The Cartoons of Henry Jackson Lewis in the Indianapolis Freeman: 1889-1891

An Honors Thesis (Honors 499)

by

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The portrayal of Afro-Americans in the late 1800s differed among white and black publications. Whites often viewed blacks as a homogeneous mass of people and, as a result, depicted a stereotype known as the Sambo image. In reality, the black race varied in many respects. In the late 1800s, a small professional class of African-Americans existed. These so-called "Aristocrats of Color" challenged the Sambo stereotype. In his cartoons, Henry Jackson Lewis, a black cartoonist working for The Freeman, depicted the existing economic and social distinctions between blacks of the late nineteenth century.

This paper presents the life of Lewis and the mission of The Freeman and its editor, Edward E. Cooper. A discussion of the black aristocracy and examples of various individuals of this elite reveals how this group differed from the majority of the blacks. Among the aristocracy, the old elite consisted of those freed before the war and obtained a formal education while the newer elite arose following emancipation and focused on acquiring great wealth before an education. Lewis' cartoons exemplify the existence of this class and the tension within it between the old aristocracy and new aristocracy. These cartoons also portray the experiences of the black masses and how the black aristocracy treated and perceived the black masses.
Cartoons of Henry Jackson Lewis in The Indianapolis Freeman: 1889-1891

As portrait of southern Negro life and a certain phase of 'white trash' existence, he had no living master. In this respect he was a genius, and when his equal shall come to us again, we do not know. Indeed, the only fault that could be found with Mr. Lewis' work in this line, was that he builded too well, for so realistic were his sketches that the fine sensitiveness of the race was frequently aroused and offended.  

Lewis' obituary in The Freeman, 18 April 1891.

Unlike the stereotypical, degrading portrayal of Blacks that appeared in magazines and newspapers published by whites during the 1880s and 1890s, The Freeman, an Indianapolis black weekly newspaper, depicted Blacks as a dynamic group of people from various economic and social backgrounds. While the majority of Blacks worked as farmers or domestic servants earning a meager salary, a small percentage of black professionals acquired wealth and status. The presence of a black upper-class challenged the same stereotype, proving economic and social distinctions between Blacks of the late nineteenth century existed. The cartoons of Henry Jackson Lewis, The Freeman's black political cartoonist, illustrated such economic differences.
Before the Civil War, slaves accounted for nine out of ten blacks. After emancipation, blacks lacked capital, an education, and industrial skills. While the federal government attempted to help blacks through agencies such as the Freedmen's Bureau and legislation to prevent black codes, African Americans could not buy land due to lack of money and enforcement of the laws.

As a result, sharecropping and the crop lien system developed, holding the majority of blacks at a substandard economic position. Lewis' cartoons, 'The Negro Still in Slavery' and 'The Political Dairy' addressed this problem (see App. 1-2). By the mid-1870s, only a quarter of the former slaves owned farms while three quarters worked as tenants. Within the next two decades conditions remained largely unchanged. Black farmers tended to own smaller properties than white farmers. Often, black tenants borrowed money that they could not repay. These debts often resulted in forced labor.

Many times, black tenants attempted to improve their conditions, but white landlords responded with coercion and violence. In 1888, a strike occurred at the Tate Cotton Plantation in Pulaski County, Arkansas, because the black tenants demanded a pay raise. Tate paid his laborers in 'tickets,' not cash, to buy goods at his store. Unfortunately, he inflated his prices one to two hundred percent. As a result, the blacks barely subsisted. With the help of the Knights of Labor, the tenants planned a
strike for July 2, 1868. The Knights negotiated a peace, keeping the violence to a minimum and allowing blacks to communicate their dissatisfaction. A similar, yet more violent, strike led by black members of the Knights of Labor on a Louisiana sugar plantation called for higher wages. A local judge ordered troops of white vigilantes to respond with force, killing thirty blacks and wounding hundreds more.

Henry Jackson Lewis illustrated such violent confrontations in his cartoon, "Southern Race Riots" (see App. 3). Both, black laborers dressing in work clothes and black professionals in suits became victims of white vigilantes. Regardless of blacks' social and economic position, they fell prey to white prejudice.

