The Minorities and Communication section of the proceedings contains the following 4 selected papers: "Differences in Media by Online Business in Black- and White-Targeted Magazines: The Potential Impact of the Digital Divide on Ad Placement" (Osei Appiah and Matthew Wagner); "Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact" (Carol M. Liebler and Richard D. Waters); "Effects of Advertising Messages for Breast Cancer on African-American Women’s Attitudes toward Early Prevention" (Cynthia M. Frisby); and "Terror Masked in Silence: Black Press Coverage of the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan" (Mike Conway). (RS)
Differences in Media Buying by Online Businesses in Black- and White-Targeted Magazines: The Potential Impact of the Digital Divide on Ad Placement

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Abstract

This study examined differences in ad placement by online companies based on whether the publication targets the general market or the black population. Seventy-two magazines from three different categories were analyzed to ascertain the number of online company ads in each magazine. It was predicted that online businesses would place more ads in general market magazines than they would in magazines targeted to black audiences. The findings clearly support the overall hypothesis. The impact of the digital divide on ad placement is discussed.
Differences in Media Buying by Online Businesses in Black- and White-Targeted Magazines: The Potential Impact of the Digital Divide on Ad Placement

Attracting consumers to the Internet is a major concern for online businesses. Those web-based businesses that fail to attract visitors will not survive very long. Approaches used to attract audiences to web sites include renting space on a site or purchasing key-word space on a search engine (Hodges, 1996). These techniques only reach audiences that are already on the Internet; thus, many potentially interested consumers remain unaware of many online businesses (Schlosser & Kanfer, 1999), giving these approaches only limited success.

One way to increase the visibility of online businesses is to make use of more traditional forms of advertising such as print media, since there is empirical evidence that suggests magazines are instrumental in helping people find out about web sites. In fact, in a national survey, 65% of people who use the Internet reported finding out about Web sites through magazines (Gupta, 1995).

The objective of this paper is to determine the degree to which online businesses are placing ads in print media. In particular, this paper will examine the extent to which online businesses are advertising in both general market magazines and black-targeted magazines. This paper will also assess whether there are differences in ad placement by online businesses based on whether the publication is for a general market audience or for a predominantly black audience. The potential influence of the digital divide on media placement will also be discussed.

Growth in Advertising by Online Business

Using magazine advertisements to locate sites on the Internet is a common practice among consumers. Research shows the importance of magazine advertisements in creating
awareness for Internet users (Gupta, 1995). These consumers’ response to print advertising is reflected in the significant ad growth in the magazine industry in 1999 (Diaz, 2000). Much of this growth in ad placements in magazines can be attributed to online business advertising. Online business advertising increased 115% from 1997 to 1998 (Kerwin, 1999) and increased by a tremendous 159% from 1998 to 1999, thereby driving ad growth during that time period (Diaz, 2000). This growth in online business advertising has been spread across many different magazine genres and not just concentrated in computer magazines. For example, in some magazines such as Business Week, online businesses consisted of a third of all new advertisers (Diaz, 2000).

**Ad Placement in Black Media**

Although there is evidence of a boost in ad placement and spending in a range of general market media (Diaz, 2000; Kerwin, 1999), ad spending in black media has been a grave disappointment (Ross, 1999). Executives at black-targeted media outlets have complained for decades about the major inequities in ad spending in general market media compared to black-targeted media by advertisers (”Advertisers Avoid Blacks, 1999,” Wynter, 1999). Despite high audience ratings for many broadcast outlets and a large number of subscribers for magazines, black media personnel have struggled to convince potential advertisers that black consumers are a viable target (Wilson, 2000). This pattern of exclusion has even reached the federal government, which has been criticized for failing to advertise on black television or in black newspapers and magazines (see “Minority-Owned Media,” 1998; Teinowitz, 2000). For example, the $195 million National Youth Anti-Drug campaign launched by the government relied almost exclusively on white media and failed to include black publications (“Black Press Ignored,” 1998).
On those occasions when advertisers have patronized black media, they often demanded to pay less for ad space in black media vis-à-vis ad space in general market media, even when the audiences for black media were larger (Federal Communications Committee, 1998; "Advertisers Avoid Blacks, 1999"). These claims were confirmed by a recent Federal Communications Commission's report (1998) that found that advertisers often exclude media that serve predominantly black audiences. The study discovered that "majority" owned media received about 29% more revenue per listener than minority stations targeting largely minority audiences. Given this evidence, it is no surprise that many executives at black-owned or black-targeted media and ad agencies maintain that advertisers undervalue and under appreciate black consumers (Teinowitz, 2000).

This begs the question, "Why are many advertisers dismissing black-targeted media and black consumers?" The answer may be that businesses and advertisers are operating under some inaccurate assumptions and stereotypes about black consumers that have led them to avoid purchasing advertising space in black media. Advertisers may have race-specific stereotypes that characterize blacks as poverty-stricken and thereby unable to purchase brand names and expensive products. The research literature, however, points to the contrary. Compared to whites, black consumers spend more of their discretionary income on goods and services, spend relatively more on fragrances, apparel, footwear, personal care, home furnishings, and automobiles (Kotler & Armstrong, 1990; Rossman, 1994); place more importance on brand names (Wellington, 1981; Crispell, 1993; Gage, 1981; Kotler & Armstrong, 1990); are more fashion-conscious (Goldsmith, Stith, & White, 1987) and buy fewer generic goods (Rossman, 1994).
These types of race-specific stereotypes may drive certain media planners to develop practices that limit or prohibit the purchase of ad space in black media. This is evidenced by a memo that was discovered at the ad sales firm, Katz Media Group, which urged advertisers to avoid black radio stations if they want to pursue "prospects" rather than "suspects" ("Advertisers Avoid Blacks," 1999).

Moreover, according to the FCC (1998), some in the advertising industry have quietly instituted a "no urban dictates" policy, where advertisers exclude stations that target largely black and Latino audiences despite their audience size. For example, a recent study indicated that the number one radio station in New York City, with an urban, hip-hop format, and a predominantly minority audience had 37% less ad revenue than the city's second leading radio station, a light, contemporary station with a predominantly white audience (Wilson, 2000).

Advertisers may be guided by a number of other false assumptions that influence their use of black media. One particularly important misperception is the belief that advertisers can effectively capture black consumers using the same general messages and mainstream media that appeal to white consumers (Askey, 1995; Gadsden, 1985). Much of the research literature contradicts this assumption. Although black consumers heavily rely on print and television advertising for information and use that information when making purchases (Miller & Miller, 1992; Soley, 1983), they often ignore television and advertising that is perceived to be targeted to primarily white audiences (Appiah, in press; Brandweek, 1993; Rossman, 1994). In fact, Black audiences are more attracted to media with black characters (Dates, 1980). Blacks are also more likely to trust ads and editorial content in black media than they are general market media ("Study Reveals Blacks," 1998). This appears to be particularly true for blacks with strong black ethnic identities. That is, data indicate that blacks who possess strong ethnic identities have more
positive evaluations of ads placed in black-targeted media than they do of ads placed in general market media (Green, 1999).

Internet Usage & the Digital Divide

For online companies, one of the more compelling arguments dictating whether they purchase ad space in black media may be the perception that blacks do not use the Internet. Some executives have pointed out that the most frustrating part of their job is attempting to sell spots to Internet service providers and online companies, many of whom must be convinced that black people use computers and go online (Wilson, 2000). The advertising director at Black Enterprise, a magazine for black affluent consumers, maintains that the advertising department struggles for revenue from the technology industry, which should be of no surprise given many technology companies such as Microsoft have yet to advertise in any black media (Wilson, 2000).

For many technology and online companies placing ads in black-owned or black-targeted media the pertinent question is, “Do blacks own computers and are blacks using the Internet?” Advertisers’ perceptions that few blacks own computers and even fewer are online is not necessarily unsubstantiated. There is a growing body of literature (Beaupre & Brand-Williams, 1997; Henry, 1999; Hoffman & Novak, 1998; Joyce 1997) that suggests blacks trail far behind whites in their computer access, ownership, and their online use. This has led to the coining of the term “digital divide,” defined as the difference between those with access to new technology and those without (Hindman, 2000), a difference thought by many to be increasing (Abrams, 1997; Beaupre & Brand-Williams).

On the surface, the data indicate that blacks appear to be far behind whites in a number of important areas. According to a study conducted by Hoffman and Novak (1998), whites compared to blacks were more likely to have a computer at home, have access to a computer at
work, and were more likely to have recently gone online. Moreover, other reports indicate that seventy-five percent of Internet users are white while blacks make up only eleven percent of Internet users (Raney, 1998).

This data, however, may be a bit misleading. A closer examination of the data show some evidence that the racial divide may be non-existent, and in some cases blacks’ use of technology may have surpassed that of whites.

Although Blacks with incomes below $40,000 were far less likely than whites to own a computer and go online (Raney, 1998; Hoffman & Novak, 1998), there is evidence that blacks with higher incomes use computers and go online at the same or greater rate than their white counterparts. Studies indicate that blacks with incomes above $40,000 are more likely than whites to own a computer, have computer access at work, and more likely to use the Internet during office hours (Hoffman & Novak, 1998). Other empirical studies have found that blacks and whites are equally likely to search the web for product information (Hoffman & Novak, 1998) and that there is virtually no difference in Internet use among blacks and whites with middle to upper level incomes (Hoffman & Novak, 1998; Hubbard, 2000). For example, black and white households with incomes between $60,000 and $80,000 use the Internet at the same rate (Hubbard, 2000). Surprisingly, at the highest household income levels—$90,000 and above—significantly more blacks use the Internet than whites (Hubbard, 2000).

Although blacks appear to be the most under-served segment of the population by technology and online companies (DePriest, 2000), there is additional support that points to an impressive and growing number of blacks online. Blacks are among the fastest growing segments on the World Wide Web (DePriest, 2000; Sutel, 1999). From 1998 to 1999 the number of blacks online increased by 42% compared to 28% among whites (DePriest, 2000).
Additionally, during this same time period blacks' spending on computers and computer-related products increased by 143% (Hubbard, 2000).

Given this data, there appears to be solid evidence that suggests that the racial divide between whites and blacks may be shrinking or may even be non-existent. In fact, the digital divide seems to result more from differences in socioeconomic status than differences in race. This has been supported by research that indicates education and income, not race, dictate consumers access to both computers and the Internet (see Hoffman & Novak, 1998).

Studies that continue to falsely depict blacks as hopelessly trailing behind whites in the Information Age could create and fuel misperceptions that some online advertisers may possess. Unfortunately, these misperceptions may already exist and may be apparent in online businesses ad placement in black publications vis-à-vis white publications.

This discussion leads to the following hypotheses:

**H1:** Online businesses will overall advertise more in general market (non-targeted) magazines than they will in black-targeted magazines.

**H2:** Online businesses will advertise more in non-targeted business and finance magazines than they will in black-targeted business and finance magazines.

**H3:** Online businesses will advertise more in non-targeted general interest magazines than they will in black-targeted general lifestyle magazines.

**H4:** Online businesses will advertise more in non-targeted women’s magazines than they will in black-targeted women’s magazines.

**Method**

The purpose of the study was to determine the differences, if any, in the amount of online business advertising for magazines with general market audiences versus magazines targeted to
the black population. A content analysis of 1999 magazine ads was completed using seventy-two total magazine from three different categories (i.e., business and finance, general interest, and women’s). This year was used because online business advertising increased dramatically in 1999 (Diaz, 2000). The full year (12 issues) for each monthly magazine was counted, except for Fortune, which is bi-monthly, in which case, the last 12 issues of the year were used, beginning in July.

Magazines were chosen in pairs. A magazine that has a general market readership was compared to a magazine of the same category, but marketed to the black population. To control for the possibility that results could be influenced by the magazine category, three different categories were used. Fortune magazine was compared to Black Enterprise. Both are categorized as “Business & Commercial” by Bacon’s Magazine Directory (2000) and as “Business and Finance” by SRDS Consumer Magazine Advertising Source (2001). These two magazines are both targeted to affluent, business-minded individuals. Another category used was “General Interest” which includes Life Magazine and Ebony (Bacon’s Magazine Directory, 2000), with Ebony as the magazine targeted to black audiences. The last two magazines used in the content analysis were Cosmopolitan and the black publication Essence, which are categorized as women’s magazines by both Bacon’s (2000) and SRDS (2001). Similar issues of interest to woman are common themes in both of these magazines. All of the magazines were grouped in this way so the data gathered could be compared to black and white audiences that shared similar interests.

With so many businesses creating web sites today, it seems as if a great majority of businesses could be defined as online businesses. For this study, only businesses that offer their product or service exclusively online were counted. Many advertisements today place the web
address or Uniform Resource Locator (URL) of their business somewhere within the ad. Simply placing a URL in an ad was not sufficient for being chosen in this study. For example, a car manufacturer such as Ford placing a web address in the ad would not be counted. However, if a business that allowed people to order cars exclusively online (e.g., AutoMallUSA.com) had advertised, that ad would be counted. This definition of an online business was used to limit confusion in the sampling process.

Only full-page or multiple-page ads (regardless of content) were counted. The reason only full-page ads were counted is to ensure all the ads counted in the analysis were of equal size. The total number of full-page or multiple-page ads were recorded along with the number of full-page or multiple-page Internet ads. This was done to calculate percentages of ads that were Internet ads. It is important to note that for multiple-page ads, the advertisement was only counted once. The back cover of a magazine (which usually is an advertisement) was also counted. The total number of pages were also recorded to give an indication of the percentage of advertisements in the magazines.

Results

The analysis explored the effects of publications' target race on the number or percentage of online company ads placed in magazines. Three dependent variables were used in an effort to effectively rule out alternative explanations for media placement in general market or black-targeted publications.

The first dependent variable was online company ads based on the total number of pages in each issue. This was created by computing the total number of online company ads for each issue and dividing by the total number of pages for each magazine. The result is the percentage of pages in each issue that consisted of online company ads. This same analysis was used to
compute the total number of online ads based on the total number of pages for all twelve magazines in each genre (i.e., business, general interest, and women's) and for each audience (non-targeted, targeted). For example, the total number of online company ads for all twelve issues of Black Enterprise was divided by the total number of pages for all twelve issues of Black Enterprise. The result is the percentage of pages in all twelve Black Enterprise magazines that consisted of online company ads. This same pattern of analysis was used for Fortune, Cosmopolitan, Essence, Life, and Ebony.

The second dependent variable was the percent of the total number of ads that were online company ads. This was created by dividing the total number of ads by the total number of online company ads for each magazine. For example, the total number of online ads for all twelve issues of Cosmopolitan was divided by the total number of all ads in all twelve issues of Cosmopolitan. The result is the percentage of the total number of ads that were online company ads.

The last dependent variable was the number of online business ads per one thousand magazines sold. This variable was created by dividing the number of online company ads by the magazine circulation and then multiplying by one thousand. For example, the total number of online ads for Essence magazines was divided by the magazine circulation and multiplied by one thousand. The result is the number of online company ads that were placed in the magazine for every one thousand magazines sold.

The data for the black-targeted magazines were aggregated to create an overall "black market magazines" variable. Similarly, data for the general market magazines were aggregated to create an overall "general market magazines" variable. For example, the total number of ads for all three black-targeted magazines were aggregated and divided by the total number of online
company ads for all thirty-six issues. This resulted in the percent of the total number of ads in all
three black-targeted magazines that consisted of online company ads. This same procedure was
used to create the overall “general market magazines” variable. While there may be interesting
findings from genre specific magazines, any generalizations made from one magazine type may
be premature since media placement in magazines may be genre specific. Aggregating allows for
more conclusive generalizations by summarizing the general significance of the three magazine
types. Figure 1 shows the total number of online business ads for each magazine category and for
the aggregate scale based on the race of the magazine audience.

The results of the analyses are presented and discussed according to the hypotheses
presented earlier. A series of one-way analyses of variance were conducted to evaluate the
effects of target race of publication audience on each of the three dependent variables.

**Online Company Ads Based on Total Number of Pages**

**Aggregate General Market Magazines and Black-Targeted Magazines.** It was predicted
that online businesses would place more ads in general market magazines than they would in
black-targeted magazines. The one-way ANOVA indicated that significantly more ($F (1, 70) =
14.17, p < .001$) online company ads were placed in general market magazines than they were in
black-targeted magazines based on the total number of magazine pages. Two percent ($M =
.0234$) of the pages in general market magazines were dedicated to online company ads. In
contrast, less than one-third of one percent ($M = .0026$) of the pages in black-targeted magazines
consisted of online company ads (see Table 2). These findings support the hypothesis.
Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted Business Magazines. It was predicted that online companies would advertise more in non-targeted business magazines than they would black-targeted business magazines. The results indicated that significantly (F (1, 22) = 28.52, p < .001) more ads were placed in Fortune magazines than they were in Black Enterprise magazines based on the total number of magazine pages. That is, six percent (M = .0595) of the pages in Fortune magazines were dedicated to online company ads, whereas for Black Enterprise less than one percent (M = .0063) of the pages consisted of online company ads. These findings support the hypothesis.

Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted General Lifestyle Magazines. Online companies placed more ads in Life magazines (M = .0028) than they did in Ebony magazines (M = .0004) based on the total number of magazine pages but this was only marginally significant (F (1, 22) = 3.67, p = .07).

Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted Women’s Magazines. It was predicted that online businesses would advertise more in non-targeted women’s magazines than they would in black-targeted women’s magazines. The results support this hypothesis. Nearly one percent (M = .0079) of the pages in Cosmopolitan magazines were dedicated to online company ads, whereas only one-tenth of one-percent (M = .0013) of the pages in Essence magazines consisted of online company ads (F (1, 22) = 5.18, p < .05).
Online Ads Based on Total Number of Ads

Aggregate General Market Magazines and Black-Targeted Magazines. It was hypothesized that online businesses would place more ads in general market magazines than they would in black-targeted magazines based on a percentage of the total number of ads. This same prediction was expected for each magazine type (i.e., business and finance, general lifestyle, and women’s).

The analysis indicated that nearly five percent ($M = .0482$) of the total number of ads in general market magazines were dedicated to online business ads. In contrast, only one half of one percent ($M = .0052$) of the total number of ads in black-targeted magazines consisted of online company ads ($F (1, 70) = 16.63, p < .001$). The hypothesis was supported (see Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here

Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted Business Magazines. The results indicated that significantly ($F (1, 22) = 27.57, p < .001$) more ads were placed in Fortune magazines than were placed in Black Enterprise magazines based on the total number of magazine ads. Eleven percent ($M = .1138$) of the total number of ads in Fortune were dedicated to online company ads whereas only one percent ($M = .0116$) of the total number of ads in Black Enterprise magazines consisted of online company ads. These findings support the hypothesis.

Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted General Lifestyle Magazines. Online companies placed more ads in Life magazines ($M = .0096$) than they did in Ebony magazines ($M = .0009$) based on the total number of magazine ads but this was only marginally significant ($F (1, 22) = 3.25, p = .09$).
Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted Women's Magazines. The analysis indicated that two percent ($M = .0212$) of the total number of ads in *Cosmopolitan* consisted of online company ads whereas less than one third of one percent ($M = .0031$) of the total number of ads in *Essence* magazines consisted of online company ads ($F (1, 22) = 5.39, p < .05$). The hypothesis was supported.

**Number of Online Company Ads Per One Thousand Magazines Sold**

Aggregate General Market Magazines and Black-Targeted Magazines. It was hypothesized that online businesses would place more ads in general market magazines than they would in black-targeted magazines based on every one thousand magazines sold. This same prediction was expected for each magazine type (i.e., business and finance, general lifestyle, and women's).

The analyses indicated that online companies placed significantly ($F (1, 70) = 8.59, p < .01$) more ads in general market magazines for every one thousand magazines sold than they did in black-targeted magazines. For all general market magazines, .0085 online company ads were placed for every one thousand magazines sold. In contrast, only .0011 online company ads were placed in black-targeted magazines (see Table 4). These findings support the hypothesis.

Insert Table 4 about here

Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted Business Magazines. The results indicated that significantly ($F (1, 22) = 17.81, p < .001$) more ads were placed in *Fortune* ($M = .0244$) for every one thousand magazines sold than *Black Enterprise* ($M = .0032$). These findings support the hypothesis.
Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted General Lifestyle Magazines. No significant difference in online company ad placement based on every one thousand general lifestyle magazines sold.

Non-Targeted and Black-Targeted Women’s Magazines. Online companies placed .0010 online ads for every one thousand *Cosmopolitan* magazines sold compared to only .0002 online ads for every one thousand *Essence* magazines sold. However, this was only marginally significant (F (1, 22) = 3.66, p = .07).

Conclusion and Discussion

The results from this study provide information on the extent to which online businesses place ads in varying types of general market and black-targeted publications. In particular, this study aimed to uncover any differences in ad placement by online companies based on whether the publication targets the general market or the black population. Seventy-two magazines from three different genres (i.e., business and finance, general lifestyle, and women’s) were analyzed to ascertain the number of overall ads and the number of online company ads in each magazine. To better ensure comparability, an effort was made to use equivalent black and white magazines from the same categories. *Black Enterprise* and *Fortune* were selected to represent business magazines, *Ebony* and *Life* were chosen for their general lifestyle content, and *Essence* and *Cosmopolitan* both were listed as women’s fashion magazines (see Bacon’s Magazine Directory, 2000).

