

## 1: The C.L.R. James Internet Archive

*Note: Citations are based on reference standards. However, formatting rules can vary widely between applications and fields of interest or study. The specific requirements or preferences of your reviewing publisher, classroom teacher, institution or organization should be applied.*

Carlyle revamped this essay and reprinted it in as a pamphlet entitled Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question. Carlyle did not, to our knowledge, respond. These are the central exchange of blows in the Carlyle-Mill debate on the "Negro" question. The other essays listed are included for background and context. The "dismal science" is, of course, economics -- in fact, the jeer makes its first appearance here. Historical Background A few historical facts may be worthwhile recalling here. The slave trade to the British colonies was abolished in 1807. After a vigorous campaign led by the abolitionist leader William Wilberforce, slavery itself was finally abolished in the British Empire in 1833. In 1808, a deal was arranged where, in exchange for the end of the apprenticeship and immediate liberation, the plantation-owners would, in turn, stay under the protection of a hefty preferential sugar tariff. Nevertheless, in spite of its global mission, this second "Exeter Hall" was still involved with affairs in the British colonies throughout the 19th century. Specifically, BFASS-associated missions were critical in blowing the whistle on attempts by plantation-owners to re-impose dependency on their ex-slaves with arbitrary local laws, high rents, extortionary debt and occasional burnings of black settlements that were "too distant" from the plantations. This created a large and sudden labor shortage, which led to considerable economic difficulties for the sugar plantations. This measure was promoted by many "free trade" economists note: The plantation-owners were furious. They felt that the British government had broken the old deal. With no cheap labor force and no preferential tariff protection, the plantation-owners in the British West Indies knew that there was no way they could compete with Cuba and Brazil, where sugar was still produced with slave labor. The rise of European beet-sugar as a cheap alternative did not help either. The Exeter Hall abolitionists themselves were eager to ensure that the "emancipation experiment" in the West Indies was not the wholesale economic disaster its opponents predicted. They wanted to use the success of the West Indian economic transition as a showpiece to encourage the rest of the world the United States of America in particular to abolish slavery themselves. Furthermore, existing provisions in the current tariff system were already weighted against foreign slave-produced sugar. The new free trade policy meant that sugar, regardless of its source, would be treated the same -- whether from British colonies or abroad, whether from cane or from beet, whether from slave plantations or not. Thus, the equalization of duties would redirect trade towards Cuba and Brazil, which would probably mean the expansion and deepening of slavery there. Consequently, many abolitionists backed the existing preferential sugar tariff as well as increased Indian immigration into the colonies. However, anti-tariff sentiment grew in Exeter Hall ranks. For many abolitionists, sugar and slavery were so interconnected that they felt that any support given to sugar industries anywhere would, one way or another, also promote slavery and servitude directly or indirectly. Furthermore, it was felt that the West Indies should be changing its economic structure, away from the abusive sugar plantations to something else altogether. But, mainly, there was the question of why Britain, an export of manufacturers, should be giving preferential treatment to a handful of sugar barons in the Caribbean anyway. The Sugar Duties Act was followed by the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849, which removed the old restrictions on colonial trade which had given West Indian sugar a guaranteed market in other British colonies. The culmination of all this was the Sugar Equalization Duties Act of 1850, which finally put all sugar imports into the empire on par. Following some heavy lobbying by West Indian plantation-owners, the latter only came in force in 1855. Full repeal of all sugar tariffs only occurred in 1855. After this series of blows, the West Indian sugar economy declined precipitously. British import figures indicate that, indeed, the end of the sugar tariff led to a substantial expansion of sugar imports into Britain from outside the British colonies. When Carlyle proposes that British gun-boats be sent to end slavery in Brazil and Cuba and not, we shall note, to other slave-owning places, it is with eliminating this sugar competition in mind. It is well documented that the Caribbean economy was certainly in dire straits. He took up the cause of the West Indian sugar barons and condemned what he thought was a conspiratorial union

of Exeter Hall philanthropists and free-trade economists against them. Add to this his personally deeply-held racism and the obvious enjoyment he takes at annoying the bourgeoisie and poking at Christian sensitivities, and his strange choice of subject may become clearer. Carlyle in his study c. Note that Carlyle never recommended a return to slavery as such but rather a return to something akin to European-style serfdom. This feudal ideal was something he felt Britain had abandoned to its peril when it set off in pursuit of capitalist industrialization. With capitalism, workers were reduced to nomadism, scavenging and competing for the next shilling in uncertain wages or profits. And if employment cannot be readily found? Then pauperism, idleness and starvation. Such an outcome, Carlyle felt, was no better than slavery, and in many ways worse. With the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies and the supportive BFASS activities there, Carlyle believed the hitherto peaceful black ex-slave would be condemned to idle pauperism. The principal image that horrified Carlyle was that of the West Indies being reduced to a "Black Ireland". To the idle, impoverished "potato people" of Ireland, Carlyle saw the potential counterpart in an idle, impoverished "pumpkin people" in the Caribbean. Remember that at this time, Ireland was still in the thrall of the Great Famine. Carlyle visited Ireland in and filled his journal with tirades, referring to Ireland as a "human swinery", a "black howling Babel of superstitious savages". He does not see their predicament, as many contemporaries did, as being due to the inherent immorality or natural laziness of the "Gael" or the "Negro". No, Carlyle argued, set a man to work and all those "savage" qualities disappear. The character of the Irishman or the West Indian, for that matter is not inherently corrupt but it has been corrupted from lack of work. This is not too far from contemporary opinion. Many British philanthropists, not least Charles Trevelyan, the pious Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of British relief during the Irish famine, the problem of Ireland was a cultural one and thus not irretrievable. Irish paupers could be transformed into proper, industrious Englishmen with the discipline of the market-place, moral education, religious piety and the whip of hunger. Where Carlyle differs from Trevelyan and other "philanthropists" is that he believes that the culture of pauperism cannot be fixed by the market, because that very culture was created by the market. The market, he argues, does not create an incentive to work, it gives an incentive to sell -- and, for Carlyle, these are two very different things. As an axiom, Carlyle refuses to accept that wage payments induce work. Work comes first, payment afterwards. Work is done "for the favor of Heaven", not with a view to recompense. As such, wages are an imperfect measure of the worth of labor. With the rise of capitalism, the "cash nexus" intervened in the relationship between work and reward. Carlyle implicitly draws from the Scottish tradition Having earlier supported the extension of parliamentary suffrage, he was severely disappointed with the Parliamentary Reform Bill, believing it to have merely transferred power from the owners of land to the owners of shops, leaving craftsmen and laborers no better off. It is the consummation of non-government and laissez-faire. Carlyle implicitly draws from the Scottish tradition which call forth two very different characters. For Carlyle, the only gospel that would "fix" it is the gospel of work -- forced, if need be and, indeed, as it must be. Carlyle did not stop to wonder whether the West Indian slave society was "joyful"; he merely asserted it. In his follow-up act, the Latter-Day Pamphlets, Carlyle pinned the blame of the predicament of Ireland and the Caribbean squarely on the shoulders of the philanthropists and the economists. Supply-and-demand, Leave-it-alone, Voluntary Principle, Time will mend it: Nowhere is this clearer than in the Irish Famine, where Trevelyan and the British government used the rhetoric of laissez-faire and divine providence to justify their reaction to the horror. In his Latter-Day Pamphlets Carlyle also targets democracy following up on the Revolutions and the reform of prisons another focus of evangelical Christian activity and lashes out at them with his biting sarcasm and prophetic admonitions. It is here, incidentally, that democracy was first described by the phrase "anarchy plus a street-constable". But John Stuart Mill was involved with the abolitionist movement as well as other contemporary reform movements on the prisons, poor laws, etc. He supported these "progressive" causes on the basis of his secular utilitarian philosophy, rather than the evangelical Christianity of the Exeter Hall coalition. Map of the Caribbean, c. Thus, for Mill, labor is a necessary evil, while for Carlyle, labor is a virtue in itself. In , Carlyle reprinted his article as a separate pamphlet entitled Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question. Besides the revealing change in the title, the pamphlet included some additional discussion, partly in response to Mill. In the s, events in the Caribbean once again brought Mill and

