Abstract:

This paper examines and interprets societal portrayals of race relations between former African American slaves and the general white population in the 50 years after the Civil War. The promotion of legal racial equality is demonstrated in legislation through examining the Civil Rights Acts of the 1800s and the portrayal of legal equality in media outlets. This examination eventually reveals the evolution of the revocation of legal equality as social inequalities are promoted through marketing and media avenues. Degrading portrayals of African Americans in marketing and media caused social inequalities to permeate social opinions leading to a lasting acceptance of the subjugation of the African American community.

Essay on Research Strategies:

With such an extensive project to undertake, and meticulous instructions in previous classes on how to prepare for such research, the History database on the Tarver website was my first destination. In order to compile a well-balanced and useful bibliography I knew my main resources needed to be valid and varied. HarpWeek, electronic access to Harper’s Weekly found on Tarver Library’s website under History Databases was my most used resource. I also used America: History and Life (Ebsco) extensively for finding most of my scholarly articles.

My research was broken down into three parts. The first part consisted of finding evidence to support the notion of legal racial equality. Along with the legislation, I searched for media coverage, depictions of the events, and responses to the legislation that supported a racially equal mindset and by different people. I took to defining the legislation first, and then turned to news outlets Harper’s Weekly, to convey popular opinion on these legislative acts. I used political cartoons, depictions of events, and writings about legislation, for their tone,
comments, and general positive feedback on legal equality. I compared depictions of legislation supporting equality from the 1860s to that of the 1870s, when Reconstruction ended, to demonstrate the change in attitude towards legal racial equality preceding legislation that stripped those equal rights.

The second part of my research is pivotal to my paper because it provides a bridge from legal racial equality to social inequality. I searched for instances where legislative acts that promoted legal racial equality were covered in the media in a way that provided connotations linking legal equality with social equality and in a way that reflected negatively on legal equality of the races. I had to find evidence of society treating legal equality as social equality and their attempts to reject that possibility. I needed print media articles with contradictory notions of legal and social equality and I wanted visual representation of acts of legal equality being taken as forced social equality. I paired this with research on Jim Crow laws, their reach and their success as seen through print media, and it helped prove that the white population was unready for socially equal ideologies. Harpweek provided a great database to search key words or phrases in articles which I found helpful, but mostly I would go to the time frame that these legislative acts were proposed or passed and look for write ups, along with pictures or responses.

In the third part, I wanted to prove that social inequality was perpetuated in media, and I had to connect different media outlets to advertising and marketing. I also wanted to thoroughly define how advertising and marketing impacted society. To clearly illustrate the degradation of the African American character through marketing and media, and it’s permeation into society, I had to find evidence in print media, academic articles circulated at the time, advertising examples, and marketing figureheads that continuously promoted the subjugation of the black population during and after the granting and revocation of legal equalities. I used mainly
advertising examples and marketing figureheads, to convey how popular this type of marketing and these products were in society, and to show how they affected social opinions. I relied heavily on books for this portion of the research. Of all of the books I used, only one was not available in the library. In fact, I had such a difficult time tracking this book down in any library that I just gave up and bought a copy. The books were sectioned off into different marketing arenas that I would then do additional research in within Ebsco, if needed, to substantiate or elaborate on claims.

All in all, it was an extensive effort that spanned across many arenas of study. My first two drafts included entire webpage addresses so to better keep up with my sources. This also provided me with quick and easy access to the web pages. Since I did most of my research off campus, I had to log on to my MyMercer account to access everything but that really was no hindrance to my paper. I am especially pleased with and thankful for the Tarver Library's broad resources.
Racial Perceptions Promoted in Legislation, Media, and Marketing After the Civil War

The American Civil War marked the beginning of a shift in society at large. The Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 drastically changed the political and social fabric of an already crumbling Southern lifestyle dependent upon slave labor and introduced a new perspective of racial interaction to the North. The United States of America, long plagued by the dark underbelly of moral depravity brought on by perpetual slavery since colonial times, remained a country steeped in tradition. This tradition fell in 1863 with the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery in the South. After the 13th Amendment to the Constitution in 1865, the nation as a whole faced, for the first time since its conception, a future without slave labor on which to depend. This begs the question of how to properly rehabilitate the freed slaves into white society and moreover, how to acclimate white society to the destabilization of their culture by the newly freed population. The attempts to merge African Americans into a predominantly white society from the mid-1800s to the early 20th century show clearly in the use of literature, articles, radio, music albums, product advertisements, minstrel shows, and film. From 1863 to 1913 the aforementioned mediums present clear pictures of political struggles taking place in the midst of burgeoning capitalism and reveal the formation of an evolving racial stigmatism towards the freed African American people. The Civil Rights Acts of 1866, 1870, 1871, and 1875 championed legal racial equality in the 1860s through 1870s. Tracking the reversal of those initial gains in legal equality through examining political power struggles and legislation reveals the systematic destruction of a racially equal mindset through socially unequal ideals perpetuated through print culture and marketing portrayals of African Americans. Subjugation of African Americans through media and advertising provided means to socially segregate the races after the American Civil War and continue that segregation.
The Emancipation Proclamation brought about tumultuous responses from a variety of people. An illustration in *Harper's Weekly* depicts the anticipation of the ordeal as white slave owners on horses use whips and swords in their attempt to herd a never ending line of slaves further south in order to avoid the slaves escaping or being taken in congruence with the edict.\(^1\) (See Appendix A, Image 1) The picture shows slave families with young children clinging together, attempting to evade the angry advancements of the herders.\(^2\) In a personal response to the picture, a reader reveals the reality of Southern slave owners running their slaves south with a story of catching trespassers who “were detained as prisoners” until they “owned up to running off ‘niggers’...southward in chains, to avoid losing them under the Emancipation Proclamation.”\(^3\) On the flip side, many illustrations depict sympathetic responses to the newly freed slaves’ travelling in masses towards freedom. One illustrator drew the journey of these freed slaves as they traveled in a dilapidated, overcrowded wagon, with only themselves and their meager possessions.\(^4\) (See Appendix A, Image 2) The journey, as the illustrator A.R. Waud describes, comes across as “very touching” as the freed slaves are “giving up all the little ties that cluster about home, such as it is in slavery, and trustfully throwing themselves on the mercy of the Yankees, in the hope of getting permission to own themselves and keep their children from the auction-block”\(^5\) Slaves far and wide from the South braved the fear and uncertainty of a new life to escape the horror of slavery while articles, illustrators, and editors captured and spread their journeys through the pages of their media outlets to convey to the world their bravery and extend encouragements for the future. These sympathetic depictions of African American society

