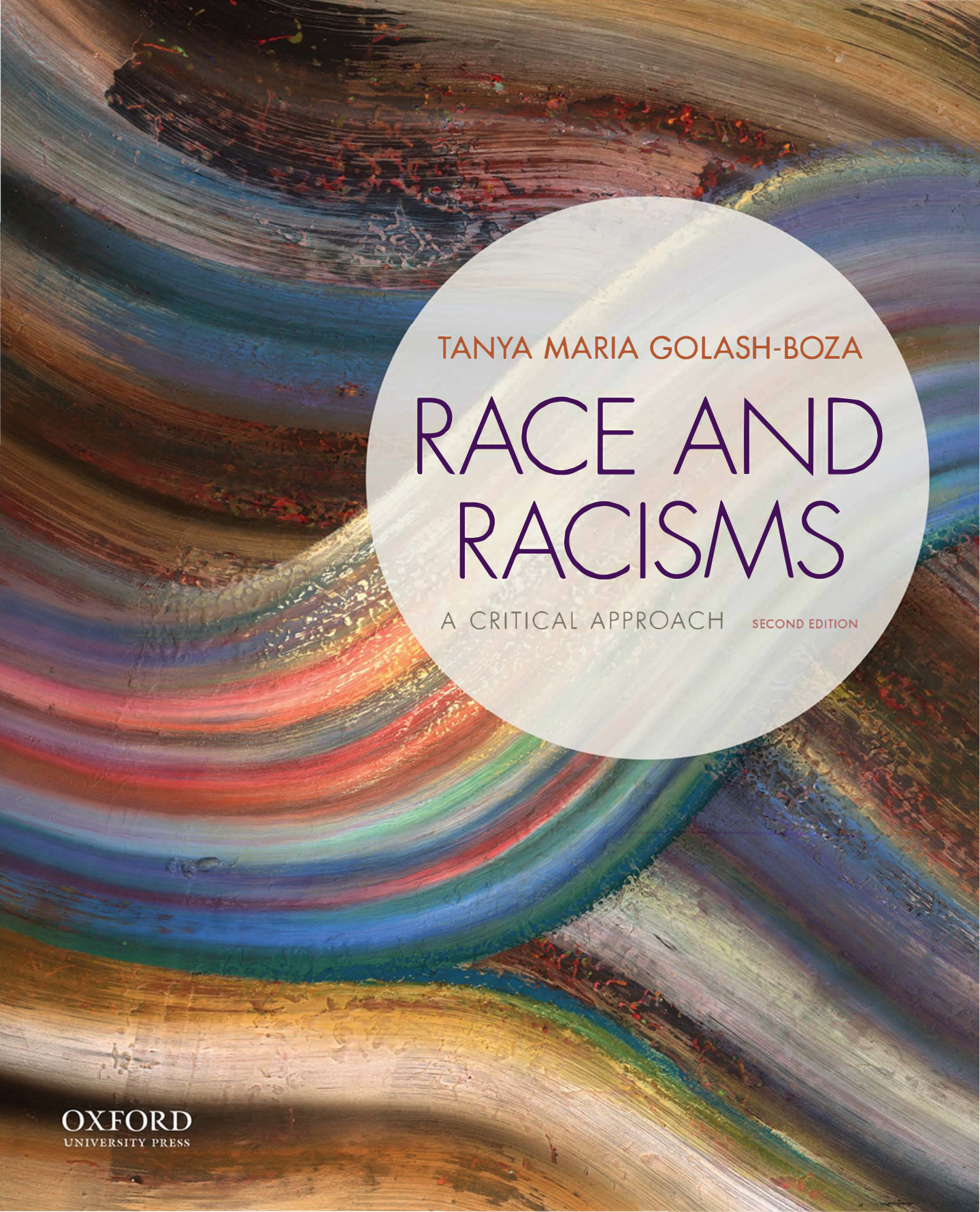
TANYA MARIA GOLASH-BOZA
RACE AND RACISMS
A CRITICAL APPROACH
SECOND EDITION
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RACE AND RACISMS

A CRITICAL APPROACH

SECOND EDITION

TANYA MARIA GOLASH-BOZA
University of California, Merced

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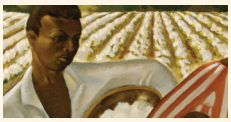

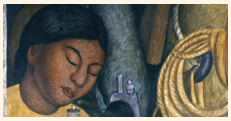

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About the Author

Tanya Maria Golash-Boza holds a B.A. in Philosophy from the University of Maryland, a Certificate of Anthropology from L'Ecole d'Anthropologie in Paris, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She is a Professor of Sociology at the University of California–Merced. In addition to this textbook, she is the author of four books, *Deported* (2015), *Due Process Denied* (2012), *Immigration Nation* (2012), and *Yo Soy Negro: Blackness in Peru* (2011); and the editor of *Forced Out and Fenced In* (2018). She has also published dozens of articles in peer-reviewed journals on deportations, race and racism, and U.S. Latinas/os and Latin America, in addition to essays and chapters in edited volumes and online venues such as *Al Jazeera*, *The Nation*, *Salon,* and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

Tanya's innovative scholarship was awarded the 2010 Distinguished Early Career Award from the Racial and Ethnic Minorities Studies Section of the American Sociological Association. In 2013, she was awarded the UC Merced Academic Senate Award for Distinguished Scholarly Public Service. In 2016, her book *Deported* was awarded the Distinguished Contribution to Research Book Award from the Latina/o Studies Section of the American Sociological Association. She is also the creator of the blog Get a Life, Ph.D., which focuses on academic success and well-being and has millions of pageviews. She is the 2017–2018 Chair of the University Committee on Affirmative Action, Diversity, and Equity Committee for the University of California Senate and served on the Executive Council of the American Sociological Association from 2014 to 2017.

Tanya has been teaching undergraduate and graduate courses on race and ethnicity since 2003. Prior to joining the faculty at the University of California, she was an Assistant Professor at the University of Kansas. She lives in Merced, California, with her husband and three school-age children. She has lived in Latin America, Europe, and the Caribbean and speaks fluent English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.

Preface

This second edition of *Race and Racisms* engages students in significant questions related to racial dynamics in the United States and around the world. In accessible, straightforward language, the text discusses and critically analyzes cutting-edge scholarship in the field.

FEATURES

Race and Racisms includes several unique features designed to aid both teaching and learning. Each of the following features appears throughout the book:

- voices boxes highlight individual stories related to race and racism, bringing personal experiences to life.
- research focus boxes describe recent scholarship in the field, showing students that this is an active and vibrant area of interest for researchers.
-  GLOBAL VIEW boxes introduce race-related phenomena as they are experienced in other parts of the world, to help students look beyond race and racism in the United States.
- **As You Read** questions point students to the key ideas in each chapter.
- **Chapter-opening excerpts** provide relevant readings as an entry point into the material.
- **Marginal Glossary** definitions reinforce key concepts.
- [**NEW**] **Check Your Understanding** chapter summaries are now structured around the As You Read questions, incorporating both **Review and Critical Thinking** questions.
- [**NEW**] **At a Glance** infographics show striking statistics in a visually powerful way.
- [**NEW**] **Talking about Race** guidelines in the front matter and at the end of each chapter suggest ways to approach discussions about race and racism.

NEW IN THIS EDITION

The goal for the second edition of *Race and Racisms* was not merely to keep up with our changing world but to invite students to consider their own role in it. Each chapter has been carefully updated to reflect current issues and events as well as the latest data and research. Beyond these updates, new stories and examples throughout engage readers in thinking about how racism could be addressed or alleviated. Highlights of this edition include:

- Expanded coverage of Arab and Middle Eastern Americans, in addition to new topics such as Islamophobia.
- The chapter on theory is now introduced earlier in the text (Chapter 4) to provide a framework for material that follows.
- New Voices or Research Focus sidebars in every chapter.
- New features: At a Glance infographics, Check Your Understanding summaries, and Talking about Race guidelines and prompts.