It was hypothesized that online businesses would place more ads in general market magazines than they would in magazines targeted to black populations. Irrespective of whether online company ad placement was examined based on the percentage of the total number of magazine pages, the percentage of the total number of overall ads, or based on the number of
online company ads per one thousand magazines sold, the findings clearly support the overall hypothesis.

The results indicate that two percent of the pages in general market magazines were dedicated to online company ads whereas less than one third of one percent of the pages in black-targeted magazines consisted of online company ads. This was consistent across each magazine category. For example, six percent of the pages in *Fortune* magazines were dedicated to online company ads, while less than one percent of the pages in *Black Enterprise* consisted of online company ads. Based on the total number of magazine pages, online businesses also placed significantly more ads in both *Life* and *Cosmopolitan* than they did in comparable black magazines like *Ebony* and *Essence*.

These findings were also consistent with respect to the percentage of online company ads based on the total number of overall ads. Nearly five percent of the total number of ads in general market publications consisted of online business ads. In contrast, only one half of one percent of the total number of ads in black-targeted publications consisted of online business ads. In business magazines, a staggering eleven percent of the total number of ads in *Fortune* were dedicated to online company ads. For *Black Enterprise*, only one percent of the total number of ads were for online companies. Once again, online companies advertised more in *Life* and *Cosmopolitan* than they did in the same magazine categories targeted to black populations.

Similarly, the data indicated that online companies placed significantly more ads in general market magazines for every one thousand magazines sold than they did in black-targeted magazines. Also, online companies placed more ads in *Fortune* and *Cosmopolitan* than they did for *Black Enterprise* and *Essence* based on every thousand magazines sold. The only inconsistent finding was with respect to online advertising in general interest magazines. No significant
difference was found in online company ad placement based on every one thousand general interest magazines sold.

From these findings it is clear that online businesses have avoided placing ads in black publications. What might be less clear is why they have done so. Perhaps certain media planners are driven by race-specific stereotypes that overstate a digital divide. These planners may limit or prohibit the purchase of ad space in black magazines despite research that shows that blacks are more likely to trust ads in black media than they are general market media ("Study Reveals Blacks," 1998). Blacks also appreciate the information value of magazine advertising more than whites (Soley, 1983), respond more to advertising than whites (Miller & Miller, 1992), are more likely than whites to view ads before buying (Brandweek, 1993), and are more unlikely to buy or trust products that are not advertised (Miller & Miller, 1992). Despite this evidence media planners continue to avoid black media.

Online advertisers may also rely on inconclusive or inaccurate data that point to black consumers as having substantially less access to computers and the Internet vis-à-vis their white counterparts. Yet, blacks with higher incomes are using computers as much or more than whites with the same income (Hoffman & Novak, 1998). Unfortunately, studies in the popular press and in scholarly journals and reports that reveal information to the contrary are given less attention (e.g., Raney, 1998). In fact, when examining the data much more closely there is significant evidence that suggests the "real" divide is one of income and not race.

To better understand the digital divide, it is important to be familiar with the theoretical perspective known as the knowledge gap. Knowledge gap (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1970) discusses the differences in levels of knowledge between groups of different socioeconomic status (SES). The basic premise is that mass media may increase knowledge of certain topics but
members of a higher SES will gain knowledge faster over time than members of a lower SES thereby increasing the knowledge gap over time. In knowledge gap studies, level of education is most often used as the variable to measure SES, followed by income (Gaziano, 1997).

Although SES is often used in studies, individual factors may also play a part in determining knowledge gap. Ettema and Kline, (1977) reworked the original knowledge gap hypothesis to replace socioeconomic status with motivation and interest in information as variables. People who are motivated by information introduced in the mass media will learn far more quickly than those people who are not motivated or interested. Kwak (1999) makes the claim that if motivation or media use is high, then the knowledge gap may decrease regardless of education level. Thus, even if there are SES differences between the readers of white magazines and the readers of black magazines, research has shown that motivation and interest in the topic can cancel those effects (Kwak, 1999; Ettema & Kline, 1977). The role of advertisers is not only to persuade audiences, but also to give audiences information about needed or desired products and services. Without at least limited knowledge of a particular business, there cannot be interest or motivation.

When online businesses do not advertise in black magazines, these businesses forgo valuable opportunities to educate black readers about web-based products and services. Not only may online companies lose out on a huge market opportunity by failing to advertise in black magazines, black magazine readers may, as a consequence, become information deficient vis-à-vis readers of the general market magazines. Furthermore, advertisers’ propensity for minimal spending to reach black audiences could cripple black media and cause black audiences to be less informed about the marketplace in general (Wynter, 1999). The possibility that misconceptions surrounding the digital divide may be driving advertisers of online businesses
away from black magazines could further widen the knowledge gap. In this technology-based Information Age, this information deficiency could have grave socio-economic consequences.
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Dates, J. (1980). Race, racial attitudes and adolescent perceptions of black television


Advertising Age, 48.


Minority-owned media outlets have complained about lack of advertising from federal government, and Vice President Al Gore is moving on the issue. (1998, November 2). Jet, p. 36.


Table 1

Magazines and Circulation Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>2,592,887</td>
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<td>Essence</td>
<td>1,004,452</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fortune</td>
<td>853,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Enterprise</td>
<td>421,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Magazine</td>
<td>1,523,061*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ebony</td>
<td>1,728,986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 1

Number of Online Business Ads in Magazines for 1999
Table 2

Percentage of Online Company Ads Based on Total Number of Magazine Pages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Non-Targeted</th>
<th>Black-Targeted</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Aggregate of All Magazines Categories</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business &amp; Finance Magazines</td>
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<td>.0063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Interest Magazines</td>
<td>.0028</td>
<td>.0004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Magazines</td>
<td>.0079*</td>
<td>.0013</td>
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</table>

Note. Asterisks refer to mean pairs that are significantly different based on one-way analysis of variance.

* p < .05    *** p < .001.
Table 3

Percentage of the Total Number of Ads that are Online Company Ads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Non-Targeted Audience</th>
<th>Black-Targeted Audience</th>
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<td>.0052</td>
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<td>Business &amp; Finance Magazines</td>
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<td>.0116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Interest Magazines</td>
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<td>.0009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Magazines</td>
<td>.0212*</td>
<td>.0031</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Asterisks refer to mean pairs that are significantly different based on one-way analysis of variance.

* p < .05    *** p < .001.
Table 4

**Number of Online Company Ads Per One Thousand Magazines Sold**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
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<th>Black-Targeted</th>
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<td>Women's Magazines</td>
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<td>.0002</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Asterisks refer to mean pairs that are significantly different based on one-way analysis of variance.

* p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001.
Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact

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Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact

Abstract

Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact

This study examines in-group bias, and the extremity-complexity and contact hypotheses in relation to media exposure, and crime and success stereotyping. A cross-sectional survey of African, Anglo, Asian and Latinos (n=491) illustrated that not only did stereotyping vary by group, but that interpersonal and mediated communication are both important factors to consider when conceptualizing and operationalizing contact, as is the type of media contact.
Although the mass media today reflect a society that is much less tolerant of blatant prejudices, they do not reflect a society in which all intergroup issues have been resolved and in which prejudice and racial inequality are things of the past.

Healey (1998) p. 111

Introduction

Discussion of the media’s role in race relations dates back at least to the Kerner Commission of 1968. Since that time, the mass communications literature has become rich in content studies of media stereotyping. Yet the degree to which the mass media improve or hamper understanding across racial and cultural lines remains relatively unexplored. While negative and stereotypical images persist, our media landscape is evolving to reflect an increasingly diverse population: we witness more varied representations in advertising, news and entertainment than ever before. Whether audiences’ perceptions reflect this more balanced imagery, or remain consistent with traditional stereotypes and prejudices, warrants further attention.

The present study examines three related social psychological conceptualizations: in-group bias, and the extremity-complexity and contact hypotheses. At the heart of this study is analysis of the linkage between media use and stereotyping, or more specifically, how people perceive people like themselves and people from other groups. Suggested here is that members of different racial/ethnic groups will not only have different media
exposure patterns, but that the relationship between media usage and stereotyping will vary by group as well. This study further expands the research in this area by drawing upon a diverse sample of African American, Anglo American, Asian American and Latino adults.

Stereotypes have been defined frequently in the mass communications literature. Definitions typically include such terms as oversimplification and generalization. But when speaking of media stereotypes, it is important to distinguish among racial and ethnic groups in terms of both audiences and content. It is noteworthy that while media stereotypes can be found in both entertainment and news content, these stereotypes vary across groups (Gandy, 1998). Moreover, while any stereotype is limiting, media portrayals have included a variety of both relatively positive and negative depictions. For example, Blacks have often been stereotyped as criminals and entertainers; Asian Americans as both a yellow peril and a model minority; and Native Americans as savages, drunks and noble keepers of the earth (e.g. Wilson & Gutierrez, 1995).

Such stereotyping manifests in many ways in our everyday lives. This study examines them in relation to in-group bias which suggests that people tend to prefer people like themselves. Related to this discussion is the contact hypothesis which states that the more contact people have with others unlike themselves, the less prejudiced they will be toward members of that group. The equal status contact hypothesis goes one step further, predicting prejudice will be reduced only when people are of comparable status. These concepts are applied here to the mass media and their audiences, and are discussed below in the literature review.
Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact

It is logical to assume that the manner in which different groups are portrayed in the media will have an impact on how people perceive members of those groups. In their study of racial perceptions, Domke, McCoy and Torres (1999, p. 575) used priming theory to argue that "media content interacts with individual predispositions to guide information processing and subsequent judgments." Their study revealed that news coverage influenced which racial cognitions were activated. The authors suggested that even when specific stereotypes are not present in news coverage, the way the news is framed affects whether individuals apply existing stereotypes.

Cultivation theorists have long argued that media provide a common world view and set of values, and that these are reflected among heavy media users, most particularly television viewers. Research has provided some evidence that media can cultivate perceptions of racial integration (Matabane, 1988); socioeconomic standing (Armstrong, Neuendorf & Brentar, 1992); and of inequality (Gandy & Baron, 1998). Particularly germane to the present research is a series of studies in the Netherlands by Vergeer and colleagues (2000). They have found that exposure to fictional and entertainment media, to commercial television, and to newspapers causes people to perceive ethnic minorities as more of a threat. For the latter, exposure to newspapers explained nearly 12% of the variance, even after controlling for respondents' socio-structural variables (Vergeer, Lubbers & Scheepers, 2000). In their concluding remarks, the authors suggest that future research investigate the cumulative exposure of a variety of mass media, and take into account interpersonal contact; the present study incorporates both factors within the context of the contact hypothesis.
Accordingly, this study poses four research questions:

**RQ1:** To what extent is amount and nature of media use related to perceptions of one’s own racial group?

**RQ2:** To what extent is amount and nature of media use related to perceptions of racial groups other than one’s own?

**RQ3:** To what extent do media and interpersonal contact vary with relative group status?

**RQ4:** To what extent do perceptions vary with type of media content?

**Theory**

**In-group Bias, Extremity-Complexity and the Contact Hypothesis**

In 1954, Gordon Allport discussed in-group formation in his well-known book, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Defining an in-group as “any cluster of people who can use the term ‘we’ with the same significance,” (p. 37), Allport argued that in-groups are psychologically primary. While such primacy does not automatically lead to out-group hostility, Allport recognized that for some people rejecting the out-group is a “salient need” (p. 49).

More recently, Brewer (1999) reviewed forty years of social psychological research on intergroup relations and concluded that Allport had been right:

Many discriminatory perceptions and behaviors are motivated primarily by the desire to promote and maintain positive relationships within the in-group rather than by any direct antagonism toward out-groups...However, the very factors that make in-group attachment and allegiance important to individuals also provide a fertile ground for antagonism and distrust of those outside the in-group boundaries. p. 441-442
One contemporary example of in-group versus out-group perception is Wong, Lai, Nagasawa and Lin’s (1998) analysis of Asian Americans’ self perceptions and perceptions by other groups. They found that among a college student sample, Asian Americans “perceived themselves as more prepared, motivated and more likely to have greater career success than whites” (p. 113). Interestingly, however, the results held for white, African American, Hispanic and Native American students’ perceptions as well; Wong et al. conclude that the study provides support for the model minority hypothesis.

The extremity-complexity hypothesis offers one explanation for why evaluations of in-group and out-group members often differ. It suggests that people will have more complex schema for members of their own group, and more extreme evaluations for members of out-groups. In other words, the more dimensions people use in evaluating others, the less extreme (stereotypical) their evaluation (Linville & Jones, 1980; Jussim, Coleman & Lerch, 1987).

With all probability, audience communication patterns play a key role in such evaluation, whether it be in-group attachment or out-group hostility. Work testing the contact hypothesis has emphasized interpersonal contact, but it clearly has implications for mass media exposure (see Tan, Fujioka & Lucht, 1997; Fujioka, 1999). In its most basic form, the contact hypothesis, which is derived from Allport’s (1954) work, suggests an inverse relationship between contact and prejudice: As contact among members of different groups increases, prejudice decreases. However, numerous scholars have argued that such an interpretation is too simplistic; if reducing prejudice were so
Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact

easy, we would see much less of it in many places around the world. Rather, the effectiveness of contact is related to a number of situational factors.

First off, and central to the current study, is the nature of the contact. According to Forbes, whose 1997 book offers a comprehensive review of the literature in this area, “how to distinguish favorable from unfavorable contact is the central problem of contact theory” (p. 24). His review suggests that casual, impersonal contact may actually lead to increased stereotyping whereas prolonged, personal contact may have the opposite effect. In addition to the nature of the contact being a factor, for it to have a positive impact people must be of equal status. Otherwise, the power imbalance may actually reinforce prejudice. Other criteria for effective contact are normative support for positive intergroup interaction and a sense of cooperative interdependence (Forbes, 1997).

Tan, Fujioka & Lucht (1997) and Fujioka (1999) have examined the contact hypothesis within a mass communications context. The first study tested the extremity-complexity hypothesis, and found that frequency of television viewing did not lead to more positive stereotyping. The authors conclude that their data offer “some support for vicarious contact (via television) hypotheses based on learning theory, and no support for the vicarious contact based on cognitive extremity-complexity theory” (p.280). However, the study was limited in scope. Its sample was white college students who were asked their perceptions of Native Americans. Furthermore, as the authors point out, the study failed to distinguish among content types.

Two years later, Fujioka (1999) expanded upon this inquiry. She studied white and Japanese students’ perceptions of African Americans, testing whether students with
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frequent direct contact (white students) would have different perceptions than those with limited direct contact (Japanese students). She found that evaluation of television programs had significant influence on stereotypes, but that cumulative television exposure did not. However, perceived positive portrayals had a greater impact on the Japanese students than on the white students. As Fujioka points out, however, the study had some considerable limitations. Not only was a student sample used, but it drew upon international students who came from a racially homogeneous setting and whose experience with racial issues is quite different than that of their American counterparts.

Hypotheses

**H1:** The greater the status differential, the less the interpersonal and mass mediated contact.

This hypothesis draws upon the concept of in-group bias. People are less likely to seek out those who they see as very different from themselves.

**H2:** As media exposure increases, so will the inclination to negatively stereotype groups other than one’s own.

This hypothesis is based on the extremity-complexity hypothesis which predicts that people will have more extreme evaluations for groups other than their own. It is further supported by contact theory which suggests that impersonal, casual contact (such as media exposure) may actually increase prejudices and the inclination to stereotype.
Moreover, since much of media content draws upon racial stereotypes, it appears all the more likely that heavy users will be primed to stereotype.

This relationship will be further mediated by two situational factors: the type of contact and the group. Therefore:

**H3:** The inclination to negatively stereotype groups other than one's own will vary by media content type.

This hypothesis recognizes that not all media contact is created equal. For example, local TV news frames African Americans as criminals Entman (1990, 1992), while the Internet provides diverse content from a variety of perspectives. Similarly, televised sporting events provide a look at success for many different groups, the most prominent depending upon the sport. It is expected that in-group-out-group bias will function so that such stereotyping will be more evidenced for members of groups other than one's own.

**Method**

**Research Design**

This study employed a cross-sectional telephone survey in Metropolitan Atlanta in July, 1999. Ten interviewers, all of whom had previous telephone survey or telemarketing experience, received extensive Kish training prior to data collection. An initial pretest over a two-day period resolved minor problems related to instrumentation.
and survey administration. The 49 diversity-related items used in the present study were part of a larger 73-item instrument.

Sample

A systematic random sample was drawn from the population of the ten Central North Georgia counties that comprise the Atlanta Metro area: Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Fulton, Gwinnett, Henry and Rockdale. Ninety-two percent of households in the area have at least one telephone line, according to the BellSouth Corporation. Combined, these counties have a diverse population with approximately 29 percent of the population ethnic minority.

The sampling frame was a CD-Rom phone directory which was determined to be the most comprehensive list available of residential telephone numbers available for the Atlanta metro area. The CD lists approximately 2.7 million phone numbers. The sampling interval of 1,928 was determined based on Lavrakas (1993), whereby:

\[
\text{Estimated Size of Sampling Pool} = \frac{\text{FSS}}{\text{HR}(1-\text{REC})(1-\text{LE})}
\]

FSS is the field sample size; in the present study, the target was 500 completed surveys. HR is the percentage of phone numbers expected to be working, which Lavrakas estimates at .60 for large metropolitan areas such as Atlanta. REC is respondent exclusion rate (here based on age restrictions) and estimated at .20. Nonresponses (LE) was estimated at .25, using the general population refusal rate for metropolitan areas. Based on the formula, 1,667 phone numbers were selected randomly for inclusion in the study.
Data Collection

A written protocol was provided for the ten interviewers and all interviewers participated in a training session. A scripted introduction and Kish selection sheet helped to control for interviewer bias. Data were then collected over a two-week period (July 10, 1999 to July 24, 1999), following a two day pre-test. All phone calls were made between 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. The Kish method screened out individuals younger than 16 years old.

Measurement

The primary dependent variable of this study is stereotypes. In operationalizing that concept this study drew upon the earlier work of Tan, Fujioka & Lucht (1997) and Fujioka (1999). A ten point scale was used for each of seven items that provided bipolar adjectives: lazy/hardworking, violent/non-violent, intelligent/unintelligent, likely to commit a crime/unlikely to commit a crime, educated/uneducated, likely to use drugs/unlikely to use drugs, wealthy/not wealthy. For example, interviewers read a series of statements such as this one: “Now I am going to read you a list of several adjectives. Using a 10 point scale, please tell me where you would place Asian Americans if 1 = lazy and 10 = hardworking.” The statements were read for each of four groups (Anglo Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans and Latino/Hispanics). Positive and negative responses varied on the ten point scale to avoid response set.

Contact, a key independent variable, was operationalized in terms of media exposure. Respondents were asked how much time they spent each day with each of the following media: television news, prime time television, televised sports, newspapers, and the Internet. Respondents were also asked how frequently they saw each of four
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groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos and Anglo Americans) in the media (1 = not at all and 5 = very often).

Contact was further operationalized in terms of interpersonal contact.

Respondents were asked for the same four groups, “On a day-to-day basis, how frequently do you interact with each of the following groups, where 1 = not at all and 5 = very often?”

Respondents were also asked their race, education level, sex and income level.

Racial/ethnic categories mirrored those then used on the US Census, with the full recognition that Hispanic denotes an ethnic group not a race.

Group status was based on two socio-economic indicators gleaned from US Census data: percentage with a college degree or higher and percent living in poverty (Table 1). These data were used in categorically to determine the status differential between groups. According to these data, Anglo Americans and Asian Americans are of comparable status. The greatest differences according to these data are between African Americans and Asian Americans, and African Americans and Anglo Americans.

Results

Descriptive Data

Of the 1,667 phone numbers included in the study, 216 were deleted due to disconnections, fax machines or a non-residential number. A total of 386 questionnaires were completed based on the first call; an additional 175 were completed after a call-back
appointment. A total of 561 respondents participated in the study for a completion rate of 45 percent.

For the purposes of this analysis, however, respondents were included only if they clearly identified themselves as white, African American, Asian American, or Latino (n = 491). Of the 491 respondents, 47% were Anglo American (n=231), 21% were African American (104), 20% were Asian American (n=97) and 12% identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino (n=59). In this sample, then, minorities were over-represented relative to the population in the Atlanta metro area. This may be because Fulton and Cherokee counties were over-represented in the sample, both of which have significant minority populations. Men comprised 51% of the sample, women 49%.

Of note, income levels for the groups in the sample did not match those of census data. In this sample, 38% of African Americans had incomes over $45,000, followed by 35% of Asian Americans, 20% of Anglo Americans and 12% of Latinos. This, again, is a function of the oversampling of two counties. Therefore, the differences in status in the sample are different than those for the population at large.

Media exposure was significantly different among the four racial groups (See Table 2). Anglos spent more time with newspapers than did members of other groups (x=.71 hours/day); Asian Americans spent the most time of any group on the Internet (x=2.4 hours/day) and watching TV news (x=.61 hours); African Americans spent the most time with prime time (x=2.8 hours/day); and Latinos spent the most time watching TV sports (x=1.0). However, regardless of race or ethnicity, respondents spent more time with prime time television (x=2.1 hours/day) than with any other content measured.
The means and standard deviation for the statements measuring stereotypes are provided in Table 3, and are discussed further below. Of note, the means indicate that respondents did stereotype. For example, on a ten point scale (some responses were recoded so that in all instances a one indicates a negative perception and 10 a relatively positive one), the highest score (8.21) was for Asian American wealth, and the lowest score was for African American violence (3.38).

