

Visual Representations of Feminine Beauty in the Black Press: 1915-1950

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Abstract

Utilizing advertisements and some pictures from *The Chicago Defender*, *The Crusader*, *The Crisis*, *The New York Amsterdam* and *Ebony* this paper explores the extent to which the Black press supported the use of chemicals to bleach the skin of African American women between 1915 and 1950. Advertisements in the Black press point to a noticeable value system, evidenced by the frequency of skin bleach ads, that suggests that the African Americans press, influenced by white supremacy, class and patriarchal ideals, gave light skin and other features associated with whiteness a higher value than dark skin and features associated with Blackness. This paper suggests that the Black press in reacting to demeaning representations of Black women such as the Mammy, inadvertently supported the use of skin bleach in an attempt to deconstruct negative images of Black femininity.

Key Terms: Skin bleach, visual representations, Black Women, Black press

Introduction

Systems of domination, imperialism, colonialism and racism have manifested themselves in the racialization of African Diasporic communities. Within these systems, racial ideology, central to the justification of slavery in the New World, defined Black and White as binary opposites. Black people (and Blackness) were negatively defined as ugly, savage and barbaric; in contrast, White folks (and therefore whiteness) were positively defined as beautiful, Christian and civilized.¹ These hierarchies of skin color, which systematically privileged lightness over darkness, perpetuated white supremacist beliefs about Blackness. Globally, these hierarchies assaulted the black self-concept and encoded people of African descent with this value-laden colonial principle, evident as blacks worldwide began to use chemicals to bleach their skin in an effort to achieve light skin as a symbol of beauty.

According to Joyce Ladner, it is “inescapable for Blacks who are born into a society that makes such a strong distinction between White and Black to grow up without, at some point, entertaining feelings of inferiority because they are not members of the majority.”² In order to acknowledge this ongoing legacy of European domination over African people, we must broaden our understanding of white supremacy and African subjugation in order to grasp the full impact of imperialism on African people. bell hooks’ suggestion that “white supremacy, is a useful terms for understanding the complicity of people of color in upholding and maintaining racial hierarchies that do not involve force” is valuable in this discussion on skin-bleaching among African Americans in that it allows one to recognize the continuous and tragic impact of slavery and racism on Blacks.³ In addition, it “enables us to recognize not only that Black people are socialized to embody the values and attitudes of white supremacy, but that [Blacks] also can exercise white-supremacist control over other Black people.”⁴

Colorism

In the United States and elsewhere in the Black world, communities mirrored white supremacist patterns of behavior. This was most evident in examples of Black social relations where lighter-skinned Blacks were given preferential treatment over darker-skinned Blacks.⁵ A direct outcome of the various systems of oppression, colorism is a crisis of consciousness created by whites during the enslavement period. It is prudent for the Black community to

grasp that valuing light skin over dark skin is indeed a symptom of White supremacist thought. Mark Hill's suggestion "that the African American community had internalized bias against dark skin and African features" supports the claim by numerous scholars who document colorism's historical impact on the life chances of both black males and females in the United States.⁶ Others have further demonstrated that skin color has a more significant impact on the lives of Black women than on African American men.⁷ Thus, when Black women are perceived as physically approximating white standards of beauty, there are continued and persistent advantages for them in the Black community in terms of success, education, income and spousal status.⁸

As an outcome of white hegemony, colorism was reinforced in Black New World communities and Black post-colonial states as Africans were "powerless to contest the influence of domination."⁹ Racialized notions of physical beauty were internalized and became normalized in the discourse of the day. Beauty and desirability, particularly as it related to feminine beauty, was perceived to be light-skinned, often coupled with long hair. There is a direct connection between the maintenance of this tenet and the institutionalization of specific images via the mass media that support and maintain these racialized notions of feminine beauty.¹⁰ Although Europeans created the rupture in which these visual representations¹¹ of Blacks were structured, the ideal was continually reinforced in various Black institutions.¹²

For the above reasons, this researcher is interested in the extent to which the Black community in the United States 1) validated white supremacist notions of feminine beauty by encouraging the use of skin bleach and 2) upheld particular visual representations of Black women. One fundamental feature of exploring skin bleaching and visual representations of Black women within the African American community involves tapping sources of everyday, vocalized and unarticulated consciousness that has traditionally been owned, managed, and accessed by African Americans. Gunnar Myrdal asserted in his 1944 study, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, that the Black press was the strongest and the most influential institution amongst African Americans; it revealed how Blacks struggled against external limits in all aspects of their lives as it set the stage for historic changes such as school desegregation and various other civil rights legislation.¹³ For these reasons, the Black press is a rich source in testing notions of feminine beauty, skin bleaching and visual images of Black women.