Following this preface, we include an overview for the new Talking about Race feature. We hope this overview, **Talking About Race Outside the Classroom**, will serve as a practical guide on how to have thoughtful, informed, rational discussions about race and racism. These are sensitive and emotional topics that many people have difficulty approaching. This overview encourages students to engage in constructive conversations about race and provides tips for countering racist ideology. At the end of each chapter, a brief Talking about Race section provides some more specific suggestions for approaching these conversations.

NEW MATERIAL BY CHAPTER

1 The Origin of the Idea of Race

- New Research Focus box: Slave Flights and Runaway Communities in Colonial Angola (p. 14)
- New infographic on servitude, slavery, and genocide in the Americas (p. 17)

2 Race, Immigration, and Citizenship from the 1840s to the 1920s

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3 Racial Ideologies from the 1920s to the Present

- New discussion of Black Lives Matter and high-profile killings by police (p. 69)
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4 Sociological Theories of Racism

- New opening excerpt from *Muslim Girl: A Coming of Age* by Amani Al-Khatahtbeh (p. 96)
- New Research Focus box: Examining Legitimized Racism against Indigenous Peoples (p. 114)
- New discussion: Islamophobia and Anti-Arab Racism (p. 119)

5 Racism in the Media: The Spread of Ideology

- New opening excerpt from *We Gon' Be Alright: Notes on Race and Resegregation* by Jeff Chang (p. 128)
- New Voices boxes on *Black-ish* (p. 135) and *Homeland* (p. 139)
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- New Research Focus box: The Asian American Achievement Paradox (p. 242)

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- New Voices box: Latina Professionals as Racialized Tokens: Lisa's Story (p. 264)
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10 Inequality in Housing and Wealth

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12 Health Inequalities, Environmental Racism, and Environmental Justice

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- Updated and expanded discussion: Immigration Policy and Nativism in the Twenty-First Century (p. 404)
- New Voices box on a Syrian refugee family living in the United States (p. 407)

14 Racial Justice in the United States Today

- New Voices box: Three Leadership Lessons from Opal Tometi (p. 431)

15 Thinking Globally: Race and Racisms in France, South Africa, and Brazil

- New Voices boxes on police brutality in France (p. 451), South African coloureds (p. 457), and the skin-color hierarchy in Brazil (p. 466)

ORGANIZATION

Race and Racisms is divided into three sections, each using an intersectional framework and global considerations to guide our understanding of racial dynamics in the United States:

- **Part I, Racial Ideologies,** draws from history, anthropology, and sociology to explain how racial ideologies were created and how they have evolved over time. This section provides a provocative historical and theoretical analysis that is rarely encountered in sociology texts, considering the effects of colonialism, scientific racism, nativism, and inequality. In addition, it invites in-depth discussion by examining prevailing racial attitudes in the context of recent U.S. history, the media, colorism, and white privilege.
- **Part II, Policy and Institutions,** focuses on racial inequality, educational and labor market inequality, housing and wealth, the criminal justice system, health and the environment, and immigration policy. This section highlights the empirical evidence for racial inequality.
- **Part III, Contesting and Comparing Racial Injustices,** considers racial justice, human rights, and racial dynamics around the world, helping us to look forward by looking outward.

ANCILLARIES

Oxford University Press is proud to offer a complete supplements package to accompany *Race and Racisms: A Critical Approach*.

The **Ancillary Resource Center (ARC)** at **www.oup-arc.com** is a convenient, instructor-focused single destination for resources to accompany this book. Accessed online through individual user accounts, the ARC provides instructors with up-to-date ancillaries while guaranteeing the security of grade-significant resources. In addition, it allows OUP to keep instructors informed when new content becomes available.

The ARC for *Race and Racisms: A Critical Approach* contains a variety of materials to aid in teaching:

- **PowerPoint lecture slides** to aid in the presentation of course material
- **Additional recommended readings** that delve deeply into the topics discussed in each chapter
- A **computerized test bank** with multiple-choice, true/false, short-answer, and essay questions

COMPANION WEBSITE

Race and Racisms: A Critical Approach is also accompanied by an extensive **companion website (www.oup.com/us/golash-boza)**, which includes materials to help students with every aspect of the course. For each chapter, you will find:

- **Learning Objectives** that identify the concepts that students should understand after reading each chapter
- A **brief summary** of the broad themes of each chapter, to help students organize their thinking and reading
- **Web-based activities** that challenge students to apply their knowledge to a variety of Internet resources
- **Additional links** to websites providing supplemental information on the topics and ideas covered in the chapter
- **Multiple-choice self-quizzes** to help students review the material and assess their own comprehension
- **Filmographies** to illustrate and reinforce material covered in the book
- **Glossary flashcards** to assist students in studying and review
- A **YouTube channel** collecting films and videos related to key topics

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I travel around the country to give talks at universities, I am always pleased and humbled when instructors tell me they use this book in their class and when students tell me how much they enjoy reading it. The positive feedback I received from the first edition was a major motivation to revise this book. I have attempted to respond to the many helpful critiques and comments I received to make this book an even better tool for teaching about race and racism.

My interest in race and racism derives in part from my experiences growing up as a white child in a primarily black neighborhood. I am grateful to my parents for deciding to raise our white family on the east side of Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C., and for staying in that neighborhood to this day. Had my parents made different life choices, it is likely this book would never have been written.

Writing this textbook has been much less painful than it otherwise would have been due to the extraordinary efforts of the editorial team at Oxford University Press, especially Executive Editor Sherith Pankratz, Development Editor Lauren Mine, Senior Development Editor Lisa Sussman, and Associate Editor Meredith Keffer. My deepest gratitude to this amazing and efficient team. I would also like to acknowledge the design and production team at Oxford University Press, including Managing Editor Lisa Grzan, Team Leader Theresa Stockton, Senior Production Editor William Murray, and Art Director Michele Laseau. My thanks as well to Sarah Calabi for her photo research and to Patti Isaacs for creating the new infographics.

I did not write this book alone. In fact, many of these chapters were written in the company of fabulous colleagues in coffee shops and cabins across the United States. I'd like to extend a special thanks to my writing partners: Zulema Valdez, Ayu Saraswati, Christina Lux, Dalia Magaña, Whitney Pirtle, Amani Nuru-Jeter, Jemima Pierre, Winddance Twine, and Vilna Treitler. Thanks also to Maria Dueñas for her research assistance. A very special thanks to the wonderful scholars who allowed us to use their writings in new Voices sections throughout this book, including the Arabian Street Artists, Gina Crosley-Corcoran, Glenda Flores, Namira Islam, Daren W. Jackson, Stephanie Nolen, Whitney Pirtle, Ali Saad, Opal Tometi, and Sabriya Ihsan Williams.

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Talking About Race Outside the Classroom

This book is designed primarily for classroom use. I hope teachers and students find the analyses, narratives, and data it conveys helpful in generating productive class engagements on racial justice, racial equity, and race relations. Learning, however, is a lifelong experience. And, as many of my students point out, few people you encounter in your daily life will be privy to all the knowledge and insight conveyed in this book. So, how do you—the reader—carry this knowledge from the classroom to your living room, to the coffee shop, to the dining room table, to the bar, or to your workplace? How do you talk about race outside the classroom?

Each chapter of this book concludes with a "Talking about Race" section that provides some suggestions on how to have conversations about the specific topics in that chapter. Here, I'd like to more generally address the issue of discussing race.

Conversations about race can be either premeditated or surprise. Premeditated conversations can be easier because you can decide ahead of time how and why you would like to broach a topic with a friend, family member, or coworker. Surprise conversations are a bit harder to deal with because you have to respond on the spot—and many times emotions can make it more difficult to have level-headed responses. Let's consider each of these two conversation types in turn, as they are quite different and require different tools.