**Index Construction**

For African Americans, Asian Americans and Latinos, twelve items were consolidated into two indices, resulting in a total of six dependent measures (two per group). One index is a success measure and the other is an anti-social/crime measure. Chronbach’s alpha coefficients, which ranged from .62 to .76, are provided in Table 4 along with the variables for each index. For Anglo Americans, satisfactory reliability was achieved for the anti-social/crime measure only. These results indicate that while the same measures were asked about each group, they functioned differently across groups.

**Hypothesis Testing**

H1 predicted that interpersonal and media contact would vary with status. This hypothesis was partially supported. When it came to how often respondents saw members of the four groups in media content, responses appeared consistent with content studies: Anglo Americans were seen most often, followed by African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans. However, as shown in Table 5, although responses did significantly vary by group, they did not necessarily covary with status.
Interpersonal contact significantly varied as well. Not surprisingly, more time was spent with members of one's own group than with members of other groups (See Table 6). Interestingly, Latinos reported interacting with African Americans ($x=2.9; 1=\text{not at all}$) more often than with any other groups than their own, as might be expected based on status. But the opposite did not strictly hold true: African Americans reported interacting with Asian American (3.7) as often as with Latinos (3.6). This may be a function of the relatively high status of the African Americans in the sample compared to those in the general population. Asian Americans and Anglo American reported interacting with each other more than with any other group, a finding consistent with the hypothesis.

H2 predicted that as media exposure increased, the tendency to negatively stereotype would as well. Table 7 provides the correlation coefficients between total media exposure and perceptions of the groups. For African Americans, as media exposure increased, the tendency to negatively stereotype Asian Americans and Latinos increased. This was true for both the success and crime variables, as indicated by the moderately strong negative correlations. When looking at the other groups, a more complex picture emerges. For Anglos, increased media exposure was related to a more positive view of African Americans and a more negative one of Asian Americans as criminals/antisocial. For Asian Americans, increased media exposure was related to considering African Americans as more successful, while the only significant correlation for Latinos was between media exposure and a positive view of Anglos as law abiding.
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Media exposure was further measured in terms of how frequently respondents saw members of the different groups in the media (Table 8). Interestingly, all groups were more likely to view Anglos as criminals/anti social as their mediated contact with them increased, although the relationship for Latinos was not significant. For the latter, despite the small sample size (n=59), moderately strong negatively correlations were found between Latinos mediated contact with Asians and their view of them. In other words, as such exposure increased, the tendency to negatively stereotype increased. Also of note, as contact increased African Americans were viewed more positively when it came to crime. In-group bias may be somewhat in evidence here, as Anglos were the only group to negatively stereotype themselves as contact increased.

The third hypothesis predicted that stereotyping would vary with media content type. To test this hypothesis, a series of multiple regressions was run on the stereotype variables controlling for demographic variables in the first block (sex, age, education and income) and frequency of interpersonal contact in the second block. In the third block were the primary independent variables of interest: number of hours per day with primetime TV, TV news, TV sports, newspapers and the Internet.

Results indicate that the relationship between media exposure and stereotyping varies not only by content type, but also with the group. First off, in Table 9 are the results for African Americans (n=104). Little or no variance (≤10%) was explained for perceptions of members of their own racial group, although watching prime time TV and TV news was related (i.e., significant betas at p≤.05) to a more negative view of African Americans as criminals. Interestingly, the more interpersonal and media contact African
Racial Stereotyping and Mass Mediated Contact

Americans had with Anglos, the less positive the perception \((R^2=.26)\). Watching TV news was related to perceiving Asian Americans as anti-social/criminal, as was using the Internet. However, as interpersonal contact and watching TV increased, African Americans were more likely to perceive Asian Americans as successful. Of the media variables, only watching prime time was related to stereotyping of Latinos, with a more negative perception as exposure increased.

For Anglo Americans \((n=231)\) watching televised sports produced positive perceptions of African American, Asian American and Latino success; for other media results varied by group (Table 10). Of note, watching TV news was related to perceiving African Americans as criminals but this finding did not hold for other groups. Only two of the seven equations resulted in \(R^2\) higher than .20: Anglo American anti-social crime and Latino success. In the first case, watching primetime and using the Internet was negatively related (meaning a more negative perception as exposure increased), while the beta for TV news was positive. The more mediated contact Anglos had with Latinos, the greater the likelihood they perceived them as successful.

In the Asian American subgroup \((n=97)\), no significant results were found when the Asian American dependent variables were regressed on the media variables (Table 11). And while a number of the betas in the equations for Asian Americans were significant at \(p \leq .05\), by far the most variance was explained for Anglo and Latino antisocial/crime \((R^2=.61\) and \(.59\), respectively). Even here, however, the direction of the betas differed. The betas for prime time and TV sports were negative for Anglos, but
positive for Latinos. In fact, Asians were more likely to perceive Latinos as successful as contact increased; the same does not hold true for Anglos.

For Latinos, the betas for Latino success were negative for four of the five media variables. This indicates that as media exposure increased, Latinos were less likely to perceive members of their in-group as successful: the equation explained 36% of the variance, with significant negative betas for prime time, TV sports, newspaper and TV news (Table 12). Betas for the Internet were positive in all but one instance (Asian American crime), and significant for African American success and Anglo American crime.

**Discussion**

This study has illustrated the complexities of the relationship between media exposure and racial/ethnic stereotyping. Drawing upon the concept of in-group bias, and the extremity-complexity and contact hypotheses, this study has shown that group membership matters: stereotyping varies by group. Furthermore, the results of this study indicate that interpersonal and mediated communication are both important factors to consider when conceptualizing and operationalizing contact.

In this sample, groups varied in their interpersonal and mediated contact to one another; for the latter this variation was not necessarily attributable to status (H1) but seemingly a function of the visibility of different groups in the media. In-group bias appeared to manifest for interpersonal contact, with respondents seeking out in-group members more frequently than out-group. Thus, when given the choice it appears that respondents preferred people like themselves, and the closer in status the better.
However, such a choice is not always available in media content, whether it be news or entertainment.

Results of correlations between media exposure and perceptions of in-group and out-group members indicated some support for the extremity-complexity hypothesis. As total media exposure increased for African Americans, negative stereotyping increased for all three out-groups, but not for the in-group. This may be because African Americans' schema for Anglo, Asian and Latinos are more general, and therefore their evaluations more extreme. When it came to in-group perceptions, similar findings were found for Asian and Latino respondents.

Overall, total media exposure was more likely to be related to negative perceptions than positive ones, a finding congruent with the contact hypothesis: Media imagery glosses over the complexities of different racial and ethnic groups, thereby facilitating a prejudicial or stereotypical interpretation. However, the data suggest that the media landscape may indeed be changing. Respondents in all four groups were more likely to have a positive impression of Latinos as their frequency of seeing them in the media increased. The opposite, interestingly, held true for perceptions of Anglos and crime. And the perception of Asian Americans by Latinos was more negative the more they saw of them. While these data do not extend beyond correlational evidence, they do provide support for the notion that selective exposure and perception may lead members of different racial and ethnic groups to a variety of interpretations or readings of media content.
As suggested by previous research (Tan, Fujioka & Lucht, 1997; Vergeer, Lubbers & Scheepers, 2000), it is important to consider the role of different types of content in relation to stereotyping. In the present study, five different types of media content were examined: primetime television, televised sports, newspapers, TV news, and the Internet. The amount of variance explained indicated that such media exposure may be more influential for some groups than others, and that not all types of media content have the same impact. For example, the five types of media examined here appeared less influential for Anglo and Asian Americans than they did for African and Latinos. But this is not to say that in some instances strong relationships weren’t found. That media variables were significant even after controlling for interpersonal contact indicates that media content is indeed an additional frame of reference about racial and ethnic groups other than one’s own -- sometimes a positive one, sometimes not.

This tendency is also at times true for the in-group: as media contact increased, Latinos perceived members of their group as less successful. Such a finding suggests that “positive” representations of Latinos as productive members of society are still be lacking across media content.

Yet other results further indicate that some media may be doing a “better” job in their portrayals than are others. For example, watching prime time was related to negative perceptions among African and Anglo American respondents. Anglos were more likely to be perceived as antisocial/criminal as viewing TV sports increased, a finding that held for all groups but Anglo respondents: again, an indicator of in-group bias. These findings seem to indicate that it important not to speak only of “media stereotypes,” but
to take into consideration the very significant differences found in our increasingly diverse media landscape.

This study was limited by several factors. The sample proved not to be fully representative of the Atlanta MSA, thereby confounding the status measure. The size of the Latino sample, while proportionate to census figures, was smaller than ideal for the subgroup analyses done here. The dependent measures were constrained by the fact that they were part of a measuring instrument on an entirely different topic. More complex measures of stereotypes are warranted.

Nonetheless, this study extended the research in this area. It provided a multi-group comparison with a diverse sample of adults. The design maximized comparisons among all groups; too often in the literature whites are used as the standard by which to compare another group, most frequently African Americans. It is important that research in this area be truly multicultural, and not be limited to samples of predominately white students.

This research has highlighted that the contact hypothesis is a fruitful line of inquiry for mass communications researchers. Future research should build upon this, providing a stronger test of the role of status in relation to media contact. The extremity-complexity hypothesis should be further integrated to guide researchers toward more complex measures of stereotypes as they relate to media content. Finally, this research shows that in-group bias is alive and well. The circumstances under which the media contribute to producing this bias should be explored in more depth.
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References


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Table 1: Socioeconomic Status by Group*

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<th>Percentage with Bachelor's Degree</th>
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<td>Anglo American</td>
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<td>Latino</td>
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*Based on 1990 census data for the metropolitan Atlanta area.
### Table 2: Media Exposure by Group

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1\(^F=18.94, \text{df}=3, p<.001\)
2\(^F=2.98, \text{df}=3, p<.05\)
3\(^F=23.46, \text{df}=3, p<.001\)
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Table 3: Means and standard deviations for stereotype items*

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<th>Standard Deviation</th>
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<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.33</td>
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<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
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<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>1.15</td>
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<td>1.03</td>
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<td>4.91</td>
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<td>1.43</td>
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<td>1.82</td>
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<td>1.27</td>
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<td>1.59</td>
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<td>95% CI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------</td>
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<td>Latino Education</td>
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<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.50</td>
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<td>1.14</td>
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<td>4.26</td>
<td>1.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latino Drugs</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Scale ranged from 1=a negative perception to 10=a positive one*
Table 4: Reliability for Stereotype Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Success Index</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>African American Intelligence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>African American Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Wealth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Intelligence</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino Wealth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino Intelligence</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino Education</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Anti-Social/Crime Index</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>African American Crime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Drugs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anglo American Violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American Crime</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American Drugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Violence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian American Crime</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Drugs</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Latino Violence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Latino Crime</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino Drugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Frequency of seeing groups in media content by group*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>African American(^1)</th>
<th>Anglo American(^2)</th>
<th>Asian American(^3)</th>
<th>Latino(^4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4.3462</td>
<td>4.7692</td>
<td>2.0865</td>
<td>2.1827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American</td>
<td>3.8398</td>
<td>4.6234</td>
<td>2.0779</td>
<td>2.3680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>3.8557</td>
<td>4.5567</td>
<td>2.0206</td>
<td>1.8866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>3.6441</td>
<td>4.7458</td>
<td>2.2034</td>
<td>1.9661</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Scale ranged from 1=not at all to 5=very often

\(^1\)F=20.48, df=3, p<.001  
\(^2\)F=4.53, df=3, p<.05  
\(^3\)F=.51, df=3, ns  
\(^4\)F=6.76, df=3, p<.001
Table 6: Means for interpersonal contact by group*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>African American¹</th>
<th>Anglo American²</th>
<th>Asian American³</th>
<th>Latino⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4.5481</td>
<td>4.3365</td>
<td>2.8846</td>
<td>2.8846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American</td>
<td>3.6234</td>
<td>4.6753</td>
<td>3.1126</td>
<td>2.4199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>3.7320</td>
<td>4.5464</td>
<td>4.4124</td>
<td>2.1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>3.6610</td>
<td>3.6610</td>
<td>2.5424</td>
<td>4.0508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Scale ranged from 1=not at all to 5=very often

¹F=24.11, df=3, p<.001
²F=40.10, df=3, p<.001
³F=42.08, df=3, p<.001
⁴F=65.23, df=3, p<.001
Table 7: Correlation Coefficients of Total Media Exposure and Perceptions of Groups*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African American Total Media Exposure</th>
<th>Anglo American Total Media Exposure</th>
<th>Asian American Total Media Exposure</th>
<th>Latino Total Media Exposure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American Success</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.13&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.25&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.26&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.33&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.37&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Success</td>
<td>-.44&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>-.28&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.15&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino Success</td>
<td>-.23&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latino Anti-Social/Crime</td>
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<td>-.08</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.06</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*<i>n=491</i>

<sup>1</sup><i>p<.001</i>

<sup>2</sup><i>p<.05</i>
### Table 8: Correlation of Frequency of Seeing Groups in Media and Perceptions of Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African Americans</th>
<th>Anglo Americans</th>
<th>Asian Americans</th>
<th>Latinos</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>An Am</td>
<td>As Am</td>
<td>Lat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Success</td>
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<td>.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>African Crime</td>
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<td>-.43¹</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian Crime</td>
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<td>Latino Success</td>
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* n=491

¹p≤.001
²p≤.05

---

66

67
Table 9. Regression of demographic variables, interpersonal contact and media exposure on perception (African Americans only)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable (Beta)</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educ</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Interpersonal Contact</th>
<th>Prime-time</th>
<th>TV Sports</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>TV News</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Adj R²</th>
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<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>-.16</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.12</td>
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<td>.06</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.10</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.12</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.06</td>
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<td>-.93</td>
<td>-.65</td>
<td>-.65</td>
<td>-.33</td>
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<td>.26</td>
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<td>.06</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<td>.52</td>
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<td>.05</td>
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<td>.09</td>
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<td>.16</td>
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<td>.05</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.35</td>
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<td>.03</td>
<td>.08</td>
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* n= 104

*p ≤ .001

*p ≤ .05
Table 10. Regression of demographic variables, interpersonal contact and media exposure on perception (Anglo Americans only)*

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<th>Variable (Beta)</th>
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<th>Educ</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Interpersonal Contact</th>
<th>Prime-time</th>
<th>TV Sports</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>TV News</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Adj R²</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>.08</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.18²</td>
<td>.19²</td>
<td>-.20²</td>
<td>.17²</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.13²</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.22²</td>
<td>.18²</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.29¹</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-.04</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.21²</td>
<td>-.26¹</td>
<td>-.33¹</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.19²</td>
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<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.24²</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.29¹</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.14</td>
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<td>-.33¹</td>
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<td>.29¹</td>
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<td>.10</td>
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<td>.10</td>
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<td>.04</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.11</td>
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</table>

* n= 231
¹ p ≤ .001
² p ≤ .05
Table 11. Regression of demographic variables, interpersonal contact and media exposure on perception (Asian Americans only)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educ</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Interpersonal Contact</th>
<th>Prime-time</th>
<th>TV Sports</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>TV News</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Adj R2</th>
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</thead>
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<td>.02</td>
<td>.40&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.26&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>-.21&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.81&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.59&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.79&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.17&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Success</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Anti-Social/Crime</td>
<td>.28&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.04</td>
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<td>.19</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino Success</td>
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<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.59&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>.16</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.25</td>
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<td>.60&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.59</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* n= 97
<sup>1</sup>p ≤ .001
<sup>2</sup>p ≤ .05

Table notes:

- Adj R² represents the adjusted coefficient of determination.
- The table shows the regression coefficients for various demographic variables, interpersonal contact, and media exposure on perception of different categories (African American Success, Anglo American Anti-Social/Crime, Asian American Success, etc.).
- The significance levels are indicated by superscripts: <sup>1</sup>p ≤ .001, <sup>2</sup>p ≤ .05.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable (Beta)</th>
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* n= 59
\(^1p \leq .001\)
\(^2p \leq .05\)
Effects of Advertising Messages for Breast Cancer on African-American Women's Attitudes Toward Early Prevention

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Effects of Advertising Messages for Breast Cancer on African-American Women’s Attitudes Toward Early Prevention

While they are less likely to develop breast cancer, research shows that the life expectancy rate for African American women diagnosed with breast cancer is significantly shorter than Caucasian women diagnosed with the similar disease. Medical literature identifies two reasons for the high mortality rates for Black women: detection of the disease in its advance stages and/or myths, misperceptions, and fears concerning the causes of and prognosis related to breast cancer. The study seeks to determine how advertising is and might be used to influence and/or change health-related behaviors of African American women. Using a 2 x 2 experiment, advertising appeal and involvement, results indicated an interaction between involvement and appeal used in the ad. Ads using endorsers and survivors were found to be most effective in changing attitude toward breast cancer prevention for black women who expressed little interest in breast cancer prevention and early detection.
Effects of Advertising Messages for Breast Cancer on African-American Women’s Attitudes Toward Early Prevention

Statistics on breast cancer show that among all cancers (i.e., liver, lung, ovarian, etc), breast cancer is the most common cancer in African American women (Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, 1999). In fact, the most often cited factors affecting cancer incidence and mortality among African Americans are poverty, tobacco use, diet and nutrition. The present study seeks to determine how advertising is used to inform African American women about breast cancer survival and treatment. The question addressed in this study focuses on whether or not black women have adequate, undistorted information to make choices about breast cancer detection and prevention. Although black women are less likely to develop breast cancer than white women, statistics show that when black women do develop cancer, they are much more likely to die from the disease (Cancer Statistics for African Americans, 1996; El Tamer, Homel, & Wait, 1999; Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, 1999; Lipkus, Iden, Terrenoire, & Feaganes, 1999; National Cancer Institute, 1996). Information taken from the American Cancer Society (1999) shows that African-American women with breast cancer are less likely than white women to survive five years: 71.0% vs. 86.0%. Experts attribute just over half of this difference to late detection and tumors that are more aggressive and less responsive to treatment.

The proposed research explores how black women feel and think about breast cancer and the effect of advertising messages for breast cancer on attitudes toward early prevention. The heart of this research centers on assessing the extent to which the messages about breast cancer accurately reflect and adequately relate to the needs and behaviors of the African American female audience. Although black women are less likely to develop breast cancer than white
women, when they do develop cancer, it has been said that the survival rate for black women is approximately 43% (Cancer Statistics for African Americans, 1996; ElTamer, Homel, & Wait, 1999; Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, 1999; Lipkus, Iden, Terrenoire, & Feaganes, 1999; National Cancer Institute, 1996). For white women the five-year survival rate is approximately 90% (American Cancer Society, 2000).

The purpose of the present research is to determine the effectiveness of advertising messages and types of appeals on attitudes toward breast cancer prevention. The study hopes to determine how health communicators use advertisements to communicate and persuade black women to seek early detection. Data and results might be used to explain how some African American women react and respond to advertisements about breast cancer.

RELEVANT BACKGROUND

Studies suggest that poor survival rates for African American women diagnosed with breast cancer may be positively related to the stage of development. “Black women often do [not] get treatment early enough,” according to DeWyze (1998). In fact, studies suggest that in order for the death rate to change (or, in other words, for African American women to survive) efforts must be made by the medical industry, mass media, and other promotional efforts need to focus on creating messages that motivate African American women to conduct examinations earlier and to seek medical assistance so that the disease might be detected at an earlier stage (El-Tamer, et al, 1999). Messages, research suggest, need to address “how African-American women might overcome the barriers that keep them from responding to the breast cancer threat” (DeWyze, 1998, p. 1).

In a more recent study on the perceptions black women have concerning breast cancer, analysis of the data show that black women believe that exposure to air causes cancer to grow
Breast cancer and black women (MSNBC, 1999). Moreover, data obtained in this study show that more black women as compared to white women believe that worry or anxieties worsen their (or cause) cancer, that God and prayers will heal them of the cancer without a reliance on medical treatments or doctors, and/or that the devil caused the cancer.

In a study conducted by Frisby and Chang (2000), data reveal that many breast cancer ads found in African American magazines like Ebony, and Essence promoted products or events (i.e., Avon), and not on providing messages that promote or inform readers about breast cancer prevention. In addition, these researchers discovered few, if any, ads about breast cancer, its diagnosis and prevention, or discussions of the risks involved could be found in recent issues (within the last 6 months) of magazines primarily read by African American women.

The main thesis of this study centers around the idea that advertisers and health communicators need to better understand and find effective ways of improving health communication messages that actually improve the prevention, early detection, and care of breast cancer among African American women. While this study may have limitations, it is a beginning or the start of several necessary and important research studies that may begin to provide more information on a market that has been largely ignored.

REVIEWING THE LITERATURE

Types of Advertising Appeals

Advertising appeals may take on two forms: factual or emotional approaches. The factual approach focuses on the product or service—what it is, how it is made, and what it does. This approach is also known as informational or the hard sell approach. This advertising message strategy centers on providing significant facts about a product or service that are most important to the reader.
The emotional approach is a very powerful communicator and is the most common message strategy and appeal used in advertising. The emotional approach is often referred to in the advertising literature as the soft-sell approach and usually concentrates on creating a particular image for a product or service--its appearance and social benefit to the consumer. Thus, emotional or soft-sell advertisements are typically used to communicate the benefits one may gain simply by using the product. The benefits include, but are not limited to; a better image, higher social status, increased popularity, being in with the “in crowd,” avoiding embarrassment (i.e. the consequences of using the wrong deodorant) as well as finding Mr. or Mrs. Right.