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2. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 78.
constitute the deceptive positive beginning of a hard, long, uphill battle for accurate and equal racial depiction in media and marketing.

The Abolitionist Movement, an organization dedicated to the “immediate emancipation of all slaves and the end of racial discrimination and segregation,” continued on after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, pushing for the complete end of slavery within the United States.6 The organization thrust ideals of racial equality into the public realm with publications such as William Lloyd Garrison’s, *The Liberator*, “the longest running abolitionist newspaper.”7 The paper pushed “abolition through social, political, commercial, and consumer practices” which ultimately translated into “the need to make a living in a capitalist economy without violating the evangelical morality of the mid-nineteenth century.” This connection of capitalism with morality proved essential as Garrison demonized the practice of slavery throughout the 19th century.8 Advertisements in the paper attempted to create a parallelism between consumer choices and morality by exposing the reader to ordinary everyday items and products alongside anti-slavery sentiments. By distributing articles to multiple and various periodicals, the *Liberator* gained notoriety in the South as “proof of the Yankee abolitionist threat” which led to responses from the Southern population and consequently reprints from Northern counterparts circulated by means of exchanges rather than subscriptions leading to a large and extensive audience.9 The abolitionists accomplished their goal when in 1865 the 13th Amendment came about, but Garrison’s paper also demonstrated the importance and power of media and marketing as it related to constructing the perception of social concepts and creating paradoxes and paradigms of social behavior.

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8 Ibid., 727-728.
9 Ibid., 730.
In 1865 the Civil War came to a close and the 13th Amendment proclaiming "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" passed in Congress on January 31. The 13th Amendment released an additional 831,780 slaves from bondage to join the initial 3,063,392 that fled after the Emancipation Proclamation. As Harper’s Weekly aptly implies in an article, the amendment also served as "A Condition of Pardon" for the "repentant rebels" of the Civil War. The entire tone of the article insinuates a deep regard for the African American population. The article describes the freed slaves as a “mild and docile people; but...undoubtedly shrewder and more intelligent than the lower class of the whites.” The author goes on to promise that African Americans will “never again be reduced to personal bondage” and even calls the freedmen an “important political element in the country.” This reporting demonstrates the initial acceptance of the incorporation of the black population into society. The article expresses the race as above some of the white population and while not implying entry into the upper echelon of white society, it does reflect ideals of social equality, or comingling, regardless of race. The article also directly states freed slaves serve important roles as citizens especially within the political sphere, indicating a sense of legal equality and importance. The article remains one example of the many early portrayals of the African American community in the media that depicts a sense of compassion towards the African American race as a whole and recognizes their potential within the government.

The year 1865 also denotes the beginning of Presidential Reconstruction. After Lincoln’s assassination, Andrew Johnson, the Democratic party Vice President, took the helm of

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
Reconstruction as President of the United States. The idea of Reconstruction arose from Republican sentiments to restructure the economy of the South towards industrialism; however, as a Democrat from the South, Johnson clashed heavily with the Radical Republican view held by the majority of Congress. “Alone of all the southern senators,” Johnson had “remained in his seat at Washington” while his state, Tennessee, seceded from the Union.\textsuperscript{15} Despite his loyalty to the federal government, Johnson remained a true southerner and advocate of state’s rights throughout his presidential career, going so far as to veto the Civil Rights Act of 1866 as he considered it an “unwarranted invasion” of states’ rights and to advise southern States against ratifying the 14\textsuperscript{th} Amendment which gave the black population citizenship.\textsuperscript{16} Although impeached, Johnson remained in office and hoped to become the Democratic candidate for the next election, further proving his political alignment and ideas greatly deviated from the Republican goals of the late president, Lincoln.\textsuperscript{17}

