not come in this category. "On the contrary," according to the court, "they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them." In this decision, the planter interest in the South finally succeeded in having the highest court of the land give legal sanction to a conception of the Negro's status that had already become a part of the Southern mores. But Negro slavery was not a part of the mores of the North and the West — a fact

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11 George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South; or the Failure of Free Society.*

that was to play an important role in the impending armed conflict.\textsuperscript{13}

**The Social Ritual of the Plantation**

As the plantation developed into a social institution the relations between the two races were regulated by a complex system of social ritual and etiquette.\textsuperscript{14} The system of etiquette was especially important where the two races were brought into close association within the household. In fact, the social ritual and etiquette which developed within the household permitted the maximum degree of intimacy to exist in conjunction with the maximum difference in social status. For example, when members of the family left or returned home, the mammy, because of the intimacy existing between her and the master's family, kissed not only the women in the household but very often the young men. The very term *mammy*, which was the highest form of respect paid a slave, indicates her paradoxical position with relation to the family.\textsuperscript{15} Though she was a slave, the young women and girls who were her


\textsuperscript{14} Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South*, pp. 12-33.

\textsuperscript{15} The term *Uncle*, which, next to the term *Mammy*, was the highest form of respect shown the slave, was used by the master's family in addressing old slaves, especially those who had served in a responsible capacity.
special charges showed her deference and affection. But in addressing members of the master's family, the mammy as well as the other slaves used the usual etiquette, though sometimes the mammy might address the mistress or her daughter as "Missy" without the Christian name.

The social rituals regulating the relations of the two races carried with them an implication of their respective status in the plantation society. From childhood, the slave children, who often played with the master's children, were expected to observe the etiquette which indicated their status. Besides the forms of address, there were certain forms of expected behavior which indicated the difference in status between the master and slave. The slave was never expected to sit or to wear his hat in the presence of his master's family. Then, there were certain voluntary or spontaneous forms of etiquette on the part of the slaves that assumed the nature of propitiatory offerings. For example,

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17 Doyle, op. cit., p. 15.

18 Despite the position of the white overseer on the plantation, he was always considered an outsider, and the slaves never accorded him the same respect as they accorded the master's family. In some cases they refused to work for the overseer who, in their opinion, was of "poor white" origin.
when members of the master's family visited at the "quarters" on Sundays, as was customary on some plantations, the slaves generally offered small presents of eggs, vegetables, or a drink of milk.\footnote{Doyle, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 20.}

Very often the two races associated in certain forms of recreation such as hunting and fishing. In such more or less informal relationships, the social rituals regulating the relations of the master and slave permitted the races a maximum freedom of action. The social ritual and etiquette did not divide master and slave but made them a part of the same social organization. This solidarity was often shown when death came to the plantation. A faithful slave was mourned by the household and the tombstone marking his burial place often commemorated his services. When the master of the household was on the verge of death, the slaves were often called to his bedside. One such occasion was described as follows:

The master's family and friends were gathered about his bedside when the time came for him to go. Having taken leave of his friends, he ordered his Negro laborers to be summoned from the field to take farewell of him. When they arrived he was speechless and motionless, but sensible of all that was occurring, as could be seen from his look of intelligence. One by one the Negroes entered the apartment, and filing by him in succession took each in turn the limp hand of the dying master, and affectionately pressing it for a moment, thanked him for his goodness, commended him to God, and bade him farewell.\footnote{Ibid., p. 26.}
The Breakdown of the Slave System

In the decade preceding Lincoln's election, the output of domestic manufactures, including mines and fisheries, almost doubled in value, whereas the output of Southern staples showed an increase of less than twenty-five percent. When Lincoln was inaugurated, the capital invested in industries, railways, commerce, and city property exceeded in dollars and cents the value of all farms and plantations between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Of the products of the North, iron, boots, shoes, and leather goods alone exceeded in value the selling price of all cotton grown in Southern fields. These facts, write Charles and Mary Beard in The Rise of American Civilization, were more portentous than all the oratory in Congress.21 William Lloyd Garrison's abolition crusade offered a much less ominous threat to the economic interests of the cotton-growing South.

The rest of the world was moving into the period of the Industrial Revolution, which marked the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth. Cotton was reaching the limit of its Western expansion. Slavery and the plantation system were outmoded from the economic, social, and humanitarian points of view. The slave trade was outlawed by the civilized world; England freed the slaves in her colonies; Mexico and

various South American countries attained their independence; the Negro leader Toussaint L' Ouverture staged a successful rebellion in Santo Domingo.

An urban, industrial civilization was developing in the North; education was becoming more general; newspapers, railroads, and the telegraph were bridging geographical gaps and bringing people closer together. Although the South seemed to be making huge profits from her cotton, actually the region was lagging far behind the North and East in population growth, in per capita wealth, in education, and in various other respects. "The South seemed to be more and more cut off from the main stream of thought that was influencing the rest of the world," writes James Truslow Adams. "Its very type of life, founded upon slavery, was becoming an anachronism in the modern age, and it seemed as though having to entrench itself in this respect against the forces which were sweeping the rest of civilized mankind resulted in closing its mind for the most part to the newer intellectual currents."22

The slave system as it finally evolved represented both a division of labor and a definition of status by which each racial group had a specific place in the social order. To the extent that the members of both groups agreed on the Negro's subordinate status, the system "worked" and, though there might be discontent,

22 James Truslow Adams, The Epic of America, pp. 175-204.
there was little open conflict. From the beginning, however, there were Negroes who rebelled against their prescribed status. In spite of the careful conditioning of the slaves, there were insurrections, rebellions, and runaways.

The slave system could not be maintained by force alone, for in many areas the slaves outnumbered the white people. The system depended in large measure on the development of personal relations between the master's family and the slaves, and in still greater measure on the careful conditioning of the slaves born on the plantation. The idyllic picture of the South as being universally a land of kindly masters and loyal, devoted slaves is, of course, a fiction; there were many kinds of masters and many types of slaves. The fact remains, however, that there was often a strong bond of attachment between white families and their slaves. Such owners referred to their slaves as "my people," gave household slaves weddings in the "big house," and the slave children were often taught to read by the mistress or her children.23

The slave who was treated harshly often ran away or participated in slave revolts. On the other hand, the mutual attachment of master and slave in itself played a part in the destruction of the system. The planter generally approved of laws forbidding the teaching of slaves to read, yet he might make an exception of his

own slaves. Many of the slaves attended the same churches as their masters, and household slaves were otherwise exposed to the ideas and ferments of the time. The children of white men and slave women seem to have been given their freedom in greater numbers than the children of slave fathers; but many masters freed favorite slaves irrespective of their paternity and often manumitted by will those who had given long and faithful service. Some twenty thousand manumissions are reported to have taken place between 1850 and 1860. All in all, personal factors accounted for the freeing of many slaves, but they accounted for discontent as well. A creature who can read is not likely to remain content with the status of a chattel. It often occurred, to the grieved astonishment of the master, that the more opportunities for enlightenment a slave received the more he resented his status and wanted to be free. In some states there were laws against teaching Negroes to read, but these were not always enforced. In 1850, Mississippi was the only state that reported no Negroes attending school.

The free Negro was an important factor in the break-up of the slave system, but not because he constantly fostered insurrections. Though a few free Negroes were involved in slave revolts, generally the free Negro was too deeply concerned with his own precarious status to become the leader of the slaves. It was the very presence of free Negroes that constituted a threat to the slave system.
If the free Negro was lazy, shiftless, and dishonest, as he sometimes was, he was a nuisance and a bad example to the slaves. If he was thrifty, industrious, and honest, as he sometimes was, he was still a bad influence and a threat to the system because he was tangible evidence that a Negro could get along without a master; the stability of the slave system depended in large measure upon acceptance of the slave status as the natural lot of colored people. It was for these reasons that many slave states passed laws requiring freed Negroes to leave the state. In spite of these laws more than half of the nearly 500,000 free Negroes in the United States in 1860 were in the slave states.

The slave system was threatened, too, by the increasing number of slaves who "followed the drinking gourd" to freedom—a saying which grew out of the fact that the North Star in the Big Dipper served as a guide to the fugitive slave who hid out during the day and traveled north at night. In 1850 there was a heated debate in Congress on the extension of slavery to the West and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. Thousands of fugitive slaves who had escaped into the North now found themselves threatened with recapture. The law was such as to encourage a flock of slave catchers who could and did kidnap free persons and send them South as runaway slaves. Moreover, the law made it mandatory that any person to whom it was applied should lend his
aid in capturing and returning fugitives. Many Northerners who had no particular concern for the slave resented being made a party to the slave system. It was felt that the South was no longer keeping her slavery problem at home. Against their will the free states were being drawn into the slave system at one of its most revolting points. There was a reaction against the South, and many persons who had been only mildly anti-slavery now turned abolitionist.

Two years after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, Harriet Beecher Stowe dramatized the slave system in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The novel, though sentimental and melodramatic, gave to slavery an air of reality, and furnished a dramatic symbol around which generous human impulses as well as strong indignation could be centered. It was a book which human beings could not easily read without having an impulse to do something about the destruction of slavery. The South, therefore, resented this picture of slavery, outlawed the book in that section, and attacked elsewhere all thinkers influenced by such sentiments. The book, however, became a factor in politics and proved to be one of the disastrous blows to slavery.

About this time there appeared also a number of narratives by former slaves, and the abolitionists often used a fugitive slave as an "exhibit" for their cause. Among the most capable and intelligent of the fugitive slaves was Frederick Douglass, who finally grew
weary of telling about his experiences, especially when the abolitionists advised him to retain a little more of his plantation manner and speech. Nevertheless, he devoted years to the abolitionist cause, published his life story under the title My Bondage and My Freedom, and edited and published a small paper. 24

As the slaves continued to come North and the danger of capture increased, the underground railroad grew into a veritable network of stations, with "conductors" who regularly aided the fleeing slaves. Several thousand persons are known to have served as agents in this unique system. Secrecy was necessary because the neighbors were not always sympathetic.

The Quakers played an important part in the underground railroad and helped all who came their way; however, they usually refused to go after slaves or to encourage them to revolt or to run away. The abolitionists felt quite differently. Most of them had never been South and dared not go, but they delivered inflammatory addresses, published books and pamphlets, and encouraged slaves to run away. John Brown, considering the slave holders as enemies of God, attempted to kindle a slave rebellion in 1859. He was tried and executed, but he was proclaimed a martyr and a saint by the more fiery abolitionists. The South was violent in its reaction. Southern post offices refused to deliver abolitionist

pamphlets, and rewards were offered for William Lloyd Garrison's head. Garrison was a staunch abolitionist and the publisher of the anti-slavery newspaper the *Liberator*.

To the North the South was typified by the slave owner; to the South the North was typified by the abolitionist. As a matter of fact the slave owners were a small minority of the white population of the South, and in the North the abolitionists were always in the minority. But, whereas the slave owners were in political, economic, and social control in the Southern states for most of the slave period, the abolitionists were regarded by many of their neighbors as fanatics.\textsuperscript{25} In 1835 an English abolitionist was dragged from a hall in Boston and pulled through the streets by a rope. In New York and Philadelphia mobs broke up meetings, set fire to buildings, and then fought off the firemen. Theodore Parker, an abolitionist minister, found his clerical brethren refusing to exchange pulpits with him, and Eastern colleges almost without exception were strongholds of pro-slavery feeling. Anti-slavery speakers were hissed at Harvard; and in 1851 when Emerson spoke against the Fugitive Slave Law in the Cambridge City Hall, he was hooted at by young law students. Certain professors of theology in Northern universities justified slavery from the New Testament; the president of Dartmouth held that slavery was an institution of God; and an Episcopal bishop

\textsuperscript{25}Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
came forward as a slavery advocate. Yet not all the people of the North were either pro-slavery or rabidly abolitionist. There was an intermediate group known as anti-slavery men, but the distinction between them and the abolitionists was not always clear. In general, the abolitionists wanted to get rid of slavery at once, without compensation to the owners and without regard to the social chaos that would result in suddenly freeing four million people after long years of bondage. The abolitionists forgot that the whole nation had shared in the building of the slave system, and denounced the slave owner with bitter invective; they demanded immediate abolition at any cost, regardless of the fact that the slaves, because of the nature of their servitude, would need preparation for citizenship.

The anti-slavery people were opposed to slavery in principle, wished to keep it from extending beyond its existing borders, and sought by whatever means they could to encourage manumission. There were, of course, all shades of opinion in between these points of view. Men like Emerson, Whittier, Bryant, and Lowell lent their aid to the anti-slavery cause with varying degrees of intensity. Lincoln hated slavery and opposed its extension, but he refused to call himself an abolitionist. Throughout the South, however, and often in the North, all anti-slavery people were lumped together

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26 Josiah Priest, A Bible Defense of Slavery.
as abolitionists, even when they refused to classify themselves as such.

It is safe to say that a majority of the people in the Northern states were indifferent to the question of slavery unless the problem touched their lives in one way or another. Until 1850 at least, the most common attitude in the North was one which would let slavery alone so long as the slave power did not extend its borders. Most Northerners were indifferent to the Negro so long as he did not become a disturbing element by his presence.

The slavery system was crumbling. Of this fact there were many and varied evidences: the mounting number of free Negroes and of fugitive slaves, the slave insurrections, the abolitionist activity, and the growing feeling in the North about the evils of slavery. Above all, it was increasingly evident that slavery was a part of an outmoded economic system and a form of labor that was incongruous in the dawning industrial age. All these factors combined were almost a guarantee of the Negro's ultimate freedom. Unfortunately for him and for the future of the country, they did not add up to any great concern for his welfare as a human being. The South had no use for the free Negro and wanted him out of the way. On the other hand, opposition to slavery did not necessarily indicate any interest in or concern for the Negro as a person and certainly
showed no welcome for him.27

The Civil War and the Coming of Freedom

Had freedom come to the slaves as a result of a fundamental sense of justice on the part of the majority of people in the North or the South, the Negro's place in the Nation might be very different from what it is today. If emancipation had come as a gradual and planned process, if there had been some satisfactory provision for the education and training of the freedmen, if war could have been avoided, or even if Lincoln had lived to carry out a different plan of reconstruction, the race problem might not be a major issue in American life today.

But there are no if's in history. Both emancipation and the subsequent enfranchisement of the freedmen were primarily emergency measures — the first considered necessary for the winning of the war, the second a political weapon for keeping the defeated South in subjection. To suppose that the Union armies as a whole or the Northern states as a unit were fighting primarily in the interest of human freedom is to cherish a romantic illusion. The evidence supports W. E. B. DuBois in his estimate that not one-tenth of the Northern white population would have fought for the purpose of emancipating the slaves.28 At the beginning of the war it was not

27 Ina Corinne Brown, Race Relations in a Democracy, pp. 55-74.
part of the program of the North either to attack property or to free slaves, and the sentiment of many soldiers, especially those of the Middle West, was expressed in this ditty:

To the flag we are pledged, all its foes we abhor
And we ain't for the nigger, but we are for the war.29

Although in retrospect the Southern states liked to feel that they fought for states' rights and the North that the issue was the freeing of the slaves, the war was in large measure an economic dispute and a political test of strength. Slavery was an important issue not because of any widespread concern for the slave, but primarily because the institution of slavery was an essential factor in the social, economic, and political life of one of the contending parties. Neither a belief in states' rights nor a concern for the moral issues of slavery was the exclusive property of either side.30

In a letter to Horace Greeley in August, 1862, Abraham Lincoln made his position clear concerning the emancipation of the Negro. "My paramount object," he wrote, "in this struggle is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery." Moreover, Lincoln stated that whatever he did "about slavery and the coloured race," he did because he believed it would help save the Union. These statements contained, as he said, his views of his official

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29 Ibid., p. 56.

duty and were not intended as a modification of his "personal wish that all men everywhere could be free." Less than a month later, Lincoln admitted to an audience in Chicago that slavery was "at the root of the rebellion." He also conceded that the emancipation of the Negro would help the Union cause in Europe.\textsuperscript{31}

During the war the Negro slave had little opportunity to fight for his own freedom. In the beginning, neither army wanted to use the free Negro, let alone the slave. But as the war dragged on into an increasingly grim struggle the Negro loomed larger as an important factor. As the Union Armies advanced into the South, disorganization of the slave system resulted and the idea of freedom spread. At first the Union Army sent the runaway slaves back to their masters. Later the runaways were made contraband of war. Finally, freedom was offered and they were officially invited to enlist.

Although the federal government did not officially authorize the enlistment of Negro troops until after the Emancipation Proclamation, there were several Negro regiments in service before the end of 1862. Five days after the Emancipation Proclamation the War Department of the federal government authorized the recruiting of Negroes, and there was a prompt response from the free Negroes of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. Before the

\textsuperscript{31}Merwin Roe (Ed.), Speeches and Letters of Abraham Lincoln, 1832-1865, pp. 194, 195.
end of the war there were more than 150 regiments designated as United States Negro Troops.

Negroes served on the Confederate side also, though apparently not as actual soldiers except in the case of some mulattoes who were not registered as Negroes. In addition to these mulattoes, there were in the South numbers of economically secure Negroes, whose interests were closely identified with those of Southern white people. The Negroes who owned property frequently owned slaves. In the early part of the war, many of the free Negroes offered their service to the Confederacy. Several companies of them were organized, but none were ever used.\(^32\)

When the war finally came to an end the South was in almost complete social and economic chaos. The expropriation of slave property meant financial ruin to thousands. Virtually all the fighting and had been on Southern soil; and over wide areas of the region, the railroads were gone, public buildings had been demolished, and farm machinery and live stock had disappeared. Schools and colleges were closed; in some instances their buildings had been destroyed. Prices soared until money had no meaning, and Confederate bank notes became things to paste in scrapbooks as tokens of days that were past.

The defeated and war-weary soldiers of the South returned to

\(^{32}\) Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-81.
devastated lands, rain-washed fields, neglected homes, and financial ruin. There were almost no facilities for caring for the wounded or for aiding the men who had lost limbs or sight. Starvation confronted many families, white as well as Negro. When the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was set up in March, 1865, it found itself engaged in relief work for both races. And so it came about that, at the end of four years of grim civil war, millions of white people, bitter from defeat, and millions of Negroes newly freed from slavery found themselves in a devastated land. Not only did they have to work their way out of economic ruin, but they were also under the necessity of learning how they could live together no longer as men with chattels but as men with men.

The Reconstruction

Emancipation resulted in a complete disruption of the labor system of the South, where climate, geography, invention, and historical accident had served to create a plantation pattern that dominated life. To be sure, the majority of white people in the South had owned no slaves; but the plantation owners were in social, economic, and political control, and the attitudes, habits, laws,

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33 John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 302-5.
The whole economic system was based upon slavery. Where the North had invested in factories and machines, the South had invested in land and slaves.

In order to maintain a system in which one group was dominant and the other subordinate, it was necessary that all members of the dominant group be sharply differentiated from the slaves. Thus even the most degraded and despised of the "poor whites," who were partially a product of the system, must feel themselves better than any member of the race to which the slaves belonged. Likewise, all Negroes must be brought to accept their place at the bottom of the social pyramid as being humanly fixed if not divinely right.

The building of such a social and economic structure must not be regarded as a conscious or planned procedure. It was rather the result of a long process of interacting forces, and the white Southerners at any given period were more nearly the products than the conscious creators of the system. Once the scheme was accepted it became "right," and when attacked it was justified on the basis of the Negro's supposed biological inferiority or on the assumption of a divinely appointed hierarchy of races.

The slavery-plantation system as it finally evolved represented both a division of labor and a definition of status by which each

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34 Doyle, op. cit.
rational group had a specific place in the social order. Out of the long development of this pattern, the white Southerners confused what the Negro had become in the school of slavery with his natural endowment. For the most part the white South believed the Negro to be racially inferior and incapable of participation in the white man's civilization except in a menial role and under white direction. If one considers the bitterness, hatred, economic ruin, and total disruption of the social structure wrought by the Civil War and by Reconstruction, together with the readily observable physical differences between whites and Negroes, it is quite understandable that the advancement of the latter in economic, educational, and social status has been slow and difficult.

Education and the Struggle for Advancement

Of the approximately 500,000 free Negroes in the country at the beginning of the Civil War, slightly less than half were literate. Horace Mann Bond estimates that probably not one in a hundred of the slaves could read and write. The masses of the poor whites were almost as illiterate as the slaves. The Southern planters had educated their children privately, and public schools in the South scarcely existed outside the towns.


36 Horace Mann Bond, Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, pp. 21-2.
During the wreckage of war and reconstruction, Southern schools and colleges were closed and buildings were destroyed. To make the plight of education still more desperate, state school funds disappeared and state treasuries not only became empty but also became burdened with hopeless debts. Even among upper-class whites, a generation had largely missed its education. Furthermore, many Southerners still regarded education as the responsibility of the individual parent rather than of the state.

Since many communities were without school buildings, funds, and teachers and with no established school systems, it is easy to see that the Southern states had a staggering educational task on their hands. Emancipation added over a million freed children to the school population, with no appreciable increase in school revenue. Unless outside aid was received, neither the Negro nor the white child in the South could have an education comparable to that available to the rest of the nation.

Sporadic efforts to provide education for the freed slaves had been made even before the war came to an end. Union army officers and chaplains had become teachers of the "contrabands." The Freedmen's Bureau had set up various day schools, night schools, and Sunday schools in which freedmen of all ages were learning to read. Catholics, Quakers, and Protestant denominations opened schools of one sort or another. Foundations such as the Slater Fund and the
Peabody Education Fund, established to promote education in the South, added their aid.\textsuperscript{37}

The question of mixed schools was debated in all Reconstruction legislatures, and the resulting laws varied. The white South was emphatic in its opposition to sending its children to school with the former slaves. Certain of the Reconstruction legislators insisted on mixed schools; but many others felt that in view of the existing racial tensions and the condition of the masses of the freedmen, such schools were neither possible nor desirable at that time. Fairly early the separate schools were accepted as inevitable, and the dual school systems of the South became established.

For various reasons the Negro child got the little end of even the meager school opportunity available in the South. The majority of the Negroes were in rural areas where the schools for white children were poor if there were any at all. Many Negroes were eager to have their children get an education; but others, like many of the poor whites, were indifferent. Both poor white and colored children were too often kept out of school to help gather crops and to assist with the household duties. With a decreased educational fund because of the war and an increasing educational responsibility, how could the South solve the dilemma? There were more children to be educated but less money available for their

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., pp. 58-83.
education. If a choice had to be made between providing a wholly inadequate system for both races and providing a fairly good system for the white children in comparison with a poor system for Negro children, one can readily understand which choice was made. 

**The Racial Conflict**

Throughout the Reconstruction period there was racial conflict. Under slavery whatever racial antagonism there might have existed between masters and slaves was reduced to a minimum by the social controls regulating their relations. Emancipation and the endowment of the slaves with citizenship removed the normal expectations that had characterized race relations. This aroused a sense of insecurity and fear in the former slaveholding class in regard to the Negro. These fears and anxieties became fixed upon the alleged racial character of the Negro. Among the non-slaveholding whites there had been a tradition of racial antagonism. This racial antagonism was intensified when the races were thrown into competition. It was constantly stimulated by politicians and other leaders of the poor whites, who always represented the Negro race as a menace to their economic and social welfare.

All of the various factors contributing to the development of racial conflict were focused upon the question of the status of the Negro. When the Negro failed to observe the traditional forms of

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38 Ibid., p. 92.
etiquette toward the whites, when he exercised his right to vote, even when he acquired land and attended school, such actions were an indication that the Negro was "getting out of his place." Thus it was inevitable that the Negro should "get out of his place" if he were to act according to his new role in Southern society. The Ku Klux Klan developed as an organized attempt on the part of Southern whites to force the Negro to accept a subordinate status in the social organization. In order to become a member of the Klan, a candidate had to declare himself opposed to the social and political equality of the Negro. The organization assumed a political character in that it became a powerful instrument of the conservatives and Democrats in their efforts to control Negro labor and to regain their political power.

When the traditional forms of race relations were uprooted, it appears that most whites felt that the only basis upon which they could carry on a common life with Negroes had been destroyed. Even when Negroes exhibited intelligence, efficiency, and honesty in their new role, this fact did not affect their feelings and attitudes toward the changed status of the Negro. F. L. Cardozo probably had this in mind when he said on one occasion in the constitutional convention of South Carolina, "There is an element [white] that is opposed to us no matter what we do, which will
never be conciliated." There were Negroes who would have been inclined to accept the political leadership of Southern whites, but Southern whites were not interested in helping the Negro to secure the status of a citizen. They were even opposed to the most reasonable efforts of the agents of Freedmen's Bureau to protect the Negro in his labor contacts.

If the Reconstruction period may be called a "tragic era," it was the Negro who played the truly tragic role. He was the element in those fateful times who became the victim of social and economic forces which he did not understand and which, if he had understood, he would not have had the power to influence. He was the victim of the clash of large economic and class interests. He was the victim of racial prejudice, which only became the more violent when he attempted to realize the hopes that Emancipation had inspired.\(^{40}\)

The Aftermath of the Reconstruction

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the beginning years of the twentieth witnessed a number of significant developments which affected the Negro's life and welfare. Emancipation had destroyed the accommodation which existed between whites and blacks during slavery, and the last threads of sentiment between


the two races were dissolving as the Negroes moved into the cities. The attempt to reduce the Negro to a subordinate caste in the South had not solved the problem, while in the North he was not yet a part of the industrial organization.

In the years immediately following the withdrawal of the military governments from the South, many white communities used a variety of devices to prevent Negroes from voting. Polling places were set up at points remote from colored communities. Ferries between the districts where the Negroes lived and those where the voting booths were located went "out of repair" on election day. Gerrymandering — the arrangement of voting districts in favor of the party in power — was used to nullify Negro voting strength.41

By 1890 there began to appear laws and state constitutional amendments whose purpose was to disfranchise the Negro. Among other measures used for this purpose were literacy tests, educational requirements of various kinds, and "grandfather clauses." The literacy tests might require reading and interpreting a portion of the Constitution to the satisfaction of some registration official. "Grandfather clauses" exempted from the literacy or other tests any person who had voted before 1867 or who was the son or grandson of a person who had enjoyed that right. This device reduced Negro votes without affecting those of illiterate

41Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, p. 284.
whites. Before 1910, virtually every Southern state was employing some such devious means to eliminate a large part of the Negro vote and thus evade the Fifteenth Amendment, which specified that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."42

The white South was not only determined to disfranchise the Negroes, but it was equally insistent that the racial association of the Reconstruction period should be eliminated. Laws were passed to make sure that Negro children were segregated in schools, and mixed congregations in churches became a thing of the past. The South received encouragement in its stand on segregation when the Supreme Court in 1883 virtually nullified the provisions of the third Civil Rights Act of 1875.43

As Paul H. Buck writes in The Road to Reunion:

"Jim Crow" cars became universal on Southern railways. Negroes were barred from admittance to hotels, inns, restaurants, and amusement places which catered to white people. Street cars had separate sections reserved for whites and blacks. Local ordinances and customs supplemented these general features of segregation, and everywhere throughout the South a color line separated the races.44

43 Ibid., p. 288.
44 Ibid.
Although nine-tenths of the Negroes were still in the South at the turn of the century, there were growing numbers of colored people in some of the larger Northern cities. In 1880 Chicago had only 6,480 Negroes; by 1910 there were 44,000. The census of 1900 reported a Negro population of 60,000 in New York. Between 1900 and 1910 the Negroes of Philadelphia increased thirty-five percent. By 1910 Washington had a Negro population of almost 100,000.45

It was true in that period, as it is today, that the greater the number and proportion of Negroes the greater the prejudice against them. On this point Ray Stannard Baker, writing of Negroes in the North in 1908, says:

While the Negroes were an inconsequential part of the population, they passed unnoticed, but with increasing numbers (especially of the lower sort of Negroes and black Negroes) accompanied by competition for the work of the city and active political power, they are inevitably kindling the fires of race feeling.46

The most common attitude, according to Mr. Baker, was one of indifference.

The people one ordinarily meets don't know anything about the Negro, don't discuss him, and don't care about him. Even in the old abolitionist strongholds, Northern people would seem to be more interested in the distant Southern Negro than in the Negro at their own doors.47

Neither in the North nor in the South was the Negro's life or property safe. In 1900 there was a bloody race riot in New


46 Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line, p. 125.

47 Ibid., p. 132
York City in which colored people were killed and some of them were beaten by police to whom they had gone for protection. There were two race riots in Springfield, Ohio in the early years of the century (1904 and 1906) and another in Greenburg, Indiana. There were towns in Indiana and Ohio where Negroes were not permitted to live or even to pass the night. Riots of varying proportions took place throughout the South, and there was a brief reign of terror in Atlanta, Georgia in 1906. Such recent incidents as the Detroit riot of 1943 and the Cicero, Illinois mob-display of 1951 are reminders that these occurrences are still with us.

Lynchings, too, became commonplace items in the news. From 1882 to 1903, there was only one year in which the number of lynchings fell below one hundred, and the total for this twenty-one-year period was 3,337. Approximately 2,000 of the victims of these lawless outbreaks were Negroes. Although the greater number of lynchings occurred in the South, there were only four states — all in New England — where there were none.48

In 1890 more than half the Negroes employed were engaged in agriculture, and almost a third were in domestic and personal service. Negro mechanics, who had outnumbered white mechanics in the South five to one in 1860, were now losing their once secure positions as a result of white competition and trade-union exclusion. In the

48 Frazier, op. cit., pp. 159-64.
North the Negro worker was generally confined to domestic and personal service. There were fewer than 35,000 Negroes who were classified as professional workers, and the majority of these were either untrained or poorly trained ministers or teachers in schools for Negroes. 49

In spite of limited opportunities and oppressive handicaps, Negroes were making progress in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Negroes were buying farms, building homes, accumulating property, establishing themselves in trade, and entering the professions. In cities, groups of Negroes were forming centers of cultural life. An article in Forum in 1890 reported that Negroes, only recently emerged from slavery, were silently and steadily "developing a sense of self-respect, new capacity for self-support, and a pride in their race, which more than anything else secure for them the respect and fraternal feeling of their white neighbors." 50

Progress was being made toward self-direction and social betterment through the Negro churches, secret societies, benevolent organizations, and cooperative enterprises of various types. Since they were excluded for the most part from such activities among the whites, Negroes found in these organizations an opportunity for group life and an outlet for emerging leadership.


The Rise of Negro Leaders

Among the rising leaders of the Negro people were Booker T. Washington and W. E. Burghardt DuBois, who held somewhat different points of view. Washington, slave born, was primarily concerned with lifting the Negro masses, and he took a realistic view toward the situation in the South. In accepting the best terms he thought it was possible to secure, Washington became not only a conciliator for Negroes but an unofficial political leader in the South. His speeches and public actions indicated that he accepted the subordinate position of the Negro as an established fact, based to some extent upon the actual economic and social position of the Negro. But Washington, as the interracial statesman who enjoyed the confidence of Presidents of the United States, statesmen, and industrialists, wielded a power in the South that white politicians recognized.

Because of their intense interest in the immediate goal of Washington (vocational education for the great mass of Negroes), perhaps few whites saw that this leader looked forward to the complete acceptance and integration of Negroes in American life. On one occasion he said:

I would set no limits to the attainments of the Negro in arts, in letters or statesmanship, but I believe the surest way to reach those ends is by laying the foundation in the little things of life that lie immediately about one's door. I plead for industrial education and
development for the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him. I want to see him enter the all-powerful business and commercial world.\textsuperscript{51}

Washington always advocated the entrance of the Negro into the professions and other fields, and urged Negroes to make friends with their white neighbors in every manly way. He believed that the Negro, starting with so little, would have to work up gradually before he could attain a position of power and respectability in the South.\textsuperscript{52}

W. E. Burghardt DuBois, born in Massachusetts, was educated at Fisk, Harvard (where he received the Doctor of Philosophy degree), and the University of Berlin. He was the chief spokesman of the Negro intelligentsia. DuBois accused Booker T. Washington of preaching a "gospel of work and money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life." In an essay entitled "The Talented Tenth" DuBois said:

If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—that is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life.\textsuperscript{53}


\textsuperscript{52}Franklin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 387.

DuBois did not approve of the manner in which Washington ignored or winked at the white South's reduction of the Negro's political and civil status. He contended that it was not possible, under modern competitive methods, for Negro artisans, businessmen, and property owners to defend their rights and exist without the suffrage. DuBois further contended that "the Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men." As a matter of fact, this "aristocracy of talent and character" which was to "raise" the Negro was far removed from the Negro masses in feeling and intellectual outlook. As the most eloquent spokesman for a growing number of Negroes, DuBois was alarmed by the ultimate effect of Washington's leadership.\(^\text{54}\)

Leaders of the Negro were now asking that he be granted at least three things: the right to vote, civic equality, and education according to his ability. They recognized that the low social and economic level of the Negro was responsible for much of the discrimination against the colored people, but they felt that prejudice was a cause as well as a result of the Negro's degradation. It was generally agreed that the Negro could have a decent chance only when his status was based on merit and not on color. The realization of that ideal seemed a long way off.

\(^{54}\)Frazier, op. cit., pp. 555-6.
Since 1900

During the early 1900's most of the drama of race relations was being worked out in the South for the simple reason that most of the Negroes lived there. The whites of the economically and socially secure class often helped to maintain colored schools and tried to protect the Negro's life and property. On the other hand, many of those who needed his labor exploited him; those who feared his competition sought to disfranchise him; the ignorant and insecure were ever ready to abuse, terrorize, or lynch him.55

On the eve of the First World War the children of the first generation of free-born Negroes were reaching maturity, as were the children of those who had received some sort of education during the Reconstruction period and the decades which followed. Public schools for Negroes were becoming more common, high schools were increasing in numbers, and the Southern states were making some sort of provision for the higher education of Negroes. However, at the time the United States entered the war the masses of Negroes were still largely illiterate. The number who were really well educated was small, and no Negro college offered graduate training.

The First World War marked a dramatic shift in the status of the Negro and in the American race-relations pattern. There was

the heavy migration to the North and from rural to urban centers. There was the participation of the Negro soldier in the war and the consequent expanding of horizons for him, for his family, and for his friends. There was growing race-consciousness and, on the part of some Negroes, a growing awareness of the problems of colored peoples elsewhere. There was the emergence of the so-called new Negro and the publication of race-conscious poetry, fiction, and biography by Negro writers.56

These developments in Negro life were resented by many white people, and the period following the war was marked by lynchings, riots, and other outbursts of violence throughout the country. Various interracial groups came into being to cope with the problem, and thoughtful leaders of both groups sought to eliminate friction and to find ways of working together.

By 1930 only the very old remembered much about slavery and "old time" Negroes were seldom found outside isolated areas. The majority of Negro children were now in school; college-trained Negroes were no longer a rarity, and the demand for graduate training of Negroes was becoming acute. Lynching had dropped almost to the vanishing point, and the belief in the biological inferiority of the Negro was beginning to yield to scientific evidence.57


The gains made by the Negro in the 1930's and '40's have been numerous and far reaching. He is beginning to take his rightful place in every field of endeavor. Marian Anderson has been acclaimed the world over in the field of music. George Washington Carver made valuable contributions to the field of science. Mary McLeod Bethune served as a capable adviser to President Roosevelt. Joe Louis rose from poverty to the heights of world's heavyweight champion. Edith Sampson has served outstandingly as a member of the United Nations Organization. Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Gwendolyn Brooks, and Roi Ottley have won honors in the field of literature. Ralph Bunche has been singularly outstanding as an able statesman of the United States. Negro soldiers were awarded numerous honors for their gallantry in combat during the recent World War. It is clearly evident that the Negro is "coming of age."

The integration of the Negro into American society must be viewed in relation to the reorganization of American life which has been necessitated by the new world into which the United States must fit if it is to survive. Despite the present inferior status of the Negro, there have been changes which represent gains in that the Negro has been regarded increasingly as "just another person," and has been integrated into American life to a greater degree. It is not likely that these gains will be lost.
The American nation is committed to certain principles, the most important of which are human freedom and human equality; and in America's bid to become the stronghold of democracy with the support of all the peoples of the world — white and colored — the treatment of the Negro can become its greatest asset.
CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOLS IN EDUCATION
FOR RACIAL UNDERSTANDING

The paradox of American education today is that the total
discipline of learning is based upon ideas for the improvement
of mankind; yet the curriculum of the school, from the primary
grades through the university, frequently excludes many of the
vital teachings upon which interracial betterment depends. Those
persons who exercise the most control over the schools appear to
be motivated largely by attitudes which represent a direct anti­
thesis of the broad and liberal points of view upon which programs
of education for racial understanding should be founded. The
statements of educators who would institute such programs are
impressive and high sounding, but often times meaningless. It is
no exaggeration to state that those who have attempted programs
of race betterment have frequently run headlong into conflict with
vested interests. Communities manifest violent reactions to
ideas or usages which challenge or question values which are
commonly referred to as "traditional."

If one of the fundamental aims of secondary education is the
"preparation of the individual as a prospective citizen and coop-

1 Ralph McGill, "It Has Happened Here: Lynching of Educational
Freedom in Georgia," Survey Graphic, XXX (September, 1941), pp.
449-53; Jonathan Daniels, "Witch-Hunt in Georgia," Nation, 153
(August, 1941), pp. 93-4.
A member of society," with a concern for the general welfare of all people, it would seem that all school systems should be vitally occupied with: (1) the improvement of the student's understanding of the races of mankind, (2) the inclusion of vital experiences within the curriculum which are designed to prepare the student to cope with problems of human relationships, and (3) the deepening of the student's insight into the social forces within the society in which he lives.

Alberty declares that the secondary school in a democratic society should aim:

A. To provide an educative environment directed toward the optimal development of all American youth regardless of intelligence level, or social or economic status.

B. To provide for each student the richest possible experience in democratic living within the school, and to help the student to intellectualize such experience in terms of democratic values. This calls for active participation in group living and continuous practice in the re-creation of values.

C. To provide each student the conditions for optimal physical and mental health, defined in terms of adequate functioning in democratic living.

D. To help each student to develop and utilize the method of intelligence in solving problems of human concern.

E. To help each student to discover and extend his interests, and abilities, to meet his needs, and weave them into a consistent, unified ever-changing design for living.

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F. To help each student to achieve a dynamic understanding of our democratic culture through the intelligent examination of the conflicting values and practices of the immediate and wider community.\(^3\)

If these aims were fulfilled the student citizen should gain from the schools information that would be of value in the attempt to solve the riddle of poverty in a country of abundance. He should be made aware of the need for combined and concerted action on behalf of all classes in securing a higher standard of living.

The school population of a democracy should have the kind of education that would study the need for improved housing for the masses, the abolition of the poll tax, and the establishment of services that would insure health facilities for all children. Dewey says that the school has three primary functions in our society:

The first office of the social organ we call the school is to provide a **simplified** environment.

In the second place, it is the business of the school environment to eliminate, so far as possible, the unworthy features of the existing environment from the influence upon mental habits.

In the third place, it is the office of the school environment to balance the various elements in the social environment, and to see to it that each individual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born, and to come into living contact with a broader environment.\(^4\)

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\(^3\)Harold Alberty, *Reorganizing the High-School Curriculum*, p. 54.

Above all, there should be promulgated a type of education which strives courageously and honestly to free the minds of children and adults from the American psychosis of racial hate and all of its attendant evils.

The American school, in the inauguration of effective programs of race education and other basic teachings, faces a dilemma. The question of whether or not American youth and adults will receive their education in schools that are designed to perpetuate the evils which beset our democracy, or be educated in schools that will place at the disposal of youth instruments by which they may reform their society, appears to be the major problem for American educators.

Mendenhall and Arisman state that "our schools should concern themselves with helping youth realize their interdependencies, recognize and use the contributions of their peers, develop skill in cooperative and group processes." Youth must be led to realize that true individualism comes only as one makes unique contributions to the solution of group problems.5

A democratic society has as a central value the enhancement of the dignity and worth of all men. To achieve that end it makes use of cooperation as a process and science as a method.6 These tenets

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6Ibid.
are basic in the appraisal and the understanding of programs for race development and education for racial understanding.

