



# COLOR AND RACE

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EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION

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BEACON PRESS

BOSTON

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## Color, Racism, and Christianity

SARTRE HAS brought out quite well the part the eye plays in racial attitudes, but he does not go far enough. The eye has its substitutes. Some time ago, we discovered in talking to blind persons that they recognize immediately the race of persons whom they meet—without any mistake—by smell, by the texture of the skin, and especially by the voice. On the basis of this sensory information, they react exactly as the sighted do: with antipathy or aloofness if they are racially sensitive, or with a kind of physical attraction if they are not. This shows that any kind of perception can serve as a stimulus to racial attitude. Color is neutral; it is the mind that gives it meaning.

What is important is not so much the ability to see but the ability to see what others see. It is not so much my eye as the eyes of those who surround me. A blind person knows that he is seen. The voice—high-pitched or hoarse—of anyone who speaks to him releases instantly the reactions that society has built up in him. These reactions are the same as those of the sighted. Colors are not important in themselves as optical phenomena, but rather as bearers of a message.

The blind people whom we interrogated were Brazilians. They belonged to a country in which prejudice is based not on race but on color, where discrimination varies in direct proportion to the blackness of the skin. The ideal woman is not a blond or a fair-skinned woman but a brunette or dark-skinned woman and especially a “rosy-tinted” mulatto woman.<sup>1</sup> A blind Brazilian replaces the entire gamut of color tints by shades of voice, and he reacts in the same way as a person who can see. He performs immediately the transposition from one register to another and finds in the sonorities recorded by his ear the message that the sighted attach to color.

This experiment led us to concentrate our attention on the symbolic perception of color and of differences in racial attitude in the various Christian faiths.

To study these particular dimensions, the Christian religion must be disassociated from the churches. While religion “transcends” the world, the church itself is very much in the world. It always finds itself in a particular social situation, and its reactions are determined by its environment. The church, whose history began in the Pentecost, may deserve and try to be in Tertullian’s phrase a *genus tertium*, a third race over and above the conflict between the “Greeks” and the “Barbarians.” It is, nevertheless, established in a world of Babel, a world of disunity and discord.

Although the most liberal Christians of South Africa recognized, for example, the brotherhood of men before God, they were willing to accept segregation of worship if providing the same church for the white and black natives—the Afrikaners and the Bantus—were considered harmful to the cause of Christ among the Christians. René Ribeiro describes in this connection a rather curious case that occurred in Brazil<sup>2</sup>: A Protestant pastor from North America, serving in Recife, Brazil, showed himself to be extremely tolerant and unbiased while there. The moment he stepped on the airplane to return to the United States, however, all his southern prejudice immediately returned. He had not changed his faith; he had simply found himself in a different social situation.

Sociologists have shown that the Negro churches were, above all, instruments of self-expression for the colored community as a separate community. As is the case with the Muslim faith today, they were instruments of protest and of racial revolt. They were in essence more social than religious. But we do not wish to place ourselves in this article in the field of sociology of human—only too human—institutions, but rather in the field of religious feeling and experience (phenomenology).

## I

Christianity has been accompanied by a symbolism of color. This symbolism has formed and cultivated a sensitivity to color that extends even to people who claim to be detached from religion. It has created a “backwash” of fixed impressions and attitudes difficult to efface.

Racial hatred has not evolved solely from this Christian sym-

bolism; nor can it be fully explained by economic causes alone. Its roots extend much farther and deeper. They reach into sexual complexes<sup>3</sup> and into religion through the symbolism of color. In human thought every gulf or separation tends to take the form of a conflict of color. This holds not only for concrete obstacles of tribal separation—as between the Indians of the plain and the ancient Mexicans—but also for obstacles between men—as in the social structure of ancient Egypt or the castes of India. Christianity has brought no exception to this very general rule.

