

Racism in the U.S. North

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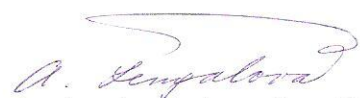
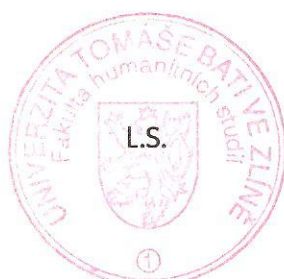
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ABSTRAKT

Americký sever byl považován za méně rasistický ve srovnání s jihem. Práce se snaží toto tvrzení vyvrátit a soustřeďuje se na situaci černochů v devatenáctém století na severu USA. Uvádí důvody, které vedly k podřadnému postavení černochů a také snahy černochů o zlepšení tohoto postavení. Práce se zabývá nejen postavením černochů v právním systému, ale také jejich postavením ve společenském životě, ať už po ekonomické stránce tak i po stránce vzdělání. Závěr práce ukazuje, že Americký sever byl stejně rasistický jako jih a v mnoha směrech byl život černocha na severu složitější než na jihu.

Klíčová slova:

diskriminace, emancipace, zrušení otroctví, sever, Jim Crow, nadřazenost, podřazenost, černoch, otroctví

ABSTRACT

According to American historical memory, in the nineteenth century the North of the United States was less racist than the South. This thesis endeavors to disprove this statement and focuses on the situation of blacks in the North at that time. It identifies reasons for the perceived inferiority of blacks and also demonstrates their efforts to improve their status. Furthermore, the thesis deals with the legal status of blacks as well their social, economic, and educational situation. It concludes that the North was just as racist as the South and that black life in the North could be even harder in some respects.

Keywords:

Discrimination, emancipation, abolition of slavery, North, Jim Crow, superiority, inferiority, Negro, slavery

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INTRODUCTION

Race is a construct that has had a profound influence on the United States. The relationship of inferiority and superiority between blacks and whites has permeated all aspects of American life. White Americans saw themselves in the highest position on the “race pyramid” as representatives of civilization, whereas blacks were assigned the lowest position. This designation of blacks as the lowest form of humanity was justified by many arguments.

At first came the idea that it was natural for blacks to live in inhuman conditions. This idea had roots in the perception of place where blacks had lived before they were brought to the U.S.A. The general opinion was that they lived in Africa in bushes, were naked, ate by hand and most importantly did not believe in God. Slaveholders and much of American society were convinced that they were doing a good deed by bringing blacks to civilization and converting them to Christianity. More evidence of the inferiority of blacks came from the field of science. Scientists argued for polygenesis and “proved” that blacks were less intelligent.

The nineteenth century was replete with restrictions, prohibitions, segregation, discrimination and violence. The common perception is that the South was chiefly responsible but this is just a product of historical memory. The truth is that blacks were treated equally poorly in the North. They were oppressed and humiliated throughout the United States. Feelings of superiority gave whites power over blacks. In the antebellum period blacks could be sold, bought, killed or separated from their family. They had few rights and were often considered inhuman.

The postbellum period gave blacks hope and optimism but the reality was different. Reconstruction brought false hope, and a new era of discrimination, humiliation, inferiority and segregation came, and this era was in some cases worst than slavery itself. Freedom was bound by so-called Black Codes, laws in the South as well as in the North. That restricted property and voting rights, prohibited them to work in certain occupations, and established punishment for some crimes and vagrancy and many others. In 1866 Republicans managed to pass a Civil Right Bill to protect blacks from the Black Codes. But the mind set of whites was steadfast and they resorted to violence. White supremacist organizations such as The Knights of White Camelia, the Red Shirts, the Regulators and the most well-known Ku Klux Klan were formed in response to Republican efforts. In the

1870s so-called Jim Crow Laws were passed that legalized discrimination in school, restaurants, hotels, theatres, public bath and in other places legal. Segregation became the norm. These conditions were everywhere regardless of region.

1 BACKGROUND

1.1 Slavery and Freedom

The story of the South and North is familiar to most. It is a story about a cruel South, about plantations and the slaves who worked there in inhumane conditions. It is also a story about a righteous North that won the war that freed the slaves. But, this story is not exactly correct. In fact, Northerners were themselves slave owners but by the 1850s, the number of slaves had so decreased in the North that according to historians Anne Farrow, Joel Lang and Jenifer Frank “By and large, the region’s relationship with slavery, though extraordinarily profitable, was a distant one. That distance allowed the North to minimize and even deny its links with the institution that fueled its prosperity.” The Northern economy heavily relied on cotton grown by slaves in the South.¹

Slavery was the same in the North as in the South before Civil War. Slaves could be bought or sold in Boston or New York taverns as well as in Georgia. Northern society accepted slavery, and even people with anti-slavery convictions owned slaves. John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin or the family of Abraham Lincoln were not exceptions. In 1775, the year before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, at least 41,000 enslaved blacks lived in the North. After the American Revolution the number of slaves declined because George Washington freed many slaves in exchange for fighting on America’s side. The British promised the same thing for those who joined the Loyalist’s side and when Britain lost the war, many of these blacks left America with their Loyalist owners. After this the portion of slaves was small compared to the South, but the status of slaves remained on the same level. Masters had the power over their “property”. Slaves sometimes lived in harsh conditions, and they had to sleep in attics or sometimes just on the ground. Masters could separate families if they wanted, they could beat their slaves and otherwise treat them as they wished. For example in 1758 three slaves were whipped in public on the order of Jonathan Trumbull, the future governor of Connecticut. The reason for this was that the slaves were out walking after nine p.m. without the permission of their master. Another example of a master’s power occurred in 1760 also in Connecticut when

¹ Anne Farrow, Joel Lang and Jenifer Frank, *How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery*. (New York: Ballantine Books, 2006), XXVI.

Benedict Arnold sold an eleven-year-old boy advertising that he is accustomed to work. These events happened every day and nobody questioned them. Nobody was surprised to see a young baby sold in the market. A typical portrait of that time is found in the autobiographical work of well-known New York slave Sojourner Truth. She was born in 1797 into slavery. When she was young she saw her parents die of hunger and cold. She had thirteen children and some of them were sold into slavery even after New York passed an emancipation law in 1827. Life was not easy for slaves but sometimes they had courage to rise up. Many of these rebellions happened in New York.