Carlyle to cross swords. In early October, , news of a minor scuffle in Morant Bay, Jamaica, were exaggerated into alarmist reports of a fully-fledged "black uprising". Governor Edward John Eyre of Jamaica declared martial law and sent his troops on a terror spree throughout the island, burning down black settlements, flogging much of the black population and executing some four hundred blacks. Eyre was recalled by the British government in , but the story was not over. Their mission was to have Eyre condemned for his excesses in suppressing the insurrection and tried for the murder of Gordon. In the end, Eyre was acquitted, but the break between Mill and Carlyle had grown almost to full-blown enmity. It was somewhat clear for many contemporaries that neither West Indian blacks nor Irishmen, nor prisoners, were his prime targets, but rather the evangelicals and economists themselves. Although a mathematician by training, Carlyle despised "systems" of thought and philosophy, particularly those which claimed to have captured the "Truth" and were willing to up-end the given organic, "natural order" of society in pursuit of it. His life-long "mission", if he had one, was to subvert widely-held "systems" of theory and belief, like those of the evangelicals and economists. Romanticism was perfectly compatible with a relaxed cosmopolitanism. Where Carlyle goes beyond any of the Romanticists, beyond even Nietzsche, was in pushing for a practicable re-organization of society in the "service of great men".

### 2: The Negro Family: The Case For National Action - Wikipedia

*The negro labor question. By a New-York merchant [New-York merchant] on www.enganchecubano.com \*FREE\* shipping on qualifying offers. This is a reproduction of a book published before*

De Bow, New Orleans. Page numbers in bold square brackets, e. All errors are left intact. By way of contrast, we have included the introductions to two American reprints of this essay: As far as we know, this essay is in the public domain. You are free to make use of this electronic version in any way you wish, except for commercial purposes, without asking permission. All comments and corrections of this text are encouraged and can be addressed to het cepa. The style and manner are plainly those of Thomas Carlyle, to whom it is attributed. It is a piece of pungent satire, upon the whole body of pseudo philanthropists, who, within the last few years, have been a curse to our own country, as well as to England. The West India question is, for the first time, put in its true light before the English people, and it will much surprise us if a reaction, in favor of common sense, is not the result. The reader will not allow the quaint style, and the odd conceits of Mr. Carlyle, to prevent him from giving an attentive perusal to the matter. We are sure that he will agree with us, that the case of Quashee is disposed of with a master hand, and left in its nakedness, without a single prop or support. When British writers can so speak, it is time for Northern fanaticism to pause and reflect. Are they by Mr. They will be a grief to many of his admirers in this region, and yet they, and others, if others indeed there be! It comes to us -- no speaker named, no time or place assigned, no commentary of any sort given in the hand-writing of the so-called "Doctor," properly "Absconded Reporter," Dr. To absconded reporters, who bilk their lodgings, we have, of course, no account to give; but if the speaker be of any eminence or substantiality, and feel himself aggrieved by the transaction, let him understand that such, and such only, is our connection with him or his affairs. As the colonial and negro question is still alive, and likely to grow livelier for some time, we have accepted the article, at a cheap market rate; and give it publicity, without, in the least, committing ourselves to the strange doctrines and notions shadowed forth in it. Doctrines and notions which, we rather suspect, are pretty much in a minority of one, in the present era of the world. Here, sure enough, are peculiar views of the rights of negroes; involving, it is probable, peculiar ditto of innumerable other rights, duties, expectations, wrongs and disappointments, much argued of, by logic and by grape-shot, in these emancipated epochs of the human mind. Silence now, however, and let the speaker himself enter: It is my painful duty to address some words to you, this evening, upon the rights of negroes. Taking, as we hope we do, an extensive survey of social affairs, which we find all in a state of the frightfullest embroilment, and, as it were, of inextricable final bankruptcy, just at present, and being desirous to adjust ourselves in that huge up-break, and unutterable welter of tumbling ruins, and to see well that our grand proposed Association of Associations, the UNIVERSAL ABOLITION-OF-PAIN-ASSOCIATION, which is meant to be the consummate golden flower, and summary of modern philanthropisms, all in one, do not issue as a universal "Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society" -- we have judged that, before constituting ourselves, it would be very proper to commune earnestly with one another, and discourse together on the leading elements of our great problem, which surely is one of the greatest. With this view, the council has decided, both that the negro question, as lying at the bottom, was to be the first handled, and, if possible, the first settled; and then, also, what was of much more questionable wisdom, that -- that, in short, I was to be speaker on the occasion. Well, you shall hear what I have to say on the matter; and you will not, in the least, like it. West Indian affairs, as we all know, and some of us know to our cost, are in a rather troublous condition this good while. In regard to West Indian affairs, however, Lord John Russell is able to comfort us with one fact, indisputable where so many are dubious, that the negroes are all very happy and doing well. A fact very comfortable indeed. West Indian whites, it is admitted, are far enough from happy; West Indian colonies not unlike sinking wholly into ruin; at home, too, the British whites are rather badly off-several millions of them hanging on the verge of continual famine -- and, in single towns, many thousands of them very sore put to it, at this time, not to live "well," or as a man should, in any sense, temporal or spiritual, but to live at all-these, again, are uncomfortable facts; and they are extremely extensive and important ones. But, thank heaven, our interesting black

population equaling, almost, in number of heads, one of the ridings of Yorkshire, and in worth in quantity of intellect, faculty, docility, energy, and available human valor and value, perhaps one of the streets of seven dials --are all doing remarkably well. How pleasant, in the universal bankruptcy abroad, and dim, dreary stagnancy at home, as if, for England too, there remained nothing but to suppress Chartist riots, banish united Irishmen, vote the supplies, and wait, with arms crossed, till black anarchy and social death devoured us also, as it has done the others; how pleasant to have always this fact to fall back upon; our beautiful black darlings are at last happy; with little labor except to the teeth, which, surely, in those excellent horse-jaws of theirs, will not fail! Exeter Hall, my philanthropic friends, has had its way in this matter. The twenty millions, a mere trifle, despatched with a single dash of the pen, are paid; and, far over the sea, we have a few black persons rendered extremely "free" indeed. Sitting yonder, with their beautiful muzzles up to the ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices; [p. A state of matters lovely to contemplate, in these emancipated epochs of the human mind, which has earned us, not only the praises of Exeter Hall, and loud, long-eared halleluiahs of laudatory psalmody from the friends of freedom everywhere, but lasting favor it is hoped from the heavenly powers themselves; which may, at least, justly appeal to the heavenly powers, and ask them, if ever, in terrestrial procedure, they saw the match of it! Certainly, in the past history of the human species, it has no parallel; nor, one hopes, will it have in the future. Sunk in deep froth-oceans of "Benevolence," "Fraternity," "Emancipation-principle," "Christian Philanthropy," and other most amiable-looking, but most baseless, and, in the end, baleful and all-bewildering jargon -- sad product of a skeptical eighteenth century, and of poor human hearts, left destitute of any earnest guidance, and disbelieving that there ever was any, christian or heathen, and reduced to believe, in rosepink sentimentalism alone, and to cultivate the same under its christian, anti-christian, broad-brimmed, Brutus-headed, and other forms -- has not the human species gone strange roads during that period? Our West India legislatings, with their spoutings. But no, it is not yet full; we have a long way to travel back, and terrible floundering to make, and, in fact, an immense load of nonsense to dislodge from our poor heads, and manifold cobwebs to rend from our poor eyes, before we get into the road again, and can begin to act as serious men that have work to do in this universe, and no longer as windy sentimentalists, that merely have speeches to deliver, and despatches to write. The West Indies, it appears, are short of labor, as, indeed, is very conceivable in those circumstances. Where a black man, by working half an hour a day such is the calculation, can supply himself, by aid of sun and soil, with as much pumpkin as will suffice, he is likely to be [p. Supply and demand, which, science says, should be brought to bear on him, have an up-hill task-of it with such a man. Strong sun supplies itself gratis -- rich soil, in those unpeopled or half-peopled regions, almost gratis: He, himself, cannot work; and his black neighbor, rich in pumpkin, is in no haste to help him. Higher wages, massa; higher, for your cane crop cannot wait; still higher -- till no conceivable opulence of cane crop will cover such wages! In Demerara, as I read in the blue book of last year, the cane crop, far and wide, stands rotting; the fortunate black gentlemen: Sweet, blighted lilies, now getting up their heads again! Science, however, has a remedy still. Since the demand is so pressing, and the supply so inadequate equal, in fact, to nothing in some places, as appears, increase the supply; bring more blacks into the labor market, then will the rate fall, says science. Not the least surprising part of our West Indian policy, is this recipe of "immigration;" of keeping down the labor-market in those islands, by importing new Africans to labor and live there. If the Africans that are already there could be made to lay down their pumpkins and labor for a living, there are already Africans enough. If the new Africans, after laboring a little, take to pumpkins like the others, what remedy is there? That will be a consummation. The world may yet see prodigies, and reality be stranger than a nightmare dream. Our own white or sallow Ireland, sluttishly starving, from age to age, on its act-of-parliament "freedom," was hitherto the flower of mismanagement among the nations; but what will this be to a negro Ireland, with pumpkins themselves fallen scarce like potatoes? Imagination cannot fathom such an object; the belly of chaos never held the like. The human mind, in its wide wanderings, has not dreamt, yet, of such a "freedom" as that will be. Toward that, if Exeter Hall, and science of supply and demand, are to continue our guides in the matter, we are daily traveling, and even struggling, with loans of half a million, and such like, to accelerate ourselves. Truly, my philanthropic friends, Exeter Hall philanthropy is wonderful; and the social science -- not a "gay science," but a rueful --which finds the secret of this universe