Democratic cooperation is absolutely necessary if the issues of race are to be coped with effectively. Jacobs maintains that any cleavages which exist in a democratic social order must be sought out and remedied by "cooperatively extending the areas of common concern." Democratic cooperation does not mean that the society or groups within the society may try to dodge or obscure the points of conflict in society. Rather, democratic cooperation means the intelligent attempt on the part of the people as a whole to understand the causes of the conflicts; then, by cooperative means, to further common purposes, to ameliorate differences, to harmonize conflicts, and thus to extend and enlarge the area of freedom for all. 7

The schools in a democracy should assume large responsibilities for teaching the youth of the nation facts about the various races which comprise the population of this country. If the schools of America are to prepare the youth of the nation to build a better society, there should be a large expectancy of enlightened education for racial understanding in geographical areas where racial feeling is most intense. The leaders in education in these areas should insist that substantial efforts be made to eliminate race hate. The price which America is paying in human and material resources

alone would, from the standpoint of logic, cause the schools in these areas to combat racial hate. Superstition, class hate, and social myopia are the tools which in the end can mean the destruction of the American way of life. These are also the instruments by which the cunning and the ruthless set class against class, race against race and, thereby, direct the destinies of the unsuspecting to their selfish ends.8

Despite the rather bleak outlook, many American educators have begun to consider the subjects of race, culture, and inter-group relations and their bearing upon a program of education for democracy. These educators have discovered that the best interests of personality and community are indissolubly associated, and that communities made up of various culture groups impose difficult problems of adjustment upon members of minority and majority peoples alike. These problems include (1) clarifying and protecting the rights of minority peoples, (2) preserving for American democracy the ethnic values which nationality groups rightfully cherish, and (3) nurturing in all our peoples, irrespective of racial, religious, economic or ethnic differences, a united loyalty to the laws and ideals which can make America a priceless civilization for free peoples. The development of a program to meet these

needs should become a primary interest to this country in these fateful years of world unrest.

The Purpose of the Schools

Every statement of educational purposes depends upon the judgment of some person or group of persons as to what is good and what is bad, what is true and what is false, what is valuable and what is worthless, in the conduct of human affairs. Objectives are, essentially, a statement of values.

The purposes of schools and other social agencies reflect the ideals and principles which pervade the life of the people. That which, out of their intelligence and experience, the people declare to be good, they will attempt to maintain and perpetuate for the benefit of their children and their children's children. They strive through education to transmit what they think is good to all the generations to come.9

A society which exalts force and violence will have one set of educational aims. A society which values reason, tranquillity, and the paths of peace will have another and very different set. A society which worships its ancestors and blindly reveres the past will have and does have different educational purposes from a society which recognizes the necessity for adjustment and change. The educational objectives in each case rest on certain ideas of

good and bad, but these ideas are different in each case and lead to aims for the schools which differ from one another as the day from the night.¹⁰

Educational purposes are a form of social policy, a program of social action based on some accepted scale of values. Since the application of these values varies from place to place and even from day to day, detailed purposes of education can never be developed so as to be universally applicable and perpetually enduring. Constant study and revision are required to keep them meaningful to the people and effective in the schools. Only the broadest lines of policy can have more than temporary and local application, but these controlling principles are of utmost importance. They form the basis upon which a sound educational philosophy must be based.

Educational objectives, if they are to be of significant practical value, must not be established in defiance of known or ascertainable facts concerning the economic and social situation as it is and as it may become. The values cherished by individuals and by social groups are the product of experience and may be changed by the same force which created them. In this regard, every effort must be made to substitute tested truth for ignorance. Every major change in the structure of human society from tribal government to nationalism and from chattel slavery to capitalism

has been accompanied by profound changes in educational purposes. A clear and exact knowledge of the status and direction of any culture is indispensable to a statement concerning its educational purposes. 11

The principles which guide any society in establishing its objectives and those of its educational systems are usually simple, deep-rooted, and persistent. But the approved conduct which conforms to these principles is necessarily complex, variable, and transient. New social and technological developments change the mode of applying ethical principles to conduct. Vital decisions change with racial experience. Constant reapplications of the scale of values to specific problems are necessary. 12

Scientific studies of the process of education itself affect the nature of educational objectives. Such studies may ascertain the degree to which given objectives are acceptable to the public, to the profession, or to any segment thereof. They may discover how universally or how perfectly the objectives are or have been attained by any person or group of persons. They may measure the positive or negative contributions made to the objectives by the schools or by other social agencies. They may compare and evalu-

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11 The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, p. 2.

uate the relative efficiency of various educational agencies, methods, or materials in approaching the objectives.\textsuperscript{13} They may throw light on the nature of man as learner and teacher, and thus color the entire policy of education. The most powerful and universal bases for determining educational objectives, however, are those which deal with ethical or moral distinctions.\textsuperscript{14}

Before the objectives of education at any point of time and place can be stated, people must decide which of several possible social policies are to claim their allegiance. This decision hinges primarily upon certain fundamental judgments of values. The social policy accepted and endorsed by the American people is the continued striving toward the democratic ideal. A general description of democratic ways of living is an indispensable part of this statement of educational purposes. Here are five broad generalizations that are minimum essentials of democracy:

Democracy prizes a broad humanitarianism, an interest in the other fellow, a feeling of kinship to other people more or less fortunate than oneself. One who lives in accordance with democracy is interested not only in his own welfare but in the welfare of others.


\textsuperscript{14}The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, pp. 3-5.
Democratic behavior observes and accords to every individual certain "unalienable" rights and responsibilities. One who lives in a democratic way respects himself. And to self-respect he adds respect for the moral rights and feelings of others, for the sanctity of each individual personality.

Democratic processes also involve the assent of the people in matters of social control and the participation of all concerned in arriving at important decisions. This implies that all the people must have access to the facts which will help them to reach a wise decision.

Peaceful and orderly methods of settling controversial questions are applied by a democracy to matters of national and international policy as well as to private disputes. The callous use of force and violence is rejected as unworthy of a civilized people.

Finally, democracy sets high value upon the attainment of human happiness as a basis for judging the effectiveness of social life.\(^{15}\)

Though these broad principles allow for great latitude in interpretation and application, they are definite enough to condemn and counteract any political, social or economic philosophy which threatens the democratic way of life. If one sets in opposition to these principles the enslavement of whole nations for the benefit of a "master race," the unrestricted use of secret police, the abolition of free elections, the glorification of armed might, and the assumption that man is born to serve the state -- practices now in vogue in totalitarian nations -- the realism, specificity, and vital force of the fundamental democratic ideals are readily apparent.\(^{16}\)


The Objectives of the Educational Policies Commission

The Educational Policies Commission in 1936 set up four groups of objectives for education in a democratic society. They are as follows:

1. The Objectives of Self-Realization
2. The Objectives of Human Relationship
3. The Objectives of Economic Efficiency
4. The Objectives of Civic Responsibility

Each of these objectives is related to each of the others; each is capable of further subdivision. Before we begin to discuss separately each of these groups of educational purposes, several comments may be made regarding the classification as a whole. It is not intended that we should think of the purposes of education as a field which can be neatly divided into four equal parts. The classification will be more helpful if we think of it as a series of four vantage points from which the purposes of education may be studied, the result being a comprehensive view of the whole.

The school is only one of the many educational influences in these various fields of human life. Its responsibility extends to all of these areas, but in some areas the weight of education rests on the schools more exclusively than in others. The role of the school is especially definite in preparing for civic responsibility. The school, therefore, must condition and concern itself with every phase of civic education. It must concern itself with loyalty to a

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17 The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, p. 47.
society as a whole rather than to the political manifestations of society as revealed in any single institution. Vested control of this function by the political State leads to dictatorship.\textsuperscript{18} The field of human relationship is shared by the school, the home, and the rest of the environment. Education is the field of self-realization or personal development is coming to be more a duty of the schools although much of this responsibility necessarily inheres in the home and the church. Under modern economic and industrial conditions preparation for economic efficiency is largely a function of the school.\textsuperscript{19}

**The Objectives of Self-Realization**

The realization of self, as it will be considered here, occurs through interaction between that self and society. It cannot occur unless the individual effects a satisfactory relationship with the society in which he moves. If an individual is to become his own best self, he must constantly be in contact with the best that is in humanity. The processes of growth, or of self-realization, are a primary concern of education — a concern which includes, but also reaches far beyond the memorization of the useful and useless facts which so often make up the bulk of the school curriculum.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18}Boyd H. Bode, *How We Learn*, p. 270.

\textsuperscript{19}The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, pp. 47-8.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., pp. 51-70.
In order to develop fully his individual potentialities as a member of a free society, every American should be able:

1. To speak, read, and write English clearly and effectively
2. To solve his problems of counting and calculating
3. To protect his own health and that of his dependents by understanding the basic facts concerning health and disease
4. To use his leisure time with pleasure and profit by participating in sports and other forms of recreation
5. To develop intellectual and aesthetic interests
6. To give responsible direction to his own life by accepting or developing an ethical code congruent with democratic ideals

The Objectives of Human Relationship

The objectives of education dealt with here are related to the more intimate connections of the individual with his friends, his immediate neighbors, the members of his own family group, and persons of other ethnic groups. There is perhaps no other field of human activity requiring the service of education which has been so meagerly dealt with by schools. This is an important area of day-to-day relationships which could be studied most profitably by those directing educational programs.

In his human relationships every American citizen should:

21 Vickery and Cole, op. cit., p. 39

22 The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, pp. 73-88.
1. Put human welfare first in his scale of human values
2. Seek a rich, sincere, and varied social life rather than isolation within one social group
3. Put a higher value on co-operation than on competition
4. Observe the amenities of social behavior prevalent in American society
5. Appreciate the family as a social institution, conserve family ideals, and develop skills in homemaking
6. Maintain democratic family relationships

The Objectives of Economic Efficiency

The objectives of economic efficiency relate to those activities which have to do with creating and using goods and services. At present the major emphasis in education for economic efficiency is placed on the productive phase. It is often the only aspect of economic education which receives serious attention. Granting the importance of producer education, the equal and corollary importance of consumer education must not be overlooked. Production and consumption are inextricably related to one another. The roles of the consumer and the producer are equally dependent upon education for efficiency.

As a participant in the economic life of America, every citizen should:

1. Place a high value on doing a good job, whatever his occupation may be
2. Understand the requirements and opportunities for various jobs so that he may select his occupation and succeed in it

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23 Vickery and Cole, loc. cit.

24 The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, pp. 91-105.
3. Endeavor to maintain and to improve his efficiency in his work
4. Appreciate the social value of his work
5. Plan his own economic life intelligently
6. Develop standards for guiding his expenditures, so that he is an informed and skillful buyer
7. Take other appropriate measures to safeguard his interests as a consumer

The Objectives of Civic Responsibility

The objectives of civic responsibility refer to those characteristics which distinguish the active and socially minded citizen. The useful citizen of a democracy knows what his personal rights and his individual duties are. He demands his rights firmly and tenaciously, for he recognizes the truth of the adage, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Not only is the intelligent citizen mindful of his own community and country, but he is alert to world conditions as well.

In assuming his civic responsibilities, every American should:

1. Be sensitive to the disparities of human circumstances and act to correct unsatisfactory conditions
2. Seek to understand social structures and social processes
3. Build up his defenses against propaganda
4. Respect honest differences of opinion
5. Help to conserve the nation's resources
6. Measure scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare
7. Co-operate as a member of the world community
8. Respect and obey the law of the land
9. Endeavor to become and remain economically literate
10. Accept his civic duties
11. Act upon an unswerving loyalty to the United States and to democratic ideals

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26 Harl R. Douglass, The High School Curriculum, p. 450.

To the extent that schools and other educational institutions develop in all citizens the above-mentioned beliefs, loyalties, understandings, and skills, the general objective of promoting national unity by introducing all citizens to the beliefs, loyalties, and practices essential to democratic living in the United States will be attained. These are the positive goals of education for democracy, the attainment of which requires the co-operative effort of every teacher in every subject field. Each classroom teacher is engaged in what is probably the most important process of cultural transmission in American life: teaching children to act as competent members of our society.

If seeking to develop the culture traits which all Americans should have in common is the positive aspect of education for democracy, eliminating those patterns of thought and action which are contrary to democratic principles is its equally important negative aspect. The list of objectives derived from *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*, therefore, serves a double function: it identifies the values and customs which provide the cultural base for national unity and at the same time affords standards by which the cultural traits of both the majority and minority groups may be judged as desirable or undesirable. The teacher may use this list to analyze the prevailing beliefs and practices in his particular school and community. He can then decide which he shall endeavor
to preserve and strengthen and which he shall try to eliminate as a member of a school staff.

In making his analysis, however, the teacher should be careful, especially when appraising the behavior of minority groups, to distinguish between undesirable culture traits which are primarily functions of inherited values and customs as such, those which reflect the low living standards forced upon many minorities, and those which represent reactions against the discriminatory practices of the dominant group.

For example, the teacher may find that health and hygiene habits are poor among all the less-privileged groups in his particular community. Local attention may be centered on immigrant and Negro groups, because they tend to follow outmoded medical practices, which make them conspicuous. From the standpoint of intercultural education, it would be unfortunate if the teacher isolated these minorities as special problems; in reality, their behavior is essentially that of any poor and relatively ignorant group. The task of improving health habits is a general one and should be treated as such.

The reaction patterns of a minority group against the dominant group's discrimination may be illustrated by their adopting certain practices which violate the canons of good taste. Some individuals tend to make derisive remarks about their racial or ethnic back-
grounds in order to curry favor with the dominant group, or to resort to flash clothes, loud talk, and similar methods of getting attention. This kind of behavior is as objectionable as offensive table manners and vulgar language, but it springs from a different source. Teachers can usually correct table manners and language habits by showing all pupils the accepted practices and giving them an opportunity to develop the amenities. But misguided efforts to please the majority or to protest against exclusion are techniques of survival and counter assertion. Such behavior cannot be changed solely by precept and example; its elimination ultimately depends on the modification of the majority group's attitude and the minority group's outlook so that these and similar forms of protest are no longer psychologically necessary.28

While adapting certain minority group culture traits to the demands of American life is an important part of intercultural education, the crucial task of teachers is that of changing majority group behavior patterns. The minority traits to which the majority most seriously objects are more often traceable to the poverty, ignorance, and ill-will resulting from economic and social discrimination than they are to survivals of traditions and folkways. By using the list of objectives outlined earlier as standards for

28 Ibid., p. 44.
judging majority group beliefs and actions, the teacher may formulate specific goals for intergroup education in his particular school. To illustrate:

1. An educated citizen believes in social justice and acts to correct unsatisfactory social conditions. In a community where the children of the dominant group attribute the poverty, dirtiness, and tendency toward crime that prevail among certain minority groups to innate racial and national characteristics, the school is obliged to show that this point of view is false and to point out how the basic evils can be eliminated by improving these groups' living conditions.

2. An educated citizen exercises critical judgments and builds up his defenses against propaganda. In a community where pseudo-scientific racial theories, directed particularly against Negroes, are prevalent, the school must present the facts about race and provide situations where these facts can be demonstrated.

3. An educated citizen respects the rights of others and strives to protect them as he protects his own. In a community where Negroes and certain immigrant groups are denied equal economic opportunity, are required to live in particular sections of the city where rents are higher than for similar quarters elsewhere, and are subjected to humiliating discrimination in restaurants, hotels, and public recreation centers, the school is obliged to make clear the contra-
diction between democratic principles and social practice, and to create a desire to correct this fault. 29

When the adaptations needed to bring majority and minority group behavior into line with democratic social practice are identified, the list of objectives for a program of intercultural education is almost complete. There remains, however, a problem for which there is no single clear-cut solution: Should the school deliberately seek to perpetuate the distinctive culture patterns of minority groups? Educators seeking an answer to this question should guide their judgment by the demands of a particular situation rather than by generalized and sometimes sentimental preconceptions.

Many nationality groups find it difficult to preserve their corporate identity in America. The Negro has become so Americanized that he has lost practically all the vestiges of his native African culture. Skin color and physical features are the sole common characteristics between the African and the American Negro.

Social scientists have traced the typical development of groups which have migrated to the United States and maintained their separate identity. The first generation seeks security among those who speak its own language, literally and figuratively. The immigrants cling nostalgically to as many old-world culture traits as they can and often dream of making a fortune and returning home. Even they, how-

29 Ibid., p. 45.
ever, must make fundamental adjustments to American life, working in stores and factories, buying groceries and clothes, paying taxes and becoming citizens, and sending their children to school. The second generation, torn between family tradition and the American way of life, tends to adopt uncritically every custom that will help dispel its "foreignness." The third generation, secure in its Americanism, often tries to recapture certain aspects of its ancestral culture and fit them into its predominantly American way of life.30

In spite of all the pressure toward conformity, differences will undoubtedly survive for decades to come. From the viewpoint of cultural democracy — the extension of the basic principles of constitutional democracy and the application of them to race and culture group relations — variations in ways of living traceable to immigrants' attachments to old-world cultures are not merely permissible; they may be desirable and necessary. These variations, and the wholesome regional differences due to indigenous social forces, will tend to prevent cultural stagnation and deterioration, which so often have characterized isolated, homogeneous, and regimented nations.

Teachers may well follow the principles (1) that cultural differences among ethnic groups should be preserved as long as these differences help individuals to make their personal and social

adjustments, and (2) that no individual should be forced to follow a culture pattern which he wishes to repudiate.

If the school truly reflects its community, it will give its support to beneficial, distinctive local customs. However, education in the United States should avoid becoming identified with any separative trend which overlooks the legitimate demands of the wider social order. There is room in America for many cultural sub-groups and wide cultural variation, but there is no place for group isolation.31

The largest and most widely distributed racial minority in the United States, the Negro, faces a peculiar situation. The Negro's way of life, though it conforms in most respects to the customs of the section in which he lives, has distinctive characteristics. Some of these culture traits peculiar to the Negro group may perhaps be survivals of African folkways; more often, however, they are relics of slave status or ways of protesting against and compensating for the discrimination to which colored people have been subjected since their emancipation. As a result, many — probably the majority — of Negro leaders wish neither to revive an African culture which is both unsuited to American life and unfamiliar to the average Negro, nor to perpetuate the status quo. The object, of course, is to integrate the Negro fully into the main stream

of American life while maintaining the Negro's racial identity.

The Negro's situation raises a complex and as yet unsolved issue which deeply affects the school's choice of objectives in intercultural education: Is race segregation with equal rights for both races a democratic solution of the American race problem, or does democracy demand the end of segregation? The present position of most liberals, both Negroes and whites, is that segregation is a permanent barrier to racial co-operation and therefore should be removed if the United States is to live up to its best traditions.

Educators who accept this point of view may work toward creating a public opinion which will support all races living and working together with equal opportunities in:

1. National and political life— that is, in voting, in civil and military service, in community activities and councils, etc.

2. Economic life — that is, working together in factories, shops and offices, belonging to the same trade unions and professional societies, etc.

3. Public community life — that is, in enjoying recreation and entertainment, health service and hospitalization, transportation facilities, etc.

4. Education — that is, in securing personal, social, vocational and civic development on both school and university levels.\(^{32}\)

The most serious of all barriers to satisfactory relations

\(^{32}\)Ibid., pp. 60-1.
among individuals of different races in America is the breach which separates one group from another. Race relations are but a phase of human relations, and human relations can be blocked more completely by social distance than even by conflict and antagonism.

Better race relations in the United States depend fundamentally on the basis of: (1) free, secure, and mature personalities; (2) a sound and expanding national economy which provides opportunity for all and scope for human personality; and (3) experiences, activities, and habits which wear down racial barriers. Education contributes directly to the first and third of these factors — the development of personalities and the provision of constructive experience. Insofar as education contributes to the solution of the basic economic problems which beset modern society, it will help to create the necessary conditions for sound relations among individuals and groups. In considering the direct contributions of education to race relations, one should never lose sight of the fact that unemployment and economic frustration can tear down everything that has been built up.

The contribution of education will be a positive one where every use is made of modern psychological and pedagogical knowledge to build free and secure personalities in our culture, from nursery school through the university. This applies equally to
children of all groups in the population — to those of minority status and those of dominant group status. It involves not only the content of the school curriculum, but the whole school situation through which personalities are molded.

The experience of students, even more than their studies, will condition their ability to react constructively to racial situations. Race relations, as has been previously shown, are a matter of attitudes and habits shaped by tradition and experience. They take place through the medium of personalities. Knowledge, or lack of knowledge, can modify attitudes; study can arouse interests and create awarenesses; and analysis can break down stereotypes. But these processes, important as they are, can only hope to supplement the deeper influences of experience in giving the emotional sets, the value structures, and the personality patterns which lay the basis for the relations between persons of different races in American society.

Goal of Race Relations

Before going further it should be stated that it is assumed that the ultimate goal of race relations is the integration of people of varied backgrounds into a single community in which race ceases to be a factor in determining opportunity for employment, residence, social services, or choice of associates. This assumption is made because:
(1) No other assumption is consistent with the democratic principle of American life. Every attempt to find another solution involves a basic contradiction which places an inevitable strain on every social institution and all parts of the social structure.

(2) No other assumption is consistent with the concept of education as a process of developing the individual personality to the full extent of its powers.

(3) This concept implies values, both individual and social, in the ability and opportunity for people of varied backgrounds or characteristics to interact in such a way as to enrich the experiences and enlarge the outlook of all. America is made up of many peoples, a fact which can be a source of individual narrowness and social weakness, or of individual richness and social strength. The difference lies in whether the reaction to difference is antagonism, withdrawal and fear or whether it is genuine interest and democratic cooperation. It determines the whole level of human relationships in society. In a social order in which individuals deal with each other at the level of race differences, all human relations tend to be stereotyped and shallow. The deeper, more complex, more individual relationships among people depend on cutting through stereotypes to common experiences, conditions, interests, and attitudes.

On the basis of the premise that an integrated society is the
ultimate goal, one answer to the question, "How can education contribute to better race relations?" is clear: By bringing together members of different racial groups — physically or imaginatively — in such situations that:

(1) Each may see the commonality of interests, needs, problems, experiences, and characteristics.

(2) The habit of association, rather than the habit of disassociation, may be developed.

(3) Meaningless differences may be ignored.

(4) Differences in values, backgrounds or experience may be explored and appreciated.

(5) Differences may contribute to the emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic growth of all.

The School Situation

On the principle that actions speak louder than words, the first essential is that the school situation itself should be one in which healthy race relations exist. Both in the classroom and in school activities out of class, there must be full participation by all students in the measure of their capacities and interests, and in such a way as to promote their development. In addition, teachers can take pains to see that undesirable situations and stereotypes are not established — that, for instance, the fair-haired child is not always cast in the role of heroine in school plays. A school
can do much to establish a relaxed atmosphere for the discussion of questions relating to race and culture. It can build in students an appreciation of their own backgrounds, which will enable them to appreciate the backgrounds of others. But this will not result from a concern for race relations alone. It must be a product of the school's whole character -- its democratic spirit and procedures, its spirit of free inquiry, and its attention to current problems and issues.

A segregated school system presents almost insurmountable obstacles. In such a system the racial situation may be made worse by vicious attitudes or mitigated by sympathetic ones. But the sheer fact of segregation stands as an eternal reminder to every white child, every day, that the Negro or Mexican child is being kept away from his school. And the children of racial minorities are reminded daily that they are outcasts. In each is bred the habit of distance and of stereotype thinking. Each learns either not to see the other as they pass on the way to school, or to see and dismiss from attention.

Where the pattern of segregation exists, however, it is important that the schools should be used to prepare students for more active community participation in the future. This is easier to do in colored than in white schools. Negro schools are in some ways more favorable places for the development of secure personalities
than are mixed schools in communities where racial antagonism runs high.

In segregated schools, children of minority groups can learn the skills that will equip them like other workers. They can come to understand the social situation in which they find themselves and study constructive ways to change it. They can work toward goals, however distant they may be. A segregated school in a highly segregated community can seek ways to enlarge the experiences of the children beyond those which they would have outside of school — through field trips to observe institutions and activities in the community; through inter-school contests, exchanges, or other activities; through projects which bring them in contact with other people in the community or are carried on jointly with students from other schools; through projects which stimulate the interest and the curiosity of students to the point where they will seek to learn more of what lies beyond their circumscribed horizons.

White schools, on the other hand, have a far more difficult problem in preventing the development of undesirable personality traits — arrogance, a sense of superiority, contempt for the children of other groups, and, particularly, the feeling that the latter do not "belong." It is difficult for a white school to teach its chil-

33. White schools, as used here, means those segregated schools of the South which are attended only by white children.
dren that the pattern of segregation is contrary to other principles which the school teaches. It has two main choices -- to try to ignore the race issue, which forces it to keep much instruction on a superficial level because the race issue cuts through every social problem; or to find some terms in which to justify segregation. It should be added that some white schools are now taking definite steps to further understanding between the two races, primarily through the efforts of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation. However, the very existence of the white school reinforces acceptance of the status quo. It is a rare Southern school in which a teacher can frankly say (and keep his job), "Segregation is un-American. It has come about because of historic reasons. Our job is to find ways of getting rid of it eventually, and, in the meantime, to build bridges across the gulf which it creates."34

But white schools do have many opportunities to build bridges over the gulf of separation. They can bridge the gulf of ignorance through exposing their students to the results of scientific study in the field of race. They can extend the imagination of their students through study and observation of varied peoples. They can carry out joint projects with the schools for minority groups

up to the limit of community tolerance, and often beyond what is commonly regarded as that limit — witness the successful conferences of students from white and colored colleges in the South during the past twenty years. Moreover, they can develop in their students general values and attitudes which will make it easier for them to meet new racial situations as they grow up, move about, and meet changing conditions.

Both colored and white schools — and, of course, unsegregated schools as well — can apply to race relations the same principles of scientific inquiry as they apply to other subjects — observation, analysis, and study of reactions under varied situations. Both can insist on continued emphasis upon the individual, and can avoid and breakdown stereotypes of themselves as well as stereotypes of other groups. Since one of the prime requisites for the ability to meet racial situations is maturity, everything which can be done by any type of school to develop maturity and a capacity for objectivity is to the good. All educational techniques, or school situations, which foster immature, irresponsible, dependent, or infantile behavior militate against the goal of better race relations.

Educational Needs of Students

If we approach the problem from the point of view of the particular educational needs of different students, we find that students fall, for this purpose, into three main categories: children of
minority groups, children of dominant and privileged groups, and children who, by reason of economic or ethnic background, are themselves subjected to discriminations from those higher in social status, but who can, in turn, express discrimination toward those lower in social status.

Children of Minority Groups

Children of Minority groups need:

(1) To develop strong, stable, free personalities capable of meeting constructively the racial situations which will come upon them, or which they will seek. This makes the first task of the school that of building personalities, also of first importance for better race relations.

(2) To develop capacities and skills which will place them on a sound competitive basis in the wider community and in their professional or working life. This means education based on recognition of the fact that in America today members of minority groups must be better trained, well poised, and well aware of the etiquette of race relations in order to get along with the dominant group successfully. It is too easy for a Negro student to take a defeatist attitude — "No matter how good I am I'll never be allowed to get along" — and to be prepared to excuse his shortcomings in this way. In a segregated situation, it is hard to maintain competitive standards. One of the serious limitations of segregated schools, at
all educational levels, is that they do not enable their students to measure themselves with students of other ethnic groups in the community and to know what it takes to make good over handicaps. Already there are more jobs for Negroes in some areas than there are adequately trained people to fill them.

3) To develop techniques for meeting various racial situations in such a way as to change the situation in the direction of greater integration and cooperation. This means that Negro schools, especially Negro colleges, must equip their students for leadership. Whatever their profession, educated Negroes will be called upon to function as leaders. They will have to carry a heavy burden, both in relation to members of their group, and in the role of intermediaries between their group and the rest of the community. In order that they may develop these capacities, their schools and colleges should do everything possible to give them experience of responsibility and leadership within the school and college situation, and in relation to the community of which the school or college is a part. Classroom and campus should be a laboratory in which to conduct experiments in leadership and in human-relations techniques, which can then be expanded to meet the larger community. In campus situations in which students have the responsibility for student activities they have opportunities to learn techniques and assume responsibilities which they would not be able to have in the
outside world until they had advanced very far in their field or profession. This is a unique training opportunity. Where students share in the discussion and formulation of curricular as well as extracurricular matters and where they share responsibility for discipline, the experience of coming face to face with extremely fundamental problems can contribute immeasurably to their development as citizens and leaders. A school which fails to see the significance of this aspect is failing in an important part of its educational task.

(4) To develop a perspective of their own situation in terms of the position and experience of other minority groups in the United States and in the world. It is easy for each group to regard its own situation as unique, and to lump together all others since they do not have these problems. This is especially true of Negro students. It is rather appalling to find Negro college seniors who are astonished to learn that Mexicans and Orientals in the Southwest and West are victims of discrimination and segregation; or that residential exclusion in some places is applied to Jews; or that an Italian name may be an obstacle to securing a hospital internship; and that large numbers of white Americans have suffered from the strain of a bicultural background and have been subjected to the treatment that goes with the appellation of "Wop" or "Polack."

It is vitally important, both for understanding and for effective
community participation, that Negro students should recognize these facts.

(5) To develop an understanding of the economic and social forces which determine their position and, especially, the dynamics of the situation. This means, in general, that the social sciences should occupy a prominent place in the curriculum. In particular, students should realize how crucially their position is bound up with general economic conditions; they should recognize a special responsibility to be informed on economic matters; and they should work especially hard for measures that involve economic expansion and full employment for all. Moreover, since the mass labor unions offer the setting in which a great amount of interracial contact and collaboration is taking place and since Negro and white workers are building common institutions, common experiences, and a common society in meeting their common economic problems, special attention should be given to providing Negro students with an understanding of labor organization.

(6) To develop a personal philosophy, a carefully thought out code of personal conduct, and a capacity for self discipline. This will enable them to move responsibly and effectively through the difficult, complex, and changing situations of which their lives are bound to be composed, and will insure them that their gains through the application of their leadership techniques will not be
sacrificed by acts of personal irresponsibility or confusion.

Children of Dominant Groups

The educational needs of white students to equip them for a constructive role in race relations duplicate many of the needs of the children of minority groups.

Children of groups which occupy a privileged and dominant position need:

(1) To develop emotionally secure personalities so that they will not need to exploit their privileged position to bolster their personal security.

(2) To develop social awareness which enables them to share imaginatively in the experiences of others and creates a desire to do so. This includes the desire to know what goes on within other groups and knowledge of how to find out.

(3) To develop an understanding of economic and social forces which will make them aware of the extent to which their own lives are dependent upon what happens to others.

(4) To develop awareness of the limitations of their own experience and desire to enlarge the range of their contacts and experiences. This includes expanding their conception of the word we.

(5) To develop social techniques of working with, rather than for, people of many types, interests, and points of view. It is difficult, but most essential, for these students to learn what is
really involved in the democratic process — in terms of patience; respect for others who may, perhaps, be more limited in education but richer in experience; ability to listen, to understand and clarify issues, to explore means of achieving goals, to accept the leadership of others, and not insist that things must be done one's own particular way, and to assure the active participation of all who have a stake in the problem involved. These are basic techniques for functioning in any community situation, of which race relations is only one. The need for these techniques is not limited to members of dominant groups. They belong equally among the educational needs of minorities, and of those who occupy an intermediate position. Too often, in fact, members of the latter groups, achieving the opportunity to exercise power or leadership, adopt as autocratic or paternalistic methods as had ever been imposed upon them.

Children of Non-Dominant White Groups

The children of groups which occupy positions of social inferiority because of their ethnic, economic, or religious background — children of immigrants, of low income and low occupational status, of non-dominant religious groups — have educational needs which are a composite of the needs of the minority groups below, and the dominant groups above. Besides the needs already listed
for other groups, they require, especially:

1. **To understand and appreciate their own backgrounds in order that these may be a source of pride and self-respect, not, as is so tragically often the case, of shame.** To a good third of American school children Ellis Island, not Plymouth Rock, is the symbol of the courage, suffering, devotion and adventure which brought their people to the new world. To them, the labor and sacrifice which their forebears poured into the making of America is embodied in stretching rails and towering chimneys, not in the cleared wilderness and broken plains. For these children, the school has a particular responsibility to make them aware of, and confident in, not only the culture and traditions of the land of their origin, but their share in the development and traditions of America. This, also, belongs among the educational needs of children of minority groups.

2. **To understand the economic and social forces which impinge upon them in order that they may recognize identities of interests between themselves and others.** Their main problem in race relations is not to take out the inferiority imposed upon them from above upon other groups lower in the social and economic scale. Demagogues, trouble makers, and exploiting employers have known how to set group against group in order to be able to reap advantages at the expense of all. And even in the absence of such deliberate efforts
to foment distrust, ignorance and insecurity often bring about the same result.

All groups must learn to work within an unsatisfactory situation without ever accepting it or letting it defeat them. They must learn to take parts of the larger problem, one by one, and not be baffled by the fact that they cannot take the whole in a single bite. They must learn to recognize, and, especially, to consolidate partial gains without losing the direction of ultimate goals. So long as the breaches which exist today separate group from group, individuals in all groups must learn to interpret their groups to others.

The worst enemy of race relations is defeatism — the conviction that there is no solution. The next worst is a laissez-faire attitude — the conviction that the situation will work itself out in time if it is just left alone. All groups must have confidence that something can be done to better the situation, and they must manifest a sense of responsibility to do something themselves. This is the spirit which schools should impart to all their students if the net effect is to be better race relations in America.

Needs of Teachers

No educational plan is any better than the teachers who carry it out. Education can make no dent on the problems if it is carried on by persons who believe in race superiority and in a permanent pattern
of segregation. An educational plan designed to improve race relations must, therefore, start with the teachers. And it must start with the teachers' attitudes and assumptions, not with just their knowledge and techniques. Children catch the teacher's assumptions whether or not they learn the material which he assigns to them. Few schools are staffed by teachers whose experience, philosophy, and knowledge equip them to do a good job of building racial understanding. A program to develop these capacities and desires is, therefore, a first requisite.

This means creating experience situations through which teachers may broaden their understanding and sympathy toward members of other groups. If their prejudices are deeply ingrained, it will be even more futile than it is with children to rely on words rather than on deeds. At the same time, their professional interests and community responsibilities provide bases for experiences which will bridge the gap. These experiences should, of course, be supplemented by systematic knowledge of the groups in the community, and of the results of scientific research into questions of racial and group differences and relationships.

White teachers should read the Negro press and the foreign language press if they can. They should be familiar with the social structure of the minority groups, their significant customs, the bases of prestige, and the points which present problem areas.
Teachers from minority groups should have an acquaintance with, and appreciation for, the total American culture in all its variety, and conviction that the minority American is a part of that culture. This will bring their groups into proper relation to that culture and lessen the tendency toward exaggeration of the Negro, Mexican, Japanese-American or other problem.

Teachers of all groups should find adventure in inquiry and experimentation as an antidote to defeatism on minority problems and race relations. All should ground their approach in their devotion to the task of developing to the fullest the capacities and personality of each student as an individual.

It is possible to equip teachers, through study and experience, with the necessary skills to convey to their students both attitudes and knowledge which will build racial understanding. It can be done, teacher by teacher, through individual experience. Better, it can be done for the teachers of an entire school, such as the Benjamin Franklin School in New York City, or for an entire system, as in the now famous Springfield Plan. It is easiest where the school is a center of community life, not a self-contained institution isolated from the total community.

The most difficult problem is that of the personality of the teacher. As a class, teachers in America are not characterized by emotional maturity and personal security beyond the average. On
the contrary, all too many are limited, insecure, and emotionally timid. They are the products of a society in which great emphasis is placed on education but in which the teacher is accorded low social status and low pay, a society in which education has emphasized training the mind but has shied away from attempting to develop the emotions. Moreover, many lack even the intellectual security which comes from the best liberal arts training; they have been educated in authoritarian schools where they learned the answers, but did not learn how to analyze problems, seek and check information, and arrive at answers themselves.

In the face of the tensions which surround race relations in America, they are hesitant and uncertain. They can be bolstered by an atmosphere in which the whole school or community which encourages generous objective, imaginative, and mature reactions. But the most that can be expected of teachers who are not, themselves, emotionally adequate to the strains of the situation is a limited and fairly routine treatment of problems as they arise.

This leads directly to a consideration of the importance of race relations in the education of new teachers. Teacher-training institutions and colleges whose graduates will teach should examine both their curriculum and their whole learning situation, with a view toward developing an understanding of factors which enter into race relations, as well as to producing emotionally mature students
as future teachers. There are, of course, no quick and easy short­cuts. One might suggest that Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* be studied by all teachers and prospective teachers, white and colored. If the information and the analysis of American life contained in this book, or others of a similar nature, were part of the common knowledge and background of all teachers, it would lay the basis for a common, informed, and thoughtful approach to the problem.

**School and Community**

A school's approach to problems of race relations cannot stop with what goes on inside the school. In the first place, what the school itself can do is determined by community attitudes. The school is the agent of the community and as such reflects the dominant elements in the community. In order to be in a position to carry out its program, the school must, therefore, work with the community. The relation between school and community, however, is not a one-sided affair. It is not solely a matter of the influence of the community on the school. The school in turn helps to mold the attitudes in the community. This is particularly true where the members of the community, because they have come from immigrant backgrounds or are at a low economic or cultural level, are uncertain and look to schools for guidance. It is also true where a very well integrated community is proud of its schools and holds
them in high esteem, so that the school can readily exercise
leadership.

Besides having to influence the community in order to be in
a position to do its own job, the school recognizes that it is only
one of the educational influences affecting the children of the
community. Educators cannot be indifferent to the behavior sanctioned out of school, in home, street, church, and club; or to the
attitudes contained in the movies, expressed over the air, and
reflected in the press. Negroes have protested the stereotypes of
the Negro which the movies have perpetuated. It should be as much
a concern of white educators that children have the opportunity to
see Negroes in roles other than those of servant or showman, that
Italians do not always appear as gangsters, or Orientals as sly and
mysterious creatures. The same problems present themselves in all
the agencies of communication which impinge on the child in the
community.

The proposals and objectives listed here are just a few of the
means by which interracial understanding can be furthered through
education. Not only are there specific needs of students which
should be fulfilled, but there is a strong need for teacher educa-
tion in order to be sure that teachers are familiar with the facts
about race and the implications of these facts for democratic living.
The community, which can no longer be divorced from the school, has a vital place in interracial education. Since the school is the agent of the community, there must be a plan of democratic cooperation between the two in order to carry out a program of racial understanding.

Interracial Education through Secondary School English

In light of the general discussion of what the schools can do to promote interracial education, let us examine a set of objectives for English instruction and see how they can fit into an interracial education program. These objectives have been formulated by the writer after examining statements by various authorities. They are by no means all inclusive, but seem sufficiently comprehensive to get at the basic aims of any English curriculum.

1. To develop the power to organize one's thoughts logically and to give effective oral expression to them in the daily relationships of life.

2. To develop the ability to write clearly and accurately, so as to carry on intelligent formal and informal communication.

3. To develop the ability to read and listen critically to that which one reads and hears.

4. To develop the ability to read appreciatively and with understanding significant works of literature.
(5) To develop the ability to appreciate and evaluate the media of motion pictures, radio, and television.

Let us now consider each of these objectives in some detail.

(1) To develop the power to organize one's thoughts logically and to give effective oral expression to them in the daily relationships of life. American schools must be dedicated to the development and perpetuation of democratic ways of life through free thought and discussion. The essence of democratic life lies in the voluntary association of individuals for the discussion of ideas, the formulation of principles, and the carrying-out of common purposes.

When the English instructor endeavors to teach his pupils how to speak correctly, he may be conscious only of trying to attain the prime objective of his special field and one of the most important objectives of general education. But whether he is aware of it or not, he is also engaged in intergroup education. In his class there may be Negro children whose parents are poorly educated or even illiterate, who therefore misuse the English language; or there may be among his students children who, because their foreign-born parents speak little or no English, have difficulty in mastering the American idiom. When the English teacher succeeds in helping these pupils come into freer and fuller communication with their
fellows by means of the spoken word, he has — in a literal sense — made a distinct contribution to intergroup understanding. 35

The language techniques of informal social and business relationships, of small-group and committee activities, and of public life in general merit increasing attention if the language program of the school is to be an aid to intergroup understanding. Skill in parliamentary procedure and in effective public discussion should also be developed if the numerous types of forums and panels are to fulfil their purpose as quests for truth in which alert minds seek all available evidence in a sincere effort to arrive at honest and valid conclusions. 36

Modern methods of teaching have tended to devaluate the more formal, teacher-centered oral-recitation activities, and to place the emphasis on informal discussion in which the students are encouraged to think and reason rather than to respond automatically to questions put by the instructor. Interracial education functions best when it follows this principle and encourages the free expression of pupil opinion. There is little reason to believe that behavior stemming from deep-rooted prejudices can be changed by teaching students the "right answers" to predetermined ques-

35Vickery and Cole, op. cit., p. 41.