1.2 Slave rebellions

1.2.1 New York Slave Revolt

In 1712 occurred the first violent uprising that caused great fear and panic lasting for years afterward. Conditions for revolt were perfect and were unavoidable. In the early 1700s one out of every five inhabitants of New York was slave. Because there were no plantations in the city, slaves were skilled workers, boat builders or stone masons. Many slaves lived in a concentrated area, worked in close proximity to each other and could communicate without difficulties. Nobody knows exactly what led to the event that happened several hours after midnight on 6 April, 1712. Supposedly two dozen black men set a fire in the city. Among the insurgents were Coromantees who were from Ghana and were well-known for being brave and warlike. The rebels were armed with axes, guns, and pistols, and when white New Yorkers started quenching the fire they attacked them. Everything went according the plan. The slaves killed nine whites and seven of them were wounded. Soldiers and police responded the day after. Seventy black men were arrested, twenty-one were executed and six committed suicide. The city was in a panic and people wanted revenge. Governor Robert Hunter knew that hanging would not be sufficient punishment. He also knew that this punishment had to serve as a warning. As a result three men were tied to a wheel and their bones were smashed by crowbar over a period of hours, one man was chained and kept hanging without food and drink till his death and two men were burned alive in a slow fire. But the white fear of blacks did not dissipate. After this rebellion the slave codes became stricter. Blacks could not gather in groups more than three, rape or property crimes were punished by death and new restrictions in manumitting were also adopted. Governor Hunter also recognized that the cause of the rebellion was not

slaves but the slavery system itself. He warned the colonists that they had to stop importing new blacks and instead build a broader white working class.

1.2.2 The Great New York Conspiracy

Still New Yorkers did not heed Hunter's warnings, and by 1741 the number of slaves living in New York had doubled, making whites even more fearful and suspicious. The situation of blacks was even harsher than before 1712. Violence and brutality towards blacks were generally acceptable, and when a black was killed by a white it was considered correct and even a blessing. White New Yorkers were still very alert and there were conspiracy theories that blacks were preparing revenge for executions that happened in 1712. According to journalist Francis Clines "the government-run frenzy was driven by fears and rumors not of witches but of a slave revolt. It was conducted at City Hall in a star chamber proceeding fed by a fanatical prosecutor and his informer-driven roundups. The slaves were reduced to pleading for life, not liberty."²

When a storehouse belonging to Adolphus Philipse, a wealthy merchant, caught fire nobody doubted who caused it. People were in panic again and through the streets was heard the cry "The Negroes are rising!" Several people were arrested, but the fires did not stop. By mid-April, there were a dozen more unexplained fires. Every new fire caused new fear and hysteria. Some of the arrested people were convicted and burned at the stake but the trial was not ended. The men were convicted without any proof, but in the panic of that time nobody cared. Everybody believed that there existed a great plot in which blacks wanted to burn down the whole city, kill the white residents and become free. Arrests of indicted people continued and in the end 30 slaves were executed: 13 blacks were burned and 17 were hanged. Among the convicted persons were four whites because the judges believe that blacks were not able to create such plan without white help.³

Maybe it is not by chance that these rebellions happened in New York City. Reason could be that New York was built by slaves with money from the cotton industry. In fact cotton was the root of New York's wealth before the Civil War. Hundreds of businesses in New York and other parts of the North were dependent upon slave work in the South.

² Francis X. Clines, "New York Burning': Gotham Witch Hunt," *The New York Times* (October 2, 2005), http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/02/books/review/02clines.html?_r=1 (accessed March 20, 2010).

³ Farrow, Lang and Frank, *How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery*, 84.

Famous businessmen like the Lehman brothers, J.P. Morgan, Charles L. Tiffany, or the first American millionaire John Jacob Astor profited from the cotton industry in the beginnings of their careers. So why did the North decide to abolish slavery if the northern cities became wealthy from this system? It seems to be very a cheap and profitable source of human labor, but the truth is to the contrary. According to Leon Litwack, “In the complex economy and uncongenial climate of the North, slave labor presumably proved to be unprofitable; savage Africans lacked the mental capacity to learn anything more than how to tend a single crop.” So the first factor that led to the abolition of slavery was that blacks were considered by whites to be lazy, unable, irresponsible and vicious. As a result, employing whites became preferred. Another reason for abolition was increased pressure from the white working class. White workers protested against black competition because slave labor meant less work for whites and their family. In 1737, the lieutenant governor of New York asked the state Assembly to consider complaints of white working people from whom black slaves took jobs and reduced to unemployment and poverty. John Adams even promised the extinction of slavery and later remarked that white laborers will remove the blacks by force if slavery will be not abolished. These and many others reason led to the emancipation of slaves and the abolition of slavery.⁴

1.3 Emancipation

1.3.1 Emancipation in Pennsylvania

The first legal step towards abolition was taken in 1780 in Pennsylvania with “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery”.

This act stated:

Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and by the Authority of the same, That all Persons, as well Negroes, and Mulattos, as others, who shall be born within this State, from and after the Passing of this Act, shall not be deemed and considered as Servants for Life or Slaves; and that all Servitude for Life or Slavery of Children in Consequence of the Slavery of their Mothers, in the Case of all Children

⁴ Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 4.

born within this State from and after the passing of this Act as aforesaid, shall be, an hereby is, utterly taken away, extinguished and forever abolished.⁵

This act meant a shift from slave labor to indentured servitude. For slaves it was very important because when they finished their long-term service they became free. Children born to slaves after the passing of this act were made indentured servants until their 28th birthday. Indentured servitude also involved Europeans (German, Irish, Dutch, Scot,...). At the time of the Revolution there were about 400 servants in Philadelphia and by the end of the century there were about 2000. This legal tension was supported by antislavery groups and organizations, for example the Quakers. The Quakers, a religious antislavery group in Pennsylvania, believed that slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity. At one of their meetings they declared that anyone who sold or bought slaves will be excluded from participation in the meetings and all affairs of the church. Quakers' antislavery intentions were not limited just to Pennsylvania but were spread also to New England, New York, Virginia, Baltimore and North Carolina. They also created an organization in Pennsylvania – Society for the Abolition of Slavery - that should protect free blacks from being kidnapped and sold into slavery. When they saw their efforts were successful, they attempted to improve the economic and educational statuses of free blacks.

1.3.2 Emancipation in New York

The situation in New York was a little bit different. The slave population was reduced there because lots of slaves exchange their chains for military service or they left New York at the end of the Revolutionary War. Edgar McManus, a historian of northern slavery, wrote that Negro charities were supported much more by white upper class than organizations assisting poor whites.

Douglas Harper wrote that this idealism:

Had no counterpart in the lower classes, among whom could be found neither sympathy for the Negro nor understanding of his problems. From its inception, slavery had been detrimental to the working class. On the one hand, the slave system excluded whites from jobs pre-empted by slaves; on the other, it often degraded them socially to

⁵ Douglas Harper, "Slavery in the North. An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," <http://slavenorth.com/penna.html> (accessed January 10, 2010).

the level of the slaves with whom they had to work and compete in earning a livelihood.⁶

