

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE MEXICO

FACULTAD DE FILOSOFIA Y LETRAS

THE ANTISLAVERY NOVEL AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE  
EVOLUTION OF THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

by

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Y LETRAS

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FILOSOFIA  
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# TESIS CON FALLA DE ORIGEN

To my beloved parents,  
with my gratitude for  
their efforts in grow  
ing me both spiritual  
ly and physically.

To my dear brothers  
Ricardo and Fernando.

M. 122891

31236

To Dra. Ma. de la Luz Grovas,  
with gratefulness for her  
intellectual guidance during  
my career.

To all my Professors, who  
helped me so much in my  
studies.

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## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### Beginning of Slavery.

As the discovery of America by Columbus was accomplished in the benefit of Spain, it was not till 1607 that the first British settlement was founded in Virginia by the London Company.

Of the thirteen original colonies only four were initiated by trading companies, and the other seven were founded as proprietorships; for this reason the land systems were similar to those of England, and so, in America, there were not any kind of laborers.

The indentured servants, who were under contract for a limited term of service, were sometimes artisans or persons with professional training, and became easily landowners, so the labor supply became a terrible problem for colonial farmers, merchants, and manufacturers.

White servants were not enough for the necessities of the colonies, and were replaced in Virginia and the Carolinas by enslaved Africans. The first shipboat of Negroes landed in Virginia in 1619.

But, really, slavery was not important until the American planters became convinced that slaves constituted the best labor supply and were indeed cheaper than indentured servants.



The natural resources, land tenure, and labor supply, made differences in the organization of economic life in colonial America, dividing the land among farmers and planters.

In New England agriculture was practiced in small farms, and its principal products were corn, oats, rye, barley, cattle, sheep and horses; so they did not need a great deal of labor supply. Each farm was worked by a family.

The fertile valleys of the middle colonies were more rewarding, and food products became a good exports trade; but, any way, this part of the country was constituted also by familiar farms.

On the contrary, the Southern colonies, from Maryland to Georgia, became interested in the production of great staple harvest, such as: tobacco, rice and indigo.

For this main reason slaves were necessary in the Southern colonies, and as industry was made in the plantations for domestic consumption, slavery became an institution, both for labor and industrial work.

After Queen Anne's War and by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the monopoly of the slave trade in Spanish America was conferred to British merchants. After the peace of Paris (1763), the British controlled the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico, with the exception of New Orleans. This land was good for large plantations. The West of the Mississippi was Spanish territory on which British merchants had the monopoly of slave trade. So both regions were proper to be developed by slave work.

When the Independence of the English Colonies was accomplished, the Philadelphia Convention approved the Constitution on September 17. This Constitution was the basis of legislation for the new nation. The structure of Government was as follows: a President, to be named by a college of electors, chosen as the legislatures of the various states might decide; a Congress of two houses, the lower composed of popularly elected representatives in proportion to the population (including three-fifths of the slaves), and the upper composed of two senators from each state, elected by the state legislatures.

The first antislavery movement started with the Ordinance of (1784). It provided for the perpetuation of republican principles, obedience to the central government and the forbidding of slavery (1). When the northwestern territory was opened to settlement by the Ohio Company, it was given the Ordinance of 1787, which created territorial governments, established the support of public education, the maintenance of religious freedom, and the exclusion of slavery, confirming the former Ordinance which prohibited slavery.

#### THE EXPANSION TENDENCY.

By the Secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800), Spain ceded to France the territory of Louisiana, and Jefferson's first administration (in 1803) purchased New Orleans. On May 2, 1803, a Treaty was signed by which the United States of

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(1) A History of the United States by Edward Channing. Vol.III. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1937 p. 546. ###

America bought the Province of Louisiana. Later, West Florida was claimed as a part of the boundaries of Louisiana. An expedition up the Missouri River and the Valley of Columbia made settlements, in the Oregon Country.

In October 1814, Massachusetts Federalists called a convention which recommended constitutional amendments: a) To omit slaves from the census on which representation was based. b) To require a two thirds vote of Congress in order to admit new states, to impose commercial restrictions and to declare war. c) To limit the President to a single term and prohibit the election of two persons, one after another, of the same state, for the Presidency.

The rapid growth in population of the Trans-Appalachian Region brought new states into the Union. Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1803), and Louisiana (1812); to these were added Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), and Alabama (1819). By 1820 this Western-bloc had sixteen votes in a Senate of forty-four, and forty-three spokesmen in the House of Representatives. Its influence in politics was very important.

When Missouri wanted to be admitted as a state, it began a controversy between the free-labor farmers of the Northern Mississippi Valley, and the slave-owning planters of the Southern section.

As soon as the territory applied for admission to the Union (1818), James Talmadge, of New York, proposed that the new state be admitted with one condition, that the further

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introduction of slaves be prohibited and that all children born to slave parents must have their freedom, given by the state, at the age of twenty-five.

After the Talmadge amendment, the representatives of the states in which slavery was legal, began to fight for their right in taking their slaves into the nation's territory beyond the Mississippi, while the representatives of the free states, in which gradual emancipation by statute or constitutional provision was in process, were determined to prevent slavery from spreading.

The spokesmen of the slave states said that each state should be free to enter in the Union with or without slavery, as the new state desired.

Eventually the Missouri-Maine Matter took on the form of the admission of both states to the Union, without conditions; but slavery should be forever prohibited in all the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase, North of the parallel thirty-six grade and thirty minutes of North latitude (2). So Maine entered into the Union as a free state, and Missouri as an exception of the compromise, entered as a slave state.

Notwithstanding the fact that Texas was considered with possibility of becoming a Republic, the United States voted for annexation. The antislavery forces fought this resolution, because they accused Southern slaveholders of planning the creation of several slave states out of Texas,

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(2) A History of the United States by Edward Channing. Volume V. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1938. page 328.

in order to insure Southern control in federal government. This controversy ended in a war with Mexico. The expansion movement thought of occupying the whole Continent, as a destiny of the Nation, and the slaveholders tried to have territory suitable for the extension of the plantation economy.

After the war with Mexico, the Democratic party was divided into "Hunkers" and "Barnburners". This last faction was supporting antislavery principles and it was finally called the Free-Soil Party opponent to the extension of slavery into the territories.

Taylor's nomination was made with a narrow margin in the electoral college, and both major parties were evading carefully the question about the expansion of slavery.

Around 1830 the writers of the South were worried with the defense of slavery, and one of the greatest Southern novelists, William Gilmore Simms wrote in order to have the approval of the slave-holding aristocracy of his region.

The economic development of the nation, since the colonial days, was based in slavery; so the controversy between slavery and antislavery forces, that came out after the Mexican War, had ancient roots. When the nation fought for its independence, slavery was universal in English America; but after the United States entered in their new existence, as a free country, the slave institution seemed to decline.

Constitution and Congress permitted the importation of slaves for a period of twenty years, although many states were taking legal action against involuntary servitude.

In 1780, the Massachusetts constitution abolished slavery, and Pennsylvania made provision for gradual emancipation. The same policy was followed in all Northeastern states.

In 1787 the Northwestern territory did not permit slaves, and by the Northwest Ordinance, slavery was barred from all the territories. New York in 1799 declared that all children born to slaves should be free after a period of apprenticeship.

The invention of Eli Whitney of a machine to remove seeds from cotton without injuring the fiber, made it profitable for the Southern planters to raise cotton in coastal plains and also in the uplands.

The profits that cotton yielded and the large extension of uncultivated land, where cotton could be grown, brought a great demand of Negro slaves to work in the cotton plantations. The demand became greater by the opening of the low lands of Louisiana to sugar cane growing.

As soon as slavery expanded, the system in agriculture changed from small plantations to large ones, with enforced labor.

The politicians of slave states defended their position, and tried to justify slavery with historical and scriptural facts; they said in general that this institution had great economic advantages, and finally they argued that slavery gave social benefits to the dominant white population.

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The Southern apologists of slavery had supporters in the free states, specially when these were in business with Southern trade. But the real sentiment in the North was for human freedom.

Meanwhile the antislavery societies carried their work in a moderate spirit, their leaders found it possible to organize new societies in the slave states; but in 1831 the "Garrisonian Group" published in "The Liberator" a demand for immediate abolition of slavery, without any compensation to the slave owners. They were so rigorous in their language, that they aroused resentment even in the free states.

This publication benefited the slave states, because it became a pretext for their insistance upon legal and constitutional rights for the slaveholders. Abolitionists were charged by Southerners as conspirators for servile insurrection, when the Nat Turner rebellion broke out in Virginia in 1831.

Southern Congressmen asked the House of Representatives to order the destruction of abolitionist material distributed by mail, and to refuse any kind of antislavery petitions.

The solution given in the Missouri compromise, by which a political balance was made possible, between the two sections of the country, was maintained with the annexation of Oregon and Texas; but it was broken by the Mexican annexation and the rapid settlement of California. At the same time the Free Soil Party was trying to make opposition to slavery in the territories. For these reasons great

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controversies about slavery started whenever a new territory applied for admission in the Union.

David Wilmont, a Northern Democrat, obtained a resolution to the effect that slavery should be barred from any territory acquired from Mexico (1846).

As soon as California drafted a constitution and applied for admission into the Union as a free state, the disunion became hard. Various solutions over the slavery question were proposed, as follows: a) That the Missouri compromise line of California be extended to the Pacific; but this demand cut the state in two parts. b) That Congress leave the matter to the decision of the Federal Courts, and that any decision regarding slavery be left to the people of the territory, when they should be ready for admittance as a state. This last proposition was only a deceitful attitude of the partisans of slavery, because in presenting it, they intended to hide their true intention of keeping slavery in any new state, as they moved white people to the territories which applied for admittance in the Union, as slave states. c) They demanded at the same time that the slaveholders be protected by law in their holding of slaves, in the territories which prohibited slavery.

The provisions given to the Senate by Henry Clay in 1850, became known as the compromise of 1850 and they were: a) California was to be admitted as a free state. b) The slave trade, but not slavery, was to be abolished in the District of Columbia. c) Congress was to enact a more effective fugitive



slave law. d) Territorial governments were to be established in New Mexico and Utah, with the provision that, either might be admitted to the Union with or without slavery, as they might determine.

Politicians of North and South urged that the compromise be the final settlement of the slavery question.

About the fugitive slave law, Northern citizens resolved that they would not obey it, because it was also applied to those slaves who had fled years before from their masters, and because federal officials may compel any citizen to arrest and return fugitives to the Southern masters; at last the state passed personal liberty laws, that prohibited the use of local jails for the imprisonment of fugitives. Southerners became indignant toward Northerners and accused them of intending to violate the Compromise.

The Missouri planters demanded that the territory west of theirs, became open to settlement, without any restrictions referring to slavery.

In 1856 the Republican Party had its first convantion, and its cardinal principle was: Opposition to the extension of slavery anywhere in the territories of the United States.

In the legislation of 1854 there was the principle of popular sovereignty, and soon it was brought to test in Kansas. The antislavery and the proslavery forces sent their representatives into Kansas, the later, using fraudulent methods, elected a majority of the territorial legislature (1855) and established a government. at Shawnee Mission; the Free-Soil men

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held a convention at Topeka and signed a free-state constitution. But the Pierce administration supported the Shawnee Government.

The Kansas fighting was at its climax in 1856, when the new Republican Party made its appeal to the country; it vigorously denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the Democratic policy in Kansas. As the membership was confined to the North, and the organization was not put to the test, the candidate of the Republican Party receive only 114 votes against 174 for Buchanan, the successful Democrat.

President Buchanan had promised to restore order in Kansas and give the settlers the opportunity to express their opinion about slavery. Nevertheless, he accepted the Lecompton Constitution, that was drawn by proslavery men. It was in such fashion that the settlers could only vote on the question of further admission of slaves; so, slave property was safeguarded by the constitution.

The tendency towards disunion was accelerated by the emergence of the Republican Party as the major opponent of the Democratic Party. The different economic systems and divergent social attitudes, spoiled any effort of conciliation or compromise.

Trying to settle the slavery controversy by judicial decision, the Supreme Court increased the hostile feeling between the two sections.

Dred Scott, a slave that lived in Missouri, was taken by his master to the free state of Illinois, and later to the Northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, where slavery was

forbidden by the Missouri Compromise. Scott sued for his freedom and the case finally reached the Supreme Court. The major opinion was that no Negro could be citizen of the United States, so Scott could not bring any appeal to the Federal Courts. Much more important was the obiterdictum in which the Court announced that Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories, and that the Missouri Compromise had been null and void from the day of its enactment.

With this decision the South saw its interests protected by constitutional guarantees in every part of the national territories.

On the contrary, the Republican Party was demanding congressional legislation against slavery in the territories, and took a defensive position.

The Supreme Court decision on the Dred Scott case determined the celebrated debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas.

The Northern Democrats accepted as good the decision in the Dred Scott matter when they followed Douglas. Also they accepted his position on the principle of popular sovereignty in the Trial of Kansas; so even some Republicans supported and urged for his re-election to the Senate of Illinois.

Abraham Lincoln emerged as a powerful leader of the Republicans and as he was convinced of the fact that the Douglas policy hurt more the Republican principles than the demands of the extremist Southerners, Lincoln accepted his nomination for the Senate against Douglas, and brought his

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opponent to debate.

Lincoln at Freeport compelled Douglas to admit that the people of a territory might exclude slavery, over the Dred Scott decision. The democratic leader explained that slavery might be legal in a territory, but it could not exist where people failed to enact legislation friendly to it.

Such an explanation demonstrates that Douglas and the Southerners were completely in accordance and pretended a total protection for their institution.

The debates with Douglas made Lincoln a notorious speaker of the Republicans and his friends organized a campaign that brought him the presidential nomination in 1860.

John Brown, slave conductor of a raid, who was hanged on December the 2nd, 1859, gave to many Southerners the possibility of accusing abolitionists of inciting slaves to murder women and children, as consequence of the principles of the Republican Party.

The Presidential election of 1860 gave the triumph to a party that had almost all its votes in the North.

The Democrats had a disunion caused by the refusal of the Democratic Convention to accept a proslavery platform.

The Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln and gave up its hostility to slavery in the territories. Although Lincoln received a large majority in the electoral college, he had only 40 per cent of the popular votes.

After the election of Abraham Lincoln, South Carolina and six states of the lower South left the Union and organized the Confederate States of America. This movement, that was

opposed by some Southerners, gained strength, specially in the cotton belt states.

Southern leaders were alarmed by the evidence that their section was losing power in the federal affairs. The political balance was destroyed by the entrance in the Union, of the free states of California, Minnesota and Oregon and any expansion for the South seemed to be closed.

The secessionists charged the North with acts that infringed the constitutional rights of the slave states, such as: a) The approval of personal liberty acts. b) The abolitionist propaganda. c) The activities of the underground railroad in the Northern States. d) The formation of a political party hostile to the basic Southern institution, slavery.

#### ABOUT THE SECESSION OF SOUTHERN STATES.

The advantages that extremist Southerners argued were that as soon as their section left the Union they would have direct and unhindered trade with Europe. Discriminatory taxes and tariffs could be abolished. The African slave trade could be revived and the cost of labor lowered. And as they had not any help from the North, necessity would compel the development of manufacturing, banking and commerce to meet the needs of an independent South.

The Northern reaction towards secession was confused, but abolitionists were glad, because it seemed that slavery, as a nefarious institution, would disappear from the Union.

President Buchanan maintained there was no constitutional rights that permit secession, but also he denied that the Federal Government had any power to compel the states to

obey the laws of the Union. As in his cabinet the Southern influence was great he did not enforce the laws in the seceded states.

Numerous solutions for reconciliation were given, but the essence of the plan advocated by Senator J.J.Crittenden of Kentucky was contained in five permanent amendments to the Constitution: a) Protecting slavery in the states where it was legal. b) Sanctioning the domestic slave trade. c) Guaranteeing payment by the United States for escaped slaves. d) Forbidding Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Virginia and Maryland. e) Reviving the Missouri Compromise Line.

The Republicans, with Lincoln's insistence, refused to sign such compromise, that permitted the extension of slavery into any territory of the Union.

The policy of Lincoln was determined by his desire of uniting the sentiment of the North to the public administration, he also believed that some of the slave states would remain loyal to the Union Government, and he refused to permit secession that would disrupt the Union.

Lincoln was determined to hold Forts Sumter and Pickens, but he hesitated to take any action which might be interpreted in the border slave states as a new aggression towards the Confederacy.

When Lincoln decided to send provisions to Major Anderson and the troops in Fort Sumter, the Confederate Authorities thought that the proper time had arrived to move

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The Federal troops from Charleston harbor. With the bombardment of Fort Sumter (April 12-13, 1861), ended Lincoln's hesitation, and the Confederacy was organized, so the war began.

#### THE CIVIL WAR.

On April 15, 1861, Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling upon the governors of the loyal states for 75,000 militians to serve for three months.

The loyalty of the border states to the Union was tested after the appeal to arms which followed the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee seceded. The capital of the Confederate states was moved from Montgomery to Richmond.

In Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri the unionist sentiment was strong enough to prevent secession.

The Northern superiority was great in manpower and resources. Of the total population in the Confederacy 8,700,000 3,500,000 were slaves. Meanwhile the North had a population of 22,700,000.

Also the North had a great advantage in transportation facilities, industrial establishments, liquid capital and food-stuffs.

On the contrary the South had only cotton exportation, but any way, they had great number of volunteers, though the war had a defensive character.

The principal objectives of the Northern leaders were: The capture of Richmond, Capital of the Confederate states. The control of the Mississippi River and the effective blockade of the ports of the Confederacy.

In April 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade from South Carolina to Florida, with this blockade started the attempt to starve the Confederacy into submission.

When the hostilities began the South had no navy, not even merchant vessels from which a navy could be improvised. The North, on the contrary, had many squadrons and these were increased constantly. At the end of 1862 the Federal navy controlled almost all the ports with the exception of Wilmington, Charleston and Mobile.

The pressure of the Northern ships slowly starved the South. Rations were reduced; clothing, shoes and medicines were lacking, and the transportation system was broken.

During the early years of the war, the defensive strategy of the Southern Commanders, stopped any attempt of the Federal troops to take the Confederate Capital.

Northern forces began an advance on Richmond, the Confederate Capital, but they were defeated at the First Battle of Bull Run (July 1861), although the Southerners failed in following up this victory. After this battle both belligerents saw the necessity of more adequate preparation.

The Federal Government was successful in its efforts to secure the control of the Mississippi. In 1862 General Grant advanced against the Confederate defenses on the rivers Tennessee and Cumberland.

With the assistance of river gunboats commander Foote captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee and later Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, and lately he withstood a rigorous Confederate attack at Shiloh (April 6-7, 1862), where he



battle Commander Jackson of the Southern forces was killed.

Finally in the summer of 1863, Lee had planned an invasion of the North, he advanced through Maryland into Pennsylvania, but he was defeated by the Army of the Potomac under George G. Meade, in one of the decisive battles of the war, at Gettysburg (July, 1863); with this disastrous battle for the South ended the Northern campaign of Lee.

The South was split by Grant's capture of Vicksburg (July 4, 1863), Rosencranz's seizure of Tennessee, and Banks victories in Louisiana; although in September the Confederate won the bloody battle of Chickamauga.

After the campaigns of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the South fought but vainly to prevent the collapse of the Confederacy.

In the autumn of 1863 Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Thomas cooperated to win the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. In 1864 Grant became commander-in-chief of the Union forces, when the Army of the Potomac was given in commandment to him. General Ulyses S. Grant advanced towards Richmond in the famous campaign of the Wilderness, and he continued in command despite tremendous losses in the Battle of the Wilderness (May, 1864).

Sherman began his campaign of Georgia and he captured Atlanta on September 3, 1864; he marched across Georgia to Savannah where he entered on December 20, 1864, and a desvasting march to the sea ended.

Meanwhile Thomas attacked and moved out the Confederates from Tennessee; the Southern cruiser Alabama was defeated by

suffered severe losses.

Several weeks later Officer David G. Farragut, commanding seventeen ships, secured the control of New Orleans, that was captured on May, 1862. After this battle the Confederates were in possession of the river between Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

The command of the Army of the Potomac was given to George B. McClellan, who decided to advance on Richmond by Fortress Monroe and the peninsula between the York and James Rivers. Cautiously he went from Yorktown to White House and then to Fair Oaks, and afterwards he moved towards Richmond, where he waited for reinforcement, but it was in vain, because Stonewall Jackson prevented McDowell from joining McClellan. Lee's troops met McClellan at Malvern Hill, where the Northern suffered a great failure in the Seven Days' Battles (June-July, 1862), so McClellan decided that his position was untenable and he abandoned the campaign. After the Peninsular Campaign McClellan was removed from command, but after Pope suffered a disastrous defeat in the Second Battle of Bull Run (August 30, 1862), where confederate troops under the commandment of Jackson and Lee were again victorious; McClellan was recalled to stop the invasion of the North by Lee's troops. Both armies met at Antientam (September 17, 1862), and there Lee was compelled to retreat.

General A.E. Burnside was defeated by Lee at Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862), when he was advancing on Richmond. At Chancellorsville (May, 1863), Burnside's successor was defeated, Hooker, on a new advance on Richmond was stopped, in this

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the Kearsarge and the Confederacy was obviously doomed at sea and on land.

The powerful attacks of Grant on the Confederates brought him victory in the spring of 1865, when Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, and with Johnston's surrender to Sherman ended the armed resistance of the Confederacy.