in "supply and demand," and reduces the duty of human governors to that of letting men alone, is also wonderful. Not a "gay science," I should say, like some we have heard of; no, a dreary, desolate and, indeed, quite abject and distressing one; [p. These two, Exeter Hall philanthropy and the Dismal Science, led by any sacred cause of black emancipation, or the like, to fall in love and make a wedding of it -- will give birth to progenies and prodigies: In fact, it will behoove us of this English nation, to overhaul our West Indian procedure from top to bottom; and to ascertain a little better what it is that fact and nature demand of us, and what only Exeter Hall, wedded to the Dismal Science, demands. To the latter we will very frequently demur, and try if we cannot stop short where they contradict the former, and, especially, before arriving at the black throat of ruin, whither they appear to be leading us. Alas, in many other provinces, beside the West Indian, that unhappy wedlock of philanthropic liberalism and the Dismal Science, has engendered such all-enveloping delusions, of the moon-calf sort -- and wrought huge woe for us, and for the poor, civilized world, in these days! And sore will be the battle with said moon-calves; and terrible the struggle to return out of our delusions, floating rapidly on which, not the West Indies alone, but Europe generally, is nearing the Niagara Falls. The President, in a resolved voice, with a look of official rigor, whatever his own private feelings might be, enjoined, " Silence! Fact and nature, it seems to me, say a few words to us, if, happily, we have still an ear for fact and nature. Let us listen a little, and try. And first, with regard to the West Indies, it may be laid down as a principle, which no eloquence in Exeter Hall, or Westminster Hall, or elsewhere, can invalidate or hide, except for a short time only, that no black man, who will not work according to what ability the gods have given him for working, has the smallest right to eat pumpkin, or to any fraction of land that will grow pumpkin, however plentiful such land may be, but has an indisputable and perpetual right to be compelled, by the real proprietors of said land, to do competent work for his living. This is the everlasting duty of all men, black or white, who are born into this world. To do competent work, to labor honestly according to the ability given them; for that, and for no other purpose, was each one of us sent into this world; and woe is to every man who by friend or by foe, is prevented from fulfilling this, the end of his being. If it be his own indolence that prevents and prohibits him, then his own indolence is the [p. This is the eternal law of nature for a man, my beneficent Exeter Hall friends; this, that he shall be permitted, encouraged, and, if need be, compelled, to do what work the Maker of him has intended, by the making of him for this world. Not that he should eat pumpkin with never such felicity in the West India islands is, or can be, the blessedness of our black friend -- but that he should do useful work there, according as the gifts have been bestowed on him for that. And his own happiness, and that of others around him, will alone be possible, by his and their getting into such a relation that this can be permitted him, and, in case of need, that this can be compelled him. I beg you to understand this, for you seem to have a little forgotten it, and there lie a thousand inferences in it, not quite useless for Exeter Hall, at present. And I incessantly pray Heaven, all men, the whitest alike, and the blackest, the richest and the poorest, in other regions of the world, had attained precisely the same right, the divine right of being compelled if "permitted" will not answer to do what work they are appointed for, and not to go idle another minute, in a life so short! Alas, we had then a perfect world! Let me suggest another consideration withal; West India islands, still full of waste fertility, produce abundant pumpkins; pumpkins, however, you will please to observe, are not the sole requisite for human well-being. And now, as to the right of chief management in cultivating those West India lands -- as to the "right of property" so called, and of doing what you like with your own. The question is abstruse enough. Who it may be that has a right to raise pumpkins and other produce on those islands, perhaps none can, except temporarily, decide. The islands are good withal for pepper, for sugar, for sago, arrowroot, for coffee, perhaps for cinnamon and precious spices-things far nobler than pumpkins, and leading toward commerces, arts, politics, and social developments, which, alone, are the noble product, where men and not pigs with pumpkins are the parties concerned! Well, all this fruit, too, fruit spicy and commercial, fruit spiritual and celestial, so far beyond the merely pumpkinish and grossly terrene, lies in the West India lands; and the ultimate "proprietorship" of them -- why, I suppose, it will vest in him who can the best educe from them, whatever of noble produce they were created fit for yielding. He, I compute, is the real [p. That is the law, I take it, ultimate supreme, for all lands, in all countries, under this sky. The one perfect, Eternal Proprietor, is the Maker who created them; the temporary, better or worse proprietor,

is he whom the Maker has sent on that mission; he who the best hitherto can educe from said lands the beneficent gifts the Maker endowed them with -- or, which is but another definition of the same person, he who leads hitherto the manfullest life on that bit of soil, doing better than another yet found can do, the Eternal Purpose and Supreme Will there. And now observe, my friends. For countless ages, since they first mounted oozy on the back of earthquakes, from their dark bed in the ocean deeps, and reeking, saluted the tropical sun, and ever onward, till the European white man first saw them, some three short centuries ago, those islands had produced mere jungle, savagery, poison reptiles and swamp malaria till the white European first saw them, they were, as if not yet created; their noble elements of cinnamon -- sugar, coffee, pepper, black and gray, lying all asleep, waiting the white Enchanter, who should say to them, awake! Till the end of human history, and the sounding of the trump of doom, they might have lain so, had Quashee, and the like of him, been the only artists in the game. Swamps, fever-jungles, maneating caribs, rattle-snakes, and reeking waste and putrefaction: Him, had he, by a miraculous chance, been wafted thither, the caribals would have eaten, rolling him as a fat morsel under their tongue-for him, till the sounding of the trump of doom, the rattlesnakes and savageries would have held on their way. It was not he, then -- it was another than he! Never, by art of his, could one pumpkin have grown there, to solace any human throat; nothing but savagery, and reeking putrefaction could have grown there! If Quashee will not honestly aid in bringing out those sugars, cinnamons, and nobler products of the West India islands, for the benefit [p. For, under favor of Exeter Hall, the "terrible manner" is not yet quite extinct with the destinies in this universe; nor will it quite cease, I apprehend, for soft-sawder or philanthropic stump-oratory, now, or henceforth. Both these things, we may be assured, the immortal gods have decided upon -- passed their eternal act of parliament for; and both of them, though all terrestrial parliaments and entities oppose it to the death, shall be done. Quashee, if he will not help in bringing out the spices, will get himself made a slave again which state will be a little less ugly than his present one , and with beneficent whip, since other methods avail not, will be compelled to work.