After the war there existed two different antislavery groups. Moderates wanted gradual emancipation and hard-liners wanted immediate emancipation. Moderates won and in 1785 a plan was created that children born after this year will be free. But this plan was rejected and they had to wait until 1799 when “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery” was adopted. This act followed the Pennsylvania model – children born after this year became indentured servants until their productive years (boys 28, girls 25) and then they became free. Slaves born before this year became “indentured servants”, but they were still slaves. Slavery was still present in the New York and moreover it was supported by an exception that was included in this law. It was called the nine-months law and it meant that nonresidents entering the city could have their own slaves with them for nine months and part-time residents could have their slaves temporary. This exception was used by kidnappers. They victimized free blacks and sold them into slavery. Blacks however could find some protection from the Manumission Society. ‘The New York Society for the Manumission of Slaves and the Protection of such of them as had been or wanted to be Liberated’ was a society created by white wealthy men in 1785 (founding members included Alexander Hamilton and John Jay). Society members, mostly Quakers from Long Island, tried to work on behalf of black New Yorkers, and during 1796 they rescued about 33 free blacks from sale. John Jay, Governor of New York from 1795 to 1801, tried to push through an emancipation law. His first attempt in 1777 was not successful, nor was an attempt in 1785. Finally he was successful in 1799 when An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery was adopted. After the Manumission Society reached its main goal, it teamed up with the Pennsylvania Society to focus on the educational and economic status of blacks. The Manumission Society was fighting for freedom and rights for blacks, but on the other hand it is very criticized by historians, for members were very often slaveholders before they joined the society and many of them continued to own slaves after joining. For example, when Alexander Hamilton suggested a resolution that everybody who wants to be

⁶ Douglas Harper. “Slavery in the North. Northern Emancipation.” <http://www.slavenorth.com/emancipation.htm> (accessed January 10, 2010).

a member of Society had to manumit their slaves, it was rejected. Slavery in New York was not abolished until 1828.

1.3.3 Emancipation in Massachusetts

In Massachusetts possibilities existed for slaves to get their freedom. The most dangerous and most straightforward method was to run away. Another way was to make an agreement with slave owners for manumission (legal act of freeing slaves). But for manumission blacks needed money to support themselves. But the institution of slavery remained until 1783. Abolition was preceded by two court battles - Brom & Bett v. John Ashley, Esq and a series of trials relating to Quock Walker.

The main person in the first case was Elizabeth Freeman. She was born slave and given to the family of John Ashley. After hearing a public reading of the Declaration of Independence she decided to seek her freedom. Together with another enslaved man named Brom they started in 1781 one of the most important legal cases in Massachusetts history. Freeman and Brom won the case and became some of the first black slaves to gain their freedom in court.

Quock Walker was a slave in James Caldwell's family. After the death of Caldwell he was sold to Nathaniel Jennison and became his property. But Caldwell promised freedom to Walker, while Jennison did not want to manumit him. Walker ran away to brothers of his former master and he worked there, but Jennison found him, beat him and took him back. From this incident arose separate trials. In the first trial Walker sued Jennison for assault and battery without right. Walker said that he was free at that time because of Caldwell's promise. The court confirmed his rectitude and awarded him £50. In 1781 Jennison's appeal of Walker vs. Jennison was also dismissed, a jury decided that Walker was a free man and Cadwells were rights to employ him. This trial together with trial of Elizabeth Freeman effectively ended slavery in Massachusetts.

"By 1830 slavery was virtually abolished in the North. Only 3,568 blacks were still in bondage, most of them residing in New Jersey". Jerseymen were obsessed by the idea that blacks could overrun the white population and at a time when slavery was disappearing in the rest of northern states in New Jersey blacks were still held as slaves. Because of this New Jersey became the last state in the United States to free slaves. But even though slavery ended the supposed inferiority of the black race still remained in the minds of white people. For example in New Jersey and New York blacks had to face a period of political

disfranchisement, economic and social discrimination. In Massachusetts the legislature voted to expel all blacks that are not citizens and in 1800 the state expelled 240 blacks from this state. Another case of a breach of blacks' rights happened in Philadelphia in 1805. When blacks were celebrating the Fourth of July they were driven violently from the square and excluded from the official celebration.⁷

2 FIRST HALF OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

2.1 Kidnapping

The North was not able to guarantee the safety of free blacks, and white residents knew it and exploited it. For fifty years, kidnappers were threatening blacks in the streets of Northern states, abducting them and selling them into slavery. In 1808 the U.S. Congress banned the importation of slaves and since that time the value of slaves shot upwards. Lots of people wanted to exploit the situation for a profit. William Parker, leader of the resistance and an escaped slave, wrote: "Kidnapping was common...that we were kept in constant fear. We would hear of slaveholders or kidnappers every two or three weeks; sometimes a party of white men would break into a house and take a man away, no one knew where; again a whole family might be carried off. There was no power to protect them, nor prevent it." Kidnappers were organized into gangs and its members became legends. One of legendary gangs was gang of the Patty Cannon.⁸

2.1.1 Cannon's Gang

Cannon's gang kidnapped slaves and free blacks from Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania and sold them to plantation owners in the South. During 1825, the gang caught and sold about a dozen young black people from the City of Brotherly Love. Murders were also very common for kidnappers. Petty Cannon alone was accused of four murders. In April 1829 skeletons of one adult and three children were found on Cannon's farm. One of the former gang members testified that he had seen Cannon club a child to death to keep the evidence hidden.

⁷ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 14.

⁸ Anne Farrow, Joel Lang and Jenifer Frank, *How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery*. (New York: Ballantine Books. 2006), 142.

The gang was very famous and inspired many writers like George Alfred Townsend, who described the life of gang members and their relation towards blacks. Townsend wrote the following in *The Entailed Hat*:

They hated free niggers as if they was all Tories an' didn't love Amerikey. So, seein' the free niggers hadn't no friends, these Johnsons an' Patty Cannon begun to steal 'em, by smoke! There was only a million niggers in the whole country; Louisiana was a-roarin' for 'em; every nigger was wuth twenty horses or thirty yokes of oxen, or two good farms around yer, an' these kidnappers made money like smoke, bought the lawyers, went into polytics, an' got sech a high hand that they tried a murderin' of the nigger traders from Georgey an' down thar, comin' yer full of gold to buy free people. That give 'em a back-set, an' they hung some of Patty's band — some at Georgetown, some at Cambridge.⁹

2.1.2 Fugitive slave act

Kidnapping continued, and it went so far that blacks were compelled to create the first black self-defense association. Its leader was David Ruggles, who is well-known for providing shelter for the most famous fugitive slave in history, Frederick Douglass. But this association had no power to protect blacks, especially after 1850 when the Fugitive Slave Act was adopted. Instead of protecting blacks it protected slave catchers. This act was one of the most controversial acts and led to many battles, attacks and riots.

Under the act:

- The alleged fugitive was not allowed to testify at the hearing.
- Commissioners received twice as much compensation (ten dollars) for granting certificates as for denying them.
- Federal marshals were financially liable for not trying to execute the warrants and for allowing fugitives to escape.
- Penalties were increased for obstructing slave owners or helping fugitives, and included imprisonment.¹⁰

One of the most famous examples is the Christiana Riot. Everything started when Maryland farmer Edward Gorsuch arrived in 1851 at the Christiana home of William Parker in search of four fugitive slaves. According to the Fugitive Slave Act he was right to

⁹ George Alfred Townsend. "Selections from the Entailed Hat," William C. Chase, <http://www2.mcdaniel.edu/History/ehe.html> (accessed January 11, 2010).