By the end of the nineteenth century, 80% of the black population remained in the poorest occupations, mainly agriculture and domestic work (see App. 4). Skilled laborers usually fared better than farmers, but only accounted for six percent of the black population. Several reasons accounted for this small percentage of laborers including competition from skilled immigrants. Also, the majority of blacks, 90%, lived in the south while industry resided mainly in the north. When northern businesses invested in southern industries, southern whites often became managers who did not offer equal opportunity to all workers. Textile factories, tobacco factories, and railroads, employed blacks only in menial positions.
Lewis portrayed this problem of industrial employment in his cartoon, 'Northern and Southern White Man' (see App. 5). While the North allowed political freedom for blacks, it refused blacks to compete with northern labor. In the south, where political rights narrowed, industries hired blacks, however, only inmenial positions.

While the majority of the black population worked as agricultural farmers and a smaller percentage worked as skilled laborers, a professional black class existed. This upper class constituted only one percent of the black population in 1890. Most frequently, Lewis portrayed members of the black aristocracy in his cartoons. During his life, Lewis aspired membership in this class.

In 1837, Henry Jackson Lewis was born to a slave family in Water Valley, Mississippi. As an infant, he fell into a fire, blinding his left eye and crippling his left hand. As an adolescent, he taught himself how to read, write, and draw. After the Civil War, the Delta region where Lewis lived experienced economic devastation. As a result, many African-Americans left Mississippi for other southern states.

Unlike the havoc the Civil War inflicted upon Mississippi, Arkansas' economy accelerated. From 1866-1876, the value of cotton in Arkansas exceeded the national average. During 1870-1873, business activity in Arkansas surpassed the national economic trend largely due to the construction of western railways crossing.
Arkansas. As a result, Arkansas offered its black citizens ample opportunities for economic advancement and allowed them considerable freedom in exercising political rights. Between 1870 and 1900, Arkansas' black population grew from 122,189 to 386,653. This growth rate averaged a 200 percent growth of the black population in contrast to a 161 percent increase of the white population. Beginning in the 1870s, a black middle class developed in urban areas, such as Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

In 1872, Lewis moved to Pine Bluff, Arkansas, home of the state's first black college and black newspaper. Pine Bluff was located in Jefferson County in which Blacks constituted the majority of the population. Upon his arrival, Lewis purchased a plot of land near the downtown area and, shortly afterwards, he married Levinia Dixon. During the 1870s and 1880s, Lewis worked as a laborer and as a freelance artist, drawing scenic sketches of the Pine Bluff and Arkansas Valley areas for Harper's Weekly, Buck and Judge.

On January 10, 1883, Lewis began to work for Dr. Edward Palmer, an archaeologist with the Smithsonian Institute, in Arkansas City, Arkansas. For two months, Lewis drew Indian mounds in Eastern Arkansas and the surrounding states on the Mississippi River. Following his work with Palmer, Lewis sent three drawings of the Arkansas and Louisiana sites to Frank Leslies Illustrated Newspaper of New
York. 30

Evidence from the Pine Bluff directory and obituaries in The Freeman and Indianapolis Journal suggest that Lewis remained in Pine Bluff until he moved to Indianapolis in 1888 with his wife and seven children. While his obituary stated that he sold work to Leslie's and Puck during the 1880s, apparently no drawings survived. 31

In Indianapolis, Lewis worked for Edward Cooper, the editor of The Freeman. 32 Cooper was born a slave in Florida in 1859. In 1877, he moved to Indianapolis where he attended a public high school from 1877-1882. Upon graduation, he immediately founded and edited The Colored World, a weekly newspaper, but lost it in 1883 due to lack of funds and competition especially from The Leader, another black weekly in Indianapolis. Starting in 1883, Cooper worked for the United States Railway Mail Service. By 1895, he became the only Afro-American postal clerk in the United States. In 1886, officials arrested Cooper for an alleged mail robbery. 33

Despite these setbacks, Cooper continued to pursue his interest in journalism and in 1893 he started to publish The Freeman. Cooper supported the Democratic party believing that Republicans took black voters for granted. 34 In The Freeman, he encouraged blacks to vote critically, rather than obediently to the Republican party. 35

During his lifetime, Cooper progressed from a slave to a member of the new black aristocracy. Lewis portrayed
Cooper as a distinguished gentleman with a grand following in his cartoon, 'The Freeman's Panorama' (see App. 6). He dressed well, charmed audiences, lived a high class lifestyle and lectured well. Critics described Cooper as a 'master of large, clear prose, ever ready with an apt quotation from classical literature to clinch an argument.'