Let's say an organization you are involved in has a policy that disadvantages people of color. You decide you would like to initiate a conversation with the leaders so that they will reconsider the policy. Here are some tips for having a productive conversation with your colleagues, drawn from a brief by the Annie E. Casey Foundation on "How to Talk about Race":

- **Emphasize shared values**. Begin the conversation by focusing on what you all may agree on.
- **Provide more than a critique**. Offer a manageable solution that can be implemented.

- **Use narratives more than numbers**. Provide concrete examples of how people are affected by the current policy and how a change could benefit them.
- **Emphasize shared goals**. Present the change you are proposing as an opportunity for the organization to move forward.

It is great when you have an opportunity to prepare for a discussion about race. Often, however, we encounter racial microaggressions, macroaggressions, overt acts of racism, or other forms of bigotry and have to respond on the spot. Of course, you can choose not to respond, but even silence is a response in and of itself.

How do you respond if you experience a microaggression? What if you are sitting with friends and someone makes a racial or racist joke? What if you witness someone mistreating a person because of race? Having a strategy ready ahead of time can make it easier to respond in the moment. Here are some options:

- **Respond with silence**. If you are with someone who tells a racist joke, you can be silent. By not laughing, you are sending a message that this joke is not appropriate.
- **Leave the room**. If you are with a group of people, and the conversation takes a turn toward complaining about a particular ethnic group, you can exit the room or grab your keys and leave the event. That sends a signal that their conversation is not appropriate.
- **Question the statement**. If you are with a group of people, and one of them says that all black people are great dancers, you can ask them why they think that. You can push them and ask if they think it is genetic or cultural. You can keep asking them questions to help them see that their statement is problematic.
- **Ask the person making a racist statement if they would make the statement in different company**. For example, if someone makes a joke about Jewish people, ask them if they would feel comfortable making the joke in front of Jewish people. That may help them and others in the room see that the statement is problematic.

Hearing a bigoted joke or statement—directed at you or others—can stop you in your tracks. How you respond is a personal decision, one based on your personality as well as your relationships with others. It is important to know that you have options—ranging from silence to leaving to responding directly. Thinking through these options ahead of time will make you better prepared to respond.

RACE AND RACISMS

Employment of Negroes in Agriculture. Earle Wilton Richardson. 1934. Oil on canvas, 48 × 32 in. (*Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY*)

1

The Origin of the Idea of Race

As You Read

1.1 What are race and ethnicity? What is racism?

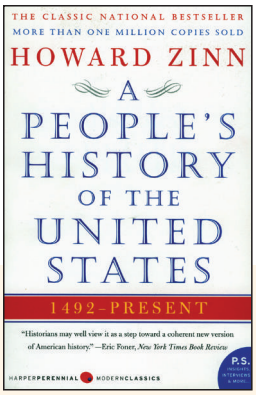
1.2 How old is racism? How is race distinct from previous ways of thinking about human difference?

1.3 How did the writers of the U.S. Constitution think of slavery?

1.4 How did the Indian Removal Act affect Native Americans?

1.5 What role did science play in the propagation of racism?

Chapter Outline



In the 1600s, Native Americans, European colonists, and enslaved Africans found themselves together in the New World. Why did the Europeans believe they needed slaves? And what was the motivation for exploiting Africans in particular? In this excerpt from *A People's History of the United States*, Howard Zinn provides some insight.

The Virginians needed labor, to grow corn for subsistence, to grow tobacco for export. They had just figured out how to grow tobacco, and in 1617 they sent off the first cargo to England. Finding that, like all pleasurable drugs tainted with moral disapproval, it brought a high price, the planters, despite their high religious talk, were not going to ask questions about something so profitable.

They couldn't force Indians to work for them, as Columbus had done. They were outnumbered, and while, with superior firearms, they could massacre Indians, they would face massacre in return. They could not capture them and keep them enslaved; the Indians were tough, resourceful, defiant, and at home in the woods, as the transplanted Englishmen were not.

White servants had not yet been brought over in sufficient quantity. Besides, they did not come out of slavery, and did not have to do more than contract their labor for a few years to get their passage and a start in the New World. As for the free white settlers, many of them were skilled craftsmen, or even men of leisure back in England, who were so little inclined to work the land that John Smith [leader of the Virginia Colony], in those early years, had to declare a kind of martial law, organize them into work gangs, and force them into the fields for survival.

There may have been a kind of frustrated rage at their own ineptitude, at the Indian superiority at taking care of themselves, that made the Virginians especially ready to become the masters of slaves. Edmund Morgan imagines their mood as he writes in his book *American Slavery, American Freedom*:

> *If you were a colonist, you knew that your technology was superior to the Indians'. You knew that you were civilized, and they were savages . . . But your superior technology had proved insufficient to extract anything. The Indians, keeping to themselves, laughed at your superior methods and lived from the land more abundantly and with less labor than you did . . . And when your own people started deserting in order to live with them, it was too much . . . So you killed the Indians, tortured them, burned their villages, burned their cornfields. It proved your superiority, in spite of*

your failures. And you gave similar treatment to any of your own people who succumbed to their savage ways of life. But you still did not grow much corn . . .

Black slaves were the answer. And it was natural to consider imported blacks as slaves, even if the institution of slavery would not be regularized and legalized for several decades. Because, by 1619, a million blacks had already been brought from Africa to South America and the Caribbean, to the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, to work as slaves. Fifty years before Columbus, the Portuguese took ten African blacks to Lisbon—this was the start of a regular trade in slaves. African blacks had been stamped as slave labor for a hundred years. So it would have been strange if those twenty blacks, forcibly transported to Jamestown, and sold as objects to settlers anxious for a steadfast source of labor, were considered as anything but slaves.

Their helplessness made enslavement easier. The Indians were on their own land. The whites were in their own European culture. The blacks had been torn from their land and culture, forced into a situation where the heritage of language, dress, custom, family relations, was bit by bit obliterated except for the remnants that blacks could hold on to by sheer, extraordinary pressure.

Source: Zinn 2010, 25–26.

In the colonial Americas, no one would have described the population using the terms *Native American*, *white*, or *black*. Instead, people identified themselves by groups such as Shawnee, Irish, and Ashanti. How, then, did our current racial categories come to be? What distinguishes the idea of race from previous ways of thinking about human difference? These are the questions we will consider in this chapter.

In the contemporary United States, one of the first things we notice about someone we meet is race. When we aren't sure of someone's race, we may get inquisitive or begin to feel uncomfortable (Dalmage 2000). It is as if, before interacting, we have to know if the other person

When people in the United States are unsure of someone's race, many feel compelled to ask: "What are you?"

is white, black, Asian, Native American, or something else. The perceived race of the other person affects how we treat one another and what we expect the other person to say and do.

It may be hard to imagine a time when the idea of race did not exist, when we did not categorize ourselves and others this way. But this time was not so long ago: although humans have long used various factors to classify one another, the idea of race as a classificatory system is a modern invention. Ancient Greeks and Romans, for example, did not think that the world's population could be divided into races (Eze 1997). Their system of social classification was much different from ours. Race is a modern **social construction**, meaning that the idea of race is not based on biological differences among people, even though race has become important in determining how we interact. It is a particular way of viewing human difference that is a product of colonial encounters.

social construction An idea or way of viewing people based not on biological differences but on social perceptions.

DEFINING RACE AND ETHNICITY

The word ***race*** refers to a group of people who share physical and cultural traits as well as a common ancestry. The idea of race implies that the people of the world can be divided into biologically discrete and exclusive groups based on physical and cultural traits. This idea is further linked to notions of white or European superiority that became concretized during the colonization of the Americas. ***Racism*** refers to both (1) the belief that races are populations whose physical differences are linked to significant cultural and social differences within a hierarchy, and (2) the practice of subordinating races believed to be inferior.

race A social construction to describe a group of people who share physical and cultural traits as well as a common ancestry.

racism (1) The belief that races are populations whose physical differences are linked to significant cultural and social differences within a hierarchy. (2) The practice of subordinating races believed to be inferior.