36Dora V. Smith and Others, Basic Aims for English Instruction, p. 2.
tions. But an open and honest class discussion, in an atmosphere conducive to objective thought and analysis, is one of the educator's best means of allaying personal tensions and intergroup conflict.\textsuperscript{37}

The standards of language which the school aims to promote must be those maintained in the best practice of able speakers and writers of today. Language that is a living, growing instrument of thought adheres to no rigid logical pattern of expression but varies from situation to situation and from time to time in response to psychological and social need. Acquaintance with recognized sources of reference concerning current American usage and the habit of consulting such sources in daily speech are, therefore, important objectives in the language program today.

For that reason specific training in the use of the vernacular is essential. It must, however, go far beyond the mere study of linguistic change or of acceptable or unacceptable elements in diction, for communication is a social skill as well as a function of language. Ability to enter into social relationships with poise and understanding or to cope acceptably with a situation in which differences of race, creed, or color tend to create tension is the outgrowth not only of instruction in language but of practice in

\textsuperscript{37}Vickery and Cole, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 113.
the psychological and social adjustments inherent in the interchange of ideas with others. Such a program goes much deeper than mere superficial attention to social codes and manners; it touches the very foundations of mutual understanding in human relationships.

The vital program in language uses every kind of experience significant in the life of the individual. At the same time it aims to provide new and enriching experiences within the English classroom. Only through such natural association with the primary sources and motives of expression can the program in English help develop exact and broad vocabularies, promote growth in logical thinking, and stimulate careful habits of observation and reflection. Improvement in the processes of thinking comes through actual coping with problems which have meaning for the individual. Growing power of reflection upon past and present experience is a natural concomitant of the intimate relationship between the language program of the school and the language needs of living. Powers such as these are obviously to be sought in some measure for young people of all levels of ability at all stages of maturity. They have major significance both in developing inner resources of the spirit and in increasing proficiency in the broader social relationships of modern life.
(2) To develop the ability to write clearly and accurately, so as to carry on intelligent formal and informal communication. Since every citizen in a democracy should be able and willing to contribute from his experience and his beliefs to the solution of the common problems of all, it is apparent that every citizen should be able to write a simple and straightforward statement in clear, effective, and legible English. Man writes primarily for the following reasons:

(1) To communicate his thoughts, feelings, and experiences to those of his own time with whom he cannot talk, or to supplement oral discourse

(2) To leave records of ideas, events, or impressions either for his own use or for the enlightenment of those who may follow him

(3) To interpret these same recorded thoughts and experiences and the responses he has made to them

Although there might be a great need for a teacher to stress the functional aspect of written English, especially in a class composed of several ethnic groups, he should provide ample opportunity for creative expression — the artistic translation of personal experience into words. This type of writing may develop the pupil's capacity to value experience for its own sake rather than for any utilitarian end, and increase his pleasure in the experience through the effort to translate it into words.

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Students can learn about race and culture conflicts by reading books, listening to lectures, or discussing the subject with their teachers and classmates; but they can gather no new information by writing. However, a written exercise, whether a research paper or a test, may cause a pupil to expand and organize his knowledge, think seriously and constructively about the subject under discussion, and present his conclusions as clearly and concisely as possible. In addition, he develops a legitimate pride in a job well done, and the ideas he has developed and expressed have a personal and lasting significance for him. Providing opportunities for creative expression in stories, poems, and plays is especially effective in changing attitudes. In this way, writing adds to and reinforces the understandings which a unit in interracial education has developed.

For those students who might come from families that have poor English backgrounds, because of a lack of education or being foreign born, the characteristics of the writing desired consist especially of simplicity, clarity, honesty, legibility, and brevity. The kind of program through which to achieve these aims is described in An Experience Curriculum in English. In this study it is proposed that the curriculum be built upon four basic principles, which are

39 The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, p. 57.

especially well suited for intercultural education. 41

(1) The ideal curriculum consists of well-selected experiences.

(2) The program of experiences must be well balanced.

(3) The program of experiences must be orderly.

(4) Experiences must be adapted to the needs and capacities of individual learners.

In applying these principles to the teaching of written composition, a cumulative and continuous program of usage teaching from the primary grades through the high school is planned. From the time the child enters school he learns to use his writing in the same situations as he will find need for it outside of school. He does not spend time writing idle sentences; he learns to write announcements, notices, advertisements, and especially letters, since the greater amount of the average person's written activity throughout his whole life will be letter writing. In this experience activity he gradually learns to spell and to construct sentences, to use capitals, and to punctuate sentences correctly.

Each phase is a part of the integrated whole. Each year the whole is polished and refined a bit more. It starts in a crude form but gradually emerges as a finished product. As the child advances he sees the need for developing his abilities and for

41 Ibid., pp. 3-9.
perfecting skills. By the time the student graduates from high school he will have learned the minimum essentials of grammar but it will be a by-product of other work. The student will be able to write whatever he wishes in a satisfactory manner for he will spend his time doing just this. While such a pattern curriculum really establishes minimum essentials and more or less prescribes a course, it is flexible enough for any teacher to base his work on and then deviate from it whenever necessary.42

In citing the need for effective instruction in language, Wilfred Eberhart has written:

If he [the student] is to make his needs known to his teachers, if he is to secure the assistance and criticism necessary in his efforts at problem-solving, if he is to present his findings understandably to his fellows, he must acquire skill in the employment of language. From the day he starts to school, therefore, and continuously and cumulatively throughout his scholastic activities, his growth in capacity to use language effectively must be fostered. As his speech and writing reveal errors and crudities, these defects must be eliminated.43

(3) To develop the ability to read and listen critically to that which one reads and hears. Today there is a greater need than ever for citizens to be able to distinguish between the various

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42Ibid., pp. 185-227.

forms of language used by speakers and writers the world over.

Hence, in many English programs an increasing amount of attention is being given to the study of semantics. General semantics, as defined by Moore,\(^4\) is a "study of how words convey meanings, for the purpose of promoting the more accurate expression and the more exact interpretation of meanings through language."

It is highly important that pupils who come from diverse racial or cultural backgrounds have a fundamental knowledge of words and how they take on meanings. A particular word or expression may mean one thing for one group and stand for something entirely different for another group. If pupils gain a fuller realization of the fact that words do not have a fixed meaning but may be used at different times to convey a number of different meanings, they will tend to search for the meanings of words they hear and read rather than assume that they know these meanings. An understanding of the different kinds of contexts and of the fact that the meanings of words can only be determined by studying their contexts will help pupils develop the ability to interpret accurately what they hear and read. Moreover, ability to analyze metaphors will help pupils to develop skill in discovering the ideas, experiences, and feelings which a writer or speaker is trying to convey to them.

\(^4\)Robert H. Moore, General Semantics in the High-School English Program, p. 35.
Pupils should learn to employ words in contexts which indicate the meanings of the words. By realizing that the meaning a word has for any individual depends upon the situation surrounding the present use of the word and upon the past experiences of the individual, pupils will be able to think more clearly in words than if they employed words as if they had fixed meanings for all people under all conditions. Likewise, if pupils learn how the employment of metaphors may affect them emotionally, they will be able to think more clearly than if they did not possess this understanding. It is well for pupils to learn how closely man's experiences and language are interrelated, how much service a small number of words can do through the interdependence of words, and what disastrous results often come from man's misinterpreting words.

Students should, when they write or speak, realize the necessity and form the habit of (1) taking their probable readers' or hearers' experiential background into consideration when they select words to express their ideas, feelings, and experiences; (2) providing contextual clues to the meanings of the words they employ; and (3) selecting metaphorical expressions which accurately and economically convey their meanings.45

The alert pupils should be able to distinguish between refer-

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45 Ibid., pp. 75-95.
ential language, that is, language intended merely to convey verifiable information to readers or hearers, and emotive language, or language designed to express the user's emotions and to induce readers or hearers to feel and act in a particular way. The student can best recognize emotive language by learning the principal methods used by writers and speakers to express their emotions and to engender emotions in other people. Chief among these methods are the employment of words with strong connotations; the use of metaphor; the repetition of accent, and of the same sound or grammatical form; and the slanting of reports, that is, the inclusion in speaking and writing of some facts and the exclusion of equally pertinent facts.

Through a study of the methods just mentioned and through a study of the context, the student should be able to determine the writer's or speaker's feelings toward his subject, his feeling toward his readers or hearers, and his purpose in speaking or writing. Such a study would certainly aid in increasing the pupils' ability to interpret language. A person cannot accurately interpret someone else's words unless he can determine the feelings that that person has toward his readers or hearers and toward his subject unless he can determine the purpose for which the words are spoken.

Pupils who are aware of the different purposes for which language is employed and who are able to distinguish between referential and emotive language should be able to think more clearly upon
realizing the inadequacy of emotive language alone as a basis for forming opinions and making decisions. When, as a result of studying emotive and referential language, pupils come to see how people may, by words alone, be induced to fight one another, to like one another, or to understand and aid one another, they should gain increased respect for language. They should likewise gain the desire to employ language honestly and accurately.

Through studying the language forms discussed above, pupils should come to develop certain standards for evaluating what they hear or read. They will become aware of the inaccuracy of slanted reports and of the inadequacy of emotive utterances which urge one to act in a certain way without supplying information which is needed before one can form intelligently an opinion or reach a decision. Much writing and speaking on modern social and political problems contains strong emotive elements. If students become able to interpret emotive language accurately, they will be in a position to gain a fuller knowledge of contemporary affairs.46

(4) To develop the ability to read appreciatively and with understanding significant works of literature. A modern high-school literature program which is based upon the student's individual needs and capacities recognizes that effective citizenship

46Ibid., pp. 97-116.
in a democratic social order requires a knowledge and understanding of community, state, national, and world problems. Through literature the student may gain an insight into human motives, which is essential to more intelligent understanding of himself and more sympathetic appreciation of others.

Through reading, young people may run the gamut of social and personal experience. Ideals of conduct and convictions basic to an adequate personal philosophy of life take form gradually as the reader follows with admiration or dislike the actions or motives of individuals in books. Relationships of home and family life are illumined through the pages of literature. Spiritual contact is achieved with persons and experiences far removed by geographical, temporal, or social limitations. Enmities of race, of creed, of social classes, and of nations may be lessened through the enlarged sympathies and broadened understandings developed by a carefully directed program of reading.

Reading is an indispensable means of acquiring facts about the racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic sub-groups which make up America. Since the reading program begins in the early grades,

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48 Smith, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
it is important for interracial education that no books are intro-
duced which will implant information, stereotypes, and attitudes
which later must be unlearned. Novels, short stories, biographies,
and poems which express democratic ideals in relation to minority
groups, or present an accurate and understanding picture of life
among culture groups in America, are highly important in inter-
group education. This type of material does much to build desir-
able attitudes, particularly if the students read it voluntarily
and because their interest has been aroused rather than because it
appears on the required reading list.

According to Galen Besoor, both the common-reading and the free-
reading experiences of high-school pupils should be organized and
conducted in terms of meaningful units that appeal to the present
or potential interests of girls and boys, that tend to meet some of
their specific needs, and that include materials which are within
but at the same time challenging to the varying abilities repre-
sented in a particular class or group. These units should be
determined by the interests, needs, and abilities of a given
class or group.


50 Besoor, op. cit., p. 367.
While it is neither possible nor desirable to set up rigidly organized units that should always be studied by the pupils on a particular grade level, there are certain broad areas that should be considered in planning and developing units to promote inter-group understanding. These areas may be listed as follows: (1) understanding ourselves, (2) understanding our family relationships, (3) understanding our immediate and broader social relationships, (4) understanding our cultural heritage, (5) understanding our present economic and political problems in the light of our cultural heritage, (6) understanding the meaning of democracy and our rights and duties as citizens of a democratic social order, and (7) understanding other cultures and civilizations.

If young people are to learn how to live happily and successfully in the modern world, it is certainly necessary for them to understand themselves and to develop the attitudes and skills that are essential for effective membership in the family, in the community, and in the large social and economic order of which they are a part. Since the democratic way of life can be really appreciated only by those who understand something of the cultural heritage out of which it has evolved, it is desirable that literature be used as a means of providing for young people a knowledge of that heritage. Interest surveys reveal that most high-school pupils
do a comparatively small amount of reading on domestic and world problems; it is desirable, then that through their literature experiences girls and boys be given a meaningful understanding both of the rights that democracy confers on the individual citizen and of the responsibilities that it places upon him.\textsuperscript{51}

(5) To develop the ability to appreciate and evaluate the media of motion pictures, radio, and television. The motion picture, radio, and television are among the most important agencies for the communication of information and ideas in the American society. Together they reach virtually every citizen and present their message to him so often and in such forms that he is powerless to escape it. Through all the arts of suggestion and drama, the manipulation of visual and auditory symbols and the wide use of fascinating entertainment the individual's thoughts and emotions are swept along, directed and redirected according to the prevailing theme. Of more lasting importance is the way basic conceptions are created and molded according to the social pattern.

When one considers that there are 30,000,000 persons enrolled in the schools of the United States in comparison with 99,000,000 radio sets, 15,000,000 television sets, and an annual movie attendance of 90,000,000 persons each week, it would appear that the

\textsuperscript{51}Ibid., pp. 368-71.
great educational agencies are radio, television, and theaters. What the citizens of this nation think about any broad question or issue is determined to a great extent by what these citizens read about it in their newspapers, hear about it over the radio, or see and hear about it in the movies or on television.

The above observations are fairly commonplace and obvious, yet many educators and organizations that declare themselves to be interested in improving race relations do not seem to realize the decisive influence of these agencies of mass communication in determining public attitudes. Many of the techniques of race-relations betterment have been worked out according to traditional forms of education and "converting the individual to right thinking." Such methods will lose out in the competition against the propaganda of race hatred and contempt, and the perpetuation of racial stereotypes, whose proponents employ the latest and most effective means of disseminating their message.

In view of the existing situation it is necessary that the children in today's schools be educated and equipped with the critical faculties which will enable them to recognize stereotypes, to think through racist propaganda, and to judge with accuracy the portrayal of minority groups in modern life.

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52 Figures quoted from The World Almanac, 1952.
The principal stereotypes of the Negro in the American mind, which have been perpetuated by mass communication, are (1) the devoted servant, (2) the irresponsible citizen, (3) the social delinquent, (4) the petty thief, (5) the superior athlete, (6) the natural-born cook, (7) the natural-born musician, (8) the superstitious church-goer, (9) the chicken and watermelon eater, (10) the mental inferior, and (11) the gay, carefree, happy-go-lucky individual.

Objectives for Motion-Picture Study

There are certain aims that the classroom teacher should keep in mind when taking up the formal study of the motion picture. Dale suggests these:53 (1) teaching students an awareness of the effects of movies on individuals, (2) enabling students to select movies thoughtfully, and (3) developing more varied and critical standards of motion picture viewing. According to Dale, the wise selection of a movie is just as important as the wise selection of a book; and the ability to enjoy and to evaluate a movie requires as much guidance as does the development of appreciation.

Learning to view motion pictures critically does not mean developing a fault-finding attitude. It should involve a growing

capacity to derive pleasure from worthwhile movies through a
greater understanding of dramatic techniques and technical qual-
ities of pictures. One should cultivate a greater sensitivity for
the themes and issues with which the pictures deal. The result
of such study should be genuine changes in behavior and attitude
on the part of young people toward the movies.54

Except in a commendable number of recent films, such as
"Gentleman's Agreement," "No Way Out," and "Lost Boundaries," the
movies have commonly caricatured rather than characterized the
Negro and other minority groups. Negro characters particularly
are presented as clowns or menials instead of human beings who
share the talents, aspirations, and weaknesses of members of all
other races.

Objectives for Radio Study

Radio offers the same educational experiences as books, news-
papers, magazines, the theater, and travel, and usually in a more
economical, easy, and gripping manner. Since these experiences
are presented through the ear rather than through the eye, the
student must develop new skills in listening. In general, radio
may be used to further the larger objectives of education because
it furnishes information, interests, motives, and enjoyments that

54 John J. DeBoer and Others, Teaching Secondary English,
pp. 295-303.
other educational media do not supply so efficiently or so easily. Bernice Orndorff has listed these objectives for radio study, with which most writers on the subject agree: 55

1. Exploring the social world, securing information, discovering new interests
2. Learning to think critically, to be discriminating
3. Getting acquainted with literary materials and facts
4. Understanding and enjoying literary values, appreciating personalities of artists
5. Projecting some activity, engaging in creative expression
6. Feeling social responsibility, sharing enjoyment with others
7. Acquiring skills and techniques

The objectives of learning to think critically and feeling social responsibility are of utmost importance in educating for interracial understanding. Again the thoughtful citizen must apply his critical faculties to what he hears and must dismiss that which is harmful to harmonious race relations.

The radio presents the same stereotyped presentations of the Negro as the motion picture, and the effects on the public mind apparently are quite similar. But in all fairness it must be said that radio seems to be less unfavorable to the Negro than motion

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pictures. This is the general impression, though nobody has made an adequate study of the subject.

Objectives for Television Study

The medium of television, though less than five years old, is already having a tremendous influence on the high-school students of today. Besco found that television sets were in the homes of 43.5 percent of the pupils who attended Linden-McKinley High School in 1950. The average weekly time spent looking at television by the entire group was 16.8 hours. Other data compiled by Besco led to his making this statement:

A generalization that may be drawn from the facts presented here is that television is rapidly becoming a tremendous force in the lives of young people, that it very definitely affects other activities in which girls and boys normally engage, and that it may pose for education the very real problem of helping pupils to learn how to budget their time wisely among a number of different interests and to develop the highest possible standards of taste and discrimination.

Television is on the way to becoming a powerful influence in shaping patterns of conduct, establishing language habits, developing attitudes toward home, family, and various ethnic groups. If the influence is to be wholesome and educational, it is essential that pupils become intelligent and discriminating viewers of tele-

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57 Ibid., p. 145
vision. Here is a set of objectives which an English teacher might employ in reaching this goal:

1. To develop powers of critical thinking and appreciation toward television

2. To create more intelligent standards for the selection of programs

3. To create a desire for a balance between television and other forms of leisure-time activities

4. To build broader, deeper, and growing cultural interests among boys and girls.

The teacher should help students recognize that television, like the movies, has its stereotypes, puts forth propaganda, and misrepresents certain social facts. The same standards of judgment which prevail for motion picture and radio study are generally applicable to television. This new medium of communication can do a great deal to straighten out the thinking of the American people toward minority groups; or it can further cement the already deep-rooted stereotyped impressions which the people have. It is hoped, however, that this powerful instrument, as television promises to be, may be a strong asset to the cause of democracy in race relations.
Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this chapter to point out what to this writer seems to be a sound basis for democratic education in American society by citing the various principles which are essential to democratic living. The role of the school in a democracy, if it is to help promote interracial understanding, should be to assume large responsibilities for teaching the youth of the nation facts about the various races which comprise the population of this country. If the schools of America are to prepare the youth of the nation to build a better society, there should be a large expectancy of enlightened education for racial understanding in areas where racial feeling is most intense.

The American school, if it is to inaugurate effective programs of interracial understanding must face this problem: "Will American youth and adults receive their education in schools that are designed to perpetuate the ills which beset our democracy, or be educated in schools that will place at the disposal of youth means by which they may reform their society?"

The answer to this problem is that the philosophy of all school systems should be concerned with: (1) the improvement of the student's understanding of the races of mankind, (2) the inclusion of vital experiences within the curriculum which are designed to prepare the student to cope with problems of human relationships,
and (3) the deepening of the student's insight into the social forces within the society in which he lives.

The English program can aid immeasurably in the promotion of interracial education. The skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening can all assist in promoting intergroup understanding provided the teacher is alert and knows how to integrate into the English curriculum facts about race, minority groups, and democratic living.

It may be said that the answer to the question, "How can education contribute to better race relations in the United States?" reduces itself to this statement: "By doing an effective job of general education within the democratic framework of American society."

Everything that has been said here would apply to any other question relating to education in a fundamental way. A school can hardly fail to contribute to better race relations if it succeeds in developing rich, free, and mature personalities; if it equips its students with the tools of free inquiry; if it build in them a knowledge of their society, an understanding of the dynamic forces at work in that society, and a sense of responsibility toward that society; if it enables its students to evolve a personal philosophy, set of values, and code of conduct that are basic to democratic living; and if, above all, it provides its
students with democratic experiences as well as democratic theory.

If these goals are the goals of American education, and if teachers, students, administrators, and communities are working conscientiously to implement them, education will contribute to better race relations. If those are not the goals, or if they exist on paper only and are widely violated in practice, no amount of specific attention to building better race relations through education can be expected to bear fruit.
The English program which has as one of its objectives the promotion of intergroup understanding will emphasize the study of literary materials which pertain to various ethnic groups. Through the study of poetry, short stories, essays, novels, and biographies by the writers of a particular group, one can learn the inner thoughts and feelings of these people. Through the study of similar writings by authors outside the group, one can learn how others feel toward a particular set of people — and so it is with the Negro. Therefore, in this chapter the writer will attempt to evaluate critically literature by representative white and Negro authors about Negroes. By noting the evaluative processes employed here, the teacher of English, it is hoped, will assist pupils in developing a critical attitude toward literature. Perhaps, then, they will not fall victims to the stereotyping and broad generalizations so often employed by writers. According to Sterling Brown,

The Negro has met with as great injustice in American literature as he has in American life. The majority of books about Negroes merely stereotype Negro character. Those stereotypes considered important enough for separate classification, although overlappings do occur, are seven in number: (1) The Contented Slave, (2) The Wretched Freeman, (3) The Comic Negro, (4) The Brute Negro, (5) The Tragic Mulatto, (6) The Local Color Negro, and (7) The Exotic Primitive.1

Charlemay Rollins has this to say about criteria for judging books about Negroes for young people:

The standards for selecting a book about Negroes for young people are the same as those for selecting any book: it should have literary merit and interest because of lively moving action or interest in the people and their backgrounds. The characters should have the reality of life. The underlying theme should interpret and illustrate the attitudes toward human beings that we want all people to have. All books chosen by teachers and librarians to be put on the shelves for general circulation among young people must meet these general criteria. To make sure that books about Negroes come up to established standards, we may ask some special questions about them.

1. Are the persons portrayed in the book natural or real? Or are they presented from a distorted point of view?

2. Does the book set up standards of superiority or feelings of inferiority in the minds of the young person reading it?

3. Does the book offend in some special way the sensibilities of Negroes by the way it presents either the chief character or any of the minor characters?

4. Is the book free from derisive names and epithets that would offend Negroes?

5. Do the characters speak in a language true to the period and section in which they live? Or in a dialect that is overdrawn or inconsistent? (A limited amount of dialect with some distortion of spelling is permissible, but the most satisfactory technique is the use of a distinctive word order or the idiomatic flavor of Negro speech.)

6. Does a story about modern times give a true picture of life as it is now? Or is it a nostalgic yearning for a romantic or traditional past?
7. Are the illustrations drawn by an artist of a kindly, human nature? Or are they caricatures ridiculing the race or group represented? Are they drawn with the normal proportions of the human frame? What conscious or unconscious impressions will they make on the minds of those who see them?

8. Does the book give a broader understanding of the democratic way of life without stressing differences of class, race, color, education, or religion in any inimical way?  

The treatment of the Negro character by white authors during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows a great deal of condescension, stereotyping, and indifference to realistic problems. The portrayers of the tragic mulatto handled this character with more sympathy than they accorded the dark Negro, because of the assumption that the possession of Anglo-Saxon blood indicated intelligence and cultivation. The plantation school of Thomas Nelson Page won a literary triumph rivaling that of the anti-slavery writers of the 1850's by submitting the thesis that the Negro is best adjusted as a slave and is inherently incompetent to undertake the responsibilities of citizenship. Going a step further, the white supremacy cult of Thomas Dixon propagated doctrines of unadulterated Negrophobia and sponsored the removal of the Negro population from contact with the majority group. The following account of the literary treatment and national status of the Negro near the turn of the century is given by Charles W.

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2Charlemae Rollina, *We Build Together*, p. 4.
Chesnutt, one of the leading Negro authors of that period:

Thomas Dixon was writing the Negro down industriously and with popular success. Thomas Nelson Page was disguising the harshness of slavery under the mast of sentiment. The trend of public sentiment at the moment was distinctly away from the Negro. He had not developed any real political or business standing; socially he was outcast. His musical and stage successes were still for the most part unmade, and on the whole he was a frog in a large pond, and there was a feeling of pessimism in regard to his future.3

Negro authors reacted in various ways to American caste as expressed in letters and in life. Some, choosing in certain cases to give little or no attention to controversial racial issues, wrote narratives about white people or plantation tales about Negroes; others, the majority, undertook to defend the Negro and to make a case for social justice. Let us consider first the contributions which major white authors have made to American literature through their treatment of the Negro, paying particular attention to their attitudes and the biases expressed. In order to select the various authors, both white and Negro, whose works have been discussed in some detail and evaluated here, the following criteria were used:

(1) the author's stature as a recognized figure in American literature, (2) the degree to which his works have touched upon the Negro in America, (3) the overall quality of the literary achievement of the author as revealed in his writings, and (4) the suitability for including some of these works in a modern high-school English program.

Harriet Beecher Stowe

The daughter of a famed preacher and the sister of another more famous for his antislavery sermons, Harriet Beecher Stowe grew up in religious, humanitarian surroundings. Cincinnati, where she passed most of her life, was a border city and a battle ground for antislavery and proslavery forces. Mrs. Stowe, whose home was at times a shelter for runaway slaves, for many years met and talked with the escaping fugitives as they passed through Ohio on their way still farther North. She came into intimate contact with leaders of abolitionism; she was privileged to know some of the ablest of the Negro leaders themselves, and the life histories of others. Mrs. Stowe was well fitted to write the book which should set much of the country ablaze with antislavery sentiment.

After listening to pathetic or hair-raising stories of the South, Mrs. Stowe wrote two antislavery sketches, "Immediate Emancipator" (1848) and "The Freeman's Dream" (1850). Her anger at the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law made her dissatisfied with such weak expressions, and she set out to write a passionate protest.

In 1852 when the completed serial was published in book form as Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly, its success was instantaneous. Over three hundred thousand copies were sold in America in the first year; in a very short time there were forty editions in England, and over a million and a half copies sold in the Empire.
It was translated into many foreign languages, including Bohemian, Welsh, and Siamese. It was acclaimed by George Sand, Dickens, and Kingsley, who naturally were not annoyed by the sentimentality and melodrama. Whittier rejoiced in the Fugitive Slave Law, since it gave occasion for the book. Lincoln later said to Mrs. Stowe, "So you are the little woman who brought on the great war." If this is overstatement, it is true that many of the voters who elected Lincoln in 1860 were greatly influenced by the household favorite. Tolstoy grouped it with the few masterpieces of the world, and Howells considered it the only great American novel produced before the Civil War. F. L. Pattee makes this excellent critical judgment of the book:

Uncle Tom's Cabin was written by one ... who drew her materials largely from her feelings and her imagination, and made instead of a transcript of actual life, a book of religious emotion, a swift, unnatural succession of picturesque scene and incident, an improvisation of lyrical passion — a melodrama.\(^4\)

Despite its tremendous influence, however, we of today find little to admire in Uncle Tom's Cabin — at least as a work of art. It is technically faulty, crudely didactic, and anything but a true reflection of life. Although realistic in spots, it is not true to local scene and character. Its effective scenes succeed because of the sentiment behind them, not because they are convincing accounts of what once actually happened upon a particular Southern plantation.

The novel is comprehensive in that it treats the whole matter of Negro slavery by personifying the forces at work. Perhaps Mrs. Stowe did not intend to personify anything; perhaps her readers did not realize that she had done so. Nevertheless, Simon Legree is not a man; he is the personification of the evil of slavery. Little Eva is no normal child; she is the personification of the good in the master class protesting against slavery. Even Uncle Tom himself, human though he seems at times, is no realistic Negro, but the personification of the slave in noble protest against degradation. Almost every character serves a didactic purpose; each is an embodied abolitionist theory. Even the almost realistic Topsy evidently illustrates the belief that there is no slave, however irresponsible and frivolous, who cannot be redeemed through love. Other arguments, evident at a glance, are incorporated in Madame St. Clare, Miss Ophelia, Eliza, and George Shelby.

An examination of Mrs. Stowe's slave characters shows them to be a kind of hybrid folk, drawn partly from her imagination and partly from the observation of Negro servants in her own household. In the main, principal characters like Uncle Tom, George Harris, and Eliza are primarily creatures of her fancy; in the main too, her minor ones like Topsy and Sam are sketched largely from observation. Yet the latter are not based firmly enough on truth to be representative.
Certainly in real life few, if any, Negroes talked like Uncle Tom or Aunt Chloe, whose phraseology is full of inconsistencies and false notes, realistic in spots but unsustained. Consider the famous scene of the death of Uncle Tom:

Something in the voice penetrated to the ear of the dying. He moved his head gently, smiled, and said, --

"Jesus can make a dying bed
Feel soft as downy pillows are."

Tears which did honor to his many heart fell from the young man's eyes, as he bent over his poor friend.

"Oh, dear Uncle Tom! do wake -- do speak once more! Here's Mas'r George, -- your own little Mas'r George. Don't you know me?"

"Mas'r George!" said Tom, opening his eyes, and speaking in a feeble voice. "Mas'r George!" He looked bewildered.

Slowly the idea seemed to fill his soul; and the vacant eye became fixed and brightened, the whole face lighted up, the hard hands clasped, and tears ran down his cheeks.

"Bless the Lord! it is, -- it is, -- it's all I wanted! They haven't forgot me. It warms my soul; it does my old heart good! Now I shall die content! Bless the Lord, oh, my soul!"

There is very little realism in this passage — nothing to suggest the dialectal tongue of the uneducated slave; but sentimentality it has in abundance, and it was sentimentality that the author substituted for realism. Notice this use of it:

5Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 155.
Topsy made a short courtesy, and looked down; and, as she turned away, Eva saw a tear roll down her dark cheek.®

On the other hand, Mrs. Stowe showed flashes of understanding. Sometimes scraps of dialect are passable — expressions like "dat's what I wants to know," "dis yer time," and "tell 'em dat."

Unquestionably Mrs. Stowe visualized Uncle Tom — that we cannot doubt — but just as unquestionably no such gentle soul ever existed on a real plantation. He is the product which resulted from Mrs. Stowe's theories about the Negro and her somewhat slender store of fact. Genuinely noble at heart, he exhibits most of humanity's virtues and none of its vices. Faithful, patient, forgiving, religious almost to the point of sainthood, he appears altogether too good to be human — and is, in fact, an artificial hero who, in an age of an artificial romance and abolitionism, passed for the epitome of all Negro virtues. This, in a way, explains the greatness of the character. From one point of view, Uncle Tom is greater than if he had been real — he is the embodiment of a great ideal.

Mrs. Stowe's second novel, Dred, is more gruesome and gloomy, but a more powerfully written book than Uncle Tom. Its pages are pervaded by the haunting mysticism of the hero; and despite its sentimentality, its crudeness in motivation and its artificially designed plot, Dred frequently gets hold of the reader, grips his

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®Ibid., p. 93.
attention and forces him to continue.

Proposing to show the general effect of slavery on society or, more specifically, its disastrous effect on the master class, Mrs. Stowe resorted to the cut-and-dried methods of her earlier work — in fact, repeating much from that earlier work. Like George and Eliza, Harry and his wife are almost white. Tom Gordon is another Legree — in some ways more abominable. Little Tomtil suggests Topsy; the Negroes remind one of the members of the St. Clare household. Moreover, there is the same evident aim to show at once the attractive and the tragic side of slave life by going to extremes both ways.

Dred personifies the sterner side of the Negro, the soul of the race in protest against slavery. He is a warning to whites that holding a people in bondage may not always be safe — that all captives are not Uncle Toms and old Tiffs. Uncle Tom had made the sentimental appeal of the Christian murdered by a brutal master; Dred made the more austere appeal of the intelligent bondsman aroused to righteous anger. Needless to say, the former proved more potent, so that Dred never remotely rivaled Uncle Tom's Cabin in popularity.

With all her faults, Mrs. Stowe is to be commended in many respects. The undeveloped state of the novel and the literary tastes of the 'fifties were partly responsible for her artistic defects.
As a reformer she was less partisan and bitter than most of her co-workers. It is to her credit that she tried to be fair in her accounts of slavery — to show the softer aspects as well as the evils. Even though Uncle Tom and Dred are not true to life, the fault was not with Mrs. Stowe's honesty; for, faithful to her imagination, she presented the Negro as she knew him or thought she knew him.

Whatever may be said of his imperfections, Uncle Tom himself at least has rubbed elbows with the immortals of fiction and for many years now has made much stir in the world. It is doubtful whether the character is strong enough in itself to remain in the company of the elect, yet Uncle Tom may live on because of historical interest — because once upon a time, fictional character though he was, he helped settle the destiny of a great nation.7

Thomas Nelson Page

Among a school of post-Civil War writers which included Grace Elizabeth King, Ruth McEnery Stuart, Thomas Dixon, James Lane Allen, Maurice Thompson, Harry Stillwell Edwards, Joel Chandler Harris, Walter Hines Page, and F. Hopkinson Smith, Thomas Nelson Page stood out as the leading portrayer of what has been sentimentally called "the unspeakable charm that lived and died with the old South."

In such volumes as *In Ole Virginia, or Marse Chan and Other Stories* (1887), *The Old South: Essays Social and Political* (1892), and *Social Life in Old Virginia* (1897), Page, adopting a condescending and smiling attitude, creates an appealing plantation scene: a stately mansion presided over by lovely ladies and gallant gentlemen, who wear imported finery, enjoy horse-racing and other genteel diversions, and dispense prodigious hospitality. The attitude of these cavaliers toward their slaves is cordial, kindly, and devoted. The contented bondmen appear proudly engaged as servants in the big house or as laborers in the fields. Near the quarters are prankish pickaninnies romping gleefully in youthful abandon and old darkies resting comfortably in their declining years. Particularly emphasized is the loyal relationship between the master and the servant, the mistress and the maid, and the Negro mammy and her charges. The slave receives commendatory treatment for showing courage, fortitude, and self-sacrifice in relieving the destitution and distress of the Southern aristocracy during and after the war. In general, however, the Negro is presented as a simple, contented, comic, credulous, picturesque, and sometimes philosophical character, gifted in singing, dancing, tale-telling, and reuniting estranged white lovers. Such is the picture of the Southern plantation provided by Page, of whom Gaines says, in comparing him with Joel Chandler Harris:
The Virginian is, however, far more passionate in the maintenance of a hypothesis of departed glory, paints in more glowing colors, is uniformly more idealistic, descends less frequently — if ever — from the heights of romantic vision; in short, he expresses the supreme glorification of the old regime, he "wrote the epitaph of a civilization."8

Despite obvious tricks of literary endearment, the sentimental plantation vogue sponsored by Page and his associates attracted an extensive reading public, including a large number of reconciled and kindly disposed Northerners, and literally submerged the limited pro-Negro literature of the time. "Abolitionism," as Gaines notes, "was swept from the field; it was more than routed, it was tortured, scalped, 'mopped up.'"9

Page, however, was more than the retrospective romancer of a vanished civilization; he was also the partisan defender of the patriarchal South. In the latter capacity he helped bring about disfranchisement and other restrictions applied to Negroes, who were portrayed as maladjusted or dangerous after emancipation. "How Andrew Carried the Precinct," a short story which appears in Pastime Stories (1894), presents a mulatto politician who would have won an election over a white man if the latter's black servant had not intervened. Red Rock (1898), a novel, berates scalawags, carpetbaggers, Negro politicians, and Northern missionaries, and


9Ibid., p. 77.
idealizes Southern blue-bloods for nobility in adversity as well as in prosperity. In Red Rock, Moses, a mixed-blood character depicted as the incarnation of the black peril, is eventually lynched for several crimes "sufficiently heinous to entitle him to be classed as one of the greatest scoundrels in the world."

In "The Negro Question," an essay in The Old South (1892), Page marshals references in an effort to demonstrate that the black man, being unprogressive as well as mentally and socially inferior, is unprepared to assume the unlimited enjoyment of citizenship:

These examples cited, if they establish anything, establish the fact that the Negro race does not possess, in any development which he has yet attained, the elements of character, the essential qualifications to conduct a government, even for himself, and that if the reins of government be intrusted to his unaided hands, he will fling reason to the winds and drive to ruin.10

However, because he was convinced that schooling made freedmen more useful members of society, Page advocated elementary education for all Negroes and higher training for those who proved themselves worthy.11 He was particularly fond of Booker T. Washington, to whom he refers as

one who is possibly esteemed at the South the wisest and sanest man of color in the country, and who has, perhaps, done more than any other to carry out the ideas


that the Southern well-wishers of his race believe to be the soundest and most promising of good results.\textsuperscript{12}

The Negro in a superior position, however, was more than Page could tolerate:

\begin{quote}
We have educated him; we have aided him; we have sustained him in all directions. We are ready to continue our aid; but we will not be dominated by him. When we shall be, it is our settled conviction that we shall deserve the degradation to which we have sunk.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

By birth and training Page was an aristocrat, and he wrote as one. The scion of an old Virginia family, Page lived at a time when the generation of gentlemen planters was giving way before the new tribe of business men and commercial folk. The society which his kindred had erected was not only vanishing from the actual world, but as he feared, from the memories of men. Page felt it a duty to interpret a glorious past to an uncomprehending world; much of what he wrote is an artistic defense of the old regime. The defense is, to be sure, worthwhile literature, but in writing it Page was not so much the literary artist as the faithful historian of Virginia's "first families."

The stories which comprise the volume \textit{In Ole Virginia} — "Marse Chan," "Unc' Edinburg's Drownin', "Meh Lady" — are excellent pieces of literature. Page never again reached the high level of this work.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{12}Ibid., pp. 5-6.
\bibitem{13}Thomas Nelson Page, \textit{The Old South}, p. 344.
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As the years passed he repeated himself with increasing ineffectiveness; and although most of his later books are fairly commendable, never again did one come so near to showing genius. His most polemical work is the novel Red Rock, "a chronicle of reconstruction," which is so evidently partisan that it fails completely as art.

Page is most successful with the Negro when he considers him as a part of the past. The freedmen he drew no better than did others. His Negro cut off from an all-absorbing past or from association with aristocratic whites is one-sided and usually overdrawn. Uncle Jabe of "Uncle Jabe's Marital Experiences" might do for the comic stage or the joke book, but that is all. Old Hanover of "P'Laski's Tournament" and George Washington of "George Washington's Last Duel" may serve to amuse us, but both are unreal. Page was unsuccessful, too, in portraying the Negro woman; none of the remembered mammies of fiction are from his pen.

Page was at his best only when describing life in a patriarchal and feudal South. When the slaves can live over again in memory the humble but at the same time important role of the past, when he is the spokesman through whom we learn of those past days of glory, then he is likable -- then he is Page's triumph. Even
at best, however, he is scarcely individualized. Page created no
great characters, but rather reproduced types — especially one
notable type, best represented by Sam of "Marse Chan" and Billy of
"Meh Lady." These paragons of the race are what Page thinks the
Negro should be, the attitude he should take, and the dependence
he should show toward plantation life. In this way these old Negroes
are gentlemen, and they know their place in respect to the whites.

We can say fairly of Page, then, that in his romancer's way he
portrayed well a certain aspect of the American Negro, a side best
exemplified in the household slave of the aristocratic Virginia
planters. His devotion to a beloved master, his pride in the
"family," his scorn of both blacks and whites who are not of the
best quality, his courteous manners — all this Page clearly
emphasized; but his romantic illusion would not allow him to
penetrate further. It would not allow him the sublety necessary
to lay bare the more complex nature of the real Negro. Page did
not consider the Negro a sufficient interest in himself and failed
to set him forth subjectively except in the one mood of regretting
emancipation and the passing of "the good old days." He could not
consider him apart from the past and from a white master class.
Page has achieved enduring fame as the loyal defender of Virginia
plantation life before the War, as the romantic interpreter of a
society in which there was much that is beautiful and noble, even as the genial painter of the Negro in a certain mood; he is not likely, however, to pass into history as a great creator of distinctive and life-like Negro characters.