Using several primary sources, this paper explores the images of Black women as they emerged in the Black press between 1915 and 1950. Data from the papers and records of the *Associated Negro Press*, *The Chicago Defender*, *The Crusader*, *The Crisis*, *The New York Amsterdam* and *Ebony* reveal that there was a noticeable value system (evidenced by the frequency of advertisements that support the use of skin bleach) during this time period that suggests that African American culture gave light skin and other features associated with whiteness a higher value than dark complexions and features associated with Blackness.¹⁴ Primarily using photographs and advertisements from the above sources, this paper explores the extent to which the Black press validated white supremacist notions of feminine beauty during this time frame. Specifically, the researcher wanted to see if and how the Black press expressed and or supported white supremacist ideals about feminine beauty in articles, advertisements and photographs, and if in the expression of such beauty standards, it directly or indirectly supported the bleaching of skin by Black women during the first half of the 20th century. The early 1900's were chosen for this study because it represented a period of great transition for African Americans and institutions such as the press.

The Black Press

Historically, the Black press can be viewed not only as a Black institutional enterprise, but also as an instrument of social change and a form of Black artistic expression. Its emergence signified racial solidarity as it came into existence to reflect the attitudes of the Black community because those attitudes were not being expressed elsewhere.¹⁵ In addition, contents of the Black media were designed to instruct and educate since the political and educational process of Blacks generated a need for a public voice. At the turn of the century, as Blacks became more literate and articulate, they turned to journals written by African Americans for news of value. According to F. G. Detweiler it was "difficult to find a Negro who can read, who does not read one or more of these race papers."¹⁶ During the early to mid 1900s, the Black press reported on the major concerns of African-Americans, which focused on the economic and political restructuring of society to provide Blacks with decent jobs to maintain and support their families and communities. Martin Dann draws our attention to two predominant themes in the Black press during this period: a response to white racism and an assertion of self-determination.¹⁷ Dann states that the Black press, by stressing self-respect and racial pride, "provided one of the most potent arenas in which the battle for self-definition could be fought and won."¹⁸ As the press

documented the experiences of African Americans, promoted racial equality and battled for self-definition and full citizenship rights, it articulated particular images about standards of femininity and feminine beauty that helped frames the discourse of the day as to what was beautiful, who possessed beauty and how this beauty could and should be achieved in the Black community.

Unquestionably, there were differences noted among the Black periodicals, newspapers and magazines used for this study. Black journals such as *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* (official organ of the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People), and *The Crusader* (official organ, first, of the Hamitic League of the World and then of the African Brotherhood for African Liberation and Redemption) were both critical of the American capitalist social order.¹⁹ Although *The Crusader* was the more radical paper of the time, both papers represented the interests of African Americans, particularly as they related to social justice. They were, however, subscribed to primarily by sections of the Black community who were middle-class and educated.²⁰ *The Crisis* had a readership of approximately 100, 000 or more and *The Crusader* was said to have a readership of approximately 36, 000.²¹

Black newspapers such as *The New York Amsterdam* and *The Chicago Defender* on the other hand, were widely read regardless of educational or class background. The *New York Amsterdam* had a readership of over 100, 000, while *The Chicago Defender* in the early 1920's boasted over 300, 000 readers.²² Focusing primarily on issues of racial discrimination and economics, both *The New York Amsterdam* and *The Chicago Defender* were effective in articulating the socio-economic and political discontentment of the Black masses. But by the late 1940's, Black magazines such as *Ebony* had replaced the popularity of Black national newspapers. Emphasizing the bright side of American life, and playing to an elite readership, *Ebony* promised to report on everyday achievements of Blacks from "Harlem to Hollywood."²³ With its richly illustrated pages, *Ebony* showed distinct images of Black women between 1945-1950.