The idea of race is slightly different from the concept of ethnicity. Races are categories of people based on a hierarchical worldview that associates ancestry, descent, and appearance with cultural and moral attributes. **Ethnicities**, on the other hand, are group identities based on notions of similar and shared history, culture, and kinship (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). Ethnicity also has a distinct historical trajectory from race. People self-identify as belonging to an ethnic group on the basis of a perceived shared history and a concomitant set of cultural attributes. In contrast to ethnicity, race is often an externally imposed category. In the United States, people are placed into races based on socially constructed, ascribed characteristics often related to physical appearance, such as skin color or hair texture, regardless of self-identification. Sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (1997, 469) argues that "ethnicity has a primarily sociocultural foundation, and ethnic groups have exhibited tremendous malleability in terms of who belongs; racial ascriptions (initially) are

ethnicity Group identity based on notions of similar and shared history, culture, and kinship.

imposed externally to justify the collective exploitation of a people and are maintained to preserve status differences."

It's important to emphasize that race is a social construction, an idea we endow with meaning through daily interactions. It has no biological basis. This might seem an odd statement, as the physical differences between a Kenyan, a Swede, and a Han Chinese, for example, are obvious. However, these physical differences do not necessarily mean that the world can be divided into discrete racial groups. If you were to walk from Kenya to Sweden to China, you would note incremental gradations in physical differences between people across space, and it would be difficult to decide where to draw the line between Africa and Europe and between Europe and Asia. There may be genetic differences between Kenyans and Swedes, but the genetic variations within the Kenyan population are actually greater than those between Swedes and Kenyans (Smedley 2007). Although race is a social, as opposed to a biological, construction, it has a wide range of consequences in our society, especially when used as a sorting and stratifying mechanism.

Race is also a **historical construction**, meaning that the idea of race was formed in particular times and places. Of particular note in its development are the eras of **colonialism**—the practice of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically—and slavery in the Americas. The idea of race involves classifying humans into distinct groups with particular cultural and moral traits. Through this classification, Europeans and their descendants have used the idea of race to justify exploitation, slavery, colonialism, and **genocide**, the mass killing of a group of people, especially those of a particular ethnic or racial group.

historical construction An idea or view that was formed in particular times and places.

colonialism The practice of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.

genocide The mass killing of a group of people, especially those of a particular ethnic or racial group.

RACE: THE EVOLUTION OF AN IDEOLOGY

An **ideology** is a set of principles and ideas that benefits the dominant group. The racial ideologies that operate today reflect our times and are rooted in the history of the Americas. The way we understand the idea of race today is distinct from previous ways of thinking about human difference. Before the conquest of the Americas, there was no worldview that separated all of humanity into distinct races (Montagu 1997; Quijano 2000; Smedley 2007). Understanding what race means today requires delving into the historical process through which the idea of race was created. Once we understand that thinking of people as belonging to specific racial categories is not "natural" but constructed, we can begin to think about why and how these categories were created. As we will see, European thinkers created racial categories to justify

ideology A set of principles and ideas that benefits the dominant group.

mass genocide and widespread exploitation. This brutal history in turn raises the question of why we continue to use these categories.

Historical Precedents to the Idea of Race

Until the sixteenth century, Northern Europeans had limited knowledge of the world beyond their immediate communities. Southern Europeans, in contrast, had much more contact with other peoples. Alexander the Great traveled to India in the fourth century B.C., the Greeks established trade routes with Ethiopia in the third century B.C., and Islamic peoples conquered Spain in the eighth century A.D. Yet this contact did not lead to a racial worldview. Ancient peoples did not divide the world into distinct races based on physical and cultural traits. Instead, Greeks had great respect for the achievements of Ethiopians (Snowden 1970), and Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived in reasonable harmony in Spain for hundreds of years (Smedley 2007).

Although the idea of race did not develop until later, these early interactions between Europeans and other groups did provide important precedents for current ways of conceptualizing human difference. The Spanish Inquisition is one example. When the Catholic Church began to consolidate its power in Spain under the reign of monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile (1479–1504), Jews were expelled from Spain, and converted Jews were subject to scrutiny. In 1480, Ferdinand and Isabella established a tribunal called the Spanish Inquisition, which was intended to ensure the orthodoxy of people who had converted from Judaism and Islam to Catholicism. The monarchs issued royal decrees in 1492 and 1501 that ordered Jews and Muslims to convert or leave the country. During the Inquisition, Jews and Muslims were obliged to convert, but conversion did not ensure their safety, as converts continued to be subject to scrutiny and suspicion. Moreover, people believed to be the descendants of Jews and Muslims also faced persecution. Discrimination against Jews and Muslims was more religious in nature than racial, yet the ideas regarding purity of blood that emerged set the stage for ideas of racial difference that were to become part of the European understanding of human differences (Quijano 2000; Smedley 2007).

Another crucial precedent to the idea of race is the English view of the Irish and later of Native Americans. England and Ireland were involved in centuries of conflict before the English first settled in North America, and English soldiers often portrayed the Irish as savage, sexually immoral, and resistant to civilizing forces. Many English colonists had been deployed to Ireland before settling in the New World. The ideas the English developed about the Irish may thus have played a role in settlers' perception of Native Americans as savage

(Allen 1994; Smedley 2007). This perception was a precursor to the racial idea that some humans were less fit for civilization than others.

Slavery Before the Idea of Race

Slavery was not new or particular to the Americas: the practice of enslaving people has existed since antiquity. In African, European, and Middle Eastern societies, conquered peoples often became slaves in the aftermath of war. As agricultural societies grew, so did the demand for labor, leading peoples such as the Greeks and Phoenicians to raid other societies for slaves. Slavery existed not only across societies but also within societies: people lacking the support of a family often had no place other than as slaves, and some people became enslaved as a means of paying off a debt or as punishment for a crime. Slavery of this form almost always involved persons of the same ethnic group as their masters.

The prevalence of slavery in ancient societies does not imply that racism existed then as well. Although some ancient writings refer to skin color, these references are rarely derogatory and by no means represent the general ideology of any ancient society. On the contrary, Greeks and Romans held the Egyptians as well as the Ethiopians in high esteem and admired their culture and way of life. These ancient peoples developed no known stereotypes of blacks as primitives or lacking in culture (Snowden 1983). Marriages between Egyptians and black Africans were commonplace in ancient times, and Muslim conquerors regarded anyone they succeeded in converting as brethren (Franklin 1974).

The status of slaves varied across societies. In some instances, slaves were adopted as kin after serving for a certain number of years; in other cases, slaves were permitted to marry and own property (Smedley 2007; Morgan 1975). Many slaves were granted rights not found in the system of slavery in the New World. These rights included access to education, the potential to obtain freedom for themselves and their children, the right to marry, and the right to own property. Until the eighteenth century, no society categorically denied the humanity of slaves. It was not seen as necessary to rationalize slavery by denying that slaves were fully human. Although slaves were at

^ Although slavery was common in Ancient Greece, the idea of race did not yet exist.

times treated brutally, the humanity of slaves was never put into question, and slavery was never attributed to racial inferiority (Smedley 2007).

European Encounters with Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

Before the arrival of European colonizers, the Americas were home to over 100 million indigenous people. As a result of warfare, slavery, and disease, about 95 percent of this population was decimated during the first two centuries of colonization (Stannard 1993; At a Glance 1.1). The excerpted accounts in the Voices sidebar on p. 12 provide a small window into the depths of this massacre.