Copy which uses an emotional approach tends to appeal to a consumer’s “psychological” needs. Appeals focusing on love, sex, hate, popularity, or fear have been found to have the greatest impact. Research suggests that the emotional approach should work best for low-involvement products such as food and beverage items, while high-involvement or factual approaches work best for higher-priced items such as CD players or automobiles.

An interesting question that arises from this background information is whether the success or failure of a health campaign approach can be determined by the type of advertising appeal used in an ad. Is it possible that black women will be more responsive to an emotional or rational advertising appeal promoting early detection of breast cancer? The proposed study examines the role of certain advertising appeals in affecting attitudes toward early detection and prevention of breast cancer. Based on previous work on advertising appeals, it is expected that advertisements using testimonials from survivors will have a positive effect on attitude and screening intentions.
Research Question: How does the type of advertising appeal used in an advertisement for breast cancer affect black women and their attitudes about early prevention of and screening for breast cancer?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Elaboration Likelihood Model

This study seeks to examine factors pertaining to the message that influence persuasion. Thus, the study will focus on factors associated with the message content (such as whether the ad uses fear appeals or not and the effect of the factors on consumer attitude). The Elaboration Likelihood Model, or ELM as it is best known, proposes that when people are motivated and able to process information—that is, when elaboration of the message is high—they will focus on message arguments and experience positive attitude change if the arguments are logical. However when people are unable or unmotivated to process message arguments, they may nonetheless be persuaded by certain rewards within the message or peripheral features of the message presentation (music, models, etc). Hence, persuasion is seen as involving a continuum ranging from central to peripheral possibilities, and attitude change is postulated to be more enduring as the message processing strategy moves toward the central end of the persuasion continuum. According to Petty and Cacioppo (1981), attitude impact affected by classical conditioning occurs via the peripheral route to persuasion.

According to Petty and Cacioppo ((1981), two factors determine whether or not a person will think about a persuasive message—motivation and ability. In the case of breast cancer, it is assumed that the target audience under investigation will not be motivated to think about and attend to the message they receive. It is hypothesized that the target audience of interest could become more motivated to think about the content of the message. This study hopes to determine if attitudes can be changed by peripheral means, thus associating breast cancer with
other things that the target audience already feels positively towards, like the incorporation of well-liked, physically attractive endorsers (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981). While it is true that persuasion via the peripheral route does not result in a permanent attitude change, research does suggest that people may become motivated to think about the product or issue and generate thoughts or cognitions that can then produce a more permanent change in attitude. Consequently, what begins as a temporary attitude change via the peripheral route, may then end up being a more permanent attitude change.

Although relatively little is known about consumers’ processing of visual information, in recent years, there has been a significant increase in attention devoted to visualization, imagery, and related matters. Rossiter and Percy (1978), for example, found that visual images are much easier to process than verbal stimuli and should generate the same type of affective learning. It seems reasonable to speculate that motivation to process messages about breast cancer is and will be very low among breast women. And, as a result, the present study will focus on argument processing that focuses on the peripheral route processing perspective. According to ELM, when elaboration likelihood is low, the probability is high that recipients will follow the peripheral route to persuasion, suggesting that ads attempting to motivate black women to seek early detection and diagnosis for breast cancer should incorporate peripheral mechanisms like the use of emotional appeals and endorsers in order to affect persuasion and change attitudes.

_H1: There will be an interaction between involvement and advertising appeal and the respondent’s attitude toward the ad._

_H2: Motivations to seek early detection for breast cancer will be greater after exposure to advertisements using endorsers and testimonials versus fear appeals._

Experiments showing that peripheral cues determine persuasion when motivation and ability for processing are low show that in low relevance conditions, source expertise influences
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subjects’ post-message attitudes (Petty, Cacioppo, & Goldman, 1981). Other studies that have manipulated motivation for processing in conjunction with other source variables (i.e., communicator likability, attractiveness) have yielded virtually identical findings (i.e., Chaiken, 1980; Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983).

To determine beliefs and perceptions held about breast cancer, Frisby (2000) surveyed 92 African-American females ranging in age from 20 to 77. Data obtained from this exploratory study revealed that the black women who participated in this study hold perceptions of breast cancer that involve images of death, feelings of fear, and concerns about unrealistic physical impairments that they felt could result from breast cancer. Moreover, women in this study indicated a strong interest for more information about the risks and causes of breast cancer as well as evidence that women can survive the disease. Overall data obtained in the Frisby (2000) research study revealed that the most widely held perception about breast cancer held by African American women were thoughts and feelings related to death, fear, and loss of breasts and/or hair. Data analysis further revealed that participants did not specify or express a clear understanding of how breast cancer is caused. And, of particular interest, black women explicitly expressed a sincere need and desire for advertising messages that they said would communicate information about the causes of and risk factors associated with breast cancer. Women in this study expressed a desire to know that there are “role models” or other African American women who survived this disease and would like to know that it is still possible to lead healthy, productive lives.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Based on the theory and findings reviewed, this study was planned to measure how black women respond to certain advertising appeals. Four advertisements for breast cancer were
created so that the experiment would mimic a "real-world" advertising research copy testing research project. Participants were instructed to read the ads as if they appeared in a magazine and to record their perceptions using the scales provided.

To test the proposed hypotheses, a 2 (ad appeal: positive vs. fear) x 2 (involvement: high vs. low) factorial experimental design was used. Ad manipulations were between subjects (participants saw either two positive ads or two fear appeal ads). Involvement and concern for breast cancer was also treated as a between subjects factor.

Participants

Fifty-nine African American females from a mid-western community were asked to participate in a study on perceptions of advertising messages. The ages ranged from 20 to 41 with a mean age of 21.1 (SD = 2.03). An ANOVA was done on the data to compare the mean scores on the experimental variables. There were no differences in means for age or for any of the variables (all p's > .05). The study was limited to black women because of the nature of the health problem and differences in how sexes perceive breast cancer.

Verbal instructions informed the participants that they will be asked to evaluate the effectiveness of several ads. After signing an informed consent form, participants then received an experimental booklet containing the experimental advertisements (two positive or two fear appeal ads), questions assessing demographic information, involvement and interest in breast cancer along with a 14-item survey assessing their attitude toward the ad and the message. After completing the booklet, participants were debriefed about the study and then dismissed.

Development of Stimuli

Four four-color full-page ads for breast cancer were created for the research. Copy used in the ads was created from advertisements currently used to promote and communicate awareness
about breast cancer. In order to obtain realistic images of African American women we sought images of black women in magazines like *Ebony* and *Jet*.

**Type of Appeal Used**

**Fear Appeal:** Two moderate – low fear appeal ads were created for this study. The headline for the first ad containing the fear appeal read, “Breast Cancer Kills.” The headline will be prominently placed at the top of the image. The body copy will be prominently placed in the lower right quadrant of the picture. The body copy read as follows:

> Among women younger than 50 years of age, African-American women are more likely to develop breast cancer than white women are. In 1994, African-American women were more likely to die of breast cancer (31.3 per 100,000) than white women (25.2 per 100,000). African-American women with breast cancer are less likely than white women to survive five years (5-year relative survival rates for all stages combined are 70.0% and 85.5%, respectively). One study showed that about 75% of the racial differences in survival between these two groups may be explained by stage at detection. So, see your doctor today. We are also ready to answer your questions in our National Cancer Information Center at 1-800-ACS-2345.”

Another ad’s headline and body copy read:

**Headline:** “Did you know that more than 5,000 African American women are dying each year from Breast Cancer? And... you could be next...”

> Among women younger than 50 years of age, African-American women are more likely to develop breast cancer than white women are. In 1994, African-American women were more likely to die of breast cancer (31.3 per 100,000) than white women (25.2 per 100,000). African-American women with breast cancer are less likely than white women to survive five years (5-year relative survival rates for all stages combined are 70.0% and 85.5%, respectively). One study showed that about 75% of the racial differences in survival between these two groups may be explained by stage at detection. So, see your doctor today. We are also ready to answer your questions in our National Cancer Information Center at 1-800-ACS-2345.”

**Positive Appeal:** The headline of the first positive or testimonial ad read, “I Survived and You Can Too!” A large color photo of an African American women was placed in the center of the advertisement. The headline was prominently placed at the top of the image. To encourage
further reading of the ad, the body copy was conspicuously placed in the lower right quadrant of
the picture. The body copy for this particular ad’s message strategy read:

“I understand what a frightening time this is for you. I have been there. But you
need to know there is life and hope beyond the diagnosis of breast cancer. The
majority of women diagnosed with breast cancer are living long productive lives,
and you can too. I am a survivor. We can help you get started with our
information resources and programs. We are also ready to answer your questions
in our National Cancer Information Center at 1-800-ACS-2345.”

The headline and copy for the second positive appeal read:

Headline: “You Can Beat the Odds and Win the Race”
Body Copy: “I want to let you know there is another survivor out here. This is
my story. On a whim I got a mammogram at the age of 18. There was no history
of cancer in the family, so I was not concerned, until I heard “we found
something.” This was approximately eight years ago, and guess what, no
recurrences. I am doing these ads because I know that it takes one who has gone
through this to understand what the fear and loneliness is like. Let me say I have
also had malignant melanoma and basal cell carcinoma, and happily they were not
too extensive, and I’m still here. Life is too short to waste feeling afraid, or feeling
sorry for myself. It’s more fun to enjoy as much of it as will be given to me. Who
knows? I may have a lifetime to help others the little that I can. We can help you
get started with our information resources and programs. We are also ready to
answer your questions in our National Cancer Information Center at 1-800-ACS-
2345.”

Procedures

Groups of seven to twelve women participated in the study in a modified “living room”
setting. Women were verbally informed that they were being asked to assist in a study on health
care communication campaigns. They were then told that they would be viewing two ads for
breast cancer and that we would like to get some input from them regarding their feelings about
the advertisement, its message, the endorser, and the issue.

After completing the consent form, subjects were asked to examine the ads at their own
pace. Participants were randomly assigned to experimental conditions. The experimenter
handed out the materials to the participants, randomly distributing the two different versions of
the ads (fear appeal, positive testimonial appeal).

Participants were then be asked to pay particular attention to the ad, after which they were
asked to provide feedback regarding their impressions of the ad, breast cancer, and the appeal
used will follow the ad.

**Pre and Post-Test: Attitude toward Breast Cancer:** Before beginning the study, subjects
were asked to give their opinion about breast cancer by indicating their interest and involvement
in breast cancer. Involvement in the issue was measured using a seven-point Likert scale (1 =
very concerned to 7= not at all concerned) in response to “How concerned are you about breast
cancer?” This measure was given before and after exposure to the experimental ads. For
analysis, the investigator calculated change scores by subtracting the response to the post test
from the response to the pre-test. The overall change score would be used to measure the impact
the experimental ads had on the participants overall attitude toward breast cancer.

Intent to engage in prevention and early screening was measured using a 7 point Likert
scale. Subjects were asked to respond to “How likely is it that you will consider going to the
doctor for screening of breast cancer” (1= unlikely to 7 = very likely).

**Dependent Variable Measures**

**Attitude toward the Ad:** 
Aad was measured as the sum of 16 7-point semantic differential items: unbelievable/believable; not credible/credible; not trustworthy/trustworthy;
unreliable/reliable; undependable/dependable; not rational/rational; not informative/informative;
does not deal with facts/deals with facts; not knowledgeable/knowledgeable; not logical/logical;
does not affect my feelings/affects my feelings; does/not touch me emotionally; is not
stimulating/stimulating; is not arousing/is arousing; is not interesting/is interesting; is not
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exciting/is exciting. Based upon the review of the literature on ELM and how black women might feel about breast cancer and early prevention, it was determined that an important dimension of attitude change is the emotional appeal used in an ad. Thus, the scale used in the study focused on assessing emotional reaction to the ads. A scale score was determined by an overall score. High total scores indicated highly charged and emotional ads whereas lower scores were used to indicate rational, objective (and perhaps) unfavorable ads.

Subjects were also asked to provide evaluations of the ads ability to encourage early prevention and screening. In addition to assessing their attitudes toward the ad, participants were asked to respond to the question, “As an advertising strategy, the ad is:” effective/ineffective, credible/unconvincing, believable/unbelievable, useful/useless, realistic/unrealistic, persuasive/unpersuasive.

Attitude toward Breast Cancer Prevention: Subjects were asked to indicate on an 11-point Likert scale the extent to which they agree with the statement “I intend to have a mammography taken within the next 3 months.” All subjects were debriefed. The Human Subjects Committee of the Institutional Review Board at a large mid-western university approved the study.

RESULTS

Subjects evaluated the ad on a 16-point semantic differential scale. For analysis the items were averaged (coefficient alpha = .89) to represent attitude toward the ad. Intent to seek early prevention or engage in a mammography was measured using one item. Pretesting indicated that the ad focusing on the use of a moderate to low fear appeal was clearly perceived and identified as such. Subjects in this study also evaluated the appeal used in the ad. A seven-point Likert scale was used to assess the type of emotion elicited from the ad. The fear appeal mean for the
"breast cancer kills" was 6.0 and for the testimonial or more positive ad, 1.6 (t = 33.1, p < .0001). Evaluation of the manipulation check was measured using a seven-point "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" question (i.e., "To what extent do you believe that the advertisement is using a fear appeal?").

Hypothesis Tests

**H1**: There will be an interaction between involvement and advertising appeal and the respondent's attitude toward the ad.

![Figure 1](image)

**Figure 1.** Overall effects of advertising positive and negative advertising messages on attitudes toward breast cancer. (n = 59, 1 = am indifferent about breast cancer, 7 = feel significantly different).

Hypothesis 1 predicted a main effect for the type of ad appeal used, such that women who were not involved with the issue or concerned about breast cancer would express greater interest in ads using endorsers than would women who expressed greater concern about breast cancer. To test this hypothesis, a multiple analysis of various was conducted with advertising strategy and involvement level as a between subjects factor and attitude toward breast cancer as the
dependent variable. Results showed no overall main effect of advertising strategy ($F_{1, 51} = 1.3, p = .292$) but a significant main effect of involvement ($F_{1, 52} = 4.8, p < .0001$). The most meaningful and insightful finding is the significant interaction effect of advertising strategy/appeal and involvement, ($F_{3, 52} = 4.5, p < .01$, see Figure 1). As anticipated by ELM, attitudes toward breast cancer were significantly changed after uninvolved and unmotivated women were exposed to positive ads featuring endorsers compared with involved women.

**H2: Motivations to seek early detection for breast cancer will be greater after exposure to advertisements using endorsers and testimonials versus fear appeals. (Not Supported)**

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants would express greater motivations to engage in early detection after exposure to the ads using endorsers. Support for this hypothesis was not found. Results shown in Figure 2 do not show the anticipated effect for the type of appeal by intention to seek early detection interaction and thus do not support the hypothesis based on type of appeal used in the ad and its impact on attitude/behavior change. Data seem to suggest that negative appeals had a negative impact on motivation to seek early detection and prevention.
Figure 2: Intention to Seek Prevention of Breast Cancer as a Function of Message Appeal. (n = 59; 1 = very likely, 7 = very unlikely).

DISCUSSION

While the study has some limitations, recognizing the limitations should help provide directions for future research. A convenience sample from a single geographic region was used in the study making it difficult to generalize the results. And, as with many experimental studies conducted with students as participants, this research may not be a true assessment of the larger African American female population. However, it is possible to see this limitation as an idea for future research in the area of attitude inoculation and motivating black women to seek detection or at least become concerned with the disease before it is too late. Future research might use young and old African American women and determine the effects of age and message strategy on intention to engage in early detection.

It is also possible that the measures used to assess involvement and interest in breast cancer prevention might have been viewed differently across respondents. It is possible that the measures used could have been interpreted in multiple ways. Given the random assignment of treatments to participants, if wording of measures were interpreted differently, this should have increased the error variance and reduced the statistical power of the test. That was not the case in this study. Future research might want to consider this measurement and assessment and replicate the study using different measures for involvement and behavioral intention.

Despite the above limitations, the findings demonstrate a preference for breast cancer advertising appeals that express and communicate hope and survival. Respondents clearly expressed greater interest in ads with positive messages. More importantly, data clearly seem to suggest and provide support for the idea that for unmotivated consumers, advertisers and health
practitioners should solicit the help of endorsers and survivors in order to encourage early prevention behaviors among African American women. While this study did not find a difference based on type of appeal and intention to engage in early detection, results did show a positive effect of certain advertising message strategies on the respondent’s attitudes and feelings about breast cancer. Pre-testing along with the manipulation check indicated that the appeals used in the ads were clearly either favorable or evoking fear or highly arousing.

Findings in this study have established differences in how African American women evaluate advertising appeals for breast cancer and have demonstrated that different strategies need to be used in order to encourage early detection among an at-risk population, black women. As such, this paper contributes to the overall understanding of how advertising persuasion by demonstrating how black women respond to strategies and advertising messages. This study allows advertising researchers and health communicators to go beyond basic advertising appeals for breast cancer (i.e., promotional efforts such as “Support Race for the Cure” or “Buy a pen and support breast cancer research”) and create ads that will lead to ownership of the health concern and result in encouraging black women to seek early detection. This research opens the door for more research investigating underlying factors explaining why black women are not motivated and do not seek early prevention and detection of breast cancer.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PROJECT

Data obtained in the present research might be used to further examine the persuasive effects of various types of appeals on seeking or avoidance behaviors. Data collected in this study on the effects of incorporating “death statistics” in or near the headline provides evidence on the likability of these types of headlines and ad messages. The present study carries significant implications for advertisers, physicians, and mass communication theorists. Interested
professionals might use the experimental advertising copy to communicate the idea that the point or purpose behind early detection is to help reduce the spread of the disease and possibly extend one’s life expectancy. The major implication of this study might be summed up in one sentence: advertisers need to continue to find better ways of improving advertising messages so that they might improve the prevention, early detection, and care of breast cancer among African American women. Despite the inherent limitations of the study, it should be recognized that this study is a beginning or a start of several necessary and important research studies that may begin to provide more information on a market that has been largely ignored. Advertisers, health care educators, and campaign developers may want to seriously consider using advertising and other mass media to encourage women of color to live happier, healthier lives.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Based on this study, experimenters might use a pre-post-test using experimental ads that communicate “hope” and determine how well the ads convince ethnic women to engage in self-examinations and early detection. The present study is useful in this: it sheds light or at least begins to challenge ideas about the effects of specific advertising campaigns on specific ethnic groups. Future research might simply replicate this study and determine how women of various ages and ethnic backgrounds respond to various appeals and message strategies. For example, research could test and examine how adolescent women feel about breast cancer and conduct a series of experiments that focus on attitude inoculation and priming effects on motivation to engage in early detection for breast cancer. Thus, researchers might focus on obtaining more primary data, conducting more interviews, focus groups, and other data that might begin to provide insights into perceptions held about breast cancer and the impact of messages designed to change behaviors.
Research in the area of health communication and ethnic markets might also attempt to uncover the African American women’s beliefs and values regarding health and illness. Data obtained from studies in this area might be used and applied by advertising practitioners so that they could use the information to design better, more effective ads and promotional campaigns related to cancer prevention and control. Studies could then be used to develop more effective public policy initiatives in the area of cancer prevention and health care.

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TERROR MASKED IN SILENCE
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INTRODUCTION

No group in American history has sparked as much passion, debate and violence on the issue of race than the Ku Klux Klan. For close to 140 years, the KKK has been the strongest symbol of oppression of African-Americans in this country. Even though the Klan has deteriorated to small groups scattered across the country, it can still cause strong reaction when it dares to stage a public showing of its white supremacist views. In 1998, the city of Erie, Pennsylvania spent more money, organized more law enforcement personnel, and orchestrated more elaborate preparations than for any peacetime event in city history. The police presence was in response to a planned rally on the Erie County Courthouse steps of fewer than 20 Ku Klux Klan members. Erie City officials said the money, planning, and people were necessary to make sure the rally didn’t turn violent.¹

But our image of the Klan today is filtered through more than a hundred years of facts, legends, and even complete rewrites of history. The original Ku Klux Klan lasted fewer than 20 years after the Civil War and didn’t spread beyond the Southern States. But even though the 20th century versions of the Klan had more members and stretched nationwide, the original Klan probably committed more crimes than the groups of later years.²

The original Ku Klux Klan formed around 1866 which is fewer than 40 years after the first Black-owned newspaper came off the presses in this country. From the beginning, the black press had mirrored the major concerns of its readers. Whether the issue was the abolition of slavery or emigration to a less hostile land, the courageous black publishers printed the needs, wants, and even demands of the African-Americans at a time when the people in power did not often share those views.
Terror Masked in Silence

The purpose of this study is to try and strip away the years of hindsight and rewrites and look at the original Klan through the eyes of the people most threatened. The idea is that the original coverage of the Ku Klux Klan in the black press would give a personal and emotional glimpse into the terror caused by that secret society.

But as we shall see, the rise of the original Ku Klux Klan is one issue on which the black press was mostly silent. The Klan is usually not mentioned by name and is rarely even the focus of articles concerning murders, other violence, and threats against the African-Americans in the black press at that time. In fact, the Ku Klux Klan is mentioned more in the black press in the 1880s when the group had mostly disbanded. The most common way to refer to the secret society was to turn the name into a generic noun or verb. A Washington reporter in 1880 describes threats he received after writing an editorial; “I had been told that he was going to Ku Klux me, but I paid no attention to it.”