There is a danger of confusing in Christianity that which belongs to the scope of rationalization—that which can, as in all ideology, be explained in the final analysis by the economic infrastructure—and the symbolism of color, which falls within the scope of pure religion. When Christians tried to justify slavery, they claimed black skin was a punishment from God. They invoked the curses cast upon Cain, the murderer of his brother, and upon Ham, son of Noah, who had found his drunken father naked in his tent. Against the background of this symbolism, they invented causes for the malady, intended to justify in their own eyes a process of production based upon the exploitation of Negro labor. Later, other rationalizations and counter-rationalizations got woven around the same symbolism.

The Christian symbolism of color is very rich. Medieval painting makes full use of it. Some colors are, however, more pertinent to this discussion than others. The color yellow, or at least a dull shade of yellow, has come to signify treason. When Westerners think of Asiatics, they unconsciously transpose this significance to them, converting it into a trait of ethnic psychology. Consequently, they treat Asiatics as persons in whom they cannot have confidence. They can, of course, give excellent reasons in defense of their behavior: the closed or uncommunicative character of the Japanese, the smiling impassiveness of the Chinese, or some historic case of treason—but these are all reasons invented after the fact. If Westerners could have prevented themselves from being influenced by a symbolism centuries old, they could just as easily have found reasons to justify an impression of the yellow race as loyal and affectionate.

But the greatest Christian two-part division is that of white and black. White is used to express the pure, while black expresses the diabolical. The conflict between Christ and Satan, the spiritual and the carnal, good and evil came finally to be expressed by the con-

flict between white and black, which underlines and synthesizes all the others. Even the blind, who know only night, think of a swarm of angels or of devils in association with white and black—for example, “a black soul,” “the blackness of an action,” “a dark deed,” “the innocent whiteness of the lily,” “the candor of a child,” “to bleach someone of a crime.” These are not merely adjectives and nouns. Whiteness brings to mind the light, ascension into the bright realm, the immaculateness of virgin snow, the white dove of the Holy Spirit, and the transparency of limpid air; blackness suggests the infernal streams of the bowels of the earth, the pit of hell, the devil’s color.

This dichotomy became so dominant that it dragged certain other colors along with it. Celestial blue became a simple satellite of white in painting the cloak of the Immaculate Virgin, while the red flames of hell became a fit companion for the darkest colors. Thinking is so enslaved to language that this chain of associated ideas operates automatically when a white person finds himself in contact with a colored person. Mario de Andrade has rightly exposed the evils of this Christian symbolism as being rooted in the very origins of the prejudice of color. In America, when a Negro is accepted, one often says, in order to separate him from the rest of his race, “He is a Negro, of course, but his soul is white.”

## II

Although Christ transcends all questions of race or ethnology, it must not be forgotten that God incarnated himself in a man of the Jewish race. The Aryans and the Gentiles—even the most anti-Semitic—worship their God in a Jewish body. But this Jewish body was not white enough for them. The entire history of Western painting bears witness to the deliberate whitening or bleaching effort that changed Christ from a Semitic to an Aryan person. The dark hair that Christ was thought to have had came to be rendered as very light-colored, and his big dark eyes as blue. It was necessary that this man, the incarnation of God, be as far removed as possible from everything that could suggest darkness or blackness, even indirectly. His hair and his beard were given the color of sunshine, the brightness of the light above, while his eyes retained the color of the sky from which he descended and to which he returned.

The progressive Aryanization of Christ is in strict accordance with the logic of the color symbolism. It did not start, however, until Christianity came into close contact with the other races—with

the African race, in particular. Christian artists began to avoid the darker tints in depicting Christ in order to remove as much as possible of their evil suggestion.

The Middle Ages did have their famous Black Madonnas which were and still are the object of a devotion perhaps even deeper than that which is dedicated to many of the fair-complexioned images of the Holy Virgin. But the Black Virgin represents to her devotees not so much the Loving Mother as a sorceress, a rain maker, a worker of miracles. She has the magnetism of the strange, smacking of Gypsies and Moors; she stirs the heart as if a bit of magic—even a near-diabolical sorcery—were involved in her miracles. She is not the beloved mother who clasps the unfortunate to her white breast and comforts them with her milky white arms, drying their childish tears with the fair tresses of her bright-colored hair, but a mysterious goddess endowed with extraordinary powers. The symbolism of her dark color is not eliminated in the cult; it is only repressed—and badly repressed—because it infiltrates into the prayers that are directed toward her. Nevertheless, the Black Virgin helps one to understand the appeal used by Catholicism in its efforts to convert pagan peoples to the faith.