When Christopher Columbus encountered the native peoples of the Caribbean islands in 1492, he found them to be peaceable and generous. Despite the Spaniards' initial admiration for the indigenous people, the relations between the two groups soon deteriorated, as it became clear that the Spaniards' primary motive was to extract gold from the Americas. Intent upon taking as much gold as possible, the Spaniards used their weaponry to overpower and enslave the people indigenous to the Americas to compel them to

> When Christopher Columbus encountered the native peoples of the Caribbean, he found them to be peaceable and generous.

find gold and silver for the Spaniards to take back to Spain (Todorov 1984). The abuse the Caribbean peoples suffered at the hands of the Spaniards was devastating : the Arawaks of Santo Domingo, for example, were reduced from over 3 million people in 1496 to a mere 125 in 1570 (Jones 2003).

Reports of the Spaniards' extreme cruelty toward the indigenous people of the Americas made their way back to Spain and eventually became a subject of controversy. Fifty years after Columbus's arrival in the Caribbean islands, the enslavement of indigenous people was outlawed. The Spaniards continued to extract labor from indigenous people, however, by relying on other systems of forced labor (Wade 1997).

One of the most remarkable aspects of the conquest of the Americas is that many of the civilizations in the Americas were far more advanced than those from which the Europeans hailed. Europe in the sixteenth century was quite a ghastly place, with frequent famines and epidemic outbreaks of the plague and smallpox. Large cities were pestilent and dirty, with unsightly open sewers. Crime was rampant. Half of all children died before they turned ten. Thus, we can imagine the surprise and awe that the magnificent city of Tenochtitlán engendered in the Spaniards who arrived there. Tenochtitlán, an Aztec city in central Mexico, had about 350,000 inhabitants—many times the population of London or Seville at the time. When the Spanish explorer and colonizer Hernando Cortés (1485–1547) saw this city, he declared it to be the most beautiful city on earth. His companion and chronicler Bernal Díaz (1492–1585) agreed, calling it a "wonderful thing to behold." Unlike European cities of the time, Tenochtitlán boasted clean streets, amazing floating gardens, a huge aqueduct system, and a market more extensive than any the Europeans had ever seen (Stannard 1993).

Despite their admiration, the Spaniards did not preserve this city. The arrival of the Spaniards led to the destruction of not only this amazing city, but also many towns and cities across the Americas. The population of central Mexico was decimated in less than a century, declining from 25 million in 1519 to barely 1.3 million in 1595. This pattern continued throughout the Americas, so that nearly 95 percent of the native populations were destroyed in less than 200 years (Stannard 1993).

Slavery and Colonization

Africans were present in the conquest of the Americas from the beginning, both as slaves and as sailors and explorers. Spain and Portugal were slaveholding societies long before Columbus set sail in search of the Indies. Many, but not all, of the slaves in Spain in the fifteenth century were Africans. Some African

voices

The Spanish Treatment of Indigenous Peoples

The following excerpts are from a 1519 report by the Dominican order about the Spanish treatment of indigenous peoples in the Carib Islands.

> Some Christians encounter an Indian woman, who was carrying in her arms a child at suck; and since the dog they had with them was hungry, they tore the child from the mother's arms and flung it still living to the dog, who proceeded to devour it before the mother's eyes.
>
> When there were among the prisoners some women who had recently given birth, if the new-born babes happened to cry, they seized them by the legs and hurled them against the rocks, or flung them into the jungle so that they would be certain to die there.
>
> Each of them [the foremen] had made it a practice to sleep with the Indian women who were in his workforce, if they pleased him, whether they were married women or maidens. While the foreman remained . . . with the Indian woman, he sent the husband to dig gold out of the mines; and in the evening, when the wretch returned, not only was he beaten or whipped because he had not brought enough gold, but further, most often, he was bound hand and foot and flung under the bed like a dog, before the foreman lay down, directly over him, with his wife.

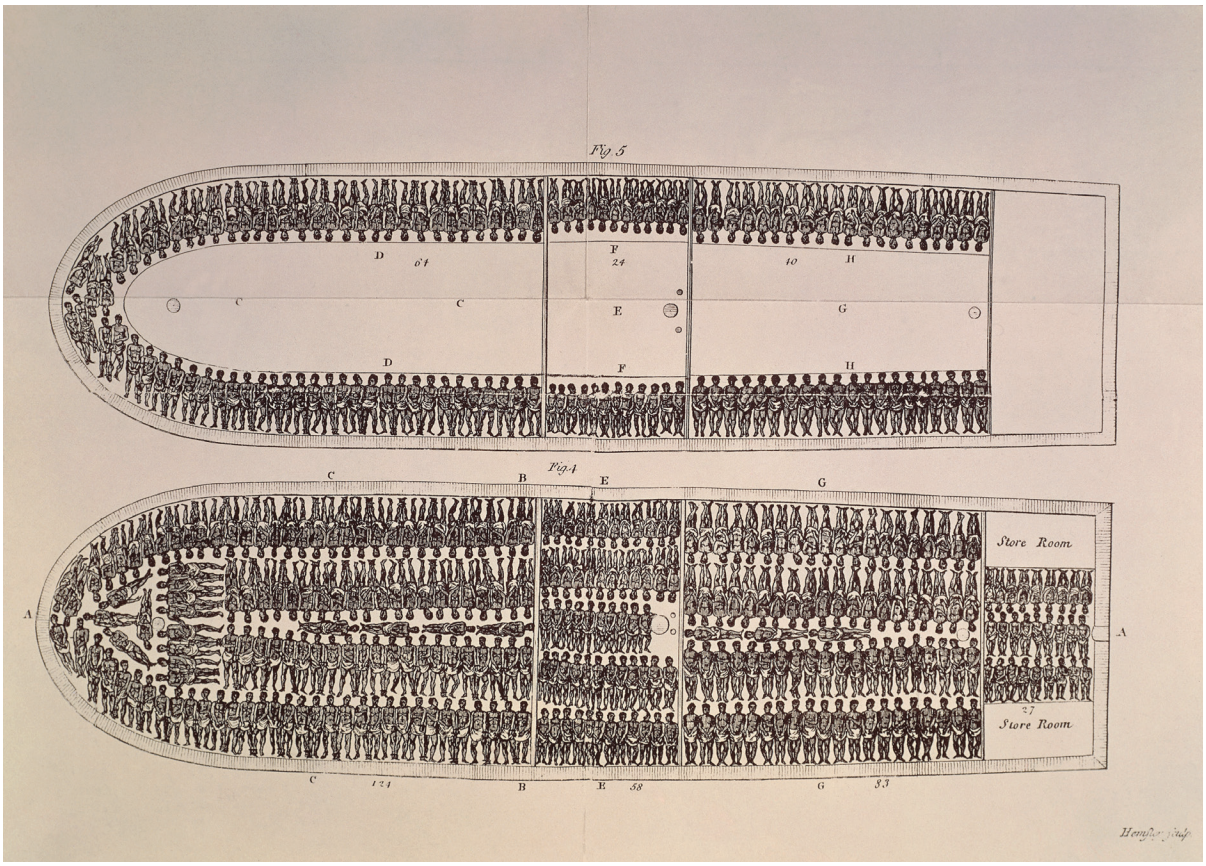
Source: Todorov 1984, 139.

residents of Spain and Portugal—enslaved as well as free—accompanied Spaniards on their initial conquest voyages to the New World. Juan Garrido (ca. 1480–ca. 1547), for example, was born in Africa and later traveled to Portugal and then to Spain, where he joined an expedition to Santo Domingo. Juan Garrido also participated in the conquest of Puerto Rica, Cuba, and then Mexico. Juan García (ca. 1495–date of death unknown), in contrast, was born in Spain as a free mulatto and traveled to Peru as a colonist (Restall 2000).