¹⁰ Arthur G. LeFrancois, "Fugitive Slave Acts (1793, 1850)," 2010 eNotes.com, Inc., <http://www.enotes.com/major-acts-congress/fugitive-slave-acts> (accessed April 15, 2010).

do it but he was violently rebuffed and then killed in an ensuing conflict. Another story about fugitive slaves took place in Cincinnati in 1856. Margaret Garner was a mother of two children who promised them that they never return into slavery and all the family runaway. But they were found by their slave owner. Margaret cut her daughter's throat and tried to kill her two boys rather than return them back into slavery.

The Fugitive Slave Act brought an atmosphere of fear to the black community. According to historian Leon Litwack "the captive had no recourse to common legal safeguards, such as a jury trial or a judicial hearing. In fact, the new law awarded ten dollars to the commissioner if he directed the captive's return, but only five dollars if he ordered the runaway's release." This act was not only a threat for runaway slaves but also for free-northern born blacks. Everybody could be identified as fugitives and carried to the South. During the first six years of the Act there were more than two hundred supposed fugitives arrested and just twelve of them were able to prove their freedom. Blacks were still under huge pressure because they could not believe people, even their own race. Slaveholders were encouraged by the new law and they wanted their properties back. They employed secret agents and informers to find blacks for them and give false testimony. These agents were whites as well as blacks so the danger was even bigger, and many of the leaders of the black community decided rather to move to Canada or England. Although the South completely agreed with the Act, the North was not so united. Some of the northern states and communities refused this act, and some of them even collected money to buy the victims' freedom.¹¹

The most significant slavery case happened in 1857 and is known as *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Dred Scott was a slave and he lived in the free states of Illinois and Wisconsin before he moved to Missouri, a slave state. He appealed for his freedom to the Supreme Court but he was not successful. Scott first went to the court in 1847 and since that time he had passed many appeals and court reversals. In 1857 the court decided that a person with African ancestors – slave as well as free – could never be a citizen of the United States. The court also proclaimed that the federal government had no right to prohibit slavery in its territories. Although the trial did not end successfully for Dred Scott, abolitionist Frederick

¹¹ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 248.

Douglass still stated positively that: "my hopes were never brighter than now" because the Scott case brought slavery to the attention of the nation.¹²

2.2 Scientific racism

White people always knew that blacks were an inferior race, that they were something less than human. They endeavored to find some proof of their superiority. For example, in the eighteenth century Dr. Benjamin Rush from Philadelphia believed that skin color is black because of leprosy. This leprosy also supposedly caused bigger lips, a flattened nose and wooly hair. Dr. Rush recommended for a complete cure to use the juice of unripe peaches, tight-fitting clothing and abstinence. This theory was soon discredited and whites needed a better one which would be more scientific. In the beginning of the nineteenth century blacks started to be more and more visible because of the help of black writers and abolitionists. They wanted to declare their rights, and they wanted to prove that they are equal. The white majority could not accept this and needed to have some clear and incontrovertible proof that black are not the same. And this proof came from scientists in the nineteenth century.

2.2.1 S. G. Morton, J. Nott, L. Agassiz

Black is slave and slave is biologically subhuman. This was the conclusion on which many scientists worked. One of them was Samuel George Morton, a Philadelphia physician. Born in 1799 he had an Irish background and a Quaker education. His research included geology, paleontology, zoology and anthropology. His was the first to attempt to measure intelligence. He believed that intellectual ability is connected with brain size. Together with Josiah Nott and Louis Agassiz he collected skulls of blacks, Indians and whites. They filled the skulls with mustard seeds and measured the brains' volume. Supported by their results, the scientists created a pyramid of races. Nobody was surprised that at the highest level was the white race, under it was Indian with Jews and at the bottom of all was the black race. In fact Morton saw the difference between Negroes and other races as so huge that he thought that Bible had been misread because all races could not be created from Adam. He believed that during the Flood there must have been a second

¹² 1999 WGBH Educational Foundation, "Dred Scott case: the Supreme Court decision <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2933.html> (accessed January 11, 2010).

creation that made men unequal. Later it was discovered that Morton distorted some information. For example when he wanted to demonstrate stupidity of black race he chose three small female skulls. Since the size of a skull is directly proportional to size of a body the three black skulls he chose seemed to be smaller. Josiah Nott and Louis Agassiz, Morton's disciples, went even further and in the 1850s they collaborated on *Types of Mankind* in which they proved that blacks were not even the same species as whites. *Types of Mankind* supported a supremacist view of Americans. Nott called their research niggerology. Co-worker Agassiz started as a Swiss zoologist and geologist and his first closer contact with blacks was in 1846 when he was invited by Morton to Philadelphia. His first reaction was really strong as he wrote: "Seeing their black faces with their fat lips and their grimacing teeth, the wool on the heads, their bent knees, their elongated hands, their large, curved fingernails, and above all the livid color of their palms, I could not turn my eyes from their face in order to tell them to keep their distance." Morton, last from the trio, was a very respected scientist, and he was invited by many politicians to support their proslavery attitude. He was for example invited by John C. Calhoun to help him deal with tension between North and South. The 1840 federal census shows differences between blacks in the North and in the South. The census reported that Northern blacks were ten times more prone to idiocy than blacks in the South. It also stated that blacks, who lived farther in the North, were more insane. 1 in 14 blacks in Maine was supposedly an idiot, 1 in 43 blacks in Massachusetts was an idiot and 1 in 297 in New Jersey. Northerners wanted Morton to disprove this census but he agreed with the Southern view. This census also showed that slaves lived longer than free blacks and mulattoes.¹³

The scientific theory about superior race was soon doomed by much more reliable. In 1859 Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. As a result, the theories created by Morton, Nott and Agassiz were pushed away and declared as fantasies. The theory of Darwin was based on the belief that all life is related and everything has a common ancestor. But there is a mechanism called natural selection that leaves superior members alive and causes inferior members to die out.

3 SECOND HALF OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

¹³ Farrow, Lang and Frank, *How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery*, 183.

Whites in the South as well as in the North were afraid of emancipation and they tried to confirm the political and social inferiority of the black race. During the 1850s ballot proposals appeared extending the suffrage of blacks, but none of the states that granted equal-suffrage rights approved. Instead Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Oregon agreed to prohibit the entry of blacks. Because of continuing repression, northern blacks decided to organize their forces to change public opinion. In Illinois, for example, the Repeal Association was established and it should ensure the nullification of Black Laws.

Arthur Cole in his book *Centennial History of Illinois: The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* summarizes Illinois Black Laws as following:

1. Negroes and mulattoes were not allowed to come into the state.
2. All contracts with such negroes and mulattoes are void.
3. Any person encouraging them to come, or giving them employment, to be fined from \$10 to \$500.
4. Negroes and mulattoes are not to be allowed to vote.
5. No negro, or mulatto having even one-eighth part of negro blood, shall marry a white person.
6. Any person counselling or assisting such marriage shall be fined from \$100 to \$1,000, and the marriage to be void.
7. Negroes and mulattoes are not allowed to testify against white persons, or send their children to free schools with white children, or hold any office.¹⁴

In Ohio the Colored American League was formed to protect runaway slaves. In New York State Suffrage Association and Legal Rights Association were established. Black leaders recognized that if something were to change organizations would have cooperated nationally. This happened on 6 July, 1853 in Rochester, NY. Representatives from various states met together and elected the National Council of the Colored People. Some of the African-Americans did not believe that Council could change anything and they were for most dramatic action. This group welcomed with enthusiasm the abolitionist leader John Brown.