References must again be made to painting. The Three Kings or Three Wise Men who came to worship the newborn child were depicted as white men at first. They later came to represent the three great continents: Europe, Asia, and Africa. Balthasar was the Negro King who came to bring his tribute to the fair-haired child amidst the golden straw. He was pictured behind the other two Magi and even sometimes kneeling closest to the Babe, but never between the other two—that would have been equivalent to ignoring his color. Racism subsisted in the disguised form of a patronizing attitude in this first attempt to remove the demoniac symbolism from the black skin.

A similar effort can be seen in the creation of colored saints intended for races other than the white race. St. Mauritius, a commander of the Roman legions in Egypt who was martyred there, was originally depicted as white but then as a Moor, and finally in the thirteenth century as a Negro.<sup>4</sup>

Such changes were exploited for purposes of evangelism as the frontiers of the known world extended farther. The church long ignored St. Benedict of Palermo, known as St. Benedict the Moor, but finally officialized him with the development of missions in Africa and of slavery in the Western Hemisphere. This case il-

lustrates another rationalization on the part of the church intended to break the nominal chain of symbolism. In order to escape from feminine temptations, St. Benedict prayed to God to make him ugly—so God turned his skin black.

To see only symbolism in these cases would, however, be a mistake. Because the symbolism is merely repressed, it returns from another angle. From the mystical, it is converted into the aesthetic. Evil takes the form of ugliness. Above all, the colored saints—St. Mauritius, St. Benedict the Moor, St. Iphigenia the Mulatto, and St. Balthasar the Negro King—are only intermediaries, well below the Virgin Mary and Christ, who stayed white. They express more the difference, the abyss, between people of different races than the unity. They stand for stratification in a multiracial society.<sup>5</sup> The color black found only a subordinate place in the hierarchy descending from white to black.

In the desire of the church to become universal, the color black became detached from its symbolic significance only to be subsumed in an ideology. This ideology reflected the religious dimension of the paternalism white Catholic masters felt toward Indian serfs and African slaves. When color became a part of an ideology, it was obvious that colored people would react by a counter-ideology. Mulattos prayed to white saints to show that they belonged to the race of the masters. According to folk rumor, a mulatto in Brazil would put the portrait of his Negro mother in the kitchen and that of his white father in the parlor. He would shun colored saints and invoke only the aid of white saints, even though these were claimed by pure white people to belong exclusively to them. The mulattos invented the brotherhood of the Cord of St. Francis in order to enter, by the back door so to speak, the aristocratic church of the Franciscans and to mingle with the white people there.

Negroes whose skin was entirely black set out to reverse the values of the traditional Catholic iconographic system. They first invented black angels with kinky hair and flat noses. Then, prompted by a sentence in the Gospels referring to the Holy Virgin, *Niger erat sed pulchra* ("Black she was, but beautiful"), they conceived of a Black Virgin. This happened only in comparatively recent times, however. Furthermore, Christ himself was left untouched, as though to make him black would have been a sacrilege. Paternalism was still too strong for the hierarchy of color to be upset entirely.

Only in a country where segregation became the rule, as in Anglo-Saxon, Protestant North America and African colonies, did the revolt of the Negro go so far as to create a Black God and a Black Christ. In the African colonies, Messianism represented an effort on the part of the Africans to free themselves from the dominance of the white missions and to establish Black Messiahs as saviors of their own rejected, downtrodden, and exploited race.

Systems of imagery can never do more than reflect the social and economic infrastructure in a form that can never be entirely reversed. This color imagery represents only the reactions of the church to a social situation imposed upon it from without. This imagery could not, therefore, abolish the more powerful pressure of the underlying symbolism.