Joel Chandler Harris

It was from his early experience around the slave quarters that Joel Chandler Harris started his trip to literary immortality. As a lonely boy, shy with people of his own race, he turned for companionship to the cabins on a Georgia plantation. There he met Uncle George Terrell, the original of Uncle Remus; there he started his long study of Negro lore, and there he learned something of the story-telling art and something of his wisdom. For years the slaves had been telling fables of Brer Rabbitt, Brer Fox, and Brer Terrapin, some of the stories having come from Africa. But no one had dug in this mine before Harris. A true artist, he recognized the value of what he found. However, he is more than a reteller; he altered, adapted, polished, and sharpened until the products differ from folk tales. For all the fascination of Brer Rabbit and company, the fabler is stressed more than the characters. Instead of being by the folk for the folk, Uncle Remus tells the stories to entertain a white child. Harris lost something authentic when he adopted this framework, but he gained Uncle Remus — and Uncle Remus was
worth gaining. By no means the typical product of slavery, as Harris implies, he was finely conceived: a venerable, pampered Negro with a gift for quaint philosophizing, for poetic speech, and having only pleasant memories; he is one of the best-like characters in American literature.

In folk-idiom, the tales are kept close to the people. No author before Harris had recorded Negro dialect with anything like his skill. Walter Hines Page stated: "I have Mr. Harris' word for it that he can think in the Negro dialect. He could translate even Emerson, perhaps Bronson Alcott in it..." A random excerpt will reveal this ability:

Bimeby, one day, after Brer Fox bin doin' all dat he could fer ter ketch Brer Rabbit, en Brer Rabbit bin doin' all he could fer to keep 'im fum it, Brer Fox say to hisse'f dat he'd put up a game on Brer Rabbit, en he ain't mo'n got de words out'n his mouf twel Brer Rabbit come a lopin' up de big road, lookin' des ez plump en ez fat, en ez sassy es a Moggin hoss in a barley patch...

"All right, Brer Fox, but you better holler fum whar you stan'. I'm monstus full er fleas dis mawnin'," sez Brer Rabbit, sezee.15

Strewn through the stories is much local color, well-observed and true. Fine turns of speech reveal the slave's mind. The use of Brer Rabbit as the hero is noteworthy. Forced to pit his cunning

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15 Joel Chandler Harris, Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings, p. 76.
against enemies of greater physical strength, he was perhaps a symbol for people who needed craft in order to survive. But whether victor over Brer Wolf, or victim to the Tarbaby, he is a likeable scamp, who has come loping "lickety-split" down the years.

Before finishing his long cycle of tales, Uncle Remus revealed himself more thoroughly than any preceding Negro character. But Harris was a journalist, as well as a writer of fiction, and he was called upon to give his version of the critical times. It was here that his ability to translate anything into Negro dialect was misused. He made Uncle Remus the mouthpiece for defending orthodox Southern attitudes. Needless to say, Uncle Remus diminishes in stature; he becomes less a man, more a walking delegate. The old man keeps his hat in his hand too much. He defends the glory of the Old South, he overly admires his white folks, and he satirizes education for Negroes:

Hit's de ruinashun er dis country... Put a spellin'-book in a nigger's han's, en right den en dar' you loozes a plowhand... What's a nigger gwine ter larn ou'ten books? I kin take a bar'l stave an' fling mo' sense inter a nigger in one minnit dan all de schoolhouses betwixt dis en de State er Midgigin... Wid one bar'l stave I kin fa'ry lif' de vail er ignunce.16

When Negroes migrated for better working conditions, or out of fear, Uncle Remus almost frantically begs them to "stay off them

16 Ibid., p. 256.
That an old Negro, spoiled by his white folks and patronized by Southern journalists, might say what his hearers want to hear, and even believe it, is quite probable. But as racial adviser, Uncle Remus forfeits all trust in him; he is too fluently the mouthpiece of Southern policy. He did better telling how Brer Rabbit fooled Brer Fox by slick talk, or when he said: "Watch out we'en you'er gittin' all you want. Fattenin' hogs ain't in luck."

Many of Harris's other stories repeat usual characters in usual situations. In "Aunt Fountain's Prisoner" the old Auntie saves a Yankee's life and presides over his successful courtship of a Southern girl. "Mingo" tells of a slave of "meritorious humility, a cut above the Negroes who accepted freedom." In "Balaam and His Master," Balaam, of a "fearlessness rare among slaves" fights alongside his roistering master in tavern brawls and digs a hole in the wall of a jail to be near him. Although Ananias is mean looking, his sacrifice for his master, ruined by the War, proves him to be a familiar figure with a new face. Like the typical Southern authors of his time, Harris does not show the Negro who would fight or work or exercise his wits in his own cause.

A few runaways and freed Negroes attracted his attention. Free Betsy in Sister Jane and Mink in On the Plantation are as devoted to their little missy and massa, however, as Uncle Remus. "Free Joe"
is the pathetic story of a freed Negro, feared by the whites and avoided, but hardly envied, by the slaves. After his wife was sold by a master well nicknamed Old Spite and his faithful little dog was killed by Old Spite's hounds, he dies, hearbroken. Humane and intelligent, Harris uses "Free Joe" to attack the popular notion that Negroes always "grin at trouble." The forces making a free Negro an outcast are clearly indicated. But steadfast Southerners could use Joe's shiftlessness to prove that a freed Negro could not stand alone, and Harris's picture of the laughing, singing slaves who despised Free Joe might bear them out. Joe is certainly not a typical free Negro, but the sympathy in his portrait is deeper than any of Harris's contemporaries dared show.

"Mom Bi" tells of an unusual mammy. In spite of her withered arm, Mom Bi is a black Amazon, with eyes that "shone like those of a wild animal not afraid of the hunter." She was not religious:

Ef de Lawd call me in de chu'ch I gwine, ef he no call I no gwine, enty? I no yerry him call dis long time...17

Whoever crossed her — white or black, old or young — got a "piece of her mind." She outspokenly scorns the South Carolina "sandhillers" or "Tackies," and laughs at them for going to war to "fight for rich folks' niggers." In the Civil War she is a grim prophet of Yankee victory, and, therefore, is considered a lunatic.

17 Quoted in Sterling Brown, The Negro in American Fiction, p. 56.
Again, however, Harris cannot shake off the heavy hand of tradition. Mom Bi forgives the sale of her daughter Maria, but is grieved that her young master Gabriel was killed in battle, fighting alongside poor white folks. Emancipated, she goes down to live with Maria, her daughter. When smallpox kills Maria and her children, Mom Bi returns (as do most of the Negroes whom Harris likes) to the old homeplace. "I done come back," says she. "I bin come back fer stay, but I free, dough!"18

Like "Mom Bi," "Blue Dave" promises much more than it gives. Dave, an inky black, powerfully built runaway, has become a legend for fearlessness and terrorism before the story opens. In the story proper, however, we merely get a Hercules devoted to a family because the young master resembles a former Virginian owner. Dave has said repeatedly that slavery "ain't no home for me," but he is bought by the family he has served, and lives happily ever after as a model slave.

"Where's Duncan," more than any other of Harris's stories, touches upon the sinister and repellent. A swarthy, dark-bearded vagabond fiddler tells mysteriously of a planter who sold his son to a trader. The last scene shows an old mansion afire; in the light of the flames, a mulatto woman cries out "Where's Duncan?" and stabs the white father of her son with a carving knife.

18 Ibid.
Crookedleg Jake saw Duncan, the fiddler, sitting in a corner, seemingly enjoying the spectacle.

The last story shows that Harris saw in slavery something more than eternal bliss; he knew that there was hatred as well as mutual affection, the ugly as well as the pleasant. With all of his value as a realist, Harris never came fully to grips with the reality of the South or of Negro experience. He was a kindly man and wished the wounds of the war bound up. He could give some praise to Negroes struggling to achieve property and education. But he was a Southerner living in troubled times; therefore, his fiction invariably glorified the faithful, self-denying slave of the old South, for whom the old ways of slavery were the best. He achieved a fine portrait in Uncle Remus — truly one of the great products of American literature — but Uncle Remus had brothers and children of a different stamp, whom Harris touched gingerly, if at all. Harris came a good distance down the road toward fairness, compared with Thomas Nelson Page. But compared with George Washington Cable and Mark Twain, he still lagged behind.

George Washington Cable

In the fiction of Thomas Nelson Page and Thomas Dixon the mixed-blood is portrayed as the embodiment of the worst qualities of both races and hence as a menace to the dominant group. Other writers in
varying degrees were sometimes sympathetic toward the Negro-white hybrid because of his possession of Caucasian blood, which they often considered as a factor that automatically made this character the superior of the darker Negro and, therefore, a more pitiable individual. Hence the tragic mulatto, thwarted in social progress because of Negro blood, became one of the popular characters of American fiction; and it was in portrayals of this personage that white writers made their most significant departures from the plantation tradition.

A native of New Orleans and a Confederate veteran, George W. Cable was an understanding novelist of this phase of racial life. The first major Southern writer of fiction to undertake an impartial representation of Negro experience, he was particularly fascinated, not by the freedmen of reconstruction, but by the exotic gens de couleur of Louisiana during the early 1800's. In the lives of these persons of mixed blood, as Old Creole Days (1879) and The Grandissimes (1880) illustrate, Cable discovered distinctive subjects for local color and romance.

A collection of short stories, Old Creole Days contains two narratives which are noteworthy for their interpretation of problems of the color line. The first is "'Tite Poulette," in which quadroon Madame John, former mistress of a Louisiana gentleman, pretends that
her beautiful near-white daughter, 'Tite Poulette, is the child of Spaniards in order that the girl may marry a Dutchman. A dramatic situation develops in the conflict between the world-wise mother, who is resolved that her daughter shall not bear the burden of color, and self-sacrificing 'Tite Poulette, who is not inclined to wed a white man because of customs and laws forbidding intermarriage. The second is "Madame Delphine," in which a mother again conceals the African blood of her daughter so that the girl may wed a white suitor. When the relatives of the man threaten to reveal his criminal record as a pirate if he will not renounce his fiancee, the girl resignedly grieves but later gains happiness when Madame Delphine offers affidavits to disprove her motherhood and thus to safeguard her daughter's marriage to a white man.

The Grandissimes, a novel, provides further sympathetic treatment of mixed-bloods in old Louisiana. Numa Grandissime has two sons, the older illegitimate and colored and the younger legitimate and white, each bearing the name Honore. Numa educates both and, unwilling to discriminate against the former, bequeaths the larger share of his property to the elder son. Although the brothers get along well together as business operators in New Orleans, Honore, free man of color, miserable because of his racial status and his unsuccessful wooing of Palmyre, a beautiful mulatto, eventually
ends his own life.

Cable's fiction shows full acquaintance with folk-songs, speech, lore and superstition, but unlike his contemporaries, Page and Harris, he does not use the material to support old traditions. Unlike the practitioners of the plantation tradition, Cable faced the facts of race and caste in the Southern setting which he described. Although Cable helped to establish the tragic mulatto stereotypes, his portraits of this caste are drawn from a specific situation in the past more pronounced in New Orleans though widespread in the South. The stereotype has fascinated later writers who followed Cable's path.

Mark Twain

Like George W. Cable, Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) was of Southern birth and upbringing, served in the Confederate Army, spent much of his life in the North, and showed a more realistic knowledge of the South than did the writers of the plantation school. Cable and Twain lectured together, both had sympathies for the underdog, and both attacked the slave tradition of the South. Mark Twain insisted that he was almost without race prejudice and that the color brown was a most beautiful and satisfying complexion. He was also quite fond of the Negro spiritual. In his youth he grew up with slave boys as playmates; in his manhood
he paid a Negro student's way through Yale.

Twain's first treatment of Negroes in *The Gilded Age* (1873) is largely traditional. The slaves are highly religious and faithful servants of Squire Hawkins and his family. The militant side of the Negro is revealed in this conversation between Senator Dilworthy and Colonel Sellers:

"You can't do much with 'em," interrupted Col. Sellers. "They are a speculating race, sir, disinclined to work for white folks without security, planning how to live by only working for themselves. Idle, sir, there's my garden just a ruin of weeds. Nothing practical in 'em."

"There is some truth in your observation, Colonel, but you must educate them."

"You educate the Nigger and you make him more speculating than he was before. If he won't stick to any industry except for himself now, what will he do then?"

"But, Colonel, the negro when educated will be more able to make his speculations fruitful."\(^{19}\)

In *Huckleberry Finn* (1884) the callousness of the South to the Negro is indicated briefly, without preaching, but impellingly. Huck informs Aunt Polly that a steamboat blew out a cylinder head:

"Good gracious! anybody hurt?"

"No'm. Killed a nigger."

"Well, it's lucky because sometimes people do get hurt..."\(^{20}\)

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In this book Twain deepens the characterization of Jim, who, like Tom and Huck and the rest of that company, was drawn from life. He is no longer the simple-minded, mysterious guide in the ways of dead cats, doodle-bugs, and signs of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Running away from old Miss Watson, who "pecks on" him all the time, treats him "pooty rough," and wants a trader's eight hundred dollars for him, Jim joins Huck on the immortal journey down the Mississippi. His talks enliven the voyage. He is at his comic best in speaking of his experience with high finance — he once owned fourteen dollars. At one point Jim says:

Yes, en I's rich now, come to look at it. I owns myself en I's wuth eight hund'd dollars. I wisht I had de money, I wouldn't want no mo'.

But he did want more. He wanted to get to a free state, to work, and to save money so that he could buy his wife. Then they would both work to buy their children, or get an abolitionist to go steal them. Huck is startled at such thoughts — torn between what he had been taught was moral and his deep friendship for the runaway slave.

Jim is the best example in nineteenth-century fiction of the average Negro slave, illiterate, superstitious, yet clinging to his hope for freedom and to his love for his children. Jim is

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quite believable, whether arguing that Frenchmen should talk like people, doing most of the work on the raft, or sympathizing with the Dauphin, who, since America has no kings, "cain't git no sit-
uation." He tells of his little daughter, whom he had struck, not knowing she disobeyed because she had become deaf from scarlet fever:

> En all uv a sudden I says pow! jis' as loud as I could yell. She never budge! Oh, Huck, I bust out a-cryin' en I grab her up in my arms, en say, "Oh de po' little thing! De Lord God Almighty forgive po' ole Jim, kaze he never gwine to forgive hisself as long's he live!" Oh, she was plumb deaf en dumb, Huck, plum deaf en dumb — en I'd been a-treatin' her so.  

It should be mentioned here that objections have been made to Twain's treatment of Negro characters. Charlemae Rollins expresses this opinion:

> Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, by Mark Twain, are acknowledged classics of childhood; their literary quality is unquestioned and fully appreciated... Twain has been described as an accurate observer of American life, but it is distressing to Negroes to read his books because of the derogatory attitude of all the white characters toward Negroes and because of the frequent use of the words "nigger," "dary," and "coon."  

> Books which contain stereotyped Negro characters may perpetuate undesirable attitudes unless young people can be guided to see the characters, not as typical of all Negroes, but as individuals. There

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22Ibid., p. 178.

23Charlemae Rollins, op. cit., p. 11.
are as many different kinds of Negroes as there are kinds of other people. Negro characters must be understood in their settings or as the reflection of a certain period. Books which present Negro characters that might not be admired should be balanced by those that present other phases of Negro life.

Twain's last novel which concerns Negroes is *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), with its unforgettable account of Roxana and her white baby. Roxana, who is indistinguishable from white, becomes the mother of a boy, Valet de Chambre, by a white aristocrat on the same day that his wife gives birth to a son, Thomas à Becket Driscoll. In order to save the baby from slavery, Roxy exchanges the two. This deception results in the white boy's succumbing to the degrading influence of slavery, Roxy's son growing up as a dissolute and criminal aristocrat and Roxy herself being sold "down the river" by her own offspring. This narrative furnishes a penetrating study of the influence of environment in determining the development of a person. Twain also describes well the evil and degrading influences of slavery, and he has little good to say for it.

**Since the Nineteenth Century**

After the nineteenth century, the number of fictional mammies and uncles, plowboys and dusky swains, already enormous, continued to grow, until now, as one looks back in review, the spectacle
appears bewildering. Negro characters are no longer novelties—they exist by the thousands. In novels, plays, stories, and sketches, every year the inevitable Negro servant is present, ready to usher in the guest or deliver a message or bring in the tea. The droll funmaker, more lifelike than the mid-nineteenth century stereotype, but still the buffoon, lingers on, none the less popular, it seems because his remarks are old or his traits long conventionalized. Story tellers of the Uncle Remus type, although becoming less common, appear now and again; the Page butler or dignified body servant still talks of "de days befo' de Wah."

In addition, a new figure has come upon the scene: the Negro of the present generation, ambitious, demanding recognition, and determined to fight for a place in the sun. To discuss all these systematically and thoroughly would be impractical here; all that can be attempted is a brief survey of what has happened and what is happening to the type.

From a purely artistic standpoint, not much advance was made in portraying the Negro until the past two decades. More serious portrayals have appeared—stories more tragedy laden, showing the Negro in a woeful plight; there have been more consistent attempts to keep away from the past and to center attention on the spirituality of the man. Such writers as William Faulkner and T. S.
Stribling throw aside much of the patronizing air of the white author — a significant step forward. The newer Negro is, from one point of view, more striking. He is sterner and more enigmatic — a disquieting figure whose prototype from life is yet to be reckoned with as he contends for the higher achievements in life. He provokes one to think and is a forcible argument against racial discrimination; yet, for the white man of letters, he has, so far, proved less attractive than the old.

DuBose Heyward

An able local-colorist, DuBose Heyward was sensitive and sympathetic in his portrayal of Negro life in Charleston, South Carolina. In the novel Porgy (1925), now better known as the musical "Porgy and Bess," a poem at the outset pleads for "great hearts to understand." Heyward's characterization is admirable; he has observed a great deal, and he sees the pity as well as the laughter. The hero is Porgy, a crippled beggar, whose love for Bess regenerates her. The setting is Catfish Row, a squalid tenement; the spirituals, the folk-speech, the steamboat picnic, and the fear of the "white" law are described with poetic realism. A beautiful passage is the description of the September storm when Catfish Row sends out its doomed riders to the sea. The finale of the novel, presenting a Negro as a tragic hero, is worth noting:
The keen autumn sun flooded boldly through the entrance and bathed the drooping form of the goat, the ridiculous wagon, and the bent form of the man in hard satirical radiance. In its revealing light, Maria saw that Porgy was an old man. The early tension that had characterized him, the mellow mood that he had known for one eventful summer, both had gone; and in their place she saw a face that sagged wearily... She looked until she could bear the sight no longer; then she stumbled into her shop and closed the door, leaving Porgy and the goat alone in an irony of morning sunlight. 24

The same willingness to see Negroes as heroic is also in Mamba's Daughters (1925). Heyward gives a heart-warming chronicle of two women, Mamba and Hagar, whose selfless devotion to Lissa transcends the usual characterization of Negroes. Mamba is the untraditional mammy: sly, ironic, and ambitious for her own. Hagar is an illiterate and grotesque Amazon, who attains nobility in her fierce laboring and fighting for her daughter. Lissa, who owes her career as a singer to Mamba's leadership and Hagar's sacrifices, does not reach the stature of either of these; nevertheless, she is a new figure among Negro characters in literature. Heyward's setting — Catfish Row, the phosphate mines, upper Negro circles striving for gentility — is conveyed with insight and authenticity. Despite a few incidents of exaggerated humor, the tone is generally serious. The exploitation in the mines and the travesty of justice meted out to the Negro are dispassionately conveyed.

24DuBose Heyward, Porgy, p. 310.
Another South Carolinian, Julia Peterkin, is like DuBose Heyward in her intimacy with her material and in her dealing with Negroes as foreground and not as background types. Only occasionally do white people enter her narratives. Here are Negroes seen in terms of their own quite important lives. Mrs. Peterkin, who is the mistress of a plantation like the Blue Brook Plantation of her fiction, has this to say about her Negro characters: "I like them. They are my friends, and I have learned so much from them."

Green Thursday (1924) bears witness to her liking for these people. It is a simple and touching group of short stories. Kildee, the central figure, with his growing love for Missie; Rose, cross, but likeable and human; and Maum Hannah, who burned the new house of the people who were dispossessing her, are all pictured with tenderness and insight. Folk-beliefs and ways are set down without condescension; the speech is Gullah (Geechee) dialect; and the description of natural scenery is done with beauty and originality. Green Thursday has been referred to as a minor classic.

Black April (1927) differs from Mrs. Peterkin's first novel. Although the upbringing of the boy Breeze has the simplicity and poetry of Green Thursday, the novel is, at times, violently primitive. In spite of the church, Blue Brook Plantation is amoral. The
foreman, Black April, is a great man for working and fighting and a
greater man for promiscuity. His "outside" children far outnumber
what he calls his "yard children." The book furnishes a storehouse
of folk-lore, an array of signs and folk-cures, which alternate with
scenes of hunting, fishing, fighting, conversion, and love-making.

**Scarlet Sister Mary** (1928) won for Mrs. Peterkin the Pulitzer
Prize. There is no denying the grasp of her material nor the power
of certain scenes in this work, but something just as noticeable is
the increasing accent upon exotic primitivity. Sister Mary —
abandoned by July, who is wild and footloose — becomes the scarlet
woman of the quarters, having love-affairs and love-children with
startling regularity. Mary’s pagan freedom endears her to Mrs.
Peterkin, who seems to deplore Puritan hypocrisy. The book has
lapses into condescension and triteness; but nevertheless is an
excellent novel.

**Bright Skin** (1932) is not so concerned with the plantation
birth-rate as with the death-rate, which is very high from violent
causes. A quiet death in bed seems as unusual for these folk as
for ancient primitive tribes. Mrs. Peterkin is less sympathetic to
Cricket, the bright-skin, and to bizarre Harlem, than to Blue, the
pure-type Negro and primitive of Blue Brook. Mrs. Peterkin, acclaimed
by her publishers as the "outstanding chronicler of the American
black man's life," in *Roll Jordan, Roll* (1933) advances trite
generalizations, writes in the pro-slavery tradition, and is more
concerned with apologies for white Southerners than with revela-
tions of Negro character. The picture she gives is one of pastoral
simplicity and happiness, away from the evils of industrialism.
Poverty, ignorance, disease, and exploitation are lightly touched
upon or omitted. The tone of the novel is reflected in this quo-
tation: "Better to be poor and black and contented with whatever
God sends than to be vast-rich and restless."

It can be safely said of Mrs. Peterkin that she is a plantation
mistress who sees with sympathy and intimacy a few Negro characters
in a restricted segment of South Carolina, all from a highly special-
ized point of view.

William Faulkner

In his voluminous writing, William Faulkner has scored a singular
success in his handling of the Negro. He is a naturalist and sees
humanity in a harsh light; he is keenly aware of the many problems
of caste and race in the South. Usually he views Southern society
with a steady eye, portraying both races without the traditional
preconceptions. Faulkner sees the Negro as the lasting element of
our civilization,
because he loved the old few simple things which no one wanted to take from him:... a little of music (his own), a hearth, not his child but any child, a God a heaven which a man may avail himself a little of at any time without having to wait to die, a little earth for his own sweat to fall on among his own green shoots and plants.25

This attitude is one which becomes increasingly apparent to the reader examining the overall ideology of Faulkner's work. It is, in essence, Faulkner's particular application of the "noble" or "heroic savage" and "naturalistic" concepts.

It becomes evident in his later works that Faulkner is setting up a scale of values: People who follow the simple, primal drive of primitive societal life are more likely to survive than those people who have been corrupted by the false and degenerating stimuli of modern life. This view is particularly apparent in The Sound and the Fury (1929), in which the crumbling Compson family, beset with dipsomania, nymphomania, introversion, idiocy, neuroticism, suicide, and moral ignorance comes to an ignominious and ironic end, completely dependent upon the stolid, enduring, and persevering Negroes — Dilsey, T.P., Versh, and Luster — to whom Faulkner pays one of his highest compliments when he write to them in a special foreword the single sentence, "They endured."

In Intruder in the Dust (1948) it is the old Negro, Lucas

25 William Faulkner, Intruder in the Dust, p. 156.
Beauchamp, who endures the imminent danger of lynching and emerges unyielding, free, and stolid to the very end.

_These Thirteen_ (1931) contains "Dry September" and "That Evening Sun," stories that deal with Negro life. The former is a powerful lynching story, but the stress is less upon the victim than upon the psychology of the mob, especially of the leader. No one knows whether the assault happened or was imagined, but the mob gets its man. "That Evening Sun" tells of the exploitation of a Negro woman, Nancy, by a white man. When Nancy's husband discovers what has happened, his attitude is very keenly revealed by Faulkner:

"I can't hang around white man's kitchen. But white man can hang around mine. White man can come in my house, but I can't stop him. When white man wants to come in my house, I ain't got no house. I can't stop him, but he can't kick me outen it. He can't do that."26

In _Light in August_ (1932) Faulkner delves deeply into Southern problems of caste and race. The protagonist is Joe Christmas, the son of a white woman and a Negro man, who is reared by his fanatical Negrophobe grandfather. Christmas is accepted as a white person until the circumstances of his birth are disclosed; then he is silent, friendless, and proud. The youth develops self-abhorrence because of his Negro blood and seeks compensation through the exploitation of white women; eventually, he carries on an extended affair with

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a sex-obsessed Yankee woman, a relic of the Reconstruction. After murdering his mistress, largely because of hatred for her race, Christmas is lynched. Although one character imputes his tragedy to the warfare in him of white and black, there is sufficient reason to see him as the victim of a hostile environment. He is more complex than Faulkner's other Negroes, fully characterized, and a character who is not easily forgotten. *Light in August* is a bold indictment of the hypocrisy and prejudice which make the South blind to its own shortcomings. The arraignment continues in *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), with emphasis upon the theme of incest.

Contrary to the remarks of Maxwell Geismar, it cannot be said that Faulkner looks upon the Negro with bitterness. More often than not, the Negro is treated sympathetically and at times is held to be the main hope of current civilization. Faulkner's actual affection for the Negro is suggested by the flyleaf of *Go Down, Moses* (1942) which bears this dedication:

To Mammy
CAROLINE BARR
Mississippi
(1840-1940)

Primitivism
Who was born in slavery and who gave
to my family a fidelity without stint
or calculation of recompense and to
my childhood an immeasurable devotion
and love.28-29

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28 According to Faulkner's close friend, Phil Stone, Mammy Caroline was the prototype of the kindly and enduring Dilsey of *The Sound and the Fury*.

At times, it is true, the Negro himself falls a victim to the corruption of modern civilization, as does Samuel Worsham Beauchamp in the title story of Go Down, Moses, who assumes the cheap guise of a Chicago numbers racketeer and is executed as a murderer. But this only serves to emphasize the admirable qualities of the Negroes such as Dilsey and Luster of The Sound and the Fury.

A distinguishing quality of his writing is that Faulkner records Negro speech with a great deal of accuracy; but more important, he gets into character with the uncanny penetration that makes him one of the most significant of contemporary novelists. His Negroes are a long way from happy-go-lucky comics. If they agree in anything, it is in their surly understanding of the bitter life that they have been doomed to live in a backward, hate-ridden South. He does not write social protest, but he is fiercely intent upon the truth — and the truth that he sees is tragic.

"Of all Southern writers," Beach maintains, "Faulkner is the one who has been least restrained by regard for convention or for the sensibilities of his own people." 30

Erskine Caldwell

Born on December 15, 1903, near White Oak, Georgia in a run-out farming region, inhabited particularly by a degenerate stock, Erskine

30 Joseph Warren Beach, American Fiction 1920-1940, p. 143.
Caldwell knew intimately the people about whom he later wrote. Focusing upon these proletarian types and treating them with ironical humor, Caldwell shows that poor whites and Negroes are victims of a crushing economic and social system in his native Southland.

Early in his works Caldwell reveals the callousness with which the Negro is treated by many poor whites. In *American Earth* (1931), his first book of short stories, "Saturday Afternoon" unfolds the story of the lynching of a Negro farmer. It tells of a mob's filling a Negro "so full of lead that his body sagged from his neck where the trace-chain held him up." The Negro was too smart a farmer. "Savannah River Payday" is even more gruesome. A Negro sawmill hand, killed in an accident, is being carried to the town's undertaker. The drunken "crackers" driving the car hammer out his gold teeth and fight over them. When they arrive in town, they go into a pool room and forget about the corpse.

Jeeter Lester in *Tobacco Road* (1932) is symbolic of countless impoverished white farmers in the South. He is a shiftless and ignorant man; his attitude toward the Negro is one of utter indifference. After a Negro has been run down by the reckless driving of his son, Dude, Jeeter rationalizes: "Wal, niggers will get kilt."

*We Are the Living* (1933) contains Negro cotton-pickers and servants, whose attractiveness creates a problem. The Negro characters in
these stories are frequently comical, some are cynical, and others are intelligent and not understood by their inept superiors.

Journeyman (1935) marks a broadening of Caldwell's social sympathies to include the Negro. It is the story of an itinerant preacher, Simeon Dye, who has moved into Georgia to "run the Devil out of this place." Despite the remarkable characterization of Dye, it is the suffering of the Negroes, Cargill has noted, that we retain from the novel. This would not be true unless the author willed it, and his willingness gives the book force.\(^{31}\)

Journeyman was followed by Kneel to the Rising Sun (1935), a volume of short stories about les misérables of the South: the familiar starving sharecropper, the resentful, silent, close-lipped Negro, the homeless girl, and the degenerate. Cargill has this to say about the volume:

How any Southerner, after reading this volume and recognizing the shameful truths here told by a native son, can repeat the fatuous nonsense about Southern standards and Southern chivalry, is beyond comprehension.\(^{32}\)

The brutal murder of Candy-Man Beechum, shot down for nothing by a white policeman, the exhibition of Blue Boy, a Negro idiot whose grotesque tricks entertain a groups of "high class ladies and gentlemen," the twenty-five cent sale of little Pearl, and the betrayal

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\(^{32}\) Ibid., p. 393.
and hunting of nigger Clem by a whining coward that he has befriended are powerful charges against the social injustices of the South.

Trouble in July (1940) is an account of a Georgia lynching in which the emphasis is put on the psychology of all the others involved rather than upon the terror of the victim, a Negro youth named Sonny Clark. Sonny has the misfortune to be fastened upon by a white nymphomaniac, Katy Barlow, a known slut in Flowery Bend. Yet Katy's reputation does not hold back a lynching mob for her "raper" after Sonny has been seen in her embraces by Narcissa Calhoun, a belligerent female who is circulating a petition to send the Negroes back to Africa. In the course of the search for Sonny the hunters raid the Negro cabins, beat a Negro and abuse his wife, and finally rape a mulatto girl. The lynchers, with Sonny still evading them and who will not be denied a victim, break into the jail and kidnap a foolish old Negro, Sam Brinson, whom they drag from a car with a rope fastened about his body. Fortunately for Sam, before they can hang him, Sonny Clark is brought in by a white man to whom he has surrendered and of whom he has asked protection. As Sonny's body crumples in a hail of bullets, Katy Barlow appears before the lynchers screaming, "He didn't do it."

Erskine Caldwell tells his story from the point of view of Sheriff Jeff McCurtain, a three-hundred pound symbol of the law
whose habit is to take himself off fishing whenever trouble is brew-
ing, in order that he may not be found. Things break too fast for
Jeff on this occasion, and the kidnaping of Sam Brinson, whom he
likes, disturbs him somewhat. The only other white man to show pro-
test to the lynchers is Bob Watson, a plantation owner who refuses
to allow his Negro workers to be terrorized while harvesting is being
done. Aside from the Sheriff's tenderness towards Sam, sympathy for
the blacks is negligible in Flowery Bend. The case of the farmer
who captures Sonny Clark, however, is revealing: he believes Sonny's
story and is sorely tempted to aid him until Sonny himself appeals
for that help — then he sets his face against him.

The implication is that the lynchers act almost mechanically, or
at least wholly by ritual and formula. Against these channeled
responses it is all but futile to erect the feeble dams of reason;
yet the effort is not completely futile in Caldwell's opinion, or
Trouble in July would not have been written. According to Cargill:

If conditions are ever better in the South, if the
treatment of the colored man is ever more humane, we
are going to owe a very great debt to Erskine Caldwell.33

T. S. Stribling

T. S. Stribling's Birthright (1922) gave a fresh interpretation
to Negro life. The author has made clear how hard is the lot of the

33 Ibid., p. 396.
educated Negro below the Mason and Dixon line, how narrow his life,
how cramped his outlook, how meager his opportunities for culture,
how stifling is the atmosphere of the districts in which he dwells,
and how often he is duped and preyed upon by white neighbors.

During the depression period, Stribling wrote his trilogy of
Southern life — The Forge (1931), The Store (1932), the winner
of the Pulitzer Prize for that year, and Unfinished Cathedral
(1934). The pictures of slave life and character in The Forge are
among the most convincing in American fiction. The plantation tradi-
tion gets short shrift. Old man Vaiden runs a one-horse, two-mule
farm, but calls himself a "gentleman" since he owns five Negroes.
Although attached to the family and farm by lifelong ties, the
slaves still want freedom. George, praised as devoted, harbors
hatred toward his master. Gracie broods over slavery and is hurt
deeply over the flogging of her husband. Stribling's pictures of
the Reconstruction, especially of the Klan, are unorthodox and
seemingly authentic.

In The Store Gracie Vaiden works so that her octoroon son
can escape the shame she has met with as a Negro. From the start,
however, Touissaint is doomed. He will not run from bullying white
boys and insists upon honest dealing in the store, standing up for
a whole pound when "everybody knows a nigger pound is about twelve
ounces." As an end to his rebellious career, Touissant is lynched. While Gracie is cutting down his body, "A dozen drunken voices in the mob broke into laughter at the downfall of the Negro mother and her dead son."

The Negro characters in the *Unfinished Cathedral* are shown to be progressive and educated, but still subjected to indecency from both upper-class and lower-class whites. Militant Negroes now become a part of the picture. In the story there is a frame-up; the bankers, realtors, sheriffs, judges, and even clergymen are shown by the author to be closely related to lynching mobs.

Though casting the spotlight upon the Vaiden family, this series treats unflinchingly almost every phase of the Southern color problem from slavery down to the present day. Stribling exposes the injustice and selfishness underlying prejudice and persecution, and his analysis reveals the effects of racial discord upon white and black alike.

**Eugene O'Neill**

Eugene O'Neil was among the first American playwrights to realize the possibilities arising from the use of the Negro as a dramatic subject. He first introduced Negro characters into his plays in *The Moon of the Caribees* (1919), which presents four West Indian Negro women who bring liquor and love to the sailors on
board the steamer S. S. Glencairn. Though O'Neill has drawn realistic portraits, his interest in these figures does not appear to be particularly great. Also in 1919, however, in a melodrama of Negro life called The Dreamy Kid, O'Neill made his first dramatic study of Negro phobias. This is perhaps the least important of O'Neill's plays of Negro life.

In the following year, 1920, O'Neill wrote his most famous Negro play, The Emperor Jones. It, too, is a psychological study, but one of far greater importance than the dramatic analysis attempted in The Dreamy Kid. It is an analysis of the disintegration of an ex-Pullman porter who made himself ruler of a West Indian island. The Emperor Jones has justly been termed "a startling panorama of the human mind counter-marching on its hidden memories."

O'Neill's All God's Chillun Got Wings (1924) is a courageous treatment of a dangerous subject: the intermarriage of whites and Negroes in America. Its hero, Jim Harris, is an ambitious Negro, who falls in love with Ella Downey, a white girl of his neighborhood, during his youth. Their later marriage ends tragically with Jim a broken man and Ella slowly going insane.

Since the writing of All God's Chillun, O'Neill has not utilized Negro themes in his plays. His contribution to the Negro

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34 Oliver Sayler, Our American Drama, p. 36.
theatre, however, has been a great one by virtue of Emperor Jones and All God’s Chillun. It is a matter to be regretted that so many Negroes have objected to his plays. Oversensitive, they do not realize that a single dramatic picture of a Negro does not stand for the race as a whole. Nor do they understand that though Brutus Jones is a murderer and Jim is a failure, their tragedies are among the most powerful that have been put on the American stage. Instead of maintaining their antagonistic attitude toward O'Neill, it would be better to realize that the dramatist’s selection of Negro themes is their best assurance for the rise of a Negro theatre. For, if our foremost playwright finds in Negro life material for two of his best plays, we may be assured that other dramatists, white and Negro, will find there ample material for their artistic creations.35

Paul Green

No single American dramatist has produced a greater number of plays based upon Negro themes than Paul Green, North Carolina professor and playwright. Born on March 19, 1894, in Lillington, North Carolina, Green grew up on a Southern farm, where, while working in the fields, he learned to know the Negro folk.

In his one-act plays of Negro life, Paul Green has been able to render vividly both the tragedy and the comedy of Negro folk life.

and to create fantastic plots having their origin in Negro folk belief. One of his earliest plays is a folk tragedy, "White Dresses" (1921), which employs the timeworn theme of a love affair brought to an end by the discovery of close blood relationship between the boy and girl involved. The mulatto girl, Mary, discovers that Henry Morgan, the white employer, is her father as well as Hugh's, whom she loves.

With the same clear insight into the tragic consequences of the love between a white man and a colored woman in the South, Paul Green has written two other one-act plays on this theme, "The End of the Row," considered one of his best short plays, and a moving little tragedy called "The Goodbye." In the former play Lalie, the heroine, contrasts favorably with the other girls of her neighborhood because of her desire to raise its educational status. The helplessness of the Negro who wishes, with little outward support, to raise himself and his race, is a theme which recurs in the longer and better-known play In Abraham's Bosom.

In "The Goodbye" a white man decides to marry, in order to hand down his name and property, after living for years with a beautiful Negro woman. The parting between the man and the woman achieves a greater emotional height than would otherwise be attained, through the bewilderment of the seven-year-old boy, who, at the moment of
farewell, is informed for the first time that the white man is his father.

"The Hot Iron," which Barrett Clark termed "one of the most moving one-acters I know," is the struggle of Tilsey McNeil with grinding poverty and physical pain, which culminates in the justifiable murder of her cruel husband. The play is built up from the most commonplace incidents into a pitiful tragedy. It illustrates Green's ability to bring us face to face with a life stripped of polish and of pretense, and reduced to the common denominator of human struggle. The author demonstrates a keen insight into the problems which confront a poor and depraved Negro family, whose members have to contend with a shiftless and non-providing father.

Other one-act plays by Paul Green which merit study and close inspection are "The Prayer Meeting," "The Man Who Died at Twelve O'Clock," "In Aunt Mahaly's Cabin," "Supper for the Dead," and "Blue Thunder." "The No 'Count Boy" deserves special mention. It is the poetic comedy about Pheelie, a young, inexperienced Negro girl who longs to travel but finds no similar desire in the mind of her lover, Enos. Along comes a ragged, barefoot boy, playing a harmonica. Pheelie cannot fail to be intrigued by the account of his wanderings, in which he says he has seen the world: "the towns dat has streets so long dey

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36 Barrett H. Clark, Paul Green, p. 16.
won't no coming to de end of 'em... buildings so high dat de moon breshes do top." And it is difficult for her to resist his pleadings that she join him. Perhaps Pheelie would have gone had not the boy's mother arrived on the scene, revealing that her son is mentally below par, and that, though he imagines he has traveled, he has never really been out of the county.

In Abraham's Bosom (1926) is Green's most famous play, a full-length dramatization of Negro life, and won for the author the Pulitzer Prize. The play is made up of seven scenes, which follow the career of Abraham McCranie through a period of twenty-one years. The episodic story is one of continual failure for its hero -- failure resulting partially from outward circumstance, but to a greater extent from limitations within the protagonist himself.

When asked how he came to write the play, Green explained:

"Well, I didn't write it from any cause; certainly not for propaganda as some people have thought. The spectacle of a Negro fighting desperately to uplift his people and constantly dragged down by limitations within himself was a familiar sight of my youth. I had watched at first hand the tragic consequences of such a struggle, and I wanted to write it down. That's all."37

The award of the Pulitzer Prize to In Abraham's Bosom brought much unfavorable comment from the critics. This was of two kinds: criticism directed against the flaws in the play itself, and that

which argued whether the play agreed with the stipulations of the award. Barrett Clark, who is a consistent admirer of the plays of Paul Green, came to the defense of In Abraham’s Bosom. He found the play admirable for its lack of racial bias and for its excellent presentation of a universal problem — that of a man who strives to rise, but is held down by limitations within himself.38

Paul Green’s other full-length play of Negro life is Roll, Sweet Chariot. Called "a symphonic play of Negro life," Roll, Sweet Chariot deals with life in a poverty-stricken Negro community known as Potter’s Field. The plot is of no great importance; it merely relates the killing of Bantam Wilson, returned convict, by Tom Sterling, a bricklayer who has fallen in love with Milly Wilson, Bantam’s wife, and Tom’s subsequent experience on the chain gang. It is apparent that the playwright is much more concerned with giving us a picture of life in the Negro community than in unfolding a plot. In this respect it is reminiscent of DuBose Heyward’s Porgy.