¹⁴ Allan Pitts, "Illinois Black Laws", Tetra-WebBBS 5.31, http://history-sites.net/cgi-bin/bbs53x/ilcwmb/webbbs_config.pl?noframes;read=1266 (accessed April 20, 2010).

3.1 John Brown

Abolitionist John Brown was born in 1800 in Connecticut. As a child he lived with the father of future general and president Ulysses S. Grant. He wanted to become a Congregationalist minister but he was unsuccessful in this regard so he started working in a tannery. The economic crisis of 1839 left him in debt and devoid of property. He began to earn money through extra legal means. With the proceeds he bought a vacant farmhouse where he began gathering troops and training them for a raid on Harpers Ferry. Brown was an abolitionist and he wanted to establish a colony for runaway slaves. For this plan he needed weapons. In 1859 John Brown and his followers attacked the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and this action brought Brown to national attention. The raid, however, was unsuccessful and John Brown was sentenced to be hanged.

In his final statement he said: "I believe to have interfered as I have done, . . . in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it be deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I submit: so let it be done." Northern abolitionist saw this case as an example of government's support of slavery. John Brown was a martyr for them and became a symbol of anti-slavery beliefs. Frederick Douglass also respected Brown and he gave several speeches in his honor. But at that time when Brown was alive, Douglass was asked by him to join them in a declaration of war on slavery. Frederick Douglass refused, thinking that such a declaration would end in failure.¹⁵

3.2 Colonization

The years preceding the Civil War awakened the interest of the white public to the black's plight. Antislavery tracks together with slave memoirs awakened sympathies among whites. Story *Uncle Tom's Cabin* also evoked many questions. One of these questions was if it is possible to secure equal rights for blacks within the United States. The Colonization Society was sure that it was not possible and offered a solution – send them

¹⁵ 1999 WGBH Educational Foundation, "People and Events: John Brown"
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p1550.html> (accessed January 15, 2010).

back to Africa. “The black man cannot stay where he is,” said a colonization leader in 1860. “He is excluded from other parts of the United States; he can find no enduring home in the west;...where is he to find a home? Fortunately, God himself had at one time supplied the answer – the western coast of Africa.” The colonization movement, also known as Back-to-Africa movement, began in 1816 when American Colonization Society was established. Society members did not care much about emancipation or equal rights. They were sure that integration between black and white is not possible and the only solution was to find a place for the blacks. The society lobbied Congress and tried to find public support. The society was popular between ante-bellum Northerners rather than abolitionist.¹⁶

3.2.1 New home

Liberia was chosen as a new home for blacks. As historian Barbara Palmer stated “Nineteenth-century supporters of colonization envisioned a role for settlers in Liberia of ‘civilizing’ Africa and building a society that would be as attractive to American blacks as the United States had proved to be for immigrants. Liberia was to be, as John Winthrop imagined Puritan settlements, a city on a hill.” It was established as an independent Negro state in 1847 but it proved unsuccessful. Abolitionists stood up for blacks who rejected the colonization plan. They protested that they are Americans; America is their home because they were born there. But the race problems that plagued America still deteriorated and in 1850 colonization were again promoted in most Northern states. In 1854 delegates from eleven states gathered in Cleveland for the National Emigration Convention of the Colored People. The main intention was to discuss advantage of black emigration to Central or South Africa. Discussion was open just for supporters of emigration and this strict rule invoked criticism among blacks, particularly Frederic Douglass. Topics at the Convention included the unfavourable situation of blacks, disfranchisement, black inferiority and the Fugitive Slave Act. All participants agreed that the black race had nothing in common with Anglo-Saxons and that a new colony in Africa would allow for racial pride and national consciousness.

¹⁶ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 253.

They were also asking if they can live and prosper only under the authority and power of a white oppressor in the United States.¹⁷

“No! Neither is true that the United States is the country best adapted to our improvement. But that country is the best in which our manhood – morally, mentally and physically – can be best developed – in which we have an untrammelled right to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.”¹⁸

In the end the Cleveland convention did not win the support of the Negro community. Whites supported it and expressed their approval and this was maybe one of the reasons why blacks did not support this plan. They were suspicious of the aims of the emigrationists. But after the outbreak of Civil War some blacks saw the only solution in emigration. For example in 1862, 242 California blacks requested that Congress move them somewhere where their race would not be considered inferior. Such petitions however, were sporadic. Most blacks hoped that the Civil War would bring change to the United States.

3.3 Election of 1860

In the 1860 elections, blacks supported the Liberty and Free Soil Parties. Frederick Douglas was even nominated for state office by the New York Liberty party. The new Republican Party was also supported by blacks because it promised a defense against southern aggression. Democrats disliked Republicans for wanting racial equality, amalgamation, and suffrage for blacks. Senator Stephen Douglas castigate Republicans and warned against their triumph: “If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, than support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party.”¹⁹

Republicans denied these allegations. They explained that they were not for civil rights for blacks and that they were still a “white man’s party”: as Republican Senator Lyman Thurbull stated, “we are for free white men, and for making white labor honorable and

¹⁷ Barbara Palmer, “Historian situates: Back-To-Africa movements in broad context,” *Stanford Report*, (March 2006), <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2006/march1/colonize-030106.html>, in Stanford University News (accessed January 16, 2010).

¹⁸ National Emigration Convention of Colored People, *Proceedings of National Emigration Convention Of Colored People*, (Pittsburgh: A. A. Anderson, 1854), 56.

¹⁹ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 268.

respectable, which it never can be when negro slave labor is brought into competition with it. We wish to settle the Territories with free white men, and we are willing that this negro race should go anywhere that it can better its condition. ... We believe it is better for us that they should not be among us. I believe it will be better for them to go elsewhere.” Republicans realized that they had to do something concerning blacks 1860 and they embraced the colonization idea.²⁰

3.3.1 Abraham Lincoln and a purely white America

Abraham Lincoln was an avid supporter of colonization. He touched on the topic in his annual message to Congress in 1861, and again in the 1862 Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation:

You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated. You here are freemen I suppose.²¹

There were several reasons why President supported colonization plan. First of all, he believed that blacks were an inferior race and it was impossible for them to live in one society together with whites. He also believed that the removal of blacks would create a market for white workers. But his main aim was the creation of a purely white America. President Lincoln and other cabinet members decided that the best place for emancipated blacks would be in Latin America. As a result, the government collected about 600,000 dollars and began looking for a suitable location in Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Guatemala and British Honduras.