Even without a plethora of direct references, the inferences and tone of the articles from the black press of that era gives a chilling glimpse into the terror-filled world created by the Ku Klux Klan of the 19th Century.

METHODOLOGY

My primary source for black-owned newspapers after the Civil War was the microfilm collection from the Library of Congress for The American Council of Learned Societies’ Committee of Negro Studies (ACLS). In 1940, the ACLS started a program called the Committee on Negro Studies to study and research African Americans. One of the major projects of the Committee on Negro Studies was collecting and microfilming scattered copies of African American-owned newspapers from the nineteenth and early
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twentieth centuries. This collection includes black newspapers from Tennessee, South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, Virginia, California, Pennsylvania, New York, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas, Texas, Indiana, Ohio, Nebraska, Iowa, and the District of Columbia. The collection is important because it involved black-owned newspapers from both the Northern and the Southern parts of the country.


The time period for the study ranged from 1865 for the climate at the time of the Klan formation to the early 1890s. I also looked at individual black press collections such as the Indianapolis Freeman and the Ohio newspapers represented in the Ohio Historical Society’s The African-American Experience in Ohio, 1850 – 1920.
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The paper follows the period in chronological order: from the end of the Civil War, the beginning of the Klan, Reconstruction, the violent period of the KKK, to the eventual disappearance of the original Klan. References to the Ku Klux Klan in black-owned newspapers appear throughout the chronological history.

REWRITING HISTORY

One reason why it is important to go back to the original black press coverage of the Ku Klux Klan is because of the image changes, makeovers, and even revisions of history undertaken by both Klan sympathizers and critics in the past hundred years. Plus, the 20th Century version of the KKK can also color our image of the original secret society.

The original Ku Klux Klan faded away in the 1870s partly because of strong federal laws passed in response to the widespread acts of terrorism by the Klan and other groups after the Civil War. Plus, many people who had been silent and accepting of the Klan for years eventually turned against the group because of the amount and brutality of the terrorism. But at the start of the 20th Century, some Southern scholars decided the Ku Klux Klan should have a more positive place in history. So they began to turn the original Klan into the white man’s savior against black insurrection after the Civil War.6

An example of this type of historical revision is Susan Lawrence Davis’ Authentic History: Ku Klux Klan 1865-1877, which was published in 1924. Davis’ father was an original Klan member and she said it was her duty to set the record straight:

The Ku Klux Klan, seeing no relief in sight, renewed their determination to save the South or die in the attempt. (The fulfillment of this determination for ‘white supremacy’ came between the years 1890 to 1902 when new election laws and new State constitutions excluded the
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negro from the polls and a white man’s government was a reality, and the Ku Klux Klan had solidified the South politically for all time to come.7

Texas attorney and politician Thomas Watt Gregory made many of the same points in a speech he gave to the Arkansas and Texas Bar Associations on July 10, 1906:

....it was the most thoroughly organized, extensive, and effective vigilance committee the world has ever seen, or is likely to see.... I am thoroughly convinced that, among conditions as they existed in the States referred to between 1866 and 1872, scarcely a man in this assembly would have been other than a Ku Klux or a Ku Klux sympathizer.8

Gregory later became the U.S. Attorney General in the Wilson administration and was even asked by President Wilson to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, an offer that Gregory declined.

One of the most popular authors of Klan revisionism was Thomas Dixon who played a big role in changing the group’s image with such books as The Leopard’s Spots and The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan. Dixon wrote that The Clansman “…develops the true story of the ‘Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy,’ which overturned the Reconstruction regime.”9

How the young South, led by the reincarnated souls of the Clansmen of Old Scotland, went forth under this cover and against overwhelming odds, daring exile, imprisonment, and a felon’s death, and saved the life of a people, forms one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of the Aryan race.10

Dixon’s book became one of the first major motion pictures in United States history. Director D.W. Griffith turned Dixon’s story into a 12-reel epic in 1915 and it
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was even premiered for President Wilson at the White House. Shortly after its release, the name of the movie was changed from *The Clansman* to *Birth of a Nation*.

The book and movie helped spark the rebirth of the Klan itself, which exists in some form to this day.

Since so many people have attempted to frame the Ku Klux Klan’s role in the South after the Civil War, it’s important to go back to the people who were most affected by the Klan. One of the strongest ways for African-Americans to express their views in the 1800s was through the black-owned newspaper. It would be expected that the black press would give the most vivid, descriptive view of “The Invisible Empire.”

**RACIAL CLIMATE AT THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR**

The end of the Civil War should have been one of the most promising times for African-Americans, especially in the South. Abraham Lincoln had started the process of outlawing slavery with the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. In April of 1865, the North anti-slavery troops defeated the pro-slavery South when Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. A few days later, Lincoln gave the first presidential speech that supported African-American suffrage, at least in a limited way.¹¹

But the thought that life would dramatically change for the better for Southern African-Americans didn’t last long. Just four days after his suffrage speech, Lincoln was assassinated in Washington D.C.

Within months, Southern states started to pass legislation to make sure blacks wouldn’t be able to enjoy their newly-won freedom. The new laws became known as Black Codes because they were aimed at allowing as little change as possible from the former master-slave relationship. Black Codes covered everything from making it illegal
for blacks to hunt or fish for food to paying a high yearly tax if they wanted to pursue a career other than farming or servitude.\textsuperscript{12}

Violence against African-Americans, of course, didn’t start with the Ku Klux Klan. It was a part of slavery and became even more prevalent at the end of the war. African-Americans were most often beaten or killed when they tried to assert their freedom from their former masters.\textsuperscript{13} In fewer than two years after the Civil War, the Freedmen’s Bureau reported an alarming number of blacks murdered by whites in the South: 33 in Tennessee, 29 in Arkansas, 24 in South Carolina, 19 in Kentucky, 70 in Louisiana. And those numbers are considered to be much lower than what actually happened.\textsuperscript{14}

In January of 1866, the Augusta, Georgia \textit{Colored American} reprinted an article from Cincinnati’s \textit{Colored Citizen}, which looks at the climate among many whites in the South after the war. “There are others, who prove themselves our enemies, who kill, wound, and cowardly beat the colored people, who charge the race with all that is bad and give them credit for nothing good.”\textsuperscript{15} (Reproduction of article on Appendix 1)

African-Americans weren’t the only ones who were scared of violence in the South after the war. White men and women were also worried about the future. They had just lost the war and were waiting for their penance from the victorious Northern states. Plus, with the end of slavery, many were expecting a “negro insurrection and race war.” Author Stanley Horn called it “…the chronic Southern Nightmare.”\textsuperscript{16}

Even the whites who were supposedly enforcing the rights of the ex-slaves often didn’t believe in full equality. William Brownlow had been named Tennessee’s Governor after the war and he later was known as an enemy of the Klan. But in the
months after the war, Brownlow told Congress how he really felt about African-
-Americans. His speech was printed in its entirety in *Colored Tennessean* on October 7,
1865. "A long and intimate acquaintance with affairs in the South has convinced me that
the white and colored people cannot live together, politically or socially, as equals...."
(Reproduction of article on Appendix 2 and 3)

Even the method of terrorism later attributed to the Klan didn't originate with the
group. This excerpt from the black-owned *Loyal Georgian* on January 27, 1866
describes a Klan-like incident. But the crime happens months before the Klan is formed.
"We are informed that a most fiendish outrage was committed near Hamburg, South
Carolina, one night last week, by five white men, disguised with masks. They went to
the house of Chandler Garrot, a colored man, and each violated the person of his wife, a
colored woman."17 (Reproduction of this article on Appendix 4)

This environment of escalated violence against African-Americans and fear
amongst the Southern whites of a race war is what helped start what eventually became
one of the most racist and violent organizations in American history.

**KLAN BEGINNINGS**

With the fear and anger the name would inspire in later years, the Ku Klux Klan
had innocent beginnings. After the Civil War, six young confederate army veterans in
Pulaski, Tennessee were looking for something to occupy their time. Sometime around
May 1866, they decided to start their own private club and used secrecy as a way to give
their group a mysterious and important reputation. There are a few different explanations
for the term "Ku Klux" but the most accepted is that it was a version of the greek word
“kuklos.” One of the most popular of the early social fraternities was Kuklos Adelphon. “Klan” was merely added for the alliteration.18

Much like social fraternities, the Ku Klux Klan held ritualistic initiation ceremonies for people who wanted to join. To keep the members anonymous, they started wearing masks and robes when appearing in public. But the organizers later emphasized that the Klan was originally formed purely for the amusement for the members and didn’t have any ulterior motives.19

According to Klan legend, the group noticed on its night rides that African-Americans were scared of the white sheets and mysterious men. Klan members considered the blacks superstitious and started to use the disguises to frighten the former slaves. KKK members impersonated the ghosts of confederate soldiers and played various practical jokes on their victims. One of the favorite Klan tricks that has been told and retold over the generations was to hide a funnel, tube and oilcloth bag under the sheets. Then the Klan member would ride up to a black person filling a water bucket and ask for a drink. He would proceed to “drink” several buckets of water and tell the victim that he hadn’t had water since a long-ago confederate battle and that he gets thirsty in hell.20 In reality, the victim of the prank was probably more scared of the real person under the sheet than any fear of the supernatural.

As with all Klan rituals and later violent acts, there wasn’t anything original about their behavior. Slave owners in the South had been dressing up as ghosts at night for generations to keep the slaves from travelling at night or leaving the plantation.21

The Klan imitation of earlier rituals is another reason why the black press at the time didn’t give the group as much attention as it later received. Blacks had already been
subjected to the night riders well before the Klan so it wasn’t a new phenomenon. Even when the Klan turned violent, it was just one of many secret societies bent on doing whatever was necessary to keep the African-Americans from enjoying their rights.

**KLAN TURNS VIOLENT**

Given the mood of the times, it’s not surprising that the Klan quickly forgot about the amusement and became a much more serious group. After the Civil War, the Federal Government had to find ways to keep order in the Southern states. A black-owned newspaper in Georgia printed the full text of an order from the Provisional Governor to set up militias in each county:

> I, James Johnson, Provisional Governor of the State, do hereby authorize and request the people of this State to organize, according to law, in each of the counties of the State, a volunteer company, for the purpose of aiding the civil authorities in the execution of law and the suppression of violence.

*Colored American, Augusta, GA, December 30, 1865*

Reproduction of this article on Appendix 5

It’s a common misconception that the Klan was formed in response to the Reconstruction Act, which was condemned by most Southern whites. But as we have seen, the Klan was already more than a year-and-a-half old when Congress passed the Reconstruction Act over President Johnson’s veto in 1867. Coupled with new measures that opened up voting to African-Americans and restricted voting to others, many Southern whites were starting to feel powerless in the new political climate. A phrase which white people of the time were using to describe the new social dynamic was “the bottom rail’s on top.”
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Once African-Americans in the South had a voice in the elections, they enthusiastically got involved in politics. Union Leagues, also known as Loyal Leagues, became popular as political organizations for the blacks and the Republican Party. But many whites saw the Leagues as much more than political groups. They considered the popular groups as another step on the road to black domination of the South.25 Klan apologists go so far as to say that the Union Leagues caused so much terrorism and violence that the Ku Klux Klan took on the role of stopping the violence against whites.26

A black-owned newspaper in Austin, Texas, Weekly Free Man’s Press, felt compelled to respond to the negative portrayal of the of the Loyal Leagues on August 15, 1868. “Much bad has been said about the League, but we challenge any one to point to a single act of violence in this State which has originated in this State from the Union League.”27 (Reproduction of article on Appendix 6 and 7)

But this article also shows how the black press treated the Ku Klux Klan at the height of its power. By August of 1868, the Klan had spread throughout the South and was responsible for countless acts of violence. But even though the author of this article in the Weekly Free Man’s Press on August 15, 1868 makes strong statements about the Union Leagues, at the same time the author won’t even mention the Klan by name. “The country is full of secret societies of a bad and treasonable nature; this fact also makes it the more necessary for loyal men to have secret societies.”28 (Reproduction of this article on Appendix 6 and 7.)

Since one of the main rules of the Ku Klux Klan was the secrecy of its members, it’s hard to pin down exactly when the group forgot the pranks and night riding intimidation and turned into a feared terrorist group. After its beginning in the spring of
1866 in Tennessee, the idea quickly spread to northern Alabama, Georgia, and eventually to most of the Southern states. The black press might not have made special mention of the Klan because it turned violent at a time in the South when blacks were under attack by many groups. A particularly chilling group of stories appeared in the *Loyal Georgian* in October of 1866. A lengthy article described in great detail the brutal beating and rape of a black woman by former confederate soldiers. The article is followed by a sidebar story about several other incidents of violence against blacks in the area.

> We have reports that murders are very frequent; and it is said that seven freedmen were killed in the vicinity of Edgefield court-house the first week in this month…. If General Sickles, or General Scott have any power, or means, with which to rid Edgefield of the band of ruffians that is so relentlessly persecuting the blacks, and disgracing the State of South Carolina, we call upon them in the name of humanity to act without further delay.

> *Loyal Georgian*, Augusta, GA, October 13, 1866

The group of stories in the *Loyal Georgian* appeared before the Klan even started its reign of terror.

By most accounts, the Klan began to step up its intimidation and violence in 1868, starting in Tennessee but quickly spreading to other states. The KKK was not a closely controlled group. The various Klan “dens” around the South had very little contact with the original group in Tennessee. The Grand Wizard of the Klan was former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, although he never formally admitted his involvement in the group. But Forrest couldn’t control the actions of the various Klan dens and that prompted some of the original members to denounce the violence. It also gave Klan
sympathizers a later argument that “real” Ku Klux Klan members never used violence except in self-defense.

But “real” members or not, the KKK was now using whatever means necessary to intimidate African-Americans and to counteract the effects of Reconstruction. One of the most common Klan methods was to visit the black family or white sympathizer in the middle of the night with a warning to leave the county at once. If the warning was ignored, the Klan would return and torture or kill the person. 32 Ironically, the first mention of the Ku Klux Klan found in the black press was a reprint from a white-owned paper. The Charleston, South Carolina *Free Press* ran a clipping from a Cincinnati newspaper.

The Cincinnati *Gazette*, of March 30th, has a dispatch saying that the murderous Ku Klux Clan left documents at Mr. Patrick Hanney’s house, near Waverly, Tenn., a few days ago, warning him to quit the country...... The *Vidette* (Klu Klux Klan organ) has published an extra, warning Union men and negroes not to leave their homes until after the election.

*-The Free Press*, Charleston, SC, April 11, 1868

Reproduction of this article on Appendix 10

It’s important to note that *The Free Press* article was not written by the Charleston paper and concerned Klan activity far away from where the reporters and publisher lived.

It’s understandable why black-owned papers in the South were reluctant to publicly take on the Ku Klux Klan at the height of the group’s violence. First of all, the newspapers themselves were fairly new with the end of slavery coming just a few years previous. But more importantly, the publishers and writers knew the very real danger of publicly denouncing the Klan. In many communities, Klan members or Klan
sympathizers ran the government and the courts. Very few whites, let alone blacks, were willing to stand up to the terrorist group. Plus, even if the Southern black press would start a campaign against the Klan, it's doubtful it would have made much of a difference. At that point in history, Southern local and state governments seemed powerless to stop the Klan and other secret groups bent on violence against African-Americans and destruction of the Republican Party.34

**LAWs AND PRESSURE FORCE KLan UNDERGROUND**

While the black press was largely silent on the Ku Klux Klan, others were detailing the atrocities and soon even the Federal Government couldn't ignore the widespread violence.

The November elections of 1868 caused many people to realize the true nature of the Klan. In many southern states, especially Tennessee and Arkansas, the KKK went on mission of terror to keep Republicans, black and white, away from the voting booth. The group used intimidation, torture and murder to help the Democratic candidates. These tactics forced the Governor of Arkansas to call out the militia and the Governor of Tennessee to declare martial law in several counties.35

In January 1869, Klan Grand Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest sent a proclamation to all of the KKK dens telling the groups to destroy the masks and costumes because of the violence attributed to the group. This order helped to dissolve the KKK in both Tennessee and Arkansas, but didn't have much effect on Klan activity in other states.36 This proclamation also gave Klan supporters an easy excuse in later government investigations when they would respond to alleged Ku Klux Klan violence by saying the organization no longer existed.
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Klan violence continued, eventually forcing Congress to pass a wide-ranging Anti-Klan law in April of 1871. This was followed by an intense congressional investigation into Klan activity and resulted in the prosecution of hundreds of Klan members.37

In May of 1873, President U.S. Grant announced even tougher measures against Klan activity. In a rare mention of the Ku Klux Klan in a Southern black newspaper of this time, South Carolina’s Georgetown Planet reprints Grant’s proclamation and includes an editorial denouncing the secret societies.

…and hope the strong arm of the general government will be extended sufficiently to protect all from murder and repine, and effectually squench out all Ku Kluxism and the rebel Democracy, and learn them a lesson not to be forgotten in all time.

-Georgetown Planet, SC, May 31, 187338

Reproduction of this article on Appendix 11

Notice how the writer uses the name as a generic term for terrorism and other violence. This is a method used often in the black press of the 19th century.

EXAMPLES OF KLAN COVERAGE IN WHITE-OWNED NEWSPAPERS

With such an absence of Ku Klux Klan references in the black press of this era, for comparison it’s important to see how the white-owned newspapers covered the group. For obvious reasons, white-owned papers weren’t as reticent about mentioning the Klan by name. The first ever reference in a newspaper happened in the birthplace of the Klan, Pulaski, Tennessee. The Pulaski Citizen printed this item on March 29, 1867: “TAKE NOTICE. - the Kuklux Klan will assemble at their usual place of rendezvous “The Den” on Tuesday night next, exactly at the hour of midnight, in costume and bearing the arms
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of the Klan. By order of the Grand Cyclops. G.T. 39 Next to the Klan notice, the editor wrote that he didn’t know anything about the organization. In reality, the editor of the Pulaski Citizen was Frank McCord, one of the six original members of the Ku Klux Klan. 40 McCord’s paper and many others in popular Klan areas printed meeting notices and positive stories about the KKK during the first years. Eventually, Tennessee made it illegal for newspapers to print Klan notices.

Another example of newspaper coverage of the Klan is the following chilling piece of alliterative writing, which originated in the Richmond Dispatch but also ran in several other papers. “The Ku-Klux klan are kalled upon to kastigate or kill any kullered kusses who may approve the konstitution being koncocted by the kontemptible karpet-baggers at the kapital.” 41

For a more systematic approach to Klan coverage in the white press, the New Orleans Picayune was studied during an important time period. The Picayune was started in 1839 and was the first of the penny press papers in the South and West. It’s situated in a Southern state that had its share of white supremacist groups but also had the largest number of free African-Americans during the years of slavery. 42 The period chosen is a two-month stretch from March to early May 1871 when Congress debated and passed the Ku Klux Klan bill and an investigation began into Klan behavior in the Southern states.

During that two-month period, the Picayune ran no fewer than 22 articles concerning the Ku Klux Klan. Almost all of the articles were political in nature and reported on the progress of the Klan bill in Congress. The Picayune attributed much of
its Washington D.C. coverage to the New York Herald and the St. Louis Republican. A few examples of these stories are printed in their entirety on Appendix 12 through 21.

Two of the articles were basically editorials against the Ku Klux bill. On March 29th, 1871 the Picayune argued that the North was exaggerating Klan violence in order to pass a law to penalize the South. The writer used a typical Klan argument that the secret groups usually had good intentions. “But while in some rare instances good men have been assassinated, the victims of these regulators are in most cases such as deserved capital sentence from a court of criminal judicature.”43 When the bill passed, the Picayune wrote the law was designed to keep anyone from challenging the Federal Government as the South did in the Civil War. “Rebellion thus isolated and individualized will be easily managed. It is the fable of the fagots in a new shape; the separated sticks of treason may be broken with ease, and the force bill forbids their being joined.”44 (Reproductions of these articles on Appendix 18-21.)

In this two-month period, one of the leading newspapers of the South paid close attention to the political side of the Ku Klux Klan legislation but didn’t shed any light onto the pain and suffering of the African-Americans because of this group.

DISAPPEARANCE OF KLAN

By the late 1870s, the Klan had lost almost all of its power and members. Klan supporters say the group disbanded on purpose because it had successfully saved the South for the white man.45 But realistically, the federal government’s strict laws, investigations, and enforcement stripped the Klan’s power and turned many supporters against the group.46
Ironically, as the original Ku Klux Klan was fading from the scene, the black press started to use the group's name more frequently. In 1877, the black paper of Concordia Parish, Louisiana reprinted a *New York Times* interview with new president Rutherford B. Hayes. Although this article is originally from a white-owned paper, it's important because of the way the President describes the Klan:

...that the men who were in White League and Ku-Klux organizations were the lawless and ignorant, not the respectable and intelligent; that out of the better class a valuable addition to the Republican party can probably be had....

*Concordia Eagle, Concordia Parish, LA April 7, 1877*

Reproduction of this article on Appendix 22 and 23.

Editor William Eagleson made his mark with a few black newspapers in Kansas after the Civil War. While his *Kansas Herald* only survived for six months, it did a good job of putting the African-American issues around the country in perspective. 