### 3: Thomas E. Watson, "The Negro Question in the South", from Arena (Boston),

*The negro labor question Item Preview remove-circle Share or Embed This Item. EMBED EMBED (for www.enganchecubano.com hosted blogs and www.enganchecubano.com item <description.*

Background[ edit ] While writing *The Negro Family*: In the course of analyzing statistics related to black poverty, Moynihan noticed something unusual: He acknowledged the continued existence of racism and discrimination within society, despite the victories that blacks had won by civil rights legislation. It is the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time. That particular notion of black familial life has become a widespread, if not dominant, paradigm for comprehending the social and economic disintegration of late 20th-century black urban life. Writing to Lyndon Johnson, Moynihan argued that without access to jobs and the means to contribute meaningful support to a family, black men would become systematically alienated from their roles as husbands and fathers, which would cause rates of divorce, child abandonment and out-of-wedlock births to skyrocket in the black community a trend that had already begun by the mids, leading to vast increases in the numbers of households headed by females and the higher rates of poverty, lower educational outcomes, and inflated rates of child abuse that are allegedly associated with these factors. Modern scholars of the 21st century, including Douglas Massey, believe that the report was one of the more influential in the construction of the War on Poverty. Critics accused Moynihan of relying on stereotypes of the black family and black men, implying that blacks had inferior academic performance, portrayed crime and pathology as endemic to the black community and failing to recognize that cultural bias and racism in standardized tests had contributed to apparent lower achievement by blacks in school. She argues that the terminology used to define white families cannot be used to define African-American families because of the way slavery has affected the African-American family. Ferguson argued that the Moynihan Report generated hegemonic discourses about minority communities and nationalist sentiments in the Black community. African-American economist and writer Walter E. Williams has praised the report for its findings. Blaming the victim Psychologist William Ryan coined the phrase "blaming the victim" in his book *Blaming the Victim*, [17] specifically as a critique of the Moynihan report. He said that it was an attempt to divert responsibility for poverty from social structural factors to the behaviors and cultural patterns of the poor. They believe that Moynihan failed to take into account basic rational incentives for marriage. He did not acknowledge that women had historically engaged in marriage in part out of need for material resources, as adequate wages were otherwise denied by cultural traditions excluding women from most jobs outside the home. With the expansion of welfare in the US in the mid to late 20th century, women gained better access to government resources intended to reduce family and child poverty. Rate for African Americans is the purple line. Prior to, African American illegitimacy was included along with other minority groups as "Non-White. I Told You So. It was not long ago in this past century that an anthropologist working in London – a very famous man at the time, Malinowski – postulated what he called the first rule of anthropology: That in all known societies, all male children have an acknowledged male parent.

### 4: The Carlyle-Mill "Negro Question" Debate

*The Negro Labor Question [Anonymous] on www.enganchecubano.com \*FREE\* shipping on qualifying offers. This work has been selected by scholars as being culturally important, and is part of the knowledge base of civilization as we know it.*

Other "Library of Congress Lists Published " is a 6. Each of the thirteen chapters are individually paginated. The book compiles bibliographical lists issued by the Library over the previous year or so, on the following subjects: Anglo-Saxon interests, the cabinets of England and America, the United States Constitution, federal control, government ownership, industrial arbitration, labor, Lincolniana books about Abraham Lincoln , the Negro question, pensions, reciprocity, subsidies, and trusts. The book is in good condition, with no dust jacket. It was specially bound for Dudley Goodall Wooten his name is embossed on the front cover , a prominent Texas attorney and politician who served a single term in the US Congress. The gilt-decorated leather boards have many spots of loss around the edges, many scratches at the spine. The front board is threatening to come loose. The rest of the interior is unmarked, and the binding is strong. International Buyers â€” Please Note: Import duties, taxes, and charges are not included in the item price or shipping cost. Seller assumes all responsibility for this listing. Shipping and handling This item will ship to Germany, but the seller has not specified shipping options. Contact the seller- opens in a new window or tab and request a shipping method to your location. Shipping cost cannot be calculated. Please enter a valid ZIP Code. Tucson, Arizona, United States Shipping to: Worldwide No additional import charges at delivery! This item will be shipped through the Global Shipping Program and includes international tracking. Learn more- opens in a new window or tab Change country: There are 1 items available. Please enter a number less than or equal to 1. Select a valid country. Please enter 5 or 9 numbers for the ZIP Code.

*side "Negro park," hosting families, church groups, and couples and providing relief from the brutal, exploitative labor conditions on the area's tobacco plantations and in its stemming factories.*

But I have retyped this from a copy of the original article, which I obtained through Inter-Library Loan. It is an ever-present irritant and menace. Several millions of slaves were told that they were the prime cause of the civil war; that their emancipation was the result of the triumph of the North over the South; that the ballot was placed in their hands as a weapon of defence against their former masters; that the war-won political equality of the black man with the white, must be asserted promptly and aggressively, under the leadership of adventurers who had swooped down upon the conquered section in the wake of the Union armies. No one, who wishes to be fair, can fail to see that, in such a condition of things, strife between the freedman and his former owner was inevitable. In the clashing of interests and of feelings, bitterness was born. The black man was kept in a continual fever of suspicion that we meant to put him back into slavery. In the assertion of his recently acquired privileges, he was led to believe that the best proof of his being on the right side of any issue was that his old master was on the other. When this was the case, he felt easy in his mind. But if, by any chance, he found that he was voting the same ticket with his former owner, he at once became reflective and suspicious. In the irritable temper of the times, a whispered warning from a Northern "carpet-bagger," having no justification in rhyme or reason, outweighed with him a carload of sound argument and earnest expostulation from the man whom he had known all his life; who had hunted with him through every swamp and wooded upland for miles around; who had wrestled and run foot-races with him in the "Negro quarters" on many a Saturday afternoon; who had fished with him at every "hole" in the creek; and who had played a thousand games of "marble" with him under the cool shade of the giant oaks which, in those days, sheltered a home they had both loved. In brief, the end of the war brought changed relations and changed feelings. Heated antagonisms produced mutual distrust and dislike - ready, at any accident of unusual provocation on either side, to break out into passionate and bloody conflict. Quick to take advantage of this deplorable situation, the politicians have based the fortunes of the old parties upon it. Northern leaders have felt that at the cry of "Southern outrage" they could not only "fire the Northern heart," but also win a unanimous vote from the colored people. Southern politicians have felt that at the cry of "Negro domination" they could drive into solid phalanx every white man in all the Southern states. Both the old parties have done this thing until they have constructed as perfect a slot machine" as the world ever saw. Drop the old, worn nickel of the "party slogan" into the slot, and the machine does the rest. You might beseech a Southern white tenant to listen to you upon questions of finance, taxation, and transportation; you might demonstrate with mathematical precision that herein lay his way out of poverty into comfort; you might have him "almost persuaded" to the truth, but if the merchant who furnished his farm supplies at tremendous usury or the town politician who never spoke to him excepting at election times came along and cried "Negro rule! Thus the Northern Democrats have ruled the South with a rod of iron for twenty years. We have had to acquiesce when the time-honored principles we loved were sent to the rear and new doctrines and policies we despised were engrafted on our platform. All this we have had to do to obtain the assistance of Northern Democrats to prevent what was called "Negro supremacy. Let the South ask relief from Wall Street; let it plead for equal and just laws on finance; let it beg for mercy against crushing taxation, and Northern Democracy, with all the coldness, cruelty, and subtlety of Mephistopheles, would hint "Negro rule! Reverse the statement, and we have the method by which the black man was managed by the Republicans. Reminded constantly that the North had emancipated him; that the North had given him the ballot; that the North had upheld him in his citizenship; that the South was his enemy, and meant to deprive him of his suffrage and put him "back into slavery," it is no wonder he has played as nicely into the hands of the Republicans as his former owner has played into the hands of the Northern Democrats. They lived in the same section; won their livelihood by the same pursuits; cultivated adjoining fields on the same terms; enjoyed together the bounties of a generous climate; suffered together the rigors of cruelly unjust laws; spoke the same language; bought and sold in the same markets; classified themselves into