Representations of Black Femininity

A cursory review of various institutions during this time period indicates that African Americans supported a white supremacist capitalist society that produced chemicals in an attempt to alter and re-define Black women's physical beauty. Perhaps the most significant mark of white supremacy in the Black community was the various lightness tests used by many African American clubs

and organizations during the first half of the 20th century to determine admittance.²⁴ Many elite social organizations required interested members to pass a qualifying “light” or fair of skin test to become members.²⁵ Russell, Wilson and Hall point out that there was a

paper-bag test which involved placing an arm inside a brown paper bag, and only if the skin on the arm was lighter than the color of the bag would a prospective member be invited in...others...painted their doors a light shade of brown, and anyone whose skin was darker than the door [was not admitted].²⁶

Prominent periodicals from *The Crisis* in 1915 to *Ebony* in the 1950's reworked similar racial and class hierarchies displayed by social organizations that privileged light-skinned women with regards to feminine beauty. Visually, articulations of Black feminine beauty were frequently associated with whiteness and a bourgeois status. These images became “firmly established and [was] reinforced continually by the media and other institutional mechanisms” during the first half of the 20th century.²⁷ It is this classed-based and ideological investment in white supremacist thought that led to the cultural phenomenon known as “the bleaching syndrome” in the African American community during this time period. Although Ronald Hall did not coin the term “bleaching syndrome” until 1995, it is useful in our understanding of the depth and breadth of the impact of white supremacy on African Americans. The “bleaching syndrome” involved the systematic use of chemicals to lighten dark skin and was a direct response by Africans of the diaspora to cultural domination as they sought social legitimacy in states where there was a distinct denial of their humanity.²⁸ In 1929, in reference to the numerous advertisements in Black newspapers that advocated the use of bleaching creams and lotions, Kelly Miller speculated that Blacks had internalized the desire to be white, thus supporting the use of bleaching creams. He argued that “the Negro wants the will to be white...face lotions and hair straighteners on which Negro papers thrive prove this....”²⁹ E. Franklin Frazier further argued that it was elite Blacks who were frustrated when they could not escape association with the Black masses and as such, they sought to “modify or efface” their Black physical characteristics as much as possible.³⁰

Certainly, the Black press struggled to confront the extent of complicity by African Americans. *The Chicago Defender* and *The New York Amsterdam*, for example, continually wrote articles and ran advertisements in the 1920's and 1930's to affirm Black standards of beauty. Both newspapers ran ads that

supported the purchase of Black dolls for young Black girls because "... coloured girls of doll age should have a coloured instead of white dolls..." since this "... teaches race pride and race respect..."³¹ Similarly, in 1949, *Ebony* ran an article arguing that a "new wonder chemical" which promised to lighten complexions was neither new, nor "practical" and undoubtedly not a "solution to the race problem."³²

Not surprisingly, individuals such as Kelly Miller questioned the sincerity of racial pride displayed by the Black press during this time period since these same newspapers frequently supported the use of bleaching creams for Black women.³³ Chemicals such as Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparation, Ro-Zol Skin Whitener, Nadinola Bleaching Cream, and Snow White Bleaching Cream were frequently advertised in newspapers and periodicals. These same sources also supported through advertisements, the use of such chemicals as Plough's Black and White Hair Dressing which promised to straighten Black women's coarse and kinky hair. These chemical products were designed for and marketed to Black women to use on their hair and skin to assist them in looking more phenotypically white. They enticed Black women by promising to remove the color from their dark skin, straighten their hair, and thus enhance their physical beauty.³⁴ These products implied that beauty was a commodity that Black women must possess to be successful, and for Black women, beauty was defined by whiteness.