A few days later Lincoln was assassinated and the settlement of the effects of the war, the reconstruction, fell into other hands.

Those who died as a result of the war included 359,528 Union soldiers and 164,981 Confederates.

#### THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Although Lincoln's administration said that war began in order to preserve the Union, the abolition of slavery was included in the list of war aims.

Lincoln's program concerning slavery was based upon gradual emancipation, but finally he came to the conclusion that freeing slaves might be used as a punishment for the Confederacy. After the battle of Antietam he announced that from January the first, 1863, slaves would be forever free, this proclamation gave to the Northern cause, favorable results in Europe, specially in Great Britain.

In December 1863 a resolution for an Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States was received in the House of Representatives, but it was ratified till December 1865 when abolition of slavery was made legal.

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It is in the Thirteen Amendment of the Constitution in which the slavery question was finally given up and says:

Sectional. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. (3)

## CHAPTER II

### Points of view about Northern and Southern Novelists portrayers of slave negro Characters.

The novel, as the Encyclopedia Britannica defines it, "is the name given in literature to a sustained story which is not historically true, but might very easily be so".

In accordance with this definition, we might accept the antislavery novel as the portrait of a historical period, in which the white people did not accept negroes as human beings, but only as animals that worked for the privileged class, represented by the owners of the plantations.

Notwithstanding that the Northern population fought in order that the South gave freedom to the negro slaves, they did not accept them to work freely in their factories. Really it may be considered that they feared miscegenation.

On the contrary it was very frequent in the Southern plantations, notwithstanding that Southern people accepted miscegenation; but did not accept the sons born of white man and negro woman as free people. They did not recognize the white blood they might have, in order to give them freedom, but considering them as born of slaves, they remained slaves. In our days the attitude of considering the son of white and negro as negro prevails still both in North and South.

The antislavery societies that appeared before 1830, preached gradual emancipation in the Southern States, but it was till "The Liberator" appeared when really the antislavery movement became strong enough to ask for the immediate freedom

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of the negro slaves.

During the period 1830-60, the Southern writers were not able to write effectively against the thesis presented by Uncle Tom's Cabin, which appeared in 1852. There was no Southern writer or school of writers capable of making this defense.

Southern novelists presented the negro slaves as if they were happy with slave life. They portrayed them loyal to their masters during the Civil War; sagacious, with the wisdom of a content peasant; carefree; confident in their security under the plantation system and in sympathy with the Confederates.

The negro, in the Southern point of view, never forgot his "place". That guaranteed him the appreciation of his master.

We might consider that the antislavery novelists were not historians but merely partisans of this movement. It is said that President Lincoln greeted Harriet Beecher Stowe with the words "So you're the little woman who made the book that made this great war". He was speaking as a politician who had learned by experience to respect the power of the pen. (4)

"The Liberator", that William Lloyd Garrison began to publish, was the main abolitionist publication that appeared. It was so vigorous in its language that it aroused resentment everywhere. Its demands brought the first antislavery novel,

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(4) Literary History of the United States.- Revised Edition in one volume.- The MacMillan Company.- New York 1960.- Page 563.

which appeared in 1836. (5).

The abolitionist novel contents was a standard version of negro nobility; in other words, it was a lament against slavery, rather than a presentation of negro character.

During the Civil War, fiction presented negro characters in general, as a mass, not as human beings with individual traits. This attitude does not seem to be unconscious. White authors have not tried to understand individual slave characters or to awake in their readers a real sense of identification with them. The novelists have shaped the negro men and women they describe, to symbolize their own philosophies of race relations.

The negro of the Civil War novel is a personification of each writer's conception, of what he ought to have been according to the novelist's mind. Since then negro people has not been considered as a part of the american society.

Inadecuate characterization of slaves in Civil War novels is a common fact. The negro is rarely a central figure, he only appears near the white heroes and heroines, to whom space and interest is given. The types have sometimes become caricatures. They scape rarely the world of abstraction.

Modifications of these slave portraits started as soon as the types were common in war fiction. The idealized

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(5) The Oxford companion to American Literature.- James David Hart.- Hildreth Richard 1807-65 Massachusetts historian, author and jurist, whose most famous work is a "History of the United States". His novel, "The Slave or, Memories of Archy Moore (1836), enjoyed great popularity and it is said to have been the first antislavery novel. It is a romantic recital of the adventures of an octoroonslave, who escapes from a Virginia plantation and eventually becomes the commander of a British privateer in the war of 1812.

negro, either abolitionist or Confederate, was simply too good to be true. (6).

The Civil War novels do not interpret slave minds and slave ambitions. Negro characters have remained, lacking necessary elements of individualism. Negro life has been portrayed in early Northern novels of war; after that, the story of the Southern servants was reduced to sub-plots in novels about white men and women.

Northerners depended heavily on their version of the war as an antislavery crusade; but as slavery had remained as a relic of barbarism, its elimination was sure, with or without the war.

Southerners evolved during a generation, from 1830 to 1865; their thinking changed approaching Northern ideals.

Northerners and Southerners agree that slavery was finished before the war had put an end to it.

Southerners abandoned much of the logic by which their fathers had justified the institution.

Any way, many Southerners had freed their slaves before the spirit of professional freedom had started, coming from the North.

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(6) Fiction fights the Civil War.- Robert A. Lively.- The University of North Carolina. Press 1957.- Page 53.



### Chapter III

#### HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

Harriet Beecher was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, June the 14th, 1811. As her father was a Minister of the First Congregational Church in that city, she was raised in an intellectual home; she grew up in an atmosphere of discussion, learning and debate; she graduated in the Hartford Female Seminary, and later she taught in this college.

In 1826 her father moved to Boston and six years later the family moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where Harriet lived during the next eighteen years. By this time the controversy on slavery was intensified. In 1836 the printing offices of James G. Birney's periodical "Cincinnati Philanthropist", an antislavery paper, were plundered and Birney driven out of town.

Meanwhile Cincinnati had become a big city, favorable refuge for the runaway slaves from Kentucky, across the Ohio River; and some of the Beechers themselves were involved in the activities of the underground railroad.

In 1836 Harriet Beecher married Calvin E. Stowe, who was a Professor of Biblical Literature at Lane, It is till 1850, that Professor Stowe received an appointment to Bowdoin College and then the Stowe family moved to Brunswick, Maine. There Harriet wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin, out of the impressions she had of one trip to Kentucky twenty years before and of her Cincinnati years.

The Stoves arrived to Brunswick, Maine, at the open-

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ing of the more bitter period of the antislavery argument, the approval of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, that raised great anger through New England. In a visit she made to her home, her brother Edward said to her after a discussion about this Law: "Now, Hattie, if I could just use the pen as you can, I would write something that would make this nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is".

We may explain the appearance of Uncle Tom's Cabin, as Harriet's desire of showing the faults and injustices of slavery, through events in her personal life, that made her particularly sensitive to the tales of suffering and inhumanity started or accused by the Fugitive Slave Law.

It must be said that after the birth of her seventh and last child she became weak, and she was still completely desmoralized, because of the loss of her little boy Charley, less than a year before in the Cincinnati's Cholera epidemic. In a letter mentioned in "The Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe", she said: ...."it was at his dying bed and at his grave...." ...."that I learned, what a poor slave mother may feel when her child is torn away from her".....(7). Certainly the memory of Charley Stowe's death lies beneath the theme of mother love and separation, which runs through the novel. She can describe with reality, the fears of Eliza for little Harry, or the anguish of Marie's Old Mammy, Prue and Cassy, over their lost children, because she knew what it was, from her own grief.

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(7) Fields Annie, ed. New York: Cambridge Book Co. 1897.

Probably Mrs. Stowe conceived the idea of writing an antislavery novel late in 1850. She feared to have no success, the theme for such a novel being an unpopular subject. Nevertheless, she wrote to Gamaliel Bailey, then editor of THE NATIONAL ERA, an antislavery newspaper published by the American and Foreign Antislavery Society in Washington. He had edited a similar paper in Cincinnati during the Beecher's residence there.

She intended to write, she told to Bailey "a series of sketches which give the lights and shadows of the Paternal Institution, written either from observation, incidents which have occurred in the sphere of my personal knowledge, or in the knowledge of my friends. I shall show the best side of the thing, and something approaching the worst". Bailey replied, accepting her offer, and she sent him the first installment of Uncle Tom's Cabin or, The Man that was a Thing (the subtitle was changed before publication to "Life Among the Lowly" in April 1851. This appeared in The National Era of June the 5th, and the final installment on April the 1st. 1852. Bailey paid to Mrs. Stowe three hundred dollars for the entire series.

While the novel was appearing in series in The National Era, a publisher of Boston, John P. Jewett, wrote to Mrs. Stowe, asking for her agreement to publish it, in book form, and it appeared in two volumes on March the 20th, 1852.

It was so successful a book, that before 1860 there were thirty different versions in British editions and

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translations into French and twenty three other languages.

In 1853 Harriet Beecher Stowe visited Europe, in a triumphant tour.

The opinions about the novel in America were in both extremes. The reaction of the South was explosive, about thirty books against her novel appeared in very few years, and almost all condemning Mrs. Stowe's points of view on slavery, as exaggerated or unjust.

Mrs. Stowe was surprised and hurt by the violence of some attacks on her book, so she said many times, she never thought that her novel would provoke so much anger and discord.

But whatever her intentions were, she had written something destined to become a powerful instrument against slavery. Thomas Nelson Page, the Southern famous writer, said of her book that it contributed more than anything else to the abolition of slavery, in that generation.

Her novel was not a fantasy: to write it she used papers and documents, and also, the conversations she had with famous fugitive slaves and people of her family, which were in direct contact with the problem. For instance the chapter about Eliza's escape across the ice was taken from a newspaper, telling of an incident occurred near Cincinnati. The help that the fugitive slaves received from the quakers, related in the novel, was based on a slave escape which involved her father and brother.

It must be said that the appearance of her novel gave to the antislavery movement a moral weapon, and to proslavery forces a visible enemy. In any way Uncle Tom's

Cabin provided both North and South with the arguments and symbols they needed.

In the Preface of her novel she said, they had not understood a race that was considered nearer the animal than the human being, and ignored by political associations and by refined society; and whose character was completely different to the hard and dominant Anglo Saxon race.

In her sketches she tried to awaken sympathy and good feelings for the African race, as it existed among them; and to show the wrongs, so necessarily cruel and unjust under a corrupted system such as slavery.

In Northern States, she said in the preface of the novel, these sketches may be thought caricatures, and perhaps they did not know that in the Southern States there are witnesses who know their fidelity, because they had been written from personal knowledge of the author and about true incidents, such as are related in the novel.

She wrote in 1853 a "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" as a defense of her first book. After her trip to Europe, she wrote "Sunny memories of Foreign Lands", in 1854 and "Dred", in 1856, a tale of fugitive slaves. But not any one of them had the popularity of her first novel.

After her husband retired from teaching in 1864, she produced twenty six books more, local color stories about New England; two books on women's rights; a defense of Lady Byron, and a book of sketches about Florida. Calvin Stowe died in 1866.

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During these ten years of her life, Harriet Beecher Stowe lived quietly in retirement; she said in one of her last letters: "I have written all my words and thought all my thoughts". She died at Hartford in 1896.

Chapter IV

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

1.- Good qualities of negro characters in the novel

From the beginning of the novel the author attributes to the principal character in it, such good qualities that perhaps they must be considered a little exaggerated. Mr. Shelby, his Master, presents a good portrait of a very uncommon man, even among people well raised. He says to the trader: "Tom is an uncommon fellow; steady, honest, capable, manages my whole farm like a clock". Later he repeats similar expressions, saying that he is also a pious fellow; "I've trusted him, since then, with everything I have, -money, house, horses, - and let him come and go round the country; and I always found him true and square in everything". (8).

In later pages Harriet introduces another negro character, not so good as Tom, but he has also good manners and qualities. In contrast, she describes the master of this young slave as an envious man, who does not permit his slave to be better than he: "He was waited upon over the factory, shown the machinery by George, who, in high spirits, talked so fluently, held himself so erect, looked so handsome and manly, that his master began to feel an uneasy consciousness of inferiority". (9).

In this situation the master puts the slave back to labor work, in order to make of him an animal or a thing, while George rebels without words: "George was taken home,

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(8) Uncle Tom's Cabin.- Washington Square Press, Inc.-New York 1963. Page 2.

(9) <sup>1</sup>bid. p. 12.

and put to the meaneast drudgery of the farm. He had been able to repress every disrespectful word; but the flashing eye, the gloomy and troubled brow, were part of a natural language that could not be repressed, indubitable signs, which showed too plainly that the man could not become a thing". (10)

The author describes the negro thoughts about the superiority of the white race, considering that the white people must not work in servile tasks. "Now, Missis, do jist look at dem beautiful white hands o'yourn, with long fingers, and all a sparkling with rings, like my white lilies when de dew's on'em; and look at my great black stumpin' hands. Now, don't ye think dat de Lord must have meant me to make de pie-crust, and you to stay in de parlor? (11)

When Uncle Tom knows he was going to be sold, with a feeling of gratitude and loyalty to his master, he refuses to escape with Eliza, the mother of the little negro who was going to be sold with Uncle Tom, in order to save the master's property. Moreover, he does not blame his master for his decision "Mas'r always found me on the spot-he always will. I never have broke trust, nor used my pass no ways contrary to my word, and I nver will. It's better for me alone to go, than to break up the place and sell all. Mas'r an't to blame" (12)

The author considers that the negro race is a sensitive one, that loves its masters and the house they live

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(10) Ibid. p. 13.

(11) Ibid. p. 25.

(12) Ibid. p. 39-40



in; so they suffer a great deal when they are sold, and the new master moves them to another place.

I consider any human being has these feelings, and that they are not exclusive of the negro race. Thinking of negro people as human, they must have these feelings toward the house and the land where they were born: "In order to appreciate the sufferings of the Negroes sold South, it must be remembered that all the instinctive affections of that race are peculiarly strong. Their local attachments are very abiding. They are not naturally daring and enterprising but home-loving and affectionate." (13)

We must consider that, as they grew in ignorance and they heard of the terrible treatment the planters give their slaves, any one who is sold, to go to the South suffers it as punishment. "Add to this all the terrors with which ignorance invests the unknown, and add to this, again, that selling to the South is set before the Negro from childhood as the last severity of punishment. The threat that terrifies more than whipping or torture of any kind is the threat of being sent down river." (14)

Sometimes the slave prefers to gamble life and try to escape. Also they were decided to kill themselves before to return to slavery. "Mr. Wilson, I know all this, said George. I do run a risk, but- he threw open his overcoat,

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(13) Ibid. p. 97  
(14) Ibid. p. 97

and showed two pistols and a bowie-knife. There! he said, I'm ready for 'em! Down South I never will go. No! if it comes to that, I can earn myself at least six feet of free soil, - the first and last I shall even own in Kentucky! (15)

The author describes the Mississippi river as the way by which the slave trade was made. The river had in its bosom all the tears and sufferings of the slaves that were moved to the South. "...The tears of the oppressed, the sighs of the helpless, the bitter prayers of poor, ignorant hearts to an unknown God". (16)

In Tom's character, the description of his liking for good life is present in the following words: "The Negro, it must be remembered, is an exotic of the most gorgeous and superb countries of the world, and he has, deep in his heart, a passion for all that is splendid, rich, and fanciful; a passion which, rudely indulged by an untrained taste, draws on them the ridicule of the colder and more correct white race." (17)

Also Tom is described as a childish character, with an artistic touch: "Then, too, he was in a beautiful place, a consideration to which his sensitive race are never indifferent; and he did enjoy with a quiet joy the birds, the flowers, the fountains, the perfume, and light and beauty of the court, the silken hangings, and pictures, and lustres, and statuettes, and gilding, that made the parlors within a kind

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(15) Ibid. p.113  
(16) Ibid. p.146  
(17) Ibid. p.167

of Aladdin's palace to him". (18)

Tom is presented as being so honest, that he becomes a myth: "Tom had every facility and temptation to dishonesty; and nothing but an impregnable simplicity of nature, strengthened by Christian faith, could have kept him from it." (19)

As the slaves were not educated, nor had anything they might call their own, they grew in a state of unconsciousness, as if they were children. Even they do not distinguish between themselves and their masters. The slave-owners understood that situation, but they did not anything to correct it: "As to honesty, the slave is kept in that dependent semi-childish state, that there is no making him realize the rights of property, or feel that his master's goods are not his own, if he can get them. For my part, I don't see how they can be honest. Such a fellow as Tom, here, is-is a moral miracle! (20)

As I have said before, Tom is described as so honest and so loyal a fellow to his Master, whoever he might be, that even with his own life in danger, he stays to help other slaves. "No, said Tom; time was when I would, but the Lord's given me a work among these yer poor souls, and I'll stay with'em and bear my cross with'em till the end". (21)

2.- Opinions about bad qualities of Negro characters in the novel.

At the same time that the author exalts the good qualities of the slaves, these are denied by the obscure characters of the plot. The slave-trader must deny them,

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(18) Ibid. p. 183.  
(19) Ibid. p. 208.  
20 } Ibid. p. 218.  
(21) Ibid. p. 406.

because it is part of his bargain: "You mean honest, as niggers go, said Haley". (22)

The slave-trader also made jokes at the sufferings of the slaves sold to him, and tried to profit as much as possible in any bargain. "Now, I've been laughed at for my notions, sir, and I've been talked to. They an't pop'lar, and they an't common but I stuck to'em, sir; I've stuck to'em, and realized well on'em; yes, sir, they have paid their passage, I may say, and the trader laughed at his joke." (23)

The slave-trader also speaks of the slaves as if they have no feelings, or as if the separation of their families do not exist: "Niggers, you know, that's fetched up properly ha'n't no kind of 'spectations of no kind; so all these things comes easier." (24)

When the slave-owner was a barbarian he did not recognize the worth of his slave and denied it in a lawful manner: "O yes! a machine for saving work is it? He'd invent that, I'll be bound; let a nigger alone for that, any time. They are all labor-saving machines themselves, every one of'em". (25)

The masters denied any kind of will, or to recognize the right of any human being to its freedom: "After all, I think they are better off than they would be to be free". (26)

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(22) Ibid. p. 2  
(23) Ibid. p. 6  
(24) Ibid. p. 7  
(25) Ibid. p.12  
(26) Ibid. p.126

They also accused them of their own weaknesses and did not allow them to have their own personality: "Mammy is the best I ever knew, said Marie, and yet Mammy, now, is selfish-dreadfully selfish; it's the fault of the whole race". (27)

Some of the masters consider that their slaves have not the desire of living with their families; that the wife could live far away from her husband or the mother from her children, and so on. They taught the slaves could have a new family in the house where they have to go and live, forgetting the former family: "Now, Mammy has a sort of goodness, said Marie, she's smooth and respectful, but she's selfish at heart. Now, she never will be done fidgeting and worrying about that husband of hers. You see, when I was married and came to live here, of course, I had to bring her with me, and her husband my father couldn't spare. He was a blacksmith, and of course, very necessary; and I thought and said, at the time, that Mammy and he had better give each other up, as it wasn't likely to be convenient for them ever to live together again." (28)

When the master was an egotistic character as Marie St. Clare was, she did not even permit the slave to feel sick, because it was only a pretext and a selfish attitude of the slave towards the master: "O, that's just one

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(27) Ibid. p. 172

(28) Ibid. p. 173

of Mammy's fidgets! Mammy is just like all the rest of them- makes such a fuss about every little headache or finger-ache; it'll never do to encourage it-never!" (29)

The masters do not take care of what a slave could be, they only take the profit they may have from his work, and do not pay attention to anything else, they do not try to educate them or give them any help, their only thought is the profit or the work the slave renders: "That isn't my affair, as I know of, said St. Clare; I am only dealing in facts of the present life. The fact is, that the whole race are pretty generally understood to be turned over to the devil, for our benefit, in this world, however it may turn out in another!".(30)

As I have said before, the slaves do not distinguish between the property of their masters and what they have, and even they use the name and qualities of their masters: "It must be observed that, among other appropriations from his master's stock, Adolph was in the habit of adopting his name and address; and that the style under which he moved among the colored circles of New Orleans, was that of Mr. St. Clare". (31)

### 3.- Opinions of the author about slavery.

The author tries to give an impartial point of view about slavery, She tells us about the arguments that the Southerners have to justify it, and presents such good

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(29) Ibid. p. 174  
{30} Ibid. p. 218  
(31) Ibid. p. 220

Masters as Agustine St. Clare. Perhaps she had good friends among planters and she wants to present also good things that slavery has.

At the beginning of the novel she said that Kentucky is the state in which slavery is not so bad. We must remember that she lived in the other side of the Ohio River and that she had a direct knowledge about this things: "Perhaps the mildest form of the system of slavery is to be seen in the State of Kentucky." (32)

She said also that there were some masters who believed in the good nature of this system, because they had loyal slaves: "...the goodhumored indulgence of some masters and mistresses and the affectionate loyalty of some slaves, might be tempted to dream the oft-fabled poetic legend of a patriarchal institution". (33)

When the slave has a good Master, we might say he has a good life and that his feelings would be respected; but as soon as this Master sells him, or if the Master dies, the situation changes.