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 states “that all persons born in the United States… are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude…shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States.”\textsuperscript{18} By defining the terms of citizenship, most all freed slaves born in the United States became legal participants in the government and legal residents of the United States of America. A Harper’s Weekly article from 1866 calls the act the “corner-stone of enduring peace and Union,” revealing the notion that the general idea of legal equality parallels the development of the United States into a better place.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, 368.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 368, 382.
\textsuperscript{18} United States Congress. Civil Rights Act of 1866. 14 Stat. 27-30, April 9, 1866.
\textsuperscript{19} The Civil Rights Bill,” Harper’s Weekly, April 21, 1866.
An illustration in Harper's Weekly titled “Outside the Galleries of the House of Representatives during the Passage of the Civil Rights Bill” depicts men, both black and white, cheering and dancing, while another frame displays an image of women waving handkerchiefs and rejoicing at the news.  

(See Appendix A, Image 3) The right of citizenship, or the implementation of legal equality, along with the right to vote, rationally implies mutual inclusivity with social equality, as seen in the mingling of the races in the aforementioned illustration. Over the years and especially by 1875, citizenship, in the minds of the white population, inspired completely different conclusions of equality than those originally posed immediately after the Civil War. While initially regarding legal equality as a step in the right direction, opinions changed. These changes in opinions led to a white population that projected socially unequal ideals onto hard won legal equalities, trying to negate the legitimacy of legal equality, necessitating the Civil Rights Acts of 1870, 1871, and 1875. Legal equality posed a threat to the social paradigm of the time because the rational implications legal equality contained led to equal rights within social standards. This deduction disrupted the current way of life in a way that would inject the black population into the social capacity of the white population’s everyday lives. In reality, introducing freed slaves into white cultural created too great a deviance in ingrained social hierarchies, which at the time constituted a major part of the social structure, and proved hazardous to many whites’ comfortable way of life.

Ulysses S. Grant served two terms of presidency, from 1869 to 1877, and oversaw the passage of the 15th Amendment, guaranteeing black males the right to vote, and the Civil Rights Act of 1870, or the Enforcement Acts, enabling the federal government to take measures to protect the black populations’ right to vote; however, he also endured running a country plagued

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by uprisings, new political developments, and the need for martial law interference.\textsuperscript{21} By the
time Grant’s second term ended, Congress sat a total of eight black members. Their presence in
the upper strata of the legal realm demonstrates socially equal possibilities arising from legal
equalities.\textsuperscript{22} The South demonstrates an opposite yet revealing reaction implicating a connection
between legal equality and social equality when “Georgia colored members are expelled from
the Legislature” in the late 1860s and black codes established to preserve that state.\textsuperscript{23} Overall,
the connection between legal equality and social equality did not go unnoticed by the larger
population of the United States, nor was the connection received well, if at all, in many parts of
the United States after people started to notice.

In the very same year as the ratification of the 13\textsuperscript{th} Amendment an organization by the
name of The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) sprouted out of the seeds of racism in the mountains of
Tennessee. The KKK rode to dominance as masked crusaders of southern ideology and largely
contributed to the turmoil of Grant’s presidency. Only four years after the Civil Rights Act of
1866, Congress and Grant felt the need to enact two bills directly aimed at the southern based
terroristic party in an attempt to stop the violence committed towards African Americans and
their sympathizers for attempting to exercise their rights as citizens.\textsuperscript{24} The Civil Rights Acts of
1870 and 1871 both attempted to mitigate some of the damage the Ku Klux Klan was inflicting
throughout the nation. In 1870, Congress made it clear that all citizens possessed the right to vote
in an election “without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” and all
should be extended “equal opportunity to perform [any] prerequisite, and to become qualified to

\textsuperscript{21} “The Racial Views of Ulysses S. Grant,” \textit{The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education}, The JBHE Foundation, Inc,
No. 66 (Winter 2009/2010);
Quintard Taylor, Jr., “United States History: Timeline: 1800-1900” \textit{University of Washington}
\textsuperscript{22} Taylor, Jr., “Timeline”.
\textsuperscript{23} “The Old Mammy” \textit{Harper’s Weekly}, October 3, 1868: 627.
Broadcasting Corporation.
vote. In 1871, Congress issued a direct threat to any and all persons, especially the KKK, through way of Civil Rights Act 1871, ordering that imprisonment and fines will come to those who “conspire together to overthrow, or to put down, or to destroy by force the government of the United States, ...or by force, intimidation, or threat to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States.”

These acts made attempts to protect the legal equality of the black population as well as their white sympathizers and came about from complaints made from state governments about the terrorizing efforts of the KKK. The domestic violence caused outcries from local authorities as well as individuals to the point that “in...South Carolina—the Governor...appealed to the President for aid,” forcing the federal government to categorize the attacks as “emergencies in which even the fundamental law must be disregarded to save both itself and the country.” These enactments met resistance in all forms. The violence eventually took its toll in some regions and began to become a popular topic within the media. So popular, in fact, a shift can be seen in popular portrayal of the African American community. This shift is seen through the sympathetic view of the African American population turning into a more impartial one. The realities of slave suffering become “unspeakable horrors of slavery” and the focus moves from the awful effect of slavery on the African American population to slavery’s “degrading, demoralizing, dehumanizing effect upon the master class” as seen through the actions of the KKK.