Predictably, sketches of white women were used to promote the bleaching chemicals. Thus, Ro-Zol, "a face bleach that really bleaches," Alexander's Teasing High Brown Power, that would "tie" Black women's "mule in time," and Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener which promised to make Black Women's skin "attractive" were very popular. The Black-owned company, Overton Hygienic Manufacturing Company, distributed Ro-Zol, and although the product was initially developed to remove skin discoloration, it was later marketed as a skin-whitener as the demand for such products grew.³⁵ Its ad read,

Ro-Zol was the first preparation made expressly for bleaching...Ro-Zol does not bleach by destroying the pigmentation...it... combines and harmonizes to produce a remarkable satisfactory, youthful, wholesome and whitened complexion.³⁶

By allowing the various manufacturers to advertise in its publications, the Black

press reflected the white patriarchal sexist ideal, which defined feminine beauty as desirable, youthful, light of skin with straight hair, because women were beautiful only when they made “the most of” their “face and hair.” Sensuality and sex appeal were often referred to directly or hinted at in the advertisements. For example, one of Snow White Bleaching Cream’s advertisements suggested that men adored “lighter,” “smoother skin,” “made for kisses.”³⁷ These ads promised physical changes, which were said to be achievable, often in just days. A prominent, second-page, full advertisement of Snow White Bleaching Cream in *Ebony* suggested that Black female consumers could achieve the look of Isabelle Cooley, the theatre actress of the day who was featured in the ad. Ms. Cooley has very light skin and long straight hair. Fairly descriptive, the ad reads,

Made for kisses—the lighter, smoother skin men adore. So let this wonderful bleaching cream give you amazing beauty help! In just 3 days you begin to see the amazing change in your complexion after you use Snow White Bleaching Cream.³⁸

Another product, Nadinola Bleaching Cream, was also prominent during this period. Between 1945 and 1950 *Ebony* ran numerous quarter-page ads for Nadinola products which urged Black women not to let “a dark unlovely complexion hurt [their] popularity...” and that dark-skinned women should do “what thousands of pretty women do... be lovely, with lighter smoother skin beauty...results guaranteed from just one Jar.”³⁹ Even *The Crusader*, which was known to continually chastise newspapers and periodicals for focusing on and valuing white skin over dark skin, succumbed to this white supremacist thought. Between September 1918 and February 1922, nine out of 14 women who were prominently featured on the cover of the journal had light skin and long hair. Three of the remaining had long hair, but a darker skin tone.⁴⁰ Between 1945 and 1950 *Ebony* also had countless pictures and photographs that portrayed Black women who had light skin and long hair.

In the February 1930 issue of *The Chicago Defender*, 44 out of 103 advertisements were from companies such as these, which promoted beauty aids that promised to permanently change Black women’s physical features. These included the bleaching creams noted above, such as Fred Palmer’s Bleaching Cream, Nadinola Bleaching Cream and Ro-Zol Skin Whitener, as well as various other chemicals to “fix” Black women’s hair. It should be noted that these advertisements simultaneously targeted dark skin color and the tightly curled hair of Black women. Often, chemical companies manufactured both hair and skin

chemicals and promoted them concurrently in the same marketing ads. For example, companies such as those that developed chemicals like Nadinola or Fred Palmer's had products to alter both hair and skin. This is evident in the Snow White Custom-Styled Cosmetics full-page ads in *Ebony* that read, "For Exciting Hair and Beauty Try Snow White's Magic Three." This included Snow White Hair Beautifier, Snow White Crème Shampoo and Snow White Pressing Oil.⁴¹ In the *Chicago Defender*, advertisements such as Black and White Hair Dressing were also aimed at Black women who had dark skin and also "wiry," "kinky," or "coarse" hair.⁴² Other products such as the East Indian Hair Grower promised long luscious hair in months.⁴³ This suggests that beauty was defined as lightness of skin in addition to straightness of hair.