Then, perhaps the slave suffers a great deal under other circumstances: "...so long as the failure, or misfortune, or imprudence, or death of the kindest owner, may cause them any day to exchange a life of kind protection and indulgence for one of hopeless misery and toil, -so long it is impossible to make anything beautiful or desirable in the best regulated administration of slavery". (34)

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{32} Ibid. p. 8  
{33} Ibid. p. 9  
{34} Ibid. p. 9

I believe there were many people among the Southerners that were in opposition to slavery.

We find characters, that of Mrs. Shelby, for instance, who must be considered as an abolitionist, because she was not in accordance with the manner in which slavery was carried off in the slave states.

Mrs. Shelby expresses: "This is God's curse on slavery! - a bitter, bitter, most accursed thing! - a curse to the master and a curse to the slave! I was a fool to think I could make anything good out of such a deadly evil. It is a sin to hold a slave under laws like ours, - I always felt it was, - I always thought so when I was a girl, - I thought so still more after I joined the church; but I thought I could gild it over, - I thought, by kindness and care, and instruction, I could make the condition of mine better than freedom - fool that I was!" (35)

Even this character, Mrs. Shelby, says that if the Northern abolitionists knew what she knows on slavery, they could have very solid arguments to talk over it: "Abolitionist! if they knew all I know about slavery, they might talk! We don't need them to tell us; you know I never thought that slavery was right- never felt willing to own slaves" (36)

When Eliza had to run away and went to Uncle Tom's Cabin, she said of her owner, Mrs. Shelby, that she was

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{35} Ibid. P. 35

{36} Ibid. p. 35



a very good woman; so she was sorry to run away, but she had no other choice, and expressed religious justifications. According to law, she had no say, because the Master had the right to sell her child: "Missis - you ought to have heard her talk! If she an't a Christian and an angel, there never was one. I'm a wicked girl to live her so; but, then, I can't help it. She said, herself, one soul was worth more than the world; and this boy has a soul, and if I let him be carried off, who knows what'll become of it? It must be right; but, if it an't right, the Lord forgive me, for I can't help doing it!". (37)

As the Shelbys were very good masters, Eliza found not any trouble to run away with her little child, and the author gives us an example over the confidence that the masters have in their loyal slaves, so later they may go anywhere in the country without problems: "She was many miles past any neighborhood where she was personally known. If she should chance to meet any who knew her, she reflected that the well-known kindness of the family would be of itself a blind to suspicion, as making it an unlikely supposition that she could be a fugitive. As she was also so white as not to be known as of colored lineage, without a critical survey, and her child was white also, it was much easier for her to pass on unsuspected". (38)

Some Southern characters are also presented in opposition to slavery, and are not in accordance with the

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{37} Ibid. p. 39  
{38} Ibid. p. 52

passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, which made of them unhumane and cruel people against other human beings, who could be seized and returned to the masters. In this situation we must say that perhaps the author had known Southern people who were against such Law, and helped some fugitive slaves: "You ought to be ashamed, John! Poor, homeless, houseless creatures! It's a shameful, wicked, abominable law, and I'll break it, for one, the first time I get a chance; and I hope I shall have a chance, I do!. (39)

Any way the Southerners know they cannot do these things without punishment. Senator says it to his wife, expressing there are political reasons to sustain the law even against their feelings: ... "We mustn't suffer our feelings to run away with our judgement; you must consider it's not a matter of private feeling--there are great public interests involved-, there is such a state of public agitation rising, that we must put aside our private feelings". (40)

These two characters present in their opinions the two sides of the problem and continue giving the reasons each one has, to be or not to be in accordance with the law. The woman speaks of the good feelings each one has towards other human beings, who are suffering, and she says to her husband that she would like to see him denying to fugitive slaves any kind of help: "I should like to see you doing that, John - I really should! Turning a woman out of doors in a snow-storm, for instance; or, may be you'd take her up

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(39) Ibid. p. 81  
(40) Ibid. p. 81

and put her in jail, wouldn't you? You would make a great hand at that!". (41)

The husband has never been in the case of helping a fugitive slave and really he could not know how he can act under such circumstances. He had even thought of the law as it was written, but not in its meaning: "He was as bold as a lion about it, and mightily convinced not only himself, but everybody that heard him; - but then his idea of a fugitive was only an idea of the letters that spell the word, - or, at the most, the image of a little newspaper picture of a man with a stick and bundle, with "Ran away from the subscriber" under it." (42)

On the contrary the Northern citizens represented by the Quakers thought of the slave and the slaveholder in equal terms, and helped a great deal of fugitive slaves to be safe in the Northern states: "Well, I hate those old slaveholders! said the boy, who felt as unchristian as became any modern reformer. I am surprised at thee, son, said Simeon; thy mother never taught thee so. I would do even the same for the slaveholder as for the slave, if the Lord brought him to my door in affliction". (43)

Other Northern but secondary characters, give us also their points of view about abolitionism, and how the South must be managed, and also pretending that the North was comprehensive towards the southern point of view: "The minister, who inclined strongly to abolitionist views, was

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(41) Ibid. p. 82  
(42) Ibid. p. 91  
(43) Ibid. p.145

quite doubtful whether such a step might not tend somewhat to encourage the Southerners in holding on to their slaves; while the doctor, who was a staunch colonizationist, inclined to the opinion that Miss Ophelia ought to go, to show the Orleans people that we don't think hardly of them after all." (44)

Notwithstanding the Southerners support the institution, we suppose there have been many who were not in accordance with it. Remember the opinions that the author put in the thoughts of the main Southern characters and also in the secondary ones. It is said that with education and freedom the slaves should be happy. Eva, one of the main characters during the time that Uncle Tom stays in the South, said it: "I'd sell them, and buy a place in the free states and take our people there, and hire teachers, to teach them to read and write." (45)

Some Southern characters were not in accordance with the Republican points of view. The two brothers St. Clare talk about them, Alfred was not in accordance, on the contrary he thought that his son, for being a white boy, can abuse his little slave Dodo; but he heard his brother Augustine talking about the Republican principles: "And this by way of teaching Henrique the first verse of a Republican's catechism, "All men are born free and equal!". (46)

Augustine St. Clare thought that some day the miscegenation could free the slaves, because the mixture of

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(44) Ibid. p. 161  
(45) Ibid. p. 270  
(46) Ibid. p. 273

bloods could make that the Anglo-saxon blood they may have not to accept slavery and give encouragement to the African blood to rebel also: "Well, there is a pretty fair infusion of Anglo Saxon blood among our slaves, now, said Augustine. There are plenty among them who had only enough of the African to give a sort of tropical warmth and fervor to our calculating firmness and foresight. If ever the St. Domingo hour comes, Anglo Saxon blood will lead on the day. Sons of white fathers, with all our haughty feelings burning in their veins, will not always be bought and sold and traded. They will rise, and raise with them their mother's race".  
(47)

Even some Southerners were looking for the way in which the slaves could become free without hurting the interests of their owners, and we saw it in the words of Eva: "Papa, isn't there any way to have all slaves made free?

That's a difficult question, dearest. There's no doubt that this way is a very bad one; a great many people think so; I do myself. I heartily wish that there were not a slave in the land; but, then, I don't know what is to be done about it!. (48)

Many Southerners thought that the only way in which the institution could disappear cost a great deal, and that there is no other solution, though it represented a great pecuniary loss: "My duty, I hope, to the poor and

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(47) Ibid. p. 275  
(48) Ibid. p. 283

lowly, as fast as I find it out, said St. Clare, beginning with my own servants, for whom I have yet done nothing; and perhaps, at some future day, it may appear that I can do something for a whole class; something to save my country from the disgrace of the false position in which she now stands before all civilized nations". "Do you suppose it possible that a nation ever will voluntarily emancipate?", said Miss Ophelia.

I don't know, said St. Clare. This is a day of great deeds. Heroism and disinterestedness are rising up, here and there, in the earth. The Hungarian nobles set free millions of serfs, at an immense pecuniary loss; and, perhaps, among us may be found generous spirits, who do not estimate honor and justice by dollars and cents". (49)

As I have said before, many Southerners were not in accordance with slavery and George Shelby was one of them. He had seen the sufferings of Uncle Tom, and promised beside his grave to fight against slavery: "I will do what one man can to drive out this curse of slavery from my land!" (50)

#### 4.- Worst things about slavery.

At the same time that the author gives us the good things that slavery has, she presents also the slave point of view and the unjust side of the institution. She denies that a man could be the owner of another man, and it is in George's talking that she expresses her idea - "My master!

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(49) Ibid. p. 321  
(50) Ibid. p. 431

and who made him my master? That's what I think of - what right has he to me? I'm a man much as he is. I'm a better man than he is. I know more about business than he does; I am better manager than he is; I can read better than he can; I can write a better hand, - and I've learned it all myself, and no thanks to him, - I've learned it in spite of him; and now what right has he to make a dray-horse of me?. (51)

The author also tells us that the slave has not any law which protects his family and that he can not even get married at his will. The master has the right to give a wife to the slave and then he may apart them at his own will; "Why-but you were married to me, by the minister, as much as if you'd been a white man! said Eliza simply. Don't you know a slave can't be married? There is no law in this country for that; I can't hold you for my wife, if he chooses to part us." (52)

As I have said before, the author presents the masters with all the rights, and with the power to break a family by selling the sons or the husband or the wife, without any consideration to the years the slave has spent in their house or the services he has done for his master. The slaves suffer the indifference with which the master sells them and they despise the slave-trader: "Don't they tear der suckin' baby right off his mother's breast, and sell him, and der little children as in crying and holding on by

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{51} Ibid. p. 16  
{52} Ibid. p. 18

her clothers, - don't they pull'em off and sells em? Don't dey tear wife and husband apart? said Aunt Chloe, beginning to cry, when it's jest takin' the very life on'em? - and all the white does they feel one bit, - don't dey drink and smoke, and take it oncommon easy? Lor, if the devil don't get them, what's he good for?". (53)

Masters who were as the Shelbys also despised the slave-traders. As Mrs. Shelby wants Eliza to escape with her child, she acts very amiable to them, in order to lengthen the time that permits the slave girl to run away: "Mr. and Mrs. Shelby both felt annoyed and degraded by the familiar imprudence of the trader, and yet both saw the absolute necessity of putting a constraint on their feelings. The more hopelessly sordid and insensible he appeared, the greater became Mrs. Shelby's dread of his succeeding in recapturing Eliza and her child, and of course the greater her motive for detaining him by every female artifice." (54)

The trader, when he becomes the owner of a mother and child tries to sell them apart, and the mother cannot do anything to keep her child and even the trader beats her if she tries to say something: ... "help it? why I buys a gal, and if she's got a young un to be sold, I jest walks up and puts my fist to her face, and says, Look here, now, if you give me one word out of your head, I'll smash yer face in. I won't hear one word-not the beginning of a word. I says to'em, This yer young

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(53) Ibid. p. 55.

(54) Ibid. p. 57.



un's mine, and not yourn, and you've no kind o'business with it. I'm going to sell it, first chance; mind, you don't cut up none o'yer shines about it, or I'll make you wish ye'd never been born". (55.

In order to prevent the running away of their slaves, the masters pay for them dead or alive. The author presents Locker, the man whom Mr. Haley hired to rescue Eliza and her child with these words: "Marks had got from his pocket a greasy pocket-book, and taking a long paper from thence, he sat down, and fixing his keen black eyes on it, began mumbling over its contents:

Farnes- Shelby County- boy Jim, three hundred dollars for him, dead or alive". (56)

The author insists in the arguments to attack the Fugitive Slave Law, and presents it in its most cruel and inhumane form, preventing any citizen to help the unfortunate slaves that were running, looking for their freedom and with great need of finding food and a bed to sleep. She gives the two points of view, that of the humane wife who wants to help in any way, even against the law; and that of the husband, who being also humane, wants to respect it: "Well; but is it true that they have been passing a law forbidding people to give meat and drink to those poor colored folks that come along? I heard they were talking of some such law, but I didn't think any Christian legislature would pass it!". (57)

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(55) Ibid. p. 67  
(56) Ibid. p. 71  
(57) Ibid. p. 80

The wife gives a religious point of view. We must understand that the author was raised in a very religious home, and that her ideas were according to this way of thinking: ..."but I think this is something downright cruel and unchristian". (58)

The man blames the Abolitionists. Because of their attitude, this law was passed. He asserts that it was a political measure in order to quiet the excitement, that the abolitionist demands aroused. "There has been a law passed forbidding people to help off the slaves that come over from Kentucky, my dear; so much of that thing has been done by these reckless Abolitionists, that our brethern in Kentucky are very strongly excited, and it seems necessary, and no more than Christian and kind, that something should be done by our state to quiet the excitement". (59)

The author also says that it is not a good system to practice slavery, and we must think that she tries in every way to make the reader think about the inconveniences of it. She presents in the Honest old John Van Trompe a witness of the two ways of thinking, saying that this man was formerly a slave-holder, and now living in the free states: ..."he had been for some years witnessing with repressed uneasiness the workings of a system equally bad for oppressor and oppressed." (60)

The first master of Uncle Tom is presented as a

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(58) Ibid. p. 80

(59) Ibid. p. 80

(60) Ibid. p. 93

very good man who only by necessity sold him, and because he has the right to do it. He could not see the bargain consummated; for this reason he was not near the slave who served him loyally during many years, to comfort him in that moment, in order to give him any kind of hope, which might make the slave feel that he is also a man; "He had sold Tom under the spur of a driving necessity, to get out of the power of a man whom he dreaded, and his first feeling, after the consummation of the bargain, had been that of relief. But this wife's expostulations awoke his half-slumbering regrets; and Tom's manly disinterestedness increased the unpleasantness of his feelings. It was in vain that he said to himself that he had a right to do it,- that everybody did it,- and that some did it without even the excuse of necessity; - he could not satisfy his own feelings; and that he might not witness the unpleasant scenes of the consummation, he had gone on a short business tour up the country".(61)

The author also speaks of the brands that the master put on his slaves, and as I have said before, they paid for the fugitives dead or alive: ... "is deeply scarred on his back and shoulders; has been branded in his right hand with the letter H.

I will give four hundred dollars for him alive, and the same sum for satisfactory proof that he has been killed". (62)

"She presents also the extreme cruelty to the slave girls that did not want to become the mistress of their masters and the physical punishments they receive for their denial to accept this kind of life: ... "she was whipped, sir,

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(61) Ibid. p. 101

(62) Ibid. p. 108

for wanting to live a decent Christian life, such as your laws give no slave girl a right to live". (63)

The trader is presented in the plot as a person that is well accepted any where, North or South, who appears with a situation well seen by politicians and preachers, making of him a very important representative in the management of slavery: ... "the trader had arrived at that stage of Christian and political perfection which has been recommended by some preachers and politicians of the North, lately, in which he had completely overcome every humane weakness and prejudice". (64)

Even the author says that these representatives of slavery were wanting that Northern citizens accepted the practice of it: ... "and it is the great object of recent efforts to make our whole Northern community used to them, for the glory of the Union". (65)

Also she says that the trade is the vital support of the institution and she quotes one of the preachers of her time, condemning it... "a trade which is the vital support of an institution which an American divine tells us has no evils but such as are inseparable from any other relations in social and domestic life". (66)

The author condemns not only the slave-trader but also those men that accept the trade, and she blames them, asking who is the real supporter of the institution, the one who trades with it, or the one that buys the merchandise: "But

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(63) Ibid. p. 114  
{64} Ibid. p. 132  
{65} Ibid. p. 132  
(66) Ibid. p. 133

who, sir, makes the trader? Who is most to blame? The enlightened, cultivated, intelligent man, who supports the system of which the trader is the inevitable result, or the poor trader himself? You make the public sentiment that calls for his trade, that debauches and depraves him, till he feels no shame in it; and in what are you better than he?" (67)

She blames also the politicians that accept the trade in the Union, but who are in opposition to the trade from Africa, and she shows there is no difference between them: "Who does not know our great men are outdoing themselves, in declaiming against the foreign slave-trade. There are a perfect host of Clarksons and Wilberforces risen up among us on that subject, most edifying to hear and behold.

Trading Negroes from Africa, dear reader, is so horrid! It is not to be thought of! But trading them from Kentucky, - that's quite another thing!". (68)

The author insists frequently during the plot, in the inhumane and cruel Fugitive Slave Law, and she makes almost all the characters speak about it, condemning the Government for passing such Law: "But isn't it a shame to make such laws?" (69)

Maire St. Clare tells Miss Ophelia that they must make the slaves understand the position in which they are, and that they have to accept their inferiority in front of their masters. She says it in a cruel way, pretending that even they

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(67) Ibid. p. 135  
(68) Ibid. p. 136  
(69) Ibid. p. 144

must not have physical rest, because the master needs them:  
"Now, there's no way with servants, said Marie, but to put them down, and keep them down. It was always natural to me, from a child." I hold to being kind to servants - I always am; but you must make 'em know their place. Eva never does; there's no getting into the child's head the first beginning of an idea what a servant's place is! You heard her offering to take care of me nights, to let Mammy sleep!" (70)

Marie St. Clare considers the African race is a degraded one, but at the same time gives the opinions of her husband, in an opposite sense, saying that the faults of the slaves are their own faults, and they have to endure them as they are. She means at the same time that as slaves are different in color from them, they must be different also in their sentiments, and of course they cannot love their sons and husband or wife, in the same manner a white man can." He talks the strangest stuff. He says we have made them what they are, and ought to bear with them. He says their faults are all owing to us and that it would be cruel to make the fault and punish in it too". No, indeed, not I! A pretty story, truly! They are a degrade race! But as to putting them on any sort of equality with us, you know, as if we could be compared, why, it's impossible!. Now, St. Clare really has talked to me as if keeping Mammy from her husband was like keeping me from mine. There's no comparing in this way. Mammy couldn't have the feelings that I should. It's a different thing altogether, - of course, it is, - and yet St. Clare pretends not to see it.

And just as if Mammy could love her little dirty babies as I love Eva! ". (71)

The author presents these same thoughts in the Northern minds and it is a Southerner who says that. Miss Ophelia accepts it giving him the reason; he says that Northerners do not want the slaves to be abused, but they do not accept either to take them to the North or to give them any kind of facilities to live in the Free States. He says also that Northerners condemn something that is common in the life of the South, and as they have never been in such a situation, they think of it with horror: "You wouldn't think no harm in a child's caressing a large dog, even if he was black; but a creature that can think, and reason, and feel, and is immortal, you shudder at; confess it, cousin. I know the feeling among some of you Northerners well enough. Not that there is a particle of virtue in our not having it; but custom with us does what Christianity ought to do, - obliterates the feeling of personal prejudice. I have often noticed, in my travels North, how much stronger this was with you than with us. You loathe them as you would a snake or a toad, yet you are indignant at their wrongs. You could not have them abused; but you don't want to have anything to do with them yourselves. You would send them to Africa, out of your sight and smell, and then send a missionary or two to do up all the self-denial of elevating them compendiously. Isn't that it?". (72)

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(71) Ibid. p. 178

(72) Ibid. p. 182

The Southerners present all sort of sofisms to justify the institution. They say there must be a society in which some be slaves and other the governors of those slaves. It is precisely Marie St. Clare who gives us these kind of thoughts, because she has heard them from the preacher, and, of course, she was in accordance with these feelings: "He hath made ~~everything~~ beautiful in its season; and he showed how all the orders and distinctions in society came from God; and that it was so appropriate, you know, and beautiful, that some should be high and some low, and that some were born to rule and some to serve, and all that, you know; and he applied it so well to all this ridiculous fuss that is made about slavery, and he proved distinctly that the Bible was on our side, and supported all our institutions so convincingly. I only wish you'd heard him." (73)

After this Miss Ophelia asks Marie if she considers slavery right or wrong? And it is Mr. St. Clare who answers denying that the Bible justifies it; but he considers that it is necessary for the economical development of the South and that even if for any reason some day slavery would not be necessary for it, they might find Biblical justification to deny the institution: "Well, said St. Clare, suppose that something should bring down the price of cotton once and forever, and make the whole slave property a drug in the market, don't you think we should soon have another version of the Scripture doctrine?" (74)

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{73} Ibid. p. 187  
{74} Ibid. p. 189



As we have said before, the author insists in the Fugitive Slave Law, so she compares the fugitives from the European countries, who come to America and whom the Government of the United States seek with good eyes, with the fugitive slaves who are looking for their freedom and may lose their lives to obtain it. The Government demands all citizens to return the slave to his master, who could or could not be a cruel one. I must say that if a slave runs away, it is because he is running from a cruel Master that tortures him. In the plot it is precisely a brave young man, who does not want to return to slavery when he is near freedom, and who does not want to obey a Law that is against him, saying he is the property of nobody and that he may kill any one that wants to take him back: "I am George Harris. A Mr. Harris, of Kentucky, did call me his property. But now I'm a free man, standing on God's free soil; and my wife and my child I claim as mine. Jim and his mother are here. We have arms to defend ourselves, and we mean to do it."

"Young man, this an't no kind of talk at all for you. You see, we're officers of justice. We've got the law on our side, and the power, and so forth; so you'd better give up peaceably"

"You want to send Jim and me back to be whipped and tortured, and ground down under the heels of them that you call masters; and your laws will bear you out in it, - more shame for you and them!".