The Spanish colonists—often called *conquistadores*—endeavored to subdue native populations and to convert them into Catholics and subjects of the Spanish Crown. Their main goal, however, was to extract as much wealth as possible from the Americas. This extraction of wealth required labor, and the Spanish colonists enslaved the native populations to this end. The harsh conditions of this enslavement led to massive declines in the native populations,

and in 1550, the Spanish Crown outlawed the practice, although it continued to allow other forms of forced labor. The ban on enslavement of indigenous people did not end the need for labor, and the Spaniards turned to Africa in their search for workers. As they realized that agricultural exploitation, particularly the harvesting of sugarcane, could bring enormous wealth, they began to bring African slaves in very large numbers to their colonies in the Americas (Franklin 1974; Morgan 1975; Smedley 2007). The Spaniards and Portuguese had long been trading with Africans and thus could imagine the possibilities for slave trading with Africa. Notably, the Spaniards were well aware of the technological advances developed in Africa and did not seek Africans as slaves because they thought they were inferior. To the contrary, the Spaniards believed enslaved Africans would be a valuable asset. Consequently, tens of millions of Africans were brought over between the early 1600s and the nineteenth century as slaves (Bowser 1974).

V Between 10 and 30 million Africans were brought to the Americas on slave ships. Nearly a quarter died while at sea.



Whereas the Spaniards had had centuries of contact with Africans, the English who settled in North America had had no such contact until the arrival of twenty Africans in Jamestown in 1619. Slaves did not become an essential part of the workforce in North America until much later.

The form of slavery that eventually emerged in the North American colonies was unique in several ways. First, slaves had no human or legal rights. They were seen only as property, not as people who could marry or own property themselves. Second, slavery was permanent and the slave status was inherited. Third, slaves were forbidden to learn to read or write, thereby ensuring their inferior social status. Finally, slavery in North America was unique insofar as nearly all Africans and their descendants were enslaved, and only this group could be enslaved. This unique system of human exploitation laid the groundwork for a new idea of human difference (Smedley 2007). Before delving further into this point, let's take a closer look at the English settlements in North America.

research focus

Slave Flights and Runaway Communities in Colonial Angola

Slavery was common in Africa well before the transatlantic slave trade. And for as long as slavery existed, so did slave rebellions and runaway slave communities. Brazilian historian Roquinaldo Ferreira has studied these forms of resistance in colonial Angola, a country in southwestern Africa, focusing on the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Ferreira argues that slave flight and the formation of runaway slave communities were frequent in Angola, which the Portuguese colonized in 1575. His work shows that these factors disrupted internal trade networks and impeded Portuguese plans to develop a plantation system there. Slaves played an important role in Angola's economy during this period, working in both urban and farm settings. Their resistance posed major problems for the Portuguese colonists.

Local resistance to slavery also posed a threat to the transatlantic slave trade. Angolan slaves feared being sent on ships to Brazil and would do whatever they could to avoid that fate, including running away. Angolan slaveowners were thus reluctant to sell into the transatlantic slave trade, fearing that the sale of one slave would cause others to flee.

Some runaway slaves were taken in by African rulers. For example, in 1805 a ruler named Caculo Cacahenda hired a runaway who was a scribe literate in Portuguese. The scribe helped his new employer correspond diplomatically and commercially with the Portuguese in Luanda, Angola's capital.

Runaway slaves sometimes joined together in communities called *quilombos* in Portuguese, some of which became large and powerful. One was led by a former slave named Calumba, who commanded widespread respect from African rulers. In a Portuguese military campaign against Calumba, sixty-four individuals were captured, which gives us an idea of how large his quilombo may have been. There were at least five quilombos in Angola in the 1820s, and the population of these communities may have been in the thousands.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Portuguese colonial government consistently tried to break these quilombos. They were unsuccessful, and in the late nineteenth century, the Luanda administration signed a treaty that allowed the quilombos' existence and promised to cease attacks on them.

For Discussion

1. What are some differences between the Angolan slave trade and the transatlantic slave trade?
2. Why do you think the Portuguese tried to break the quilombos?

Source: Ferreira 2014.

Exploitation in the Thirteen English Colonies

In the late fifteenth century, Europeans began to explore parts of North America where indigenous peoples had lived for thousands of years. The English, learning of the great wealth the Spanish had accrued in the New World, were anxious to fill their coffers with riches as well. England first sent colonists to Roanoke Island in the late sixteenth century, but that attempt at settlement failed. The first permanent English settlement was at Jamestown in 1607. Much as Columbus had recounted in 1492, these English settlers reported that the local Native Americans were kind and generous and helped them to survive the unfamiliar conditions. Amicable trade relations did not last long, however, as it became clear that the Englishmen's intentions were not benign: they planned to take over indigenous land and resources (Morgan 1975; Zinn 2010).

Takeover of Indigenous Lands

European colonists engaged in constant warfare with Native Americans, often burning their lodging and crops and enslaving entire tribes. The English colonists justified their takeover of indigenous lands in religious terms. They interpreted their successes as God's will. For example, John Winthrop (1588–1649), a leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the mid-seventeenth century, wrote that the death of so many Native Americans as a result of smallpox showed that "the Lord hathe cleared our title to what we possess" (quoted in Wood 1991, 96). It is important to note that when the English colonists interacted with Native Americans, they did not see them as belonging to a separate race; this idea did not yet exist. Instead, the English saw themselves as superior in religious and moral terms. These religious justifications, however, laid the groundwork for racial distinctions that emerged later (Jordan 1968; Smedley 2007).

The first fifty years of the new settlement in Virginia were full of hardship. Disease, starvation, and war caused extremely high death rates among both Native Americans and English colonists. There were severe food shortages, partly because the first settlers did not plant enough corn. Morgan (1975) points out that most of the settlers in Virginia were not farmers but nobles or gentry who thought food cultivation was beneath them. Although the settlers were too proud to grow corn to eat, they were willing to take up the enterprise of growing tobacco to sell and expected to make their riches in this manner. As there was no shortage of land in this vast country, the only commodity lacking was labor power (Zinn 2010).

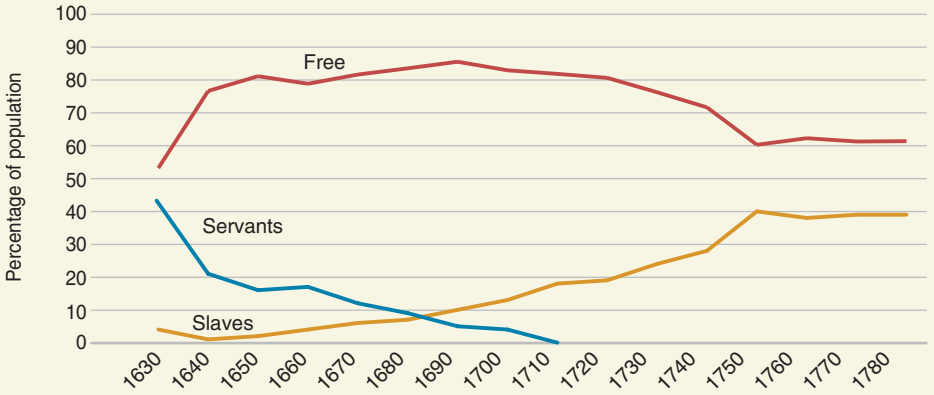
The English colonists were notoriously successful at decimating the Native American population, yet less so in their attempts to use Native Americans for labor. When the English realized they would not become rich instantaneously through gold or silver mining, as it appeared the Spaniards had done, they turned to agricultural production to seek wealth. For this, they needed labor—lots of it. The English were able to enslave Native Americans they captured in warfare, but most indigenous slaves either died or ran away, leaving the English in need of more labor in order to accumulate wealth (Zinn 2010).