Ultimately, Lincoln chose Haiti as the location for a colony. In 1862 four hundred blacks were deported to the island. But again the plan was not successful. “The experiment failed miserably due to "poor leadership, inadequate planning, want of essentials,

²⁰ Matthew Norman, "The Other Lincoln-Douglas Debate: The Race Issue in a Comparative Context," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* Winter 2010
<<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jala/31.1/norman.html>> (February 10, 2010).

²¹ Douglas Harper, "The American Civil War", <http://www.etymonline.com/cw/lincoln.htm> (accessed February 11, 2010).

unemployment, and the opposition of the Haitians themselves." It was eventually concluded that Haiti was too dissimilar to the United States to provide an adequate site for colonization. The differences in language, education, religion, and government prompted Lincoln to disregard Haiti entirely for future prospects."²²

In 1860 brought a few changes, but the position of blacks within society could not be change. They remained disfranchised, segregated and oppressed. They were still excluded from juries, workshop, theatres and other public places. "Having excluded him from various lecture halls and libraries, they pointed to his lack of culture and refinement; and finally, having stripped him of his claims to citizenship and having deprived him of opportunities for political and economic advancement." Whites concluded that blacks could not improve their situation and that they should be colonized.²³

3.4 Reconstruction

After the Civil War came Reconstruction which began immediately after the war in 1865 and lasted until the last northern troops left the South in 1877. It should have brought the transformation of the South in political, economic and social terms, in conformity with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. During Reconstruction, some blacks were elevated to important political and social. The origins of black reconstruction might be found in the army during the Civil War. About 16,000 former slaves and 40,000 free blacks served in the Union Army and took part in the North victory. Some of these soldiers remained active after the Civil War and they helped to transformed black society.

Abraham Galloway was born a slave in North Carolina and when he saved enough money he run away to Canada. He decided to go back and entered the Union Army when he found out that the Civil War started. Galloway was reputable leader and he got the possibility to meet President Abraham Lincoln in 1863. He worked for General Benjamin F. Butler as a spy. After the war he was one of the more important black leaders and spokesmen and he served as delegate from New Hanover County. In 1868 he was elected state senator.

²² Lora Pearlman, "Lincoln's Colonization Efforts", <http://www.lib.niu.edu/1997/ihy970228.html> (accessed February 11, 2010).

²³ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 279.

Other example is John Mercer Langston who was born to freedwomen Lucy Jane Langston. John also served in Union Army, and after the war he was a national officer in Freedmen's the bureau, a member of Congress and later the first dean of the law school at Harvard University.

3.4.1 Blacks in politics

Reconstruction was the first time that black people became members of Congress and other important offices and it was also the first time that blacks voted in mass. Before the Civil War only six states in the North allowed blacks to vote but the ratio of the voters was small. In the South voting was forbidden for blacks, and after the Civil War in 1868 700,000 blacks registered to vote. Because of the Fifteenth Amendment the right to vote was extended across the nation. Blacks took part in congressional elections and between 1869 and 1901 22 different blacks were elected representatives. Blacks also held offices on the local level, serving as a sheriffs, county commissioners, city aldermen or justices of the peace.

The first African American who served in the United States Senate was Hiram Revels. He was born in 1822 in North Carolina and although he was born free he was forbidden to learn to read and write. He learned in private. In 1854 he was imprisoned because he was preaching the gospel to Negroes. During the Civil War he helped to recruit black soldiers, and after the war he helped former slaves. In 1863 he established a school for freemen in St. Louis. Mississippi elected him as a senator in 1870, but he held office only one year.

Blanche Bruce was other black senator but contrary with Hiram revels he was born as a slave. Although he was a slave he got unusual opportunity to be educated by his young master. During the War he became teacher and founder of black school in Kansas. After this he held several important positions and in 1875 he became second African American senator and as a first one he served full period there.

In 1874 was elected to Congress Robert Small. Interesting thing about Small is that ten years earlier he refused to give up his seat to a white passenger. Most of all black politics were talking about situation of blacks, about discrimination they had to face and sometimes they used their own experience. Joseph Rainey, member of House of Representatives and Congressman in 1870, was removed from a dining room in a hotel where he was booked in. Rober Elliott, another member of House of Representatives, was refused service in a restaurant. Very often were threatened by death to the black politics and they had to

defended themselves and their family by armed guards. Reconstruction ended in 1877 when President Rutherford B. Hayes decided to withdraw the army troops from South. Protection of blacks was given into the hands of local whites. Blacks in the politics did not vanish immediately but their power was diminished. They continued to work in important offices until around 1900 when Southern states disenfranchised blacks. Six more blacks remained in Congress to the end of nineteenth century and some of them were active even after, for example Robert Small who served until 1913.

3.5 New era of segregation and oppressions came

Jim Crow law was a racial caste system that operated between 1877 and the mid-1960s. Although this system was primarily working in the southern and border states, it was born in North and developed there before move to South.

3.5.1 Jim Crow

Jim Crow was not just law; it was a way of life. Blacks were inferior race so nobody wonder why blacks could not attend public school, why they could not sit in the restaurant or why they could not enter the cinema, theatres and public baths. Blacks were referred to as niggers, coons or darkies and even white children had to learn what a black skin means. White children learned stereotypes about blacks from games. Board games that was first created in 1830s was extremely popular among middle class families. Some of the games illustrated blacks as a comical character but most of them showed white hostility towards blacks. Games like the “Dump the Nigger”, “African Dip”, or “Coon Dip” had a similar schema where hitting the black or throwing him down was the target of game. There also existed other games besides board games where children could “hit the Nigger”. Very popular at the end of the nineteen century was an attraction called “Hit the Coon”, or “African Dodger” that could be found at fairs and festivals. It was a painted canvas with a hole in the middle through which a black man put his head and white children tried to hit him with a ball.²⁴

²⁴ Denis Mercier, “From Hostility to Reverence: 100 Years of African-American Imagery in Games,” Ferris State University, <http://www.ferris.edu/JIMCROW/links/games/> (accessed April 15, 2010).

3.5.2 Discrimination in education

Blacks were every day confronted by humiliation and injustice. They knew if they wanted to change this situation they had to start with education. Only in this way could they break down discrimination and improve their economic status. But an educated black was unimaginable for many whites. The possibility of a black children sitting in the same class as a whites invoked great fear, much bigger than a black man sitting in the church or theatre with whites. On the other hand whites were calmed down by the scientific argument about blacks' brain being smaller and that blacks could not understand what they were learning. In 1827, Negro magazines complained about the situation of education. "While the benevolence of the age has founded and endowed seminaries of Learning for all other classes and nation, we have to lament, that as yet, no door is open to receive the degraded children of Africa." The situation in Washington D.C was similar. White inhabitants declared that they would let their children go uneducated rather than send them to the same school with black children. Before 1820 some of the northern schools admitted blacks but most of them were separated and often it was not the school's decision. For example, in 1850 in Indiana there was no discrimination law in the state school system, and because of this white parents did not allow black children together with their children. By the 1830s black schools were segregated from whites in most northern states.²⁵