Cooper's personality influenced the success of The Freeman. Between 1888-1927, The Freeman circulated in thirty-four states and Washington D.C. According to Lewis, the paper reached not only the black masses but also the white population, especially those in political power such as President Harrison (see App. 7). The Freeman covered national and local politics and social news. Cooper particularly printed news from various southern communities in order to increase sales in the South where the majority of blacks lived.

By 1888, The Freeman 'was so superior to other black weeklies in format, design, and the quality of its original composition that it had become something of a model newspaper.' The National Leader referred to The Freeman as 'The Harper's Weekly of the Colored Race.' The white Indianapolis Journal particularly praised The Freeman's 'advocacy of the interests of the colored people is able and dignified, and its illustrated sketches of the colored literary men and women are exceedingly well conceived and executed.'


Rather than satirizing Blacks as did white publications, Lewis and Cooper emphasized the accomplishments of various black individuals and the dynamics of black social life. The Freeman often included pictures, drawings, and biographical sketches of successful African-Americans such as T. Thomas Fortune, an essayist and editor of The New York Age, and a staff member of the New York Sun, and those who joined the ranks of professionals such as educators or musicians (see Appendices 8-10). The Freeman's coverage of black achievements challenged the racial stereotypes generated by the white publications and encouraged blacks to strive for personal achievement through education, hard work, and personal initiative.

Cooper encouraged his reader to view members of their race as inspirational leaders. In a 1900 poll, subscribers to The Freeman chose African-Americans whom they considered to be the top ten representatives of their race. Men such as the abolitionists Frederick Douglass; Toussaint L'Ouverture, a Haitian Revolutionary, and Blanche Bruce, United States Senator, ranked at the top (see App. 11). The contributions of women remained unnoticed.

Edward Cooper and Henry Lewis pursued their individual talents and created a newspaper that won the endorsement and financial support of prominent black families such as the Ferralls of Washington D.C. Occasionally, white society considered certain Blacks like the Ferralls' exceptional among African-Americans, yet they always...
regarded them as inferior to whites regardless of their wealth, occupation, or social standing. Rather than the mythical black solidarity, a social hierarchy existed among blacks. The Terrell family belonged to the small black upper class known as the 'colored aristocracy'.

The formation of this old black elite preceded the Civil War when 488,000 African Americans lived as freemen for at least a generation. In the North, most of these free blacks worked as artisans or professionals such as ministers, teachers, lawyers, or dentists. Many of these professionals provided leadership after the war, having previously attained an education, a respectable occupation, and social refinement. Their social and cultural activities included balls, concerts, or dinners that surpassed those of average whites and blacks. While these black political and social leaders fought for social advancement, they also alienated themselves from the black masses. Emulating white middle class society, many black professionals associated their lighter complexions with a higher status and possible acceptance by white society.

In the South, further division occurred among the free Black aristocracy. Of the 488,000 blacks freed before the war, more than forty percent lived in the South. The freedmen of the South set themselves apart from the illiterate, poverty-stricken, darker-colored masses. As freedmen, they acquired more wealth and education, demonstrated virtue, and exhibited a lighter complexion.
The intermixing of whites and blacks also contributed to this class system. Often, free blacks were products of miscegenation. This occurrence suggested to freedmen that the whiter their complexion, the closer their association with the landholding, white upper-class. For this 'old aristocracy', skin color based on family lineage exceeded the importance of wealth and education.56

After the Civil War, those blacks who acquired wealth became known as the 'new aristocracy,' or the 'economic elite.'57 This was especially true for those in the West as money became more important on the expanding frontier than family background or formal education.58

The 'new black aristocracy', to which Cooper, a professional journalist, and Lewis, an artist, aspired, served as a frequent focal point for Lewis' cartoons. Unlike the dominant white stereotype that depicted blacks as lazy, poor, and uneducated, Lewis artistically communicated the existence of a higher economic and social black class. One of Lewis' most often drawn figures was Frederick Douglass, a member of the old elite.

