

Reconstruction Institute

Columbia University
July 21–27, 2013

Instructors

- **Eric Foner** – DeWitt Clinton Professor of History, Columbia University
- **Martha S. Jones** – Arthur F. Thurnau Associate Professor of History and Afroamerican and African Studies, University of Michigan

Guest Lecturer

- **Randall L. Kennedy** – Michael R. Klein Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

- **Erik Bloch**, Master Teacher
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Dining Information

Hewitt Dining Hall Hours:

- Breakfast: 7:30 – 9:30 a.m.
 - Lunch: 11:30 a.m. – 1:30 p.m.
 - Dinner: 5:00 – 7:00 p.m.
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Schedule

Sunday, July 21

- 3:00 – 6:00 p.m. Registration & Check-In (Barnard College)

- 6:00 – 8:00 p.m. Welcome Dinner & Introduction
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Monday, July 22

- 8:00 – 9:00 a.m. Breakfast
 - 9:00 – 10:30 a.m. Lecture: *The Civil War, Emancipation, and the Origins of Reconstruction* (Foner)
 - 10:30 – 10:45 a.m. Break
 - 10:45 – 12:00 p.m. Discussion
 - 12:00 – 1:45 p.m. Lunch
 - 2:00 – 3:00 p.m. Presentation: *Reconstruction and the World Wide Web* (Jones)
 - 3:00 – 3:15 p.m. Break
 - 3:15 – 6:00 p.m. Gilder Lehrman Session
 - 6:00 – 7:00 p.m. Dinner
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Tuesday, July 23

- 8:00 – 9:00 a.m. Breakfast
- 9:00 – 10:30 a.m. Lecture: *The Meaning of Freedom* (Foner)
- 10:30 – 10:45 a.m. Break
- 10:45 – 12:00 p.m. Discussion
- 12:00 – 1:45 p.m. Lunch
- 2:00 – 3:00 p.m. Lecture: *Women, Gender, and the Politics of Reconstruction* (Jones)
- 3:00 – 3:45 p.m. Break

- 3:45 – 6:00 p.m. Field Trip: *New-York Historical Society, Gilder Lehrman Collection*
 - 6:00 – 7:00 p.m. Dinner
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Wednesday, July 24

- 8:00 – 9:00 a.m. Breakfast
 - 9:00 – 10:30 a.m. Lecture: *Andrew Johnson, Congress, and the Making of Radical Reconstruction* (Foner)
 - 10:30 – 10:45 a.m. Break
 - 10:45 – 12:00 p.m. Discussion
 - 12:00 – 1:45 p.m. Lunch
 - 2:00 – 3:00 p.m. Guest Lecture: *Race and the Law* (Kennedy)
 - 3:00 – 3:45 p.m. Break
 - 3:45 – 6:00 p.m. Gilder Lehrman Session
 - 6:00 p.m. Dinner
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Thursday, July 25

- 8:00 – 9:00 a.m. Breakfast
- 9:00 – 10:30 a.m. Lecture: *Radical Reconstruction in the South* (Foner)
- 10:30 – 10:45 a.m. Break
- 10:45 – 12:00 p.m. Discussion
- 12:00 – 1:45 p.m. Lunch
- 2:00 – 3:00 p.m. Lecture: *Freedwomen and Family, Labor, and Institution Building* (Jones)

- 3:30 – 3:45 p.m. Break
 - 3:45 – 5:15 p.m. Gilder Lehrman Session
 - 6:00 p.m. Dinner
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Friday, July 26

- 8:00 – 8:30 a.m. Breakfast
 - 9:00 – 10:30 a.m. Lecture: *The Ending of Reconstruction* (Foner)
 - 10:30 – 12:30 p.m. Visit: *Columbia Rare Books & Manuscripts Library*
 - 1:00 – 2:00 p.m. Lunch
 - 2:00 – 5:30 p.m. Gilder Lehrman Session & Seminar Conclusion
 - 6:00 – 8:00 p.m. Closing Dinner
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Saturday, July 27

- 9:00 – 12:00 p.m. Check-Out
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Reconstruction — Columbia University