In response, blacks started to establish their own schools and they were supported by many antislavery societies and sometimes schools were granted by a school fund. As early as 1787, the Manumission Society in New York organized the African Free School and in 1789 schools for blacks were established in Massachusetts. In Ohio a School Fund Society was created that initiated some educational centers. Efforts of abolitionists went even further, and in the 1830s one of them wrote how happy he is that in Cincinnati are vocational schools for adults, evening schools, Lyceum lectures and Bible classes. But not all of the people were satisfied with the situation of educated blacks and violent protests began. One of these demonstrations happened in Zanesville, Ohio. When a young woman was opening the school's door whites entered into the building and violently destroyed everything they could. Books and furniture were damaged and finally the institution was driven from the town. The young lady had luck that nothing happened to her because

²⁵ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 114.

people who had something in common with black educational institutions were in a difficult position. The situation of teachers was even worse. White teachers were mostly not accepted by the black community and they were expelled from the white community also. A well-known example is Alonzo B. Corliss who was a white teacher of blacks during Reconstruction. One day he was taken out of his bed and whipped with a hickory stick. Then his kidnappers cut his hair only on one side of his head. This side was painted black. Corliss asked them what he done wrong and they answered that he was teaching niggers.

The establishment of a separate black school did not mean that pupils could be educated there without any problems. White inhabitants of the town where these kinds of schools existed did not want their city degrade by this evil. For example in New Haven, CT in 1831 three antislavery leaders – Simeon S. Jocelyn, Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison – tried to establish a Negro college. New Haven seemed to be a great place because of its literary and scientific fame and central location. But white people of New Haven did not like the idea of blacks coming from other cities to their own for the purpose of school. So in 1832 in a town meeting they rejected the proposal as “incompatible with the existence and prosperity of Yale and other notable local institution and destructive to the best interest of this city.” When people could not save their city like New Haven’s inhabitants they created a new form of opposition – harassment. In 1833 a young Quaker schoolmistress Prudence Crandall wanted to allow black girls to attend a girl’s boarding school that she established in Canterbury village. She was warned how difficult it could be and also dangerous. Miss Crandall refused to give up and in April she opened the school. New students from New York, Philadelphia and Boston were coming and the townspeople decided to do something. They started insulting the students in the streets and filled the school’s well by manure and doctors refused to treat the pupils. Miss Crandall was also subjected to harassment, and she was forced to import water from the farm that was two miles far away.²⁶

In 1806 more and more black students moved to Beacon Hill in Boston because of the local black school. The space was limited so the school had to move into the basement of a church and in 1815 it was called Smith School. Later in 1835 a new school building

²⁶ Ibid., 124.

was created. Conditions of the new building were incomparable with white schools. It was ill-equipped and poorly ventilated but it was not an exception among black schools. The Smith School was very popular among blacks and it was also supported by many abolitionists. Some of the school's members like William Cooper Nell started to be active in a movement to end segregation in Boston schools. Nell was also one of the men who in 1840 signed a petition for equal school rights but here he was unsuccessful. The idea of equal educational rights spread very quickly, and as a result the popularity of Smith School declined. The principal of the school was criticized by black parents because of "cruelty in discipline, excessive absence from school, neglect of duty," and most seriously "entertaining opinions of the intellectual character of the colored children." In the 1840s blacks in Boston tried to close the school and integrate black children into white schools but their effort was unsuccessful. A new wave of protests appeared because Boston's separated school system was one of the oldest. The school committee was under huge pressure but they did not want to give up. Nor did the black leaders. Smith School became a symbol of the disagreement between whites and blacks over education.²⁷

In 1845 Negro leaders had a new focus of attention. The Massachusetts Supreme Court was hearing the case of Benjamin Roberts who was there on behalf of his five-year-old daughter. Robert tried to enroll his daughter in five different white schools but she was refused every time. Now she passed five different schools on her way to the colored school. The lawyer of Roberts, who was a supporter of equal rights for blacks, argued using a declaration of human rights in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. According to this declaration there is no legal justification for segregation in Boston's schools. The verdict was read in 1850 by Judge Lemuel Shaw and it brought no hope for blacks of Boston. Roberts did not want to give up and started gathering signatures for ending segregation at school. Finally in 1855 the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed a bill that allows black children to enter to Boston's white schools and in April 1855 both Massachusetts houses signed the bill into law.

Not all blacks wanted to attend the same schools as whites. For example in Providence, Rhode Island blacks petitioned for separate schools. Blacks and whites were

²⁷ Donald M. Jacobs, "The nineteenth century struggle over segregated education in the Boston schools," *The Journal of Negro education*, vol. 39, no. 1 (winter, 1970), <http://www.jstor.org/pss/2966891> (accessed February 20, 2010).

attending same schools in Connecticut but in some cities such as Hartford they asked for separate school because of insults. The situation in New York was little bit different. Blacks there preferred segregated education to no education at all.

Education was an important step but it could not guarantee blacks a better position in professional life. Blacks still had to face prejudice that they are able to do only manual work and nothing more. Even if they were educated no one gave them better jobs or better salaries.

3.5.3 Discrimination in economy

Lowest-paid unskilled jobs, hostility of white workers, living in a black ghetto in a black part of town, restrictions in theatres, restaurants and public places. These and other factors meant a daily struggle for black. An adequate description of the situation can be found in the statement of a northern black student from 1819: “Why should I strive hard and acquire all the constituents of a man if the prevailing genius of the land admit me not as such, or but in an inferior degree! What are my prospects? To what shall I turn my hand? Shall I be a mechanic? No one will employ me; white boys won’t work with me. Shall I be a merchant? No one will have me in his office; white clerks won’t associate with me.” He was right. Blacks hoped that education could help them move to the middle class or at least to a better position on the economic ladder. But education could not change the subconscious of white people, who believed that blacks had just a few working positions that they could do and mostly it was the lowest-paid unskilled jobs. House servant was the employment characterized by the closest intimacy between black worker and white employer. Servants had advantages that others black did not. They could live in the same house, they shared life with the family and sometimes they could attend the same church as the family. But only a small portion of blacks “were honored” with this kind of work. For the rest there were jobs like seamen, common laborers, waiters, barbers, coachmen, bootblacks and for women there were possibilities as washerwomen, seamstresses, cooks or dressmakers.²⁸

In 1855 about 87 percent of blacks worked in menial or unskilled jobs in New York, and this statistic just confirms the inferiority of blacks in the eyes of white

²⁸ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 153.

Americans. Blacks were considered as lazy, immature, untrustworthy, irresponsible and unable to run businesses and there was no reason to believe. The different idea of a white man working together or for a black man was unthinkable. Whites refused to work with them and they rather chose unemployment. If a white man was doing a job that black man could also do there had to be some differences in the name of the position and in the wages paid for the work. For example when a household needed somebody but not a black, for making beds, milking the cow or cooking the dinner they called it "Help wanted". Everybody knew in this case that they are looking for whites. Sometimes it happened that a black and white man applied for the same job and in such cases things could get violent. In 1842 there was a protest in Philadelphia against the hiring of blacks. In New York for example the fear of violence was so great that they decided to refuse licenses to black carmen and porters.