28 Ibid.
Thomas Nast depicts a gory scene in which a black man lies dead of a head wound while the caption reads, “One Vote Less - Richmond Whigs.”\(^{29}\) (See Appendix A, Image 4) The display is meant to portray the KKK, their sympathizers, and their political allies as brutal murderers; however, the callousness of the presentation, with no regards or respect towards the lost life, indicates a dehumanizing aspect towards the portrayal of African Americans in the news. Whether the illustrator condones or refutes the action itself is of less importance than how he conveyed the situation. The callousness lies within the tact of portraying the ugliness of racial disputes. This man, most likely a father, brother, and uncle, is diminished to a tool used by the media in an attempt to express the depravity of the situation. No regard is given towards respect for human decency. The man’s life is reduced to an example of an act of politics, one that does not make him a martyr but a small side note in an ongoing political power struggle. The change of position in the country on the idea of racial legal equality is apparent from 1866 to 1875. When the Civil Rights Act of 1875 came about, calling for “equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government…to mete out equal and exact justice to all,” the white population of the United States reacted very differently to the news than it did a decade before.\(^{30}\)

_Harper’s Weekly_ borrowed a story from the _New York Times_ about a “negro woman...[who] took a front seat by a lady” in a church frequented by only whites some short time after The Civil Rights Act of 1875 passed in Congress.\(^{31}\) (See Appendix A, Image 5) The African American woman is written as a “negro woman” compared to her white counterpart who is called a “lady” and in the scene depiction by Nast, the African American woman is a wolf, the white church attendees are sheep, and the pastor is the herder. This short article exemplifies the white population’s attitude towards sharing space with the African American community. Whether


Nast is mocking the ordeal or not, he gives the idea a distinct imagery where the African American woman is the “big bad wolf,” dressed in grandma’s clothes attempting to trick her way into church. Despite Nast’s allusion to Psalm 5:10-12 and his attempts to parallel the biblical situation to political happenings, the black population is portrayed as an unwanted invasion into society regardless of legal equality. The “Pure White” shepherd cancelled the service rather than include one African American in the church congregation. Conveyed in a way unhelpful to the African American plight, the picture dehumanizes African Americans in the story by turning the woman into an unpleasant animal known to steal and eat sheep out of a shepherd’s flock. The woman, pictured as a threat to the current way of life for the white population, lacks societal permission to associate herself with the white population in any way. The picture does very little other than paints blacks in society in an unflattering light. In 1866, illustrations of celebration came out in the wake of measures taken to ensure legal equality. In 1875, passive aggressive biblical verses appear in an overall depiction of the widening chasm in social inequality. In only nine short years, the legal equality of races became just another stipulation on paper. In reality, the white population considered legal equality too much of an opportunity for social equality and effectively attempted to negate the legal rights of the African American community.

Other instances demonstrate the change of opinion on racial equality from The Civil Rights Act of 1866 to the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Wendell Phillips, a prominent lawyer of his time, is quoted in Harper’s Weekly saying, “every white adult in the Southern States to-day believes that this is a white man’s government, and although he will not attempt to fight the flag again, he will try to write over it.” Political disagreements in Congress became a factor of public opinion. “The Trouble has Commenced – A Tale of Anxiety,” a scene drawn by Thomas

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32 Ibid.
Nast in an attempt to show political discord in 1875 within Congress, displays caricatures of politicians attempting to restrain a fellow enthusiastic party member, who is depicted as a ferocious dog attacking civil rights.\textsuperscript{34} (See Appendix A, Image 6) A banner in the depiction states “gentlemen you must not let your wild animals loose till next session” insinuating a change in the sentiments within a Congress not likely to support civil rights in the near future.\textsuperscript{35} When comparing that image to the one of “The Lobby of the House Of Representatives at Washington during the Passage of the Civil Rights Bill” in 1866, there is quite a stark difference in the politics of the day and its representation.\textsuperscript{36} (See Appendix A, Image 7) The lobby possesses an aura of congeniality while the people in it show no signs of aggression and there is an African American man, drawn smartly in nice attire, in polite discussion with a group of white men. Less than a decade separated the two depictions of the Civil Rights Bills but, during that time, Southern Democrats rejoined the United States political system with a vengeance and began stirring racial relations controversy. In effect, socially unequal ideologies leftover from pre-Civil War eras eventually led to the complete deconstruction of legal equality.