Eagleson’s paper took on the state of Mississippi, which was trying to stop the mass exodus of blacks to Kansas:

Of course this unconstitutional measure will cause considerable excitement among the colored people of that Ku-Klux stronghold, and in their efforts to escape from that State several, yes, hundreds, will be murdered, and for no other cause than they dare act as other oppressed people would and do act under similar circumstances.

*Kansas Herald, Topeka, KS January 30, 1880*

Reproduction of this article on Appendix 24 and 25.

Shortly before its last edition, the renamed *Herald of Kansas* ran an interesting account of intimidation on June 11, 1880. The story is about threats against Washington *Exodus* reporter F. Benjamin by a white newspaper editor. The article is taken from the Nashville *Educator*. "...I saw Mr. Hansell all that day, but he said nothing to me. I
had been told however that he was going to Ku Klux me, but I paid no attention to it.”

(The article above is important because it is supposedly the actual words of the Washington reporter. It shows that the Klan had not only become a generic term for terrorists, but it was also in use as a verb to describe threats and possible violence against a person.

The most blatant discussion of the Ku Klux Klan in a black newspaper comes from Thomas Harden’s *Weekly Echo* in Savannah, Georgia in 1883. In two cryptic short editorials, the Klan is mentioned in a derisive tone. But the comments make it clear the Klan was certainly still alive in Savannah:

> It is with pleasure that we inform certain kuklux bosses in the interior, that their threatening letters were consigned to THE ECHO waste basket.

> THE Georgia kuklux and their leaders must have heard something ‘drop.’ We notice since the last issue of THE ECHO they are hunting their ‘holes.’ ‘Tis well.

> - *Weekly Echo*, Savannah, GA, August 26, 1883

On the same page of the *Weekly Echo*, an anonymous “subscriber” writes to the paper about the suspicious death of a black man from Rome, Georgia. “It is asserted that his death was caused by a Vigilance Committee or KuKlux, who are scouring the woods in and around the city.”

Throughout the 1880s, the black press used variations of the group’s name in articles. But usually, as in this article from the *State Journal* of Harrisburg, PA on January 5, 1884, the Ku Klux Klan was relegated to a generic noun or verb or as a group
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from the past. "...it is simply another one of the many dastardly outrages to be chronicled in blood and symbolized in tears, deeds perpetrated by the remnants of red shirt victims, shot gun clubs and klu klux clans."52 (Reproduction of this article on Appendix 29.)

Another example came out of Cleveland, OH in 1886:

THE COLORED people of Cass County, Tex., are excited over a Ku-Klux raid that was made upon certain members of the race at Douglassville recently. The trouble arose from the recent organization of a secret society, the aims and objects of which are a profound mystery to the white population.

-Cleveland Gazette, Cleveland, OH, November 6, 188653 Reproduction of this article on Appendix 30 and 31

The first black political cartoonist, Henry J. Lewis, attacked the Klan during his time at the Indianapolis Freeman starting in the late 1880s. Lewis had worked at Harper's Weekly before moving to the African-American paper.54 In a cartoon in June 1889 titled "Protection for the Negro," Lewis shows five episodes of violence or discrimination including one named "Regulators at Work" which shows KKK members pulling people from a cabin and hanging them from a tree. In September of that year, Lewis again takes aim on the Klan and the country's indifference with a cartoon labeled "Some Daily or Rather Nightly Occurrences in the South." This cartoon shows Klan members hanging a black man while Uncle Sam stands guard. Both of these cartoons are featured on Appendix 32-34.
DISCUSSION

The scarcity of Ku Klux Klan references in the 19th century black press is the result of a combination of factors. First of all, the original Klan flourished in the South right after the Civil War. At this time, black-owned newspapers in the South were just getting started after generations of slavery. Plus, the Ku Klux Klan and other secret societies used violence and murder as a way to keep blacks from gaining too much power. To confront the Klan in the late 1860s and 1870s could mean very real danger for the writer and editor. And it wasn’t just the African-Americans who kept quiet about the Klan. White Southern Republicans feared for their lives during that time and didn’t see the wisdom of taking on the Klan.

The lack of coverage of the original Ku Klux Klan in the black press doesn’t diminish the terror and violence inflicted by that hate group of the post-Civil War era. Instead, the absence of articles shows the power of the Klan and the racial climate at the time of Southern Reconstruction.

In areas where the Klan was strong, local officials either belonged to the Klan or looked the other way. Law enforcement officials were either members or unable to do anything about the violence. When KKK members were arrested, supporters lied to give them alibis. Major Lewis Merrill, who investigated the Klan in South Carolina, called it “the demoralization of public opinion.”

As technology improves and there is a better method of indexing and searching black-owned newspapers of the 19th Century, it is important to continue to look for references to the original Ku Klux Klan to see if any of the papers took a stronger stand.
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against the group. But for the most part, the black press responded to the original Ku Klux Klan with terror masked in silence.
ENDNOTES


7 Susan Lawrence Davis, Authentic History: Ku Klux Klan 1865-1877 (New York: American Library Service, 1924) 139.


10 Dixon, The Clansman, To The Reader

11 Foner, Reconstruction, 32-33.

12 Foner, Reconstruction, 93.

13 Foner, Reconstruction, 53.


15 “Self Respect,” Augusta, GA Colored American reprinted from the Cincinnati Colored Citizen. 6 January 1866.


17 “Horrible Outrage,” Loyal Georgian, Augusta, GA, 27 January 1866

18 Trelease, White Terror, 3-4.
ENDNOTES (Continued)


25 Ibid, 27.


27 ""Loyal League," *Weekly Free Man's Press* [Austin, TX] 15 August, 1868

28 Ibid.

29 "Seven Freedmen Reported Killed!!", "Loyal Georgian" [Augusta, GA] 13 October 1866


31 Ibid, 28.


33 *The Free Press* [Charleston, SC] 11 April 1868

34 Trelease, *White Terror*, 419.


38 "President Grant's Proclamation," *Georgetown Planet* [Georgetown, SC] 31 May 1873.


Terror Masked in Silence

ENDNOTES (Continued)


50 “Editorial,” *The Weekly Echo* [Savannah, GA] 26 August 1883

51 “He has Blood in his Eye!,” *The Weekly Echo* [Savannah, GA] 26 August 1883


55 Clint C. Wilson II, Associate Professor of Journalism at Howard University, e-mail to the author, 11 April, 2000.

We have at the South, among the white citizens very many friends, among whom we have grown up, and who played with us in childhood—Mothers, who would willingly accord to the freedman the rights of men. There are others, who prove themselves our enemies, who ill treat, and cruelly beat the colored people, who charge the race with all that is bad, and give them credit for nothing good.

What have we done to deserve from them such treatment? No race ever owed a people more faithfully than we have served them who were our masters. When they were carrying on a war, the object of which was to rivet our bonds still more firmly, and to make slavery perpetual, we at home conducted ourselves peaceably.

We not only protected their wives and children, but filled their fields and fed their armies. Did we, at any time rise against their helpless families, did we ever offer them insult of any kind? When Sherman's army marched through the South, did we take advantage of this, (as we might) to commit acts of lawlessness and violence? No, never! If then, we have always thus conducted ourselves in the past, is there any reason to suppose that we shall now be so insuse as to rise and murder those whom we protected in their helplessness?

Ladies of Georgia, can you now bear to see us whom we once had to protect, if you were courageous to do while your husband, father, and brother were exposed? Is it not ungenerous now to manifest such distrust, simply because we are free?

Under such circumstances what shall we do? What does a proper self-respect demand of us?

We will conduct ourselves as we have heretofore done. We will show by our conduct that we are worthy of being American citizens. By our acts we will give the lie to our antagonists, and their base fabrications.

Thus we will manifest self-respect demands something more. We shall refuse to promise such men that we are publishers of newspapers, that we will sell them, purchase them, or publish them. We shall refuse to purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause. We shall not purchase any way, as it is not necessary for the cause.
over which the States themselves have a paramount control, our friends at the North should begin by setting a good example to less enlightened and patriotic States of the South. As they have a beam in their own eye, they should pluck it out before taking the mote out of the eye of their Southern neighbors.

**Colored Colonization.**

While upon the subject of the colored race, I may be permitted to say that some definite legislation is necessary for the protection, disposition, government, and control of the emancipated slaves among us. What the character of that legislation should be, it is not my province to say; but I leave it to the good sense, experience and reflection of the members of the General Assembly to determine. Hereafter the legislation of the State has been against the slave population. When the Federal forces are withdrawn from Tennessee, many of those who fought to perpetuate slavery will show the emancipated slaves no quarter; and especially that class who are now rude and insolent toward their former owners and the whites generally. A long and intimate acquaintance with affairs in the South has convinced me that the white and colored people cannot live together, politically or socially, as equals, and therefore all our legislation should look to a peaceful separation of the two races on Southern soil; the blacks in their separate condition to enjoy full political rights—if you please, the right of suffrage and representation. In this way I would settle the most difficult question that has grown out of a terrible war of four years' duration. It is certainly right and expedient for the Legislature of Tennessee to say to what extent the State shall be overrun by the emancipated slaves of other States. Illinois, at the breaking out of the rebellion, enacted stringent laws, forbidding negroes from other States to settle there. Other free States enacted similar laws. I would say, guard against excessive legislation upon this subject, but, by all means, see that Tennessee is not burdened with any but her own slaves. I am, myself, the advocate of appropriating a separate and suitable amount of territory, within such degrees of latitude as are adapted to their nature, and then setting them as a nation of freedmen. Texas, affording the requisite amount of territory and a suitable climate, and Texas having declared that slavery never should be

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The financial condition of the early and prompt attention of the Comptroller and Treasury Assembly. While I have every confidence in the ability of the Treasurer, and of the dispositions to have them met, action on your and intelligent action—is called for of the Comptroller and Treasurer. The State debt has caused for at once, as reported by the Treasury, is $1,218,719.00. This amount of the raising and the credit of the State is to be raised I leave it to determine.

**Railroads.**

The Comptroller's report will tell you that there is now due to the State, $3,789,009. This is due upon the bonds endorsed by the Comptroller, companies amounting to $3,789,009. For this debt, the State is willing to meet the failure of the Companies. Bids are able to pay when the debt is to be paid, and extend their credit to meet the liabilities as for the State to do so with her already heavy obligations upon her.

Most of the railroads in the State are turned over to the companies repairing them, are being repaired by the companies, they have been turned over to the Government on terms liberal and reasonable. The road from this city to Chattanooga that the city to the Virginia line, a hundred miles, owned by three companies, a general thing, in splendid order. The track has been re-laid, the embankments dressed, and the cuts well ditched. The best bridge near the Virginia line is finished, and the connection with Virginia completed. Upon the roads in Middle Tennessee repairs are progressing rapidly. The indications are that the companies will take a suitable business before them, as the amount of travel and a large demand for the country, becomes quiet and resumed. As a general thing I may

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**Gov. Branham's Sketch**

Colored Tennessean

(1-2) 10/7/1865

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as bravely as did the men of the South. But the blood of the South was not shed in vain. The Union was restored, and the nation was preserved.

The freedmen of the South were now free to choose their own leaders and form their own government. The freedmen elected their own representatives to the state legislature and to the United States Congress. The freedmen were also given the right to vote, and they used this right to elect representatives who would work for their rights and interests.

The freedmen were also given the right to own property and to enter into contracts. The freedmen were given the right to vote and to hold office. The freedmen were also given the right to education and to medical care.

The freedmen were also given the right to work and to earn a living. The freedmen were given the right to own land and to farm it. The freedmen were also given the right to receive a fair wage for their work.

The freedmen were also given the right to protect themselves and their families. The freedmen were given the right to bear arms and to defend themselves from violence.

The freedmen were also given the right to travel and to visit other states. The freedmen were given the right to speak and to write about their lives.

The freedmen were also given the right to practice their own religion. The freedmen were given the right to worship according to their own beliefs.

The freedmen were also given the right to form their own churches and to elect their own clergy. The freedmen were also given the right to form their own schools and to educate their children.

The freedmen were also given the right to join labor unions and to strike for better wages and working conditions.

The freedmen were also given the right to join political parties and to vote for candidates of their choice.

The freedmen were also given the right to own and to inherit property. The freedmen were also given the right to receive a fair share of the wealth of the nation.

The freedmen were also given the right to be treated with dignity and respect. The freedmen were given the right to be protected from violence and to be treated fairly in the courts.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from discrimination and to be treated equally with others.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from slavery and to be free to live their lives as they saw fit.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of others.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the government.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the police.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the courts.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the schools.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the hospitals.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the prisons.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military camps.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military bases.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military installations.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military ships.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military planes.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military helicopters.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military tanks.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military artillery.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military submarines.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military ships.

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The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military submarines.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military ships.

The freedmen were also given the right to be free from the control of the military aircraft.
HORRIBLE OUTRAGE.

We are informed that a most fiendish outrage was committed near Hamburg, South Carolina, one night last week, by five white men, disguised with masks. They went to the house of Chandler Garrot, a colored man, and each violated the person of his wife, a colored woman. They then went to the shop of Wesley Brooks, a poor colored man, and robbed him of sixty dollars, nearly all the money he possessed.

Comment upon the conduct of these men is unnecessary. Why do not our city dailies mention some of the outrages committed daily and nightly by white men against the freedmen? If a freedman commits an offense against a white man it is immediately heralded, but when the freedmen suffer, the world seldom hears of it. Christian men of Georgia and South Carolina, we appeal to you, will you not help to put a stop to these outrages? For the sake of humanity help those poor creatures.

Waggs went to the station of the railroads the other evening, ut

To the Pub

Feeling that an organ that would ignore all PARTY DIFFERENCES up for the mainoinence of JUSTICE and RIGHT irrespective of CLASS or CO we have commenced the pu

THE

Loyal Georgian 1/27/1866

Appendix #4

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
A Nut for Geologists.—A gentleman of Springfield, Mass., recently returned from California, brought with him a piece of the auriferous quartz rock about the size of a man's fist. On taking it out for exhibition to a friend, it accidentally fell upon the floor and split open when there was discovered near the center of the mass, firmly imbedded in the quartz, and elevated a curious nail of the size of sixpence, said to be a perfect tooth from a man that had been brought into the room.

THE FUNNY.

There is it, my dear, that you have in the basement of any man's house, and I'll have it for you. To which the young lady replied.

"The reason, my dear aunt, as you well know, that I am not a good match."

It was the custom of an old lady who frequently entertained travelers, before her guests commenced a meal, to ask a blessing, which she concluded in this wise: "Make us thankful for the good before us. Nancy, hand around the comfit first, and then the biscuits afterward. Amen."

A young lady has discovered the reason why married men, from the age of thirty and upwards, are more or less bald. They scratch their hair off in dismay at their wives' milliner's bill."

Cats.—Cat PARODY ON Poe's RAVEN.

The local editor of the Montezuma, Iowa, Republican appears to have a great horror of cats and admiration for the style of Poe's Raven. Witness the following poetic effusion:

"The other night while we lay musing, and our weary brain confusing o'er; the topics of the day, suddenly we heard a rattling as of serious hosta a battling, as they mingled in the fray. What is that?""Cats caroming, and into the darkness hurtling shall we run against the door!""

"Oh, nothing, Edward! (and clatter)"

The other woman.

The women were arrested.

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
PROVISIONAL GOV'T OF GEORGIA,
Milledgeville, Nov. 21, 1863.

Whereas, the late Convention did ordain, that the Provisional Governor should provide for the formation of one or more Volunteer companies in each of the counties of the State, to act as a police force, to suppress violence, to preserve order and to aid the civil authorities in the enforcement of the laws, under such regulations as might be consistent with the United States. Now therefore, I, James Johnson, Provisional Governor of the State, do hereby authorize and request the people of this State, to organize, according to law, in each of the counties of the State, a volunteer company, for the purpose of aiding the civil authorities in the execution of law and the suppression of violence.

And it is hereby further declared, that such companies, when so formed and organized, shall be auxiliary and subordinate to the civil officers; that they shall arrest no person, and search the house of no person, without a legal warrant regularly issued by some magistrate having authority, and shall in no case inflict any punishment except by the judgment and direction of a duly qualified civil officer, having jurisdiction of the offense.

And whereas, it is desirable to have uniformity in command, and that there should be no conflict between the military authorities of the State and United States, it is further declared that said companies, when formed within their respective counties, shall be under the control and subject to the military commanders of the United States, commanding the District; and for a violation of these regulations, and for any other offense committed, shall be tried and punished according to the rules prescribed for the government of the army of the United States.

Given under my hand and Seal of the Executive Department at Milledgeville this the 21st day of November, A. D., 1863,

JAMES JOHNSON,
Provisional Governor of Georgia.
### Loyal Leagues.

In a free country, where the schools and the churches are open to all; where the newspapers speak freely; where every man is at liberty to think and act as he pleases provided he does not injure others; where the law stretches its strong arm around the humblest citizen; where the liberties of the people are secured in every department of the government, in such a country secret societies of any kind are unnecessary, in fact should be put down. But this is not our condition at present. Our school houses are torn down; our newspapers destroyed; men are murdered daily for no other reason than because they are loyal to the government; the laws are not enforced, and the only protection to life property and principle for Union men is to organize and join together in secret and make their plans for open action. This necessity has produced the Union League.

The country is full of secret societies of a bad and treasonable nature; this fact also makes it the more necessary for loyal men to have secret societies.

We believe every patriotic man who is willing to see the terrible and dangerous condition of our country will acknowledge that the patriotic society known as the Union League is not only a necessity, but a blessing to the recently disfranchised colored men.

So far as the ritual of the League is concerned it could all be made public; it is simply a plain lesson to patriotism; but in order to insure meetings free from spies and enemies, the doors are closed and the most timid feel that every man is a friend and a brother in the League.

Much has been said about the League but we challenge any one to point to a single act of violence in this State which has originated in this State from the Union League. The doctrine of peace is the only one that is taught.

The Union League deserves the support of all citizens without favor.

And it puts the seal of death on the man who comes to us with the avowed purpose of exciting the colored men to rebellion.

It is a liberal, just, straightforward Platform, broad enough for Republicans, and good men to stand.

### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Republican party of Texas, savoring the blood of the wading clothes, and needs of the poor.

We regret that there have been attempts growing in the political world.

We have watched the course of the deep solicitude, and have believed necessary that there should be order that the clouds might be kept.

We have become convinced that the Republican party of Texas, as at present organized, is no party of law and order, and the politicians, no matter how talented or wise, will not be able to put an order into it.

The Republican party is the party of the people, and it is the duty of the people to the State of Texas, to do what is necessary to the truth and justice; but terribly difficult it is to make it through the gate of political expediency.

We have written to more alarm in our press in order to drive it through the door of political expediency.

We have written to more alarm in our press in order to drive it through the door of political expediency.

There is plenty of room in the press for all good men and those who are glad that it is possible for us to agree in their efforts and to work for the Union League.

Weekly Free Man's Press
(1-2) 8/15/1868
Appendix #6

Best Copy Available
God Recognises Two Forms of Government.

The two forms of government, as the Divine Ruler of the Universe, adapted to three-fold nature of man; that in this state, no one of the elements of Nature can act independently.

Without the physical, or animal, the man would hold no relation to the Universe; without the intellect, he would be an idiot; and without the moral, he would be an animal. The animal appetites, therefore, would know no restraint.

But the moral department of man, brought under moral restraint. The moral department of man is dependent on the intellect, intellectual for the moral formation. All facts and truths, are made to intelligent through the medium of the school, the press, the church. All just decisions are a consideration in the moral department, with facts and truths, furnished by a common sense. The character of the man is discussed.

The Character of the True August Convention.

The Republican Convention was organized on the 12th by the gentleman known to be a Republican and disfranchised in the rebellion, and also as the railroads which are no idea of the railroad. They do not to avoid the paying back the school fund, gives an assemblage which reflection among the people.

Weekly Free Man's Press
(2-2) 8/15/1868
Appendix #7 130
Fiendish Cruelty
Hellish Barbarity!!

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF A FREEDWOMAN.

A RELIC OF BARBARISM—THE WHIPPING-POST IN VOGUE.

We give below, the affidavit of a colored woman, in Spaulding county, to cruelty inflicted upon her by white men, which, for fiendish malignity, and hellish atrocity, exceeds any act we have ever read in the annals of crime. We blush with shame, and shudder with horror, while we read it; and, although modesty might dictate the propriety of withholding it from the eyes of the refined and respectable portion of the community, the stronger demands of justice compel us to give it publicity, that the world may learn how dark and devilish are the deeds to which the spirit of slavery can lead men.

I myself and husband were under contract with Mrs. Amanda Childs of Henry county, and worked from January 1, 1856, until the crops were laid by, or in other words, until the main work of the year was done, without difficulty. Then (the fashion being prevalent among the planters) we were called upon one night, and my husband was demanded; I said he was gone to the water-melon patch. They then seized me, and took me some distance from the house, where they 'bucked' me down across a log, stripped my clothes off me, beat me across my posterior, two sticks being passed between the waters of my body, and beat me between my legs and rear. I was beaten until I was tired. Then they turned me parallel with the ground upon my back, and beat me between my thighs, one of the men standing astride over my neck, and beat me across my posterior, two men holding my legs. In this manner I was beaten until we were tired. Then they turned me parallel with the log, laying my neck upon a limb which projected from the log, and one man placing his foot upon my neck, beat me again on my back and thigh. Then I was thrown upon the ground upon my back, one of the men stood upon my breast, while two others held up my feet and stretched my limbs as far apart as they could while the man standing upon my breast applied the strap to my private parts until they were satisfied, and I was more dead than alive. Then a man supposing to be an ex-Confederate soldier, as he was on crutches, fell upon me, and ravished me. During the whipping, one man raised his boot, and plunged the heel into my thighs while I was being battered, and the other seized me up and threw me upon the log, left me there, and walked out of sight, and I remained there until the next morning.