Indentured Servitude

The lack of success at enslaving Native Americans led the colonists to turn to Britain, where they recruited poor men, women, and children from the streets of cities such as Liverpool and Bristol. Englishmen also rounded up Irish and Scottish peasants who had been conquered in warfare, banished, or released from prison. Indentured servants from Europe who were willing to work for four to seven years to pay off their passage and debt soon became the primary source of labor for the colonies (At a Glance 1.1). The harsh treatment

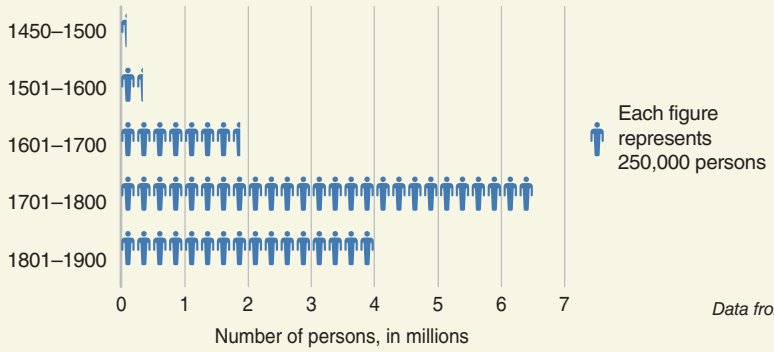
AT A GLANCE 1.1 Servitude, Slavery, and Genocide in the Americas

Slaves and Servants in Population: Chesapeake Colonies
The enslaved population increased as the indentured servant population declined.



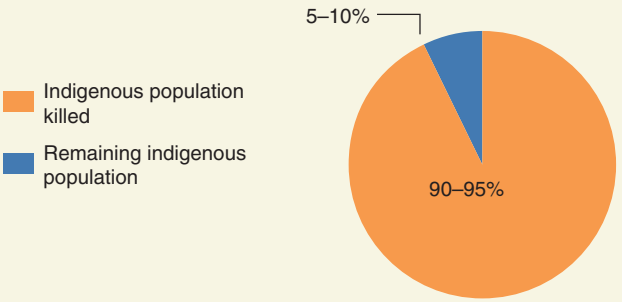
Data from Tomlins 2001

The American Slave Trade
Between 1450 and 1900, 12,817,000 Africans were brought to the New World as slaves.



Data from Lovejoy 2012

Genocide of Indigenous People
Between 1492 and 1600, as many as 138 million indigenous people were killed—90 to 95% of the pre-1492 population.



Data from Stannard 1993; Taylor 2002

of European indentured servants needed no justification, as servitude was a way of life in Britain at that time (Smedley 2007; Zinn 2010).

Throughout the seventeenth century, indentured servants endured harsh conditions as laborers in the colonies. Hopeful laborers continued to come to the Americas, despite the difficult circumstances, because there were possibilities for social and economic advancement in North America that did not exist in England. The flow of English laborers began to decline, however, with the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660, as King Charles II implemented policies that discouraged emigration (Smedley 2007).

The Enslavement of Africans

In addition to bringing English laborers, colonists brought Africans to the colonies as slaves (At a Glance 1.1). Most African slaves brought to North America were from West Africa and were Yoruba, Igbo, Fulani, or Mada. In 1619, English colonists brought the first group of Africans to the North American colonies. These twenty Africans occupied nearly the same social status as European indentured servants and were soon joined by African slaves brought over by Dutch and Spanish slave ships. All of these early Africans were granted rights that were later denied to all blacks in Virginia. There is no evidence that African slaves during the period before 1660 were subjected to more severe disciplinary measures than European servants. Some slaves were allowed to earn money of their own and to buy their freedom with it. There are several cases recorded in which masters set up conditions in their wills whereby Negro slaves would become free or could purchase their freedom after the master's death. The terms of these wills imply that the freed slaves would become regular members of the community (Morgan 1975; Smedley 2007; Zinn 2010).

The enslavement of Africans turned out to be particularly profitable in part because Africans brought with them agricultural and craft experience. In addition, unlike people indigenous to the Americas, Africans had immunities

The American Slave Trade

1492	1619	1660	1676	1863	1865
Christopher Columbus lands in the Caribbean	First African slaves arrive in Jamestown	First slave codes enacted	Bacon's Rebellion	Abraham Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation	Slavery is abolished in the United States

to Old World diseases and thus could live longer in slavery. The initial justifications for bringing Africans to the colonies were not racial in nature. At the time, slavery was an accepted social system. To the extent that a justification was offered, it was that Africans were heathens and their enslavement would ensure their salvation (Smedley 2007). Over time, racial justifications for the enslavement of Africans emerged.

The Legal Codification of Racial Differences

Slave codes of the 1660s spelled out the legal differences between African slaves and European indentured servants. In 1667, Virginia issued a decree that slaves who had converted to Christianity could continue to be enslaved because of their so-called heathen ancestry. Whereas earlier justifications for slavery were primarily religious, the idea that ancestry could be used to determine social status set the stage for the development of the idea of race. In the late seventeenth century, Virginia and Maryland each passed a series of laws that solidified the status of blacks. The strongest indicator of the solidification of the status of Africans was the prohibition of manumission: masters were not allowed to free their slaves, thereby establishing a permanent slave class. Other laws established lifelong servitude, forbade interracial marriage, and limited the rights of blacks to own property and bear arms. These laws specific to blacks both reflected the social order and solidified the status quo. For most of the seventeenth century, European indentured servants and African slaves had shared a similar social status. The slave codes gradually changed this social classification.

slave codes Laws enacted in the 1660s that clearly spelled out the differences between African slaves and European indentured servants.

Laws against Intermarriage

The shared social position of African and European servants and slaves in the early years of the colonies meant that these groups intermarried and fraternized. The fact that Africans and Europeans had amicable relations can be seen in the laws passed that forbade these relationships. In 1661, Virginia passed a law that imposed harsh conditions on English servants who ran away with African slaves. In 1691, Virginia passed another law that prohibited free whites from intermarrying with blacks and Native Americans. Had these groups been naturally disinclined to intermarry or to fraternize, these laws would not have been necessary. As the 1661 law shows, plantation owners were concerned that European indentured servants and African slaves would see that they shared a common interest in fighting for more rights and better conditions. As historian Howard Zinn puts it, "only one fear was greater than the fear of black rebellion in the new American colonies. That was the fear that discontented whites would join black slaves to overthrow the existing order" (2010, 37).

When Africans and Europeans first found themselves together in the Americas, sexual relations and even marriage between these two groups were not uncommon. African men and women married European men and women (Smedley 2007). Various laws were passed, however, both to prevent and to control these relationships. The aforementioned 1662 law made it clear that when African women had children, the child's status as slave or free would be in accordance with the condition of the mother. The law also indicated that when Christians—here meaning Europeans—had sexual relations with Africans, they would pay double the normal fine for adultery. The European men who wrote these laws perceived it to be important to prevent sexual relations between Europeans and Africans and to ensure that the children of enslaved African women would also be slaves. This law effectively prevented the formation of families by enslaved African women and European men.

^ In Bacon's Rebellion, white indentured servants joined forces with enslaved Africans to protest their conditions.

Bacon's Rebellion

Bacon's Rebellion, which occurred in September 1676, provides one example of what could happen when blacks and whites joined forces to fight for their interests. The rebellion itself was not particularly successful, but the coalition that emerged between poor whites and African slaves and freedmen became a cause for concern among the elite planter class, who depended on these groups for cheap labor. In Bacon's Rebellion, white indentured servants joined forces with enslaved Africans and freedmen to protest their conditions. This massive rebellion, in which protestors demanding an end to their servitude burned Jamestown to the ground, was a clear threat to the status quo. One of the last groups to surrender was a mixed group of eighty black and twenty white servants. This multiracial coalition indicates that blacks and whites were willing to join forces to fight for their common interests as laborers. After Bacon's Rebellion, an official report arguing for the continued presence of British soldiers in Virginia stated: "Virginia is at present poor and more populous than ever. There is great apprehension

of a rising among the servants, owing to their great necessities and want of clothes; they may plunder the storehouses and ships" (Zinn 2010, 37).

Howard Zinn and other historians argue that Bacon's Rebellion stirred up fear in the hearts of the elite planter class and that this fear led these elites to pass laws that worked to divide blacks and whites. For example, in the aftermath of the rebellion, the Virginia Assembly gave amnesty to the white servants who had rebelled but not to the blacks. By extending this and other privileges to whites that were denied to blacks, the elites succeeded in preventing future class-based alliances between blacks and whites that would threaten the social order.