Though Paul Green has done more consistently excellent work with Negro material than any other dramatist today, he has definite limitations. The first of these lies in his circumscribed knowledge of the Negro. No one can deny that he knows the folk class of North Carolina thoroughly; but he knows the Negro of no other class or

38 Clark, op. cit., p. 132.
locality. His other limitation is his conviction that as dramatic material the story of the Negro in defeat is superior to that of the Negro in triumph. Surely, though some of the North Carolina Negroes are victims of oppression, this is only a one-sided picture that he is giving us of Negro life. Perhaps Green has given us as much as we can expect from any white dramatist today; only a Negro dramatist of equal ability and greater insight can do more. Meanwhile, Paul Green stands securely at the top of the small list of American playwrights who have contributed to a suitable repertoire for a Negro theatre.39

Historical Fiction: The Civil War

The Civil War period in American history has long been a favorite subject of historical novelists. To a lesser degree the African slave-trade and the reconstruction South are popular hunting grounds. Some novelists continue the plantation tradition; some, the antislavery tradition. And many others, in the spirit of regionalism, seek the truth of their sectional pasts, without apology and without indictment.

The shackled mobs below the hatches, the lack of water, and the plagues are the background for novels like Mary Johnston's The Slave Ship (1924) and George King's The Last Slaver (1936),

39 Lawson, op. cit., pp. 31-54.
which deal with the early slave trade. A deeper understanding is shown by Jean Kenyon McKenzie in *The Trader's Wife* (1930). The wife has seen the "wretched blacks at sea, packed in trays like dead fish, stinking like fish, some of them to die... and to be cast in the sea." As her last gesture before she dies, she sets free a contingent of slaves.

Historical romances are quite numerous in the annals of American literature, and, for the most part, Negroes are depicted in the old plantation tradition. Early historical novels like Winston Churchill's *The Crisis* (1901), Upton Sinclair's *Manassas* (1904), and Mary Johnston's *The Long Roll* (1911) and *Cease Firing* (1912) are little concerned with deepening the characterization of the Negro. *The Battleground* (1902), by Ellen Glasgow, has many of the standbys of the plantation tradition — the noble hero who deplores slavery, the wretched free Negro, and the giant slave who rescues his master (one of the most familiar battle activities from "Marse Chan" to *So Red the Rose*). More recent Civil War novels like Caroline Gordon's *None Shall Look Back* (1936) and Clifford Dowdey's *Bugles Blow No More* (1936) are skillfully written and based upon research, but the latter does not apply particularly to Negro characters.

Stark Young has shown a knowledge of certain types of Negroes in sketches like "The Poorhouse Goes to the Circus" (1929) and
Heaven Trees (1926). His best seller, So Red the Rose (1934), is a melancholy recital of the folk-tales that Southerners heard in their youth. The War, blown along by Northern and Southern windbags, destroyed "a gracious system of living that has seldom seen its equal." Negroes, "in spite of old maid idealism, had their best place in that system." A typical old faithful, William Veal, sought his dead master on the battlefield at night; he felt the hair of the corpses until he found him: "he knew him by his hair." In contrast are the Negro soldiers -- grog-filled burners and looters -- and the ingrates who run off to the Yankees and are stricken with plagues. It must be said that So Red the Rose is written very skillfully and in disarming prose; yet it remains, as Sterling Brown says, "a thrice-told tale."

Margaret Mitchell in the best-selling Gone with the Wind (1936) accepted whole heartedly the traditional estimate of the Negro:
"Slaves were neither miserable nor unfortunate... There had never been a slave sold from Tara and only one whipping."\(^{40}\) Mammy, Dilcey, Toby, and the other house servants, proud of their quality white folks and disdainful of field hands, "free issues," and poor whites, are familiar characters cast in an old mold. Slaves who were different were "mean." The "least energetic, trustworthy and intelli-

\(^{40}\)Margaret Mitchell, Gone with the Wind, p. 157
gent and most vicious and brutal" were the ones who left the plan-
tation to enjoy a long "carnival of idleness and theft and inso-
ience" interrupted only by plagues in crowded Atlanta. Negro in-
sults range from "looking impudent" and being "uppity to a lady" to
assuming Anglo-Saxon prerogatives:

In the legislature... they spent most of their time
eating goobers and easing their unaccustomed feet into
and out of new shoes. They frolicked...41

But the intelligent house-servants, the highest caste, spoke the
correct, heart-warming lines:

Ah done had nuff freedom. Ah wants somebody to feed
me good vittles reglar an' tell me what er do an' what
not ter do, an' look affer me when ah gets sick.42

Needless to say, the Klan is as knightly here as in The Authentic
History of the Ku Klux Klan, an authentic hymn of praise.

Some historical novels which present a less romanticized view
of the Civil War period are Henrietta Buckmaster's Let My People Go
(1941), a story of the problems of the Southern whites who did not
believe in slavery; Freedom Road (1944) by Howard Fast, which shows
the heroic struggles of the poor whites and Negroes who worked
together in a small community in South Carolina during the Recon-
struction period; and A Star Pointed North (1946) by Edmund Fuller,
a moving story of the heroic leader Frederick Douglass and other

41 Ibid., p. 739.
42 Ibid., p. 781
abolitionists. These three works point out phases of the periods of slavery and the Reconstruction other than the traditional ones. They show Negroes and whites working together democratically in order to solve common problems, Southern abolitionists who battle against slavery, and the work of a great Negro leader for the emancipation of the slaves.

To the Present Time

To name all the American novelists of the last forty years who have employed the Negro character, in one way or another, is virtually to name all the novelists of that period. Hamlin Garland, Owen Wister, Sinclair Lewis, Nevil Shute, Howard Fast, Willa Cather, Booth Tarkington, Gertrude Stein, James T. Farrell, Upton Sinclair, and Dorothy Canfield Fisher, to mention a few, have portrayed the Negro with varying degrees of effectiveness, from the amusing menial to a figure of importance in the story.

Although the current of American fiction has shifted steadily since the early 1800's -- first to a more polished romance, then to a mild realism, later still to a stern and uncompromising realism -- and with it the conception of provincial peoples, yet, except in novels of the last two decades, the Negro has been unable to rise much beyond the position held in John P. Kennedy's Swallow Barn (1832), the first example of the plantation tradition among Southern
writers. Standards of accuracy established by Twain and Harris have, of course, affected longer works of fiction. The old coachman and voluble mammy of Ellen Glasgow, for example, or the characters of Mary Johnston are more lifelike than those of former periods; nevertheless, the Negro has usually lingered as a type too much taken for granted and sketched according to the requirements of a well-known stereotype. Only in recent years, with the change to decided realism and an increased vogue for the problem novel, has the superficiality begun to give way.

Booth Tarkington's *Penrod and Sam* (1916) exemplifies with great success the humorous side of the Negro in Herman and Verman, playmates of Tarkington's central characters.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *The Bent Twig* (1915) treats race prejudice in a midwestern town. When two shy, well-bred girls are discovered to have Negro blood, their schoolmates taunt them gleefully. Professor Marshall — grieved at the humiliation — feels like gathering up his family and going away from the intolerable question, to Europe, but his wife grimly remarks: "And what we shall do is, of course, nothing at all."

Gertrude Stein's "Melanctha" in *Three Lives* (1909) was considered by Carl Van Vechten as "perhaps the first American story in which the Negro is regarded ... not as an object for condescend—
ing compassion or derision." "Melanctha" is a slowly unwound character study of a subtle, intelligent mulatto, Melanctha Herbert, who "always wanted peace and quiet, and always she could only find new ways to get excited." White blood "made her see clear" and gave "her grit and endurance and vital courage," but the power and breakneck courage in Melanctha "came to her from her big black virile father." In spite of these dubious generalizings, "Melanctha" is important. It gives a convincing portrait of a mysterious, uncertain girl, wandering in her ways, and doomed to tragedy.

Sinclair Lewis was one of the first to break with the preconceptions of the Negro held by Main Street. In Arrowsmith (1925) he includes a capable Negro scientist, who, though a minor character, stands out from the petty, grasping victims of Lewis's satire. In Kingsblood Royal (1947) Lewis comes to grips with the problem of mixed blood. The protagonist, a white man, discovers that he has Negro blood. After holding a position of economic and social eminence in his community, he is ostracized.

Fannie Hurst's Imitation of Life (1933), Evans Wall's The No-Nation Girl (1929) and Love Fetish (1933), and Lyle Saxon's Children of Strangers (1937) all repeat well-known generalities about the mulatto -- the inheritor of emotionalism from her Negro mother and civilized restraint from her white father.
Clement Wood's *Deep River* (1934) treats the married life of a Southern white woman with a Negro concert singer. Willa Cather's *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (1940) probes the jealousy of a white wife for a mulatto slave whom shesuspects of being her husband's mistress. Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* (1944) tell of the love of an educated mulatto for a white man in the South, which results in murder and lynching.

Life on the lower Mississippi is in Edna Ferber's *Show Boat* (1926), which has Negroes singing their plaintive songs and a drama which involves a beautiful octoroon. In *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* (1940) Carson McCullers dispassionately handles Negro and white characters living in a small Southern town.

Georgene Faulkner and John Becker disprove the popular theory that Negroes must be servants or live in a world cut off from the rest of American life. In *Melindy's Happy Summer* (1950) they have created characters and evoked situations that will inspire boys and girls, whether Negro or white, toward courageous living.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE BY NEGROES**

It is a matter of well-documented history that American Negroes have produced literature during the entire period of their development as an identifiable segment of the American population. Beginning with the songs of the little group of slaves which was pushed
ashore in 1619 and continuing through the latest works of Richard Wright and Gwendolyn Brooks, American Negroes have given evidence of creative energies. Songs and stories, sermons and orations, poems and dramas -- all have come from the imagination and the experience of men and women of the Negro race. This literature has become a well-defined part of the American contribution to the literatures of the world.

The Negro's creative expression is distinctly and peculiarly the product of its American background. Its early growth is filled with the Calvinism of the Colonial Period. Negro ministers performed for their congregations the same services which the theocrats were performing for the cultures of the various sections: providing leadership, preaching the doctrine of Calvinism, and stimulating a theological expression.\(^4\) That the songs of Negroes took the form of the spiritual rather than the Methodist hymn was an altogether logical development. The Colonial Period was essentially a period of religious emphasis; and it is a tribute to the sincerity of the slaves that their religious poetry and its music have endured as a distinctive contribution to the American culture.

In the period of nationalism immediately following the Revolution a more orthodox literature by Negroes was begun. Phillis

Wheatley wrote imitative and conventional verse, and her reputation stemmed largely from the fact that she was a slave. Her service to the literary aspirations of Negroes was the fact that she did reach print.

The first three-quarters of the nineteenth century was a period of protest against the slave system. American literature of the Colonial Period had been animated by a colony-wide desire for independence; Negro expression was stimulated by a desire for freedom from slavery. Negroes of the period sought to achieve an intellectual experience and a creative expression which rose above the inter-sectional and interracial conflict, but their efforts were defeated by the dominant pressure of the time. Thus it was that the writers of the Negro group, who might conceivably have been freed to develop their creative talents in a different atmosphere were drawn into heated controversy. Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, and others captured the ear of the public, but their energies were spent in a propaganda campaign. The Negro author of the nineteenth century was concerned, as he had to be, with the freedom of his people; his was a literature of necessity.

Following the Civil War the racial situation in America underwent a change which brought into existence the problem of the races, since designated as the American dilemma. The basis of the rela-
tionship between the Negroes and the majority group was altered by the events of the War. By the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro became the theoretical equal of the white man, and, in many ways, an economic and intellectual competitor.

Meantime, upon the literary figures of the race were placed the demands of individual and generic equality. Now declared full citizens, Negroes sought to construct a body of creative expression which would demonstrate their right to the new status. They must emphasize their potentialities by contributing to American letters, the most significant of which was the "discovery" of the folk literature of the Negro. It is this literature which has achieved the most unreserved acceptance as a racial achievement.

The first half of the present century has comprised what is by far the most important period in the literary life of the Negro author. This period has seen the emergence of the individual writer and the crystallization of a peculiarly racial outlook in literature. Among the names which make up this roster are W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson, Jessie Fauset, and Richard Wright. The modern Negro writer has gained a hearing which has been based on his new vigor, his new skill, and his new attitude, more than on the novelty of his Negro origin. His literature has been animated by a new concep-
tion of his role and his status in relationship to his own group and in relationship to his larger audience.

It is well to record that the Negro writer has been ready to take advantage of the increased opportunities which have come to him. Since the work of Paul Laurence Dunbar and Charles W. Chesnutt around the turn of the century, America has not lacked Negro writers who could speak with skill and authority. In poetry the work of James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, and Gwendolyn Brooks has attracted wide attention. Prose writers of talent include DuBois, Walter White, Zora Hurston, Rudolph Fisher, Jessie Fauset, and Richard Wright. The "Harlem Renaissance" of the 'twenties, as it has been called by several critics, marked the arrival of the twentieth-century Negro author.

The literature produced by Negro writers has been characteristically presented in terms of its outspoken espousal of the racial cause. That it does perform this function is unquestionable, though it is probable that too much emphasis has been placed upon certain implication of this function. Negro expression in the folk tradition is equally important as the polemic themes in the twentieth-century literature of the Negro writer. The folk theme forms perhaps the most solid foundation of the Negro's claim to a literary contribution, and the enduring pieces of modern literature rest upon this
foundation. The dialect poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the folk-
sermons of James Weldon Johnson, and the blues-poems of Langston
Hughes represent the originality of the literature of the Negro.
Thus, out of its American background has come the literature of
the Negro group — a literature of America. As John S. Lash
expressed it:

It is Negro literature as old as is the country
of its origin and as modern as is the country of its
future. It is a mirror of its native land, reflecting
the changing panorama of American life and thought. It
is a record and a documentation of the struggles and
successes and failures of the majority and the minority
groups. It is an archival and emotional and sociological
and literary testimony to the strengths and weaknesses of
American democracy.  

Phillis Wheatley

The earliest of Negro writers is Phillis Wheatley. She was
born very probably in 1753 and came to Boston, Massachusetts, in
the year 1761 on a slave ship from Senegal. Mrs. Susannah Wheatley,
wife of John Wheatley, a tailor, desired to possess a girl whom she
might train to be a special servant for her declining years. So
she bought a scrawny child about seven or eight years old, took her
home, and gave her the name of Phillis.

Mrs. Wheatley was quick to realize the child's precocity and
unusual intelligence, and Phillis' life with the family was in every

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44 John S. Lash, "The Academic Status of the Literature of the
of Michigan, 1946.
way exceptional. Taught to read and write, nurtured and tutored with the greatest care, within a year and a half of her arrival from Africa, Phillis had acquired a sufficient command of the English language "to read any, the most difficult parts of the sacred writings." Her learning consisted of a little astronomy, some ancient and modern geography, a little ancient history, and an appreciative acquaintance with the most important Latin classics. Pope's translation of Homer was her favorite English classic, and before long she, too, began to make verses. More and more she came to be regarded by Mrs. Wheatley as a daughter or companion rather than as a slave; and, as she proved to have a talent for writing occasional verse, she became "a kind of poet-laureate in the domestic circles of Boston." In her room she was specially permitted to have heat and light, because her constitution was delicate and so that she might write down her thoughts as they came to her, rather than trust them to memory.

Such for some years was the life of Phillis Wheatley. In 1770 appeared the first of her production to be seen in print, "A Poem, by Phillis, a Negro Girl, in Boston, on the Death of the Reverend George Whitefield." This was addressed to the Countess of Huntingdon, whom Whitefield had served as chaplain, and to the orphan children of Georgia, whom he had befriended.
As has been suggested, the chief literary model of Phillis Wheatley was Alexander Pope; but one must not forget in this connection the precision she gained from direct acquaintance with the great Latin authors. The ease with which she was able to write the heroic couplet, when she was no more than sixteen or eighteen years of age, was amazing; and the diction — "fleecy care," "tuneful nine," "feather'd vengeance" — is constantly in the pseudo-classic tradition. What one misses in the poems of Phillis Wheatley is the personal note. Like others who were of the school of Pope, she was objective in her point of view; and of all the elegies that she wrote hardly one is a genuine lyric. She was intensely religious, however; and if she had lived forty years later, when the romantic writers had given a new tone to English poetry, she might have been much greater.

The first volume of her works, Poems on Various Subjects, was published in London in 1773; and when Margaretta Matilda Odell, a descendant of the Wheatley family, republished the original volume with a memoir in 1834, there was such a demand for the book that two more editions were called for within the next four years. Within the past few decades there has been further interest, with new editing and critical appraisal.

The bibliography of Phillis Wheatley is now a study in itself.
Special attention has been given to it in *The Negro in Literature and Art* (1930) by Benjamin Brawley and *Phillis Wheatley: A Critical Attempt and a Bibliography of Her Writings* (1915) by Charles Fred Heartman. For further study of her life and work consult *Early Negro American Writers* (1935) by Benjamin Brawley; *The Negro Author* (1931) by Vernon Loggins; and *Phillis Wheatley: Poems and Letters* (1915) edited by Charles Fred Heartman.

The poems commented on here are considered to be among Phillis Wheatley's better works and can be found in *Poems on Various Subjects*. "To the University of Cambridge, in New England," which begins with a note of apology and which internal evidence would place two or three years before most of the other poems, is one of the few pieces in which the author touches upon her own experience. A similar note had been struck in the juvenile poem, "On Being Brought from Africa to America," and it is also in the one "To the Right Honorable William, Earl of Dartmouth." "An Hymn to the Morning" and "An Hymn to the Evening" especially represent the pseudo-classic influence, while "On Imagination" is not only the best in this vein but probably from any standpoint the strongest poem in the book.

"Niobe in Distress for her Children Slain by Apollo" represents Phillis Wheatley's interest in the Latin classics. "To S. M., a Young African Painter, on Seeing his Works" is, with the exception
of the lines "On Being Brought from Africa to America," the only poem in the book prompted by a Negro subject. Except in the title, however, even this contains not a single reference to race. Phillis Wheatley lived more than a hundred years before the Negro as such was to receive serious literary treatment and for the time being she could only follow such models as she knew.

William Wells Brown

In his day William Wells Brown attempted more different things than any other writer of the Negro race, and he won success; but his importance is now almost wholly historical. He was born in Lexington, Kentucky about 1815. His father was a slaveholder, and his mother, a mulatto, a slave. As a child he was taken to St. Louis, and when ten years of age worked for the captain of a steamboat on the Mississippi River. At twelve he was employed as office boy by Elijah P. Lovejoy, then editor of the St. Louis Times, but in little more than a year was again on a steamboat. In 1834, at Cincinnati, he escaped and in making his way farther North was assisted by a Quaker, Wells Brown, whose name he adopted.

Brown found employment on a boat on Lake Erie, later became a steward, and in this capacity helped many fugitives to get to Canada. The number thus assisted amounted each year to hardly less than sixty-five; and at Buffalo, where he made his home, Brown organized a vigil-
ance committee to help any slave who might be making his way to freedom. Meanwhile he strove in every way to advance in education.

In 1834, he was employed as an agent by the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society; in 1847 he transferred to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; and in 1849 went to England, with strong letters of introduction. He was received as a distinguished representative of the anti-slavery cause, and a speech that he made at the Peace Congress in Paris won the warm approval of Victor Hugo, the president.

Since the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made it dangerous for him to return, Brown remained in England for five years, until 1854, when he was formally manumitted. He supported himself by lectures and writing; and having studied medicine he settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts as a physician, later residing in Chelsea. Much of his time, however, was given to his books, and he was also interested in the temperance movement, woman suffrage, and prison reform. He died November 6, 1884.

Brown was a voluminous author. He contributed freely to the anti-slavery press, and was also the first American Negro to write a novel, a play, and a book of travel. He did not have, however, either a sound education or a sure sense of form, and he depended
In 1847 Narrative of William W. Brown appeared in its first form, and other editions followed rapidly. It was said that the first three editions, amounting to eight thousand copies, were sold in eight months. The book included numerous stories about slavery. The next year Brown edited the Anti-Slavery Harp, a small collection of song poems, including "Jefferson's Daughter," which was based on a statement that a daughter of Thomas Jefferson had been sold in New Orleans for one thousand dollars — a theme that became the basis of the novel Clotel. Three Years in Europe (1852) was assisted to wide circulation by the excitement over Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Clotel, or The President's Daughter (London, 1853) was the story of an efficient colored woman, represented as the housekeeper of Jefferson, who had two beautiful daughters. The young women at first lived in comfort, but later they were called to pass through many harrowing situations until at last the heroine, pursued by slave-catchers, drowned herself in the Potomac in sight of the Capitol. The scene shifts rapidly, and the crowded story includes several episodes that, like the Nat Turner insurrection, have no generic connection with the main theme. There were American editions in 1864 and 1867, but for these the title was Clotelle: A Tale of...
the Southern States, and any reference to Jefferson was deleted.

The Escape, or A Leap for Freedom (1858) was a drama in five acts. In this play the language is stilted and there is an excess of moralizing, but occasionally there are flashes of genuine drama. One finds references to another novel and another play that Brown is said to have written, but neither of these works is now accessible. The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements (1863) appeared just after the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation and within a year was in the third edition. It was followed by The Negro in the American Rebellion: His Heroism and His Fidelity (1867). In this work Brown showed that he did not have the capacity for research or the accuracy and perspective of the trained historian, but by gossip and human interest stories he succeeded in producing a readable book. Both works contributed to and were superseded by The Rising Son (1874). This book was not as scholarly as William C. Nell's Colored Patriots of the American Revolution (1855), to say nothing of George W. Williams' History of the Negro Race in America (1883); but, like most of Brown's efforts, it was a success, ten thousand copies being sold within a year. My Southern Home, or The South and Its People (1880) is a series of narrative essays, sketchy, but often bright, and sometimes valuable for the information they give.
Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass has a place not only in the literature of the Negro but in the oratory of the world. His career was a romance of progress from the lowly estate of a slave to an exalted place in the life of his people and the nation. He was born at Tuckahoe, Talbot County, Maryland, probably in February 1817. His father was an unknown white man, and his mother, Harriet Bailey, a slave. In his early years he was taken to Baltimore as a servant, learned to read, and thenceforth was eager for an education. When thirteen years old, he obtained a book of speeches called *The Columbian Orator*, and these stirring appeals for liberty awoke in him something that he never lost.

At sixteen he was sent to work on a farm. The lash was freely applied to the slave; but one day the stalwart youth resisted the attempt to whip him and nevermore was he thus corrected. In 1836 he planned with some others to escape; but the plot was divulged, and he was thrown into jail. His master arranged for his return to Baltimore, where he learned the trade of a calker and eventually was permitted to hire his time. In September 1838, he made his escape to New York at the age of twenty one.

After conferring with David Ruggles, an alert and helpful Negro, and after marrying Anna Murray, who had come from Baltimore,
young Frederick went to New Bedford, Massachusetts with a letter of introduction to Nathan Johnson, another Negro of public spirit. This man was helpful in innumerable ways, and suggested instead of Bailey the name Douglas, though spelled later with the s doubled. For the next three years the young man from Maryland worked around the docks of the city.

In 1841, at an anti-slavery convention in Nantucket, an abolitionist who had heard him speak to the Negro people asked him to address the meeting. He was hesitant and stammering, but exhibited such intelligence and showed himself the possessor of such a remarkable voice that he was made an agent of the organization. For the next four years, under the tutelage of Garrison, he lectured extensively in the North and East, and soon the impression that he made was such that some people doubted that he had ever been a slave. Notable at this time was his effort against a new constitution in Rhode Island designed to disfranchise the Negro.

In 1845 Douglass went to England. There he remained for two years, meeting distinguished liberals, speaking often to large audiences, and growing rapidly in intellectual stature. As Dr. DuBois has said, "He began to conceive emancipation not simply as physical freedom, but as social equality and economic and spiritual opportunity." English friends raised £150 to enable him to purchase
his freedom; and, on his return to the United States in 1847, he
began to issue in Rochester a weekly paper, The North Star. After
1850 the weekly became Frederick Douglass' Paper; in 1860 this was
merged with Douglass' Monthly, a small magazine begun two years
earlier primarily for circulation in England.

The establishment of this periodical by Douglass signalized a
break with his old friend and tutor, William Lloyd Garrison, who
was aloof from politics; henceforth he stood with Gerrit Smith and
the Liberty Party — in general with those who sought to do away
with slavery by constitutional means. He was friendly with John
Brown, so much so that the governor of Virginia sought to have him
arrested after the raid; but he went abroad again and for six months
lectured in England and Scotland. He was often in conference with
President Lincoln and assisted with enlistments for the 54th and
55th Massachusetts regiments of Negro men, his own sons being among
the first recruits.

After the war Douglass spoke strongly for Negro suffrage and
civil rights. From 1869 to 1872 he conducted in Washington another
weekly, the New National Era. Later he was United States marshal,
recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, and minister to
Haiti. He died February 20, 1895.

Douglass was essentially an orator, not a logician or debater,
and he was at his best in exposing the woes of slavery and in denouncing those who upheld the system. It was not the work of his later years that made him great, but that of his young manhood, when he had a story to tell and when no one could fail to be moved by his message. In him the cause of freedom found a voice, a voice that spoke for thousands; and greater even than anything he might say was himself — the supreme exhibit from the house of bondage.

Charles W. Chesnutt in his brief biography has given us an admirable description. He tells us that

Douglass possessed, in large measure, the physical equipment most impressive in an orator. He was a man of magnificent figure, tall, strong, his head crowned with a mass of hair which made a striking element of his appearance. He had deep-set and flashing eyes, a firm, well-moulded chin, a countenance somewhat severe in repose, but capable of a wide range of expression. His voice was rich and melodious, and of carrying power.45

To this it may be added that he was distinctly dignified and majestic; he had irony, but he could not be witty nor humorous. Perhaps the greatest of all his speeches was that which he delivered at Rochester, July 5, 1852. With withering scorn he queried, "What to the slave is the 4th of July?" Of significance was the address "What the Black Man Wants," delivered in 1863 to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Only less effective than such efforts as these were the

45Charles W. Chesnutt, Frederick Douglass, a Biography.
commemorative addresses on Garrison and John Brown. Douglass insisted that the Negro be treated simply like any other American. He asked not alms but opportunity, not sympathy but justice; and though he faced a hostile audience, though he might even be attacked, he never quailed; and he gave to the western world a new sense of the Negro's possibilities.

In 1845 the first edition of the Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass appeared in Boston. The little book was hailed by the abolitionists as a life story of the highest importance, and in the flood of slave narratives then appearing it took precedence. A much larger work, My Bondage and My Freedom, was published in 1855 with an introduction by James McCune Smith. In 1881 the third form of the autobiography Life and Times of Frederick Douglass appeared with an introduction by George L. Ruffin, who said:

It is an American book, for Americans, in the fullest sense of the idea. It shows that the worst of our institutions, in its worst aspect, cannot keep down energy, truthfulness, and earnest struggle for the right.  

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington, educator, historian, orator, and essayist, was born about 1858, a slave, near Hale's Ford, not far from Lynchburg, Virginia. He was educated at Hampton Normal and

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46 Frederick Douglass, Introduction to Life and Times of Frederick Douglass.
Industrial Institute, working as a janitor for his board. For two years after his graduation he taught at Malden, West Virginia, and returned to Hampton as an instructor in 1879. In 1881 he was appointed to organize Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. He remained as the head of Tuskegee until his death in 1915. Booker T. Washington, in order to promote the interests of his school and to establish better understanding between whites and Negroes, traveled throughout the United States delivering many addresses to audiences of all kinds. He was an intimate friend of Julius Rosenwald, the great philanthropist who aided many aspiring and talented Negroes. Mr. Washington, in every respect, justly deserves to be called a champion of his people. His most notable works are *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (1917), and his addresses and essays edited by E. D. Washington and published under the title *Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington* (1932).

*Up from Slavery* is an inspiring account of Washington's boyhood in slavery, his student days at Hampton, and his work as a great Negro leader and the founder of Tuskegee Institute. This book should be recommended without reserve for all students who are especially interested in reading about the lives of great men.
Charles W. Chesnutt

Charles W. Chesnutt, for many years the best known novelist and short story writer among Negroes, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, June 20, 1858. At sixteen he taught in the public schools of North Carolina, but returned to Cleveland, where he was admitted to the bar in 1887.

While in North Carolina, Chesnutt studied the dialect, manners, and superstitions of the local Negro. His first book, The Conjure Woman (1899), was a collection of seven folk tales, which were originally published in the Atlantic Monthly. In these stories the tragedy and injustices of bondage are occasionally unfolded — the cruelty of master and overseer, the estrangement of husband and wife, and the separation of mother and child. These themes, which mirror social misery as an integral part of slavery, were handled with such objectivity and detachment that for a long time many readers were unaware that his work was that of a Negro. It is noteworthy that Chesnutt exposed the sordid side of the plantation with the folk tale, the same literary form that was frequently chosen to portray the Negro as a contented bondman and as an inferior being.

In The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line (1899) Chesnutt delves into diverse interracial problems. When this volume was finished, not only had he treated many aspects of
slavery and Reconstruction, but he had also used a number of the themes which Negro novelists of the twentieth century were to employ. Chesnutt published a biography of Frederick Douglass during the same year.

The House behind the Cedars (1900), The Marrow of Tradition (1901), and The Colonel's Dream (1905) are favorably disposed toward the mulatto, who ostensibly represented for Chesnutt the most accomplished character in the Negro group. In treating the complexities of caste and color during the Reconstruction period, Chesnutt sometimes seems to accept the racial myths of his time; but he had a keen eye for social injustice and, before his death, he had either used or suggested many of the themes of the fiction of Negro life as we know it today.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

W. E. Burghardt DuBois was born February 23, 1868 at Great Garrington, Massachusetts. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree at Fisk University in 1888, the same degree at Harvard in 1890, the Master of Arts at Harvard in 1891, and, after a year of study at the University of Berlin, received the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Harvard in 1895. His thesis was the exhaustive study, Suppression of the Slave-Trade.

Aside from his more technical studies, DuBois has written
three books which call for consideration in a review of Negro literature. Of these, one is a biography, one a novel, and the other a collection of essays.

In 1909 was published John Brown, a contribution to the series of American Crisis Biographies. The subject was one well adapted to treatment at the hands of DuBois. The Quest of the Silver Fleece (1911), his novel, has three main themes: the economic position of the Negro agricultural laborer, the subsidizing of Negro schools, and Negro life and society in the city of Washington. The work subordinates character and plot to the study of the influence of the cotton industry upon American life. The Quest of the Silver Fleece surpasses earlier novels by Negroes in that it molds facts of scholarly investigation with the feelings of a sensitive participant in the interracial problem.

In 1903 fourteen essays, most of which had already appeared in such magazines as the Atlantic and the World's Work were brought together in a volume entitled The Souls of Black Folk. The remarkable style in which this book is written makes it a classic work in English. It is extremely difficult to choose which essay is the best. "The Dawn of Freedom" is a study of the Freedmen's Bureau; "Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" is a frank criticism of the great orator and leader; "The Meaning of Progress" is a story of
life in Tennessee, told with feeling by one who has been the country schoolmaster; and "The Training of Black Men" is a plea for liberally educated leadership. W. E. B. DuBois is an excellent example of that combination of high scholarship and the ability for capable leadership among Negroes.

James Weldon Johnson

Born in Jacksonville, Florida, June 17, 1871, and reared in the South, James Weldon Johnson was a man of various abilities, accomplishments, and activities. He was graduated with the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Atlanta University and later studied for three years at Columbia University. He wrote several light operas, musical comedies, for which his brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, composed the music. He was a master of Spanish, having been United States consul in two Latin-American countries, and made translations of Spanish poems and plays.

Johnson's most significant piece of writing was The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man (1912), which is noteworthy because of its restraint, its comprehensiveness, and its portrayal of the Negro renaissance of the 1920's. The Autobiography is ground-breaking in its introduction of a cosmopolitan background. Unlike most earlier Negro fiction, it is not localized in the South but moves into the broader field of European and Northern urban life.
The protagonist accompanies a millionaire introvert to New York, Connecticut, and the principal cities of Europe.

We see in this novel an array of characters including Connecticut school children, Negro pullman porters, Cuban cigar factory workers, educated and well-to-do Negroes, artists of New York's Bohemian centers, Manhattan aristocrats, German musicians, and New York's white bourgeoise. The Autobiography signalizes the liberation of the Negro novelist from the habitual practice of using the South as a principal setting.

In addition to being more impartial and more comprehensive than any earlier novel of American Negro life, the Autobiography is a milestone because of its forthright presentation of racial thought. It admits the dual personality which some Negroes assume -- one role among their own group and another in the presence of whites.

Johnson's other works include Fifty Years and Other Poems (1917), God's Trombones (1927), Black Manhattan (1930), Saint Peter Relates an Incident of the Resurrection Day (1930), The Book of American Negro Poetry (1921), and two books of American Negro spirituals in collaboration with his brother. James W. Johnson's poetry is characterized by dignity and restraint; yet he owes a great debt to folk material, the primitive sermons, and the influence of the spirituals.
Paul Laurence Dunbar

Incomparably the foremost exponent in verse of the life and character of the Negro has been Paul Laurence Dunbar. This gifted poet captured, as no one else has been able to do, the lyric and romantic quality of the Negro race, with its melancholy and wistfulness, its happy abandon, its love of song, and its pathetic irony. His career has been the inspiration of thousands of young men and women.

Paul Laurence Dunbar was born in Dayton, Ohio, June 27, 1872. His parents were uneducated but earnest, hard-working people, who strove hard to rear their son properly. From very early years Dunbar made attempts at rhyming; but what he called his first poetical achievement was his recitation of some original verses at a Sunday School Easter celebration when he was thirteen years old. He attended the Steele High School in Dayton, where he was the only Negro pupil in his class; by reason of his modest and yet magnetic personality, he became a member of the literary society of the school, and afterwards became its president, as well as editor of The High School Times, a monthly student publication. In his senior year, 1891, Dunbar composed the song for his graduating class.

After high school Dunbar wanted to continue his schooling, but he never had the advantage of a regular college education. He
accepted the position of an elevator boy earning four dollars a week. In 1893, at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, he was given a position by Frederick Douglass, who was in charge of the exhibit from Haiti.

His first published works, Oak and Ivy (1893) and Majors and Minors (1895), were privately printed. Dunbar had to assume full responsibility for selling them, and, as one might expect, he had many bitter hours of disappointment. Asking people to buy his verses grated on his sensitive nature, and he once declared to a friend that he would never sell another book. Sometimes, however, he succeeded beyond his highest hopes and gradually, with the assistance of friends, the young poet came into notice as a reader of his verses.

William Dean Howells wrote the introduction to Dunbar's Lyrics of Lowly Life (1896) and had only words of praise of the young poetic genius:

What struck me in reading Mr. Dunbar's poetry was what had already struck his friends in Ohio [Dr. H. A. Tobey of Toledo] and Indiana [James Whitcomb Riley], in Kentucky and Illinois. They had felt, as I felt, that however gifted his race had proven itself in music, in oratory, in several of the other arts, here was the first instance of an American negro who had evinced innate distinction in literature.

So far as I could remember, Paul Dunbar was the only man of pure African blood and of American civilization to feel the negro life aesthetically and express it lyric-
ally. It seemed to me that this had come to its modern consciousness in him, and that his brilliant and unique achievement was to have studied the American negro objectively, and to have represented him as he found him to be, with humor, with sympathy, and yet with what the reader must instinctively feel to be entire truthfulness.

Dunbar was now fairly launched upon his larger fame, and *Lyrics of Lowly Life* introduced him to the wider reading public. This book is deservedly the poet's best known. It contained the richest work of his youth and was really never surpassed. In 1897 Dunbar enhanced his reputation as a reader of his own poems by a visit to England. About this time he was very busy, writing numerous poems and magazine articles, and meeting with a success that was so much greater than that of most poets of the day that it became a vogue.

In October 1897, through the influence of Robert G. Ingersoll, he secured employment as an assistant in the reading room of the Library of Congress. But he gave up this position after a year, for the confinement and his late work at night on his own behalf were making rapid inroads upon his health.

On March 6, 1898, Dunbar was married to Alice Ruth Moore of New Orleans, who had also become prominent as a writer. Early in 1899 he went South, visiting Tuskegee and other schools, and giving

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*William Dean Howells, Introduction to *Lyrics of Lowly Life*.*
many readings. Later in the same year he went to Colorado in a
vain search for health.

Books were now appearing in rapid succession — short story
collections and novels as well as poems. The novel The Uncalled
(1898), written in London, reflects the poet's thought of entering
the ministry. It was followed by The Love of Landry (1900), The
Fanatics (1901), and The Sport of the Gods (1902), all novels.
His collections of short stories were Folks from Dixie (1898),
The Strength of Gideon (1900), In Old Plantation Days (1903), and
The Heart of Happy Hollow (1904). Volumes of verse were Lyrics of
the Hearthside (1899), Lyrics of Love and Laughter (1903), and
Lyrics of Sunshine and Shadow (1905), as well as several specially
illustrated volumes.

Dunbar bought a home in Dayton, where he lived with his mother
after separation from his wife. The poet's last years were a record
of sincere friendships and a losing fight against tuberculosis. He
died February 9, 1906 at the age of thirty three.

Today, almost fifty years after his death, Paul Laurence Dunbar
remains pre-eminent among Negro poets. In his lifetime, he produced
six original collections of poems, and each volume has significance
for his career. Oak and Ivy is the effort of a youth just out of
high school, and there is naturally much imitation of favorite
authors, though two or three of the pieces are among the poet's best. Three years later *Majors and Minors* appeared, a work revealing deeper insight, firmer mastery of technique, and greater enrichment of spiritual experience. Some of the poems show disillusionment, but the dialect pieces run the gamut from tenderness and pathos to rollicking spirits and gusto in the enjoyment of life. Both of these early productions were handicapped by the fact that they were privately issued. Such was not the case with *Lyrics of Lowly Life*, in which Dunbar included the best selections from his earlier volumes; its publication in 1896 is perhaps the greatest single event in the history of American Negro literature. The book had beautiful form, and in general represented the tenderness and the exuberance of the poet's youth. It struck a fresh note and met with extraordinary success.

"Ere Sleep Comes Down to Soothe the Weary Eyes," the poem which opens the volume, is the song of the man who sees in the "waking world a world of lies," a theme possibly inspired by Shelley, whom Dunbar considered his favorite poet. But the book is not a lyrical arraignment of society. Whether the thought is gay or melancholy, the verse is overflowing with the feeling that
A song is but a little thing,
   And yet what joy it is to sing!
In hours of toil it gives me zest,
   And when at eve I long for rest;
When cows come home along the bars,
   And in the fold I hear the bell,
As night, the shepherd, herd his stars,
   I sing my song, and all is well. 48

One poem after another in the volume proves that Dunbar was
a master of spontaneous melody. There is never intricacy of thought
nor of imagery, but there is always the song that arouses mood. It
was Shelley the melodist and not the humanitarian whom Dunbar wor­
shipped. He came as near to Shelley in "The Rising of the Storm"
as in any poem he wrote, but the following stanzas indicate that he
was not submitting to downright imitation:

Far out in the night,
   On the wavering sight
I see a dark hull loom;
   And its light on high,
Like a Cyclop's eye,
   Shines out through the mist and gloom.

   Now the waves well up
   From the earth's deep cup,
And fall on the sea and shore,
   And against the pier
The waters rear
   And break with a sullen roar.

Most of the pieces in Lyrics of Lowly Life are in Shelley's
English. Many of the subjects — including definitions of life,
the mysteries of love and passion, the appeal of nature, and the

48 Paul Laurence Dunbar, Lyrics of Lowly Life, p. 4.
premonitions of death — are such as one finds often treated in the lyrics of Shelley. If the volume had contained no more, it would be accounted merely a collection of gentle sentiments sung in pure melody — far superior, to be sure, to anything which any other American Negro poet had done, but not sufficiently strong to be considered a distinctive contribution to American literature.