The working situation of blacks was worse due to the large of amount of immigrants. During three decades before 1960s about five million immigrants entered the United States. Most of them were Irish, German or Scandinavians. Germans and Scandinavians went mostly to the west, while the Irishmen, who needed jobs, chose the big cities. Most did not care too much about wages or working conditions. They just wanted to do something, and this was a huge problem for blacks. The Irish did not supersede blacks immediately. Employers preferred sometimes blacks over the Irish because they did not like Irish troubled temper. So in that time there was a new type of job offer that ended with "any color or country except Irish." The Irish learned that they were called "white Negroes" by Americans, and for this reason they turned their hatred towards blacks. They tried to profit from their whiteness and prove that the black race is the lowest on the race pyramid. A growing hostility between the Irish and blacks was a slowly culminated in violence. In the mid-nineteenth century there were several struggles between them. For example, in 1842 there was a clash in Pennsylvania between Irish coal miners and blacks. But the biggest struggle happened during the Civil War in New York.²⁹

In 1862 President Abraham Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation that would take effect one year later. The emancipation Proclamation ended slavery and freed slaves but also fulfilled the worst nightmare of Irish and German residents. On

²⁹ Ibid., 163.

Monday, 13 July, 1863, dissatisfied people mostly immigrants, unleashed five days of violence known as the Civil War Draft Riots. In the beginning government buildings were the target of the rioters but then they turned their anger to everything that was connected with black political, economic and social power. They attacked the Colored Orphan Asylum, took all transportable articles outside and set fire to the building. The children who lived in the house were lucky that nothing happened to them but other people were not so lucky. The crowd attacked blacks as well as people who supported them. They hurt two women who were married to black men and a white prostitute who did business with blacks. They burned the home of Abby Hopper Gibbons, daughter of abolitionist Isaac Hopper. The crowd continued through the city and came to the docks where most of the black men worked. They attacked about two hundred men who just worked there and then they turned their anger on black porters, cartmen and laborers. Still, it was not the end of violence. The crowd hanged William Jones on the waterfront and burnt his body. The next victims were Charles Jackson who was drowned and Jeremiah Robinson who was beaten to death. Black soldier William Williams served as an attraction for women and children who observed the violence. Williams was working on a ship when he was carried out to the street. He fell down and somebody started jumping on his chest. He was murdered by knife and his body was stoned and thrown into the water. "Vengeance on every nigger in the New York" was heard in the streets and nobody doubted that it would happen. During the five days of violence eleven black men were lynched and hundreds of blacks were forced out of the city. The rioters succeeded in reducing the black population because it dropped under ten thousand, the lowest since 1820.³⁰

Other immigrant groups like Germans or Chinese were more tolerant to blacks and they had little fear of black competition. Some of them expressed their sympathy with blacks and disapproved of slavery but the rest remained strongly racist toward them. In 1851, a New York German-language newspaper "called racial equality 'unnatural' and charged that Negroes were the "apes of the white" and belonged in Africa."³¹

Living conditions of most blacks were very poor and uncomfortable. Because of segregation and exploitation they had to live in Negro ghettos that were in all bigger

³⁰ Leslie M. Harris, "The New York City Draft Riots of 1863", <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/317749.html> (accessed March 10, 2010).

³¹ Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, 167.

cities. Boston had Nigger Hill, Cincinnati had Little Africa and New York had Five Points. Escaping the ghetto was almost impossible because no white family wanted to live in a neighbourhood with blacks. When blacks tried to move out from the black parts of a city their house in the white section was very often destroyed down or they were subjected to violence. Conditions in the ghetto were inhuman and there is no wonder that it was great place for illnesses like tuberculosis. A southern visitor to a northern black ghetto wrote: "Thar they was, covered with rags and dirt, livin in houses and cellars, without hardly any furniture; and sum of 'em without dores or winders... This, thinks I, is nigger freedom; this is the condition to wich the philanthopists of the North wants to bring the happy black people of the South." In this description we can see how the life of poor blacks looked. They had no support and no work that could bring them satisfaction. All these aspects together made blacks inferior without any prospects. Kenneth Kusmer, in his book *A Ghetto Takes Shape*, described living conditions of blacks in the second half of nineteenth century in the North. According to Kusmer, blacks clustered in the part of the city where they lived in ramshackle shelters and cankering dwellings. Because of economic circumstances more than one family had to live in the house and they had only small occupational mobility. In Detroit as in other northern cities they had to face discrimination and oppression. Although slavery was abolished there in 1837 they were still disfranchised until 1870. They were segregated in public places until the passage of civil rights laws in 1885. But even after this year discrimination still continued. However David Katzman, who was also focused on the life of blacks in the nineteenth century pointed out in his book *Before the Ghetto* that because of this discrimination from public life, blacks were able to create their own rich community life. They established their own schools, churches, social clubs, literary societies or beneficiary societies and after 1880 black businesses were also growing. A higher class of blacks was created from large-scale farmers, carpenters, skilled mechanics, barbers, successful businessmen, high-placed waiters, servants or coachmen. It also happened that successful black entrepreneurs were able to extend their business among white communities. White customers could be found in Negro restaurants and barber shops. But it was common condition that if the business were to be successful, it could only

serve to white customers. It had to be a huge dilemma for black entrepreneurs because they had to choose between their own race and a better economic status.³²

Blacks were systematically separated from whites in every ordinary activity. They were excluded from railway cars or they had to sit in a special Jim Crow section that was mostly in the rear part. They had to sit in the remote corners of the theaters or lecture hall and they could sit only when somebody permitted it. Blacks could enter most hotels or restaurants just as servants and not as a customer. They could be imprisoned only in segregated prisons and they were buried only in segregated cemeteries. Even in the churches they had a special place in the negro's pews.

³² Ibid., 168.

CONCLUSION

Without any doubt the North was racist, just as racist as the South. And yet in Americans' historical memory, the South gets all the blame. The reason for this stems from the fact that the North won the Civil War. To the victor goes the spoils, and one of the spoils was creating the historical memory of the nineteenth century. As such, the North advertised itself as the land of emancipation and abolition, and it minimized its racist past. For this reason most people are not aware that Jim Crow was created in the North or that segregation at schools was legitimized in the North. Few know that the Ku Klux Klan was popular also in the North or that lynching and cruel executions took place there. Instead the North burdened the South with all of these negatives.

Farther in the South racism was open and in the North it was hidden. But what is worse? According to one black man interviewed during the Great Depression, the North's brand of racism was worse: *"He (black man) said that if he knocked on the door of a home up north that he always got the door slammed in his face. If he knocked on a door in the south, the homeowner would say you dumb N---r, come to the back door and take your shoes off. But they fed him."*³³

³³ City-Data.com. "IS the south really more racist or are they just more open about it?" <http://www.city-data.com/forum/politics-other-controversies/890162-south-really-more-racist-they-just.html> (accessed April 15, 2010).

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