churches under the same denominational teachings; neither race antagonizing the other in any branch of industry; each absolutely dependent on the other in all the avenues of labor and employment; and yet, instead of being allies, as every dictate of reason and prudence and self-interest and justice said they should be, they were kept apart, in dangerous hostility, that the sordid aims of partisan politics might be served! So completely has this scheme succeeded that the Southern black man almost instinctively supports any measure the Southern white man condemns, while the latter almost universally antagonizes any proposition suggested by a Northern Republican. We have, then, a solid South as opposed to a solid North; and in the South itself, a solid black vote against the solid white. That such a condition is most ominous to both sections and both races, is apparent to all. If we were dealing with a few tribes of red men or a few sporadic Chinese, the question would be easily disposed of. The Anglo-Saxon would probably do just as he pleased, whether right or wrong, and the weaker man would go under. But the Negroes number 8., They are interwoven with our business, political, and labor systems. They assimilate with our customs, our religion, our civilization. They meet us at every turn, - in the fields, the shops, the mines. They are a part of our system and they are here to stay. Those writers who tediously wade through census reports to prove that the Negro is disappearing, are the most absurd mortals extant. The Negro is not disappearing. A Southern man who looks about him and who sees how rapidly the colored people increase, how cheaply they can live, and how readily they learn, has no patience whatever with those statistical lunatics who figure out the final disappearance of the Negro one hundred years hence. The truth is, that the "black belts" in the South are getting blacker. The race is mixing less than it ever did. Mulattoes are less common in proportion than during the times of slavery. Miscegenation is further off than God than ever. Neither the blacks nor the whites have any relish for it Both have a pride of race which is commendable, and which, properly directed, will lead to the best results for both. The home of the colored man is chiefly with us in the South, and there he will remain. It is there he is founding churches, opening schools, maintaining newspapers, entering the professions, serving on juries, deciding doubtful elections, drilling as a volunteer soldier, and piling up a cotton crop which amazes the world. II This preliminary statement is made at length that the gravity of the situation may be seen. Such a problem never confronted any people before. Never before did two distinct races dwell together under such conditions. And the problem is, can these two races, distinct in color, distinct in social life, and distinct as political powers, dwell together in peace and prosperity? Upon a question so difficult and delicate no man should dogmatize - nor dodge. The issue is here; grows more urgent every day, and must be met. It is safe to say that the present status of hostility between the races can only be sustained at the most imminent risk to both. It is leading by logical necessity to results which the imagination shrinks from contemplating. And the horrors of such a future can only be averted by honest attempts at a solution of the question which will be just to both races and beneficial to both. Having given this subject much anxious thought, my opinion is that the future happiness of the two races will never be assured until the political motives which drive them asunder, into two distinct and hostile factions, can be removed. There must be a new policy inaugurated, whose purpose is to allay the passions and prejudices of race conflicts and which makes its appeal to the sober sense and honest judgment of the citizen regardless of his color. To the success of this policy two things are indispensable - a common necessity acting upon both races, and a common benefit assured to both - Without injury or humiliation to either. Then, again, outsiders must let us alone. We must work out our own salvation. In no other way can it be done. Suggestions of Federal interference with our elections postpone the settlement and render our task the more difficult. Like all free people, we love home rule, and resent foreign compulsion of any sort. The Northern leader who really desires to see a better state of things in the South, puts his finger on the hands of the clock and forces them backward every time he intermeddles with the question. This is the literal truth; and the sooner it is well understood, the sooner we can accomplish our purpose. What is that purpose? To outline a policy which compels the support of a great body of both races, from those motives which imperiously control human action, and which will thus obliterate forever the sharp and unreasoning political divisions of to-day. The white people of the South will never support the Republican Party. This much is certain. The black people of the South will never support the Democratic Party. This is equally certain. Hence, at the very beginning, we are met by the necessity of new political alliances. As long as the whites remain solidly Democratic, the blacks

will remain solidly Republican. As long as there was no choice, except as between the Democrats and the Republicans, the situation of the two races was bound to be one of antagonism. The Republican Party represented everything which was hateful to the whites; the Democratic Party, everything which was hateful to the blacks. Therefore a new party was absolutely necessary. It has come, and it is doing its work with marvelous rapidity. Why does a Southern Democrat leave his party and come to ours? Because his industrial condition is pitiably bad; because he struggles against a system of laws which have almost filled him with despair; because he is told that he is without clothing because he produces too much cotton, and without food because corn is too plentiful; because he sees everybody growing rich off the products of labor except the laborer; because the millionaires who manage the Democratic Party have contemptuously ignored his plea for a redress of grievances and have nothing to say to him beyond the cheerful advice to "work harder and live closer. Because the same grievances have been presented to the Republicans by the farmer of the West, and the millionaires who control that party have replied to the petition with the soothing counsel that the Republican farmer of the West should "work more and talk less. In exact proportion as the West received the assurance that the South was ready for a new party, it has moved. In exact proportion to the proof we could bring that the West had broken Republican ties, the South has moved. Without a decided break in both sections, neither would move. With that decided break, both moved. The very same principle governs the race question in the South. The two races can never act together permanently, harmoniously, beneficially, till each race demonstrates to the other a readiness to leave old party affiliations and to form new ones, based upon the profound conviction that, in acting together, both races are seeking new laws which will benefit both. On no other basis under heaven can the "Negro Question" be solved First, by enacting the Australian ballot system. Second, by offering to white and black a rallying point which is free from the odium of former discords and strifes. Third, by presenting a platform immensely beneficial to both races and injurious to neither. Fourth, by making it to the interest of both races to act together for the success of the platform. Fifth, by making it to the interest of the colored man to have the same patriotic zeal for the welfare of the South that the whites possess. The guaranty as to the vote will suit the black man better than the Republican platform, because the latter contemplates Federal interference, which will lead to collisions and bloodshed. The Democratic platform contains no comfort to the Negro, because, while it denounces the Republican programme, as usual, it promises nothing which can be specified. It is a generality which does not even possess the virtue of being "glittering. We pledge ourselves to isolate the voter from all coercive influences and give him the free and fair exercise of his franchise under state laws. Now couple this with the financial plank which promises equality in the distribution of the national currency, at low rates of interest. The white tenant lives adjoining the colored tenant. Their houses are almost equally destitute of comforts. Their living is confined to bare necessities.