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"If it had been only a Hungarian youth, now bravely defending in some mountains fastness the retreat of fugitives escaping from Austria into America, this would have been sublime heroism; but as it was a youth of African descent, defending the retreat of fugitives through America into Canada, of course we are too well instructed and patriotic to see any heroism in it; and if any of our readers do, they must do it on their own private responsibility". (75)

The author presents the question of slavery, as I have said before, as a political and economical tendency that is profitable to the Southern planters: ... "on this abstract question of slavery there can, as I think, be but one opinion. Planters, who have money to make by it, - clergymen, who have planters to please, - politicians, who want to rule by it, - may warp and bend language and ethics to a degree that shall astonish the world at their ingenuity". (76)

The author also says through St. Clare's words that the system is a complete abuse of man over other men. Those men must work when and in what he wants in his only benefit, and even when the slave dies, he will go to the place that his master would choose for him, and Mr. St. Clare's excitement grows so much that he says he does not mind to sink in a movement that may cause such kind of living to disappear: "Why, because my brother Quashy is ignorant and weak, and I am intelligent and strong, - because I know how, and can do it, - therefore, I may steal all he has, keep it,

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(75) Ibid. p. 202

(76) Ibid. p. 227

and give him only such and so much as suits my fancy. Whatever is too hard, too dirty, too disagreeable, for me, I may set Quashy to doing. Because I don't like work, Quashy shall work. Because the sun burns me, Quashy shall stay in the sun. Quashy shall earn the money, and I will spend it. Quashy shall lie down in every puddle, that I may walk over dry-shod. Quashy shall do my will, and not his, all the days of his mortal life, and have such chance of getting to heaven, at last, as I find convenient. This I take to be about what slavery is. I defy anybody on earth to read our slave-code, as it stands in our law-books, and make anything else of it. Talk of the abuses of slavery! Humbug! The thing itself is the essence of all abuse!" (77)

"...I declare to you, there have been times when I have thought, if the whole country would sink, and hide all this injustice and misery from the light, I would willingly sink with it". (78)

Mr. St. Clare criticizes the Northerners because they talk about the problem which slavery represents, but really they do not know anything about it, and he also says that Southerners know all concerning slavery, and that even they know it is unjust, but they have no other chance: "It's all nonsense to talk to me about slaves enjoying all this! To this day, I have no patience with the unutterable trash that some of your patronizing Northerners have made up, as in their zeal to apologize for our sins. We all know better. Tell

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(77) Ibid. p. 227

(78) Ibid. p. 228

me that any man living wants to work all his days from day-dawn till dark, under the constant eye of a master, without the power of putting forth one irresponsible volition, on the same dreary, monotonous, unchanging toil, and all for two pairs of pantaloons and a pair of shoes a year, with enough food and shelter to keep him in working order! Any man who thinks that human beings can, as a general thing, be made about as comfortable that way as any other. I wish he might try it. I'd buy the dog, and work him, with a clear conscience!". (79)

The education that children who grew in the South receive was in accordance with the cruelty which prevails in the relations among masters and slaves, and from the moment they understand, they being to distinguish the treatment they must give to the slaves: "Dear Cousin, you don't know Dodo; it's the only way to manage him, he's so full of lies and excuses. The only way is to put him down at once, - not let him open his mouth; that's the way papa manages". (80)

Agustine St. Clare says that some day the masses will rise, and perhaps they may become in some moment the masters: "I tell you, said Augustine, if there is anything that is revealed with the strength of a divine law in our times, it is that the masses are to rise, and the under class become the upper one". (81)

On the contrary, his brother says they have the power and that things shall go as they are, so he thinks

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{79} Ibid. p. 234  
{80} Ibid. p. 272  
{81} Ibid. p. 274

they can manage the situation easily: "On the whole, Augustine  
I think your talents might do for a circuit rider, said Alfred,  
laughing. Never you fear for us; possession is our nine points.  
We've got the power. This subject race, said he, stamping  
firmly, is down, and shall stay down! We have energy enough to  
manage our own power." (82)

The feelings of a negro child are hurt because she knows that her owner Miss Ophelia, who is a Northerner, can not endure her for the color of her skin, and for this reason the author criticizes the Northerners, because they are really not interested in the sufferings of the slaves: "No, she can't bar me, 'cause I'm a nigger! - she'd 's soon have a toad touch her! There can't nobody love niggers, and niggers can't do nothin'! I don't care, said Topsy, beginning to whistle." (83)

Miss Ophelia tries to justify her thinking about negroes, saying that she did not know they may notice her attitude. This way of thinking is very common and it prevails still in our days: "I've always had a prejudice against Negroes, said Miss Ophelia, and it's a fact, I never could bear to have that child touch me; but, I didn't, think she knew it." (84)

The author insists in the cruelty and injustice of slavery, and she makes Mr. St. Clare speak in a hard way saying that Christians must not be called so while they are in accordance with the system: "My view of Christianity is such, he added, that I think no man can consistently profess it with out throwing the whole weight of his being against this

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(82) Ibid. p. 275

(83) Ibid. p. 288

(84) Ibid. p. 289

monstrous system of injustice that lies at the foundation of all our society; and, if need be, sacrificing himself in the battle. That is, I mean that I could not be a Christian otherwise." (85)

At the same time the author insists in the idea that if the Southerners emancipate their slaves, the Northerners would not accept them in the free states: "But, suppose we should rise up tomorrow and emancipate, who would educate these millions, and teach them how to use their freedom? They never would rise to do much among us. The fact is, we are too lazy and unpractical, ourselves, ever to give them much of an idea of that industry and energy which is necessary to form them into men. They will have to go North, where labor is the fashion the universal custom; and tell me, now, is there enough Christian philanthropy, among you Northern states, to bear with the process of their education and elevation?" (86)

Mr. St. Clare using hard words says that nobody in the North would do anything help the emancipated negroes, and that the Southerners are oppressors but in his point of view the Northerners are equally oppressors because of their prejudice: "How many families, in your town, would take in a Negro man and woman, teach them, bear with them, and seek to make them Christians? How many merchants would take Adolph, if I wanted to make him a clerk or mechanics, if I wanted

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(85) Ibid. p. 320

(86) Ibid. p. 321

him taught a trade? If I wanted to put Jane and Rosa to a school, how many schools are there in the Northern states that would take them in? How many families that would board them? and yet they are as white as many a woman, North or South, You see, Cousin, I want justice done us. We are in a bad position. We are the more obvious oppressors of the Negro; but the unchristian prejudice of the North is an oppressor almost equally severe". (87)

The author says that the slaves become completely unprotected when a good master dies, because they are used to good treatment and suddenly they go to another master who may be cruel: "We hear often of the distress of the Negro servants, on the loss of a kind master; and with good reason, for no creature on God's earth is left more utterly unprotected and desolate than the slave in these circumstances." (88)

As soon as Marie St. Clare became the owner of her husband's property, she expressed that she never would emancipate any slave, because they would never know what to do with their freedom; and again a slave becomes a thing, which serves the purposes of their masters without any protection or will: "Indeed, I shall do no such thing!" said Marie, sharply. Tom is one of the most valuable servants on the place, it couldn't be afforded, any way. Besides, what does he want of liberty? He's a great deal better off as he is".

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( 87) Ibid. p. 322

( 88) Ibid. p. 325

But he does desire it, very earnestly, and his master promised it, said Miss Ophelia. I dare say he does want it, said Marie, they all want it, just because they are a discontented set, always wanting what they haven't got. Now, I'm principled against emancipating, in any case. Keep a Negro under the care of a master, and he does well enough, and is respectable; but set them free, and they get lazy, and won't work, and take to drinking, and go all down to be mean, worthless fellows. I've seen it tried, hundreds of times. It's no favor to set them free." (89)

The author gives a description of a salve warehouse, saying that it must not be imagined as a cruel place, but on the contrary, because this kind of property is valuable: "Perhaps some of my readers conjure up horrible visions of such a place, They fancy some foul, obscure den; some horrible Tartarus" informis, ingens, cui lumen ademptum". But no, innocent friend; in these days men have learned the art of sinning expertly and genteely, so as not to shock the eyes and senses of respectable society. Human property is high in the market; and is, therefore, well fed, well cleaned, tended, and looked after, that it may come to sale sleek, and strong, and shining. A slave warehouse in New Orleans is a house externally not much unlike many others, kept with neatness; and where every day you may see arranged, under a sort of shed along the outside, rows of men and women, who stand there as a sign



of the property sold within." (90)

The author criticizes the Northern citizens that make trade with Southerners, who sell their slaves and plantations to pay the debts or obligations they have with them: "One of the largest creditors was the respectable firm of B. & Co., in New York, B & Co wrote to their lawyer in New Orleans, who attached the real state (these two articles and a lot of plantation hands formed the most valuable part of it), and wrote word to that effect to New York. Brother B., being, as we have said, a Christian man and a resident in a free State, felt some uneasiness on the subject. He didn't like trading in slaves and souls of men, - of course, he didn't; but, then, there were thirty thousand dollars in the case, and that was rather too much money to be lost for a principle." (91)

The author says there are two classes of planters, good and bad. She describes among the bad ones Simon Legree as a low and brutal man, and criticizes that there are laws to protect these kind of men, and no one to protect the slaves from this kind of master: "He is a mean, low, brutal fellow!" said the other.

And yet your laws allow him to hold any number of human beings subject to his absolute will, without even a shadow of protection; and, low as he is, you cannot say that there are not many such." (92)

When the author presents two slaves of Legree, who were raised to be savage, cruel and brutal, she explains

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(90) Ibid. p. 333  
(91) Ibid. p. 337  
(92) Ibid. p. 348

they are even more cruel than the master: "These two colored men were the two principal hands on the plantation. Legree had trained them in savageness and brutality as systematically as he had his bulldogs; and, by long practice in hardness and cruelty, brought their whole nature to about the same range of capacities. It is a common remark, and one that is thought to militate strongly against the character of the race, that the Negro overseer is always more tyrannical and cruel than the white one. " (93)

The author says that when cruelty is the sign of a place, it marks everything; so men become less than animals!:"As they stood there now by Legree, they seemed an apt illustration of the fact that brutal men are lower even than animals. Their coarse, dark, heavy features; their great eyes rolling enviously on each other, their barbarous, guttural half-brute intonation; their dilapidated garments fluttering in the wind, - were all in admirable keeping with the vile and unwholesome character of everything about the place. " (94)

Freedom, as the author says, represented for the slave, to have all the rights that any man has, to have a family that no one could break, to protect and educate his children, to have a religion of his own, in a word to be a man: "... what is freedom to George Harris? To your fathers, freedom was the right of a nation to be a nation. To him, it is the right of a man to be a man, and not a brute; the

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(93) Ibid. p. 353

(94) Ibid. p. 354

right to call the wife of his bosom his wife, and to protect her from lawless violence; the right to protect and educate his child; the right to have a home of his own, a religion of his own, a character of his own, unsubject to the will of another". (95)

The author says that in the Southern courts the testimony of colored men were not valid, so the murder that Legree committed could not be punished, because the only witnesses were his own slaves: "Do! said Legree, snapping his fingers, scornfully. I'd like to see you doing it. Where you going to get witnesses? - how you going to prove it? -Come, now! George saw, at once, the force of this defiance. There was not a white person on the place; and, in all Southern courts, the testimony of colored blood is nothing. He felt, at that moment, as if he could have rent the heavens with his heart's indignant cry for justice; but in vain". (96)

The last chapter of the novel is dedicated to the conclusions the author considers more important on the whole problem of slavery. She tries to make of these conclusions an impartial point of view. She makes of Tom's death a symbol of what a human being must endure. After Tom's murder, none of his mates could testify against his murderer: "That the tragical fate of Tom, also, has too many times had its parallel, there are living witnesses, all over our land, to testify. Let it be remembered that in all Southern states it is a principle of jurisprudence that no person of colored

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(95) Ibid. p. 393

(96) Ibid. p. 430

lineage can testify in a suit against a white, and it will be easy to see that such a case may occur, wherever there is a man whose passions outweigh his interests, and a slave who had manhood or principle enough to resist his will." (97)

She criticizes strongly the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, that made of any citizen a catcher of slaves that run away, and as she lived in a very religious home, her sentiments were against these kind of unhumane laws: "For many years of her life, the author avoided all reading upon or allusion to the subject of slavery, considering it as too painful to be inquired into, and one which advancing light and civilization would certainly live down. But, since the legislative act of 1850, when she heard, with perfect surprise and consternation, Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizens, - when she heard, on all hands, from kind, compassionate and estimable people, in the free states of the North, deliberations and discussions as to what Christian duty could be on this head, she could only think, these men and Christians cannot know what slavery is; if they did, such a question could never be open for discussion". (98)

She criticizes American people who speak about the African slave trade as piracy, but consider it normal in America: "The slave-trade is now, by American law, considered as piracy. But a slave trade, as systematic as ever was

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(97) Ibid. p. 450

(98) Ibid. p. 452

carried on the coast of Africa, is an inevitable attendant and result of American slavery. And its heart-break and its horrors, can they be told?" (99)

The author extends her accusation to Northerners, condemning all those that have had in some moments slaves by trading, because it permitted the spreading of slavery all over the country: ...."the sons of the free states would not have connived at the extension of slavery, in our national body; the sons of the free states would not as they do, trade the souls and bodies of men as an equivalent to money, in their mercantile dealings. There are multitudes of slaves temporarily owned, and sold again by merchants in Northern cities; and shall the whole guilt or obloquy of slavery fall only on the South?.(100)

Her religious sentiment appears in the calling she makes to Christians, in order to repair all the wrongs they have committed against the African race: "What do you owe to these poor unfortunates, oh Christians? Does not every American Christian owe to the African race some effort at reparation for the wrongs that the American nation has brought upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall states arise and shake them out? Shall the church of Christ hear in silence the taunt that is thrown at them, and shrink away from the helpless hand that they stretch out; and, by her silence, encourage the cruelty that would chase them from our borders?" (101)

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(99) Ibid. p. 453  
(100) Ibid. p. 454  
(101) Ibid. p. 455



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Finally the solution that many people give for the problem is not accepted by the author, because she says it is cruel to send them back to Africa, after being treated as animals and without any preparation that may let them become civilized: "To fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperienced, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attends the inception of new enterprises. Let the church of the North relieve these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America" (102)

and submission of negroes and justified the social statue of slavery, in our days the invocation of religious thoughts, is not to maintain racial segregation but much to the contrary; negro preachers specially are demanding just treatment and equality for both races.

If slavery is forbidden by Law in the United States, the present economical, political and social standing of the negro race means to me: slavery de facto.

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## CHAPTER VI

### ALBION WINEGAR TOURGEE

Albion Winegar Tourgée was born in Ohio in 1838. Of the three children which were born to Valentine and Louisa Winegar Tourgée, he was the only one who survived infancy.

The Tourgée family moved frequently, before and after the mother's death in 1843. At fourteen years of age, Albion left home, in Kingsfield, Ohio, and went to live during the following two years with an uncle, in Lee, Massachusetts.

Later on he returned to Kingsfield, where he enrolled in the Kingsfield Academy.

Perhaps during his living with his uncle, Albion developed a great love for books and by the time he entered the academy, he began to write.

In 1857 he put together a group of poems and essays, but he did not publish the volume, which he called "Sense and Nonsense".

Two years later he was admitted to the University of Rochester, and in 1861 took a teaching position in a school in Wilson, New York.

In the first week of the Civil War, Tourgée enlisted in the 27th New York Volunteers Regiment and soon he was sent to the battle front.

In 1862 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts according with the practice of granting degrees to men who entered the service before they completed requirements for the degree.

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On July 4th 1861, he was seriously injured at the first battle of Bull Run. The injury was so severe, that he was discharged from the Army on August 1861.

Later, in July 1862, he had regained health sufficiently to re-enter the army as a Lieutenant with Company G of the 105th Ohio Volunteers Regiment. During the same year, in October, he received once again a spinal injury, which hospitalized him for several weeks.

In January 1863 he was captured by the enemy. On one occasion he attempted to run away, but was recaptured. In May he was changed and he went to Ohio, where he married Emma Lodoiska Kilbourne, before he returned to his comrades in arms.

Between May 1863 and January 1864, he saw action on many battle fields, Tullohoma, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. He resigned from the Army on January 1864, and returned to Ohio, there he prepared himself to be admitted in the bar, which he joined in May 1864.

Tourgée suffered from the injuries he received in the war, and as he knew that in the South an enormous program of economical and political recovery was to begin soon, he thought he would undoubtedly have an opportunity not only to recover his health, but also to increase a fortune and a life of constructive service.

So he went South in July 1865, looking for a place to settle. Finally he found it and he decided to remain in Greensboro, North Carolina, to where he moved with his wife, in October.

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North Carolina had not been a decisive battleground, but it suffered privation. It was an attractive area for settlers from less fortunate Confederate states and for carpetbaggers from the North.

When Tourgée arrived with his wife to Greensboro, in October 1865, he brought \$5,000.00, which he invested immediately in a nursery business, but unfortunately he was not successful. At that time, however, Tourgée was involved deeply in the political controversies about postwar Reconstruction.

President Johnson appointed W.W. Holden provisional Governor, in order to make the constitutional changes that could permit the return of North Carolina to the Union. He called the loyal people of the state to meet at a convention. This convention declared slavery abolished; repudiated the state war debt, and provided for the election of new state officials and members of Congress.

It was during the course of these developments that Albion W. Tourgée settled in Greensboro. He witnessed the defeat of Holden and the election of Jonathan Worth, the State Treasurer under the Confederacy, as Governor of the State.

Meanwhile negroes had met at a convention in October and had asked for protection and an opportunity for education. They also called for an end to legal discriminations against them.

Tourgée became convinced that the policies adopted by the State Government would not only prevent the resumption

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of normal relations with the Federal Government, but make peace and justice impossible. Soon he was expressing openly and indiscreetly his points of view. At a meeting in August 1866, he came out for Negro suffrage. On the following month, as a delegate at the Philadelphia Convention of Loyalists, he described some atrocities against North Carolina Negroes and insisted that neither Negroes nor Union whites were safe from attacks of the former Confederates. He said that at least 1,200 Union soldiers were forced to sacrifice their property and flee the State, in order to save their lives.

The news of his Philadelphia performance reached North Carolina before his return, and an adverse reaction was immediate. Some North Carolina citizens began to write threatening letters to Tourgée, but he did not stop and obtained permission to carry firearms for personal protection.

On January 1867 he began to publish "The Union Register". Although it vigorously espoused the cause of Radical Reconstruction, the newspaper disappeared at the end of six months. Later, in the same year, General Canby appointed Tourgée to a judgeship, but Canby received from Governor Worth the declaration that Tourgée was a man of the most detestable character, and he did not reach such position.

Tourgée was not daunted by his defeat. Congress took over the program of Reconstruction and favored conditions which placed the advantage in the hands of the group of which Tourgée was a member. On 1868 Tourgée was prominent among the

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ected delegates to the new Constitutional Convention. In the same year he was nominated to the Superior Court, with jurisdiction over eight counties. His enemies fought him, but without success.

During his six years on the bench Tourgée displayed abilities that surprised his enemies. He came to be regarded as one of the best judges in the State. He was fearless; and from the bench he attacked especially the Klan, for their mistreatment of the Negro. Frequently he received threatening letters from his enemies. In the summer of 1870 the Klan was again denounced by Tourgée in a letter to Governor Holden, which was published, citing several specific cases of outrage against the Negroes.

When his term as judge was up in 1876, President Grant appointed him to the position of Pension Agent in Raleigh. It is in July 1877 that Albion Winegar Tourgée began to write a book and he called it "A Fool's Errand". In the spring of 1878 he published in Greensboro "The "C" Letters" where he attacked the Klan, defended Negroes, and flung Democrats, who presumed that they were qualified to fill offices of public trust. A year after he was closing his business affairs and preparing to leave.

Though "A Fool's Errand" cannot be regarded as autobiographical, many of the incidents in it are remarkably similar to some that happened to Tourgée himself during his living in North Carolina.

Some were based on the experiences of other people. All the events and principal circumstances may be qualified,

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as he said: "It's pictures are from life" (103)

Comfort Servosse, the fool, was an educated Northerner of French ancestry, as Tourgée was. His reasons for changing his North residence to the South, are similar to Tourgée's: the injuries received in war and to increase a fortune with the capital he had accumulated already. Metta Servosse is obviously portrayed on Tourgée's wife, while his mentor, the Reverend Enos Martin, is portrayed from Tourgée's close friend M.B. Anderson, President of the University of Rochester.

The threats against the life of Servosse are similar to those frequently directed against Tourgée, especially while he served as judge of the Superior Court. The chapter "A race against Time", in which Lily Servosse foils a Klan plot against her father's life, is perhaps inspired by Tourgée's discovery of a Klan plot to murder him one day, as he left his courtroom. The numerous other activities of the Klan in "A Fool's Errand" are similar to those compiled by Tourgée during his term of office as judge.

Critical reaction to "A Fool's Errand" was varied, but everywhere there was immediately great interest in the work upon publication. "The Raleigh Observer" said of the book "it is powerfully written work and destined, we fear, to do as much harm in the world as Uncle Tom's Cabin, to which it is, indeed, a companion piece".

In its first six weeks of publication, 5,281 copies were sold; by the middle of 1880 more than 43,000. During the summer of that year the book was printed simultaneously in New York and Boston. By the end of the year 90,000 copies

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(103) A Fool's Errand.- The Belknap Press of Harvard University. Press Cambridge, Massachusetts.-1961.-Letter to the Publishers.

approximately were sold. It has been estimated that the total sales may have reached finally 200,000 copies.