July 21–27, 2013

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

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- Eric Foner, DeWitt Clinton Professor of History, Columbia University
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School, University of Michigan

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Monday 9:00–10:30 — Foner

General/Framing

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reconstruction_Era
- Looks to the NYTimes to see how Reco. Legacy is with us every day. Lowest social mobility is the old cotton belt/kingdom. Still the place where people are the poorest—History is imprinted on our society today.
- less social mobility in places of the “the cotton belt”
- Reco is important in looking at the politics of history—The politics of a time affects the historian. Difference between scholarly history and pop history is the understanding that it’s constantly changing. Revisionism is the objective. EH carr—if you want to study history study the historian. The present gives us the question we’re interested in. The answers have to come out of the history.
- “scholarly” history v. “popular” history
- revisionist history- a valid term
- 1990s’: the decade where the history of African American women became more prevalent; African American women became important based on what historian started recognizing their importance.
- thinking about family history

Questions on Representation

- Q: How many African Americans serve in the senate today: 1 (

- Q: How many African Americans served in the senate: 8 (2 were during Reconstruction)
- Focuses on the concept of freedom throughout history and its meaning of all senators only 8 who served were African American. Only two serve now. Two/8 were during Reco.

Key Terms/Actors

- carpetbaggers: a pejorative term Southerners gave to Northerners (also referred to as Yankees) who moved to the South during the Reconstruction era, between 1865 and 1877
- scalawags: A white Southerner who collaborated with northern Republicans during the Reconstruction, often for personal profit.
- Du Bois: US political activist; full name William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. He co-founded the NAACP in 1909. The Souls of Black Folk, Niagara Movement, NAACP
- Du Bois argued that the brightest African Americans had to step forward to lead their people in their quest for political and social equality and civil rights; He urged those future leaders to seek an advanced liberal arts education rather than the vocational education that Washington was promoting
- Voting Rights Act of 1965

Misconceptions/Historiography

- 40s-60s view of Reconstruction. Was the Dunning School (see Birth of a Nation). Dubois's Story of Black Reconstruction was an opposing voice. Dunning view locked the white south into a view of race relations for the 20th Cent. Therefore the south was justified in taking the ballot from blacks.
- Another misconception: Recon was imposed on the south from the outside.
- Idea of a solidly democratic south. (except Coolidge won in south to beat Al Smith (catholic) The Tragic Era was written to remind folks what would happen if Republicans won.
- 1988—Foner created a new narrative.
- New narrative of war: Mindless slaughter. Emancipation is downplayed. Persistence of slavery etc. implies Recon. Never happened.

Historiography—the changing nature of the study of history over time.

Timeline

- 1857 — Dred Scott Supreme Court decision rules that slaves do not become free when taken into a free state, that Congress cannot ban slavery from a territory, and that blacks cannot become citizens.
- 1861–1865 — Civil War.
- 1863 — President Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation freeing "all slaves in areas still in rebellion."
- 1865 — 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery, added to the Constitution.
- 1866 — Ku Klux Klan formed in secrecy; disbands 1869–71; resurgence in 1915.
- 1867–1877 Reconstruction Era: series of measures aimed at suffrage
- 1868 — 14th Amendment conferring citizenship added to Constitution.
- 1870 — 15th Amendment barring racial discrimination in voting added to Constitution.
- 1896 — Supreme Court approves "separate but equal" segregation doctrine with Plessy v Ferguson
- 1920 — Progressive Reform Era: WEB Du Bois & Ida B. Wells & Booker T. Washington

Foundations: Slavery and Citizenship

- slavery has always existed since the beginning of civilization; American Revolution (1775-1783); Declaration of Independence
- Thomas Jefferson owned slaves (e.g. Sally Hemmings)
- slavery existed in all the states; in the south, more than ½ of the population were slaves
- 1860: 4 million slaves on the eve of the Civil War (worth \$4 billion dollars-about \$1,000 each); slaves are property: annual incomes of a working person is \$300; slaves are \$2,000, slaves worth more than