The interest of the press to get Black women to consume these products support E. Franklin Frazier's position that although the Black newspapers and periodicals were published for a general Black leadership, they reflected primarily the values of the Black bourgeoisie.⁴⁴ The Black press was clearly showing that class attainment played a role in Black women's ability to define themselves as beautiful and feminine. The nuances of the ads and the degree of advertisements demonstrated that the Black press targeted middle class Black women who were able to invest in the bleaching creams. In addition, the images and photographs of Black women in the press reinforced white supremacist ideals about beauty. The messages that were suggested to dark-skinned women were that "beauty"—defined as light-skinned—could be achieved through using these bleaching creams. Advertising geared towards women as well as the pictures and photographs of Black women indicated that the Black press felt that women constituted a significant portion of its readership. However, the advertisements also suggested 1) that a whitened physical appearance was crucial to Black women's happiness; 2) that light skin and straight hair were not necessarily an attainment desired by Black men and 3) that physical beauty as defined by the press could be achieved through the consumption of bleaching/beauty products. Thus, this intersection of skin color, gender, and social class allows one to confirm that Black women were subjected to this gendered, racial and classist ideologies to a greater degree than were Black men.⁴⁵

The Black press support of the use of bleaching cream to alter the skin of dark women must be understood in its historical timeframe. The adoption of the use of skin bleach was an attempt by institutions such as the press to aggressively deconstruct negative images such as the Mammy, which stood as the antithesis of femininity and womanhood in the United States.⁴⁶ K. Sue Jewell points out that

the Mammy image, as a persistent symbol of African American femininity “has been the most pervasive of all images constructed by the privileged and perpetuated by the mass media.”⁴⁷ Originating in slavery, the creation of the Mammy image “permeated every region of the United States.”⁴⁸ It was an attempt to control Black women's economic image as domestics and to counteract the reality of Black women as feminine and sensual. Mammy was depicted as a dark-skinned, asexual, aggressive, obese, dirty-looking woman who always wore a rag tied around her head. She was not feminine, nor was she depicted as alluring. Her outstanding virtues were her love, protection, nurturing and trust of the white master's family.⁴⁹ Not surprisingly then, such depictions were a topic for frequent discussions in and out of the Black press. In a letter from Tuskegee Institute to C.A. Barnett dated July 25, 1938 on the subject of Black Mammies, F. D. Patterson remarked that "knowing the touchiness of the Negro on the Black Mammy" ... it would be best if Barnett "leave that part out" of the press.⁵⁰ Consequently, in 1923 when the Daughters of the Confederacy publicized their request to Congress to build a statue in Washington, D.C., in memory of "Black Mammies," *The Messenger* responded with this enraged statement:

We favor erecting a monument to the Negro women who have risen above insult, assault, debauchery, prostituting and abuse to which these unfortunate "Black Mammies" were subjected. Let this "Mammy" statue go [for she is] no longer the sex-enslaved "Black Mammy" ... but the apotheosis of triumphant Negro woman-hood.⁵¹

Nevertheless, in 1948, the Black press was still refuting and admonishing the white media for the continued use of such imagery. In its article "Eight New Hollywood Films Backtrack to Hack Racial Stereotypes, Casting Negro Actors as Usual Maids and Menial," *Ebony* chastised the popular depictions of Black women in their historical stereotypes.⁵²

In their efforts to counter and eradicate depictions such as the Mammy, the Black press attempted to reverse negative and demeaning images of the past with delineations of Black women as desirable and alluring. However, in reacting to the predominant stereotypical image of Black women as dark-skinned Mammies, the press created a monolithic and surreal visual image of Black women as “cultured” and refined (also read as bourgeoisie), genteel and light-skinned. In doing so, it negated the variability of Black women's lives and sustained a white supremacist ideology about beauty. The Black press support for the predominance

of such images suggests that it saw Black women's validation and legitimacy primarily tied to class attainment and physical beauty. To support the use of chemicals to lighten dark skin validated the imperialist assault on the black self-concept.

Certainly the press supported and expressed a variety of views about Black women. In 1912, W.E.B. Dubois argued that Black women "are rapidly becoming better educated.... Women are moving quietly but forcefully towards the intellectual leadership of the race."⁵³ Black women were featured prominently in the press as they became better educated. The media reported continual success in their endeavors. For instance, in its "Men of the Month" column, *The Crisis* gave an account of the success of both men and women.⁵⁴ *The Chicago Defender* encouraged Black women to become police officers, and they praised and admired Black women for their defiance and resistance as illustrated by the Associated Negro Press story of a young Black female lawyer who fought back when she was rejected by "episcopacy that has not gotten around to recognizing feminism."⁵⁵ In July 1918, *The Crisis* listed 16 women and 26 men as banking scholars.⁵⁶ Subsequent years celebrated the success and triumph of Black women as the "firsts" in many fields.⁵⁷ In addition, various press frequently addressed in their columns "women's issues"; society news and teas, fashion, skin and hair care, preparing "beautiful" meals, and articles on "greeting your spouse properly" were all notable features of the media. These household and skin care issues frequently came to represent Black women's intellectual space in the press as women largely wrote them.