After Douglass' birth to a slave woman, his white master, and assumed father, sent him to live with relatives in Baltimore, Maryland, where he came in contact with the city's free black community. Following Douglass' escape from slavery in 1838, he supported the abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. He traveled to Great Britain to gather support for the abolitionist movement and
established the abolitionist paper, The North Star. During the Reconstruction period, Douglass believed the vote provided the answer for black recognition as American citizens. While he occasionally doubted the Republican's commitment to blacks after Reconstruction, he remained loyal to the Republican party. In appreciation of such service to the Republican party, President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed him as the United States' Marshal for the District of Columbia in 1877. Between 1881 and 1886, Douglass served as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.59

During the 1888 congressional campaign and Republican convention, Douglass along with William Mahone, the white chairman of the Virginia State Republican Committee, supported Judge K. V. Arnold, the white Republican candidate, and opposed the black Republican candidate, John M. Longston.60 Blacks questioned Douglass' commitment to those of his own race, indicating 'a rift between the bourgeois world in which Douglass, like many nineteenth century black leaders in general, moved and the peasant and working class world of most blacks.'61 Many African-Americans believed Douglass to be 'at odds with many of his black colleagues over the necessity for civil and political agitation, which he continued to endorse, and racial unity and pride, which he thought some overemphasized.'62 In Lewis' cartoon, 'Uncle Sam and the Colored American,' Douglass appeared as an owl perched on a tree 'like an old
book on a shelf that no longer tried to solve the racial problems of the late 1880s and 1890s (see App. 12).

Finally, from 1889-1891, Douglass served as minister to Haiti. In the cartoon, 'Hon. Frederick Douglass off for Hayti,' Lewis portrayed Douglass as a monument, larger than life (see App. 13). Being unable to ride a first class steam boat as he wanted, Douglass settled for a naval vessel, the 'Kearsarge.' His mission to Haiti involved the promotion of commercial and economic interests of the United States in Haiti. While Harrison selected Douglass in hopes of gaining the Haitians' trust, Harrison also expressed his gratitude to Douglass for returning enough black votes to help him defeat Cleveland in the election of 1888.

Lewis often portrayed another member of the new elite, Blanche Bruce who exemplified the culture, behavior and life style of the nation's aristocrats of color. Born in 1841 to a slave woman in Missouri, Bruce escaped slavery in Missouri and fled to Kansas. In 1858, he left for Ohio to study at Oberlin College. A year later, he returned to the South and settled in Mississippi where he acquired great wealth as a cotton planter. In 1874, voters elected him to the United States Senate. After his first term in office, Bruce lost his Senate seat to returning white, southern, conservative Democrats. In 1881, Bruce was appointed Register of the the Treasury and, in 1881, the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.
commented about Bruce's contest for the recordership in this cartoon. "The Candidates for the Recordership of Dundie Island (see App. 14)." Bruce and Douglass also appeared in Lewis' cartoon, "What shall be done with the Negro?" (see App. 15). Republican presidents appointed black men such as Douglass and Bruce to pacify the black race. In order to receive such appointments, a person needed to obtain a degree of competency. In his cartoon, "Out of Proportion" Lewis criticized black efforts to gain an education and to solve the race problem through political avenues. He believed that these efforts proved worthless, because they did not affect black conditions (see App. 16). In the cartoon, he portrays black politicians as larger than life while the black masses, depicted as a waiter or farmer, are tiny in comparison.

Having the funds to travel, black aristocrats received a warm welcome in many countries. Douglass noted the absence of prejudice in England when he traveled there from 1845-1847. In 1876, Senator Bruce and his wife Josephine, honeymooned in England visiting galleries and other points of interest. British officials honored the Bruces at receptions and invited them to meet government officials. Lewis noted this hospitality in his cartoon, "Wonderfully Astonished" (see App. 17). In the cartoon's accompanying article, Beadle, an American white man, attempted to get into the House of Parliament, but failed.
Suddenly, a black man escorting a white lady immediately walked in 'as if he owned parliament house and was negotiating for the purchase of Buckingham palace.' The surprised Beadie and his American companion suggested an unusual occurrence. A similar reaction from many white and black Americans greeted Frederick Douglass when he married Helen Pitts, a white woman, in 1884.77

While Pitts was not a member of the black aristocracy, black women contributed to their class. Josephine Bruce, Blanche's wife, was born to a black dentist and his wife, both freed before the Civil War, who lived a very comfortable life among whites in Cleveland, Ohio. The family worshipped at a white church, the children attended mixed schools, and the father cared for white patients. Josephine taught at a public school and became an accomplished linguist and devotee of classical music and literature.78 Both the black and white press admired her for her intelligence, refinement, and courtesy and noted her Victorian style and her very light skin color.79 She attended various social functions and held receptions at her house for the wives of Republican officials.80