- Slaves as property—By 1860 Prime field hand costs \$2,000.00. The 4 million slaves as property 1860 \$4Billion. Value of Banks, factories, and RRs in the US all together was \$3.6Billion.
- Brooks Brothers started as manufacturers of “Negro Cloth” Rough clothes for slaves.
- indentured servants: Colonial America, mostly whites, owned for 7 years, whipped, free after 7 years; serfs: Russia
- slavery is a racial institution (as opposed to indentured servants, serfs, Ancient Roman Times in Greece & Rome); the slave who becomes free bears the mark of servitude b/c of their skin color
- slavery in US: central to the world capitalist system, central system of the economy
- Antebellum: Occurring or existing before a particular war, esp. the American Civil War
- 1860: more slaves in the western hemisphere than ever before, it was not dying out, USA was the major center, Brazil was another major center; Brazil was another major slave economy (more routes out of slavery).
- 1860: less than 10% of African Americans were free
- antebellum: slavery was embedded in the national identity, slavery alluded to in the constitution
- slaves were counted as $\frac{3}{4}$ of a person when determining the population; southerners wants slaves to count as people (Northerners not to count) because they would get more electoral votes
- Native Americans not counted as “We, the People”; “Other persons” are not counted as “We, the People”
- Fugitive slave clause—Article 4 section 1 Clause 3; “Right of Recaption” – Right to reclaim borrowed property. Extraterritoriality makes slavery an institution throughout the nation. Only way to really get free is to get to Canada or Mexico, or Indian tribes(why they tired to get the Seminole out of Florida). No repatriation. Slavery is illegal in Britain.
- “fugitive slave clause”: quoted text
- Article 1 section 9—Importation; Congress was not allowed to inhibit slaves being brought from other countries for 20 years, so that ended in 1808 (except that it continued illegally sometimes)

- 1730–1770: Africans brought to USA (slave trade), after that point slaves were reproducing in this country; by 1860, the slave population is “American”
 - Q: Who is a citizen of the US before the Civil War?
 - Free blacks can vote in some states in the 1820s and 30s (meeting property qualifications).
 - By 1860: 500,000 are free blacks. Some free blacks could vote but others were not allowed to in other states because it was open to interpretation.
 - Race replaces class, so that by 1860, free black men could only vote in 5 states (northern states), even though before more had been able to vote.
 - 1776–1807: women could vote in NJ.
 - Dred Scott—No black person can be a citizen (whites only)
 - The abolitionists movement was interracial, intergender, (e.g. Frederick Douglass) and put forth a different vision of what America should be. Recon is an attempt to implement the abolitionist vision.
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Monday 10:45–12:00 — Foner

Emancipation, War, and Amendments

- Emancipation Proclamation: if the north won, slavery would end
- slavery: labor system, class system, racial system, legal system, has customs & traditions
- during Civil War, more than 200,000 black men serve in Union Army; 200K black men serve in army and navy. That puts the topic of citizenship on the table.
- the words “slavery” and “involuntary servitude” had not been used (except for punishment of crime) in the constitution before the Civil War
- 13th Amendment does not have a state action clause—abolishes it every level and possible circumstance. Sweeps away dozens of state laws. Congress has power to enforce—Feds have power.

- 14th Amendment: (1865): ends slavery everywhere under every circumstance and Congress will have the power to enforce this

Lincoln, Plans, and Border States

- Lincoln: goal was to bring the nation together and win the Civil War
- 1860: 11 Confederate States and dates of secession and another map and border states (AK, TN, NC, VA)
- Lincoln in 1864: “intelligent” negroes and black soldiers should have the right to vote
- Lincoln initially believed in colonization (Africa, Haiti); evolved later
- Charles Sumner: black male suffrage advocate; Radical Republican leader
- list of American presidents
- border states are in the union and not part of the Emancipation Proclamation. The EP only applies to the confederate states
- Timeline of slavery ended in each state (MA 1783; NH 1783; CT 1784; RI 1784; NJ 1804; NY 1828; PA 1847; Fugitive Slave Law 1850; EP 1863; 13th Amendment 1865)
- Timeline of slavery ended in various countries
- Harriet Jacobs; Paul Robeson; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (1947)

Lincoln’s Reconstruction Policy (Additions from Note Two)

- Lincoln’s plan—didn’t have a single plan. Plan was to win the war.
- Dec. 1863—proclamation of recon. 10% plan: abolish slavery; regulate transition; pledge loyalty; intent to peel off states from CSA.
- Worked in LA (new constitution abolishing slavery; significant class of free blacks—10–12K). In AL’s last speech—He publicly says Black people want to vote (“some of them”). Greatness of Lincoln: capacity to grow; had Sumner stand with him.
- TN: Johnson made military gov. No leniency. Lincoln: “If it works, that’s fine with me.”