Wealth Imbalance and the Tenuous Social Order

Wealth in colonial North America was concentrated in the hands of very few people. In 1700, there were about 250,000 colonists, most of whom lived in horrendous conditions. In Virginia, there were only about fifty wealthy families, who depended on the labor of the other 40,000 poor colonists. This imbalance of wealth made for a tenuous social order (Zinn 2010). It soon became clear to the rich elite and the governing body that they could not continue to disregard the interests of the majority of the population. In 1705, a law was passed requiring masters to provide white servants whose indenture time was completed with ten bushels of corn, thirty shillings, a gun, and fifty acres of land (Morgan 1975, 344). This tactic of giving servants a piece of the American Dream was intended to avoid rebellion by convincing poor whites that the rich landowners were not extortionists or enemies, but protectors of their common interests. To reinforce this impression, it was further mandated that servants had the right to possess property but that slaves did not (Morgan 1975, 333). The Virginia Assembly in 1705 also prohibited any Negro, mulatto, or Indian from raising his hand in opposition to any Christian, which meant any white man (Jordan 1968). By denying black slaves privileges extended to white servants, the first step was taken in creating a division between blacks and whites (Zinn 2010).

In New York in 1708, a group of slaves was accused of murdering a farmer and his family. Shortly afterward, a law was enacted preventing the conspiracy of slaves. This meant, in effect, that slaves could not gather in private to talk about anything. In 1712, a slave rebellion involving about fifty slaves left nine whites dead and six others wounded. Immediately thereafter, New York's repressive laws were reinforced. For example, arson committed by a slave was made into a crime punishable by death (Szasz 1967).

One purpose of the slave codes was the prevention and deterrence of slave rebellions, which were becoming more and more of a real danger with the

increasing number of slaves, especially in the southern colonies, where slaves often outnumbered whites. In 1730, in Virginia, the governor ordered that all whites should bring their guns with them to church on Sunday so that they would be prepared for a slave uprising in the event that slaves took advantage of their absence to conspire (Jordan 1968). The idea of a slave rebellion was even more distasteful to whites because of the widespread idea that any slave insurrection would have as its ultimate goal not only the emancipation of slaves but also the dominance of blacks over whites (Jordan 1968).

Solidifying the Idea of Race

Eventually, the entire slave class was composed of black Africans, and, as a result of manumission restrictions, most blacks were enslaved. The creation of

voices

From *Bullwhip Days*

My mother's mistress had three boys—one twenty-one, one nineteen, and one seventeen. One day, Old Mistress had gone away to spend the day. Mother always worked in the house; she didn't work on the farm, in Missouri. While she was alone, the boys came in and threw her down on the floor and tied her down so she couldn't struggle, and one after the other used her as long as they wanted, for the whole afternoon. Mother was sick when her mistress came home. When Old Mistress wanted to know what was the matter with her, she told her what the boys had done. She whipped them, and that's the way I came to be here.

—Mary Peters describing the brutal circumstances of her own conception

I saw slaves sold. I can see that old block now. My cousin Eliza was a pretty girl, really good-looking. Her master was her father. . . . The day they sold her will always be remembered. They stripped her to be bid off and looked at. . . . The man that bought Eliza was from New York. The Negroes had made up 'nuf money to buy her off theyself, but the white folks wouldn't let that happen. There was a man bidding for her that was a Swedeland. He allus bid for the good-looking cullud gals and bought 'em for his own use. He ask the man from New York "What you gonna do with 'er when you git 'er?" The man from New York said, "None of your damn business, but you ain't got money 'nuf to buy 'er."

—Former slave Daniel Dowdy

Source: Mellon 2002, 297; 287.

this sort of color line, alongside the introduction of the concept of hereditary slavery, was an important step toward solidifying the idea of race. Notably, it was not until the eighteenth century that negative beliefs about Africans became widespread among the English settlers. Even then, there is ample evidence that blacks and whites continued to fraternize. In 1743, a grand jury in Charleston, South Carolina, denounced "The Too Common Practice of Criminal Conversation with Negro and other Slave Wenches in this Province" (Zinn 2010).

The stories of Mary Peters and Daniel Dowdy (Voices: From *Bullwhip Days*) elucidate the cruelty and dehumanization that were part and parcel of colonialism and enslavement in the Americas. These two phenomena—colonialism and slavery—have left a strong mark on the way people in the United States view the world. Our contemporary racial worldview is a relic of the systems of human classification that were first used in the context of the colonization of Native American territories and the enslavement of Africans in the Americas. Although such brutal practices are no longer morally or legally permissible, the ideas of racial difference that emerged from those practices persist.

SLAVERY VERSUS THE IDEAL OF FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES

The Declaration of Independence famously begins by stating that all men are created equal. The question was, then, why were some enslaved? Although the concept of liberty was at the core of the American Revolution, nearly half of the fifty-five men who made up the 1787 Constitutional Convention owned slaves, and most of the rest profited from slavery through their business practices. A prominent member, George Washington (1732–1799), was one of the richest men in the colonies and the owner of many slaves. These men struggled with the contradictions inherent in advocating for freedom in a slaveholding society, yet they were unwilling to outlaw slavery (Feagin 2001).

The writers of the founding documents of the United States were not willing to end slavery in part because most of them profited directly or indirectly from it. The wealth generated by slave labor in the United States had made the American Revolution possible: a significant amount of the funds that financed the American Revolution came from profits from slavery (Feagin 2001). The contradiction between the ideals of freedom and the prevalence of slavery led to justifications of slavery in terms of blacks' alleged racial inferiority. Writings by people such as Thomas Jefferson validated the belief that people of African

descent were less than human. In 1787, Thomas Jefferson wrote in *Notes on Virginia*: "Blacks, whether originally a distinct race or made distinct by time and circumstance, are inferior to whites in the endowment both of body and mind" (Jefferson [1787] 2004, 98–99).

Slavery was an immensely profitable enterprise for a small number of slaveholders. In 1860, the twelve wealthiest counties in the United States could all be found in the Deep South. The profits were not evenly divided, however: about 7 percent of Southerners owned three-quarters of the 4 million slaves in the South. This concentration of wealth meant that slaveowners constituted a powerful planter class that went to great lengths to protect its property, which included humans: slaveowners saw enslaved Africans and African Americans as an investment they did not want to lose. Additionally, many whites who did not own slaves profited indirectly from the slave system. In the southern

GLOBAL VIEW

The Idea of Race in Latin American Nation-Making

Contradictions surrounding racial ideologies are not unique to the United States. During the nineteenth century, Latin American countries sought their independence from colonial rule. As in the United States, such calls for political freedom seemed at odds with these nations' long histories of slavery and servitude.

From 1870 to 1940, Latin American countries were engaged in nation-making. That is, Latin American intellectual and political elites attempted to build national unity for their fledgling nations (Knight 1990). In this process, they endeavored to prove that their countries were modern nations with a unique identity. They had to contend, however, with European scholars who viewed them as racially degenerate (Stepan 1991). Many European scholars looked down on Latin America, which they perceived as having high levels of racial mixture and a relatively small number of whites.

Latin Americans countered European intellectuals' impression of them with claims that racial mixture (*mestizaje*) would lead to progress. Latin American intellectuals argued that racial mixture was not only beneficial but also the hallmark of Latin American nations. According to this logic, the mixture of Iberians (those of Spanish or Portuguese descent) with other races was what made countries such as Mexico, Cuba, and Brazil great nations. Although Latin Americans developed their own brand of racial ideology, they did not reject the belief that whiteness was superior. Instead, they expanded the idea of whiteness to include racially and culturally mixed people in order to accommodate their own realities. Faced with different racial demographics, Latin American intellectuals developed racial and national discourses that suited their countries. A consideration of Latin American racial ideologies and discourses reveals that ideas of white superiority come in many forms.