"A Fool's Errand" won for Tourgée a prominent place in political and literary circles.

His most important work during the North Carolina years, was "Toinette", written in 1868-1869 and published in 1874 under the "nom de plume", Henry Churton. It was republished under Tourgée's own name in 1881 as "The Royal Gentleman". This novel was written during Tourgée's exalted feeling that slavery debased the master as much as the slave, and that the Civil War had scarcely affected the attitudes of the Southern whites toward Negroes.

In October the 4th 1879, he published "Figs and Thistles", a success story of the rise of a young man from humble origins to wealth and political power in the North.

In October 1880 was published "Bricks without Straw". It is the story of the love and marriage of a Southern planter and a New England schoolmistress, in which he advances the idea that education will solve the principal problems created by Civil War and emancipation.

He published "John Eax" in 1882 and "Hot Plowshares" in 1883. For a dozen years he was a regular contributor to the Chicago "Daily Inter-Ocean". In 1887 he published "Black Ice", and "Button's Inn". Two more were published on 1888: "Eighty-Nine" and "Rock Oil Company".

Not one of his efforts brought him financial success, and he continued struggling against bankruptcy. On 1897 he was happy to accept from President McKinley an appointment as

Consul at Bordeaux, a post that he held until his death in 1905.

As an intelligent observer and partisan in Southern Reconstruction, Tourgée was in an excellent position to provide his contemporaries and posterity with an important commentary and criticism of what he witnessed and experienced. He was involved in the struggle to reconstruct the political life of his community; he was a champion of Negro rights, having spoken in favor of Negro enfranchisement, and supported programs that looked for the economic development and economical independence of the Negro. He attacked race prejudice and Klan violence.

His political influence as a carpetbagger was by no means unlimited. In North Carolina, as in many other Southern States, carpetbaggers were in the minority and were unable to wield decisive influence, so his ambition to represent his district in Congress, remained unfulfilled.

CHAPTER VII

A FOOL'S ERRAND

1.- Points of view about slavery of the Fool and other characters of the novel.

This novel can not be considered properly an antislavery one, but it showed the development that slavery had after the Civil War. The author gave us his ideas on slavery through his novel characters, specially the Fool.

The Fool said in the first pages of the novel that as slavery has been broken, the country must develope and the Northern soldiers could find homes in the South. But he did not consider the tradition and the sentiments of Southerners "Oh, he replied, there must be great changes, of course! Slavery has been broken up, and things must turn into new grooves; but I think the country will settle up rapidly, now that slavery is out of the way. Manufactures will spring up, immigration will pour in, and it will be just the pleasantest part of the country. I believe one-fifth of our soldiers - and that the very best part of them too - will find homes in the South in less than two years, just as soon as they can clear out their old places, and find new ones there to suit their taste.

So he talked, forgetful of the fact that the social conditions of three hundred years are not to be overthrown in a moment". (104)

A neighbor of the Fool, Squire Hyman, spoke of what Southern people believed about slavery and he justified it as a divine right given to white people: "Well, now, I don't



think you ought to say that, madam. You see, you are blaming a whole people whom, we are bound to admit, were, in the main, honest in what they did. If any one believed slavery to be a divinely appointed and ordained institution, I can not see how he could do otherwise". (105)

This man said also Southerners believed the abolition of slavery could not be permanent: "Undoubtedly, he answered seriously, - many thousands of them, and are to-day. In fact, you may say that the bulk of the Southern people believed it then, and believe it now. They regard the abolition of slavery only as a temporary triumph of fanaticism over divine truth. (106)

He insisted in the divine origin of slavery and supported by preachers and religion as an unquestionable right of white men over negroes: "I have been a slaveholder from my youth, and ever since I could remember have heard the institution of slavery referred to in the pulpit and in religious conversations, not so much as a thing that might be proved to be holy, but which was incontestably divine in its origin and character, just as much as marriage, or any other Christian institution. I don't think a minister who had a doubt upon that subject could have found any market for his religion here," (107)

The same man spoke about the people which wrote against slavery, considering that they were fanatics of a

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(105) Ibid. p. 86  
(106) Ibid. p. 87  
(107) Ibid. p. 87

religious idea, and even he recognized slavery was abuse of men over other men, and he defended himself saying that they were not so bad and unjust: "Now, the people who wrote those books I can understand. With them it was a principle, a religious idea. They thought it was a wrong and a sin which they would do God's service to exterminate. They are what we call fanatics. No one can blame them, only for not crediting us with like sincerity. They might have done that, I should suppose. They made too much, too, out of the abuses of slavery. It was abused, - no doubt of that, - and many bad things done by bad men under cover of it; but they might have credited us with honesty, at least. We were not all bad, nor all cruel and unjust." (108)

The Fool said to Squire Hyman that the South could not endure its failure which was the consequence of slavery: "It is just such intolerance as this, Squire, which makes it next to impossible for the South to accept its present situation. You all want to shoot, whip, hang, and burn those who do not agree with you. It is all the fruit and outcome of two hundred years of slavery" (109)

In a letter the Fool received from an old doctor, George D. Garnet, after he published a letter which threatens him, it is said that Southerners tried to protect the slavery institution, and that perhaps many generations shall pass and even South and North shall think over the problem alike.

I must say that almost a century has elapsed from it, and it happens that now-a-days they yet think alike:

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(108) Ibid. p. 91

(109) Ibid. p. 94

"That civilization by which you are surrounded has never been tolerant of opinions which do not harmonize with its ideas. Based and built on slavery, the ideas which were a part of that institution, or which were necessary to its protection and development, have become ingrained, and essential to the existence of the community. It was this development which was even more dangerous and inimical to the nation than the institution itself. You must remember, dear Colonel, that neither the nature, habits of thought, nor prejudices of men, are changed by war or its results. The institution of slavery is abolished; but the prejudice, intolerance, and bitterness which it fostered and nourished, are still alive, and will live until those who were raised beneath its glare have moldered back to dust. A new generation perhaps many new generations - must arise before the North and the South can be one people, or the prejudices, resentments and ideas of slavery, intensified by unsuccessful war, can be obliterated" (110)

The Fool wrote to one of the Wise Men of the Government and he called his attention on the persecution that colored men suffer from the white, who do not want to recognize their equality and he compares this persecution to those of Queen Mary of England against the heretics of her day: "... that slavery had been abolished, and liberty established without distinction as to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, while men were submitted to a persecution not less bitter, and hardly less sanguinary, than

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(110) Ibid. p. 107

than which Bloody Mary visited upon the heretics of her day." (111)

The Fool says of slavery as a wrong and the suppression of his rights to a man just because he was born slave: "The fact that a man had been born a slave did not, in his eyes, affect the question of his inherent right; because he regarded slavery simply as an unnatural and wrongful accident". (112)

When the Fool paid a visit to Doctor Enos Martin, the latter said though slavery had passed, its moral element continued alive, and its force as active as before the war: "Slavery as a formal state of society was at an end: as a force, a power, a moral element, it was as active as before" (113)

## 2.- Civil Rights of Negro People during the Reconstruction Period.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, the Northern People considered that the rights of a normal citizen had been given to the former slaves, but the Southerners thought that in as much as colored people were ignorant and had been their slaves, they never would submit to the Government's decision on the question of the negro suffrage: "The practical question for you to consider is, how far and how fast shall the freedmen be enfranchised? You have today assented to the assertion repeatedly made, that the South would never submit

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(111) Ibid. p. 232  
(112) Ibid. p. 337  
(113) Ibid. p. 380

to 'nigger suffrage'. But again I say, the South has nothing to do with that question either. The war settled that also".

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The author made the Fool express that the Government should watch over the freedmen, during their preparation for the citizen life: "Besides that, he thought it only fair and honest that the Government which had cut the freedman loose from slavery should watch over him until he could walk erect in his nes state." (115)

When the Fool is nominated as delegate to the Constitutional Convention he promises equality upon both races, but after the publication of what he had promised, he and his family became proscribed from the Southern Society:

"I shall, if elected, favor:-

- 1.- Equal civil and political rights to all men.
- 2.- The abolition of property qualifications for voters, officers and jurors.
- 3.- Election by the people of all officers - legislative, executive and judicial - in the state, the counties, the municipalities.
- 4.- Penal reform: the abolition of the whipping-post, the stocks, and the branding-iron, and the reduction of capital felonies from seventeen to one, or at most two.
- 5.- Uniform and ad valorem taxation upon property, and a limitation of capitation tax to not more than three days' labor upon the public roads in each year, or an equivalent thereof.
- 6.- An effective system of publich schools". (116)

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(114) Ibid. p. 65  
(115) Ibid. p.133  
(116) Ibid. p.160

As we see, from what he promised, there were not reasons for the Southerners to turn against him; and in the last point of his program, we see that the problem is always the same, public education and equality for both races.

When Bob Martin, a freed slave, helped his colored neighbors in an election, and refused to work without payment for a white man, he became threatened by the Ku Klux Klan: "When there come an election, I sed my say, did my own votin', an'tole de other colored people dey waz free, an' had a right ter du de same. Thet's bad doctrine up in our contry. De white folks don't like ter hear it, and 'specially don't like ter hear a nigger say it. Dey don't mind 'bout our gettin' on ef dey hev a mortgage, so't de 'arnin's goes into ther pockets; nor 'bout out votin' so long ez we votes ez dey tell us. Dat's dare idea uv liberty fer a nigger." (117)

### 3.- Abuses of the Confederates over Negroes.

The former Confederates were not in accordance with the enfranchisement of negro people and they even considered, they had been outraged, because the Southern Government never allowed a negro to be witness against a white man, and because the equality of rights that the Constitution gave both races was an insult to Southern citizens: "The great subject of contention between the opposing factions was to whether the recently freed people ought to be allowed to testify in courts of justice.

What! said one of the speakers, 'allow a nigger to testify! allow him to swear away your rights and mine! Never! We have

been outraged and insulted! Our best men have been put under a ban; but we have not got so low as to submit to that yet, Our rights are too sacred to be put at the mercy of nigger perjurers!" (118)

When the Fool is attacked by some white people who were not in accordance with his points of view, and one of them suffered an accident, the negroes of the vicinity became accused of having committed a murder. As they became prisoners, not any formality was considered important, in direct cause to the color of their skin: "The prisoners were charged with the murder of Thomas Savage. They have been arrested without a warrant, such formality not being considered important, as they were 'only niggers'." (119)

Over this incident the author insists upon the injustice that white people commit against negroes, just because of the color of their skin. After he has proved their innocence, the wife of one of them thanked him for saving the father from being hanged without law: "... and thanking him in the name of her helpless babes for saving their father from being hanged without law or justice, 'jes' because he was a nigger'." (120)

Another abuse of white people against the negro, was they did not allow negro people to own land, horses or carts: "... only to stop selling horses to niggers and letting them crop on shares. They said they had made up their minds that no nigger should stridesaddle his own horse, or ride in

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(118) Ibid. p. 58

(119) Ibid. p. 78

(120) Ibid. p. 81

his own cart, in this county." (121)

As I have said before, the author said that one of the outrages against negroes, was that based on the color of their skin. Perhaps it was the most important reason for Southerners to consider them a servile race, without considering they have not given them any education in order to civilize them: "...the popular feeling in regard to the African population of that section. That a servile race, isolated from the dominant one by the fact of color and the universally accepted dogma of inherent inferiority, to say nothing of a very general belief of its utter incapacity for the civilization which the Caucasian has attained, should be looked on with distrust and aversion" (122)

The Southerners did not accept the equality, and they refused to allow colored people to testify against them. Was the Emancipation "roclamation useless?"... the white people of the South, by their representatives in the various Legislatures of the Johnsonian period, had absolutely refused to recognize this equality, even in the slightest matters, by refusing to allow the colored people to testify in courts of justice against white men, or to protect their rights of person and property in any manner from the avarice, lust, or brutality of their white neighbors." (123)

When a freed negro as Bob Martin was, refused to work for white people, because the latter did not want to pay for the work, or he tried to protect his property, or

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(121) Ibid. p. 106

(122) Ibid. p. 134

(123) Ibid. p. 136



because he advised other negro people to vote freely for their candidate, the Ku Klux Klan whipped them. "The sight which presented itself to the Fool's eyes was truly terrible. The broad muscular back, from the nape down to and below the waist, was gashed and marked by repeated blows. Great furrows were plowed in the black integument, whose greenly-livid lips were drawn back, while the coagulated fibrine stretched across, and mercifully protected the lacerated flesh. The whole back was livid and swollen, bruised as if it had been brayed in a mortar. Apparently, after having cut the flesh with closely-laid welts and furrows, sloping downward from the left side towards the right, with the peculiar skill in castigation which could only be obtained through the abundant opportunity for severe and deliberate flagellation which prevailed under the benign auspices of slavery." (124)

When Bob Martin explained the reasons the Klan had to abuse him and his family, he said that the Klan considered he was becoming too smart and they were going to give him a lesson of manners. "I axed 'em what they wanted o' me. Dey sed I was gittin tu dam smart, an' dey'd jes' come roun' ter teach me some little manners. Den they tied me tu a tree, an' done what you've seen. Dey tuk my wife an' 'oldes' gal out ob de house, tore de close night about off' em, an' abused 'em schockin' afore my eyes. After tarin' tins up a heap in de house, dey rode off, tellin' me dey reckoned I'd larn to be 'spectiveful to white folks herearter, an' not refuse to work

unless I hed pay in advance, an' not be so anxious 'bout radical votes. Den my ole woman cut me loose, an' we went into de house ter see what devilment dey'd done dar. We called de chillen. Dar's five on'em, - de oldes' a gal 'bout fifteen, an' de younges' only little better'n a year ole. We foun' 'em all but de baby. I don' tink he ebber breaved arter de do' fell on us." (125)

The freed men asked for an opportunity to work, have their families, and have the civil and political rights of a white man; they did not want the Government to have freed them to continue in a slave position in relation to their former masters: "I ain't no coward, Kunnel, an' I don't want to brag; but I ain't feared of no man. I don't min' sufferin' nor dyin' if I could see any good to come from it. I'd be willin' ter fight fer my liberty, er fer de country dat give me liberty. But I don' tink liberty was any favor ef we are to be cut up an' murdered jes' de same as in slave times, an' wuss too. Bob'll take keer of himself, an' his wife an' chillen too, ef dey'll only give him a white man's chance. But ef men can come to his house in de middle of de night, kill his baby, an' beat an' abuse him an' his family ez much ez dey please, jes' by puttin' a little black cloth ober der faces, I may ez well give up, an' be a slave agin". (126)

The Ku Klux Klan attacked and murdered negro people, who tried to be independant, to have properties and who advised ignorant colored people in the elections. The Fool

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(125) Ibid. p. 187

(126) Ibid. p. 189

received many letters from different counties, which expressed all the felonies that the Klan committed against white and negro people who wanted a radical reconstruction of Southern States: "Three colored men were whipped by the K.K.K. a few miles from this place on Saturday night. One of them I do not know: the others were as good colored men as there ever were in the county. The reason given was, that they had been sassy: the true reason is believed to be that they were acquiring property, and becoming independent. Can nothing be done? Our people are becoming very much excited. I am afraid this thing will lead to trouble.

The next was from still another county:

It seems as if things were getting too bad to think of with us. Two white and three colored men were terribly beaten in this county on Wednesday night. On Friday night two colored men were hanged. They were accused of arson; but there was not a particle of evidence of their guilt: indeed, quite the contrary; and they were men of good character, industrious, and respectful.

Again from the same;

James Leroy was hanged by the Ku Klux on Tuesday night, his tongue being first cut out, and put in his pocket. He was accused of having slandered a white woman. The truth is, he was an independent colored man (though nearly as white as you or I), who could read and write, and was consequently troublesome on election-day, by preventing fraud upon his fellows" (127)

When the Fool received a threatening letter, because he had denounced the Klan, he answered it, telling the outrages that colored people had received from them: "The entry of the premises, and surrounding the dwelling with threats against the inmates; the seizure and destruction, or appropriation of arms; the dragging of men, women, and children from their homes, or compelling their flight; the binding, gagging, and beating of men and women; shooting at specific individuals, or, indiscriminately, at inhabited houses; the mutilation of men and women in methods too shocking and barbarous to be recounted here; burning houses; destroying stock; and making the night a terror to peaceful citizens by the ghastly horror of many and deliberate murders, - all these come within the fearful category of 'outrages'" (128)

In the same letter the Fool asked all the people of Verdenton, why they accepted the condition which the Klan had adopted to trouble peaceful citizens in the name of God and the State: "No meeting of sympathy, no expression of indignation, no utterance of horror, is heard from the 'people of Verdenton and vicinity'. They have no 'duty to the country' to perform when men are whipped, women beaten almost to a jelly (white women too), children made imbecile by fright, and other outrages perpetrated upon the persons of citizens dwelling 'in the peace of God and the State', within the limits of this very county". (129)

I would ask, if now-a-days, anyone in the vicinity of Birmingham, Alabama, has disagreed with the policy of the

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(128) Ibid. p. 246

(129) Ibid. p. 248

Government, of the State of Alabama, which has imprisoned negro children.

Perhaps I must say that now as in the past century, the Southerners consider negro people without rights and that they may outrage them, at their will.

It happened that even the North people did not believe in the reign of terror which the Klan had established upon the Southern States. Perhaps they heard so many stories of cruelty, that even they might consider an exaggeration of the Northerners who lived in the South as the Fool: "They were people, too, whose story of wrong had been so long in the ear of the public, that it was tired of the refrain. It had yielded, very slowly and unwillingly, to the conviction that slavery was an evil, and the colored man too near akin to white humanity to be rightfully held in bondage, and subjected to another's will." (130)

The Fool was astonished at the cruelty of the Klan composed of men who considered themselves good citizens, and good Christians. "And then the wounded, - those who escaped the harder fate, - the whipped, the mangled, the bleeding, the torn! men despoiled of manhood; women gravid with dead children! bleeding backs! broken limbs! Ah! the wounded in this silent warfare were more thousands than those who groaned upon the slopes of Gettysburg!" (131)

The Klan was presented by the Fool as an association of Southern gentlemen, that had no personal hate

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(130) Ibid. p. 250

(131) Ibid. p. 255

towards any one of the persons they visited, but who considered the negro people still as slaves, and did not want to have them as integral part of the country, thinking at the same time that white people should rule: "It is said that the first organization was instituted in May, or perhaps as late as the 1st. of June, 1868; yet by August of that year it was firmly established in every State of the South. It was built upon an ineradicable sentiment of hostility to the negro as a political integer, and a fierce determination that the white people of the South, or a majority of that race, should rule, - if not by the power of the ballot, then by force of skill, brain, and the habit of domination." (132)

4.- Scornful sentiments for white people who tried to help for the enfranchisement of the Negro.

When Metta Servosse arrived to her new home, she tried to have good relations with her neighbors; so she invited a group of Northern Missionary Teachers, to Thanksgiving Dinner. But after the visit of these ladies to her house, she knew that the Northern people, who came to the South, were seen with scornful sentiments: "It was really charming to see them, so fresh and girlish, just from loving homes and tender friends, coming away down here on a noble errand, where they are despised and insulted for the very good they perform" (133)

Squire Hyman explains to Metta Servosse, and to the Fool why they feel so towards the Northern citizens: " 'Oh-nothing - that is - nothing of account - only - you know,

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(132) Ibid. p. 255

(133) Ibid. p. 50

Colonel, we can't help thinking that any one that comes from the North down here, and associates with niggers - can't - well - can't be of much account at home'.

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'And you call teaching colored people associating with them?' asked Comfort.

'Well, of course, in a manner,' answered the squire hesitatingly.

'And you doubtless think it disreputable to associate with such teachers?'

'Well, Colonel, I'm glad you mentioned it. I didn't want to broach it myself, being a delicate subject, you know; but it is so counted by the best society, you know.'" (134)

The Northern people were for the Southerners untrustworthy men, specially when they went to the political meetings, and did not express their thoughts: "Mr. Chairman, he said, 'I see there is a man on the ground who has lately come among us from one of the Northern States, who has been here all day listening to what we have said, whether as a spy or a citizen I do not know. It is currently reported that he has been sent down here by some men in the North to assist in overturning our institutions, and putting the bottom rail on top. I understand that he is in favor of social equality, nigger witnesses, nigger juries, and nigger voters. I don't know these things, but just hear them; and it may be that I am doing him injustice. I hope I am, and, if so, that an opportunity will now be given for him to come forward and

deny them" (135)

When a couple of Northern Ministers came to Verdenton, the Southern people hated them because they denounced slavery. The whole incident is told to Colonel Servosse by Squire Hyman: "There were a couple of Northern Ministers, - Wesleyans, I believe they called themselves, - who couldn't make out to hold their tongues, but were a-spoutin' an' argyfyin' around here as if the Lord hadn't given them any instructions, only to abuse and denounce slaveholders and slavery." (136)

"Well, asked Servosse, is the rest of the incident true, that about dragging the ministers from the pulpit, bucking them across a log, and beating them?" (137)

When Ministers wanted to help negro people, they were unpleasant for their own church, so they were dismissed: "Resolved, that brother Deacon George D. Garnet be dropped from the roll of this church, because he walketh not with us. And subsequently, on the same day, at the request of brother George D. Garnet, and to show that it was not from his bad moral character that the said church refuses longer to fellowship with him, the following was added to said resolution as explanatory of it; to wit: 'but persists, after repeated warnings and advice, upon organizing, encouraging, and teaching in a negro sabbath school, by which he has made himself a stumbling-block and means of offense to many of

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(135) Ibid. p. 58  
(136) Ibid. p. 92  
(137) Ibid. p. 93



the members of said church". (138)

I must say that to day, precisely negro preachers encourage negroes to make a real integration in the United States of America.