### 6: Slavery in the United States - Wikipedia

*The negro labor question / by a New York merchant. View full catalog record. Rights: Public Domain, Google-digitized.*

This is a revised version of a previously scanned set of documents placed here 13 years ago. More of these original interviews and discussions were added in based on the un-copyrighted Pioneer Publishers Bulletin of Marxist Studies No. A Negro Organization Second of a series of discussions with C. Plans for the Negro Organization Third and last of a series of discussions with C. It brings together some key documents of the period between and that are scarce and out of print, and provides the background for understanding more recent material that is listed at the end of this collection. Part of what we think and do about the Negro struggle today can be traced to these positive influences from the Russian Bolsheviks, because the founders of the Socialist Workers Party were among the leaders of the Communist Party, until they were expelled in for siding with the Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Communist International. Through these founders, it is part of our heritage of revolutionary theory and practice. In addition, the tendency that eventually became the Socialist Workers Party also had the benefit of consultation and advice from Leon Trotsky, leader of the Left Opposition, from until his death in . Before taking up the contributions of Trotsky included in this collection, a few quotations would be in order. But he was not able, until the last years of his life, when he received asylum in Mexico , to acquire detailed knowledge or close contact with problems and developments in the United States, including the Negro struggle. Following are three early passages from his articles and letters. In , Trotsky wrote a letter answering certain questions asked of him by the revolutionary Negro poet, Claude McKay. Here, for the first of many times, Trotsky placed heavy stress on the racial prejudices of the labor bureaucracy and backward white workers, about which he never minced any words; he emphasized this because he realized it has crucial effects on what the Negro masses think and do. In addition, almost in passing, he showed he understood that only Negroes can lead the Negro struggle. The last part of his letter said: The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, among the Negro slaves of American capitalism. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary Negroes. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action. It will be a tragedy if the Oppositionists are infected even in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most deprived, to the darkest strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negro, whom capitalist society has converted into a pariah, and who must learn to see in us his revolutionary brothers. And this depends wholly upon our energy and devotion to the work. Put them through a number of tests on all the questions of program; wet them under the rain, dry them in the sun and then after a new careful examination, accept one or two. The difference in our relation to the petty bourgeois and to the proletarian groups does not require any explanation. But if the proletarian group works in a district where there are workers of various races, and in spite of this, it consists only of workers of a privileged nationality, I am inclined to regard them with suspicion: Here I am ready to consider beforehand that we are achieving agreement with them, even though this is not yet obvious; because of their whole position they do not strive and cannot strive to degrade anybody, oppress anybody or deprive anybody of his rights. They do not seek privileges and cannot rise to the top except on the road of international revolution. That is, although its members had been expelled by the CP, its aim was to reform the CP "compel it to change its wrong policies and to readmit the CLA members. Its activities were largely determined, defined and limited by this aim. One of these discussions, held on Feb. With that warning it is reprinted here after a few improvements in punctuation and spelling. What this discussion disclosed, on both sides, was a serious concern about the Negro question, coupled with a lack of knowledge about many of its important aspects. After an assessment of the way in which the Stalin-dominated Communist International had betrayed the struggle against the Nazis in Germany, the Left Opposition in abandoned the idea of reforming the Communist parties, and proclaimed the

need to build a new Marxist international and revolutionary parties all over the world. As part of the job of gathering together the forces for a new party in this country, the CLA made a turn away from the Communist Party and its periphery and toward the mass movements and struggles of labor and its allies. By the time the Socialist Workers Party was founded in 1937, some branches were able to report encouraging beginnings of recruitment of Negroes from both the unemployed movement and the plants. But the turning point did not come until the following year, and then it came for two reasons. A revolutionary intellectual, Johnson had a fundamentally sound understanding of the Negro struggle and did a great deal to help others understand it and join it. Unfortunately, Johnson was also politically unstable; he left the party in the Shachtman-Burnham split of 1938, returned in 1939 and left again in 1940. The subjects they discussed were self-determination; the possibility of collaborating with other forces in the creation of an independent Negro organization of action; and the program and plans for such an organization. The transcripts were submitted to the SWP membership for discussion prior to the approaching national convention. They are reprinted here as they appeared in Fourth International, May, 1937; September, 1937; and February, 1938. This was clearly expressed in the major resolution adopted at this session: Hitherto the party has been based mainly on privileged workers and groups of isolated intellectuals. Unless it can find its way to the great masses of the underprivileged, of whom the Negroes constitute so important a section, the broad perspectives of the permanent revolution will remain only a fiction and the party is bound to degenerate. The Committee on Negro Work brought in a program of action which the convention referred to the incoming National Committee for implementation. This resolution was adopted without opposition and is reprinted here. A report for the majority of the committee was presented to the convention by Johnson, and then Mc Kinney and Wright were each given time to present their minority reports. What their differences were can be grasped from the amendments they offered to the resolution on self-determination: Resolution to be adopted by party referendum within a period of sixty days after presentation to the party. All amendments to be referred to the N. Motion by Committee on Negro Work: This resolution should deal with the question as a whole, in all its aspects and from the broadest point of view, and is to serve as the basic document of the party on the question. Such a resolution alone will throw into correct perspective and reduce to its proper proportions the single aspect of the problem represented by the right of self-determination. The convention should recommend further to the incoming N. We have in this question within the American League no noticeable differences of an important character, nor have we yet formulated a program. I present therefore only the views which we have developed in general. How must we view the position of the American Negro: As a national minority or as a racial minority? This is of the greatest importance for our program. The practical application of the latter demand has revealed much opportunism. On the other hand, I acknowledge that in the practical work amongst the Negroes, despite the numerous mistakes, the [Communist] party can also record some achievements. For example, in the Southern textile strikes, where to a large extent the color lines were broken down. He maintains that is the application of the theory of the permanent revolution for America. We proceed from the actual situation: There are approximately 13 million Negroes in America; the majority are in the Southern states black belt. In the Northern states the Negroes are concentrated in the industrial communities as industrial workers, in the South they are mainly farmers and sharecroppers. Do they rent from the state or from private owners? From private owners, from white farmers and plantation owners; some Negroes own the land they till. The Negro population of the North are kept on a lower level — economically, socially and culturally; in the South under oppressive Jim Crow conditions. They are barred from many important trade unions. During and since the war the migration from the South has increased; perhaps about four to five million Negroes now live in the North. The Northern Negro population is overwhelmingly proletarian, but also in the South the proletarianization is progressing. Today none of the Southern states have a Negro majority. This lends emphasis to the heavy migration, to the North. We put the question thus: Are the Negroes, in a political sense, a national minority or a racial minority? The Negroes have become fully assimilated, Americanized, and their life in America has overbalanced the traditions of the past, modified and changed them. We cannot consider the Negroes a national minority in the sense of having their own separate language. They have no special national customs, or special national culture or religion; nor have they any special national minority interests. It is impossible to

speaking of them as a national minority in this sense. It is therefore our opinion that the American Negroes are a racial minority whose position and interests are subordinated to the class relations of the country and depending upon them. To us the Negroes represent an important factor in the class struggle, almost a decisive factor. They are an important section of the proletariat. There is also a Negro petty bourgeoisie in America but not as powerful or as influential or playing the role of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie among the nationally oppressed people colonial. To us the question occurs: Do we want to win the Negroes as allies on such a basis and who do we want to win, the Negro proletariat or the Negro petty bourgeoisie? To us it appears that we will with this slogan win mainly the petty bourgeoisie and we cannot have much interest in winning them as allies on such a basis? We recognize that the poor farmers and sharecroppers are the closest allies of the proletariat but it is our opinion that they can be won as such mainly on the basis of the class struggle. Compromise on this principled question would put the petty bourgeois allies ahead of the proletariat and the poor farmers as well. We recognize the existence of definite stages of development which require specific slogans. The unity of the workers, black and white, we must prepare proceeding from a class basis, but in that it is necessary to also recognize the racial issues and in addition to the class slogans also advance the racial slogans. The [Communist] party leaders maintain that the Negro workers and farmers can be won only on the basis of this slogan. To begin with it was advanced for the Negroes throughout the country, but today only for the Southern states. It is our opinion that we can win the Negro workers only on a class basis advancing also the racial slogans for the necessary intermediary stages of development. In this manner we believe also the poor Negro farmers can best be won as direct allies. In the main the problem of slogans in regard to the Negro question is the problem of a practical program. The point of view of the American comrades appears to me not fully convincing. Our American comrades advance as against this democratic demand, the liberal demand.

### 7: Thomas Carlyle () "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question"

1. Pamphlet on the Negro question and the Negroes in the CP, relating it to the degeneration of the Kremlin. Trotsky: Good. And also would it not be well perhaps to mimeograph this book, or parts of it, and sent it together with other material on the question to the various sections of the party for discussion? 2.