Catholic Latin America, with its racial interbreeding which it considers an expression of racial democracy, offers a new chain of associations between the color black, the devil, and sin. Anyone wishing to study the manifest content of these associations need only consult the work of Baudelaire, who was profoundly steeped in Catholicism in spite of—or because of—his taste for "*Le Fleurs du Mal*." Indeed, Baudelaire actually sought in his colored sweetheart the sensation of sin through carnal love with a woman whose color suggested the flames of Hades.

These sensations, although less clearly evident in the cult of the Black Venus in the Tropics, are there in the essence. South Americans are deeply branded by Catholicism. Sin occupies a larger place in South American literature than in European. A distinction is always made between a white woman, the object of legitimate courtship and marriage who is worshiped like the Holy Virgin, and the colored woman, the mistress who is an object of pleasure. A woman of color is considered to be a person of sheer voluptuousness. The slightest gesture she makes, such as the balanced sway of her body as she walks barefoot, is looked upon as a call of the female sex to the male. On the other hand, the white woman is desexualized, if not disincarnated or at least dematerialized.

In Latin American society, marriage limited to one's own color led to a mystic transposition of the wife before the altar of God. The symbolism of the color white played a preponderant role in this transposition. A too carnal enjoyment of the wife would have taken on the aspect of a kind of incest, degrading to both the white man and the white woman. White signified purity, innocence, and virginity. A woman whose skin was not entirely white suggested the

carnal merely by her color. She became, therefore, the legitimate object of enjoyment.

The South American perhaps does not realize so fully as Baudelaire did the workings of this symbolism. It does, nevertheless, operate to the detriment of physiological reality. When, for instance, the antislavery poet Castro Alves wanted to express his reaction against the stereotyped mentality anchored in the symbolism of color, he found no other resource than to cast his colored heroine into a waterfall where thousands of brilliant drops created a white bridal veil around her dusky skin.

### III

The Protestant's association of the color black with the devil and sin was as strong as the Catholic's. But the Protestant, feeling sure that his soul would go straight to hell, placed the bulwark of Puritanism between himself and the temptation of the woman with color-tinted skin.

Puritanism served to strengthen and deepen the roots of the symbolic association by arousing the idea that the contagiousness of color was associated with contagiousness of sin. The mere presence of a non-white woman was sufficient to sully the eyes and mark the flesh of the white man. Without the grace of God, man was considered to be feeble in the face of worldly temptations. Satan wielded such power over the emotions that every contact with women of the African race was to be avoided. They who bore the color of the infernal master had to be fought against by building up defense reactions of an aesthetic nature.

A white man had to convince himself that colored women were ugly and had an unbearable odor and an oily skin. By maintaining that they had none of the qualities of the ideal woman, a white man could establish a moral protection. When fear was not sufficient, barricades of an institutional nature were established: segregation by color in trains, streetcars, theaters, post offices, and other public places. The schools, where Satan could most easily work his evil influence by giving white children the habit of playing with colored children, were segregated.

Rationalizations about the practical effects of mixed marriages can, of course, camouflage the action of the symbolism: Sin was defined as a stain or pollution, the white person becoming blackened. Religious doctrine was expressed by measures of spiritual

hygiene accompanied by the anguish of never having taken quite all the precautions necessary. No matter how careful a person was, he might be stricken by madness in spite of himself, as if a colored woman exuded sin by her mere presence. Over and above any historical or economic factors, the roots of segregation are to be found in the idea of contagiousness of sin through color.

Thus, in the field of religious ideas, the association of the color black with sin was expressed by different behavior patterns in the Catholics and the Protestants. The Catholic brought to the New World the heritage of medieval culture. This culture was characterized not only by the taboo of the white woman, who had been elevated when knighthood was in flower to the almost inaccessible rank of a Madonna, but also by the so-called right of the feudal lord to women of lower rank. The Protestant brought with him, on the other hand, the characteristics of the middle-class culture that was coming into being in the Western world at the time of the discovery and colonization of the New World—a culture characterized by strict family morals and a stern Puritanism. This was, in particular, the culture of the Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, and Calvinist middle classes; the Italian upper-middle class had adopted the ethics of the old medieval nobility.