Another aristocratic woman, Mary Church Terrell, lived a life unlike the majority of black women. While growing up, she attended private schools and graduated from Oberlin College in 1880.81 She taught at Wilberforce College and then at a preparatory school for colored youths in Washington D.C. Later, she traveled to Europe to perfect
her language skills. She returned to the United States to lecture and advocate the women's movement. In 1881 she married Robert Terrell. 83

In his cartoon, "Discussing the Situation," Lewis reflected upon the proper and respectable presence of black aristocratic women such as Josephine Blanche and Mary Terrell with light complexions and Victorian attire (see App. 10). Surprisingly, Lewis named the women in the cartoon, "Miss Giraffity" and "Miss Buxby-Head," satirizing their lack of education. Miss Buxby-Head found Mr. Greatmind, "a perfect bore, always talking about things I can't understand." 84 Often, the new aristocracy placed less emphasis on education and more emphasis on money recruiting merely in appearance. 85

Within the black aristocracy, tension existed between the old and new elites. The new aristocracy emphasized money and hard work, the self-made men, rather than family tradition or birth. 86 Lewis drew two cartoons, "The Ideal," representing the old aristocracy, and "The Real," representing the new aristocracy, that focused on this dichotomy between 'being born great' or 'having achieved greatness' through hard work (App. 19). 87

The presence of this new elite increased the farther west a person traveled. 88 In Arkansas, Ford Davis, a black politician and businessman typified this western black aristocracy. Born a slave and son of his white master in Osceola county, Arkansas, Davis moved with his mother to
Jefferson County in 1839 where he attended a public school in Pine Bluff while working to support him and his mother. In 1870, Nolin opened a barbershop and sought election to public office. Aware of the black majority in Jefferson County, Nolin ran successfully on a Republican ticket. The voters elected him an alderman in Pine Bluff in 1872 and a state representative in 1872. In 1884 and 1886, he served as an Arkansas delegate to the Republican national convention. As a businessman, he owned numerous properties including a home and several tenements.

As a minority, the elite often alienated itself from its race, condemning the majority of blacks for lacking manners, education, and less than respectful occupations. In the cartoon, 'In a Pine Bluff Drug Store,' Lewis portrayed these two different views of blacks (see App. 20). At the rear of the store, two snobbish women discussed the customer's appearance. The black customer dressed in second hand clothes trying to imitate someone of a higher class while using black dialect.

This dual portrayal of blacks appeared in another cartoon, 'Envy' (App. 21). The cartoon portrayed Tom as a gentleman dressed in a hat, suit, and cane. Pete, however, confirmed while racial stereotypes of the late 1880s. Lewis depicted him with buckteeth, sloppy clothes, big feet, and a slovenly stance. This sameo stereotype also labeled blacks as lazy, immoral, child-like, irresponsible, stupid, criminal, and deceitful. In many nineteenth
century white publications, artists painted blacks with very dark skin, thick lips, flat noses, big ears, woolled hair and animal-like characteristics.\textsuperscript{97} While white publishers allowed artists to create such characters for good humor, the images originated from a commonly accepted viewpoint that east blacks continually as the principal figures of humor.\textsuperscript{93} Generally, white artists used two kinds of caricatures for blacks, the lazy Sambo and the 'New Negro'. The 'New Negro' dressed gaudily, thought cleverly, and sought ambition. He struggled to improve himself and assimilate into white culture through education and political offices, as did Fred Davis and Booker T. Washington. Many white people criticized the 'New Negro' for being pretentious and imitative. "The idea that Negroes could have social levels of their own must have appeared ludicrous to most (white Americans).\textsuperscript{100} White publications saturated blacks with either remaining a Sambo or trying to act like a white man.\textsuperscript{101}

Lewis recognized such unflattering portrayals existed. In his minstrel concerts, he developed the Sambo image into a very respectable group of musicians (see App. 22).\textsuperscript{102} At minstrel shows of the mid-1900s, whites dressed in formal attire, painted their faces black, and sat in a semicircle with the center man retaining his white face. The end men, known as 'Mr. Tambo' and 'Mr. Bones,' joined in a dialogue with the center man. They told jokes, sang songs, played the banjo, fiddle, and guitar, and occasionally performed a
play. Clearly, Lewis portrayed a newer image of black musicians dressed in tuxedos on an impressive stage. In another cartoon, the "Northern and Southern Question," Lewis contrasted the southern black, representing the same image, and the northern black who symbolized the educated aristocrats (see App. 23).