Conclusion

We can see that the view of femininity and womanhood that were expressed in the press during this timeframe related to both behavior as well as physical appearance. The articulations of womanhood noted above were in direct relation to the economics, culture and historical experiences of the day. As such, images of Black women as worker/career woman, mother and wife and community activist should be situated in the historical circumstance of the day; Black women were needed and valued for their contribution to "race-uplift." This does not overlook the fact that the visual images of Black women were contradictory. The espousal of Black womanhood contradicted the exclusive portrayal of light-skinned Black women. Shrouded in patriarchal sexism, a particular vision of Black women was created. This image of Black women as light-skinned reflected the Black male dominated editorial boards and leadership,

which shaped the ideals expressed. They were also, however, articulations of an internalized pattern of white supremacist values, where, with the aid of bleaching creams, the Black individual would be barely discernible from their white counterparts.

The power and enduring nature of white supremacy's impact on the Black community is evident in the persistent use of bleaching cream advertisements in the Black press. The ideals of visual beauty expressed in the press supported the use of chemicals to achieve traits associated with whiteness, including long hair, light skin and various other phenotypical features. The values expressed by the Black newspapers and periodicals explored in this paper were aimed at the smallest section of middle-income women who could financially afford to be influenced by magazine, newspaper and periodical advertisements. The ads that encouraged the use of beauty aids and chemicals to bleach dark skin and straighten "kinky" hair targeted bourgeois women who ascribed to a middle class image since they were able to purchase the bleaching creams and various beauty aids in the ads. Certainly, the images noted were a direct reflection of the development of the period, and perhaps also a reflection of the readership of the papers. With editorial boards composed mostly of middle class men, and with major newspapers and periodicals having no single editorial policy on women or women's issues, it would appear that elite Blacks set the standards of physical beauty to be achieved as they attempted to define the place of African Americans in society. In confronting America, the Black press adopted a patriarchal, class-based and sexist stance that offered a particular image of Black femininity. While the issues argued for race pride and up-life, the support of advertisement that encouraged the use of skin bleach, the persistent of a monolithic visual representation of Black women almost invariably demonstrate the legacy of white supremacy.

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Notes

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² Joyce Ladner, *Tomorrow's Tomorrow* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), 70.

³ bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988), 113.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ bell hooks, *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 174; see also Hunter, "Colorstruck," 520; Mark E. Hill, "Skin Color and the Perception of Attractiveness Among African Americans: Does Gender Make a Difference?" *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 65 (2002), 77-91; Kathy Russell, Midge Wilson and Ronald Hall, *The Color Complex: The Politics of Skin Color Among African Americans* (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), 37.

⁶ Hill, "Skin Color," 78.

⁷ St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1945); Russell, Wilson and Hall, *Color Complex*; bell hooks, *Black Looks, Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992); Hill, "Skin Color."

⁸ Margaret Hunter, "'If You're Light You're Alright': Light skin Color as Social Capital for Women of Color," *Gender and Society*, 16 (Apr., 2002): 175-193; Ronald Hall, "The Bleaching Syndrome: African Americans' Response to Cultural Domination Vis-a-Vis Skin Color," *Journal of Black Studies*, 26 (November 1995): 172-184; Russell, Wilson and Hall, *Color Complex*; Jennifer Hochschild, "The Skin Color Paradox and the American Racial Order," *Social Forces*, 86 (December 2007); Hunter, "Color Struck,"; Hill "Skin Color."

⁹ Hall, "Bleaching Syndrome," 176.

¹⁰ bell hooks, *Black Looks*, 2; see also Lillie Fears, "Colorism of Black Women in News Editorial Photos," *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 22 (1998).