An examination of Calvinism unveils other impressions in which the symbolism of color is firmly entrenched. Calvin believed that "the knowledge of God was deeply rooted in the minds of men," be they pagan or Christian. This knowledge could, however, be stifled by superstition, which blinded the intelligence, or by sin, which corrupted the senses. Contrary to any concept of racial hatred, Calvin considered reason to be proper to all men whether pagan or Christian. Concomitantly, all men were sinners. Because the pagans had not been able to trace nature back to its Creator, they had stifled the knowledge of God. They had reduced the sacred to phenomena of the senses. Even if they were moral in conduct, they deviated from the true objective of morality—the honor of God, not the glory of man.

Throughout the *Institutes*, Calvin grounds sin in human nature. Ignorance of Christ did not automatically acquit the pagans who had never heard of him. Their souls, too, were made of mud and filth. When the Calvinists came to America and found themselves in the presence of pagan Indians, it was perfectly natural that they should set about with missionary fervor to destroy the corrupt nature of these pagans. They had not come to the New

World with any racial attitude, but, on the contrary, with an idea of essential equality. Indians and colonists were equal—equal in sin on the lowest level and in divine grace on the highest. This theoretical equality could be made actual. The Indian had only to give up his natural liberty, which was anarchical, troublesome, and diabolical, and bow to the superior law of the Christians as laid down in the Good Book. Unfortunately, the Indian preferred his liberty to servitude and his diabolical practices to the rules of Holy Writ. This was, in the eyes of the Puritan, an infallible sign of negative predestination, the unavoidable damning of the Indian's soul.

Although the judgment of God regarding these Indians remained a mystery, their perseverance in diabolical practices proved to the Calvinists that God had refused to shed his grace upon them.<sup>6</sup> What a spectacle the Indian presented to the white colonizer. The tyrannical rule of the tribal chief instead of democracy, wretched poverty happily accepted instead of economic prosperity—all evidence of a diabolical persistence in sin that doomed the Indian to eternal damnation. The association of the darker color of the skin with a parallel blackness of the soul became for the Puritans arriving in the New World a fact of experience. The symbolism of color was confirmed as an obvious truth.

As Max Weber has shown, success in life was, for the Calvinists, a sign of selection:

The Lord God in multiplying his graces upon his servants and conferring upon them new graces every day shows thereby that the work that they have begun is agreeable to him and he finds in them the matter and the occasion to enrich and increase their benefits. . . . To him who has it shall be given. . . . I therefore confess that the faithful shall expect this benediction, that the better they have used these graces of God the more shall other new and greater benefits be added to them every day.<sup>7</sup>

Some curious passages in the *Institutes* take on a special significance when the problem of the religious origins of racism is considered. Man is assailed from all sides by temptations and living in a doubtful world; Calvin includes in the dangers that threaten man life among the savages and the pitfalls of country life.<sup>8</sup> Although he condemns racism, he maintains that the precept of salvation must be limited to those who have some alliance or affinity with Christians.<sup>9</sup> He adds in his *Commentary on Mat-*

threw that God esteems more highly the small company of his own than all the rest of the world.<sup>10</sup>

These ideas—the danger of pagan contagion and the priceless value of the small flock—constitute the religious basis for the “frontier complex” or restricted-group sentiment. South Africa has institutionalized this attitude in the form of *apartheid*.<sup>11</sup> White culture becomes identified with defense of the faith. The white community feels itself to be a community elected by God to make fertile a land that the non-Europeans could not exploit. The natives have cast themselves away from divine election because they have not used properly the talents God has given them.

In some cases, the natives have even made perverse use of the gifts of God. For example, the white people strove to perfect a race of cattle that could furnish great monetary wealth to the Africans. The Bantus, however, preferred quantity. They made the number of cattle a sign of wealth and used them as the price of women in marriage, not as objects of productivity. The white people tried to teach the natives the value of saving money and the use of capital, their Calvinist standard of ethics for labor, morals, and divine vocation, but the natives worked only for the needs of immediate consumption and spent the surplus in feasts—feasts which in the eyes of the whites were always of a licentious or erotic nature.