The Jim Crow Laws, or black codes, began rising in popularity soon after the 13\textsuperscript{th} Amendment, but once the Civil Rights Act of 1875 passed, states’ rights activists turned increasingly and heavily to this alternative route to continuing the oppression of the African American community. In a political cartoon titled, “The Hour of Martyrdom has Come,” an unnamed politician sits in a chair physically upset, reading over the Civil Rights Act and a caption at the bottom says, “Now I must marry my daughter to a Nigger.”\textsuperscript{37} (See Appendix A, Image 8) Obviously displayed in the cartoon to represent backhanded politics, there is a card in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Thomas Nast, “The Trouble has Commenced – A Tale of Anxiety” Harper’s Weekly, February 27, 1875.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{36} “The Lobby of the House Of Representatives at Washington during the Passage of the Civil Rights Bill,” Illustration. Harper’s Weekly, April 28, 1866.
\end{itemize}
the back pocket of the man with the words, “Home Rule,” indicating that states still dictate certain privileges and would use states’ rights and their associated authority to find ways around directly adhering to the Civil Rights Acts. \(^{38}\) A bottle of “Comfort” lies on the table, indicating that the white populations need not worry about having to associate themselves with or refer to themselves as equals to the African American people and can relax knowing that state’s rights will prevail in keeping them safe from having to interacting with former slaves. \(^{39}\) To the white population, legal equality directly led to social equality and unfortunately the white masses proved unready to face the reality of a socially equal black population. Perpetuated through media portrayals of African Americans in legislature and black codes, these socially unequal ideologies eventually led to the complete deconstruction of the legal equality.

Jim Crow laws rose in popularity because of the conscious attempts made by the white population at maintaining the status quo of white superiority. These attempts came in the form of negating legal equalities in the name of keeping social inequality. In 1868, an article in *Harper’s Weekly* had this to say about the South on the subject of black codes:

> “Their present policy is the absolute degradation of a third of the population of the Southern States into a condition as near that slavery as possible. Is this the policy of justice, of humanity, of common honor, of prosperity and peace? Is this the policy which the nation that emancipated those slaves proposes to support? Maine and Vermont say, ‘No; we are for Grant, Colfax, and Peace.’”

By 1875, politicians’ views towards legal equality drastically changed. General Benjamin Butler, a man from Massachusetts who exerted “efforts on behalf of the Civil Rights Bill” in Congress and happily considered himself “a friend to the colored man” wrote *Harper’s Weekly* regarding

\(^{38}\) Ibid.

\(^{39}\) Ibid.

the privileges of “colored men” in privately owned drinking saloons. 41 On the topic, he said that he is “willing to concede...that the white race may have at least this one superior privilege to the colored man,” for he wishes that no colored man would even enter a drinking saloon and the best that the white men can do is to keep him from drinking, which is solely in the African American population’s best interest. 42 He goes on to explain how the Civil Rights Bill encompasses no jurisdiction over privately owned and operated businesses, which leaves a gaping hole in the argument for legal racial equality. A politician, who actively engages in arguing for the rights of the African American people on paper, assumes no responsibility to extend that right beyond the public domain of government rights, which leaves the black community at the mercy of a white population disinclined to go beyond accepting the black communities’ roles as second class citizens. After 1875, the so called friends of the African Americans in the U.S. political system slowly dwindled away. In fact, while the 44th Congress under President Grant boasted eight back Congressmen, by the 46th Congress only one black member clung to the title, forcing great regressions in terms of legal equality by having legal issues at the mercy of the white population. 43 Social inequality was congruent with idea of legal equality which unfortunately undermined the whole point of equality before the law and its logical progression into social equality.

While newspapers, such as Harper’s Weekly, show how the public opinion of racial relations form from the portrayal of politics in illustrations and articles in circulation on a weekly or regular basis, the scholarly community evaluated these public opinions and political choices through journals and papers such as the American Political Science Review that circulated less often but fairly regularly. By the twentieth century, racial relations became a topic discussed in

42 Ibid.
43 Taylor, “U.S. History Timeline.”
many forms of the media and in more ways than the obvious. After 1875, Jim Crow laws became extremely varied and widespread. Some people wrote articles to simply clarify the extensive rules and regulations of some of the Jim Crow laws. In the *American Political Science Review*, Gilbert Stevenson dictated that “it is not the purpose of this article to take sides and discuss the justice or injustice of the laws, or the partiality or impartiality of their execution, but rather to examine the provision of the laws, and... to summarize the court decisions on the different sections of the law”\(^{44}\) While, Jim Crow laws became prominent after the Civil Rights Act of 1875, laws separating the white population from African Americans were seen as early as 1865, the year the Civil War ended.\(^{45}\) These laws spread across the U.S., ranging from Texas to Florida, all the way to Massachusetts and some articles chose simply to clarify the rights of an African American in each.\(^{46}\) These seemingly unbiased recounts of the privileges exerted in each state towards the African American population degraded the humanity of the African American people by treating them as no better than pets needing to follow separate rules when travelling. Even the common name for black codes, the Jim Crow laws, originates from a form of degrading white entertainment, funny for its debasement of the black community.\(^{47}\) “Thomas D. Rice, the first negro minstrel” painted his face black and created a persona based off “a dramatic song and negro dance called Jim Crow.”\(^{48}\) In describing the origins of Jim Crow, Stephenson, a writer for *The American Political Science Review* in the early 1900s, calmly explains that the name Jim Crow was first used in Massachusetts as a name for “the separate railroad car set apart for the use of negroes” and with origins in the minstrel show the name has “a more dignified origin.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., 181.
\(^{46}\) Stephenson, 181-183.
\(^{47}\) Ibid, 181.
\(^{48}\) Ibid.
than...[comparing] the color of the negro with that of a crow.\textsuperscript{49} Such laissez-faire examination of the black community eventually negates the black populations’ legal equality, creating a place “in which the whole spirit of slavery was maintained” by legal subjugation eliminating a possible social rehabilitation of pre-Civil War ideals.\textsuperscript{50}