Employers were able to use Blacks as well as different national and non-English-speaking groups as strikebreakers. The "privileged upper strata" of workers, the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky was to write in , "refuse to recognize fellow workers and fighting comrades in the Negroes. However, like most other social democratic parties of the Second International, the international body to which socialist parties all over the world affiliated, the SP was a broad, heterogeneous party committed to an electoral strategy to defeat capitalism. Though the party was not simply one of "dentists and lawyers," as the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky once described it, social reformers and progressives rather than revolutionaries dominated it, and its concern not to alienate white voters in the South and AFL bureaucrats in the North meant that it would not take on racism on a national level. It was not until the rise of the Communist Party in the U. Tens of thousands of German immigrants came to the United States beginning in the late s; many were radicals, socialists and Marxists fleeing Germany after the defeat of the revolutions. Many of these, like Joseph Weydemeyer, the leading Marxist of this period, took up the abolitionist cause, arguing against those utopians and socialists who consider ending slavery a "side issue" to the question of abolishing "wage slavery. In the South, German-language newspapers were the only voice of abolition. Douai attempted to foment a movement to split West Texas away and set it up as a free state. He was eventually forced under threat of death to flee Texas for Philadelphia and Boston, where he continued to work for abolition. In an appeal to workers in in his new paper, *Der Pioneer*, he wrote that if one class of workers can be oppressed, then none can be free: This was a period in which a terrorist counterrevolution was sweeping through the South, and in the North, people of color were being systematically excluded from the skilled trades by the craft unions. Only one of its newspapers spoke of the "great betrayal" of Blacks. The party had a handful of leading Black members, including Peter H. Clark, a Black educator from Cincinnati who, during the national railroad strike, delivered the first widely published appeal for socialism by a Black American. Yet the party made no special efforts to recruit Blacks or to address the issues concerning them. The railroad strike, however, produced some notable moments of unity between Black and white workers. Louis, the railroad strike, which was being led by the party, became a general strike, paralyzing the whole city. Black workers became central to the strike, sending out groups of workers to shut down businesses and factories in the southern part of the city. The press proceeded to engage in an offensive against the strike, saying that Blacks had seized control of the strike. Alarmed at the militancy, the moderate leaders of the party in charge of the strike, some of them racists, called off mass meetings and protests, and actively dissuaded white workers from associating with Black workers. One member of the *St. Louis Times* that the executive committee was shocked by the role played by Blacks in the strike he used a more derogatory term. The moderation and the racism of the strike leaders doomed the strike to defeat. THE MOST serious attempt at creating a labor movement uniting both Black and white workers was the Knights of Labor, which reached its zenith in , the same year as the fight for the eight-hour day that culminated in the Haymarket affair, when Chicago police were killed by a bomb thrown at a labor rally, prompting a massive crackdown and the frame-up and execution of several leaders of the eight-hour movement. Under its slogan, "An injury to one is the concern of all," the Knights of Labor invited into its ranks male workers of all nationalities and color--although, against the resistance of some of its socialist members, it excluded Chinese workers. At its peak in , it may have had more than a million members and, of that, several tens of thousands were African Americans. They were organized into both all-Black and mixed assemblies. In the South, Knights of Labor assemblies were forced to disguise their purpose and post sentries at their meetings in case of attack. The radical press reported that Blacks in the South were flocking to the Knights because it was perceived as the only organization that refused to accept the color line, so that throughout the South, one-third to one-half of the Knights membership were African Americans. The Knights

had two great weaknesses: When the New York delegates of District 49, most of whom were socialists, discovered that a local hotel would not put up their only Black delegate, Frank J. Ferrell, the delegates brought tents and stayed with Black families in Richmond. Unfortunately, most of the white delegates to the Richmond convention stayed at hotels that excluded Blacks, while most Black delegates were forced to stay with African American families. After a barrage of attacks on the Knights from the Southern press, Powderly attempted to mollify Southern critics, writing, "I have no wish to interfere with the social relations which exist between the races of the South. As the Knights went into a tailspin, so did its commitment to equality of all workers. There is one other socialist organization worth mentioning briefly, the Socialist Labor Party SLP under the leadership of Daniel DeLeon, if only because its policy toward the Black question foreshadowed that of the Socialist Party. Formed in , the SLP platform declared its support for "universal and equal rights of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. The working class cannot achieve its ultimate grand aim of freeing itself from exploitation unless it frees itself from all other elements of the community from exploitation. It cannot put an end to its own oppression unless it puts an end to all forms of oppression. This forms the cornerstone of the Marxist position on racial and national oppression. It was not the position held by most leaders of the SP. There, it adopted a resolution acknowledging that Blacks, because of their experience under slavery and recent emancipation, "occupy a peculiar position in the working class. Adams and Edward D. The politically heterogeneous nature of the new party, which included both reformists and revolutionaries, racists and antiracists, was made immediately apparent at the conference. Some delegates proposed its removal out of deference to white SP members in the South. Others stood up and vigorously defended the clause. When the final version resolution came up for a vote, the clause had been removed. He defended lynching in the South, violently opposed immigration, especially Chinese immigration, supported segregated SP locals, and firmly believed in Anglo-Saxon supremacy. He chastised party leader Morris Hillquit for allowing the delegates to the Socialist International congress in Stuttgart in to sway him in favor of a resolution for the rights of immigrant workers. Morris Hillquit, a New York lawyer, soon to become a key leader in the party, said that the party should not single out the "negro race" any more than "Jews or Germans. Our position as socialists and as a party is perfectly plain. We have simply to say: He refused to speak to segregated meetings, denounced race prejudice in the party, and called on socialists to picket the racist film Birth of a Nation, which glorified the Ku Klux Klan. It certainly had revolutionaries within it, and among them, individuals who understood the centrality of the struggle for Black freedom, however. Debates over the race question that sometimes played themselves out in the party press showed that the party contained some genuine internationalists and antiracists. Dennet of Virginia responded that if the SP stood for segregation, then "let it die, for it will be false to the international socialist movement. Caroline Hollingsworth Pemberton, assistant secretary of the Pennsylvania State Committee of the SP, whose uncle was a Confederate officer, wrote articles in that showed an uncommon sensitivity to the relationship between racial oppression and class exploitation. Do the socialists of this country really expect to attract the 10 million Negro proletarians to their ranks with such a policy of indifference? Or do they really think they can succeed in this country with these ten millions of proletarians left on the outside? The Socialist Party must take a definite attitude on the Negro problem, and must not be afraid to proclaim it. And this attitude must include something a good deal more tangible than the promise of "full products of ones labor in the cooperative commonwealth. The attitude of the socialist movement must not only be passively correct and decent, but actively aggressive. Hubert Harrison, a West Indian immigrant who came to New York in , joined the SP in and quickly became a popular lecturer and street speaker. He published a number of articles in the New York Call under the title "The Negro and Socialism," which outlined the political, economic, educational and social oppression of Blacks in the United States, and argued that the party must take up the issues facing Black American--disfranchisement, lynching, job discrimination, inferior housing and education--and begin recruiting them to the party: The Negro worker gets less for his work--thanks to exclusion from the craft unions--than any other worker; he works longer hours as a rule and under worse conditions than any other worker, and his rent in any large city is much higher than that which the white worker pays for the same tenement. In short, the exploitation of the Negro worker is keener than that of any group of white workers in America. Now, the mission of the Socialist Party is to free