The division between the old and new aristocracy as well as the elite and the black masses weakened black unity against Jim Crowism. Elite blacks appeared more interested in monopolizing the choice positions in the government and the public schools than in combating the spread of Jim Crow and in elevating the masses. Often, blacks attacked the Bianches for associating with whites rather than blacks. While the Bianches wanted their son to obtain a classical education, they felt vocational education sufficed for the black masses. Additionally, despite his own mixed heritage, Senator Bianche rarely associated with those of darker complexion. Lewis' cartoon, 'Race Pride,' suggested the lack of racial solidarity and the true force of pride as the colored writer refused to wait on the foreign 'nigga' (see App. 24). In 'Envy,' Tom barely recognized Bucktown Pete once Tom attained his wealth indicating the division between blacks (see App. 21).

In his two and a half years at The Freeman, Lewis drew various cartoons of black life in the nineteenth century. Without written commentaries revealing Lewis' own ideas,
concerning blacks in a society dominated by whites, his
drawings remain open to interpretation. His cartoon, 'The
Race Problem' offered a solution to inequalities Blacks
faced in the United States (see App. 35), 110 Each image
portrayed Blacks in control of whatever profession they
chose whether as businessmen, preachers, teachers, farmers,
or mothers. Lewis demanded respect for Blacks by drawing
each black person without those stereotypical racial
characteristics attributed by the white press. Predating
Duffie's and his 'group economy,' Lewis suggested in this
particular cartoon the active role Blacks must have in
their communities with their own businesses, jobs,
professions, and enterprises. 111 Several economic
independent black communities began in the 1880s, but the
lack of funds and vocational job training of Blacks never
brought the communities into fruition. 112 An additional
barrier included creditors who denied black businessmen
funds to start their own businesses. 113

By the time he died in April, 1891, Lewis contributed
his artistic talent to The Freeman portraying Blacks as an
active and diverse segment of the entire population. He
criticized not only the dominant white society, but members
of his own race for submitting to white culture rather than
promoting racial advancement. The old elite misunderstood
the needs of the black masses and the new elite often
strive for changes that the dominant white society ignored.
Rather than concentrating solely on the politics in
Washington, Lewis suggested in 'The Race Problem' the need to work within the black community to improve black economic and social positions. The divergent black classes in the late nineteenth century indicate a divided front that failed to provide a strong defense against the rising tide of Jim Crowism. 'The only fault that could be found with Mr. Lewis' work...was that he built to win, for so realistic were his sketches that the fine sensibilities of the race was frequently aroused and offended.'
THE NEGRO STILL IN SLAVERY.

If you call this freedom, what a rough, rough road these free days.
THE POLITICAL DAIRY.

While the Negro Carries the Torch, and Votes the Party into Power and Holds the (Horns) Bag, the "White Man and Brother" Walks off with the Game (Milk).
APPENDIX : Source: Lewis. The Freeman, 14 September 1889.

THEM RACE RIOTS—How they begin: "Hello, Nigger, take that."

SOUTHERN RACE RIOTS—Reaching a climax. Colored Citizens compelled to run for their lives.
APPENDIX 4

CLASS OF OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Negro descent</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agriculture, fishing, mining</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manufacturing</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NORTHERN WHITE MAN (to Southerner)—The Negro is an American citizen and, as such, should have every privilege and chance and all the rights accorded to other citizens. He should have the free and untrammeled use of the elective franchise. In short he should have a white man's chance.

SOUTHERN WHITE MAN—Yes, you people in the North make a great howl about the rights, etc., of the Negro in the South. Why don't you give him a white man's chance in the North? Why don't you admit him to your factories and trades unions? Why don't you admit him to your theatres and restaurants? In short, why are the doors of your industries closed against him?

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 9 February 1889, 8.
APPENDIX 5

The Freeman’s Panorama.


26
HE GOT IN THE WAY.

The above picture represents the fate of a dog-editor, who became so jealous of The Freeman that he foolishly got in the way and was crushed. This happened a few weeks ago, but the dog-editor is still smarting and grouching.

Source: Henry Jackson Lewis, The Freeman, 11 Jan 1890, 8.

WHO READS THE FREEMAN.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 23 February 1889, 8.
T. THOMAS FORTUNE,

Of the New York Sun.

Source: The Freeman, 15 September 1888, 1.
Musical Composers and Song Writers of the Colored Race.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 18 May 1889, 4.
Instructors of Berea College, Berea KY.