The radical changes in the white populations’ perceptions of the African American community in the decade after the Civil War raised questions about exactly “why” and “how” this shift away from legal racial equality occurred, especially in relation to ideas about social equality between the races. For a society seemingly on the cusp of equality in the 1860s, at least on paper, the time afterwards proved to be “a period of volatility and uncertainty” for the American people.\textsuperscript{51} The intermediate period of active progress towards racial equality can be explained as a north versus south conflict that “retarded the development of an overarching conception of collective white identity” which in turn constituted a “brief time... [in which] many northerners saw the freedpeople as both dependents and allies against their former enemies.”\textsuperscript{52} This helps explain the strides in legal equality brought about by and maintained for a brief period of time through a system run by Northern Republicans; however, the competing perceptions and realities of legal and social racial equality butted against each other at “a time when technological change made the cheap production of visual imagery possible and the development of a mass market provided a selling incentive – selling through advertising”.\textsuperscript{53} A consumer culture born out of the increasing importance of buying evolved into defining oneself through material objects. Just as slave owners could “remake themselves,” economically and

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50} “A Frank Abandonment” Harper’s Weekly, November 7, 1868: 707.
\textsuperscript{52} Hale, Making Whiteness, 5.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 7.
socially through the “image of the slaves they bought,” post war citizens defined themselves through consumerism.\footnote{Walter Johnson, \textit{Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market}, (Harvard: 1999), 15.} This consumerism worked because the “commercialization of their racist representation could be turned into white profit”.\footnote{Hale, \textit{Making Whiteness}, 150.} Over time, the persistence of social inequality within media outlets, fueled by white profit, led to the perpetual subjugation of the black population with socially unequal ideologies overtaking and redefining legal equality, effectively dissolving legal rights and any chances for social advancement.

Literature based on the South became extremely popular after the Civil War because American “curiosity about the south…created a niche market for northern publishers.”\footnote{Karen Cox, \textit{Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture}, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 108.} Books such as Joel Chandler Harris’s \textit{Uncle Remus} and \textit{Gabriel Tolliver}, Thomas Dixon Jr.’s Klan Trilogy, and Thomas Nelson Page’s \textit{Red Rock}, contributed widespread and widely read information on the South, most of which presented an “imagined world” or at least an imagined take on the Old South.\footnote{Ibid., 109.} Joel Chandler Harris gave the world “the most popular Negro characters to American fiction,” but failed at attempting to sympathize with the reconstruction era black population.\footnote{Theodore Gross, \textit{The Negro in the Literature of Reconstruction}, (Clark Atlanta University) 22.1, 7.} In \textit{Gabrielle Tolliver}, “the average Negro…he depicted as misguided children controlled by Republicans,” revealing his lack of understanding and empathy for the plight of the African American people.\footnote{Ibid.} During the fragile state after Presidential Reconstruction, Theodore Gross explains the role of the black man in literature:

> “From the point of view of most Southern authors, he was villain or saint, depending on whether or not he actively asserted his rights as freedman. If he demanded equal opportunity as a newly enfranchised citizen, he was pictured as partner in the Republican conspiracy to undermine the congenial race relations that had existed in ante-bellum times; if on the other hand, he desired to perpetuate his role as servant, he was drawn as a contented Negro who enjoyed

status in Southern society, gained the admiration of his kindly masters, and in turn recognized the natural and proper supremacy of the white man.\textsuperscript{60}

This trend continued throughout literature about the South with Page’s condescension of the black race as a whole and Thomas Dixon, Jr.’s open advocacy against racial equality in legislation and society to express “the need for racial purity.”\textsuperscript{61} These works circulated and northern publishers marketed the works as true to form as possible “even when those portrayals included racist caricatures” because not doing so “meant rejection at the literary market place.”\textsuperscript{62} Publishers sold and advertised what they thought the consumers wanted, which at that time was “authors urg[ing] reconciliation” and attempting to “cement bonds of good fellowship between the sections.”\textsuperscript{63} Publishers, so caught up in the consumerism lifestyle of the day and age, focused more on lining their pockets than furthering the morality of a legally and socially equal racial mindset. Their buy-in to the social subjugation of the African American community reflects Northern sympathies shifting away from notions of legal equality in order to find a new and similar status quo to that of pre-Civil War eras, perpetuating slavery in every way but the actual title.

Music proved another influential sphere in which to market African Americans. Joel Chandler Harris released songs by “Uncle Remus” in popular magazine publications. The songs imitate the cadence and storylines popular with slave folk songs. In \textit{Century Magazine}, a section called “Uncle Remus’s Dance-Songs” presents a song titled “Rabbit-Tum-A-Hash” and includes lyrics along the lines of “Nigger, he chunk up de fire en grin” and “Oh, do run yer, Miss Sooky

\textsuperscript{60} Gross, 6.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} Cox, \textit{Dreaming of Dixie}, 108; Gross, 6.
\textsuperscript{63} Gross, 6.
Blueskin, You forgot fer ter put dat seas’nin’ in.” While marketable with a catchy tune, the song ultimately mocks the struggles of the African American in slavery while publicizing a past many freed slaves would gladly forget as many remained “self-conscious about the cultural heritage of slavery.” Other songs have insensitive titles such as “Mammy’s Kinky-Headed Coon” that degrades the culture of African Americans. A common method of song writing at the time placed stereotypes into the lyrics and included degrading slang to refer to black people. “All Coons Look Alike to Me,” a 1896 hit, stereotypes black women as superficial gold diggers, only chasing men with money. The song implies loose sexual moral principles with lines like “All coons look alike to me, I’ve got another beau, you see,” insinuating that the woman keeps more than one man and setting a standard of racial profiling. The covers for the sheet music are often degrading with exaggerated features and coloring. (See Appendix, Image 9) This standard made it easier to forget about associating notions of legal equality with social change and reinforced social inequality by holding on to old notions of a subservient and lower class of people.