- War Powers and EP; slavery often ends via war (Lord Dunmore; 2nd Seminole War parallels).
- EP exceptions: border states, S. LA, TN (Johnson's plan underway).

Declaration of Independence/Jefferson (Note Two)

- Jefferson's anti-slavery complaint in draft; VA motives re importation (social/economic); SC opposed due to British freeing slaves.
- LOOK UP CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JEFFERSON AND HIS NEPHEW RANDALL.
- TJ supports Colonization; plans noted (infants, etc.).
- Dunning school connected to Eugenics/Social Darwinism; racial hierarchy dominant until post-WWII review.

Tuesday 9:00–10:30 — Foner — FREEDOM

Concepts and Policies

- Q: What is freedom? slavery seen as the “stealing of labor”
- Lincoln believed the whole country should take responsibility for slavery
- William Sherman; “40 Acres and a Mule”
- “natural liberty” v. “christian liberty”
- during reconstruction: freedom moves from a philosophy to a public policy (civil & political & economic freedom)
- slaves' etiquette constraints; postwar changes in address, interaction (Note Two: tremendous amount of violence in 1865—personal not organized like the KKK; see Texas murder register—Freedmen's Bureau)

Freedman's Bureau, Family/Gender

- Freedman's Bureau: aid to freedmen (1865–72); contracts, education, families

- Family/Gender: rape of female slaves (Harriet Jacobs); antebellum coverture; Freedman's Savings Bank; women's wages; black men's emasculation; women elevated by labor; legalizing marriages; ads for lost family members (FB records, black press)
- Churches: rural worship; biracial seating practices; Nat Turner context; postwar rise of autonomous black-led institutions; Exodus as moral exodus; Du Bois skepticism of ministers as "talented 10th"
- Education: illegal to teach slaves; white literacy/public schools vs Reconstruction schooling in South; Oberlin College; HBCUs (Howard, Morehouse, Spelman); integration effects on Negro leagues/black schools; Higher education: Black colleges created in the South during Reco. First purpose: train teachers for public schools.
- Women's roles: Freedmen's Saving Bank had married women setting up their own accounts; labor of children disputes; black church as pillar; tremendous desire for education.

Economics: Land/Labor

- desire for land, control of labor
- Bureau roles; after slavery: "free yet not independent"
- Andrew Johnson (1865–69); ***Black Codes (1865–66): restrict freedom; compel labor; guns restricted; invalidated by Civil Rights Acts of 1866
- Economic autonomy—Southern Homestead Act '66 (best land already gone); Radical SC State Land Commission; lien laws; homestead comparisons ('63 and '66) (Note Two detail)

Three-Way Contest (Note Two)

- Organizational strategy: former slaves — Southern whites — The victorious North
 - Former slaves: autonomy, movement, etiquette shifts; desire to live independently (Frazier vs. Lynch views); legal marriage; reuniting families.
 - Southern whites/planters: restore plantation system; freedom ≠ social/political/economic equality; Presidential Reconstruction → Black Codes; labor contracts; vagrancy laws; fees on artisans.