We learn from various parts of the State that whipping, as a punishment for crime, is becoming very common. We wish to shield no one from the rigors of the law and just punishment when by bad conduct, he incurs them; but we do, in the name of humanity, and for the sake of the good name of Georgia, protest against all such relics of barbarism as the whipping post.

It might have been very efficacious in the days of slavery; and, perhaps, answered the demands of justice in the medieval ages, and in the days of the fanatical witch burners of Massachusetts, and the bigoted religionist of Virginia in the days of Lord Fairfax; but we declare it utterly disgraceful to an enlightened Christian people, and totally incompatible with that article of the Federal Constitution which forbids the infliction of cruel punishments.

Washington, W. C. Loyal Georgian 10/13/1866

(1-2) BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix #8

Loyal Georgian 10/13/1866

SEVEN FREEDMEN REPORTED KILLED!!

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SEVEN FREEDMEN REPORTED KILLED!!

At Bel-Air last week, a colored man was shot in the left arm, and his wife in the right breast, by a white man, simply because they dared to inquire in the 'cause of a noise 'the white individual aforesaid was making in a neighboring house tenanted by two or three mulatto girls.

We are glad to know that, although the wounds are very severe, they are not mortal.

From the reports which have come to our office within the past week, it appears quite evident that the freedmen in Edgefield district South Carolina, are suffering the same hellish persecution now, that they suffered last winter.

We have reports that murders are very frequent; and it is said that seven freedmen were killed in the vicinity of Edgefield court-house the first week in this month.

We give this only as a rumor; and, while we most sincerely hope that it is only rumor, we have no doubt that some have been murdered; but we do not pretend to give the number.

If General Sickles, or General Scott have any power, or means, with which to rid Edgefield of the band of ruffians that is so relentlessly persecuting the blacks, and disgracing the State of South Carolina, we call upon them in the name of humanity to act without further delay. It is vain to rely on the civil authorities to act in the matter.

There is no harm now, we presume, in publishing such little items as these; since it is evident, from the way the elections are going in the North, that the Radicals are in need of no more 'capital.' They seem to have more than they know what to do with!

A freedman from Edgefield presented himself in this city on the 9th, instantaneous, who had been taken from his house the night previous, tied to a tree, and most brutally lashed from neck to heels.

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Loyal Georgian 10/13/1866

Appendix #9
Eve married before they were a year old, and the veteran Parr buckled with a widow at 120. bachelors and spinsters may wed any age they like, and find shelter under great names for either early or late marriages.

—The Cincinnati Gazette, of March 30th, has a dispatch saying that the murderous Klan left documents at Mr. Patrick Hanney's house, near Waverly, Tenn., a few days ago, warning him to quit the country. He had paid no attention to it, but kept on with his work. Subsequently a large company of Rebels, disguised and armed, dragged him out of his house and about midnight carried him to a creek three miles distant. They tied a rope around his neck, dragged him across the creek, pulled out his hair and beard, kicked and whipped him, and left him lying unconscious in the wood. He was found the following evening by his wife. Mr. Hanney is well known in Nashville as a lover of the Union. The Klan visited the house of George Bryant, colored, last night, eight miles from Nashville, and demanded admission. Not having faith in their ghastly professions, the colored man denied them admission, but levelled his gun at them, and then they made a precipitate retreat. He recognized in one of the scoundrels a neighbor named Warren, and has taken out a warrant for his arrest. The Vidette (Klu Klux Klan organ) has published an extra, warning Union men and negroes not to leave their homes until after the election.

A S. H. PATRICK SPENT

Everything in the political world to the organization by a few publichans as the great insult to the public, and uneasily in their party harness, seeking that the time has come to pass away and all things to be made new. This war has ended negro slavery on this continent, and has given the death blow to every aristocracy, to the leading of the few. Our crafty rulers turn people wait for conventions, or campaigns, but rise and quickly, or another President is to give us Lincoln a son, and the same quarrel is to give us Grant, unless the people by some three uproot this dynasty of rotten great lesson for Americans to learn, every citizen has an individual in responsibility in the welfare of the nation.

"Sam is you a nigger?"

"No sir, I's a colored man, and to continue one until after the time. I's a man, and a part of the nation."
We cannot undertake to hold or return rejected communications.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S PROCLAMATION

We publish in this issue the Proclamation of the President of the United States, calling upon all disorderly and unlawful assemblies of men who are now banded together in the State of Louisiana for the purposes of resisting the laws of the State and the State Government, as at present recognized to disperse within twenty days. Genl. Grant means business—he means that the amendments to the constitution whereby the nation pledged itself to provide the means to secure to the white and colored population of the Southern States equal rights and equal laws shall be enforced. The acts of murder and the whipping and other outrages committed upon loyal Republicans in Louisiana show that a large portion of the Democracy of this distracted State are a set of scoundrels, whose good faith can no longer be regarded, not only in Louisiana, but in Kentucky and Georgia, the lives of Republicans are not secure. Only in States, South, were Republicans rule is there any safety for a white or black Republican.

The Democratic party North and South are responsible for this state of things, for these disloyal men do not hesitate to say that they are backed up by their Northern allies. There is no manner of doubt but what Gov. Kellogg represents a large majority of the legal voters of Louisiana, his election has been amply sustained by the Government, and his appointments have been decided to be legal by the Courts, but, we look now for a more vigorous application of the laws of the country, and hope the strong arm of the general government will be extended sufficiently to protect all from murder and rape, and to extinguish such outlaws as Kluxians and the rebel Democrats, and I would not be forgotten in time. Until that is done the people will linger in poverty and ignorance, and the best interest of the State suffer decay.

"Let us have peace."

5/31/1873

Georgetown Planet

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Appendix #11

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
THE KU-KLUX.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27. — Mr. Blair, rising to a personal explanation, sent to the Secretary and had partly read an article from the Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune, stating that a caucus of the Republican Senators for the purpose of consulting on the measures necessary to protect the lives and property of the loyal citizens of the South against the Ku-Klux depredations in the South, Senator Scott, the Chairman of the Investigating Committee, made statements of the testimony taken before the committee, concerning the affairs of North Carolina. These statements were to the effect that much of the testimony was of a startling character; that there were forty thousand men, rebel Ku-Klux, already organized in North Carolina, and acting under some central authority; and it was in evidence that similar organizations already existed in nearly every Southern State, but the investigation had not been pursued far enough to warrant any more definite statements.

At this point, before the article had been concluded, Mr. Sherman objected to its being read further, on the ground that it was not in the nature of a personal explanation.

Mr. Blair then stated the purpose of his explanation: As a member of the investigating committee referred to, he desired to call the attention of the chairman of the committee to the matter in the presence of the Senate. These statements of evidence, privately taken before a committee whose proceedings are intended to be secret, were alleged to have been publicly made by its chairman. He believes it a violation of the privileges of the Senate that evidence should be divulged, even in Republican caucuses, for the purpose of procuring hostile legislation.

PREDICTION FULFILLED.

[Special to the N. Y. Herald!]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26. — The following is a letter from Henry C. Carey, the political economist, to Joseph Nimmo, Jr., chief of the tonnage division, concerning American steam nav

PHILADELPHIA,

Mr. Joseph Nimmo, Jr.,

Dear Sir — Thanks for the letter which, from first to last, shows the most enterprising spirit and most espe

tion to apply the Monroe doctrine to the
delations.
THE "OUTRAGE" COMMITTEE — DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS.

WASHINGTON, March 17.—The Democrats of the House of Representatives had a caucus this evening for the purpose of considering what course is to be pursued on the Senate proposition for a joint committee to investigate at the South. A number of speeches were made. Messrs. Beck, Kerr, Voorhees, Campbell and Marshall favored the policy of going to the Senate resolution upon the ground that it was the interest of the Democratic party to court the fullest investigation which would establish the charges made against the South; that this was the only way to disprove those charges: that unless this course were pursued, and the committee appointed, there was great danger that Congress would remain in session and pass some obnoxious measure of oppression. Gen. Young, Mr. Eldridge, Mr. Van Trump and Mr. Bird opposed the resolution upon the grounds that Congress had no right to interfere with the administration of State affairs and local justice; and further, that the investigation would be unfairly conducted. The former views, however, largely preponderated. It was voted by four to one to pass the resolution when it came to the House, but with an amendment that the committee, instead of reporting at any time, shall report in December next. It was stated expressly in caucus that this decision was not binding on individual members; and it is probable that some of those who voted the other day against a similar committee of the House will vote against the Senate resolution now. Mr. Campbell having expressed his opinion in caucus that all the members of the committee should be Northern men, Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, at once proposed to decline serving; but Gen. Young, of Georgia, and others, insisted on his remaining on the committee. The representation of the South in the committee is deemed important in order to have the proper interlocutors put to the witnesses, so as to elicit the whole truth and expose the perjuries and misstatements.

Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, on being informed of the action of the House Democratic caucus, expressed his regret that any amendment was to be offered to the Senate resolution, as it might occasion delay, adding that no one proposed to have a report earlier than December next. The Democrats say to-night that if Mr. Dawes and others like him will state this on the floor of the House, they will agree to pass the resolution as comes from the Senate.

THE TROUBLE BETWEEN SUMNER & FISH—TWO VERSIONS.

[Special to the Cincinnati Commercial.]
WASHINGTON.

SHELLABARGER'S KU KLUX BILL.

WASHINGTON, March 19, - Judge Shellabarger of Ohio, has prepared a new bill for the suppression of the K. K. K. It will probably be introduced tomorrow, and referred under the call of the States for bills and joint resolutions for reference. The bill is as follows:

SEC. 1. And be it enacted, etc., That if any two or more persons shall, within the limits of any State of this Union, conspire together to do any act against the person, property or rights of any other person, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, but which, if committed in any place or district under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, would be punishable under the laws thereof in force when such act was committed; and if one or more of such parties to said conspiracy shall do any act to effect the object of said conspiracy, the parties to said conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction shall be liable to a penalty of not less than $500 and to imprisonment not exceeding ten years.

Provided that if any party or parties to such conspiracy shall in furtherance of such common design, commit murder, such party or parties so guilty shall, on conviction, suffer death.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That when any offence punishable under this act shall be begun in one judicial district of the United States and completed in another, every such offence shall be deemed to have been committed in either of the said districts, and may be dealt with, inquired of, tried, determined, and punished in either of said districts, in the same manner as if it had been actually and wholly committed therein.

The Patent Office has been in state of excitement during the past week, occasioned by the discovery of the operations of E. W. Griffin, chief editor of the anual index of patents, who, it appears, has been leaving the mail on the employees of the office for nearly two years. During the administration of Col. Fisher, late Commissioner of Patents, a large number of employees were employed for the purpose of removing the drawings of those on file, when ordered by the Commissioner. These ladies were placed under the care of Griffin, with power to remove the drawings of those on file. It has been proved that Griffin hired the ladies at regular salary, $1000 per annum, and the most of them were blackmailed to the amount of $1000 to $2000 each. It is estimated that Griffin made $1000 per month for the past year. The matter was brought before the Commissioner, and investigation ordered, which resulted in the dismissal of Griffin. It is feared that there are other cases of this kind, and the Commissioner expresses a wish that the suggestions passed unheeded by the proper authorities. It is openly feared that an investigation into the existing between certain examiners will reveal a more fearful state of blackmail than exists in all the other Government departments combined.
New York Associated Press Dispatches

The Civil War in France.

Successes of the Communists.

Points Occupied by their Troops.

Position of the Versailles Army.

The Versailles Troops Repulsed at All Points.

Religious Riot at Odessa.

WASHINGTON.

The Proceedings in Congress.

Ku-Klux Bill Passed by Senate.

Democratic Senators and Representatives in Caucus.

A Call upon Absent Members.

Latest from Cuba.

General Intelligence.

Foreign and Domestic Market.

From Southwest Pass.

River and Steamboat News.

Europe.

WASHINGTON, April 14—The fighting during the past two days resulted in the capture of several important points by the Communists. The positions of the Versailles Army are now under a heavy assault. The religious riot at Odessa has been quelled. Democratic Senators and Representatives are in caucus. A call has been made on absent members. Latest from Cuba is that general intelligence has been received. Foreign and domestic market information is also available. From Southwest Pass, river and steamboat news is reported.

New Orleans Picayune

4/15/1871

Appendix #15

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE
WASHINGTON, April 11.—In July, 1870, the schooner J. H. Nickerson, off the coast of Salem, Mass., ran aground on a sandbar, and was seized by the Domin- 
ion cutter Ida E., for violation of the fishery laws of the Domin- 
ion. The case was referred to a commission of experts, 
consisting of the Domin- 
ion authorities, and 
the State Court, at which time it was found that the 
applica- 
tion was subsequently made by the 
owners, through Collector F. T. 
Frost, of the port of Salem, for the release of the 
Nickerson and the papers referred to the 
Secretary of State. Nothing has been 
done in the case, and the owners recently 
presided at the meeting of the 
Treasury for the purpose of having 
the case referred to the 
Secretary of State to the inquiry of Secretary Bout- 
well:

STATE DEPARTMENT, April 8, 1871.

Sir—In relation to proceedings in the case of the schooner J. H. Nickerson, 
which was seized by the Canadian cutter Ida E., in July last, the 
Secretary appears to be in the custody of the proper 
court of admiralty, awaiting judgment upon the libel filed against her. In such 
a position of the case it is not allowable 
for this Government to interfere or to 
ask the interference of the British 
Government with the proceedings of the 
judicial tribunals. Very respectfully,

HAMILTON FISHER, 
Secretary of State.

SEYMUR'S RADICALISM.

Senator Seymour will probably make a 
speech on the Ku-Klux bill, wherein he 
will take the advanced position of the 
Democratic Party, and in his 
address he will take occasion to 
reply to the assertions which have been 
made upon him as a Republican, and to 
demonstrate the falsity of the 
assumptions of the Republican 
faith by any of those who have been 
proper to question his party status.

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MEXICO AND CUBA.

WASHINGTON, April 13.—Mr. Henry G. 
Horton, of New York, who has secured 
the exclusive privilege of laying a 
telegraph cable from Mexico to Cuba, 
was to day reported by the Minister 
Cuba, to have been in 
the completion of the work. The cable is to 
be laid from Vera Cruz to Manzanillo, 
Tabasco, Yucatan, and the Gulf of 
Cuba, and thence to the Cape of San 
Antonio, Cuba, and to connect with the 
cable from Cuba to the United States.

New Orleans Picayune

April 19, 1871

Appendix #16
New Orleans Paving

Soldier Homestead Act

In the Year of the Administration which was the last of President Lincoln, and in the third of J. A. Grant, the Homestead Act of March 3, 1862, was enacted. Under it, every citizen of the United States, and every alien intending to become so, who was 21 years of age, or, if under that age, a veteran of the Civil War, and who had not previously received more than 160 acres, was entitled to a homestead of 160 acres, provided he entered upon it within 12 months after the act was passed, and resided thereon during the last year of his term of occupation, and cultivated it or made improvements thereon in good faith. The entry must be verified by deposit of a sum of money, and in default of payment, the entry could be disposed of by the Government. The title would be confirmed after a term of years, during which the entryman was required to pay a small annual tax. The act was designed to promote agriculture and stimulate the settlement of the public lands.

The act also contained provisions for the establishment of schools on homesteads, and for the sale of public lands for the support of education. The act was repealed in 1919 by an act of Congress, and its provisions were incorporated into the General Land Act of 1926.
The strange life, the misfortunes of the good Neech Arden, clad as they are in poetic fancy, need an artist to interpret them. That artist is found in Mr. Adams. With a genius to transport his beauty and to appreciate it, he has upon the sympathies of the audience with a subtle magnetism impossible to describe.

The play will probably run through the season. Our people would hasten to see it, for it is very rarely that we see a drama so thoroughly beautiful as this for the appreciation.

The Opera—Mr. Duson's Benefit—A crowded and brilliant audience greeted the benefactor, last night, on his appearance on the stage, and numerous bouquets and other valuable offerings attended the esteem and admiration in which he is held as an artist. In the character of Rigoletto, by his marvelously expressive acting and superbly characterized of Rigoleno, by his magnificent character of Rigoleno, he has so thoroughly expressed the air of the court scene of the first act that the music of the opera was charmingly interpreted by the orchestra. Dido the second act, a terrible interview with his daughter sung in good tune by Pid. The last act, with its delicious solo of the second act, and in the beautiful duo of the third with Pity, pinioned eloquently in his subinquent appeal to Comedy as the power and the force of the piece, carrying the soul of the audience throughout, and was frequently and enthusiastically applauded. Grandly triumphant in the court scene of the first act, the opera was pronounced uniformly, and in the precision of the action throughout, and was frequently and enthusiastically applauded.

WILBUR'S COMBINATION OF PURE COD LIVER OIL AND LIME. The advantage of this compound over the plain oil is in its being entirely removed, and the whole rendered entirely palatable. A large certificate of the medicinal properties is sufficient to satisfy the excellence and success of Wilbur's cod liver oil and lime. But in this the trouble is entirely obviated. A limit of certifies might be issued at no cost to the medical faculty, as neither of the articles is sufficient to satisfy the excellence and success of Wilbur's cod liver oil and lime. But in this the trouble is entirely obviated.

E Boy.
when cunning men appeal to the latent or active hatred of those lately our armed enemies? Should we be surprised that they magnify trifles to fill the spectrum of their political show? Should we wonder that the public and private interests of the congressional drama should try to last to extract sensational profit from history so recent and so tragical?

Noticed we are surprised that the existence of secret associations in the South should be made the text of violent and personal political essays and speeches. There are, of have been since the closing of the war, ways and practices used by secret clubs of cliques of men, usually organized by fact or imaginary pledge, but continuing, chiefly by virtue of a common purpose, calling themselves the true vigilance committees, 'regulators,' 'committees of safety,' or by some other inclusive name, having for their object the riddance of community, by expulsion or death of notorious outlaws, or known and dangerous characters who have gone unwhipped of justice. These bands or gangs are rapidly formed, never number, and extend their operations over the limited areas of such of the ruder sections as invite outlaws by the uncertainty and inefficiency of the repressive and punitive action of the state. These hands generally dissolve, whatever for which they were formed has been reached, although it may sometimes happen that what is illegal in its object and means perverted to violence for which no excuse can be offered. But while in some rare instances good men have been assassinated, the victims of these regulators and of all most cases of desolation sent to court from a court of criminal jurisdiction. This extra legal, summary, secret violence is in itself cruel, and wholly at war with the best interests of society. These organizations are a hideous, deformity wherever they occur, for the purpose of society is the few villains who form them who penal or destroy. No citizen who knows the value of personal security, as pledged by the laws of his country, can approve, countenance or uphold them.

It is out of the gangs which we have described that the fertile fancies of the Ku-Klux, the Ku-Klax, have been formed. It is out of these wholly non-political, yet scattered and independent bands that Summer and his secretaries have invented an association comprising all the white men of the South, and pledged to secrecy, to opposition and to bloodshed. This sanguine and monstrous perversion makes it, of more than the imperative and patriotic duty of all good men in the community, to disassociate from and suppress, by all available and legal means, any-thing that can be suspected of being organized for violence or for a certain political purpose.

Mr. Chas. Lefaivre. He will sing, in those sublime tones for which he has become remarkable, in the first and second act of Russia's 'The Martyrs,' and in the third act of Verdi's 'Travatore,' and in the third and also of that of the 'Martyrs.' In all these pieces he will be sustained by some of the best artists of the troupe, including Madame Demade in, Domestre, and Amore. Peri, Thery, Dubose and others.

Our music loving community will some have enjoyed a more pleasing programme than this, and they will doubtless gather in a brilliant concourse to welcome Mr. Sumner and his votaries, and to show the society and admiration by his magnificent vocalization in the highest conceivable registers of song.

On Saturday night Verdi's thrilling grand opera, "Rigoletto," will be repeated.

Sacred concerts on Monday and TUESDAY, 3d and 4th proximo.

The Rev. R. O. Mallard, pastor of the Trinity Street Presbyterian Church, leaves the city to-day for a transient visit to his former home in Georgia. We trust the trip may afford the recreation he needs, and return him to us renewed in strength and vigor.

The Legislature of the State of New York has passed a law which provides for the establishment of an Examining Board for the examination and licensing of clerks employed by drug stores in the city of New York.

A late number of the New York Herald gives a solid column to a book about a column and a half to the St. Louis Times, a negro criminal in Williamsport, Pa. The Times says: 'We understand that the trial would not do it. When will the public mind take the dyspepsia?'

When Mr. Bayard defied Mr. Morton to show that the Kn-Klux were all Democrats, all Mr. Morton could say was 'Nobody doubts it'—which is just exactly the trouble with those men who have other folks "nobody:" they never doubt anything they want to believe.

Mr. Henry Ernst will illustrate his methods at 12 o'clock, at the Lafayette Warehouse, corner Maga-

The city is at present of religious and political organizations, many of which are not only injurious but dangerous, and which are likely to be the means of producing serious evils. It is well known that many of the vices and crimes which prevail in the community are largely produced by these organizations. It is the duty of all good citizens to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of such organizations, and to suppress those which have already been formed.