As mentioned before, William Lloyd Garrison understood the power of consumerism and associating products with morals and lifestyles. This type of advertising rose rapidly in popularity in the late 1800s and early 1900s. “Women’s magazines were the most popular American magazines” by the early 1900s, but Harper’s Weekly and Century Magazine served to compose a better-rounded picture of American consumerism for in addition to everyday items with positive connotations to the Old South, there also existed degrading ads of toys and the like.

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65 Grace Hale, Making Whiteness, 19.
66 Cox, Dreaming of Dixie, 14.
67 Ibid.
that demean the African America people in design as well as marketing. An ad in Harper's Weekly for an “Automaton Negro Dancer,” depicts a toy with a handle which when pressed makes the body move. (See Appendix A, Image 10) Despite the already degrading position of a black dancer on a stick-like toy that is controlled by a child, most likely white, the picture conveys the African American male in shabby clothes with a silly smile on his face. The happy disposition denotes an obvious slur on the enlightenment of the African American perceptions of racial relations. This happy-go-lucky smile conveys a sense of African American inferiority and insinuates a lack of education or understanding by expressing a simple attitude towards life. The product is a toy where white consumers control a black man dancing. The product cannot be a more obvious metaphor revealing larger implications of the portrayals of the black population in popular culture. Another example in toys representing real life social connotations comes in the form of an “Aunt Jemima Climbing Doll.” This toy, “modeled on a popular climbing monkey toy” is a direct analogy for the barbaric and inferior social perceptions of the former slaves.

Advertisements like these in the media promoted and instilled the delusional properties of white supremacy based on physical characteristics and specific dispositions of African Americans. This set back and mitigated strides in equality before the law by creating physical products meant to convey white superiority and control over former slaves’ lives.

Minstrel shows concentrated on exaggerating the African American way of life and employed the use of black face, where white men painted themselves with black paint to portray black men, and then proceeded to act out comedy routines that dealt with the African American population. “Black face minstrelsy was characterized by racial mockery, trading on stereotypes

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69 Ibid, 41.
70 “Automaton Negro Dancer” Harper’s Weekly, December 17, 1864, 814.
71 Kimberly Wallace Sanders, Mammy: A Century of Race Gender and Southern Memory (Anne Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011) Figure 16.
72 Ibid.
of the African slave” and provided a “vehicle for whites to ridicule African-Americans.” This “highly popular and lucrative form of entertainment based on mockery and the defense of a racist status quo” not only provided entertainment on stages in public venues, but also private venues and on the radio. In its entirety this form of entertainment exercises a purely racial agenda to degrade the African American population. The continuation of this exercise into the era of radio indicates the need for the continuation of the suppression African American culture. The portrayal of the black population in entertainment and media avenues “have always been important to blacks, because they are aware that... [the portrayals] determine how they feel about themselves and their race and how others perceive them as well.” So while minstrel shows are spread and perpetuated the inferiority of the black population, African Americans were taking these social projections to heart as they realize how detrimental they are to the overall race as a whole in their journey for legal and social equality. This form of subjugation, while not slavery in name, also damaged the mind and spirit of the black population while, once again, white capitalists took advantage of immoral degradation of a whole race.

Products with marketing figureheads of the African American race began to become appealing to manufacturers around the late 19th century. At that time “the black mammy and uncle caricature appealed to white consumers nationwide, because images often conveyed blacks as loyal employees who willingly took care of their white employers.” The tradition of slaves in the kitchen preparing food and taking care of their masters translated directly to the food industry as seen in some of the popular products that came about. The uncle caricature of Rastus,

74 Ibid., 38.
75 Cox, Dreaming of Dixie, 59.
77 Cox, Dreaming of Dixie, 39.
The Cream of Wheat Chef, cropped up with Diamond Milling Company in the 1890s when one of the owners, Emery Mapes, found “an old woodcut of a Negro chef emblazoned on a skillet.”77 The brand became so popular that by 1897, the company had to relocate to a bigger facility to accommodate the increase in demand.78 The Rastus character possesses a huge smile on his face, wears a crooked chef’s hat, and almost always carries a bowl of porridge. (See Appendix A, *Image 11*) The brand conveys an African American man happily and dutifully cooking to serve the white population their breakfast porridge, and because of the immense popularity of the product, it remains one of the top “permanent images of blacks into the American psyche.”79