- North: abolition as consequence then purpose; service of black soldiers weakens racism; free labor ideology; intervene vs Black Codes; reasons against land redistribution; recognition of economic modernization; investment risks; corruption nationwide.
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Tuesday 10:45–12:00 — Foner — During the War

- After EP, Lincoln only willing to end war if slavery ended (movie 'Lincoln' goes against this)
 - black military service and changing white views
 - slavery v. free labor society
 - claims re black soldiers in Confederate Army (few dozen)
 - Battle of Gettysburg; cotton #1 export
 - Homestead Acts (1862, Southern Homestead Act 1866); hypocrisy re denying land to blacks
 - Thaddeus Stevens; distinguish "The South" vs "The Confederate South"
 - Sojourner Truth; "Ain't I a Woman?"; recruiting black troops; land grants effort
 - Gun ownership contexts; plantation protection
 - ****Davis Bend, Mississippi → Benjamin T. Montgomery; cooperative community; Mound Bayou
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Tuesday 2:00–3:30 — Martha S. Jones — What is Freedom? Women, Gender, and Reconstruction

Politics and 15th/19th Amendments

- Obama v. Hillary Clinton (2008); Fifteenth Amendment (ratified 1870)
- "Women Are Never Front-Runners" (Gloria Steinem, 1/8/2008) — quotes; note critique re violence against black men post-15th; tendency to treat all

blacks as men and women as white.

- “Contested; Rights vs. Rights” (Mark Leibovich, 1/13/2008); Douglass vs. Stanton; Stanton’s “aristocracy of sex” quote; references to “Sambo”
- Black Women: Race between Obama & Hillary Clinton; Donna Brazile; Oprah; Condoleeza Rice; Michelle Obama (arms commentary); Hillary Clinton clips; Hilary evoking Harriet Tubman (inaccurate quotes flagged)
- 1866 Frances Ellen Watkins Harper — “We are all bound up together...”; acknowledges compromise of 15th; lifelong fight for women’s rights.

Cultural Artifacts

- miscegenation pamphlets and ball; images (“The Colored Sorosis” 1868)

Additional Women/Freedom (Note Two integrates)

- Role of family history (Fannie Miller Williams b.1863 KY; Harry Simmons sketchbook).
- Labor scenes: washerwomen negotiating terms.
- Charlotte Forten: Salem to Sea Islands; armed; entrepreneurial, de facto leadership; transformation of women teachers postwar.
- Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley: Contraband Relief Association; organizer/fundraiser.
- Susie King Taylor: self-liberation; attaches to husband’s regiment; hired; war opens opportunity; women write to Lincoln (Hannah Johnson; Annie Davis).

Wednesday 9:00–10:30 — Foner — Andrew Johnson, Congress, and the Making of Radical Reconstruction

Figures and Agencies

- Thaddeus Stevens: motives (just; preserve union victory; preserve GOP majority)
- Freedman’s Bureau (aid 1865–72)

- Civil Rights Bill of 1866:
 1. birthright citizenship (overturns Dred Scott)
 2. lists rights (free labor, property, courts, testify)
 3. sweeps away racial laws/Black Codes
 4. penalties for violations
- Johnson veto: claims discrimination vs whites; Congress overrides

Amendments Recap

- 1865 — 13th; 1868 — 14th; 1870 — 15th

Citizenship/Natives/Immigration

- 13th Amendment text line cited (Note One); Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 (Snyder Act); 14th DID include Native Americans (Yay!) [Note: original notes contain both exclusion/inclusion statements; preserved as-is]; 2013: ~11 million “illegal immigrants”; birthright citizenship (Yay!)
- Andrew Johnson impeached; acquitted 1868

Expanded from Note Two

- Johnson: unionist Southerner; “I will be your moses...”; poor origins; intolerant, stubborn, racist; all about yeoman farmer; plan excludes planter class unless pardoned; only whites vote; old planters return to power while Congress out of session (Nov ’64–Dec ’65).
- KY only state doesn’t ratify 13–15 amendments.
- Radicals vs Moderates; early ’66 Moderates try to work with Johnson (FB bill extension/funding); Johnson vetoes (Congress “not complete”).
- Civil Rights Act details (as above); override first of its kind; Republicans unified.
- 14th Amendment sections/compromises:
 - Debt provisions; office holding limits (2/3 waiver); states control suffrage but penalties for denial; “males” language; Bingham’s open principles; Section 5 enforcement; Reservation Indians excluded; 1924

citizenship; children of occupying armies excluded.