The volume contains, however, a number of selections written in what Howells called the Negro's "own accent of our English."^ The dialect poems stamped Dunbar as the first American poet to handle Negro folklife with any degree of fullness. The soul of the Negro laborer, satisfied with little, is expressed with a pure art in "When de Co'n Pone's Hot."

When de cabbage pot is steamin'
   An' de bacon good an' fat,
When de chittlins is a-sputter'n',
   So's to show you whah dey's at;
Tek away yo' sody biscuit,
   Tek away yo' cake an' pie,
Fu' de glory time is comin',
   An' it's 'proachin' mighty nigh,
An' you want to jump an' hollah,
   Dough you know you'd bettah not,
When yo' mammy says de blessin',
   An de co'n pone's hot.

"When Malindy Sings," inspired by the singing of the poet's mother, is another vivid expression of Negro character:

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49 Howells, op. cit., p. viii.
She jes' spreads huh mouf and hollahs
"Come to Jesus," twell you hyeaph
Sinnahs' tremblin' steps and voices,
Timid-lak a-drawin' neah;
Den she tu'ns to "Rock of Ages,"
Simply to de cross she clings,
An' you fin' yo' teahs a-drappin'
When Malindy sings.

Equally expressive of the nature of the Negro are "Discovered"
and "A Coquette Conquered," humorous love poems; "The Deserted Plan-
tation," a sentimental song of reminiscence; "Sings of the Times,"
a pastoral of autumn; "Little Brown Baby," a father's expression of affection for his child; and "The Party," an hilarious descriptive poem.

The dialect poems in *Lyrics of Lowly Life* made the book the artistic, as well as the popular, success which it became. They are the reputation of Dunbar. One might very well say that the teacher who meant the most to him was not Shelley, but James Whitcomb Riley. His friendship with Riley was begun as early as 1892, and probably as sincere a personal poem as he ever wrote was "Whitcomb Riley." Dunbar's aim, like Riley's, was to sing songs of his people that "come closest to your heart," that depend upon "human feelin'" and not upon "trim an' skillful phrases," that tell us "the same ol' things our souls have longed to know,"
that present a lesson "so good an' low that the humblest one kin reach it," and that "thrill with honest passion." His admiration for Riley led him to include in *Lyrics of Lowly Life* "After a Visit," "The Spellin' Bee," "A Confidence," and a few other pieces written in the dialect of the middle-western white farmer. Entertaining, humorous, and highly musical, they might easily be mistaken for Riley's own work.

Dunbar's strongest predecessors in the writing of Negro dialect verse, Sidney Lanier, Irwin Russell, and Joel Chandler Harris, were detached from their material; Dunbar was a part of his. His realism is better than their because it was inspired by sincere feeling and not by the search for novelty; him music appeals to us as more natural because we do not in any way have to associate it with white singers. His Negro dialect verse is today generally accepted as the best which has been written in America. It deserves that consideration, and will probably maintain it. For the picturesque and poetic Negro language which Dunbar knew so well is rapidly passing away; he preserved a record of it at the right time.

Paul Laurence Dunbar's prose must be kept in mind in any evaluation of his work. The four novels, *The Uncalled*, *The Love of Landry*, *The Fanatics*, and *The Sport of the Gods*, and the four books of short stories, *In Old Plantation Days*, *Folks from Dixie*, *The
Strength of Gideon, and The Heart of Happy Hollow throw light on his varied capacities. They were, incidentally, highly important in helping him make a living.

The short stories were, for the most part, in the manner of the plantation tradition in its later phase. They were told against a background of rambling mansions of a feudal country, inhabited by a kindly and indulgent master class. Much was made of the happy season of Christmas and the adequate intervals of rest which fell to the lot of the laborer. Those Negroes who left the plantation for city life were shown as utterly demoralized. Stock characters were used: the broad-bosomed Mammy, the dashing belle or cavalier, the faithful slave, and the kindly master. One must recognize that Dunbar wrote in the days of the Thomas Nelson Page vogue and that he had to consider the commercial appeal of his writing.

Some of Dunbar's treatment of the South was not so entirely within the plantation tradition. Mention of Negroes' homes being burned by envious whites, the attempts — some successful — of slaves to escape, the aid given an escaped slave by his slave brother, and the occasional treatment of lynchings were among the elements which were against the plantation tradition. Despite the introduction of these elements, Dunbar's short stories as a group have little power. Many were hastily written and some were gross
distortions of fact or held up exceptional instances as exemplifying universal qualities.

His novels were not very creditable. They were bound up with his life in interesting ways, however. The Uncalled is thought to be a recounting of Dunbar's own inner debate concerning a career in the ministry. Dunbar wrote The Love of Landry, a trivial work for his own amusement during his unhappy trip to Colorado. The Fanatics tells a story of strained ties and family loyalty tested during the time of the Civil War.

Dunbar's novels were not the work of a very able writer in that field. However, they contribute to the understanding of the poet, though they do not give him standing as a novelist. But we must go back to Dunbar's verse, for he did his best work in this medium. His sense of rhythm and harmony, evident in whatever he wrote, makes all the difference between his dialect pieces and the dialect of dozens of his imitators. While they blundered with dialect, he knew what could be done with it and how far it could be made to go as a poetic medium. He knew the subjects it would fit — the sweet delight of calf love, the thrill of simple music, the querulousness of old age, the satisfactions of a full life, and the pain of bereavement. He brought to these subjects a childlike quality that is the secret of his charm. At times, though,
something sterner crept into the dialect pieces. He was not above
touches of satire, cries of reproach, and even weary resignation
to a life that at its best was extremely hard. 50

Countee Cullen

The most precocious of Negro poets of the first half of the
twentieth century was Countee Cullen. Born in New York City, March
30, 1903, the son of a Methodist minister, he had an excellent
religious background for his work. His teachers in high school and
college readily recognized that he had poetic genius. In 1925,
he won the Bynner Intercollegiate Poetry Contest; the next year he
received the Harmon Gold award, the first prize for signal achieve­
ment in literature. Among his collections of poems are Color (1925),
Copper Sun (1927), and The Black Christ (1929). Caroling Dusk, his
anthology, was published in 1929. He is the author of one novel,
One Way to Heaven (1932); Cullen died in 1945.

Cullen's first volume, Color, is generally considered to be
his best work. The author displays the classic style of Shelley
and Keats, and the manner of Dunbar's standard English poems.
Cullen's work is marked by technical skill; it is the most polished
lyricism of modern Negro poetry. His gifts are fluency and bril­
liant imagery; he can convey deep emotion and concise irony. He

50 J. Saunders Redding, To Make a Poet Black, pp. 63-4.
is capable of restrained tenderness -- notice "A Brown Girl Dead":

Her mother pawned her wedding ring
To lay her out in white;
She'd be so proud she'd dance and sing
To see herself tonight.\(^{51}\)

Countee Cullen, as Redding puts it,

is decidedly a gentle poet, a schoolroom poet whose vision of life is interestingly distorted by too much of the vicarious. This lends rather than detracts. It is as if he saw life through the eyes of a woman who is at once shrinking and bold, sweet and bitter.\(^{52}\)

Often, however, Cullen is cooly ironic, which is his way of expressing resentment to racial prejudice. His poem "Incident" shows this quality:

Once riding in old Baltimore,
Heart filled, head filled with glee,
I saw a Baltimorean
Keep looking straight at me.

Now I was eight and very small
And he was no whit bigger,
And so I smiled, but he poked out
His tongue, and called me, "Nigger."

I saw the whole of Baltimore
From May until December;
Of all the things that happened there
That's all that I remember.\(^{53}\)

One Way to Heaven, Cullen's love novel, is an authentic portrayal of church life in Harlem. Having known his material first-hand from boyhood, Cullen is able to give a convincing description

\(^{51}\)Countee Cullen, *Color*, p. 6.

\(^{52}\)Redding, *op. cit.*, p. 110

\(^{53}\)Cullen, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
of watch-night meeting, communion, and other services of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The author also describes upper-class life in Harlem and takes a keen pleasure in ridiculing the Harlem social register. The most commendable part of the novel is the portrayal of the Negro church; this material is fresh and presented with a great deal of understanding.

Jessie Redmond Fauset

Jessie Fauset has made the greatest contribution of any woman to American Negro literature with the publication of four novels: There Is Confusion (1924), Plum Bun (1929), The Chinaberry Tree (1931), and Comedy: American Style (1933). Miss Fauset was born in 1884, reared, and educated in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She received a scholarship upon graduation from high school, and attended Cornell University, from which institution she was graduated in 1905 with a Phi Beta Kappa key. Miss Fauset went to the University of Pennsylvania for her Master's degree, which she received in 1906. Thereafter she taught Latin and French in the Dunbar High School in Washington. For a number of years she served as literary editor of the Negro periodical The Crisis and then as a teacher in the DeWitt Clinton High School in New York. Miss Fauset has also studied in France, traveled in other countries, and written considerable poetry. She started on a literary career after reading a novel of Negro life
by T. S. Stribling, which she felt was not a successful study of Negro life.

*There Is Confusion*, the forerunner among works in which Miss Fauset illustrates that bourgeois Negroes are interesting subjects for literary treatment, is also the first nationally recognized novel by an American Negro woman. The action, which is laid chiefly in Philadelphia and New York City during the World War I period, is primarily concerned with the Bye and Marshall families and those who are drawn into the tangled skein of their lives.

The thesis of *There Is Confusion* is that educated and aspiring Negroes not only must overcome the usual obstacles which other Americans must transcend but also must undertake a sometimes heart-rending struggle against race prejudice. While not a militantly propagandistic novel, it does expose many of the racial disadvantages suffered by Negroes. The operation of prejudice is revealed in schools, colleges, graduate and professional institutions, stores, restaurants, hospitals, theaters, and even in the world of art. Everywhere in the country the specter of discrimination is shown hovering over the Negro, limiting his sphere of activities, focusing his thinking upon his plight, and obstructing his advancement into a fuller and richer life.

Like the previous novel, *Plum Bun* deals with well-bred Negroes
in Philadelphia and New York City. Its principal theme is that of passing for white, which recounts the experiences of Angela Murray as a member of the white group. Leaving her brown-skinned sister Virginia in Philadelphia, Angela crosses the color line in New York City because of her conviction "that the great rewards of life — riches, glamour, pleasure — are for white-skinned people only."

*Plum Bun* brings out the advantages and handicaps of those who live in the white world after fleeing from the black. Angela finds herself caught in the network of factors such as loyalty, honor, racial ties, and longs for the companionship of her brown-skinned sister; she recalls her mother's dictum that "life is more important than color." Angela realizes the insipidness of her passing for white; so she marries and returns to the Negro group.

In *The Chinaberry Tree* Miss Fauset turns from an analysis of the problem of "passing" to a study of the consequences of "the sins of the fathers" in the small town of Red Brook, New Jersey. Two cousins, Laurentine Strange and Melissa Paul, are illegitimate. Laurentine is a mulatto and Melissa a pure Negro. Despite the ostracism and despair caused by the blight of illegitimate birth, the two girls transcend this source of embarrassment and become the wives of respectable Negro men.

What Miss Fauset seeks to show in this novel is that Negro
life may be difficult and complex, and that the Negro is not so
different from any other American. There are valuable glimpses
of Negro community life in Red Brook with its characters who range
from Mrs. Ismay, a Bostonian of "innate gentility" to young pool-
room "sports."

Comedy: American Style, Jessie Fauset's fourth novel, is
perhaps the most powerful of her works. In Olivia Cary she has
created a vivid and memorable character, though one who is not
particularly admirable. Cold and relentless in her determination
to be thought white, Olivia wreaks the life of her daughter and
drives one of her sons to suicide.

Olivia marries Christopher Carey because she believes their
fairness will insure their having only fair children. The first
two, Teresa and Christopher, are fair enough to pass for white,
but Oliver, the third child, is brown skinned. Olivia treats
him as a servant but makes elaborate plans for the future of
Teresa and Christopher. Teresa is sent to an exclusive school
for girls in the hope that she will marry into a wealthy white
family. She meets and falls in love with a Negro, Henry Bates,
and only the untimely appearance of Olivia prevents her eloping
with Henry. The mother and daughter go to France, where Teresa
studies and later marries her French professor, who is encouraged by
Olivia. The mother urges the family to come to France so that they may pass for white. She does not wish Oliver brought along because of his color, which fact finally drives him to commit suicide. In the end Olivia succeeds in doing a thorough job of wrecking her family and is left alone to pine in her white world — the world she had always wanted for herself.54

Comedy: American Style is the most penetrating study of color mania in American fiction. The success of the book is due to the able characterization of the psychopathic Olivia Cary. This woman, endowed with singleness of purpose and relentlessness of action, brings all the immediate members of her family under her influence and carries them with her to tragedy.

Jessie Fauset's works have made a significant contribution to American fiction. She shows that there are many respectable, middle-class Negroes whose lives are distorted because of race prejudice. She is especially interested in bourgeois characters who hover near the color line and who live in Philadelphia and New York City. The Chinaberry Tree, an exception, has for its setting a small New Jersey town; but again the author deals with respectable, educated Negro society. Miss Fauset's description of the lives and difficul-

ties of the Negro elite is one of the major achievements of American Negro fiction.55

Walter White

Walter White, a prominent figure in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1893 and lived in the South until 1918, when he became an executive in the N.A.A.C.P. He graduated from Atlanta University and later studied at the College of the City of New York. In 1931 he succeeded James Weldon Johnson as secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. His experiences in the organization — many of which happened while he was passing for white — have gone into his writings. White's works include Fire in the Flint (1924), Flight (1926), Hope and Faggot (1929), A Rising Wind (1945), and A Man Called White (1948).

Fire in the Flint is the first important novel to deal with upper-class Negroes in the South. Its primary purpose is to reveal the plight of the Negroes who live in small Southern towns. As an argument against prejudice and brutality, the author presents a refined, intelligent, and prosperous family that suffers insults, injuries, and deaths because of superficial distinctions based on color and caste. The characters and story are secondary to the general conditions which White wants to show.

**Flight**, White's second novel, is not so propagandistic as his first; rather, it is concerned primarily with Mimi Daquin, who passes for white, fails to find happiness, and eventually returns to her own group. Again the author is so intent upon condemning social injustice that he gives little attention to characterization and lifelike scenes and situations.

**Flight** provides a graphic commentary on the shallowness of life among Negroes of Atlanta. White satirizes Negroes who are preoccupied with the acquisition of wealth and Atlanta's social elite, who place an emphasis upon near-white pigmentation, and have an outspoken dislike for Jews and dark Negroes. Gossip, slander, bickerings, and jealousies are listed as the chief activities of shallow Negro women. The author finds solid worth and genuine strength, however, among poor Negroes who, though depraved and mistreated, can nevertheless sing, laugh, have faith, and find enjoyment in an industrial civilization which often makes the white man unhappy and depressed.  

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**Zora Neale Hurston**

Zora Neale Hurston was born in 1903 at Eatonville, Florida, the first Negro town in the United States to be incorporated. After getting her early training in her home town, Miss Hurston completed

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56 Gloster, op. cit., pp. 139-40.
her education at Morgan College, Howard University, and Columbia University, where she became especially interested in anthropology. Her specialty is American Negro folk lore. Miss Hurston's work includes *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1934), *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), and her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942).

*Jonah's Gourd Vine* recounts the rise and fate of John Buddy Pearson, the illegitimate son of a white Alabama tenant farmer and a Negro woman. Pearson, who becomes a successful preacher, is a man of weak moral character who is prone to illicit relationships. He never seems to profit from the many mistakes which he makes and finally, after becoming thoroughly disgusted with himself, meets with a fatal accident.

Miss Hurston paints a clear and vivid picture of Negro life, but she does not portray characters very well. Only Pearson succeeds in coming partially alive, but this is due largely to the fact that he dominates the story. The author has an excellent grasp of her material, but fails to show a comparable literary technique.

In her second novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, Zora Hurston shows some advance over her first novel. The setting is again Florida, and there are vivid pictures of life in Jacksonville, Eatonville, and the Everglades country. There is an awareness of
social and racial tension inherent in Southern practices.

In general, Miss Hurston seems to be more interested in folklore and dialect than in prose style, plot construction, character development, and social realism. Consequently, her writing lacks the literary finish, the structural craftsmanship, the psychological penetration, and the understanding of life which distinguish the gifted writer from those of a lesser talent. 57

Richard Wright

Richard Wright was born September 4, 1908, on a plantation near Natchez, Mississippi, the son of a Negro farm and mill worker and a country school teacher. When Richard was five, the father deserted the family, and the mother supported her children as best she could. The boy was shipped around to various relatives, all poor and hard-working Negroes, who could do nothing with him because of his unruliness. Finally he learned to find some outlet for his energy in reading, but at fifteen he left home and went to Memphis, where he made his way by various unskilled jobs. Later he became a clerk in the post office. Wright's works include Uncle Tom's Children (1938), Native Son (1940), and Twelve Million Black Voices (1941).

Using agricultural and small-town scenes, Wright indicted the

57 Farrell, op. cit., p. 145.
South in Uncle Tom's Children: Four Novellas, which announced the passing of the traditional "bowing and grinning Negro" (Uncle Tom) and the emergence of the militant new Negro.

"Big Boy Leaves Home," the first of these novellas and one of the most graphic pictures of a boys' gang in American fiction, deals with the tragedy which results from the prankish decision of four Negro boys to go swimming in a pond where Negro bathers are not allowed. The story shows that crime inevitably springs from the denial of adequate recreational facilities, and the series of murders in the story may be traced to the meaningful comment of one of the boys: "The white folks got plenty swimmin' pools n we ain' got none."

The second novella, "Down by the Riverside," treats the heightened interracial tension of a Mississippi Valley flood disaster. It discloses various aspects of racial oppression during the 1927 Mississippi flood catastrophe. Negroes, conscripted to pile sand and cement bags on the levee, are slain for trying to escape. Medical attention, given bluntly, is provided in unsatisfactory and segregated quarters; and martial law, administered harshly, is conducted with bias and intimidation.

"Long Black Song" tells of the exploitation of unprotected Negro women by white men and the insecurity of the independent
Negro landowner. The Negro rebels against this mistreatment, and thereafter follow murder and mob violence.

"Fire and Cloud," the fourth and final novella of the volume, employs a theme not previously used in fiction by Negroes. Negroes and poor whites of a small Southern city are in the grip of starvation and unemployment; and wealthy citizens, though able to alleviate the misery, are hoarding food and money. This is the only narrative in the collection in which the political and economic philosophy of the author come to the surface. Racial unity and cooperation with poor whites rather than communist membership are recommended as an approach to the solution of the problems of the town's trampled and dispossessed.

It might be well to mention here that Richard Wright was formerly a member of the Communist party. In 1949, he and five other ex-members wrote the book The God That Failed, in which they described their journey into Communism, their subsequent disillusionment, and their bolting the party. Wright's most recent novel, The Outsiders (1953), is a further repudiation of the Communist doctrine.

Uncle Tom's Children is a vivid, dramatic protest against Southern prejudice. The horror and tragedy suffered by Negroes in the narratives seem unnecessary in light of the trivial incidents
which cause them. Wright places the responsibility for Southern turmoil squarely on the white demagogues who seek to maintain the ill-ordered status quo.  

Native Son created somewhat of a sensation when it appeared in 1940 and was hailed by many critics not only as the strongest novel ever written by a Negro but also as an outstanding achievement of the decade. It has been called a study in the economic determination of character and personality. Native Son can be compared with Dreiser's An American Tragedy, for both books deal with maladjusted youth conditioned to crime by environment and character. Both are tragic, and Dreiser's white boy and Wright's black boy die in the electric chair. The conclusion is that society is to blame, that the environment into which each was born forced upon him his crimes, and that they were the particular victims of a general injustice. The difference in Wright's novel is that the injustice is a racial one.

To obtain raw material for his novel, Wright dug into his experience and produced a protagonist composed chiefly of five social misfits that he had known earlier. The first was a young bully who had terrorized the boys of Jackson, Mississippi; the

\[58\] Gloster, op. cit., pp. 222-3.

\[59\] Farrell, op. cit., p. 85.
second, about seventeen years of age, showed resentment for the ruling class of the South by refusing to pay for his food, clothing, and housing; the third whom the whites called a "bad nigger," bluffed his way for awhile but was shot fatally during a prohibition-era liquor raid; the fourth, who smarted under segregation and discrimination in the South, finally lost his mind and was sent to an institution for the insane; and the fifth, whose fate was unknown but easy to imagine, took spirited delight in riding in the white sections of Jim-Crow street cars and defying conductors to move him. These five maladjusted personalities were worked over by Wright's imagination until the synthetic character Bigger Thomas emerged.

As the background for Bigger Thomas' activities Wright discarded the South for the black ghetto of Chicago. This high-powered urban environment, with all its glitter and allure operating through the newspapers, magazines, radios, and the movies, would cause Bigger to revolt even more furiously than he would in the South.

Native Son, the most influential novel yet written by a Negro, is also a masterpiece of modern proletarian fiction. The book seeks to show that the protagonist's delinquency is produced by a distorting environment rather than by innate criminality. Having this purpose, Native Son may rightly be regarded as the most significant
probing of the plight of the lower-class Northern urban Negro in contemporary American literature.60

Langston Hughes

Born in Joplin, Missouri, February 1, 1902, Langston Hughes has become one of America's best known contemporary authors. He graduated from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, in 1929, has traveled quite extensively, and now makes his home in New York City. Hughes's principal works are as follows: poetry — The Weary Blues (1926), Fine Clothes to the Jew (1927), Dear Lovely Death (1931), The Dream Keeper (1932), Scottsboro Limited (1932), Shakespeare in Harlem (1942); fiction — Not Without Laughter (1930), Popo and Fifina (1932), The Ways of White Folks (1934); autobiography — The Big Sea (1940).

Hughes is the most prolific and the most representative of the new Negro authors. He is capable of understanding and giving expression to the deep perturbation of the soul of the Negro. As Redding has expressed it:

There is this difference between racial though and feeling: what the professors, the ministers, the physicians, the social workers think, the domestics, the porters, the dock hands, the factory girls, and the streetwalkers feel — feel in a great tide that pours over into song and shout, prayer and cursing, laughter and tears.61

60Gloster, op. cit., pp. 229-34.
61Redding, op. cit., p. 115.
Perhaps better than any other writer of the race, Langston Hughes has been able to capture this feeling. This accounts for the great variety of his moods: "the tom-tom laughs, the tom-tom sobs," and the infinite distinctions between the two.

Hughes's poetry is distinguished by his break with traditional forms; it is experimental, and reflects the influence of the Carl Sandburg school. His poetry is frequently objective and dramatic, concerned with the Negro masses. It is often pessimistic and trumpets the cause for social justice. Occasionally, however, it shows unmistakable signs of communistic propaganda.

In The Weary Blues Hughes celebrated jazz-mad Harlem, but there are notes of sadness in many of the poems. He sings atavistically of Africa and of the boy in whose blood "all the tom-toms of the jungle beat." His folk portraits are quite effective; the tender "Mother to Son" is one of the best Negro poems:

Well, son, I'll tell you: Life for me ain't been no crystal stair...

This interest is continued in Fine Clothes to the Jew in which he combines the melancholy and irony of the folk-blues. A deserted woman sings:

Don't know's I'd mind his goin' But he left me when de coal was low...

Hughes gives dramatic sketches of city workers — elevator boys and
porters "climbing up a great big mountain of yes, sirs!"

A generalized interpretation of the race appears in "I, too, Sing America" and in "A Negro Speaks of Rivers," one of his finest poems. He calls his people "loud-mouthed laughers in the hands of fate, but is convinced that "their soul has grown deep like the rivers." "Minstrel Man" takes an old concept and reveals a new truth:62

Because my mouth
Is wide with laughter
And my throat
Is deep with song,
You do not think
I suffer after
I have held my pain
So long.

Although Langston Hughes is primarily a poet, his novel, 

_Not without Laughter_, has merit. Deriving its plot and characters from the personal experiences of the author, the story concerns a Negro family living in Stanton, Kansas. Aunt Hager Williams, an elderly laundress and a staunch Christian, has three daughters — Tempy, Annjee, and Harriett. The first two marry, but the third goes to Chicago, where she rises from prostitution to become a celebrated blues singer. Sandy, the remaining member of the family is the son of Annjee and Jimboy; his early life constitutes the main action of the novel. He is rescued from a degenerate life by

62Brown, _Negro Poetry and Drama_, pp. 71-3.
Harriett, who undertakes to finance his further education. As Gloster says:

In _Not without Laughter_ we are introduced to carnivals, public dances, church activities, lodge demonstrations, and other popular diversions. We are shown immoral and corrupting influences at work in Negro barber shops, billiard halls, and red-light districts as well as in white hotels where colored men serve in menial capacities. Everywhere, even in public schools, we witness the destructive and warping influence of prejudice and segregation upon the Negro mind.

The chief merit of the novel, however, is its detached but sympathetic story of the life of a colored youth. Hughes would have done well to treat Sandy at greater length as James T. Farrell handled "Studs" Lonigan.

As the foremost contemporary Negro author, Langston Hughes deserves especial study and consideration.

_Gwendolyn Brooks_

Although Gwendolyn Brooks has lived in Chicago nearly all her life, she was born in Topeka, Kansas in 1917. She is a product of the Chicago public school system, and graduated from Wilson Junior College in June, 1936. Her poems, which were first published in magazines, achieved book publication in 1945 in _A Street in Bronzeville_. Miss Brooks's early poems won prizes in the Midwestern Writer Conference competition and at Northwestern University, but her published volume quickly gained more important recognition.

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_Gloster, op. cit., pp. 185-7._
Mademoiselle selected her as one of the ten women of the year in 1945. The following year she was given an American Academy of Arts and Letters award. In 1946 she won a Guggenheim Fellowship, which was renewed the following year. The crowning point in Miss Brooks's achievement is her being awarded the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1949 on the strength of her slender volume, *Annie Allen*.

*A Street in Bronzeville* and *Annie Allen* are collections of poetry which reflect the tenor of Negro life in Chicago. Not only does the poetry reveal Miss Brooks's intimate knowledge of her material, but it also reveals her as one who has a remarkable technical ability.

As J. Saunders Redding said:

> If "A Street in Bronzeville" indicated that the author, Gwendolyn Brooks, possessed valuable poetic gifts, her second thin volume goes a long way towards proving them. "Annie Allen"... is as artistically sure as emotionally firm, and as aesthetically complete as a silver figure by Cellini. Nor is the comparison so incongruous as it seems. The same liquid lyricism, momentarily held in delicate static poise, that informs a Cellini informs the pieces in Miss Brooks's new work.64

One can safely say that Miss Brooks's poetry has not, as yet, reached its fulfillment; but it does reveal her as a person of keen insight and one from whom a great deal can be expected in the future.

**Other Negro Authors**

To give especial mention in this chapter to all deserving Negro

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authors is a task far too great to be undertaken here. There remain, however, several whose works merit consideration.

Claude McKay, born in the West Indies, distinguished himself primarily as a poet, but wrote also essays, novels, and short stories. He was a leader among the Negro writers who flourished during post World War I period. His works include *Songs of Jamaica* (1911), *Spring in New Hampshire* and *Harlem Shadows* (1922), collections of poems; *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banjo* (1929), novels; *Gingertown* (1932), a collection of short stories; and *Harlem, the Negro Metropolis* (1933), a collection of essays.

Rudolph Fisher gained fame as a writer of fiction. His *The Walls of Jericho* (1928) is a most commendable work. The author describes realistically the general social life of Harlem: the church life, the Sunday promenade on Seventh Avenue, the coarse fun of pool room patrons, and an annual costume ball.


Nella Larsen's novels *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929) are concerned with an old theme: the disintegration and maladjust—
ment wrought by miscegenation in the lives of two young colored women. These novels are two of the best which deal with the case of the "tragic mulatto."

The Negro Dramatist

It is generally conceded that the Negro is the best equipped author for dramas of his own life. The white writer usually does not gain the intimate contact with Negro life in all its phases. On the other hand, there is no doubt that so far certain white dramatists have far outstripped their colored colleagues in the creation of Negro plays that have been warmly received by critics and audiences.

If we were to judge merely by the number of plays that Negroes have written, the Negro dramatist would not make a poor showing. Quite as many contemporary plays of Negro life are written by Negro playwrights as by whites. But taken as a whole the plays by Negroes reveal definite limitations; most obvious is the matter of length. Except in a few instances the Negro playwright has not ventured beyond the bounds set by the one-act play. This is significant, indicating that his writing is still in the experimental stage and that a complete mastery of dramatic technique has not yet been attained. It naturally follows that there exists today no Negro who might be called in any sense a professional playwright. Even
those who have made contributions are amateurs, writing when time can be spared from other activities. Too often a single play is the total output of the would-be Negro dramatist. Many of the published plays are unsuitable for stage presentation, and many that, from a technical standpoint, are capable of being produced, offer little inducement for their presentation by Negro dramatic groups.

The first play by a Negro to reach Broadway was Garland Anderson's *Appearances* (1925). Though its plot concerns a Negro bell-boy falsely accused of rape, it is not fundamentally a race drama; its object is to spread Anderson's philosophy that all things are possible through faith.

Frank Wilson, Negro actor, had two plays produced in New York: *Meek Mose* (1928) and *Walk Together Chi Hun* (1936). The former is a three-act comedy of Negro life with music and spirituals, whose moral is that the meek shall inherit the earth. *Walk Together Chi Hun* concerns the boycotting of Southern Negroes in a Northern village where they have been brought to work. The advice of the play is for Negroes to work together.

Hall Johnson's *Run Little Chillun* (1933), a two-act melodrama whose purpose is to show the atmosphere in which Negro spirituals were born, is perhaps the most successful play yet written by a Negro. Without Johnson's ability as pageant master and choir
leader the play could easily have failed. Its script, far from a work of art, can be regarded tolerantly only as a libretto for a Negro opera.

_Mulatto_ (1935), a play by Langston Hughes was the cause of much controversy. Its plot, which concerns the plight of the mulatto son of a white planter and his Negro housekeeper, had as its aim a realistic picture of the Negro of mixed blood. The outspokenness of the play created much alarm.

Countee Cullen and Arna Bontemps have collaborated in the dramatization of Cullen's novel _One Way to Heaven_ (1936), which was successfully presented by a group of amateurs.

In 1930, Willis Richardson edited _Plays and Pageants of Negro Life_, a valuable collection of short plays for pupils of high-school age.

Randolph Edmonds edited _Six Plays for a Negro Theatre_ in 1934, which is a collection of outstanding one-act plays. _The Negro Caravan_ (1941) contains several short dramas by Negro authors that are worthy of attention for possible presentation.

**Famous Negro Plays**

Among the numerous Negro plays which have been written during the past few decades, several may be singled out because of their unusual power in the theatre. They are Dorothy and DuBose Heyward's
Porgy and Bess, Marc Connelly's *The Green Pastures*, John Wexley's *They Shall Not Die*, and Paul Peters and George Sklar's *Stevedore*. Since 1940, Richard Wright and Paul Green's *Native Son* (1940), Philip Yordan's *Anna Lucasta* (1944), Arnaud D'Usseau and James Gow's *Deep Are the Roots* (1945), Anderson and Weill's *Lost in the Stars* (1949), and Carson McCuller's *The Member of the Wedding* (1950) all deal with Negro elements.

**Porgy**

The DuBose Heyward work *Porgy* enjoyed success as a novel, as a play, and later as the opera *Porgy and Bess*. It is best known in this last capacity, largely because of the music of George Gershwin. The work still has the background of Catfish Row and its panorama of Negro life there. However, it is the musical score which brings about its revival year after year.

**The Green Pastures**

The most famous Negro play that has yet been written is *The Green Pastures*, which Marc Connelly was inspired to create after a reading of Roark Bradford's sketches, *Ol' Man Adam and His Chillun*. Bradford had made a reputation by the production of amusingly naive Negro sketches, particularly childlike versions of biblical stories; Connelly decided that this same material might be shaped into an
entertaining Negro play. The result was The Green Pastures, in more than one sense a miracle of the modern theatre.

The play is a dramatization of the story of the Bible as told by an old Negro preacher in New Orleans to a group of children, its charm resulting from the artless concept of heaven and earth which exists in the mind of its narrator. To him heaven is a place where Negroes enjoy themselves in feasting and singing as if in attendance at an eternal picnic; earth is a place that came into being when "De Lawd" found it necessary to drain off excess firmament used to flavor boiled custard, heavenly drink. With a remarkable maintenance of this point of view throughout, the playwright shows us the creation of man, the murder of Abel, the flood, the exodus, and the birth of Christ all through the eyes of the ignorant preacher.

According to Sterling Brown, The Green Pastures was a miracle in the medieval sense of a biblical story presented upon the stage, and in several more important ways. It was a miracle in the length of its run, in the tenderness and reverence that Marc Connelly was able to infuse into Roark Bradford's farces, in the compelling acting of Richard Harrison, and in the appropriateness of the sonorous Hall Johnson spirituals to the narrative. Discerning critics have seen in The Green Pastures a statement in simple terms of the relationship of anyone to his God. If the play is not entirely accurate
about the religion of the folk-Negro, it is movingly true to folk life.  

The play was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the 1929-30 drama season. In making the recommendation the jurors stated:

One play — The Green Pastures — by Marc Connelly towers so far above the other American plays of the season and comes so near to setting a new standard of excellence for the American drama of all time that the jurors desire with unusual enthusiasm to recommend it for the Pulitzer Prize.

They Shall Not Die

Certain of our modern dramatists have manifested a greater interest in the social injustice which the Negro suffers in America today than in the racial characteristics that make him an unusual dramatic subject. Among these playwrights, John Wexley, who in 1934 wrote the protest play They Shall Not Die, is preeminent. Based on the second trial of the Scottsboro boys after the Supreme Court had set aside the first decision, the play capitalized on the fact that the fate of the innocent prisoners was still undecided. They Shall Not Die, presented at the Royale Theatre, New York, February 21, 1934, follows the actual court proceedings closely, an opening scene and a love story being the only addi-

65 Brown, Negro Poetry and Drama, p. 119.

66 Quoted in James Weldon Johnson's Black Manhattan, pp. 219-20.
tions. As if one were reading the daily newspaper account, one witnesses the removal of the boys from the train, the accusation of rape, the threats of lynching, the sending of troops, the retraction of testimony by one of the prostitutes, and finally, the trial, with Nathan Rubin, New York lawyer, in spirited defense of the boys against almost unbelievable prejudice.

A painful play to read, it is probably more painful to witness on the stage. If the drama were not based on actual occurrences, it would be difficult to believe that such injustice, ignorance, and wanton cruelty existed in the United States. Because it does follow real events so closely there is difficulty in determining how much credit should be given to Wexley as dramatist.

In so far as characterization in Negro drama is concerned, the playwright's close adherence to the actual case was unfortunate. In real life one's indignation at the Scottsboro case had to be aroused through the thought that nine innocent human beings were being condemned unjustly to death, not through the attachment of any particular value to the nine in question as individuals. So, in the play, it is impossible to make the nine Negroes the focal point of the drama. The prediction that They Shall Not Die might prove as effective as Uncle Tom's Cabin in accomplishing its specific purpose seems, in some measure, borne out by the release of several
of the prisoners, an occurrence which gives the title selected by Wexley for his play the effect of prophecy. 67

Stevedore

Stevedore, a play of social protest by Paul Peters and George Sklar is of particular significance in the development of Negro drama because it is one of the first realistic plays dealing with the economic plight of the American Negro, a play which does not picture the Negro as a cowardly, spineless creature, but as a character who may fight and die for his conviction.

Lonnie Thompson, hero of the play, is a Negro stevedore who, unlike his companions, has not cultivated a spirit of subservience toward white oppression in the South. As a result of his leading the dock workers in a complaint to their company superintendent regarding a shortage in their wages, Lonnie finds himself under arrest for rape — an arrest obviously prompted by resentment of his independent spirit. He eludes the police and experiences a series of melodramatic escapes; but upon learning that a gang of lawless whites plan to burn down the houses in the Negro section, he decides to fight for his rights like a man. Lonnie inspires the other workers to protect their property and supervises the building of a barricade. In the ensuing fight the white gang is routed, but

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67 Lawson, op. cit., pp. 73-5.
Lonnie is killed.

In the development of Negro drama Stevedore was important in at least two respects: its courageous treatment of serious Negro problems and its employment of the non-submissive Negro character. Of They Shall Not Die and Stevedore, Sterling Brown, Negro critic, wrote:

They Shall Not Die and Stevedore were potent forces in dramatic history. They concentrated upon deeper problems than those of the "talented tenth," or of near-white persons whose lives have been made too woeful in drama. They show the oppression and exploitation of Negroes where these are most heavy, and they insist that as starvation, penury and shame are common to both white and black masses so their interests are identical. 68

Since 1940

During the past decade there have been several dramas which concern the Negro that are worthy of mention here. Richard Wright and Paul Green collaborated to produce a successful staging of the novel Native Son (1940) by Wright. The long and pulsing story of a Negro boy's rebellion against a white man's world is transferred to the theatre with effectiveness, though it does not contain the force of the original work.

Philip Yordan's Anna Lucasta (1946) was written originally as the story of a Polish family's adventure in a small Pennsylvania town. However, it met with no success and was rewritten as the

68 Brown, Negro Poetry and Drama, p. 133.
story of a Negro family. The play concerns a young prostitute, Anna, who tries to abandon a debauched life and settle down to married respectability. The shadow of her life pursues Anna and eventually envelopes her. The play strikes at social and racial injustices, and Anna is shown as a tragic heroine. However, other than providing an excellent vehicle for Negro actors the play has little else to offer.

_Deep Are the Roots_ (1945), by Arnaud d'Usseau and James Gow, deals with the social problems of Negro-white relationships in the South. The Negro protagonist, Brett Charles, returns to the South as a world War II hero who has been accepted on terms of equality in England and Italy, but who finds that the old prejudice is still, as in the past, rife in his homeland. In the end, Brett refuses the offer by his white benefactress of a chance to go North; he elects to remain where he is to work for the betterment of his people who badly need his help. Brett also declines marriage with the white daughter of the aristocratic family in which his mother has been a life-long servant and whom, since childhood, he has distantly loved.

_Deep Are the Roots_ presents old material in a modern setting, and for that reason can hardly be called a great play. The authors attempt a rational approach to the problem of racial intermarriage
by considering the advantages and disadvantages of such a venture. The play is an excellent springboard for discussions about Negro and white relationships as they exist in the South today.

Lost in the Stars (1949), based on Alan Paton's Cry, the Beloved Country, and The Member of the Wedding (1949) are not distinguished as dramatic successes. True, both are entertaining plays, but neither is of sufficient stature to leave any impress on the Negro theatre.

If one wishes to read further about Negro life and literature, he is urged to consult Charlemae Rollins' We Build Together, which gives bibliographical data on literary materials by and about Negroes.

A Concluding Statement

Earlier in this thesis, the following statement was made:

Reading is an indispensable means of acquiring facts about the racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic sub-groups which make up America. Since the reading program begins in the early grades, it is important for interracial education that no books are introduced which will implant information, stereotypes, and attitudes which later must be unlearned. Novels, short stories, biographies, and poems which express democratic ideals in relation to minority groups, or present an accurate and understanding picture of life among culture groups in America, are highly important in intergroup education.69

If we accept the above statement as a guiding principle of an

69 See pp. 135-6.
English program which will have as one of its objectives the promotion of interracial understanding, then that statement will serve as one of the bases on which teachers of English will select and recommend books for students to read. From the literary materials discussed and evaluated in this chapter, it will be the teacher's duty to select and to recommend those materials which will best serve his purposes in a particular situation. He must be alert, however, to point out that students must develop their critical faculties toward all this literature; no student should accept gullibly everything that an author writes.