Aunt Jemima, another marketing figurehead still prominent in today’s society came about in the year 1889.80 The character, based off of a minstrel show that included the lyrics to “Old Aunt Jemima...one of the most popular songs of the day...was reminiscent of the traditional Southern cook,” and became the most common figurehead for a Southern “Mammy”, or nanny of the household.81 Aunt Jemima went on to be arguably the longest lasting and most recognized African American female marketing figurehead, but also “the most battered woman in America.”82 Her image “idealized domesticity projected and promoted as inspired by old southern hospitality” and “helped preserve the racial status quo” of black subservient caregivers of white households since Aunt Jemima epitomized the Southern Mammy role that the white society wanted to hold on to so tightly.83 Popularity did not equal respect for her culture. Stories made up by the manufacturer for marketing purposes romanticized Southern slave culture to the

78 Ibid.
79 Ibid. 45, 46.
81 Ibid., 64.
Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*, 40.
point where the tales of Aunt Jemima’s life in her cabin in Mississippi became so well known, it advertised as “more famous than Uncle Tom’s” cabin. 84

Such is the degrading nature of marketing and advertising during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Not even the beloved Mammy was safe from implicit or explicit racial insults on her nature. The former category of slurs appears in the representation of Aunt Jemima throughout the early years. In the 1895 version of the pancake mix figurehead, Aunt Jemima appears in front of a cotton field with black figures in the background working. 85 Her physical appearance reveals a dark complexion, a happy smile, and lines around the eyes one typically receives from laughing or smiling. (See Appendix A, Image 12) Overall the image carries racial undertones, so while the picture shows a happy African American woman, it represents African Americans in a position of servitude reminiscent of the Old South. The version of Aunt Jemima around the early 1900s presents Aunt Jemima with bigger lips, an even bigger smile, and the phrase “I’se in Town, Honey.” 86 (See Appendix A, Image 13) This illustration shows the evolution of Aunt Jemima into a figurehead more fitting for societal perceptions of racial differences. The big lips represent a characteristic unique to the African American community but are drawn in an exaggeration that rivals caricatured images in an attempt to enhance their differences from the white population. The improper use of grammar signifies an uneducated member of society and is a direct projection of white societal perceptions onto the popular black figurehead. Instances in marketing like these uncover the exposure and susceptibility of the white population to societal pressures of a perception of the black community that negated legal equality and continued the United States on a path away from racial reform.

84 Ibid, 41.
86 Ibid.
Consumerism created an avenue for capitalists to take advantage of the precarious structure of social order in the years after the abolishment of slavery and attempted legal integration of black society and culture. After the Civil War, the world’s curiosity about Southern lifestyle made the South a “cultural commodity.” This curiosity fueled the fire of commercial gain in all avenues of marketing, media and entertainment creating a need for products that ended up transcending “the plantation kitchen and...[entering] the American psyche,” which in turn “circumscribed the aspirations and dreams of a whole race of people” for too long. Just as “stereotypes were used as a mechanism to reinforce and justify slavery,” stereotypes ingrained through marketing and media techniques in the years after the Emancipation Proclamation purposely preserved the racism of the white population. These perpetuated inferior racial ideals in popular culture permeated society in a way that not only mitigated legal equality of the races, but also reinstated legal subjugation of the black population and perpetuated that segregated through the continued use of media and marketing outlets.

The Civil Rights acts of 1866, 1870, 1871, and 1875 championed legal racial equality in the 1860s through 1870s. By tracking the progression of the revocation of that initial acceptance of equality through examining perceptions of social equality, political power struggles and legislation combined with media and marketing portrayal of African Americans reveals the systematic destruction of a racially equal mindset. This is done as a means to segregate the races and perpetuate that segregation over time. Literature, music, magazines, newspapers, minstrel shows, and products perpetuated the idea of the subjugation of the African American people while society refused to acknowledge social equality, consequently counteracting the governmental efforts for legal racial equality. At the time the politics hindered the advancement

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88 Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*, 109
of equality and the government therefore lacked the necessary man power and total conviction to persevere in their quest for racial equality in legislature enabling previous efforts to be demolished in only a few short years.
Thomas Nast, “The Trouble has Commenced – A Tale of Anxiety” *Harper’s Weekly*, February 27, 1875.
Image 11:

“Aunt Jemima: Various Ads,” Racial Stereotypes in Advertising, (College of William and Mary)
“I’se in Town, Honey!”

AUNT JEMIMA’S

Pancake Flour.

A combination of the great food triumvirate Wheat, Corn and Rice.

Does Your Husband

Complain of Late Breakfasts? | Buy a Package.
Does He Come Home Cross? | Give Him a Pancake.
Do You Want More Rest? | Use Pancake Flour.

HERE’S OUR GUARANTEE.

“Buy a package of Genuine Aunt Jemima’s Self-Rising Pancake Flour, and if you do not find it makes the best cakes you ever ate, return the empty box to your grocer, leave your name, and the grocer will refund the money and charge it to us.”

If your grocer does not keep it, tell him the trade is supplied by all wholesale grocers.

Manufactured by R. T. DAVIS MILL CO., St. Joseph, Mo.

The ORIGINAL AUNT JEMIMA is now baking those excellent pancakes, at PEEBLES, West 4th St. Come and see her and get a plate of cakes FREE.

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