- Redefines America; US only nation with jus soli.
 - Constitution doesn't grant vote, it bars certain deprivations.
 - Incorporation via 14th; Equal Protection scope (segregation? affirmative action?); 14th has nothing to do with right to vote.
 - Johnson urges South not to ratify; all except TN reject; 1866 elections—GOP sweep; AJ's intransigence pushes Congress radical.
 - March 1867—Reconstruction Act: military districts; register new voters (all adult men except barred by 14th); old rulers excluded; new constitutions; equal suffrage; Johnson aids southern whites.
 - 15th eliminates racial qualifications but allows poll taxes, literacy tests; voter IDs—disparate impact arguments.
 - Women's movement split (AWSA/NWSA); alliances/trade-offs into 1919.
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Wednesday 2:00–3:00 — Randall Kennedy — RACE AND THE LAW

Civil Rights Act of 1866 & Rights Categories

- Classic Civil Rights: contracting, testifying, property, sue/being sued
- Political Rights: voting, jury
- Social Rights: restaurants, marrying
- Equal Protection Clause (14th)

Juries

- blacks on juries; *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1880) — reversal on Equal Protection grounds; states could still bar women/other classes
- Black Panthers wanted black juries for black defendants

- Even today (2013): SCOTUS won't say all-white jury unconstitutional absent exclusion; multiracial juries socially accepted
- Southern legislatures used proxies to avoid race language; indirect discrimination.
- *Reeves v. Virginia* (as noted in lecture two framing)

Marriage

- Q: Does preventing interracial marriage violate EPC? (historical "No" reasoning: "equal" treatment)
- *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); *Pace v. Alabama* (1883) upheld antimiscegenation until overturned; origins of "miscegenation" term in 1864 campaign pamphlet; Wendell Phillips reference

Trains/Schools/Restaurants

- *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896): separate but equal; Plessy's racial ambiguity to show arbitrariness; legal fiction; one-drop rule timelines; exceptions (black women caring for white children in "white cars")
- Schools: *Lum v. Rice* (1927); *Brown v. Board* (1954); Thurgood Marshall profile; *Gong (Gong Lum) v. Mississippi*—state decides school placement.
- Difference between Plessey and Brown—change in consciousness; Marshall showed material harms; Plessey claimed separation harmless.
- Restaurants: no constitutional right to enter private "all-white" establishments until Civil Rights Act 1964.

Other Legal Milestones

- *Browder v. Gayle* (Montgomery buses); Truman integrates Armed Services 1948; CA miscegenation overturned 1948.

State Action

- "What is a state actor" for Equal Protection?
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Thursday 9:00–10:30 — RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNMENTS

Leaders and Parties

- James K. Greene (black belt soil context); leader in Hale County; Union League; labor union; black militia after Greensboro killing
- Over 2000 black office holders once radical reconstruction got under way; African Americans did not “control” southern governments—myth; Dunning-era depictions (E. Merton Coulter quote; Foner critique)
- Women engaged in public sphere; only formal office: post mistress
- Political mobilization: mass meetings; rural spread; Union Leagues unite wealthy/poor; sites of mobilization; courage amid violence (35 assassinations of 1500 officials—Foner, Freedom’s Lawmakers). Ostracism → dependence on office \$ → corruption (white/black). By 1870s more former slaves in office with some education.
 - Hiram Revels; Ovit Gregory; Mifflin & Jonathan Gibbs; Robert Smalls; Richard Griggs (sold 18 times; owner Nathan Bedford Forrest)
- Republican Party during reconstruction was interracial; needed white members for legitimacy/success.

Carpetbaggers & Scalawags

- carpetbaggers: ~4–5k; myth of poverty/opportunism; often officers/teachers; influential in SC/LA; welcomed as investors; introduced free labor; not about black vote pre-’67
- scalawags: southern-born Republicans; largest white GOP bloc; Alcorn example; upcountry poorer whites; class politics; ironclad oath vs universal manhood suffrage; geography of black suffrage acceptance; debt suspension debates; constant struggle to maintain GOP in office.
- “black belt” defined by soil; most local black officeholders in richest plantation regions.

Government Actions

- All southern states ’67–’68 wrote new constitutions; created state-supported public schools (separate schools; NOLA integrated system due to “public rights” demands); black parents desired black teachers; education

paramount.