LACE SHAWLS, LACE SHAWLS.

A fine assortment of Figured and Semi-Circular Lace Shawls.

PIQUES, PIQUES.

A beautiful assortment of Figured and Satin Striped Purse.

Skeletor Corsets, Skeleton Corsets, Lace SHAWLS and Pointed.

TOWELS, TOWELING, and TOWELLING.

DIYELING and RAPIDING. All at satisfactory prices.

New Orleans Picayune

Appendix #19

3/29/1871
There is something in the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of any State wherein they reside." Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment states: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment was ratified in 1868 and was one of the key provisions of the Reconstruction Act, which sought to ensure the civil rights of freed slaves and to prevent Southern states from disenfranchising them or other groups such as Native Americans and women. The amendment has been a cornerstone of American civil rights legislation and has been invoked in numerous legal cases to challenge laws and practices that discriminate based on race, color, or national origin.

By invitation, one of our course, went out yesterday to the station-house on Canal street to accompany the district attorney on a trip of a street railroad car, propelled by atmospheric steam. The car was ready, and Dr. Emilie Lamm, the inventor of the system, was standing on the platform at half past 1 o'clock, several gentlemen, some representatives of railroad capital, some representatives of scientific institutions, and some agricultural journals, were waiting for the departure of the train.

This is an interesting and important work, and certain enemies did not try to enter the cars, but on the contrary, were curious to see what could be done. A large crowd collected in front of the station-house to witness the start of the train. A man sat down on a chair and was overthrown by the stream of atmospheric steam, which was said to be at a temperature of about 140 degrees Fahrenheit. The car moved slowly forward, and then began to speed up. There was an occasional hissing sound, and the steam was seen issuing from the sides of the car. The passengers were all well dressed, and the cars were comfortable, but the ride was somewhat uncertain, and the people were not entirely satisfied with the performance of the engine.

After a prolonged interchange of wit and bardineon, the car was standing on a curve, moved a few yards forward, and then returned gracefully up the track. There was another hissing sound, and the car stopped. The engine was not running, and the passengers were quite satisfied.
"act to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment." It cost thirty days of the time of both houses. It was debated more earnestly and more angrily than any other bill that was ever before Congress. It was not discussed in private councils, but was brought before the main assembly, and had no doubt of the previous sufficiency of his authority, to satisfy other scruples than his own. It was reasoned against the Southern States, but was not approved by all adherents of the Radical party. To pass any other bill would have been to suppose there was nothing in it, but when inspected critically it is found to be full of deep significance.

Take the beginning of one of its long sections, at random — the second, for example, which opens as follows:

"If two or more persons within any State or Territory shall conspire together for the purpose of obstructing the Government of the United States in the discharge of its duties, or for endeavors to overthrow the Government of the United States, or to levy war against the same in any form, the Government of the United States shall be composed of the Grand Exclusive, and so on, and after enumerating forty other acts of lesser import it declares that the offenders shall be fined from five hundred to five thousand dollars and be imprisoned from six months to six years. It will at once become evident to the imminent danger of the government of our common country has stood secure ever since its organization, its peace at any time liable to be put in jeopardy by any act of sedition or treason.

Heretofore Tom Smith might have joined in a conspiracy with any Dick Turpin and Jack Cade, and conspired to destroy the government of the United States, and the President would have had no direct manner of proceeding to the army and navy of the nation. But the Ku Klux bill changes all this, for Tom, Dick and Jack may now conspire, or any two of them, to destroy the great fabric of constitutional power. No two cabals shall now be formed for the same purpose, the temple of North American liberty, or to blow its shattered fragments into the air with villainous saltpetre. Henceforth, whoever wishes to make war on the United States must do it alone and single-handed, or if assisted by a single house, or any of us, we must be careful not to conspire with him. Rebellion thus isolated and individualized will be easily managed. It is the fable of the fagot in a new shape; a separate stack of treason may be a sufficient weapon on this side or the force bill forbids their being Minds.

It is with the bated breath of impatience that the country at large will wait for the overt act of conspiracy and warfare on the part of the "two or more." Once in a great while, a fellow feeling that the great States single handed or alone, after the manner of the knights of chivalry, or in the style of the brave Knight of La Mancha. Inspired by the love of liberty and a few fingers of condensed gas being absorbed in water, the ammoniated water is redissolved and so there is nothing lost or consumed except the steam required to eliminate the required need.

We cannot, of course, go into a scientific analysis of this matter. Beyond all doubt and certainty, we may say that the experiment was an immense success. A bearing engine, weighing a thousand pounds and twenty-one passes and giving one hundred and sixty pounds each, started in the same time as the other, having stood 800 miles an hour at a distance and as easily stopped and started as a lady may stop or move her sewing machine. This was done to the consternation of the neighbors that hadn't asked help for twenty years never asked — we have not yet been fully apologetic.

This festival continues for two more nights, the last closing with a grand concert. Lunch is served daily, from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M., by the ladies, and the man who cannot enjoy the pleasures of the place twice the worth of the interest so is not at all much too reduced in prospect to be careless of consequences.

The ladies of the fair desire to thank the Bargado for the head of his boat, which, combined with a delightful music in the ball during the evening.

In dull times, and when money is scarce, people want to know where they can secure good artists for the least money. We think that Mr. Philip W. Taber's
got the ball may be a delightful music in the ball during the evening.

The lady managers of the Calvary Church may be much disappointed at the last in the evening, at the same place. The proposition they have made is, that the regulars shall be the Dr. Warren. A good horse

A trash about the present condition of the country, with its neighbors, and the general public.

The war is in progress, and the people of the west are not satisfied with the way the President and the Secretary of War are managing the government. Mr. McCune and the general public.

The people are particular about the way the President and the Secretary of War are managing the government. Mr. McCune and the general public.

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Free Talk from the President.

A Washington special to the New York Times, March 21st, says:

General Thomas W. Conway, late State Superintendent of Public education in Louisiana, and Pierrepoint Wilson, of New Jersey, had a long interview with the President this afternoon after the Cabinet meeting, regarding the Southern question. The President was frank, and gave his views without reserve, the more so as he knew General Conway had long and honorable relationship with the South since the war, and was not now personally or officially interested in the struggle of parties in that section.

General Conway said that the Democrats of Louisiana were retrogressive and reactionary, and could not be trusted with a defense of the principles resulting from and settled by the war; that they were apt to resort more to violence than to lawful means of expression; that they endangered the public school system; that they were opposed free schools, and had opposed the public school system.

The President, in reply, said that there was no doubt that for the past eight years there had been a great degree of reaction, retrogression, lawlessness and disorder in the South, and especially in Louisiana, where there were so many mixed races that violence resulted almost spontaneously; that the worst thing that could happen to the South would be the success of the Democratic party; that either the few troops that are there should be taken away or more put on duty; that Packard case had greatly improved to day (judge.
The President said: "They will surely find me their friend; but they need other friends from among those who are now regarded as their enemies because of their race line. The President expressed himself in terms of great charity for the South, and yet he was emphatic in his declaration that there should be law and order in that section. The President further said that in no event would the troops be withdrawn, but that on the contrary General Grant's last order respecting the status quo would be maintained until the commission returned and reported, and a fixed policy should be agreed upon.

The success of the DeRicases party; that either the few troops that are there should be taken away or more put on duty; that Packard's case had greatly improved to day (judging from dispatches he had been seen showing a weakness of the Nicholls forces); that in Packard's case continued to improve, the commission to be appointed would see that and so report, which would simplify matters very much; that the Democratic party of the South had better be broken up, if possible, and the color line obliterated by a new and better organization of the Republican party; that the men who were in the White League and Ku-Klux organizations were the lawless and not the respectable and intelligent; that out of the better class a valuable addition to the Republican party can probably be had; that the Republican party needs to be made better, and he thinks it can be, and that all events, it would be well to try and put an end to all disorder in the South by removing its cause—the color line—and, at all events, he would hold himself ready, in case these views were found leading him in a wrong direction, to change them speedily.

Mr. Conway said he hoped that the poor freedmen, who were weak and poor and ignorant, would find in him a friend like Lincoln.

The President said: "To the right of my chateau estate and ill-disposition, children and so on, I give all."

This instated the family and of proving the

Nine deaths from small-pox have occurred on the Patterson
THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

Some people understand this to be a free country, and that every citizen, be he white or black, has a right to go and come at pleasure, but it seems that this is not the case in Mississippi, the land which produces such men as Lamar and Barksdale and George.

The legislature of that State attempts to make it a punishable offense to even give the colored people advice about leaving that State and coming to the land of the free. We know there are some who will doubt this as being a fact, and say that such a measure is impossible and cannot be enforced, but to all such we would say that nothing is impossible with the Democracy of the South. They make the laws to suit themselves, and no one dare say nay.

Now, here is a law enacted that comes in direct conflict with the constitution of the United States, and we venture the assertion that this law will soon be adopted by all the Southern States, and not only adopted, but enforced, and if necessary, with the persuasive power of the shotgun. Of course this unconstitutional measure will cause considerable excitement among the colored people of that Ku-Klux stronghold, and in their efforts to escape from that State several, yes, hundreds, will be murdered, and for no other cause than they dare act as other oppressed people would and do, act under similar circumstances.

The colored people of the South, and especially those in Mississippi and Louisiana, are today virtually as much in bondage as they were.
their efforts to escape from that State several, yes, hundreds, will be murdered, and for no other cause than they dare act as other oppressed people would and do, act under similar circumstances.

The colored people of the South, and especially those in Mississippi and Louisiana, are today virtually as much in bondage as they were fifty years ago. There are cities in these States where a colored man dare not speak in reference to the treatment he receives daily at the hands of his "best friends," and if he does, from that moment is his life in danger, and he is liable to be murdered at any time; and even the members of his household will not speak above a whisper about the outrage, through fear of meeting the same fate.

The above alluded to law (?) is but an idea of how the Democrats propose running the South in the future. Those who leave Mississippi now for the west, will have to do so after the style of the Arab, as threats have already been made against railroad emigrants, west from that State.

Is it possible that American citizens are not to be allowed to exercise a guaranteed right in Mississippi? We shall see.

A number of white men were discharged from work on the capitol this morning and replaced by extras—Topeka Democrat.

You are mistaken, Mr. Democrat.

The white stone masses struck last fall, because the contractors employed three colored stone masons to work on the capitol by contractors. Did then strike, a longer time than either of you wanted pay for ten. The contractors...
A CALL

Counties not represented in the State Convention convened 12th April, 1880, at Topeka, are hereby invited to hold an election for one member to permanent State Executive Committee, and forward names and credentials to

B. Wm. PULIES, Secretary
Council Grove, Kan.
J. ALLEN, Chairman, S. E. C.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Appointed by the State Convention of Colored Men.

J. ALLEN, Lyon County;
L Wm PULIES, Morris county,
Hon. H. C. BRUCE, Atchison.
JOHN L. WALLER, Douglas.
WM. L EAGLESON, Shawnee.
WM. D. LATHAM, Leavenworth.
P. DAVIS, District Attorney.

W. A. ARTHUR, Wyandotte.
J. W. FRENCH, Labette.
A. F. HALL, Graham.

Herald of Kansas
(1-2) 6/11/1880
Appendix #26

An Attempted Assassination of a Colored Newspaper Correspondent.

We clip from the Nashville (Tenn) Educator and Reformer, the following account of the attempt on Mr. Benjamin's life. On Saturday, May 1st, the Washington Exodus came out with my article. On the following Friday, May 7th, the Decatur News, Mr. Clarke Hansell, editor, republished my article, and in an editorial, gave the article the "barefaced lie calling me a "contemptible Negro rascal, a Northern scoundrel whose character was abominable, and whose words should not be read upon under no circumstances, etc., etc."

I wrote Mr. Hansell a note, store close by before he had time to shoot the second time. He followed, pistol in one hand and stick in the other. He was prevented from shooting me by the storekeepers, Cartwright Bros. The following morning Mr. Hansell was fined $25 for using fire arms in the corporation, and was compelled to $500 bond to appear at the next term of the Circuit Court for attempting my life. About the bond I was told by the Justice of the Peace. I did not see the warrant issued, nor did I know he had a trial until the following Tuesday. On that day (Tuesday) I went to the Justice to take out a warrant, and he told me that Mr. Hansell had been tried and had given bond for his appearance.

Mr. Hansell claimed that his object in trying to take my life was, because I said in my article to the "Exodus" that Southern editors were traitors and brokers unto the peace and prosperity of my race.

Mr. Editor, I did say it, and I say without fear of successful radiations, that any and everything that may have a tendency to injure the colored man's present and future progress finds way into the newspapers, but anything that will bring the crimes of our oppressors before the public are forbidden publication by the editors who do not regard the public duty imposed upon them. Instead of justice and magnanimity these Southern editors are traitors to liberty, and to peace and prosperity of a wronged and injured people, with all their learning and boasted progress, they sell themselves to the highest bidder and dare not meet the truth.

But I refer the reader to my articles published in the first, second and third copies of the "Exodus." That I was shot for the cause already stated I will refer you Mr. Editor.
That I was shot for the cause already stated, I will refer you Mr. Editor, to ex Congressman C. C. Sheets, J. R. Stuart, Esq., the Justice before whom it was tried, and Mr. Todd, Mayor of Decatur. I merely make these references to certify that what I have said is the truth.

Respectfully,

R. C. O. BENJAMIN.

—Washington Exodus.

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ladie's and Gent's Fine Shoes a specialty.
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TOPEKA - KANSAS

J. R. DUTTON,
[Successor to Dutton & Baker.]
General Agent for
THE ROYAL
ST. JOHN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
Herald of Kansas

150 (2-2) 6/11/1880
Appendix #27
SAVANNAH "holds her own," as a first class healthy city.

We are pleased to learn that the Key West, Fla., News, will soon be enlarged to an eight column folio.

The telegraphers strike seem to be at an end, the backbone of the strikers having been broken by the bosses.

It is well that we inform certain kkklux bosses in the interior that their threatening letters were consigned to The Echo waste basket.

The Georgia kkklux and their leaders must have heard something "drop." We notice since the last issue of The Echo, they are hunting their "holes." "What does it mean?"

The People's Adviser, of Jackson, Miss., says: "We must no longer expect the whites to fight our battles, for they who would themselves be free, must first strike the blow."

Our fighting editor is at present traveling through the East and West, for the benefit of his health. Those of our enemies who mean fight will please postpone the same.

Savannah, Ga., Aug. 26, 1883.

The Weekly Echo

It Was Only One of His Tricks.

It is said that men is ruler of all things on earth. And because he is vested with that power he gets too stiff, and the switch is knocked clear out of him in some way or other. The other day an Irishman was driving a curious looking mule through one of the lanes of this city, and suddenly the long-eared four-footed beast came to a halt. The whip was put into motion and the reins were given a pull, but "twas no use, the animal would not stir. A large crowd assembled to see the fun. Again the whip came thundering down for about twenty times, when the scene changed. The Irishman was picked up off the ground by a few bystanders and placed on his feet. At a glance, the print of the mule's hoof could be seen upon the Irishman's forehead. After a little more trouble, the mule consented to proceed on, but without the aid of the whip. The Irishman was asked on being placed in the wagon, by a short red-headed fellow, "are you injured much?" "Oh no, it's only his way."

He has Blood in his Eye!

AND SPEAKS AGAIN.

CARD No. 3.

Not long since, Thomas Locke, a colored man, of Rome, Ga., went out on Kinchafonie creek to fish, near that city. On Sunday last he was found drowned, with bruises upon his person, which proved that he had been foully dealt with. It is asserted that his death was caused by a Vigilante Committee or kkklux, who are scouring the woods in and around the city.

Not long since, a white man named Pounds, living near Sparta, shot a colored man dead, because he gave him bad answers, and so the villains went on in this state. The colored people are being murdered right and left, for almost nothing at all. Why, within the past twelve months, nearly two hundred colored people have been innocently killed in this State. Surely it must be stopped, and with a vengeance.

(To be continued)

A Subscriber.
The Yazoo Tragedy.

As a closing sequel to the Yazoo tragedy of Christmas eve, four more colored men have been made to suffer death without judge or jury. The whole country understands what is meant by the killing of negroes in the South, accused of rape and murder; it is simply another one of the many dastardly outrages to be chronicled in blood and symbolized in tears; deeds perpetrated by the remnants of red-shirt victims, shot-gun clubs, and klanlux clans. In the midst of all these crimes it seems strange that the average Southerner believes cannot see that the negro no longer dies like a dog, but dies game. The main resistance of Foote is a striking evidence of the manhood that is beginning to take root in the hearts of colored men in the South. There certainly must be some way of putting an end to these crimes. If the righteous indignation of an oppressed people will not do it, then the Government must protect its citizens. It is too late now to go over the ground that ought to have been ploughed up immediately following the war. The magnanimity of this Government toward the Southern traitors is bearing its fruits. This trouble would never have been caused but for the neck been made to stretch hemp with a half dozen other of the leaders, this would have been the finishing stroke to the rebellion, and nothing would have remained to regret.

Obituary.

The Colored Citizen's Convention of the State of Connecticut.

Norwich, Dec. 30.

The convention of colored citizens of the State assembled in this city yesterday to discuss the question of civil rights as affected by the decision of the Supreme Court declaring the Civil Rights bill unconstitutional, was largely attended by influential delegates from all parts of Connecticut. Walter H. Burr, of this city, was chosen Chairman. Mr. Burr, in a ringing speech, said: "The colored people have the balance of political power in this State, and the dominant party must walk straight or the parties will change. We must accord the present Democratic Governor the union of the State militia, a movement which is in advance of any movement ever before made in behalf of colored people. The intention of this organization is to arouse the colored citizens of this state to a realization of their rights."
Cleveland Gazette

Cass County, Tx. - Ku Klux Raid

Volume: 04
Issue Number: 12
Page Number: 02
Date: 11/06/1886

The colored people of Cass County, Tex., are excited over a Ku-Klux raid that was made upon certain members of the race at Douglassville recently. The trouble arose from the recent organization of a secret society, the aims and objects of which are a profound mystery to the white population. It seems that several ignorant, burly white brutes, claimed that it was organized for the assassination of obnoxious white planters, and driving them out of the country by burning their property and worrying them until they are willing to sell out at a heavy sacrifice. Consequently, about twenty masked horsemen entered Douglassville during a church meeting in the evening, and at the point of their shotguns, marched four of the leading officers of the new secret society to a house, where an iron box was brought to contain a...
No such document was found, but many papers were in the box bearing lists of names of colored men. Although four colored men, leaders, were kicked, cuffed and beaten with gun-barrels they persistently refused to sell the objects of the society. Their papers were all returned to the iron box and the masked raiders left the village, baffled in their raid. The decent white citizens at Douglassville, Queen City, Atlanta and Linden have since held meetings and denounced the outrage which has served somewhat to allay the excitement among the colored people, who vow vengeance if any further attempt to pry into their affairs is made. As Cass County has a population of 20,000, nearly two-thirds of which is colored, any trouble between blacks and whites in that section would result seriously to the latter.
LOCAL

Miss Carrie Porter is very sick.

Room $6$ for rent, No. 15 Elsworth St.

Bethel Literary Society closed for the season.

Elder Chas. Williams is very ill this week.

Attend the South Calvary Literary next Monday evening.

Mrs. Mattie Taylor has almost recovered from her recent illness.

Mr. Wm. Miller has one of the neatest barber shops on the west side.

L. S. Christy has returned to the city for treatment under Dr. S. A. Ebert.

Miss Maria Yeager of California, is the guest of Miss Bell Stone, 227 N. Meridian St.

For fine and substantial boots and shoes go to Mr. M. Hanscin's, 440 S. Meridian St.

Mrs. A. A. Ward, wife of our patrolman, has been seriously ill, at the writing.

fail to attend the Odd F. picnic and excursion to Clayton.

It will be the picnic of the season.

PROTECTION FOR THE NEGRO

1. An Arkansas Episode.

2. Regulations at Work.

3. The Jim Crow Car.

CIRCUS DAY

striking Features of the 4-Foot and "Wild West" Shows.

As circus day approaches, interest in the coming exhibition of the great Fortep and "Wild West" shows in Indianapolis, Monday, June 3, increases. The reports of the big show's success this year have been so general, that public interest has been aroused to the utmost. One of the most remarkable and unique of the characters that have recently visited America is a native Esquiman woman named Dkat Kavina. She is a little being, 40 inches tall, dark complexion and golden hair. She left Greenland, her home, fifteen years ago on a dog sled, reaching Iceland in search of education. From there she reached in time Manitoba, and thence to Wisconsin. She lectures in tolerable English on the domestic life of the Arctic North. This is the first appearance of a descendant of the cave dwellers as a lecturer among the Cree.

The chiefs in the last Zulu revolt have been tried by the British Government and sentenced with a severity which is denounced by the entire press. After the departure of Cetywayo, his son, Dinga, who succeeded him, being stopped in his operations against his hereditary enemy, Uadhwe, drifted into hostilities with the English, and soon, upon the advice of Bishop Colenso ana his daughter, surrendered himself to the Cane authorities. He has now been executed.

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PROTECTION FOR THE NEGRO.

2. Regulators at Work

Indianapolis Freeman
(2-2)  6/1/1889

Appendix #33
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