When Judge Thomas Denton prosecuted an indictment against a white man for killing a negro, he made a simple question to each jury, and it was very difficult to find twelve jurors without racial prejudice: "Have you any feeling which would prevent you from convicting a white man for the murder of a negro, should the evidence show him to be guilty? Strange and discreditable as it may appear to you, it became necessary in addition to the regular panel, to order three writs of venire, of fifty each, before twelve men could be found who could answer this simple question in the negative".

(139)

The white people who tried to help negro people became proscribed to the Southern Society: "The ban of proscription spared neither age nor sex, and was never relaxed. In business or pleasure, in friendship or religion, in the market or the church, it was omnipotent. Men were excluded from the Lord's Communion for establishing sabbath schools for colored people." (140)

White people who wanted radical reconstruction were whipped in the same manner that negroes: "They took him out and whipped him, because they said he was a 'nigger-loving Radical". (141)

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(138) Ibid. p. 108  
(139) Ibid. p. 109  
(140) Ibid. p. 142  
(141) Ibid. p. 198

They were shipped also when they had friendship with Northerners and Radicals: "He's been your friend, Colonel, -always your friend; and he thinks, and I think too, that what he's been made to suffer has been more on your account than his own. You know they've been a-threatenin' and warnin' you for some time, and you haven't paid no heed to it. When they rode off last night, they told Jesse he might tell his 'damned Radical Yankee friend Servosse that they were comin' for him next time'" (142)

Even they were assassinated because they have Radical Ideas' "His courage and organizing ability were unquestioned, and under his lead it was well known that nothing could prevent the County of Rockford from continuing to give overwhelming Radical majorities. John Walters was guilty of this offense, no more! And for this he was killed" (143)

Up to date, by the radical integration problem, there have been outrages for instance the burning of Rev. Martin Luther King's house. On June the 13th, 1963, "El Universal" informed that in Jackson, Miss., took place the brutal murder of the negro leader Medgar Evers, in the driveway of his home, on his return home from a civil rights rally, and that President John F. Kennedy expressed shock, and the local negro community was reported very angry and upset.

##### 5.- Political Ideas on Reconstruction.

Northern people believed that as the civil war had ended slavery, from there on racial prejudice could

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(142) Ibid. p. 201

(143) Ibid. p. 209

finish: "Slavery has been broken up, and things must turn into new grooves; but I think the country will settle up rapidly, now that slavery is out of the way" (144)

Also they thought, of managing labor, in a different way. They believed that the new freedmen would not work with their former masters: "It seems to me that the only way to effect it is by the influence of Northern immigration. Of course, the old economies of the plantation and the negro-quarters will have to give away. The labor of that section must be organized, or rather taught to manage itself, to become automatic in its operations. The former master is not prepared to do this: First, because he does not know how; and, secondly, because the freedman has no confidence in his old master's desire to promote his interests" (145)

The Northern people sent missionaries to the South in order to help negro people and teach them: "They are employed by the Missionary Association to teach in the colored schools that have sprung up all over the South like magic, and are real 'missionaries' in the very best sense of the word". (146)

Their neighbors spoke of Colonel Servosse with contempt and thought of him as an abolitionist, because he was friendly to the Northerners who came to the South in order to increase the enfranchisement of the Negro: "Our readers will

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(144) Ibid. p. 24  
(145) Ibid. p. 27  
(146) Ibid. p. 50

regret to learn that the Canadian Yankee Servosse, who has bought the Warrington Place, is one of those fanatical abolitionists whose infamous doctrines were the real cause of all the suffering and bloodshed of the last four years. Our citizens had extended many favors to him, and our ladies had shown very marked courtesy to his family. Instead of appreciating these things, he has chosen to slander our first ladies by comparing them with the nigger schoolmarms who have come down here to teach social equality by example" (147)

The most difficult thing of Southern people character was indeed prejudice. Many of them were as ignorant as colored people. "It is strange how credulous they are, though. An old country-woman, who came along with some things to sell the other day, said she had heard that the colonel had come down here to try and 'put the niggers over the white folks', and wanted to know if it was true! She had a snuff stick in her mouth, and neither she nor her two grown daughters could read or write! It is wonderful how many there are here who are so ignorant; and those who are not ignorant are full of strange prejudice against all who are not of their own particular set, and think and believe just as they do". (148)

When the Fool tried to help the negro people who lived in Warrington, he sold them little pieces of Land: His white neighbors criticized him, because they thought he wanted to promote nigger equality, and indeed it was true: "There was some fault found with the sales which he made to

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(147) Ibid. p. 53

(148) Ibid. p. 55

colored men, on the ground that it had a tendency to promote 'nigger equality'" (149)

What was more terrible to Southerners was the idea that negro people could testify against a white man in a Court of Justice. They believed that it was a terrible offense made to them by Northerners: "The great subject of contention between the opposing factions was as to whether the recently freed people ought to be allowed to testify in courts of justice.

'What! said one of the speakers, 'allow a nigger to testify! allow him to swear away your rights and mine! Never! We have been outraged and insulted! Our best men have been put under a ban; but we have not got so low as to submit to that yet. Our rights are too sacred to be put at the mercy of nigger perjurers!" (150)

Squire Hyman, a Southern character, spoke to Metta Servosse of the prohibition that the Confederate Government issued, in order to prevent expansion of abolitionism, of abolitionist papers and abolitionist books, because they considered that these kind of reading should made the slaves insurrect: "Well, said he, 'there used to be mobs about it too; at least we used to get very much excited at the idea of people bringing what were called abolition books here, to stir up our slaves to insurrection; and probably did some things that had as well not have been done" (151)

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(149) Ibid. p. 56  
(150) Ibid. p. 58  
(151) Ibid. p. 86

The Fool said to Squire Hyman that North and South could have never agreed in their ideas; but not only they did not agree, even they did not trust each other.

I should like to know if today they trust each other, because certainly they do not agree on the same points of view, about the racial problems.

"That was quite impossible, Squire, said Servosse. We could never have agreed. I have learned enough of the former state of affairs here already to see that. Each party distrusted the other's sincerity, and despised the other's knowledge. War was inevitable: sooner or later it must have come. Why, even now we can not agree in regard to the incidents flowing from emancipation, - the mere corollaries of the problem God has wrought out for us in the blood of our best"  
(152)

The Fool thought that the most dangerous point of view of Southerners was the intolerance to the thinking and opinions contrary to their own: "...the most dangerous and difficult element of the future, at the South, is the irrepressible intolerance of the opinions of others. You deem disagreement an insult, and opposition a crime, which justifies any enormity. It will bring bitter fruit, and you will see it". (153)

Perhaps Squire Hyman and the Fool did not see the harvest of bitter fruits; but indeed, now, a century later their descendants are recollecting such fruits.

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(152) Ibid. p. 90  
(153) Ibid. p. 96

The author said that the former masters were not prepared to allow the situation in which the South lived, after the Civil War, and indeed the slaves were better prepared to endure such a situation, because they had been trained during their period of slavery: "The freedmen, dazed with new found liberty, crowded the towns and camps, or wandered aimlessly here and there. Hardly poorer than their late masters, they were better prepared for poverty. They have been inured to want, exposure and toil. Slavery had been a hard school; but in it they had learned more than one lesson which was valuable to them now. They could endure the present better than their old masters' families, and had never learned to dread the future". (154)

The Northerners found hostile reactions when they settled in the South, because of their ideas over slavery. The author presented both points of view before the war started and they are completely different: "Northern idea of slavery.

Slavery is wrong morally, politically and economically. It is tolerated only for the sake of peace and quiet. The negro is a man, and has equal inherent rights with the white race.

Southern idea of slavery.

The negro is fit only for slavery. It is sanctioned by the Bible, and it must be right; or, if not exactly right, is unavoidable, now that the race is among us. We can not live with them in any other conditions" (155)

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(154) Ibid. p. 130  
(155) Ibid. p. 139

After the war ended, slavery was abolished; but the ideas about negro people were almost like those before the war: "The Northern idea of the situation.

The negroes are free now, and must have a fair chance to make themselves something. What is claimed about their inferiority may be true. It is not likely to approve itself; but, true or false, they have a right to equality before the law. That is what the war meant, and this must be made secure for them. The rest they must get as they can, or do without, as they choose.

The Southern idea of the situation.

We have lost our slaves, our bank stock, everything, by the war. We have been beaten, and have honestly surrendered: slavery is gone, of course. The slave is now free, but he is not white. We have no ill will towards the colored man as such and in his place; but he is not our equal, can not be made our equal, and we will not be ruled by him, or admit him as a co-ordinate with the white race in power. We have no objection to his voting, so long as he votes as his old master, or the man for whom he labors, advises him; but, when he chooses to vote differently, he must take the consequences." (155-bis)

The author believed there were in the South many Unionists, who thought slavery was the place for an inferior race, because they had been slave-owners and had lived in a world in which slavery was a normal situation: "There were throughout the South thousands of men who were Unionists pure



and simple. As a rule, they had no sympathy with the anti-slavery idea which had come to permeate the whole mental life of the North. Slavery was to them as much a matter of course as any event of their every-day life. Very many of them were hereditary slave-owners. The inferiority, inherent and fore-ordained, of the colored men, was as much an article of faith with them as any portion of the Sacred Word. Not only this, but they believed with equal sincerity that the normal and proper sphere of the inferior race was slavery" (156)

As I have said before, the possession of anti-slavery books was a crime for the Confederate Government. But many of the Southern Unionists had circulated such books and helped fugitive slaves to escape. Even they did not bear arms during the Civil War: "Others, in the ante-war era, had circulated books and pamphlets in regard to slavery, to be found in possession of which was a capital crime. Others had helped fugitive slaves to escape to freedom, with the terrors of Judge Lynch's rope and fagots before their eyes. Others still, upon being conscripted into the Confederate ranks, had refused to bear arms, even when put into the front rank and under the hottest fire of battle" (157)

In a meeting, some one told the Fool about a man who was found in possession of a seditious book; so people was afraid to speak with him, because of public opinion: "I remember when a man was prosecuted here in this very county

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(156) Ibid. p. 144

(157) Ibid. p. 149

for havin' a seditious book- one about slavery, you know - in his possession, and lendin' it to a friend; and people were almost afraid to speak to him, or go bail for him. You Northern people don't know any thing about what we call public opinion here" (158)

The Fool, in a letter he sent to a Senator gave his opinions about the Reconstruction; in it he considered Reconstruction would not be successful, because of the different kinds of people which the Government tried to mix up. The population was composed of white cultured people, with power and all the rights and ignorant negroes, who were former slaves, without any rights: "From a party stand-point, you will allow me to say that I do not think that a party composed of the elements which must constitute the bulk of our party in the South under the present plan of Reconstruction can ever be permanently successful. At least two-thirds of it must not only be poor and ignorant, but also inexperienced and despised. They are just freed from servitude; and the badge of that servitude, the leprosy of slavery, still clings to them. Politically they are unclean; and the contamination of their association will drive away from us the bulk of the brain, character, and experience which has hitherto ruled these States, and through them the nation. Not only this, but thousands of those who went with us in the late election will fall away when they find themselves and their families focused in the eye of public scorn and ridicule". (159)

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(158) Ibid. p. 156

(159) Ibid. p. 166

The author said that after the success of the Republican Party, they believed that Reconstruction was over, and that peace and harmony were reached. People thought that the South might take care of its own affairs, and old questions should be given up: "The South must take care of itself now. The nation had done its part: it had freed the slaves, given them the ballot, opened the courts to them, and put them in the way of self-protection and self-assertion. The 'root-hog-or-die' policy of the great apostle of the instantaneous transformation era became generally prevalent." (160)

In a letter that the Fool wrote to his friend Dr. Enos Martin, he insisted on the inconveniences of the Reconstruction and said, that a great percentage of the Southern population did not know how to read or write, neither owned land nor even had enough money to subsist without the help of their former masters: "The freedman is just an impotent now of all power of self-protection as he was before the ballot was given him, -nay, perhaps more so, as an unskilled person may injure himself with the finest of Damascus blades. Pray keep in your mind my former classification. Of every hundred of the blacks, ninety-five at least can not read or write, ninety-five are landless, and at least eighty have not sufficient to subsist themselves for thirty days without the aid of those who are opposed to them in political thought with an intensity of prejudice you can not begin to understand". (161)

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(160) Ibid. p. 169

(161) Ibid. p. 170

In order to protect the helpless citizens, the Fool thought that the Government should interfere in the South. When Bob Martin, a former slave, was attacked, he expressed high thought: "If it keeps on, and grows general, responded the Caucasian, 'the Government will have to interfere. The necessity will be such that they can not resist it. I don' quite see how it can be done, now that these States are restored; but the Government must protect the lives of its citizens, and it ought to protect their liberties" (162)

The Fool was right, now a century latter, the Federal Government has interfered to protect the life of the negro citizens and their liberties in the recent conflict of Birmingham, Alabama. President Kennedy has given orders to the Army to protect those lives.

The Fool received a letter from an unknown person, who said that the freedmen and the South Unionists, after receiving the Government support, should demonstrate they were capable to take care of themselves: "If the colored people and the Union men of the South expect to receive the approval, respect, and moral support of the country, they must show themselves capable of self-Government, able to take care of themselves. The Government has done all it can be expected to do, - all it had power to do, in fact. It has given the colored man the ballot, armed him with the weapon of the freeman, and now he must show himself worthy to use it." (163)

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(162) Ibid. p. 189  
(163) Ibid. p. 235

The author thought that the Klan scorned the Reconstruction Acts, and he considered that never white and colored people could rule together: "How they laughed to scorn the Reconstruction Acts of which the Wise Men boasted! How boldly they declared the conflict to be irrepressible, and that white and black could not and should not live together as coordinate ruling elements! How lightly they told the tales of blood, - of the Masked Night-Riders, of the Invisible Empire of Rifle Clubs and Saber Clubs (all organized for peaceful purposes), of warnings and whippings and slaughters! Ah, it is wonderful!" (164)

When the Fool visited his old friend Dr. Enos Martin, they talked about Reconstruction. The Fool said that it was a great failure, because it was impossible to mix up different elements, with the only guarantee, written on a paper, of the rights of the recent freed colored people. He asserted that the only thing which interested really the Nation was to defend itself against disruption: "... the doctrine of 'State Rights' is altogether unimpaired and untouched by what has occurred, except in one particular; to wit, the right of peaceable secession. The war settled that. The Nation asserted its right to defend itself against disruption.

Did it not also assert its right to re-create, to make over, to reconstruct? asked the elder man.

Not at all, was the reply. Reconstruction was never asserted as a right at least not formally and authoritatively. Some did

so affirm; but they were accounted visionaries. The act of reconstruction was excused as a necessary sequence of the failure of attempted secession: "It was never defended or promulgated as a right of the nation, even to secure its own safety." (165)

The Fool thought that slavery was not ended just because the Proclamation of Emancipation, he believed that the real work was to begin: "... if slavery were extinct. I do not mean to combat the old adage that 'it takes two to make a quarrel'; but that is just where our mistake - the mistake of the North, for the South has not made one in this matter - has been. We have assumed that slavery was dead, because we had a Proclamation of Emancipation, a Constitutional Amendment, and 'laws passed in pursuance thereof', all reciting the fact that involuntary servitude, except for crime, should no more exist. Thereupon, we have thrown up our hats, and crowed lustily for what we had achieved, as we had a good right to do. The Antislavery Society met, and congratulated itself on the accomplishment of its mission, on having no more worlds to conquer, no more oppression to resist, and no more victims to succor. And thereupon, in the odor of its self-landation, it dissolved its own existence, dying full of good works, and simply for the want of more good works to be done." (166)

The Fool was sure that North and South never could think alike, because their roots and education were completely different, and I agree with him in such thought:

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(165) Ibid. p. 378

(166) Ibid. p. 380

"At the North.- Abolitionist.- One who favor the emancipation of slaves.

At the South.- Abolitionist.- One who favors emancipation † infidel † murder † thief † ravisher † incendiary † all hell's accumulated horror, 'not otherwise appropriated'." (167)

"At the North.- Carpet-bagger.- A man without means, character or occupation, and adventurer, a camp-follower, 'a hummer'.

At the South.- Carpet-bagger. - A man of Northern birth † abolitionist (according to the Southern definition) † incarnation of Northern hate, envy, spleen, greed, hypocrisy, and all uncleanness." (168)

If both opponents thought in such way and misunderstood each other, how could they be at the same time part of a Union? How could they trust and have confidence in the other part? How could the North try to unit white and colored people? How could the South accept it?

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(167) Ibid. p. 178

(168) Ibid. p. 180

CHAPTER VIII

MY COMMENTARIES ON A FOOL'S ERRAND ABOUT THE RACIAL  
PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The war indeed could not change the thoughts of white Southerners about their rights over the negro slaves. Emancipation had freed them but Southerners did not accept it.

Still in our days they consider negroes only good for low works. I have read in the Magazine U.S. News & World Report, June the 24th, 1963 edition, that even now they consider them only good for cheap jobs. It happens in our days that negro workers unemployment is double as compared to that of white men, according to such magazine.

In any way, perhaps Tourgée might be happy, if he could see that it is precisely in North Carolina, where he lived, and which was the scenery of "A Fool's Errand", that the volunteer desegregation programs are becoming a successful pattern all over the South.

Biracial committees have been working in Durham, Charlotte, Raleigh, Winston-Salem and Greensboro, in order to open hotels, restaurants, theaters and stores that have been segregated. Jobs, once reserved for whites, are now being offered to Negroes.

In other states these volunteer desegregation programs are spreading.

On June the 10th, 1963 Nashville, Tennessee, has joined to these programs, in the same date in Orlando, Florida, they have agreed to hire Negroes.



Knoxville and Memphis; Tennessee; Atlanta, Georgia; Louisville, Kentucky; Baton Rouge, Louisiana have begun a program of interracial co-operation. (169)

As Southerners did not want to accept the equality of negro people, they instituted the Ku Klux Klan, in order to protect the white interests, and also they tried to prevent negro people from getting the benefits of education and political rights, just to have them as they were in the old slave times.

On the contrary, negro people had some leaders who helped them, who worked for equal rights of both races, and for the complete education of the negro race.

When I read the Ku Klux Klan outrages against negro people in the novel "A Fool's Errand", practically tolerated by authorities, and that they pretended to act in such way in protection of the interests of the white race, and I compare it with present day facts, I wonder if the difference of white pursuers of negroes nowadays is only that they are not clad in the Klan costumes.

The descriptions read in Turgée's work "A Fool's Errand" about the scornful sentiments in the Southern States towards the Northerners, partisans of the negroes and who helped them, in our days they are not so acute. Perhaps the little improvement which has occurred in a century and especially because laws and the attitude of public officials are in favor of integration, allow us to conclude that such scornful sentiments are disappearing.

The attitude of President Kennedy, introducing into Congress law projects recognizing the equality of negro and white people to education facilities, to equal treatment before justice, no preferences to white people in transportation, restaurants, cinemas, etc., and equality in rights to work for both races, means to me a true advancement which honors him. On the contrary, the attitude of George C. Wallace, Governor of Alabama, announcing that even he will oppose personally the entrance of negro students into the Alabama University is; that he favors the same point of view of the members of the Ku Klux Klan described by Tourgée, a century ago.

As misunderstanding was the main fact for the secession war, it was almost impossible that a successful reconstruction might come. One is the victory of weapons, and another is the victory of thinking. One hundred years have elapsed now, and even we may find everywhere in North and South that discrepancies continue to be very similar to those which astonished the observers of the facts, in the 7th decade of past century.

Amendments to the Constitution and even the political submission of the Southern States to the ideas of Northern States, victorious, are idealistic or intellectual arrangements; but the evolution of a social status is a very different thing, which can not be attained by laws or ordinances.

Integration is a matter of schools, of religion,

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of economical fairness, and of civil equality, which can not be reached easily, Integration, just as it is demanded now by negro people, is a desperate cry for equality. Racially or ethnically, bloods may keep apart by themselves. Even law and repression can not prevent miscegenation. Integration, from this point of view, is not the principal present matter, nor was it a century ago.

It is simply social equality.

CHAPTER IX  
SINCLAIR LEWIS

Sinclair Harry Lewis was born in Sauk Centre, Minnesota, on February the 7th, 1885. Son of a small town doctor, he was educated in public schools. He graduated from Yale on 1907; although he left college for a time, to work at the Helicon Home Colony, a socialist experiment in New Jersey.

He was for a time a reporter, after engaging in hack writing travel in the United States. Afterwards, serving in an editorial capacity for several publishing houses and magazines, he began to write fiction.

He had published a book for boys entitled "Hike and the Aeroplane" under the pseudonym of Tom Graham.

His first adult novel "Our Mr. Wrenn" was published on 1914; it attracted favourable critical attention, but few readers. He wrote other minor novels such as "The Trail of the Hawk", published on 1915 and "The Innocents" on 1917.