- Economic modernization: railroads; investment challenges; corruption nationwide; lien laws—laborers' first lien.

Political Realignment (Note Two)

- THE democratic/republican SHIFT: New Deal 1940s; 1964 CRA & Goldwater; 1968 Nixon "Southern Strategy"; 1970s inroads into white South.
- John R. Lynch—photographer; congressman into 1880s; lived into 1930s.

Thursday 11:00–12:00 — Foner (Additional Social/Political Notes)

- ****some freed black men owned slaves!
 - ***a free black person could marry a slave (e.g., Frederick Douglass)
 - ***status of child follows mother (analogy to Judaism)
 - ***19th-c divorce: custody to father
 - manumission required freed slave to leave state
 - ****280,000 free blacks in the south before the Civil War
 - Oscar Stanton De Priest (U.S. Rep., 1929–35)
 - ***Obama did not win the majority of the white vote; McCain & Romney did!
 - ****The Clansman → Birth of a Nation (1915); White House screening; bans; legal challenges; NAACP protest letter
 - Martin Delany profile
 - Ironclad Oath (limit ex-Confederate power)
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Thursday 2:00–3:30 — Jones — Women and the Work of War

- ****Charlotte Forten (1837–1914): teacher (Salem, MA & South); armed; entrepreneurial; leadership
 - ****Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley (1818–1907): seamstress; confidante to Mary Todd Lincoln; clients included Varina Davis, Mary Anna Custis Lee; founded Contraband Relief Association; organizer, networks
 - ****Susie King Taylor (1848–1912): nurse; memoirist; first to teach openly in GA for former slaves; attached to husband's regiment, later hired
 - ****black women writing to Lincoln (Hannah Johnson; Annie Davis); literacy; political self-conception; letters' trajectories
 - Political cartoons: miscegenation themes; Miscegenation Ball link
 - ***Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men* (consensual relationships; gender/sexuality politics)
 - The Church—struggles for women's ordination; church office rights framed as women's rights
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Friday 9:00–10:30 — Foner — The End of Reconstruction

Violence and Enforcement

- KKK: white supremacy; like Al Qaeda (terrorist, violent; gets outsized attention); local names/groups; violence vs voters, GOP, teachers, schools, interracial couples; organized by established men; young men perpetrators
- Colfax massacre (April 13, 1873) → Cruikshank v. US context; white militia vs black militia; surrender/massacre
- Mobilization: Texas Rangers to hunt KKK (note: local/state weakness)
- 1871 Enforcement Acts/KKK Acts: federalize certain crimes; habeas suspension; Grant uses martial law in SC; federal marshals in AL; irony—Klan flees to Canada like runaway slaves

Economic/Political Shifts

- The Panic of 1873; Reconstruction tragedy: Freedman's Savings Bank failure (speculation with depositors' money)
- 1872: peaceful election; Liberal Republicans split (free trade; "Best Men"); Greeley nominated by Lib Repubs & Dems; no electoral votes; dies pre-college
- Midterms 1874: Dems take House; army defunding linked to ending protection for black people
- Civil Rights Act of 1875 (passed lame duck); 1883 declared unconstitutional (no state action)

Intellectual/Legal Retrenchment

- James S. Pike, *The Prostrate State*; Social Darwinism rise; helping "bottom" disrupts "natural order"
- Legal cases:
 - Slaughterhouse (14th used for butchers' liberty claims; becomes central in jurisprudence)
 - Cruikshank overturns federal convictions (state venue)
 - 1883 Civil Rights Cases (8-1; Harlan dissents; ties to 13th)
 - 1898 Williams v. Mississippi (jury rolls via voter rolls)

Collapse and Compromise

- By mid-1870s many Reconstruction governments fallen; public violence open; large armed whites
- 1875: Gov. Ames asks Grant for help; Grant declines for Ohio politics
- 1876 election: Tilden vs Hayes → Compromise of 1877; Hayes presidency; Dems "get the South"; troops removed July 1877
- Troops used in 1877 national RR strike (Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago) to protect corporate property; none built to protect constitutional rights in South → shift in national priorities