Thus, the Calvinists reached the same conclusion about the African natives as they had about the Indians. The Calvinist missionary had given the Bantu the opportunity to enter into the economy of salvation, but he had refused. He preferred to continue living in his diabolical manner. Even when converted, the African mixed into his Christian ideas a whole series of superstitions. He interpreted the Christian dogma he was taught according to the dictates of his pagan mentality, inventing prophetesses and messiahs.

The community of the whites had no sense of loss when it came to consider itself as the small flock of the select. Its economic success was proof of divine grace, just as the situation of the blacks was the sign of their rejection. The “frontier complex” or restricted-group feeling rests, therefore, in the final analysis upon the Calvinist idea of predestination and visible signs of divine election.

In this way, dark skin came to symbolize, both in Africa and in America, the voluntary and stubborn abandonment of a race in sin. Contact with this race endangered the white person's soul

and the whiteness of his spirit. The symbolism of color thus took on one of the most complicated and subtle forms, in both Protestantism and Catholicism, through the various steps through which darkness of color became associated with evil itself.

#### IV

The ramifications of this symbolism must now be traced through the double process of secularization in America and of de-Christianization in Europe. Western culture, even among atheists, still remains profoundly steeped in the Christian culture of the past. The symbolism of color continues, therefore, to be effective even when it goes unrecognized. Secularization and de-Christianization do involve, however, new phenomena that cannot be overlooked.

With the coming of independence to America, the philosophy of the European Enlightenment replaced to a great extent the Puritanism of the early colonists. It was first espoused by the aristocratic class of the South, of which Jefferson was the representative figure, and then by the hard-working classes of New England. American democracy is still undoubtedly colored by religion, but Americans tend more and more to retain only that part of Christianity which is based on reason, which is something quite close to what the philosophers used to call “natural religion.”

Ralph Barton Perry, in his book *Puritanism and Democracy*, explains well the significance of this transition from Calvinism to an acceptance of the philosophy of the Enlightenment: Puritanism taught that men should distrust their own inclinations and their natural faculties, seeking both their origin and their salvation in a supernatural order. It was a religion of misanthropy. The philosophy of the Enlightenment, on the other hand, was human, optimistic, and eudaemonic.

Such a revolution of thought and feeling should have been marked by a revision of racial values. It was, in fact, the philosophy of the Enlightenment that precipitated the abolition of slavery. Why, then, was there no serious attack upon the symbolism of color, since it was no more founded upon reason than the social institution of slavery which got carried away by a tidal wave of thought and reason?

First of all, Calvinism still remained just under the surface, ready to be revived at the slightest opportunity. The migration to-

ward the West, as Perry has also pointed out, was considered to be further proof corroborating the idea that the Puritans and founders of American democracy had formed of their destiny. The pioneering success was interpreted as a sign of divine grace. The Puritan felt sure that he was among the chosen few when he succeeded in standing up under adversity and triumphing over obstacles.

With the consolidation of national groups in the Western world and the triumph of the spirit of Enlightenment, nothing remained of Calvinism except the barriers forged by the "frontier complex" or restricted-group-boundary concept. The positive elements of Calvinism ceased to exercise their dynamic effect with the rise of secularization and the transition from the old Christianity to a rational religion of democracy. Nevertheless, the barriers fostered by Calvinism still stood as signs of distinction between white men and colored men.

The worst was to happen when the descendants of the slaves finally assimilated North American values and gave themselves over to a "white narcissism." They could see no other way to demonstrate their identification with America than by adopting a kind of Puritanism. The introduction of this factor into Negro Protestantism defined the religion of the colored middle class. By introducing into its religion a factor historically linked to the condemnation of the Indian and the Negro as inveterate savages, the Negro middle class introduced also its own condemnation. The Christian symbolism of color, interiorized in the Negro, gave rise to the neuropathic character, marked by a guilt complex, of the Negro middle class.