There is a great need for more books which portray realistically the Negro living a normal life and earning a living like any other member of American society. Not only do we need books portraying the Negro as a servant faithfully doing a menial task which makes him ennobled, but we also need books portraying the Negro doctor, lawyer, teacher, scientist, and social worker as he plays his vital part in American life. Commonplace Negroes, too, must be faithfully represented: mother and father, school children, high-school and college students — people from all walks of life which show both races in a normal and natural way. For many years Negro boys and girls read only about white heroes of every country and race; consequently, they have little knowledge of their own heroes and
heroines. A great need exists for books about outstanding Negroes in history, so that white children as well as Negro children can learn of this heritage. Without distorting facts, such books can be handled realistically and with imaginative understanding — all of which would do a great deal for the pride of the Negro for his part in the American way of life. The thesis that literature which helps build more democratic attitudes toward the Negro in America will, in turn, develop insight into the problems of other minority and racial groups, thus strengthening the bonds of friendship among all peoples, is a fundamental belief which underlies this study.
In the previous chapter an attempt was made to examine critically the contributions to American literature of major white and Negro authors through their treatment of the Negro. However, if these literary works are to be employed with the greatest degree of effectiveness by the teacher, he should be familiar with the numerous methods, techniques, and activities which will further understanding and appreciation. This chapter, therefore, will be devoted to a survey of the methods which the teacher might use to incorporate some of the previously mentioned literary materials in the American literature program. In this chapter there will be suggested, also, out-of-class as well as in-class activities for use in connection with this study. There will be recommended questions and discussion topics that may be used while the selected works in American literature are being studied. Finally, this chapter will present a plan for evaluating the effectiveness of this rather specialized study and the various methods employed.

A Survey of Techniques

Modern educational theory and practice have emphasized the need to supplement the traditional reading, writing, and speaking activities with "non-verbal" teaching techniques. This step marks
a significant break with the past in that it relates the student's in-class activities with his daily experiences and the realities of the social world. Reading, speaking, and writing will undoubtedly remain as the basic and sustaining methods of education, not only in schools but in adult life as well. The problem is not to find substitutes for them, but to use them effectively and to discover means by which they may be supplemented and supported.

These general observations apply equally to intergroup education as well as to any other subject field. Firsthand experiences must be provided to give substance and reality to a study of race and culture problems; but the continuity and coherence of a course or unit depend on the teacher's effective use of books, lectures, recitations, class discussions, written exercises, and examinations.¹

Reading

As it was stated earlier in this study, reading is an indispensable means of acquiring facts and conditioning attitudes, moods, feelings, and opinions about the racial, religious ethnic, and socio-economic sub-groups which make up America. Therefore, reading which is designed to affect attitudes and emotions should be novels, short stories, biographies, poems, and other types of literature that express democratic ideals in relation to minority groups or

that present an accurate and sympathetic picture of life among culture groups in America. This kind of material does much to build desirable attitudes, particularly if the students read it because their interest has been aroused rather than because it is required reading.

The establishment of a pleasant classroom reading atmosphere is a technique which leads to enjoyable reading experiences. A bulletin-board exhibit of book jackets, posters, a classroom reading table, and a classroom library are desirable ways of producing a setting conducive to reading. The librarian might be called in to help establish the classroom library, and, along with the teacher, give talks on some of the books.

Making use of such library resources as standard reference works and studies based on scholarly research develops a deeper understanding of problems of race and culture as well as the skills needed to deal effectively with these major social issues. The student who has read extensively in this area when preparing a written report is likely to develop a lasting interest that will stimulate him to social action.

Reports which pupils might be asked to make over the material which they have read should not be lengthy. In fact, the teacher would do well to insist that just the following items be mentioned:
the title of the book, the author, the general nature of the story, and the reader’s opinion of the book with a comment on the interest that it might hold for others.

**Speaking**

Oral activities play a vital part in most learning situations; but like all other methods, they can be abused as well as used effectively. Modern educational practice has tended to discourage the more formal, teacher-centered oral activities, and to place the emphasis on informal discussion in which the students are encouraged to think and reason rather than to respond automatically to questions put by the instructor. Intergroup education functions best when it follows this principle and encourages the free expression of pupil opinion. An open and honest class discussion, in an atmosphere conducive to objective thought and analysis, is one of the educator’s best means of allaying personal tensions and intergroup conflicts.

In junior and senior high school the teacher who is ready with an amusing anecdote or a timely illustration keeps the interest of his class and makes abstract ideas clear and vivid. This teacher, by preparing himself with sound illustrative material to refute popular stereotypes and prejudices, can do much in a short time to break down undesirable beliefs and opinions.
Formal teacher talks and lectures have a place in intergroup education, as they have in other subject fields. This technique can be used to introduce a unit of work or to summarize and relate the learning activities which have been used in its development. The practice of inviting representatives of minority groups or specialists in race and culture problems to address pupils in class or assembly and to answer questions informally after the lecture is a commendable one. The opportunity to meet and talk with outstanding leaders of racial groups does much to change pupil opinions.

Encouraging pupils to make oral reports based on extensive reading or personal experience is an effective intergroup-teaching method. This technique is particularly helpful to pupils whose minority status leads to feelings of personal inferiority. Learning and telling about the contributions of the Negro to the welfare of America and the world allows the Negro child to gain status in the eyes of his classmates, thereby identifying himself more completely with the work of the whole group.

Another effective oral activity is the class discussion for the purpose of analyzing and organizing the information which the pupils have acquired and helping to develop their capacity to deal with controversial issues. Class discussion is both the most common
and the most satisfactory means of drawing conclusions from the facts that have been learned and of formulating generalizations to guide personal and group action. A discussion implies the free expression of different points of view and an examination of these points of view in the light of available facts and democratic social values. No technique is more important in interracial education; it helps the pupil organize his knowledge and put it in a usable form, and it also develops his ability to handle the controversial issues of race and discrimination -- a skill which may be applied in out-of-school situations and adult life. Class discussion should not be confused with recitation, which is, primarily, a kind of oral examination.

The interview is an oral activity which fits in well with interracial education. By having students plan carefully an interview with some outstanding person in the community or another student, the interviewer will gain valuable experience in learning how to phrase delicate questions, how to carry along a discussion intelligently, and how to make an interview a pleasant and rewarding activity.

The last oral activities which we shall consider here are panel discussions and forums as means to stimulate interest in problems of race and culture and to present varying points of view.
on these subjects. Panels and forums are more formal variations of the discussion technique. They require the amassing of facts to support one or another side of a controversial issue, the presentation of those facts, and the stating of conclusions derived from them, all given in a carefully organized manner. In intergroup education, these methods have been used to introduce issues for which there is no clear-cut democratic solution and to arouse interest in the general subject. They provide a good point of departure for activity in which the whole class participates, but they should not be looked on as substitutes for general class discussion of any topic.

**Writing**

Although writing is a vital part of the intergroup-education program, students do not gather a great deal of new information from this activity. However, a written exercise, whether a research paper or a test, causes a pupil to expand and to organize his knowledge, to think seriously and constructively about the subject under discussion, and to present his conclusions as clearly and concisely as possible. Thus, the ideas that he has developed and expressed have a personal and lasting significance for him.

One kind of written activity is the writing of reports and research papers based upon independent study of problems of race
and culture, and designed to supply useful data for other students and the adult community. Research papers and written reports are common educational practices in the senior high school. Work of this kind has a positive value for the individual or committee that does it, and often the combined efforts of an interested class have produced a worthwhile piece of writing.

Another kind of written activity is creative writing. Such writing provides a means of personal self-expression and aims at affecting the opinions of those who read it. Many topics dealt with in intergroup education may provide subject matter for creative writing. Human interest stories based on personal experience, plays and radio scripts dramatizing the threat of racial discrimination to democratic ideals, and essays and poems reflecting the writer’s personal reaction to the country’s achievements or what has to be accomplished are themes which can be suggested to talented students or which will develop naturally from their studies. Charlotte Griffin suggests the student’s continuation of a narrative which begins like this:

Nathan and Stuart changed from a comfortable side stroke to a powerful overhand crawl. As the two boys approached shore, Jack was waiting, his blond hair rippling in the breeze. His blue eyes snapped with disapproval as he glimpsed Nathan’s brown arms cutting through the water.  

Work of this kind has the advantage of stimulating the interest and affecting the attitudes of readers, as well as giving a great deal of satisfaction to its author.

Some writing activities may be used to enlist interest in intergroup education as well as to add substantially to an understanding and appreciation of cultural differences. Collecting and compiling Negro folk stories, and singing folk songs and spirituals are activities that have been used successfully in this field.

Taking an examination is, or should be, an important method of learning. Like other written exercises, examinations give pupils an opportunity to review and to organize their knowledge and to express it in concise form. But on the high-school level tests have a still more important function: they provide the student with an objective means of self-analysis and evaluation. From the point of view of intergroup education this second aspect of the testing program is extremely important. If the student honestly faces his biases, he knows the kind of propaganda and emotional appeals against which he must take special precaution. On the other hand, the teacher, having the test results at his disposal, can make his course or unit more effective and realistic.
"Non-Verbal" Activities

The phrase "non-verbal" activities, as Vickery and Cole explain in their book, is used in this discussion to identify those teaching methods which bring pupils into immediate and personal contact with people, things, processes, and situations — a contact with reality more direct than that attained by reading, talking, and writing about them. These techniques are called "non-verbal" because they put a primary emphasis upon the concrete and tangible, not because they avoid the use of words. In fact, verbal and non-verbal methods are inseparable in practice; each is used to support the other. For example, a field trip to a housing project in the Negro section of the community is of little value unless the teacher has carefully prepared the class for the experience. This preparation is accomplished by talks or some other verbal technique. In addition, the significance of what the pupils have observed firsthand is made meaningful by subsequent class discussions, which lead to further reading and writing activities. However, there is no substitute in the learning process for face-to-face introduction to the social conditions which exist within our culture.

According to Vickery and Cole, one of the principal advantages of non-verbal methods in intergroup education is that they have a profound influence on pupils' emotional reactions. They make situ-

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3 Vickery and Cole, op. cit., p. 119.
ations real and vital forces in child and adolescent experience.

A youngster who has once seen how people live in the slums can hardly fail to sympathize with their lot and to become interested in ways and means for improving it. A play or motion picture which dramatizes race or culture conflict — a film showing a mob in action, for example — may translate what was an abstraction to many students into a real life situation demanding social action. The sharing of experiences with members of a minority group in athletics, a school play, the student council, or a community Red Cross drive, may do more to change unfavorable attitudes than any amount of reading or class discussion. In other words, the special advantage in non-verbal techniques does not lie simply in doing certain things (making posters, taking field trips, etc.), but in using these events as an occasion for learning human values.\(^4\) The following is a discussion of some of the techniques which are likely to prove most helpful:

Pictures, cartoons, and posters can be used to focus attention on some particular aspect of a racial problem. A clever cartoon, a dramatic picture, or an attractive poster will sometimes do more to change public opinion than hundreds of words. Teachers engaged in intergroup education can utilize these means to achieve their

\(^4\text{ibid.}, p. 120.\)
goals. Pupils should be given the opportunity to draw cartoons, to make posters and pictures, or to collect appropriate material for the class bulletin board. These activities will increase the effectiveness of this technique.

The use of plays and motion pictures which illustrate ways of life different from that of the local community or which dramatize discriminatory practices and racial conflicts is another technique worth consideration in this area. Documentary films, which have increased in number and improved in quality in recent years, together with the cuttings from commercial motion pictures, which have been made available to schools and other educational institutions, are invaluable resources for intergroup education.\(^5\)

The use of records and radio programs which demonstrate the contributions of the Negro to world music, which show outstanding talent, and which develop an appreciation of his musical tradition is another praiseworthy technique. The music of a people helps to give an insight into their beliefs, loyalties, needs, and problems. The spirituals and jazz tunes of the American Negro are perhaps the best illustrations of this point. The musical ability of Negroes can be used by teachers to build up pupils' respect for the race.\(^6\)

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For further information refer to: the Educational Film Catalog; the Bureau for Intercultural Education, 221 West 57th Street, New York City; the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York City; and to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 - 91st Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Exhibits of African folk-arts and handicrafts to demonstrate the variety, beauty, and utility of the products are other teaching techniques. The greatest value of an exhibit is that it draws on community resources and encourages young people — especially members of minority groups — to respect and admire their ancestors' achievements and culture. Teachers should not overlook, however, the resources of the local museum or art gallery. Frequently these institutions are glad to arrange exhibits to tie in with the unit in progress at the school. An added advantage of this device is that museums can so arrange their material that the cultural history of a group or area can be traced and its contributions to world civilization demonstrated.

Going on field trips and excursions to bring pupils into direct contact with minority groups is a recommended activity. Given careful planning and adequate student preparation, field trips are exceptionally effective means of promoting intergroup understanding. Visits to segregated racial areas with their various features, desirable as well as undesirable, are among the kinds of trips that can be taken.

Another worthwhile technique is the sponsoring of festivals and pageants designed to promote intergroup cooperation and to provide wholesome entertainment and instruction. Perhaps the
greatest benefit derived from a festival program is the conscious co-operation of racial, religious, and nationality groups in a common community endeavor. Such a festival or pageant can be repeated year after year with only a few modifications.

Organized athletics and games to develop a spirit of fair play among the members of different groups and to demonstrate the principle of individual ability are activities which can be used to further a program of intergroup education. To members of minority groups, recognition of their personal merit means a gain in self-confidence and an outlet for any feelings of frustration they may have developed. To individuals belonging to majority groups, playing on the same team with those who differ from them in race might help break down their prejudices and feelings of superiority.

Native and folk-dancing activities may be utilised to establish a common interest through which different ethnic groups can share their heritage. These dancing activities can be developed by the school and continued by the pupils after they have graduated.

Banquets, teas, and social gatherings which bring people of different ethnic backgrounds together in pleasant surroundings serve to promote harmony among races. A dinner followed by entertainment or instruction would probably be the ideal arrangement, but where facilities for this kind of activity are not available,
less pretentious plans may be formulated and carried out.

Attending camps and conferences in which representatives of various races and socio-economic classes share a common interest and live and work together is invaluable experience in the promotion of intergroup understanding. The success of these camps and conferences, which draw no distinctions of race, creed, or nationality and which open their doors to all who share the organization's interests and ideals, are among the most encouraging developments in America. Sharing the common life of a camp or conference presupposes that the individuals involved have already made some advancement toward intergroup adjustment. But there are few if any better ways to consolidate the gains that have been made and to advance further toward the goals of democratic living.

A general activity which fits very well into intergroup education is the engaging in enterprises in which members of all groups participate to promote the welfare of the community or the nation as a whole. Schools, because of their unique place in community life, can serve as the meeting ground for all groups. In a few cities and towns, schools have taken the initiative in projects of civic improvement, and by their efforts have enlisted all citizens in a common cause. In other places, schools located in underprivileged neighborhoods where racial and ethnic minorities have
been forced to live have assumed whatever duties the situation
demanded and have promoted neighborhood co-operation as well as
better family life, personal health, and individual adjustment.
These endeavors strike at the very roots of race and culture con­
flict and through the leadership of capable administrators and
teachers, do much to promote full human equality. 7

An Outline for the Study of the Negro in American Literature

The outline of subjects and topics which follows is designed
to be used in connection with the study of American literature,
and has as its purpose to foster a deeper understanding and appreci­
cation of the Negro's place in our national life. The questions
and discussion topics are based primarily on the works cited in
the previous chapter. Teachers can use these topics to stimulate
thinking, to promote panel and group discussion, and to serve as
the basis for written expression. Certainly all the subjects men­
tioned here cannot be handled in any one unit or course, but the
teacher can select those topics which will fit in best with the
work he is doing.

7 Ibid., pp. 119-27.
SUBJECTS FOR STUDY — FICTION

Part I — The Old-Time Negro and His Folklore

I. The Southern Plantation: A Romantic Legend

A. The early use of the Negro in fiction

1. Comment on his role as a minor figure in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy* and Edgar Allan Poe's *The Gold Bug*.
2. Comment on his role as the pathetic victim of slavery in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
3. Comment on his role as the devoted slave.

B. The work of the Thomas Nelson Page school

1. Note the creation of stock characters.
   a) The lovable Colonel
   b) The devoted Mammy
   c) The self-sacrificing Uncle
2. Note the haze of romance which painted only the bright side of the bygone aristocracy.
3. Note the emphasis on background, local color, and the different phases of plantation life depicted.

C. The significance of two novels: Thomas Nelson Page's *In Ole Virginia* and George W. Cable's *Old Creole Days*.

1. Consider their value as records of a tradition.
2. Consider their value as a means of preserving details of slave life.
Part I — The Old-Time Negro and His Folklore

3. Consider the place of these books in American literature

D. The work of Mark Twain

1. Discuss the relationship between Huck and Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*.

2. Discuss the part the Negro plays in Twain's use of humor.

3. Discuss the use of dialect in Twain's writings.

II. Negro Folklore

A. The Uncle Remus Tales of Joel Chandler Harris

1. Discuss Harris' purpose in writing these tales, his use of dialect, and his ideas of the origin of the tales which he collected.

2. Discuss Harris' creation of a distinctive character in Uncle Remus.

3. Discuss Harris' picture of plantation life.
   a) Does he see the dark as well as the lighter side?
   b) Is his attitude that of a romanticist?

4. Discuss one of the tales and comment on the dialect, the folklore, and the superstition embodied in it.

5. Discuss the value of the Uncle Remus stories as literature.
Part I — The Old-Time Negro and His Folklore

B. The work of Zora Neale Hurston

1. Discuss Zora Hurston's achievement of more than a scientific transcription of folklore.

2. Compare her theories on folklore and dialect with those of Harris.

3. Discuss the Negro portrayed in her sketches.
   a) Compare with Uncle Remus.

4. Read several of the sketches aloud.

5. Discuss the use of dialect.
   a) Does it interfere with ease of reading?

C. The significance of the folklore to be found among the peasant type of Negro in the South.

1. Discuss the need for its collection.

2. Discuss its worth as material for literature.

Part II — The Negro in Reconstruction Fiction

I. The Early Reconstruction Period

A. The Crumbling of the Slave Tradition

1. Discuss whether the earlier plantation-tradition fiction was more or less persuasive than that written during the Reconstruction.
Part II — The Negro in Reconstruction Fiction

2. Discuss the reasons why the "brute" Negro was seldom mentioned in antebellum fiction and so frequently mentioned in Reconstruction fiction.

3. Discuss the usual characterization of the runaways and "bad" Negroes.

4. Account for the absence of characters of mixed blood in some writings.

5. Discuss the stereotyped relationship between Negro characters and Northern whites.

B. The Break with the Past

1. Discuss why Cable was considered to be untrue to the Old South.

2. Mention and discuss the authors who attacked the plantation tradition.

3. Discuss the peculiar plight of the Negro during the Reconstruction period?

4. Discuss the case of the "tragic mulatto"?

5. Discuss the rise of the Ku Klux Klan.

Part III — The Negro as a Major Character

I. A General Survey of Recent Fiction

A. The Historical Novel
Part III — The Negro as a Major Character

1. Discuss the social policy which is served by the continued defense of the plantation tradition since the abolition of slavery.

2. Discuss the work of Ellen Glasgow.
   a) Study the Negroes depicted.
   b) Note whether they are emphasized for their picturesqueness or whether they are individualized.
   c) Discuss Miss Glasgow's studies of social problems in the new South.

3. Discuss Mary Johnson's *The Slave Ship* and compare with George King's *The Last Slaver* or Jean McKenzie's *The Trader's Wife*.

4. Account for the best-selling qualities of *So Red the Rose* and *Gone with the Wind*.

B. The Negro Caricatured in the Humorous Story

1. The work of Irvin S. Cobb, Octavus Roy Cohen, and Robert McBlair.
   a) Note that Negroes are the central figures of these stories, but they are always presented from the point of view of the white man.
   b) Note the value or lack of it in this farcical treatment, which is intended to be exaggeration.
Part III — The Negro as a Major Character

c) Note other stock comedy figures such as the Irishman, the Yankee farmer, and the Jew.

C. The Negro as the Subject of Serious Realistic Fiction

1. Discuss the efforts of a number of minor writers to present a fair picture of the Negro — Henrietta Buckmaster, Edmund Fuller, Lillian Smith, Howard Fast, Carson McCullers, and others.

2. Discuss the work of these writers noting their importance historically for a new attitude toward the Negro.

3. Discuss the number of women who have attempted a fair portrayal of conditions and a sympathetic study of Negro character.

Part IV — The Work of Two Southern Regionalists

I. Julia Peterkin

A. Green Thursday

1. Discuss the subject matter.

2. Discuss the criticism which has been directed toward Mrs. Peterkin for including events and details of ugly brutality.

a) Is she successful in forming these events into a complete picture of the life she knows, or do they seem unnatural?
Part IV — The Work of Two Southern Regionalists

3. Discuss the author's style.
   a) Is it effective? Why?

4. Discuss whether the author merely tells a story or whether she probes beneath the surface of events.

5. Note the use of Gullah dialect.

6. Discuss Mrs. Peterkin's method of relating the story through the thoughts of her characters.

7. Contrast the characters with the romanticized Negroes of the plantation tradition.

B. Black April

1. Comment on the looseness of the main thread of the narrative — on April as the unifying element.

2. Discuss the part that superstitions play in this novel.

3. Note that no white people appear in the novels.
   a) Does this fact aid the author in her picture of this isolated Negro group?

4. Note:
   a) The vividness of the characterizations
   b) The manner in which the incident arises from the interplay of characters
   c) The friction caused by their natures
   d) Their primitive and human desires
Part IV — The Work of Two Southern Regionalists

5. Comment on whether Mrs. Peterkin achieves an artistic interpretation of this hard and primitive life of the soil.

C. Scarlet Sister Mary

1. Comment on the distinctive qualities of this novel, which won for Mrs. Peterkin the Pulitzer Prize.

2. Discuss the contention that Mrs. Peterkin's picture of Negro peasant existence is degrading to the race.

3. Notice the author's continued use of the exotic and the primitive.
   a) How does this affect the character of Mary?

4. Comment on whether Mrs. Peterkin's work partakes of the universal drama of human struggle.
   a) If so, how?

5. Estimate the value of Green Thursday, Black April, and Scarlet Sister Mary as literature.

II. DuBose Heyward

A. Porgy

1. Outline the story, noting the simplicity and directness of the narrative.
Part IV — The Work of Two Southern Regionalists

2. Note the background — the homes of Charleston which have become the Negro slum section.

3. Comment on the hurricane scene as a part of the action.

4. Notice that Heyward tells his story with detachment from his characters.

5. Comment on the simplicity, clarity, and beauty of the writing.
   a) Note the poetry in some of the descriptive passages.
   b) Discuss the dialogue.

6. Compare the drama "Porgy and Bess" with the novel?

B. Mamba's Daughters

1. Discuss Heyward's excellent use of characterization in this novel.

2. Study and compare Mamba's Daughters with Porgy.

3. Discuss the use of white people in Porgy.
   a) Compare with those in Mamba's Daughters.

4. Compare Heyward's presentation of the Negro with Mrs. Peterkin's.

5. Estimate the value of Porgy and Mamba's Daughters in American literature.
Part V — The Work of Stribling, Faulkner, and Caldwell

I. T. S. Stribling

A. Birthright

1. Comment on the main theme of this novel — the influence of environment on character.
2. Discuss whether Peter Siner's struggle is truly deep and tragic.
3. Discuss the character of Peter, Cissie, and the minor figures.
4. Discuss the white people presented.
   a) Note their attitude towards the Negro.
5. Discuss whether Stribling succeeds in his attempt to present sociological realism.

B. The Forge, The Store, and Unfinished Cathedral

1. Comment on how these novels reflect the growing realism in American literature.
2. Comment on whether the author is concerned primarily with the Vaiden family or the environment in which they live.
3. Comment on how the place of the Negro in these novels differs from his place in the work of Page and Harris.
4. Comment on the new attitude toward the Negro that can be detected in this trilogy.
II. William Faulkner

A. His Works in General

1. Discuss why Faulkner has been so successful in his handling of the Negro.

2. Discuss the theme of The Sound and the Fury.

3. Explain how Intruder in the Dust conforms to Faulkner's general thesis about the Negro.

4. Discuss the attitude of the Negro as expressed in "That Evening Sun."

5. Discuss the psychological aspects of "Dry September."

6. Account for the complexity of the character of Joe Christmas in Light in August.
   a) How is he the victim of a hostile environment?

7. Comment on the theme that the author emphasizes in Absalom, Absalom.

8. Explain how the role of the Negro in Go Down, Moses differs from that in other Faulkner novels.

9. Compare Faulkner's treatment of the Negro with that of the plantation school of writers.

B. His Technique in Writing

1. Notice Faulkner's style of writing.
   a) What makes it difficult?
Part V -- The Work of Stribling, Faulkner, and Caldwell

2. Comment on his characterizations, both white and Negro.
3. Discuss whether the author makes effective use of
dialogue and dialect.
4. Discuss the kind of realism that Faulkner employs.
5. Estimate the place of his works in American literature.

III. Erskine Caldwell

A. Trouble in July
1. Discuss the distinctive feature about this novel
   on lynching.
2. Discuss the characterizations of Sonny Clark,
   Katy Barlow, and the minor figures.
3. Comment on the large part that mob psychology
   plays in this novel.
4. Comment on the attitude of poor whites in the South
   toward the Negro as revealed in this novel.

B. Other Works
1. Comment on the callousness toward the Negro as revealed
   in Tobacco Road.
2. Discuss the respects in which the lot of Negroes and
   poor whites is similar.
Part V -- The Work of Stribling, Faulkner, and Caldwell

3. Account for the fiendish attitudes of whites toward Negroes in much of Caldwell's writing.

4. Comment on Caldwell as a literary artist.
   a) Defend your statement by discussing the various aspects of his style of writing.

IV. Stribling, Faulkner, and Caldwell

A. A Consideration of Their Contribution

1. Discuss the importance of the work of these writers in revealing a new attitude toward the Negro.
   a) Compare their attitude with that of the plantation-tradition writers.

2. Discuss the growth of realism in connection with the study of these three authors.

3. Discuss how their views of Southern society show a distinct break with those of the past.

4. Discuss the elements of pessimism, irony, tragedy, humor, and psychology as they appear in the works of these men.

5. Estimate their places as figures in American literature.
Part VI — Negro Writers of Fiction

I. Charles W. Chesnutt

A. A Consideration of His Work

1. Discuss the following aspects of the short stories in *The Conjure Woman*:
   a) The cruelty of master and overseer
   b) The separation of mother and child
   c) The tragedy and injustice of bondage

2. Discuss his use of dialect and superstition.

3. Comment on his characterization.

4. Discuss his treatment of the complexities of race during the Reconstruction period.

II. Jessie Fauset

A. There Is Confusion

1. Note the class of society from which the characters are drawn.

2. Note the racial disadvantages suffered by Negroes as pointed out by the author.

3. Note the plight of the educated and aspiring Negro as shown in this book.

B. Comedy: American Style

1. Discuss the character of Olivia Cary.
III. Rudolph Fisher

A. The Walls of Jericho and His Short Stories

1. Comment on his description of life in Harlem.
   a) The individualized characters
   b) The humor, often ironic
   c) The author's insight

2. Comment on his skill as a short story writer.
   a) Note the elements of his stories.
   b) Note his skill at building plot through character.
   c) Note the influence of O. Henry in his stories.

3. Comment on whether Fisher is more successful with the novel or the short story.
Part VI — Negro Writers of Fiction

IV. Walter White

A. The Fire in the Flint

1. Discuss the experience of the author in investigating crimes against the Negro in the South.

2. Discuss his object in writing of these crimes.
   a) Is it to expose conditions?
   b) Is it to present a tragic picture of the human beings involved?

3. Compare this novel with the writing of Thomas Dixon.
   a) Which is the more overdrawn and sensational?

4. Discuss the characterization.

5. Note the dramatic irony of the events leading to the climax.

B. Flight

1. Discuss the reality of the characters.

2. Discuss the problems of passing for white which beset the mulatto.

3. Comment on the shallowness of the people presented here.

4. Compare other treatments of the Negro passing for white.
   a) Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* and *Passing*
Part VI — Negro Writers of Fiction

V. Richard Wright

A. Native Son

1. Notice the setting for this novel, the ghetto of Chicago.
   a) Why is this significant?

2. Comment on the character Bigger Thomas.
   a) Could he be white as well as Negroid?

3. Discuss whether Bigger's corruption comes about because of innate criminality or environment.

4. Discuss the indictment that Wright makes of American society.

5. Compare Native Son with Farrell's Studs Lonigan and Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath.

B. Uncle Tom's Children

1. Comment on "Big Boy Leaves Home."
   a) What is the author's theory about the beginnings of crime among minority groups?
   b) How does the lack of understanding on the part of Negro youths lead to tragedy?

2. Comment on "Down by the Riverside."
   a) Do you feel that the author overplayed brutality toward the Negro in this short story?
Part VI — Negro Writers of Fiction

b) Do crises have a tendency to bring minority
groups together? Explain.

3. Comment on "Long Black Song."

a) Is Silas justified in his attitude toward the
white man? Why or why not?

b) Does Sarah's situation gain the reader's
sympathy?

4. Comment on "Fire and Cloud."

a) What is the theme of this story?

b) Has this theme been used previously in Negro fiction?

c) What is the author's political and economic
philosophy as expressed here?

5. Comment on "Bright and Morning Star."

a) What is the attitude of Johnny Boy toward a
solution of the racial problem?

b) What are the internal and external hazards of
revolutionary political activities in the South?
SUBJECTS FOR STUDY — POETRY

Part I — Early Contributions of the Negro

A. Negro Spirituals, Folk Songs, and Rhymes

1. Discuss the emotional experience of the slave.
   a) His joys and sorrows

2. Discuss the probable origin of the spirituals.
   a) Influence of the Bible
   b) Old hymn books
   c) Words adapted to the melodies

3. Discuss the characteristics of the race revealed in these songs.

4. Contrast the sorrow-songs with some humorous work-songs.

5. Consider the ballads, work-songs, dance rhymes, etc.
   a) Present-day folk songs, i.e., the blues

6. Estimate the value of this simple folk poetry.

B. The Beginnings of Negro Poetry

1. Consider Phillis Wheatley and her works.
   a) Her life, education, and achievement
   b) Her work as compared with Anne Bradstreet's
   c) Her faults of writing — stilted and imitative style — are to be found in the poetry of most of the writers of the time.
Part I — Early Contributions of the Negro

2. Read one or two poems by George M. Horton, James M. Bell, Charles L. Reason, Alberry A. Whitman, and Frances W. Harper.
   a) Consider the general handicaps under which these Negroes worked.
   b) Compare their protests against slavery with the abolitionist poetry of such writers as Whittier.
   c) Discuss their greatest faults — imitativeness and stiltedness.
   d) Comment on their contribution.

C. Paul Laurence Dunbar

1. Comment on his early life and education.

2. Discuss his first works.
   a) Note his success at reading.

3. Comment on the patronage of William Dean Howells

4. Note the vogue of local color in the fiction of Mary Wilkins Freeman and Thomas Nelson Page, and in the poetry of James Whitcomb Riley.

5. Consider Dunbar as a short story writer and as a novelist.
   a) Discuss the shortcomings of his fictional works.
   b) Comment on his stature as a writer of fiction.
Part I — Early Contributions of the Negro

6. Estimate his non-dialect poems.
   a) Comment on the influence which they show.
   b) Read several aloud in class.

7. Consider the dialect poems.
   a) Comment on their phrasing.
   b) Discuss their interpretation of Negro life.
   c) Note the humor and pathos.
   d) Read aloud a number of these poems.

8. Estimate the place of Dunbar as a figure in American literature.

Part II — The Renaissance School of Negro Poets

A. Minor Poets after Dunbar

1. Consider the dialect verse of any of the following:
   Alex Rogers, Daniel Webster Davis, James Edwin Campbell,
   Ray G. Dandridge, J. Mord Allen, and John W. Holloway.
   a) Notice the influence of Paul Laurence Dunbar.
   b) Discuss the type of poetry portrayed in these verses.

2. Consider the poetry of Benjamin Brawley, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Georgia Douglas Johnson, George M. McClellan, James D. Corrothers, Jessie Fauset, and Joseph S. Cotter, Sr.
Part II — The Renaissance School of Negro Poets

a) Note the rather conventional choice of subject matter.

b) Note the use of verse forms

c) Note the absence of racial self-consciousness

B. The Outspoken Negro Poets

1. Consider the poetry of protest from the time of the anti-slavery writers to Dunbar.

2. Contrast the bitterness of many lesser poets with Dunbar's expression of aspiration for the Negro.

3. Consider the revolt against race discrimination.

   a) Roscoe C. Jamison — "The Negro Soldiers"

   b) Joseph Seaman Cotter, Jr. — "Sonnet to Negro Soldiers," "Is It Because I Am Black?" "And What Shall You Say?"

   c) Fenton Johnson — "The New Day"

   d) James D. Corrothers — "At the Closed Gate of Justice"

4. Consider the indignation over the lynching of Negroes.

   a) Leslie Pinckney Hill — "So Quietly"

   b) W. E. B. DuBois — "A Litany of Atlanta"

   c) Paul Laurence Dunbar — "The Haunted Oak"
Part II — The Renaissance School of Negro Poets

d) William Ellery Leonard — "The Lynching Bee"
e) Ridgely Torrence — "The Bird and the Tree"
f) James Weldon Johnson — "Brothers"

5. Consider the determination to work a way upwards for the race.

a) Leslie Pinckney Hill — "The Wings of Oppression,"
b) J. Mord Allen — "The Psalm of Uplift"
c) Fenton Johnson — "Children of the Sun"
d) James Weldon Johnson — "Fifty Years,"
   "O Southland"

6. Consider the realization of the opportunity of the Negro as an artist

a) James Weldon Johnson — "O Black and Unknown Bards"
b) Charles Bertram Johnson — "Negro Poets"
c) James D. Corrothers — "The Road to the Bow,"
   "The Negro Singer"

C. The Modernists

1. Consider briefly the Negro Renaissance

   a) Note the general tendencies of Negro musicians, writers, and artists to experiment.
Part II — The Renaissance School of Negro Poets

b) Note the universality of this experiment.

2. Consider the attitude which the "new" Negro shows toward his race
   a) Note the choice of subject matter.
   b) Note the mode of treatment.
   c) Note the interest in his African inheritance.
   d) Note the interest in primitive arts.

3. Consider the growing interest in poetry.
   a) Note the number of Negro writers of creditable magazine verse.

4. Study the free-verse experiments of Fenton Johnson, Joseph Seaman Cotter, Jr., Angelina Grimke, Anne Spencer, Jean Toomer, Gwendolyn Bennett, and Arna Bontemps.
   a) Note the form — new metrical effects, emphasis on pattern, efforts to secure the inflection of colloquial speech.
   b) Note the diction — vivid images, fresh and often bizarre expressions.
   c) Note the subject matter — African inheritance, individual expressions, Negro emotions.
Part II — The Renaissance School of Negro Poets

d) Note the strength and weakness -- delight in
decoration sometimes degenerates to over-ornate-
ness, genius for striking images and overuse of
word sounds lead to meaningless incoherence, and
a bent for the dramatic sometimes suffers from a
lack of restraint.

5. Notice the large number of writers of poetry.
a) Estimate the value of this movement
b) Estimate the probability of its continuance and
growth.

6. Consider whether the present interest in Negro culture
is likely to be a passing vogue or a true Negro
Renaissance.

Part III — Three Early Twentieth-Century Poets

I. William S. Braithwaite, James Weldon Johnson, and Claude McKay

A. William Stanley Braithwaite

1. Comment on his life, education, and newspaper experience.

2. Comment on his work as an editor and compiler of
standard collections of Elizabethan, Georgian, and
Restoration verse.

3. Comment on his criticism of contemporary poetry.
a) The encouragement of contemporary writers
Part III — Three Early Twentieth-Century Poets

b) The lack of reference to race.

4. Braithwaite's own poetry
   a) The influence of Blake, Keats, and Shelley
   b) The Philosophy stated in such poems as "This Is My Life," "A Song of Living," and "The Eternal Self"

5. Quote from "In a Graveyard," "By an Inland Lake," "Sandy Star."

6. Estimate Braithwaite as a lyric poet without regard to his race.

B. James Weldon Johnson

1. Discuss his early life and education.
   a) The brothers' collaboration in popularizing early rag-time songs, the forerunners of jazz
   b) The brothers' collection of two volumes of Negro spirituals
   c) The brothers' work as figures in American music

2. Discuss his critical work.
   a) The editing of The Book of American Negro Poetry
   b) The novel The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man

3. Fifty Years and Other Poems
Part III -- Three Early Twentieth-Century Poets

a) The form and the subject matter of "Fifty Years," "Mother Night," "O Black and Unknown Bards," — the restrained sincerity of treatment

4. Discuss his *God's Trombones*

5. Consider in detail "The Creation" and "Go Down Death"
   a) The Biblical beauty of language which links them with the spiritual, the richness and homeliness of the imagery, and the imaginative sweep.

6. Compare Vachel Lindsay's experiments with Johnson's sermons.

7. Discuss Johnson's use of dialect.

C. Claude McKay

1. Discuss his life in Jamaica, early poetry, and music.

2. Discuss his poetry.
   b) The beauty in the new country — "Spring in New Hampshire."
Part III — Three Early Twentieth-Century Poets

d) The personal emotions — "My Mother" and some of the love poems such as "Absence" and "To O.E.A." are done with sincere simplicity.
e) The studied sophistication — "Romance" and "Flirtations"
f) The over-sensuousness of "Flower of Love."

3. Discuss whether his poems are consciously or inherently racial.

a) The sensing of primitive inheritance nostalgia — "Outcast," and "On a Primitive Canoe."
b) The praise of the Negro's genius for song and dance — "Alfonso Dressing to Wait on Table," and "Negro Dancers."
c) The tenderness for individuals of his race, tinged with indignation over their condition — "Harlem Shadows," "The Harlem Dancer," and "The Castaways."
Part III — Three Early Twentieth-Century Poets

e) The oppression as a test of strength — "White Houses," "America" "In Bondage," and "Baptism."

4. Discuss his strengths and weaknesses as a poet.

Part IV — Three Modern Poets

I. Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, and Gwendolyn Brooks

A. Countee Cullen

1. Discuss his life, education, early writing, and prize awards in competitions open to both white and Negro writers.

2. Note that his first honor was won while a high-school student and his first volume published at the age of twenty two.

a) This precocity would have been impossible without intellectual opportunities denied earlier Negro writers.

3. Note that his first poetry was influenced by young white poets, particularly Edna St. Vincent Millay.

a) Compare his "Shroud of Color" with "Renascence" of Millay. Note Cullen's weaknesses — in meter, confusion of imagery, and his roughness.
b) Compare "Fruit of the Flower" with Millay's
   "The Singing-Woman from the Wood's Edge."

c) Recklessness, sense of the transiency of love, 
delight in beauty — "She of the Dancing Feet 
Sings," "To a Brown Girl," "To a Brown Boy," 
"Harlem Wine," "To One Who Said Me Nay," and 
"To You Who Read My Books."

d) Pessimism, revolt against conventional religion — 

4. Note that his faults are largely those of youth; 
note his strong points:

a) Gift for epigrammatic expression at its best in 
   his epitaphs and in portrait studies such as 
   "A Brown Girl Dead" and "Caprice."

b) Humor in "To My Fairer Brethren," "For a Lady 
   I Know," and "For a Mouthy Woman."

c) Lyric expression of a mood — "If You Should Go" 
   and "Spring Reminiscence."

d) Note the singing quality of many lines, the effec-
   tive handling of meter and rhyme, the fresh and 
imaginative imagery.
Part IV — Three Modern Poets

e) Quote from one of his sonnets — "An Old Story."

f) His masculine strength even in pessimistic moods
does not lapse into pettiness.

5. Discuss his individual expression to emotion and
experience of the Negro.

a) Compare him with McKay in his sensing of primitive
heritage, feeling himself a reincarnation of the
jungle — "Brown Boy to a Brown Girl," "Atlantic
City Waiter," "The Dance of Love," and "Heritage."

b) Revolt from the inconsistencies of modern creeds
to a deeper and simpler religion — "Simon the
Cyrenian Speaks," "Black Magdalens," and
"Pagan Prayer."

c) In referring to race discrimination, he never
descends to propaganda but cools his indignation
and sharpens it with irony, a new and powerful
note in Negro poetry. Read "Yet Do I Marvel"
and "Incident."

6. Consider his expression of the universality of art,
especially in "Extemation to Certain Critics."

7. Review Copper Sun — note particularly the sonnets.
Part IV — Three Modern Poets

B. Langston Hughes

1. Comment on his life, education, and prize awards.

2. Note that Hughes' free verse shows the influence of Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, and other modernists.

3. Note his use of jazz rhythms and colloquial phrasing, the shouting color, vivid images, and the striving for new and unusual verse schemes.
   a) Read "Suicide's Note," "Winter Moon," "Seascape,"
      "Sea Calm," "When Sue Wears Red," and "An Earth Song."