At the same time he was writing with ever increasing success for so popular magazines as Saturday Evening Post and Cosmopolitan. His stories were read by millions and brought him popular fame. This work constituted an apprenticeship in his craft, but he never lost sight of his ambition to become a serious novelist.

His first distinguished work of fiction was "The Job", published on 1917, a realistic novel of life in New

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York City.

On 1920, with the publication of "Main Street", he achieved wide recognition. It made indeed his literary reputation. This work caused considerable excitement for its satiric characterization of what was considered to be a typical, American town, fictiously called Gopher Prairie but largely Sauk Centre. It describes both the narrowness of life in the main street of the United States and the hollowness of a superficial intellectualism, that despised main street without having anything better to offer. It was born of the new mood of national self-consciousness, which followed World War I, and became a text of numerous attacks upon provincialism.

This novel was followed by "Babbitt", published on 1922. It is the satirical study and portrayal of the complacent American businessman, whose individuality had been sucked out of him by rotary clubs, business ideals and general conformity. It is possible that this novel had more effect upon public consciousness than any other written in English in that decade. It was not only Lewis's most important novel, but in opinion of many critics, it was his best one. Its influence was so vigorous that the word babbitt became part of the American Language, as a derogatory term for American businessmen.

On 1925 he followed his success with "Arrowsmith", a satiric but sympathetic study of a doctor and the medical

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profession, with emphasis upon the frustration of fine scientific ideals. It was awarded the Pulitzer Prize on 1926, which its author refused to accept. This novel shares with Babbitt, the title of his best work. Lewis has written nothing so significant as his novels of the 1920's. His literary style becomes less subtle, and his portraits are caricatures rather than satires. The scope of later novels is more limited, and his early fire and indignation have turned to jesting.

"Elmer Gantry", published on 1927, was a pamphleteering attack upon the ignorant, gross, hypocrite and predatory leaders who had crept into the Protestant Church. While this novel aroused wide controversy, it was far less successful as a work of art than previous books.

He published on 1928 "The man who knew Coolidge", which is a depiction of a mediocre businessman.

Lewis was married to Grace Hegger on April 1914, and had a son, Wells, who was killed in World War II. Immediately after a divorce, he married Dorothy Thompson, a newspaper columnist. Of this marriage he had a son, Michael. His second marriage ended in divorce in January 1942.

"Dodsworth", published on 1929, generally ranked with his better novel, is a sympathetic portrayal of a retired United States automobile manufacturer and his wife, while in a European tour. It offered Lewis a chance to present effectively the contrasting values and manners of Europe and the United States, and the very different temperaments of the man and his wife.

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On 1930 Lewis became the first American author, awarded the Nobel Prize, for distinction in world literature.

In the 1930's Lewis showed an interest in drama, collaborating in the writing of four plays. "Dadworth", written on 1934, collaborating with Sidney Howard. "Jayhawker", also written on 1934, is a story about Kansas before the Civil War, written in collaboration with Lloyd Lewis. "It can't happen here", in collaboration with John C. Moffitt, was written on 1936, and in the same year "Angela is Twenty Two". Two of them were dramatizations of his novels. He acted professionally in these dramas, but not too successfully in the last two.

Later, on 1933, he published "Ann Vickers", novel about a woman social reformer.

On 1934 was published "Work of Art", a story of a successful businessman.

"It can't happen here" published on 1935, presented a future fascist revolt in the United States. In this novel he shows a shift from a large-scale social analysis to a more immediate political concern, with a bias seemingly in favor of middle class liberalism.

He was elected to membership in the National Institute of Arts and Letters on 1935.

On 1936, Yale University awarded him an honorary D. Litt. Degree.

Also he became elected to join the American Academy of Arts and Letters on 1938.

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In the fourth decade were published "Selected Short Stories" on 1935, and "The Prodigal Parents" on 1938, a story of family relations. "Bethel Merriday" on 1940, about a girl in a theatrical touring company. In the fifth decade were published "Gideon Planish" on 1943, an exposition of organized philanthropy; "Cass Timberlane" on 1945, about the marital problems of a middle-aged Minnesota judge and his young wife; "Kingsblood Royal" on 1949, showing racial prejudice as met by a midwestern banker who finds he has some Negro blood, and "The God Seeker" on 1949, about a New England Missionary preaching to Minnesota Indians.

"World so Wide" was his last novel. It was published on 1951. It is the story of the romances of a Colorado young man with young American girls, during a trip in Italy.

He died on January the 10th, 1951, in a nursing home near Rome. His ashes were buried in Sauk Centre.

After his death were published, on 1951, a collection of letters entitled "From Main Street to Stockholm", and "The Man from Main Street", on 1953, which contains essays and ephemera.

Sinclair Lewis was primarily an ingenious satirist of the American middle Class, with its characteristic human frailty and pretension, mimicking its speech and action with what seems to be photographic realism. He was better at good humored caricature than at character.

Critics have accused him of romanticism in overstressing his effects, and often declare that he himself

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proves that his charges against American Culture are just.

Because Sinclair Lewis remained the discerning boy from Sauk Centre, he wrote of his love for his American fellows and was impatient because they failed to realize their potentialities.

His critics, summarizing his work, betitled his literary style, while admitting its vigour and effectiveness.

CHAPTER X

KINGSBLOOD ROYAL.

1.- Prejudices of white people towards negroes.

Kingsblood Royal is a sharp criticism against the Northern white people prejudice for colored or other races which live and work with them.

The author presented these feelings in the beginning of the novel, when he explained that there was an exclusive section in the City of Grand Republic, where colored people or any other race were not allowed to live in: "Mr. William Stopples (and remember that no long ago he was mayor of Grand Republic) privately advises you that Sylvan Park is just as free of Jews, Italians, Negroes". (170)

The principal character of the novel, Neil Kingsblood, a well considered citizen of Grand Republic, told his wife that the manager of the Bank where he worked, was terribly prejudiced towards people which had no British or French ancestries, but that he himself considered negro people as inferior, the more the negro maid who worked for him and his family, to whom he has an unreasonable sentiment of disagreement: "I've always considered Mr. Prutt too conservative. He thinks that only people like us, from

British and French and Heinie stock, amount to anything. He's prejudiced against Scandinavians and the Irish and Hunkies and Polacks. He doesn't understand that we have a new America. Still and all, even hating prejudice, I do see where the Negroes are inferior and always will be. I realized that when I saw them unloading ships in Italy, all safe, while we white soldiers were under fire. And Belfreda expecting to get paid like a Hollywood star - and still out, at midnight!" (171)

Though Neil Kingsblood said that in the North there was no discrimination, he considered there must not exist miscegenation, and asked his wife how she would like to have their daughter married to a negro: "I'm glad that in the North there's no discrimination against 'em - going to the same public schools with our own white kinds. Some day I suppose Biddy might have a desk right next to a little pickaninny. I don't know that it will hurt that little snob particularly! sniffed Vestal.

No, no, sure it won't, as long as it's only in school, but how would you like it, if your own daughter married a Negro?" (172)

Neil Kingsblood remembered when he went to school, where he had a negro classmate, and he told his wife the disagreeable feelings he had, notwithstanding that the colored boy was as white as the others: "That colored

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(171) Ibid. p. 12

(172) Ibid. p. 15

fellow in my class all through school - what was his name? - Emerson Woolcape, was it? - he always seemed quiet and decent enough and yet it always irritated me to see that black face of his among all the nice white girls.

- Come to think of it, his face wasn't black. It was as fair as mine; we'd 've all thought he was white if they hadn't told us he was part Negro. Still and all, when you knew that, you thought of him as being black, and it made you sore to see him showing off and answering questions when Judd and Eliot had failed on 'em". (173)

I would like to know, if Emerson Woolcape was so white as the others, why to think of him as a negro? I consider that intelligence is not exclusive property of a determined race, so why to be astonished because he was intelligent?

As I have said before, white Northerners were prejudiced towards negro people who served them. A friend of the Kingsbloods judged that the only way to endure them is to whip them, and that the educated ones should be put down in labor work, or, better, should be sent back to Africa: "You got to fire that nigger tonight. I always told you they were dogs. If you don't whip 'em, they don't respect you. God, I hate the whole black mess of 'em. I know a fellow from Washington that's right on the inside, and he claims Congress is going to bring back slavery. That would be the smartest thing they ever done. Wouldn't I like to see one of these nigger college professors sent back to making cotton,

and laid over a barrel and getting fifty lashes if he bellyached! Nuts, you got mixed up, said his wife genially. What the fellow said was the big guns in Congress are thinking about moving all the darkies to Africa. That would be a dandy idea". (174)

Robert Kingsblood explained to his brother that in his Firm they never hired negro workers, and for this reason they had no problems. I think it is unjust to deny any person the right of working for its living only because he or she is a colored human being: "You kids want to know how to handle the niggers and not have any trouble? I'll tell you how to handle the niggers and not have any trouble. At My Firm, we never have any trouble with the niggers, and we never have to fire them, because we never hire any of'em in the first place! That's the way to handle 'em and not have any trouble. See how I mean? Same time, I don't know as I blame Belfreda much, getting sore when you called her a nigger right to her face". (175)

Finally, when Vestal Kingsblood fired the negro maid, Neil trying to be a comprehensive white man, shook hands with the negro boy, who used to be friend of the maid; but, with hidden contempt, Neil told him to wait in the kitchen for Belfreda: "He resolutely moved over, like a small but very select company, to shake Borus's hand. There was a moment's trial of strength, Borus's steel claw against Neil's fist, and then Borus smiled. Neil liked that smile so much that half a minute passed before he remembered to be a superior white man and to say, with the grave courtesy

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(174) Ibid. p. 21  
(175) Ibid. p. 24

which is the essence of insult, would you care to sit down in the kitchen, Mr. Bugdoll, while Belfreda packs?" (176)

After Neil's inquires to know whom his ancestors were, he went to talk with Gramma Julie, who was his mother's mother, and when she told him that perhaps they had some Indian blood, the white prejudice appears in Neil's thoughts: "We may be part Chippewa ourselves, you and me. Chippewa?" said Neil, not very brightly.

Why, you haven't got any prejudice against our having some Indian blood? said the old lady, with a foxy glance at her husband.

No, no, certainly not! declared Neil, with an extraordinary lack of conviction. I haven't any prejudices against any race. After all, I was in the War Against Prejudice!" (177)

We, Mexicans, can not understand such a situation, because almost our whole population has mixture of Indian and white bloods, and even many persons are proud of the Indian blood they may have.

Continuing with his inquiry, wanting to know whom his French ancestor was, and if he had really married an Indian girl, Neil went to the Minnesota Historical Society, where Dr. Werweise told him that Xavier Pic was a full-blooded Negro, and that according to the thinking prevalent in the Southern States and in some Northern ones, it does not matter how white the descendants might be, they would be considered as one-hundred percent Negroes: Neil's face could

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(176) Ibid. p. 27

(177) Ibid. p. 59

not have changed, for Dr. Werwëiss went on, quite cheerfully; "Of course you know that in most Southern States and a few Northern ones, a Negro is defined, by statute, as a person having even one drop of Negro blood, and according to that barbaric psychology, your soldier friend and any children he may have, no matter how white they look, are legally one-hundred-percent Negroes". (178)

I can not accept that a person be qualified as negro, only because his great-great-great-grandmother might be of negro race.

As soon as Neil knew he was a Negro, he felt he himself could be only an animal, that he might be only a low worker and that he had to be humiliated by white people, because these were his thoughts when he considered he was a white man: "To Neil to be a Negro was to be a Belfreda Gray or a Borus Bugdoll; to be Mac the porter, obsequious to white pawnbrokers; to be a leering black stevedore on the docks at Naples, wearing an American uniform but not allowed to have a gun, allowed only to stagger and ache with shouldering enormous boxes; to be a fieldhand under the Delta sun, under the torchlight in salvation orgies, an animal with none of the animal freedom from shame; to be an assassin on Beale Street or a clown dancing in a saloon for pennies and humiliaton". (179)

When he was certain that he was a negro, he began to think that perhaps the white prejudiced ideas might

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(178) Ibid. p. 65  
(179) Ibid. p. 66

be a lie, and if he were a negro he had to know what a negro really is: "All right. If Bid is a Negro, then everything I've ever heard about the Negroes - yes, and maybe everything I've heard about the Jews and the Japs and the Russians, about religion and politics - all of that may be a lie, too. -- If you are a Negro, you be one and fight as one, See if you can grow up, and then fight. -- But I've got to learn what a Negro is; I've got to learn, from the beginning, what I am!" (180)

Neil began to learn that even there being laws which forbid the exclusion of Negroes in public places, the manager of a hotel might tell him with courtesy that the room was given before, just because a white guest of the hotel had complained because he had been accepted where he does not belong: "In the vast hidden lore of Being a Negro which he was to con, Neil was to learn that in many Northern states, including his own, there is a civil rights law which forbids the exclusion of Negroes and members of the other non-country-club races from hotels, restaurants, theaters, and that this law worked fully as well as had national prohibition.

White hotel guests snorted, "Why can't these niggers stay where they're wanted, among their own people, and not come horning in where they don't belong?" (181)

Randy, a captain friend of Neil, said that war was over, and that the Government had given some

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(180) Ibid. p. 67

(181) Ibid. p. 71



decorations to negro soldiers only to keep them from a mutiny, but Wilbur Feathering, another Grand Republic citizen, made a suggestion for keeping them apart from white soldiers: "Hell, no! Randy explained. As I often say, all the nigger troops were insubordinate and afraid of cold steel. The high command just handed out a few decorations to 'em to keep 'em from mutiny, so we wouldn't have to shoot the whole bunch. A colonel told me that. But Wilbur Feathering has a fine suggestion. We'll cook up a separate homecoming for the zigaboos, on Mayo Street; parade and fireworks and banners and some portion of a horse like Congressman Oberg to make an oration. We'll tell 'em that we didn't want to have 'em get lost in the white shuffle, so we're honoring 'em special. Those niggers are so dumb they'll believe it", (152)

How could these white people believe that negroes would accept they were honored specially, if they have been considered always less than animals?

These same citizens said that since the Reconstruction period negroes had not evolved intellectually and that the only appointment they could get should be city-hall janitors: "What makes you think those niggers could be Senators?

They were!

Oh, I get you. Wasn't that in Reconstruction days? Feathering explains that. It was because those niggers were just out of slavery, where they'd been trained in industry and obedience. But since then, with all this loose freedom, the colored

folks have simply gone to hell in a hack intellectually, to say nothing of their immorality, and today there isn't one of them that's fit to hold down any appointment higher than city hall janitor". (183)

The first time Neil looked at a colored man, in a position of a white one was when Dr. Davis visited him in the bank, because he had never paid attention to them before: "Dr. Davis was a negro, his face the color of dry brown bright autumn leaves in the sun. Neil had heard that one of the dismaying exigencies of the war had been that the Wargate experimental laboratory had had to hire this colored fellow, Davis - oh, a good enough chemist, a Doctor of Science from the University of Chicago, but still and all, just a ducky. That certainly showed, didn't it (agreed everybody at the Boosters Club luncheon), how hard-up we were for manpower. Though it was a question whether any conceivable contribution to the war effort could justify a precedent like that, of giving a white man's job to a tough dinge. God knows what it might lead to!" (184)

Mr. Prutt, the manager of the Bank where Neil worked, answered him at his request of hiring two negro clerks, that negro people belong to the South, and that after they got an education they might return there, because the customers of the Bank did not agree with the idea that those jobs be given to colored people: "My boy, I'm pleased that you take a liberal attitude toward the Negro. I long for the

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(183) Ibid. p. 83  
(184) Ibid. p. 84

day when they'll get a decent education and be able to take their stand right alongside white laborers - in their own Southland. But they don't belong up here, and the kindest thing to do is to let 'em starve till it penetrates their thick heads that they ought to hustle back South .... Besides our customers would kick like hell!" (185)

As Neil wanted to know everything about the negro race, he began to go to the section where they lived, and he visited one of their churches. In that church he heard the sermon of a negro preacher, Dr. Brewster; but it did not help him very much, because of his colored ancestry the law of many States made him black: "It did not mean very much to a young man who wanted to know what was the right course for a person whom God had made white, but whom the legislative enactments of many God-fearing States of the Union had made black" (186)

Prejudiced people insists always in the idea that a drop of negro blood, makes a person a negro. Then how could he be raised and developed as a white person he having negro blood? Whites do not accept them, and negroes neither, because of their white skin.

At last Neil found his former schoolmate who had also a little negro blood. He asked for the old days and remembered a teacher. Emerson Woolcape told him that such teacher asserted him that learning algebra was to waste time

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(185) Ibid. p. 87

(186) Ibid. p. 99

in his particular case: "Emerson spoke with a drawl that was on the insulting side. What she said to me, one time after class, was that she was considering only my welfare, and for a boy of my race to learn algebra instead of short-order cooking was "my, such a waste of time!" (187)

I insist; why consider intelligence, the property of a certain race? Why not allow any person who wants to acquire a good education to obtain it and get a job in accordance with that education?

Emerson Woolcape told Neil that a long time might pass in order that negroes might be considered as an integrant part of the American population, or at least to be considered as human beings: "Emerson explained that we dislike both terms intensely, but we consider them slightly less ruffling than nigger or coon or jig or spade or smoke or any of the other labels by which white ditch-diggers indicate their superiority to Negro bishops. We expect it to take a few more decades before we're simply called Americans or human beings" (188)

Mary Woolcape explained Neil that her gran - daughter Phoebe notwithstanding she was white, began to feel the humiliations with which white Northern people abuses them, and she said that in the South they were considered as dogs and became used to that situation; but in the North they encouraged them to think of themselves as human beings, and in reality they humiliated them every moment: "That child

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(187) Ibid. p. 106

(188) Ibid. p. 108

is just beginning to learn the humiliation that every Negro feels every day, particularly in our self-satisfied North Middlewest. In the South, we're told we're dogs who simply have to get used to our kennels, and then we'll get a nice bone and a kind word. But up here we're told that we're complete human beings, and encouraged to hope and think, and as a consequence we feel the incessant little reminders of supposed inferiority, the careless humiliations, more than our Southern cousins do the fear of lynching. Humiliation! That's a word you white people ought to know about!" (189)

Mary Woolcape told Neil the injustice with which her elder son was treated, notwithstanding he was an economics teacher, graduated summa cum laude. He taught in a Negro College in Georgia, where he had an incident, which determined his assassination in the police station: "But he tried to do what his Southern acquaintances advised and to play the game - a game in which the other side always makes the rules. Then when he'd been there only a month, a policeman stopped his car and acted as if he'd stolen it. This man had seen Bayard around the college - he knew that though he was so pale, he was classed as colored. He was so vicious that Bayard forgot and talked back, and they took him to the police-station and said he was drunk - he never even touched beer - and he got angry and they beat him. They beat him to death" (190)

I ask what is the difference between this situation and that of the old slave times, when a negro was not allowed to testify against a white man.

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(189) Ibid. p. 111

(190) Ibid. p. 113

John Woolcape became the first raceman in Grand Republic and he became a member of the N.A.A.C.P. (to this association belonged Medgar W. Evers, the negro leader who was assassinated June the 12th, 1963) : "John was the first raceman in Grand Republic to hear of the founding of the N.A.A.C.P. - the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Grand Army of the Negroes - and at its convention in Minneapolis, he met Mary, who, like himself, was imperceptibly colored". (191)

The young negroes, as Ryan Woolcape, spoke about the N.A.A.C.P. considering that it must have appeared a generation before. They criticized the negroes who were humble in front of white people, and they thought the attitude of Uncle Tom a humiliating situation: "Brewster is a nice guy, but he's still the favorite of a lot of foot-kissing Uncle Toms, and he's still capable of preaching a sermon where a sinful white man - but smart and rich - is converted by a dumb wooly-head that can't pay his poll-tax. No, Mum, you shouldn't have told me the news about Simon Legree, if you wanted me to stick to Christianity and mild manners". (192)

Dr. Shelly Buncer of the Sylvan Park Baptist Church told Neil Kingsblood that even though he belonged to the new way of thinking, he may endure to be sitting down with negro intellectuals, but not to have them for dinner at his house: "As I told you, I belong to the New School. I wouldn't in the least mind, say at a Convention, sitting down with Negro

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(191) Ibid. p. 117  
(192) Ibid. p. 124

intellectuals. But to have one for dinner in my house - oh no, my friend! That would not be kind to them! They aren't used to our way of living and thinking. Can you imagine any Negro, no matter what theological training he might pretend to have, being comfortable with Mrs. Buncer, who is highly interested in Scarlatti and the harpsichord, and who studied at the Fort Wayne Conservatory of Music? No, Neil - not!"

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As I have said before, intelligence is not a privilege of any race. How can white people want negroes to be high intellectuals if they had not allowed them to have a good education? I must say that those negroes who are well educated it is more due to their own effort than for the facilities given them by white people.