the working class from exploitation, and since the Negro is the most ruthlessly exploited working-class group in America, the duty of the party to champion his cause is as clear as day. He noted examples of racism among party members, particularly in the South, and asked, "Southernism or Socialism--which? Is it to be the white half of the working class against the Black half, or all the working class? A "Colored Socialist Club" was formed in Harlem, and at its headquarters on th Street, Hubert Harrison delivered a series of five lectures on Black history to which all were invited. Harrison was criticized by some socialists, among them W. B DuBois, the Black intellectual who was a member of the party between and , on the grounds that forming a Black socialist club smacked of segregation. Harrison argued that the purpose of the club was not to organize Blacks separately, but merely an acknowledgement that Blacks mistrusted the SP, and that an appeal to Blacks must be made by Black SP members. By the following year, the party had withdrawn its funding and the club folded. Stung by the reversal, Harrison continued to lecture for the party. He argued that Blacks would never be attracted to the party "so long as the international socialist movement puts up the bars against any race whether it be yellow or black. The party leadership put Harrison on trial and suspended him after he refused a party directive not to participate in a debate in which he would advocate "industrial action" over "political action. Although its membership never reached beyond the tens of thousands, the IWW was notable because, unlike the SP and the AFL, it put its ideas into practice, taking to heart the Knights of Labor adage, "An injury to one is an injury to all. Our history breaks off here, but a few salient points should be made about later developments. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in created an even greater rifts in the party, and eventually produced a split, out of which the left of the party formed not one, but two communist parties, which only merged on the insistence of the Communist International. Created in , the Communist International brought together revolutionary parties that had broken away from the moderate reformism and pro-imperialist stance of the socialist parties of the Second International like the German Social Democratic Party and the U. Initially the CP suffered from the same theoretical limitations. The founding CP convention in referred to the Black question as "a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage. Communists to take a more revolutionary approach to the Black question. The impact of the Comintern can be seen in the program of the Workers Communist Party in , which recognized the special character of Black oppression: The Negro workers in American are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of a reign of terror--of persecution, rape and murder The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation, and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality Its task will be to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the Black and white workers, and bind them into a solid union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of our common enemy. The Communist Party was the first U. It would take, however, several years of debate, and ultimately a campaign to root racism out of the party, to put these ideas solidly into practice.

### 8: The negro labor question : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive

*VIRGINIA.; The Legislature of Virginia Negro Labor Question in the Piedmont Counties The Richmond Times Receives a Warning Returning Rebel Prisoners.*

Total , In , Massachusetts became the first colony to authorize slavery through enacted law. Colonists came to equate this term with Native Americans and Africans. He had claimed to an officer that his master, Anthony Johnson , himself a free black , had held him past his indenture term. A neighbor, Robert Parker told Johnson that if he did not release Casor, Parker would testify in court to this fact. Under local laws, Johnson was at risk for losing some of his headright lands for violating the terms of indenture. Under duress, Johnson freed Casor. Feeling cheated, Johnson sued Parker to repossess Casor. A Northampton County, Virginia court ruled for Johnson, declaring that Parker illegally was detaining Casor from his rightful master who legally held him "for the duration of his life". England had no system of naturalizing immigrants to its island or its colonies. Since persons of African origins were not English subjects by birth, they were among those peoples considered foreigners and generally outside English common law. The colonies struggled with how to classify people born to foreigners and subjects. In Virginia, Elizabeth Key Grinstead , a mixed-race woman, successfully gained her freedom and that of her son in a challenge to her status by making her case as the baptized Christian daughter of the free Englishman Thomas Key. Her attorney was an English subject, which may have helped her case. He was also the father of her mixed-race son, and the couple married after Key was freed. A child of an enslaved mother would be born into slavery, regardless if the father were a freeborn Englishman or Christian. This was a reversal of common law practice in England, which ruled that children of English subjects took the status of the father. The change institutionalized the skewed power relationships between slaveowners and slave women, freed the white men from the legal responsibility to acknowledge or financially support their mixed-race children, and somewhat confined the open scandal of mixed-race children and miscegenation to within the slave quarters. The Virginia Slave codes of further defined as slaves those people imported from nations that were not Christian. Native Americans who were sold to colonists by other Native Americans from rival tribes , or captured by Europeans during village raids, were also defined as slaves. Ledger of sale of slaves, Charleston, South Carolina , c. Slavery was then legal in the other twelve English colonies. Neighboring South Carolina had an economy based on the use of enslaved labor. The Georgia Trustees wanted to eliminate the risk of slave rebellions and make Georgia better able to defend against attacks from the Spanish to the south, who offered freedom to escaped slaves. James Edward Oglethorpe was the driving force behind the colony, and the only trustee to reside in Georgia. He opposed slavery on moral grounds as well as for pragmatic reasons, and vigorously defended the ban on slavery against fierce opposition from Carolina slave merchants and land speculators. As economic conditions in England began to improve in the first half of the 18th century, workers had no reason to leave, especially to face the risks in the colonies. During most of the British colonial period, slavery existed in all the colonies. People enslaved in the North typically worked as house servants, artisans, laborers and craftsmen, with the greater number in cities. Many men worked on the docks and in shipping. In , more than 42 percent of New York City households held slaves, the second-highest proportion of any city in the colonies after Charleston, South Carolina. The South developed an agricultural economy dependent on commodity crops. Its planters rapidly acquired a significantly higher number and proportion of slaves in the population overall, as its commodity crops were labor-intensive. Before then long-staple cotton was cultivated primarily on the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina. The invention of the cotton gin in enabled the cultivation of short-staple cotton in a wide variety of mainland areas, leading in the 19th century to the development of large areas of the Deep South as cotton country. Tobacco was very labor-intensive, as was rice cultivation. They also worked in the artisanal trades on large plantations and in many southern port cities. Backwoods subsistence farmers, the later wave of settlers in the 18th century who settled along the Appalachian Mountains and backcountry, seldom held enslaved people. Some of the British colonies attempted to abolish the international slave trade , fearing that the importation of new Africans would be disruptive. Virginia bills to that effect were vetoed by the British

Privy Council. Rhode Island forbade the import of enslaved people in . All of the colonies except Georgia had banned or limited the African slave trade by ; Georgia did so in . The great majority of enslaved Africans were transported to sugar colonies in the Caribbean and to Brazil. As life expectancy was short, their numbers had to be continually replenished. Life expectancy was much higher in the U. The number of enslaved people in the US grew rapidly, reaching 4 million by the Census. From until , the rate of natural growth of North American enslaved people was much greater than for the population of any nation in Europe, and it was nearly twice as rapid as that of England. This resulted in a different pattern of slavery in Louisiana, purchased in , compared to the rest of the United States. Although it authorized and codified cruel corporal punishment against slaves under certain conditions, it forbade slave owners to torture them or to separate married couples or to separate young children from their mothers. It also required the owners to instruct slaves in the Catholic faith. The mixed-race offspring creoles of color from such unions were among those in the intermediate social caste of free people of color. The English colonies insisted on a binary system, in which mulatto and black slaves were treated equally under the law, and discriminated against equally if free. But many free people of African descent were mixed race. They officially discouraged interracial relationships although white men continued to have unions with black women, both enslaved and free. The Americanization of Louisiana gradually resulted in a binary system of race, causing free people of color to lose status as they were grouped with the slaves. They lost certain rights as they became classified by American whites as officially "black".

### 9: The Negro Question

*The negro labor question. By a New-York merchant. by New-York merchant. Publication date Topics Slavery -- United States Controversial literature , African.*

*Ford 3000 diesel tractor owners manual Southern traveler: Frederick Law Olmsted's The cotton kingdom David Bohm's world The primary synopsis of Universology and Alwato Gentlewoman etiquette for a lady from a gentleman Renaissance of music. The Southern heritage breakfast and brunch cookbook. Color Harmony: Logos Reel 747. Panola County Certificate English Language Last resort? corporal punishment in schools How to embrace your God-given role as a man or woman Quick reference guide to SQL A naturalist in western China Hilda on the stairs Basic algorithms in java The gardeners London The Leyden Papyrus Search for Life on Mars (Helix Books) Battles with the Sea (Dodo Press) Daylight in the Canyon Sample english 101 research paper Hsc test paper 2014 Beyond bigger leaner stronger Andrew Glendinnings Apple Tree Cookery Book The Guide to Rational Diet (Vegetarian Cookery Series (Vegeta BEN JERRY'S HOMEMADE, INC Functional assessment of academic behavior 2008 acura rdx service manual Through Persia in disguise. Your smart business plan Directory of the American theater, 1894-1971 Queer Stories for Boys Learn to Estimate Psychoanalytic process research strategies Best reeader for android talet Sports Illustrated: Full Throttle Information and communication technologies in tourism 2004 Oracle forms beginner guide Market safety and safeguards Bajaj fans price list 2015*