¹¹ In this paper visual representation refers to photographs, pictorial images, sketches and words that convey an idea of Black femininity.

¹² Lola Flash, "Twirl," <http://www.lolaflash.com/twirl.htm>, downloaded January 28, 2011.

¹³ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Row), 1944.

¹⁴ Tracy-Ann Gooden, unpublished thesis, "Reflections of Black Women in African-American Media, 1915-1950," MA thesis, University of Guelph, 1995.

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¹⁶Detweiler, *The Negro Press*, 7 & 31.

¹⁷ Martin E. Dann, *The Black Press 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), 13.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ See various editorials in both organs.

²⁰ Louis J. Parascandola, "Cyril Briggs and the African Blood Brotherhood: a Radical Counterpoint to Progressivism," *Afro - Americans in New York Life and History* 30 (2006): 7; see also E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1939), 150.

²¹ Zina Rodrigues, "Shaping the Crisis: 90 Years of Editorial Excellence," *The New Crisis* 107 (2000): 72.

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²³ Editorial, *Ebony*, November 1945.

²⁴ Russell, Wilson and Hall, *Color Complex*; see also Hill "Skin Color."

²⁵ Russell, Wilson and Hall, *Color Complex*, 24-28.

²⁶ Ibid, 27.

²⁷ Nancy Etcoff, *Survival of the Prettiest: The Science of Beauty* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 117-19; See also Hill, "Skin Color," 80.

²⁸ Hall, "The Bleaching Syndrome," 172-184.

²⁹ Kelly Miller, 1929, in The Claude A. Barnett Papers. Part Three. Subject files on Black Americans 1918-1967. Series I. Race Relations, 1923-1965 (hereafter, C. A. Barnett Papers), University Publications of America (Oct. 25), 1946: 00312.

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- ³⁰ Frazier, *The Negro Family*, 186.
- ³¹ *The New York Amsterdam*, 22 Nov. 1929; *The Chicago Defender*, Nov. 1925 and 1930.
- ³² *Ebony*, 1949.
- ³³ Miller, 1929 in The C. A. Barnett Papers.
- ³⁴ Hunter, "Color Struck," 534.
- ³⁵ Russell, Wilson and Hall, *Color Complex*, 50.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Ebony*, Jan. 1949, 44-45 and Feb. 1948.
- ³⁸ *Ebony*, Feb. 1948, 2.
- ³⁹ *Ebony*, May 1946, 49.
- ⁴⁰ *The Crusader*, 10 June, 1922, 332. The authors argued that African-Americans needed to be proud of their identity and reject advertising that promoted chemicals to alter African features.
- ⁴¹ *Ebony*, February 1948, 2.
- ⁴² *The Chicago Defender*, 1928.
- ⁴³ *The Chicago Defender*, February, 1930
- ⁴⁴ Frazier, *The Negro Family*, 150.
- ⁴⁵ Hill, 80.
- ⁴⁶ K. Sue Jewel, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images and the Shaping of US Social Policy* (New York: Routledge, 1993); see also Patricia Morton. *Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991) and Jeanne Noble, *Beautiful Also, Are the Souls of My Black Sisters: A History of Black Woman in America* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1988).
- ⁴⁷ Jewel, *From Mammy to Miss America*, 37.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-40.

⁵⁰ C. A. Barnett Papers, 25 July 1938.

⁵¹ Quoted in Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1984), 184.

⁵² *Ebony*, August 1948, 56-57.

⁵³ W.E.B. Dubois, *The Crisis*, 1912.

⁵⁴ See various issues of *The Crisis*, including July 1918, 114; July 1923.

⁵⁵ Claude A. Barnett Papers. (Oct, 25), 1946.

⁵⁶ W.E.B. Dubois, *The Crisis*, July 1918, 114.

⁵⁷ Examples of firsts include, the State Representative of Pennsylvania, Crystal B. Fauset; Principal in New York City, Mrs. Gertrude Elise Ayer; and Columbia's first Black professor, Mrs. Adelaide Cromwell; See the *Chicago Defender*, Dec. 11, 1915 and C. A. Barnett. Oct 25 1946.