It must not be thought, however, that Catholic Latin America did not experience similar phenomena. But interracial sexuality was accepted there, and the drama found its solution in the mingling of blood. White blood acted as a tonic both physically and morally for the Negro, in a process Brazilians call "purging the blood." The progressive whitening of the African race was coupled with its progressive spiritualization.

In Europe, while capitalism had sources in Calvinism, as has been brought out by Max Weber, its development was destined to destroy the Calvinistic code of ethics. The multiplication of productive power could not maintain its pace without the parallel multiplication of needs. This gave rise to an ethic of consumption and finally to materialism. Moreover, scientific thought was un-

dermining the supernatural foundations of the religious concept. The universe was becoming a system of laws that human reason could discern. Capable of being expressed in equations, it was consequently devoid of everything sacred.

The Africans whom the white man was to meet in the colonies had neither this materialistic concept of life nor this rational concept of the universe. Tribal life continued, even after contact with the white man, to follow the ancestral norms. It took no account of the value of time or money.<sup>12</sup> The schools introduced by the colonizers had no other purpose than to change the mentality of the African, to prepare him to become a good worker in the service of the white man's plantations and factories and a good consumer capable of buying the white man's products. It destroyed the African's concept that everything is penetrated with something sacred and implanted a more materialistic view of life.

This change of perspective ought to have caused the Christian symbolism of color to disappear entirely. But the change in the African mentality did not come about as rapidly as was anticipated by the founders of the lay schools. Money was not used in accordance with Western standards but lavishly for the purchase of wives and the prestige of family groups. The relations of the African with his employer still followed the archaic pattern of familial or tribal relationships, and not that of the modern contractual ethic of industrialization. In short, it appeared to the white man that the native remained alien to the materialistic approach of the capitalistic economy and also to the rational spirit of science, which had become the new religion of that economy.

Thus, in the symbolic association of color which we have been discussing, some of the elements have disappeared. Associations with the devil and sin have no place in the concept of the universe introduced in the late-nineteenth century. But the "frontier complex" between two conflicting mentalities has held firm. Black and white have taken on other meanings: These meanings still follow, however, the basic antithesis founded centuries before on the white purity of the elect and the blackness of Satan. Because this symbolism became secularized, it survived the collapse of the old Christian code of ethics and the advent of another system of ideas. The Christian tree had been uprooted, but had left root fragments that continued to creep obscurely under the surface.

Mircea Eliade has taught us to discover in the present the remnants of primitive archetypes, such as the nostalgia for Para-



dise Lost and the Center of the World. It is not surprising, then, that a symbolism of color associations could survive the disappearance of its mystical Christian roots. A change of polarization is taking place today, however. The conflict between light and dark is not so much expressed by the two colors—white and black—as by a chain of experience of white men in their relations with races of non-European stock. A black or dark color has come to symbolize a certain social situation, class, or caste. There still remains, even in this process of secularization, something of the antithesis of darkness and light—the brightness of the sky and the darkness of anguish.

## REFERENCES

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9. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Part 8, p. 54.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, pp. 37-38.
11. Concerning this frontier complex and its various dimensions, including the cultural aspects which are generally the most stressed but which we consider as only derivatives of the first, see Kenneth L. Little, *Race and Society* (Paris, 1952). The reader may be surprised that we have quoted here two passages from Calvin which the Afrikaners do not use in their justification of *apartheid* and that we have not quoted the passages of Calvin (*Works*, Parts 36-51, pp. 400-803; Commentary on Jeremiah, Part 24, p. 2; Sermon on the Ephesians, Part 6, pp. 5-9) which the South Africans do use for that purpose. These latter passages are utilized as rationalizations of the racial situation and therefore after the fact, deforming Calvin's thought. (Cf. Benjamin J. Marais, *Colour, Unsolved Problem of the West* [Cape Town, n.d.], pp. 300ff.) The passages that we have quoted appear to have been stimuli acting upon both the conscious and the subconscious mind of the Dutch pioneers long before the advent of the *apartheid* situation.
12. Concerning this development of Calvinism in regard to science and its impact on the blacks, see Michael Banton, *West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown* (London, 1957).