4. Note in his jazz pieces — his most original contribution — humor, abandon, recklessness without self-consciousness.

5. Compare the folk-song blues and jazz verses.

6. Consider his poems of racial consciousness.
Part IV — Three Modern Poets


c) Note his bitterness and protest in "As I Grow Older," "The South," and "The White Ones."

d) Note his race pride, a summons for the future — "Epilogue," "Youth," "Poem," and "Song."

7. Comment on the chief faults of Hughes' work.

a) Note the uneven quality.

b) Note that some pieces are trite and sentimental.

c) Note that some pieces strain grotesquely for an effect.

d) Note the overuse of propaganda.

8. Compare him with Cullen for ability in self-criticism.

9. Estimate the value of Hughes' present contribution, and the probable effect of his innovations on the poetry of younger writers, white and Negro.

C. Gwendolyn Brooks

1. Discuss her life, education, and prize awards.

2. Discuss the distinctive features about Miss Brooks' technique, which stamp her as an artist of great promise.
Part IV — Three Modern Poets

3. A Street in Bronzeville
   a) Comment on the author's view of Negro life in Chicago.
   b) Give evidences of her keen insight.
   c) Discuss the sorrow in "Mentors" and "Piano after War."
   d) Read aloud "Of DeWitt Williams on His Way to Lincoln Cemetery."

4. Annie Allen
   a) Comment on the appropriateness of the title of this volume.
   b) Comment on the qualities in the verses which make them Pulitzer Prize material.
   c) Comment on the lyricism and the delicacy of the verses.

5. Compare the work of Miss Brooks with that of Cullen and Hughes.
   a) With which one does she seem to have more in common?
SUBJECTS FOR STUDY — DRAMA

Part I — The Negro and the Theater

I. The Negro's Contribution to the Art of the Theater

A. The Gift of Song and Dance

1. Discuss early ragtime.
   a) Its origin among Southern Negroes
   b) Introduction on the stage in Chicago and New York
   c) The folk-character of the blues, ballads, and songs

2. Comment on jazz — gradual absorption into American life to become popular music of the nation.
   a) Its interpretation of one phase of America
   b) Modern developments in jazz

3. Discuss song and dance on the stage
   a) Early minstrel shows, copying antics of the slaves
   b) Negro comedy entertainers, interpreting their race according to the white man's ideas
   c) Negro musical comedies such as Shuffle Along
   d) Musical comedy's debt to the Negro
   e) Negro revues and primitive dances
   f) Influence on more serious music

4. Estimate the value of this contribution to American culture.
Part I — The Negro and the Theater

B. Negro Actors

1. Discuss the difficulties of the Negro because of the early dearth of parts open to him.

2. Discuss the comedians.
   a) Bert Williams, Stepin Fetchit, and Rochester
   b) Other musical comedy stars and famous teams

3. Discuss the place of Richard Harrison.
   a) His portrayal of De Lawd in Green Pastures

4. Discuss Paul Robeson as an actor.
   a) Sketch his career.
   b) Sketch his rise to prominence in The Emperor Jones.

5. Consider other Negro men and women on the stage.
   a) Sketch the career of Ethel Waters.
   b) Sketch the career of Canada Lee.
   c) Comment on the work of Hilda Simms and Todd Duncan.

6. Discuss the possible effect on the drama of the increased interest in the Negro spiritual and in Negro art.

C. Negro Playwrights

1. Comment on the experimental theatres established to encourage writers and actors of the race.
Part I — The Negro and the Theater

a) Sketch the work of little theatre groups in Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and Washington.

b) Note the work of college groups — the Howard University Players, the Fisk Stagecrafters, the Talladega Players, the Bennett and Hampton theatres.

2. Discuss the plays by Negroes in Locke and Gregory's *Plays of Negro Life*, particularly those of Willis Richardson, Georgia D. Johnson, and Eulalie Spence

a) Comment on the humor, irony, color, and fire in some of these imaginative pieces.

3. Consider the following plays:

a) Hall Johnson's "Run Little Chillun"

b) Langston Hughes' "Mulatto"

c) Randolph Edmonds *Six Plays for a Negro Theatre*

d) Frank Wilson's plays

e) The short dramas in *The Negro Caravan*

Part II — The Negro Plays of Eugene O'Neill

I. An Appraisal of Eugene O'Neill's Contribution

A. The Material of O'Neill's Plays

Part II — The Negro Plays of Eugene O'Neill

a) Note the literary career of this playwright from the early productions of the Provincetown Players.

2. Comment on the one-act sea plays in The Moon of the Caribees.
   a) Does he succeed in creating beauty out of the dirt and degradation of lowly life?
   b) What is his attitude toward those close to the soil and the sea?

B. The Emperor Jones

1. Compare The Dreamy Kid with The Emperor Jones for skill in exposition.

2. Notice the form of The Emperor Jones.
   a) His use of the soliloquy as a mechanical device
   b) His abandoning the three- or four-act form
   c) His use of eight scenes to gather up an accumulation of power.
   d) His use of tension at the end of The Dreamy Kid

3. Comment on characterization
   a) Note the creation of atmosphere in the opening lines.
   b) Note the swift and economical drawing of the figure of Smithers.
Part II — The Negro Plays of Eugene O'Neill

c) Discuss Jones
d) Note Jones' uneasiness through his bragging

4. Comment on the building up of an impression of fear.
a) Note the use of tom-toms.
b) Note the opportunities offered the producer for imaginative creation of scenery and lighting effects.
c) Note the beauty of the simple dialect.
d) Note the imaginative figures and similes.

5. Discuss the play as a study of racial and subconscious fears.
a) Consider whether this is sound psychology.
b) Consider primitive elements and allusions in the works of the contemporary Negro poets.

6. Estimate the importance of the play in O'Neill's development.
a) Consider its significance in freeing the American drama from convention.

C. All God's Chillun Got Wings

1. Discuss the controversial issue which is the basis of this play.
Part II — The Negro Plays of Eugene O'Neill

2. Study the effects upon individuals.
   a) Of racial fears
   b) Of prejudices
   c) Of differences

3. Study the characters.
   a) Discuss O'Neill's selection of a weakling Negro and a coarse white girl.
   b) Contrast Shorty, Joe, and Mickey with Hattie and Mrs. Harris.

4. Comment on the plot.
   a) Note the delicacy with which O'Neill handles rather difficult action.
   b) Notice the sureness with which he builds up a situation that leads to ruin.
   c) Discuss the tragedy, which is the result not only of external forces but of flaws in the characters of each.

5. Comment on the form.
   a) Use of soliloquy
   b) Number of scenes
   c) Use of crowds of both races in the first act
Part II — The Negro Plays of Eugene O'Neill

d) Narrowing to intimate scenes in the second act

6. Comment on the significance of this play.

Part III — The Plays of Paul Green

I. Green's Contribution to the Negro Theatre

A. Green's Short Plays of Negro Life

1. Discuss his early life and education.
   a) Acquaintance with Negro life
   b) Background for his plays

2. Discuss "White Dresses" and "The End of the Row."
   a) Note how the problem is subordinated to the character interest.
   b) Note that the men in each play are victims of the tragedy, not instruments of it.

3. Comment on "The Hot Iron."
   a) Note the realistic study of poverty.
   b) Note the compactness of action.
   c) Note the skillful handling of exposition.

4. Comment on "The Prayer Meeting."
   a) Note the brutal abandon of the play.
   b) Note the juxtaposition and blending of sex and religion.
Part III — The Plays of Paul Green

c) Compare the episode of grandmother and criminal boy with O'Neill's handling of a similar situation in The Dreamy Kid.

5. Consider briefly some of Green's other short Negro plays.
   a) "Supper for the Dead"
   b) "The Man Who Died at Twelve O'Clock"
   c) "In the Valley"
   d) "On the Road One Day"
   e) "Lord"
   f) "In Aunt Mahaly's Cabin"

B. Discuss in detail "The No 'Count Boy."

1. Comment on its being the best known of the one-act Negro plays.
   a) What is its appeal?

2. Comment on the plot.
   a) Sketch the action.
   b) Compare with Synge's The Playboy of the Western World.
   c) Note how the plot grows out of characterization — the comedy depending on character and not action.
   d) Note the preparation for the boy's effect on Pheelie — her romantic and rebellious mood.
Part III — The Plays of Paul Green

e) Note Pheelie's changes of heart. Are they convincing?

f) Discuss the ending of the play.

3. Comment on the characters.
   a) Are they true to life?
   b) Is the contrast in the character of the two men handled effectively?
   c) Does the author succeed in creating a portrait of the old woman in his few lines at the end?

4. Comment on the theme. One reason for the appeal of this play is that we have here two sides of a universal problem of living.
   a) Is either the practical or the romantic entirely triumphant?

5. Comment on the language of the play.
   a) Note the poetry in simple images.
   b) Note the homely dialect.
   c) Note the use of music.
   d) Read part of the boy's description of his journeyings.

C. Consider in detail In Abraham's Bosom.

1. Comment on the theme. Note the universal quality of the tragedy arising both from Abraham's own self—
Part III — The Plays of Paul Green

1. obsessions and from those obstacles of his race.
   a) Discuss the objections that the Negro should not be depicted as a failure.
   b) Explain Abraham's crying out to the ghosts of his parents that they should never have conceived him.

2. Comment on the plot.
   a) Discuss the handling of the action.
   b) Note the scene method. Is it too novelistic or is there steadily increasing dramatic tension?
   c) Notice the treatment of the miscegenation element.

3. Comment on the characters.
   a) Discuss Abraham, his aunt, and wife.
   b) Note the swift characterization of the minor figures. Do they live?
   c) Discuss the purpose of the turpentine hands in the first scene.
   d) Compare their brutal comedy with that of "The Prayer Meeting."
   e) Note the comedy elements in the tragic scene at the school house.
   f) Note the scenes between Muh Mack and Douglas.
   g) Comment on the variety of characters presented.
Part III — The Plays of Paul Green

4. Comment on the language of the play.
   a) Note the use of the soliloquy in the closing scenes.
   b) Compare with The Emperor Jones.
   c) Read the baptism prayer of Abraham.

5. Give a general estimate of the play.
   a) Comment on the award of the Pulitzer Prize and the attitude of critics toward the play.

6. Discuss the place of Paul Green among American dramatists.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY — CRITICISM AND LEADERSHIP

Part I — Criticism and Leadership

I. The Old and the New in Race Relations

A. The Leadership of Booker T. Washington
   1. Discuss his ancestry, early life, and education at Hampton Institute.
   2. Comment on the building of Tuskegee.
      a) Mention some of the difficulties encountered.
      b) Discuss his ability in oratory.
      c) Comment briefly on other Negro orators such as Frederick Douglass.
3. Study carefully his speech at the Cotton Exposition in Atlanta in 1895.
   a) Comment on the program he laid down here, which has been called "The Atlanta Compromise." Why?
   b) Comment on the results of this speech — the attitude of the white South and the objections of intellectual Negroes.

4. Note how Washington reflected the political and economic ideas of his period.
   a) Discuss his statesmanship.

5. Review Up from Slavery.
   a) Estimate its place in American biography.
   b) Discuss the artistic value of Washington's writing.

B. The Leadership of W. E. Burghardt DuBois

1. Mention his ancestry, early life, and education.

2. Comment on his Ph. D. thesis — The Suppression of the Slave Trade, a sociological study and investigation.

3. Discuss his work as a teacher and leader at Atlanta University, 1896-1910.
Part I -- Criticism and Leadership

a) The establishment of Atlanta University studies of Negro problems.

b) The Niagara Movement, 1905.

4. Comment on his role with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

a) The work of DuBois with this organization

5. Discuss his editorship of The Crisis.

a) The general policy of this magazine

b) The DuBois editorials

c) The publication of his articles in national magazines of white editorship

6. Discuss his leadership in times of crises, such as the Atlanta riot and labor conflicts.

7. Comment on his work in international problems.

a) The founding of the Pan-African Congress, 1919.

8. Compare the leadership of DuBois with that of Washington.

C. The Works of DuBois

1. Comment on his books.

a) The Negro in the South. Compare his style with that of Washington's papers included in this volume.

b) John Brown, a biography

c) The Quest of the Silver Fleece and Dark Princess, two novels.
Part I — Criticism and Leadership

d) Star of Ethiopia, a pageant

e) The Negro and The Gift of Black Folk

2. Consider his essays — The Souls of Black Folk and Darkwater.

a) Discuss DuBois' strength of his convictions and his devotion to a cause.

b) Comment on his bitterness.

c) Discuss whether his artistic intent is marred by propaganda.

d) Comment on the style of these essays.

e) Note the poetical suggestiveness and vividness of others.

f) Study "The Sorrow Songs" and "The Veil."

g) Compare "A Litany of Atlanta" with the prose work.

h) Give reasons for his greater success as an essayist.


D. Discuss the Contemporary Negro Leaders.

1. Consider Walter White

a) Discuss his work with the NAACP.

b) Review some of his writings.
Part I — Criticism and Leadership

2. Consider Ralph J. Bunche.
   a) Comment on his position as an international statesman.
   b) Read one or two of his essays or addresses.

3. Consider Alain Locke.
   a) Discuss his leadership among Negro intellectuals.
   b) Comment on the writing which he has done.

   a) Discuss his arguments to the Supreme Court for justice and equality to the Negro.
   b) Comment on how effective the new school of Negro lawyers has been in breaking down discriminatory practices.

E. The "New" Negro

1. Discuss the forces which have brought about the new spirit of the Negro.
   a) Education
   b) Economic freedom
   c) Growth of class distinctions
   d) Social and cultural advantages
Part I — Criticism and Leadership

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Part I — Criticism and Leadership

2. Reconsider the Negro Renaissance.
   a) What is its significance to Negroes, critically, creatively, and in other ways?

   a) Comment on the purpose of this volume.
   b) Summarize the contribution of these articles — literary and general social criticism, specialized treatments of education, race cultures, etc.
   c) Note that most of the Negro contributors have reputations outside of their own race.
   d) Discuss the kind of response this volume has drawn from the white reading public.

F. The Negro Newspaper

1. Discuss the reasons for news agencies separate from white newspapers.
   a) The number and distribution of present newspapers
   b) The Negro press in the development of the race from the time of Frederick Douglass' Paper

2. Study the leading Negro newspapers
   a) The make-up, amount of advertising, types of news, Negro institutions, sports, literature and art, music, and the theatre
Part I — Criticism and Leadership

3. Consider editorial policies.
   a) Discuss views toward local and national politics.
   b) Discuss Locke's assertion that the Negro is
      "radical on race matters, conservative on others."

4. Study the editorials of leading papers.
   a) Pittsburgh Courier
   b) Cleveland Call and Post
   c) Atlanta Daily World
   d) New York Amsterdam News

G. Consider the Negro Magazines

1. Glance through Ebony, Our World, Color, and Jet.
   a) Study the make-up of these magazines — fiction,
      poetry, illustrations, articles, etc.
   b) Estimate the service they are doing to Negro
      artists.
   c) Discuss whether race journalism and race propaganda
      are overemphasized.
   d) Note the race leaders who are contributors.
   e) Comment on the weight of these periodicals
      in political affairs.
   f) Discuss how these periodicals exemplify the
      spirit of the "new" Negro.
EVALUATION

Techniques of evaluation are essential at every stage of the teaching and learning process. Tests and measurements help identify pupil needs, interests, abilities, and limitations; in this way they aid in setting the objectives of a course or unit of work. Tests motivate student activity and enable pupils, as well as teachers, to estimate their progress toward the desired educational goals. Also, they provide educators with a means of comparing the effectiveness of different teaching methods, of organizing subject matter and learning activities, and of determining the degree to which the goals of instruction have been attained. A good program of evaluation is one which is so planned that all these objectives are served.

Through modern educational theory and practice, new principles to guide the evaluation process have been promulgated and widely accepted. The teacher can no longer be satisfied with a testing program which assesses only the amount of factual information the pupils have acquired. Changes in attitudes and master of certain skills have found a place among educational objectives, and advances toward these goals must also be measured. Nor can the teacher any longer assume that evaluation is a special procedure, confined to certain days set aside for examination at the close of
six- or eight-week periods and at the end of the semester. Rather, evaluation is now considered a continuous process, by no means restricted to, and dependent on, formal tests and examinations. It is a part of everyday classroom procedure — a regular aspect of daily work. Finally, tests and measurements have ceased to be regarded as something the teachers "give" and the pupils "take"; on the contrary, the evaluation program has become a cooperative effort of teachers and pupils that helps all concerned to judge the quality and quantity of their work and to guide their future efforts.

The primary purpose of intergroup education is to change certain behavior patterns. In order to reach this end, the teacher and pupils select learning experiences which are designed to increase their store of factual information, to develop skills of logical analysis and critical thinking, to change their opinions, beliefs, and emotional attachments. The evaluation program in intergroup education is primarily concerned with estimating progress toward all these goals as comprehensively and objectively as possible. Some instruments and techniques of measurement suitable for these purposes the teacher will find ready-made and easily available. Others he will have to adapt and modify to suit his special needs; and still others he will have to construct for himself.
Generally, information tests in interracial education must be worked out by the individual teacher or by the specialist of tests and measurements of the particular school. At present there is no body of knowledge which is generally accepted as the basic core of interracial education or for any of its special aspects. Whenever this knowledge can be defined, it will be possible to construct tests that can be standardized and generally used. In the meantime, the wide variation in unit content and emphasis requires that tests of information be constructed to meet particular needs.

Constructing a good information test is a skill which, as all educators know, requires rather extensive training and experience. Almost every teacher has, at one time or another, studied the art of formulating objective test items and discussion questions, and all have developed techniques of measurement which meet ordinary classroom needs. Before one undertakes to make a test in the field of interracial education, it is advantageous to review the basic principles of test-making and to examine some of the recently published standardized tests and collections of test items. This procedure has certain obvious advantages which are especially important when a new type of subject matter is being introduced.

Intergroup education requires not only the acquisition of information but also the mastery of certain skills, particularly
the ability to think critically, logically, and constructively about the relations of racial and cultural groups. Since the development of these and similar abilities is included among the objectives of this subject field, some techniques must be found to measure the pupils' mastery of them.

The tests that have been thus far developed to appraise pupils' skills in interpreting data, drawing conclusions from given evidence, and avoiding appeals to preconceptions and emotionally charged symbols are generally so difficult to construct and score that they are impractical for most teachers. Therefore, either the teacher will have to construct his own measures of the skills included in his list of objectives or use subjective estimates to determine the success of his and his pupils' efforts.

If he chooses the first alternative, the teacher's best source of information and suggestions is probably the report of the Evaluation Staff of the Eight Year Study. No group has done more careful and thoughtful work in this area, nor developed better tests to measure aspects of pupils' thinking. The techniques used by W. W. Biddle and J. W. Wrightstone to assess students' ability to detect propaganda and to think critically provide other valuable suggestions for dealing with this problem.

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8 J. Paul Leonard and Alvin C. Eurich, An Evaluation of Modern Education.
Attitude Tests and Scales

The teacher engaged in intergroup education has at his disposal any number of instruments to measure attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and emotional attachments. In this regard his problem is not one of constructing new tests nor of adapting existing tests to new needs, but of selecting measuring instruments which best suit his purposes.

Attitude tests are readily obtainable and easily administered. Their results present clear-cut evidence of changing beliefs, though the significance of these results will vary with the interpretations the evaluator puts on this type of test. Finally, the scores of attitude tests lend themselves to the statistical analysis necessary for accurate appraisal of the effect of the learning experiences.

One type of test is the Social Distance scale based on a technique developed by E. S. Bogardus. This device for measuring attitudes assumes that the individual marking the scale is least prejudiced against the groups whose members he will admit to the closest personal relationships. Bogardus made a thorough study of 225 adolescents and 500 adults and arrived at the following conclusions: Adolescents are more friendly toward Jews, Japanese, and Negroes than are the adults in primary group relationships and less friendly
in the larger and more impersonal group relationships.  

A major weakness of the Social Distance scale is that it disregards situational influences. Would a white person living in New England have the same attitude toward Negroes if he were living in Georgia? In spite of this and other limitations, the Social Distance scale is a valuable instrument which has been widely and advantageously used in intergroup education.

Another important set of measuring instruments are the Scales for the Measurement of Social Attitudes developed by L. L. Thurstone and others. These scales, each of which measures attitudes toward a particular group, institution, or practice, are made up of statements ranging from extremely favorable to extremely unfavorable. Each statement is given a scale value, and the differences between statements are set approximately equal. The individual's score is the medium scale value of the statement he endorses.

The scales are generally regarded as among the best available.

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The sound thinking and careful work which have gone into their construction enable the teacher to use them with confidence. For the purpose of interracial education, the scale to measure attitudes toward the Negro is very well done.

H. H. Remmers and others have used the Thurstone scaling technique to devise generalized attitude scales.\textsuperscript{11} The Thurstone scales are designed to measure attitudes toward a particular racial or national group; the Grice-Remmers scale\textsuperscript{12} measures attitudes toward any racial or national group. They are comparable in reliability and validity with the Thurstone scales, and have the important advantage of being readily adaptable to specific local needs.

A third kind of scale is that which presents a series of statements with which the testee is asked to express his agreement, uncertainty, or disagreement. Each statement is designed to have a positive or negative value in terms of liberalism, socially desirable behavior, prejudice, or some other reaction. The cumulative score of any individual is taken as an index of his attitude.

As a rule these scales have a high reliability, but their validity has been frequently questioned. On the whole, however, they are accepted as generally sound instruments and have been

\textsuperscript{11}H. H. Remmers (editor), \textit{Generalized Attitude Scales}.

\textsuperscript{12}H. H. Remmers and Others, \textit{High School Attitude Scale}.
widely used by both research workers and teachers.

Other scales that are particularly adapted to intergroup education are the Scale of Belief by the Evaluation Staff of the Eight Year Study,\textsuperscript{13} the Scale of Civic Beliefs by J. W. Wrightstone,\textsuperscript{14} and Opinions on Race Relations by G. B. Watson.\textsuperscript{15}

It may be generally said that all attitude scales reflect the situation of the time in which they were constructed, and may become quickly outdated. The best practice for a teacher is to administer no attitude scale until he has read it thoroughly and checked on the advisability of its administration under existing circumstances. Books and catalogues such as G. H. Hildreth's \textit{A Bibliography of Mental Tests and Rating Scales}\textsuperscript{16} and O. K. Buros' \textit{The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook}\textsuperscript{17} will help the teacher to keep up to date in the field of tests and measurements, and suggest many useful instruments that have not been mentioned here.

\textsuperscript{13} Progressive Education Association, Evaluation in the Eight Year Study, \textit{Scales of Belief}.

\textsuperscript{14} J. W. Wrightstone, \textit{Scale of Civic Beliefs}.

\textsuperscript{15} Goodwin B. Watson, \textit{Opinions on Race Relations}.

\textsuperscript{16} G. H. Hildreth, \textit{A Bibliography of Mental Test and Rating Scales}.

\textsuperscript{17} Oscar K. Buros (editor), \textit{The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook}.
Other Techniques of Evaluation

Objective paper-and-pencil tests are by no means the only techniques of evaluation which are available to teachers engaged in intergroup education. Subjective estimates of progress — representing the individual judgment of pupils, teachers, administrators, and parents, or a consensus of opinions — have a definite value in this area of work. Several of these techniques are suggested below.

Anecdotal reports may be used in an effort to appraise student behavior. The objectives of a unit may serve as the focal points around which are grouped brief written reports of individual pupil behavior. These reports should be stated in definite and concrete terms, avoiding generalizations.

At the close of a unit of work the pupils may be asked to appraise the work and to estimate its effect on their knowledge and opinions. Whether the pupils write an organized report or simply mark a checklist, this technique of evaluation has several advantages: it reveals changes in attitudes as the pupils themselves see them; it brings together in their minds the several related aspects of the semester's work; and it clinches the understandings that have been developed.

Some instructors have made it a practice to have such reports
presented anonymously, believing that pupils will express themselves more freely and frankly under this condition. This method has disadvantages and is not to be recommended. If good pupil-teacher relationships have been built up, student self-appraisal and course-appraisal will probably be objective and sincere. Thus the need for anonymity will be eliminated.

The books a pupil chooses to read, the organizations he joins, the out-of-class activities in which he participates, and similar indices of his interests and abilities may also be used in evaluating the effectiveness of intergroup education. If such records are kept consistently and thoroughly over a period of years, the cumulative report is an excellent way to note the effect of school experiences upon the pupils.

If the cumulative record is to be useful to the teacher of intercultural education, the importance of fostering good race relations should be made plain to teachers at all grade levels and the subject included in the teacher's report of individual pupil progress.

Organizing the Evaluation Program

In order to estimate progress it is necessary to have a standard or basis for comparison. Too often teachers begin a unit on the assumption that the pupils know nothing about the subjects to be
discussed. A moment's thought will reveal the fallacy in this approach. The teacher of intergroup education should make pre-tests as well as end-tests an integral part of evaluation. The need for pre-tests makes it essential that two equivalent forms of a test be available. Most of the published tests are so constructed, and the teacher can follow this pattern in constructing his own measuring instruments.

The current practice of administering a battery of tests rather than a single test at the beginning and end of the work is one which receives the support of many educators. The tests should be so selected that they cover as thoroughly as possible the goals of instruction that have been set. It may be desirable to administer two or more attitude scales and tests of skills, while usually a single information test is sufficient.

Though teachers may strive to make their evaluation as objective as possible, usually they must be satisfied with approximating this goal rather than attaining it completely. The standardized pencil-and-paper tests, which are as objective in their construction as humanly possible, cannot measure the degree of attainment of every objective which the instructor and his pupils have set for themselves. If the evaluation program is to be complete, it must utilize available and appropriate objective tests, rating scales,
subjective reports, cumulative records, and other devices that depend to a large extent on subjective judgment.

To summarize the program of evaluation, it may be said that:

1. Pre-tests as well as end-tests should be used to insure realistic and accurate appraisals of progress.

2. The tests administered should be so selected that they cover all the objectives set by the teacher and pupils.

3. Though objective tests are desirable, they should be supplemented by other and more subjective devices.

4. The records of evaluation should be preserved and made available to all teachers who, in the future, will help guide the pupils concerned.

5. The teacher should make records of methods used in handling various pupil situations, and he should evaluate the effectiveness of these techniques.
CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One of the greatest challenges to education today is the need for promoting better intergroup understanding. If what we strive to accomplish through education is to make our schools the best possible exemplifications of democratic living and agencies for understanding and interpreting democratic ideals, then administrators, teachers, pupils, and community groups must seek to discover and to implement the values to which we as a nation give our whole-hearted allegiance.

In many respects the Negro, the largest minority group in America, is the hardest hit by segregation and discrimination. He is denied adequate housing facilities, equal educational opportunities, social rights in restaurants, hotels, theaters, and hospitals, and full employment privileges. Recognizing the existence of these injustices, the writer of this thesis has proposed certain materials, methods, and techniques of instruction that may be employed in the study of American literature which will help wear down biases and foster understanding among racial groups.

In Chapter I there is presented an examination of the need for this study. There is unrest throughout the world today because of unjust and discriminatory practices toward various peoples; we can...
not allow this corrupting influence to divide Americans into bitterly opposed groups. A review of the literature reveals certain fundamental attitudes of whites toward the Negro. It is evident that the Negro is the group least favored socially; that community and family attitudes toward him are accepted uncritically; that prejudice begins early in life, develops gradually, and is not innate but is formed by the continued impact of widespread social forces.

The attitude of the Negro toward the white majority varies according to the cultural region in which he lives. Northern Negro youth are both less prejudiced toward whites and more favorable in their attitudes toward other Negroes. Northern urban youth are more race conscious and have more race pride than Southern youth, rural and urban. Negroes as well as whites grow up with conceptions of their role in a given racial setting, and they tend to act accordingly.

The attempts of teachers to modify attitudes toward the Negro by means of carefully planned and controlled experiences have been confined almost exclusively to the area of classroom teaching. Attitudes of high-school students toward the Negro have been measured before and after exposure to courses in international mindedness, civics, and race relations. With minor variations, results of such courses have been small but reliable shifts toward more favorable
attitudes. According to the data marshalled here, sentiments and attitudes undergo change which is in some measure the result of an increase of information.

The effect of teaching on group attitudes needs a great deal more study and testing. Up to the present, the general conclusion is that a given amount of information does make a positive and significant contribution to the development of favorable attitudes toward minority groups. Recent refinements of techniques in attitude measurement promise to make attitude studies more valid instruments for sociological and psychological purposes. The general criticisms of current attitude tests — that they do not differentiate successfully between public and private attitudes, that they tend to distortion because they isolate segments of the personality, and that they rely too much on statistical analysis at the expense of understanding the meaning of attitudes for the individual exhibiting them — apply especially to the study of attitudes toward the Negro.

The historical factors in the American race problem are presented in Chapter II. To understand the problem fully, one must know not only how white and Negro people feel toward one another but why they feel as they do. This knowledge involves the history of the relations of the two groups, as well as present-day social
and economic factors.

The demand for a cheap and permanent labor supply was a primary factor in the establishment of Negro slavery in America about 1619. The growth of slavery was inextricably tied up with the development of the plantation system of agriculture.

The slave system as it finally evolved represented both a division of labor and a definition of status by which each racial group had a specific place in the social order. To the extent that the members of both groups agreed on the Negro's subordinate status, the system worked and, though there might be discontent, there was little open conflict. From the beginning, however, there were Negroes who rebelled against their prescribed status. In spite of the careful conditioning of the slaves, there were insurrections, rebellions, and runaways. Out of the long development of this pattern, the white Southerners confused what the Negro had become in the school of slavery with what the Negro was by natural endowment. For the most part, it was believed that the Negro was racially inferior and incapable of participation in the white man's civilization except in a menial role and under white direction. If one considers the bitterness, hatred, economic ruin, and total disruption of the social structure wrought by the Civil War and by Reconstruction, together with the readily observable physical
differences between whites and Negroes, it is quite understandable that the advancement of the latter in economic, educational, and social status has been slow and difficult.

The leadership of such men as Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, the founding of interracial groups to cope with problems of discrimination, the impact of two world wars, and a general awakening on the part of the American people have led to significant gains in race relations and the advancement of the Negro. The integration of the Negro into American society must be viewed in relation to the reorganization of American life which has been necessitated by the new world into which the United States must fit. America, as a nation, is committed to certain principles, the most important of which are human freedom and human equality; and in America's bid to become the stronghold of democracy with the support of all the peoples of the world — white and colored — the treatment of the Negro can become its greatest asset. Hence, the integration of the Negro into American society becomes a question of a new organization of American life in relation to certain principles and values which are becoming dominant in the world today — principles which were implicit in the American system from the beginning.

The purpose of Chapter III is to define the role of the schools
in education for racial understanding. Schools in a democratic social order should assume large responsibilities for teaching the youth of the nation facts about the various races which comprise the population of this country. If the schools of America are to prepare the youth of the nation to build a better society, there must be effective intergroup education in those sectors where racial feeling is most intense. The leaders in education in these areas should insist that substantial efforts be made to eliminate race hate.

Following the principle that actions are more effective than words, the first essential is that the school situation itself should be one in which healthy race relations exist. Both in the classroom and in school activities out of class, there must be full participation by all students in accordance with their capacities and interests, and in such a way as to promote the development of better relations. In addition, teachers can take measures to see that undesirable situations and stereotypes are not established —that, for instance, the fair-haired child is not always cast in the role of heroine in school plays. A school can do much to establish a relaxed atmosphere for the discussion of questions relating to race and culture. It can build in students an appreciation of their own backgrounds which will enable them to appre-
ciate the backgrounds of others. But this will not result from a concern for race relations alone. It must be a product of the school's whole character — its democratic spirit and procedures, its spirit of free inquiry, and its attention to current problems and issues.

If better intergroup understanding among students is to be achieved, there are certain educational needs which must be met. We find that students fall, for this purpose, into three main categories: children of minority groups, children of dominant and privileged groups, and children who, by reason of economic or ethnic background, are themselves subjected to discriminations from those higher in social status, but who can, in turn, express discrimination toward those lower in social status.

Children of minority groups need:

1. To develop strong, stable, free personalities capable of meeting constructively the racial situations which will come upon them, or which they will seek.

2. To develop capacities and skills which will place them on a sound competitive basis in the wider community and in their professional or working life.

3. To develop techniques for meeting various racial situations in such a way as to change the situation in the direction of greater
integration and cooperation.

4. To develop a perspective of their own situation in terms of the position and experience of other minority groups in the United States and in the world.

5. To develop an understanding of the economic and social forces which determine their position and, especially, the dynamics of the situation.

6. To develop a personal philosophy, a carefully thought-out code of personal conduct, and a capacity for self discipline.

Children of groups which occupy a privileged and dominant position need:

1. To develop emotionally secure personalities so that they will not need to exploit their privileged position to bolster their personal security.

2. To develop social awareness which enables them to share imaginatively in the experiences of others and creates a desire to do so.

3. To develop an understanding of economic and social forces which will make them aware of the extent to which their own lives are dependent upon what happens to others.

4. To develop awareness of the limitations of their own experience and desire to enlarge the range of their contacts and
experiences.

5. To develop social techniques of working with, rather than for, people of many types, interests, and points of view.

Children of non-dominant white groups need (in addition to those already listed for other groups):

1. To understand and appreciate their own backgrounds in order that these may be a source of pride and self-respect, not, as is so tragically often the case, of shame.

2. To understand the economic and social forces which impinge upon them in order that they may recognize identities of interests between themselves and others.

There are certain educational needs of teachers, too, that should be met if they are to help improve race relations. Few schools are staffed by teachers whose experience, philosophy, and knowledge equip them to do a good job of building racial understanding. A program to develop these capacities is necessary. This means creating experience situations through which teachers may broaden their understanding and sympathy toward members of other groups.

White teachers should be familiar with the Negro press, the social structure of minority groups, and the points which present problem areas. Teachers from minority groups should have an acquaint-
tance with, and appreciation for, the total American culture and conviction that the minority American is a part of that culture. Teachers of all groups should find adventure in inquiry and experimentation as an antidote to defeatism on minority problems and race relations. All should ground their approach in their devotion to the task of developing to the fullest the capacities and personality of each student as an individual.

It is possible to equip teachers, through study and experience, with the necessary skills to convey to their students both attitudes and knowledge which will build racial understanding. This leads directly to a consideration of the importance of race relations in the education of new teachers. Teacher-training institutions and colleges whose graduates will teach should examine both their curriculum and their whole learning situation, with a view toward developing an understanding of factors which enter into race relations, as well as to producing emotionally mature students as future teachers.

The American school, if it is to inaugurate effective programs of interracial understanding should be concerned with: (1) the improvement of the student's understanding of the races of mankind, (2) the inclusion of vital experiences within the curriculum which are designed to prepare the student to cope with significant prob-
lems of later life, and (3) the deepening of the student's insight into the society in which he lives.

The English program can aid immeasurably in the promotion of interracial education. The skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening can all assist in promoting intergroup understanding provided the teacher integrates into the English curriculum facts about race, minority groups, and democratic living.

The purpose of the fourth chapter is to present a critical evaluation of literature about Negroes by representative white and Negro authors. Too frequently in American literature the Negro is nothing more than a rigidly stereotyped character. He is treated with condescension and little attention is given to his problems. When slavery was being attacked, Southern authors wrote about the contented slave, who was happy with his lot as a bondsman. When tragedy was mentioned, the Negro was pictured as a happy-go-lucky and carefree soul. During Reconstruction, when threatened with Negroes' voting, going to school, and working for themselves, the brute Negro was shown as a horrible menace to society.

Since there is no stereotype without some basis in actuality, it is to be understood that individuals could be found resembling Page's loyal Uncle Billy, Scarlet Sister Mary, or Uncle Tom. But when generalizations are drawn from these about a race or a section,
the author oversteps his bounds as a novelist. Fiction, especially on so controversial a subject as the American Negro, is still subjective; and novelists would do well to recognize that they are recording a few characters in a confined social setting, often from a particular point of view.

Fortunately for American fiction, there have been authors from the outset who treated the Negro with intelligence and understanding. In the nineteenth century many writers from Melville to Cable showed sympathy and comprehension. Nevertheless, it is to present-day realists, a large number of them Southerners, that one must look for the greatest justice to Negro life and character. They have been less concerned with race than with environment; they have sought to get at social causes rather than to support a social order.

It is likely that Negro authors will, in the future, write most fully and most deeply about their own people. As we go to the English and the French for the truth about their people and as we go to the workers and not the stockholder for the truth about the lives of tenants and croppers, so it seems that we should expect the truth of Negro life from Negroes. The Negro artist has a great task ahead of him to render this truth in enduring fiction. So far, much of what seems truthful has been the work of sympathetic white
authors; and in all probability white authors will continue to write about the Negro. Moreover, it can be said that their writing will get at valuable truths and be significant contributions to American literature. But the time has come when the Negro author must accept his responsibility and be the ultimate portrayer of his own people.

In Chapter V there are presented teaching methods, suggested questions and discussion topics, and a plan for evaluating the program of intergroup education. The following are methods, techniques, and activities which the teacher can employ in order to promote interracial understanding:

A. Reading

1. Reading to provide information on race and culture problems

2. Reading to affect attitudes and emotional attachments

3. Reading in periodical literature those stories which relate to community and national problems

4. Reading to prepare oral and written reports

B. Speaking

1. Stories and anecdotes to impart information and to illustrate principles

2. Formal talks to introduce or to summarize units of work
B. Speaking

3. Oral pupil reports to arouse individual interest and give status to pupils from minority groups

4. Lectures by outstanding representatives of minority groups

5. Class discussions to analyze and organize the information which pupils have acquired

6. Class discussions to develop the students' capacity to deal with controversial issues

7. Panels and forums to stimulate interest in problems of race and culture

8. Panels and forums to present varying points of view on the subject of race.

C. Writing

1. Reports and research papers to stimulate independent study

2. Reports to promote original thought on problems of race and culture

3. Reports to supply useful data for other students and the community

4. Creative writing to provide a means of personal self-expression

5. Creative writing to affect the opinions of those who read it
C. Writing

6. Writing activities to create and maintain interest in one's own cultural background
7. Tests and examinations to record achievement and aid in self-analysis

D. Non-Verbal Activities

1. Pictures, cartoons, and posters to focus attention on some particular aspect of a racial problem
2. Plays and motion pictures which illustrate the local community
3. Plays and motion pictures which dramatize discriminatory practices and racial conflicts
4. Records and radio programs which demonstrate the contributions of the Negro to world music
5. Recordings which show outstanding Negro talent
6. Records and radio programs which develop an appreciation of Negro musical tradition
7. Exhibits of African folk-arts and handicrafts to demonstrate the variety, beauty, and utility of the products
8. Field trips and excursions to bring pupils into direct contacts with minority groups
D. Non-Verbal Activities

9. Festivals and pageants to promote intergroup cooperation and to provide wholesome entertainment and instruction

10. Organized athletics and games to develop a spirit of fair play among the members of different groups and to demonstrate the principle of individual ability

11. Native and folk-dancing activities

12. Banquets, teas, and social gatherings which bring people of different ethnic backgrounds together in pleasant surroundings

13. Attending camps and conferences in which representatives of various races and socio-economic classes share a common interest, and live and work together

14. Engaging in enterprises in which members of all groups participate to promote the welfare of the community or the nation as a whole

E. Evaluation

1. Pre-tests as well as end-tests should be used to insure realistic and accurate appraisals of progress

2. The tests administered should be so selected that they cover all the objectives set by the teacher and pupils
E. Evaluation

Though objective tests are desirable they should be supplemented by other and more subjective devices.

The records of evaluation should be preserved and made available to all teachers who will guide the pupils in the future.

The teacher should make records of methods used in handling various pupil situations, and he should evaluate the effectiveness of these techniques.

Intergroup education, as it exists in the United States today, is a process of facilitating and stimulating cultural interchange; it recognizes differences in cultural heritage among Americans; and it seeks to unite minority groups in a common national loyalty so that this country can function effectively as a unit. The educator who works to achieve these ends faces a unique situation. People of different racial, religious, and nationality backgrounds are diffused over the country as a whole, living side by side in the same communities. Thus, groups which are readily identifiable as different in many respects are in constant contact and competition, so that conflict situations inevitably arise or are created. Intergroup education must, therefore, be concerned with allaying cultural conflicts as well as with providing channels for favor-
able cultural interaction. It must enable people who are culturally different to live as close neighbors with a minimum of hostility and with a maximum of profit to all groups concerned.
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