(1.) MISS M. A. MIZZY, Principal of Ladies Department.
(2.) B. M. HAMTING, Principal of Preparatory Department and Professor of Latin.
(3.) JAS. S. HATHEWAY, Tutor in Mathematics and Latin.
(4.) P. D. DODGE, Treasurer, and Professor of Math.
(5.) W. E. C. WRIGHT, Professor of Natural Science.
(6.) L. V. DODGE, Professor of Greek.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 4 May 1888, 4.
Source: The Freeman, 20 September 1890, 1.
Uncle Sam— I see that Malbone is making a monkey of himself again.

Colored American—Yes, and I am sorry that there are a few owl-wise sages of my race ready to endorse this monkey-bush ness.

Source: Lewis. The Freeman. 15 February 1889. 8.
HON. FREDERICK DOUGLASS OFF FOR HAYTI.

Source: Lewis. The Freeman. 5 October 1889, 9.
The Candidates for the Recordership of Deeds is Legion!

Our artist has reduced the number down to the seven who have a "sure thing on it." Do you recognize any of them? Guess.
The attitude which the Negro inherited from the press and public generally has led to the neglect that has been heaped upon him in this country. But the neglect has been much more than is really called for. The attitude of the public has been so much more reverent toward the 'white man' that it has done much to hinder the Negro from making his proper and proper place in the world.
WONDERFULLY ASTONISHED.
"Great Jehosaphat, Alabama! did you ever expect to see the like of that!"

[See article.]

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 29 November 1890, 5.
DISCUSSING THE SITUATION.

Miss Giraffly.—"What objection have you to that wealthy Mr. Lightpate?"
Miss Bush-y-Head.—"He never talks anything but nonsense. He seems to think all women are fools."
Miss G.—"You cannot find that fault with Mr. Greatmind."
Miss B.—"He's a perfect bore—always talking about things I can't understand."

—Adapted.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 28 March 1891, 2.
Being "born great" the imagination is abnormally developed. Wealth, position and "greatness" are results of a generous nature.

Source: Lewis. The Freeman. 23 August 1890. 5.
Druggist—"Well, Uncle Moses, what can I do for you?"
Uncle Moses—"I'd like Doctor Rollin's Medizin house"
Druggist—"Is it all right?"
Uncle Moses—"Well, the doctor sent me to get a box of those compound confederate (compound cathartic) pills. I'm got de flu in me, and been sick for two weeks.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman. 15 June 1889. 8.
APPENDIX 21

Bucktown Pete: "Truly, Tom, you don't know me since you've got new clothes. Goodness, you're a dude! Your boss don't want his clothes more'n six month, 'fore he gives it to you zuzer her!"

Tom Struckluck: "Why Pete, you low down tough, does this look like a second-hand suit?"

B. P.: "No Tom, but I know you are a second hand man."

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 11 October 1890, 3.
APPENDIX 22
Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 7 September 1889, 5.

THE ORIGINAL NEGRO MINSTREL

A STEP OR TWO IN ADVANCE.

42
THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN QUESTION.

Mr. Native South—"Good mornin', Sah. Am you de teacher, sah?"
Mr. Northern Pedagogue—"Well, yes; but I learn there is much hatred against the Northern Negro."

Mr. N. S.—"Sah, dat am de true."
Mr. N. P.—"Because we dress neatly and respect ourselves as they do. I suppose to be the reason."

Mr. N. S.—"No, sah, no! Case you 'uns air raised up norf wid the Yankees, and got too much brains for dese folks to cheat you out'n all you can earn ebery year."

Source: Lewis. The Freeman, 7 September 1889, 5.
RACE PRIDE.
Hotel Proprietor—"Want to resign, Sambo? What's the matter?"
Colored Walter—"I don't wait on no niggers, sah!"
Hotel Proprietor—"Why, that's Bamboozle Pussuplee Bah, the great Hindoo traveler."
Colored Walter—(with increased stiffness) "But I shan't wait on no foreign niggers, sah!"—Texas Sittings.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 16 August 1890, 8.
APPENDIX 25

THE RACE PROBLEM. The Different Methods of Solving it.

Source: Lewis, The Freeman, 30 March 1889, 8.
Endnotes

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7 Higgs, Competition, 74.
8 Ibid., 76.

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50 Logan, Life and Thought, 118.

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