Martha Davis could not understand that Dr. Davis was a nigger who did not know his place. For her and for many other people he was a scholar, an honorable man: "Martha never could understand that her husband was a Fresh Nigger Who Didn't Know His Place. To her he was the most exact scholar, the most honorable man, the gayest companion, and the tenderest lover of whom she had ever heard". (194)

Dr. Davis spoke to Neil of the situation in the Border States, in relation to the discrimination, saying that even in the South they are more comprehensive: "It's the inconsistency of discrimination that gets the poor Sambo down. In one town in the South he can shop in any department

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(193) Ibid. p. 133

(194) Ibid. p. 135

store and ride on the front elevators and his wife can try on the clothes; and in the next one, forty miles away, he isn't allowed to enter any decent white store at all, and gets pinched if he tries it, and the elevators are jimmorowed even in twenty-story office buildings. For years we parigins may buy magazines in the white waiting room of a station, then suddenly we're arrested by a big peckerwood cop for going in there at all". (195)

When Neil Kingsblood talked with his new friends belonging to the negro race, he became informed of the thinking of Northern white people and the situation prevalent about them in joining clubs, or about good jobs: "No, get it straight, Little White Father; in this democratic Northern town, they don't lynch Negroes - not often - but they tell us every day that we're all deseased and filthy and criminal. And do they believe it? Hell, no! But they make themselves believe it and then they make other people believe it and so they get rid of us as rivals for the good jobs that they'd like themselves.

But what inspires us here in Grand Republic is that the vile Ethioppe is not allowed to join the Y.M.C.A., the very well-endowed association to spread the example of Christ. So that his brown body won't contaminate the swimming pool and poison the feeble little sons of sons of so and so of white contributors to African missions". (196)

Now I must refer to the U.S. News & World Report Magazine, which says that in many places in the Southern

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(195) Ibid. p. 138

(196) Ibid. p. 143



States the biracial committees are working in order that clubs and public places became opened on desegregated basis, for instance in "Atlanta on June the 12th, 1963, the swimming pools were opened for both races. In Louisville they have integrated golf courses. This city has passed a law to prohibit racial discrimination by businesses that are licensed to serve the public". (197)

Mr. Denver, one of the cashiers in the Bank where Neil Kingsblood worked, speaking with Neil about a negro waiter of the restaurant where they were, said that he was a man who knew his place, and at the same time he criticized the young negroes who do not want to submit to their former white masters: "Mr. Denver agreed, Yes, he's a fine old fellow. Never gets fresh or tries to act like he was white. He knows his place and does just what he's told and says 'Thank you' instead of trying to make you think he owned the hotel, like some of these flip young niggers would". (198)

Patricia Saxinar, cousin of Neil Kingsblood was interested in colored people. She liked to encourage them, so she astonished Neil when she said that the D. A. R. had never been auxiliar of the Ku Klux Klan, because the first man killed in the American Revolution was a negro: "I want to deny this rumor that the Daughters of the American Revolution are the women's auxiliary of the Ku Klux Klan, because there are no Negroes in the Klan, but there must be a lot of them in the D. A. R. since the first man killed in the American

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(197) U.S. News & World Report.- Vol. LIV NO.25.- June 24, 1963  
Edition.- Washington, D.C.

(198) Kingsblood Royal.- Sinclair Lewis.- Ransom House.- 1947.  
Page 156.

Revolution was a Negro" (199)

The education background that Captain Philip Windeck had, was useless to him because of his race, so he could get only a minor job, although he was prepared by his war years to do something in accordance with his knowledge: "I'd like to earn a little money and get married and take my wife back to school with me. I thought, with some engineering and a little aviation experience, I might get a job. Well, the airfield here and the automobile dealers all turned me down, but I've been lucky enough to get back the job I had before I ever went to engineering school- washing and greasing cars at the O'Toole Cut Rate Garage". (200)

Neil Kingsblood wished to go with his wife Vestal to hear the Reverend Dr. Jat Snood, a white segregationist preacher. Neil never wanted before to hear about this kind of preachers, but when he became certain of his negro ancestors, he began to inquire about the white people prejudices towards the negro race. So Vestal, who did not know about the psychological problem of her husband, was surprised and protested: "Why, I'm surprised at you, wanting to hear a vicious Ku Kluxer like Snood and his race-prejudices!" (201)

Finally Neil and Vestal went to Dr. Snood's sermon, where they heard a religious justification in order to make of the negroes the permanent servants of the white

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(199) Ibid. p. 167  
(200) Ibid. p. 174  
(201) Ibid. p. 181

people, and at the same time this preacher spoke about a Jewish plot, intending to make the negroes the new masters: "I haven't said so much about our colored friends tonight, but you come tomorrow night and I'll reveal something about those black and accursed Sons of Baal, whom God turned black for their ancient sins and made into the eternal servants of the white man. I'll tell you about the Jewish plot to put all of us under the black heel of these degenerates something the newspapers are afraid to print, and that'll make you sit up in your seats and shiver". (202)

I do not believe that the negro people wanted to be rulers; instead of that, what they want is equality and good treatment for them and their families.

When a group of old friends meet together, they begin to talk about the great immigration of negroes into Grand Republic; so, everyone of them gave their points of view about the problem and Neil heard all the stupid prejudiced ideas they expressed. For instance only white Southerners could know the psychology, biology and history of the negro race. The Southerners are authorities in these subjects.

But certainly the main prejudice is around miscegenation, as it has been always, white people considering that negroes are not really human beings: "It ain't a question of prejudice; it's just a matter of freedom to choose your own associates; and let me ask you this: Would you like your daughter, sister or aunt to marry a colored man, now answer me honestly". (203)

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(202) Ibid. p. 186

(203) Ibid. p. 195

When a Southern newspaper man talked with Neil Kingsblood about the jobs that negroes may have, he spoke of Dr. Ash Davis and he said he has a good job and that he deserves it: "Lucian said earnestly, No, I believe thoroughly in Segregation. It prevents conflicts. But I also believe in scrupulously seeing that the Nigras get accomodations exactly as good as ours. For example, there is a Nigra chemist here named Dr. Ash Davis, and while I don't want to intrude on his home or have him intrude on mine, he deserves the best of everything". (204)

As soon as Pat Saxinar, Neil's cousin knew she was negro, said that perhaps white were not superior as they believed: "All of you are assuming that you are superior to the 'colored people', which isn't obvious to me at all. I've been infuriated by discrimination against extremely nice colored sailors, and I've wanted to do something about it, and now that I'm colored myself, I shall!" (205)

At a meeting in the best club of Grand Republic, Rod Alwick spoke of negro people, saying he has not any prejudice and that if segregation existed it was at the request of the negro leaders: "I have no prejudices, the Army and Navy have no prejudices, I presume God has no prejudices. We had hoped that these tinted gentry had learned their lesson of playing the game in the former war. We gave them every chance in this - even made a Negro general and a number of colonels! And if there was any segregation, it was always and only at

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(204) Ibid. p. 200

(205) Ibid. p. 213

the request of their own colored leaders, who frankly admitted that their black lambs were not up to the strain of associating with the whites". (206)

It is unbelievable that the same negro leaders asked for segregation, and we have the best proof in an opposite sense, when in recent days one of such leaders became assassinated because he fought for racial integration.

Mr. Prutt, the manager of the Bank where Neil Kingsblood worked, called him as soon as he knew that Neil was a negro, and expressed that negroes must not be educated, in order that they do not get false ideas of their situation in front of the white people: "As a born Yankee, I have always had great commiseration for you colored people, and have always maintained that it would be more charitable not to educate you beyond the fourth grade, so that you will not get false ideas and realize how unhappy you are. But in your case, I suppose your white blood outweighs any inferior stock, so I imagine that you have always been truly loyal to this Institution, as certainly this Institution has always been loyal to its employees". (207)

As soon as Neil lost his job for being a negro, he began a great struggle to find a new one, and he became ashamed of his war injuries, caused when defending the freedom of white Americans, because white refuse to give jobs now to black Americans. He felt he would be a pensioner, with very little resources, only for being a negro: "Even if some day the Government should give him a vastly larger allowance for

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(206) Ibid. p. 224

(207) Ibid. p. 247

having been wounded, he did not think that he could endure settling down as an idle pensioner, with all life a dreary poor-farm, and Vestal and Biddy a cautious meagerness beside an ambitionless loafer". (208)

Diantha Marl, who was the wife of the owner of the two newspapers in Grand Republic, spoke of the liberality of her husband for defending negroes in editorials, saying that negroes could do a job as well as whites, but those newspapers had never employed any negro: "Her husband's papers were very liberal about Negroes, and stated editorially that there was no reason why they should not be employed at any work whatsoever, provided they could do it as well as any white man: "These newspapers had never employed any negro".(209)

As I have said before, I consider neither intelligence nor ability to be the special property of any race. So I can not understand denying any person his right to work, only because of the color of his skin.

The author explains to us the foolishness of persons who, without knowing what they are talking about judge only with a prejudiced mind, because in some occasion they had heard an opinion or a reference: "I don't know anything about anthropology and ethnology and biology and all that silly highbrow junk, and you can say what you like and quote all those long books, but I tell you there's a darky family living right down the alley from us where they keep goats, and I know and I'm telling you that the darkies are inferior to us,

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(208) Ibid. p. 275

(209) Ibid. p. 295

and I'm not going to have'em working in any store or bank or office where I have to go. I'm sure I wish'em all the good luck in the world, as long as they stay in their places. And folks that say the colored folks are just like you and me - why should I pay any attention to ignorant talk like that - they don't really believe a word they say". (210)

The author explains that after World War II in some Northern cities appeared organizations very similar to the Ku Klux Klan, which pretended to drive negroes to the South, and had all Negroes fired from their jobs and not allowed to get new ones. How could things like these happen after so many years from the Civil War? Really it is unbelievable: "The Sant Tabac was a new organization, founded in Grand Republic and likely to spread to other Northern cities. It was a conspiracy to drive as many Negroes as possible back South. To prospective members who thought that it resembled the Ku Klux Klan, the organizers explained, No, there is to be no violence whatever. In fact, we want to protect the colored people from their own leaders, who'd like to get them into riots, to please the Kremlin. We won't stand for any lynchings, or even any beatings - not unless the mokes act nasty and rile the cops. Our policy is entirely benevolent and constructive: to get all niggers that have grabbed off white men's job in the North fired, and no new ones hired". (211)

Even being graduates of a University, as Dr. Ash Davis, they were fired from their jobs, and it became very

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(210) Ibid. p. 313

(211) Ibid. p. 315

difficult for them to get a new one; even in colleges they could not get a teaching position, and the presidents of such colleges answered saying they were not prejudiced: "He could get no appointment in any white college, including one that had intended to give him an honorary degree. There were a few, an increasing group, of Negroes on university staffs, but Ash did not have that luck. The college presidents lovingly answered - when they answered at all - that while they had no 'prejudices', not one prejudice, all of their present band of hope and light were likely to object to working with a brownskin". (212)

Childhood is the most cruel age of human beings, because little ones hear what elder people say and children talk then without thinking in the offenses they might cause. The two sons of the Staubermeyer family were precisely those who made Biddy Kingsblood became acquainted with the knowledge of having negro blood: "He said and Tessie said, if I was a nigger, I was a slave, and slaves aren't good for nothing except to take off their clothes and parade around in front of their masters, bare-naked. And then Mrs. Straubermeyer, she was listening to us from the porch -

She was?

- and she said no, they didn't ought to make me undress, it was too cold, but it was a good joke on me, though, my daddy was so high and mighty and he wasn't nothing but a nigger, she said, and I better get out of there and go home. And I went". (213)

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{ 212 } Ibid. p. 319  
{ 213 } Ibid. p. 331



As I have said before, it happened that some kind of Ku Klux Klan appeared and they made threats to Neil Kingblood: "Two evenings later, he found their carrier-brought newspaper on the lawn, torn to pieces, and next morning, a straggling sign 'Nigger get out' had been painted on the side of their garage. That day, though the organization was supposed to be dead in Grand Republic, he got a full-dress Ku Klux Klan warning: 'You better get out of this neighborhood quick, don't think we are fooling this is sent to you in the name of the cross of Christ, decent womanhood and American civilization'."

(214)

2.- Negro feelings toward white people.

The negro maid who worked for the Kingsbloods called their attention, because they named the dog "nigger" and it was a contemptible sentiment towards the negro race: "...I guess you folks just despise all the colored people, don't you!

It was the first time that either of them had ever heard a Negro mention the race; and there was feebleness and embarrassment in Vestal's plaint,

Why, what do you mean?

Calling Nigger, Nigger, Nigger at the front door that way.

But my dear, it's the dog's name. Always has been.

Makes it worse, calling a dog that. We colored people don't like the word 'nigger', and when you act like dogs and us are just the same - " (215)

Some negroes believe in the superiority of the white race and they seemed very satisfied in working for them, an example of a character like this is Drexel Greenshaw, who believed that negroes must not agitate looking for equality: "...It's just as I told that a little fool, Belfreda; if she didn't get along with a fine lady and gentleman like that, it was all her fault. My race will never have any trouble with high-class white people. I keep telling these colored agitators like Clem Brazenstar that they do more harm to my race than any mean buckra, and they laugh at me and call me an "Uncle Tom"! Those radical scum don't know nothing about aristocratic

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society. I'm tickled to death to serve a gentleman like Captain Kingsblood, that couldn't never be nothing but a gentleman, nohow". (216)

Also negro people are prejudiced against white people and even they do not like miscegenation, and it is very well explained by Mrs. Woolcape who was thinking of the friendship of her granddaughter Phoebe with a white boy: "...our young lady calmly up and announces that she is also in love with Bobby Gowse, who's a wild stage dancer here, and with our neighboring boy, Leo Jensing. But Leo is white, so of course we wouldn't like that.

Are you prejudiced against white people, then? wondered Neil. Her husband raged, 'She certainly is, and I keep telling her that with her education - I only finished grade school, myself - she has no excuse for condemning a whole race. I tell her that if she is patient and looks for it, she'll find just as many kind-hearted and understanding people among the whites as in our own race ... But I'm also somewhat opposed to intermarriage, though only because there are so many people, both white and black, who have been denied the power to love and so they are envious and do all the harm they can when they see a mixed couple who love each other so much that they are willing to stand social exile". (217)

Ryan Woolcape expressed his disdain for Dr. Jat Snood, who has said that he was sent by God in order to send back into Georgia all the negroes who lived in the Northern States: "I've just been in God's holy temple, listening to

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(216) Ibid. p. 34  
(217) Ibid. p.110

the Reverend Dr. Jat Snood, that Kansas Fundamentalist Evangelist and all-around bastard. I doubt if I'd ever have gotten in if the ushers had known I'm a spook, blast their worm-eaten souls and slimy handshakes. But I did, and I heard Snood explain that Jesus wants the frozen-toed Christians up here in Minnesota to chase all us niggers back to Georgia. So the Captain must excuse me if I get rough when I find one of the pious ofays here in this low shack". (218)

Dr. Buncer, who used to be the counselor of Neil Kingsblood, said that really segregation was instituted to protect negroes from the evil-minded men of both races: "...I spent an entire month working in a settlement house in Shreveport, Louisiana, where I learned that segregation in the South was instituted not to discriminate against the Negroes, but to protect them, from the evil-minded men of both races, until such time as they grow up mentally and are able to face reality like you and I and other white men do". (219)

I have never thought that negro people lived out of reality and I believe that those who do, are the white men, because the claiming of negroes is for EQUALITY and nothing else. They do not need to be protected by discrimination laws, but by the equal treatment for both races.

The new friends of Neil Kingsblood believed that the Northern States were acting worse than the Southern ones, because in the North jobs were denied to negroes or payed less to these for the same work. "So far you are!" said Clem rudely.

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(218) Ibid. p. 123  
(219) Ibid. p. 132

But the South is getting better - less lynching, more of us voting, equal pay for teachers in some places. So the North is getting worse, very obligingly, just to keep my job going".

(220)

Dr. Ash Davis explained to Neil that there were in Grand Republic some people who being preachers, were recruiting for new organizations similar to the Ku Klux Klan: "Ash Davis explained to Neil, at the Bar-B-Q, There's two or three Snoods in this town, though Jat runs the biggest crap-game of them all, and they've trained their congregations as perfect recruits for the Ku Klux Klan. They aren't so comic when their gangs of Christian knights beat up frightened little brownskins and burn their houses. As a friend of our race, do you think there's anything you can do with Mr. Snood?" (221)

The author gives us the ideas about prejudice told by the old negro Clem, that almost all white people had: "Prejudice is the most precious birthright of the ignorant, and if the seven wisest men in the world, in person and sober, were for seven straight hours to argue that a Negro like Ash Davis is as admirable a voter and dinner-companion as the average white bootlegger, any properly reared Southerners, particularly if a woman, would at the end only smile politely and answer, 'You boys don't understand the Nigras like I do, and how would you like to have Nigras marry your seven daughters?'" (222)

When Neil Kingsblood became humiliated by his old friends for being a negro, he began to understand that the

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(220) Ibid. p. 144  
(221) Ibid. p. 174  
(222) Ibid. p. 260

inferiority complex of the negro race in front of the white, made the negroes feel the desire of murdering their white masters: "And when he was looking after Diantha, he saw Major Rodney Aldwick, standing by one of the big white pillars, erect, arms folded, watching him, not sneering but just amused. Neil knew then the knee-loosening inferiority that comes to the virtuous slave and turns him to raging murder". (223)

Drexel Greenshaw said to Neil that if he wanted to succeed as negro, he might be humble in front of the white people, because they had the power: "Let me give you a little friendly advice, Neil. You ought to get steady job and be humble to white folks and know your place and not step out of it, and stay away from exclusive places like this. The whites have the power, and it's much wiser not to antagonize them. I know exactly how to get along with them; I never have the slightest trouble. I'll never lose my job as you did, at the Beaux Arts". (224)

Even the Northern negroes believed that those who come from the South are ignorants and they must stay back there where they belong: "Remember that the folks who are being let out are mostly these new colored fieldhands that have just come up from the Southern backwoods - lot of ignorant, rude, money-wasting hicks - typical immigrants, I'd call'em. All the old-timers, like Al Woolcape and me, have suffered a lot from having the white folks think we're like those cattle. Oh, I'm sorry for them, but they better go back South, where they belong". (225)

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{ 223 } Ibid. p. 282

{ 224 } Ibid. p. 287

{ 225 } Ibid. p. 317

MY COMMENTARIES ON KINGSBLOOD ROYAL.

The novel offers the present day thinking of American people of our days on the problem of integration.

It is the talent and sarcasm of Sinclair Lewis analyzing common prejudices about integration partisans and of opponents to such integration, that makes the contents of this story.

Sinclair Lewis, belonging to a middle class family educated in public schools and universities, has the smartness and alertness of an intellectual who saw in daily life the prejudices, just as expressed in the environment where he lived.

Nothing so adequate to present facts and characters in his novel as the ability to create a character who thought himself white, and afterwards found himself to be colored, only for having some drops of negro blood, which did not take away his appearance of white.

The thinking of this character, Neil Kingsblood, is one while he believes himself white; but as soon as he knows he is a negro, the same thinking twists to the opposite. And there is the funny plot, which permits the author to satirize the prejudiced mind of the common American.

It may seem naive to create a character who looking for his noble and royal ancestry, finds himself to be a descendant of a negro ancestor. But in it, he finds the theme of the whole novel; and he presents the common pretension of people who boast of their ancestry or pretended one, as

a reaction to their own humble and common origin.

Nothing so satiric and sarcastic, as to find a banking employee, with all his pretensions of superiority, and all his mediocre conceptions of racial prejudice, ascertaining his concepts, and, afterwards, denying them, for the same persons and same facts.

But the novel criticizes not only the thinking of a man in a position of a banking official; it goes farther: it analyzes through the plot, the general prejudices of the environment of Grand Republic. Practically the author is taking fiction, to observe the common prejudice of any city in the United States towards the negro people.

The anxieties of war time forced the white people to forget their misunderstandings about negroes, and compelled them to profit by their intelligence, knowledge and abilities for their own convenience, during the war; but as soon as the danger vanishes, prejudices appear again. The consequence is that in high levels, negro scientists are disemployed in the important positions they had reached, and even in scholar activities, professors of negro ancestry are dismissed, as if it were a shameful thing to have such professors in teaching positions.

Dr. Ash Davis, one of the characters in the novel, is a Chemist, wise and experimented, with many honors and recognitions, chief of an experimental laboratory, indispensable man, in war time. But as soon as the war ended, he was a negro, and should be dismissed, because the color of his skin



denounced him as colored people.

Secondary positions, given to color people during war time, should be served by white people as soon as the whites came back from the battlefields. The tragedy is for the negroes, because they could not find new jobs.

All this happened in Grand Republic.

What happened in many, many cities of the United States after the World War II? During these recent times of crisis, who are disemployed in the United States in more quantity?

Something curious and peculiar happened in Grand Republic: white people and specially white preachers, believe themselves protectos of negroes, even of their own leaders, in what refers to integration. It is nonsense to look for equality, because such equality will never exist. The white race and the negro race are different in their qualities and never the inferiority of the latter will reach the superiority of the former. Then, why struggle for something unattainable? Any leader who pretends to conduct negro people to obtain better standing in society, in education, in money power, in politics, in religious hierarcny, is deceaving his fellowmates, consequently must be punished, imprisoned or even beaten and vanished.

Nowadays, I ask, what is the attitude of the common American towards the leaders of integrationism? What happened to Medgar W. Evers in Jackson Mississippi on June the 12th, 1963?

Equality in rights, both civil and politic, is the true aim of the present racial disturbances, just as it were a century ago, in the United States of America.

But Sinclair Lewis in his novel Kingsblood Royal, does not reduce the conflict to these terms. He presents the hypocrisy of men and society, misconducting persons with the permanent question: Would you like to marry your daughter or sister to a negro fellow?

Miscegenation is a different thing which may confront personally or not, those which have the problem.

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