Labor Systems

- sharecropping emerges; autonomy vs fixed labor supply; production surges
- credit system trap; crop liens; cotton glut; perpetual debt
- Every census 1880–1940: more white tenant farmers numerically; higher percentage among black population
- Why not leave? Racism national; northern industry shuns southern black labor; Carnegie imports from Europe; WWI (1914) cuts European labor → Great Migration
- ***** blacks from the south did NOT travel north because of racism; jobs weren't available in the North until WWI immigration limits

Long Arc

- Final Point—The failure of reconstruction is pivotal to the rest of American History. New Deal exclusions (agriculture/domestic from Social Security); GI Bill local administration; Civil Rights Movement sought enforcement of Constitution (minor formal change—poll tax amendment). Need for continued vigilance even after legal acts are accomplished.

Friday 11:00–12:00 — Foner in 'Rare Book & Manuscript Library

- *** KKK white robes/hats are WWI-era onward; earlier Klan lacked uniformity; late 1800s photo
- *** Civil War first U.S. war with photography; staged/manipulated bodies possible
 - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Photographers_of_the_American_Civil_War
- Minstrel Shows: blackface by whites and later blacks

Friday 2:00–4:00 — Lesson Plans

- **** Frederick Douglass: WHY SHOULD A COLORED MAN ENLIST? *Douglass' Monthly*, April, 1863
- ****credibility of a secondary source; Q: What's the role/responsibility of movies to be accurate?
- The Dunning School overview; dominance 1900–1950s; textbook influence; terminology persistence (scalawags/carpetbaggers)

Film/Media

- *****List of offensive/racist movies from *Bamboozled* montage: *The Birth of a Nation*, *The Jazz Singer*, *Gone with the Wind*, *Babes in Arms*, *Holiday Inn*, *Little Black Sambo*, *Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat*, *Jingle Jangle Jungle*, *All This and Rabbit Stew*, *School's Out* (Our Gang's Farina & Stymie)

Vocabulary/Terms

- peonage; collateral; prostrate; reprisal; salutary; carte blanche; piedmont; guantlet; libertarian; colloquialism; preamble; due process; illicit; pernicious; trope; ratify an amendment; jurisdiction; jurisprudence; pundit; sambo; aristocracy; depraved; anathema; insoluble; underscore; historiography; sedition; Cotton Belt; avant garde; Eugenics; social darwinism; there is no such things as scientific race; Rudyard Kipling: "white man's burden"; chickens come home to roost; vagrant

RAW NOTES

Reconstruction Columbia University

July 21-27, 2013

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

Instructors

Eric Foner, DeWitt Clinton Professor of History, Columbia University

Martha S. Jones, Arthur F. Thurnau Associate Professor of History and Afro-American and African Studies, and Affiliated LSA Faculty at the Law School, University of Michigan

Guest Lecturer

Randall L. Kennedy, Michael R. Klein Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

Monday: 9-10:30: Foner

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reconstruction_Era

- less social mobility in places of the “the cotton belt”
- Q: How many African Americans serve in the senate today: 1 (
- Q: How many African Americans served in the senate: 8 (2 were during Reconstruction)
- 1990s: the decade where the history of African American women became more prevalent
- thinking about family history
- “scholarly” history v. “popular” history
- revisionist history- a valid term
- carpetbaggers: a [pejorative](#) term Southerners gave to Northerners (also referred to as [Yankees](#)) who moved to the South during the [Reconstruction era](#), between 1865 and 1877
- scalawags: A white Southerner who collaborated with northern Republicans during the Reconstruction, often for personal profit.
- Du Bois: US political activist; full name William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. He co-founded the NAACP in 1909.
 - The Souls of Black Folk, Niagara Movement, NAACP
 - Du Bois argued that the brightest African Americans had to step forward to lead their people in their quest for political and social equality and civil rights”
 - “He urged those future leaders to seek an advanced liberal arts education rather than the vocational education that Washington was promoting”
- Voting Rights Act of 1965
- [List of Amendments](#)
- [Timeline](#)

1857 -- Dred Scott Supreme Court decision rules that slaves do not become free when taken into a free state, that Congress cannot ban slavery from a territory, and that blacks cannot become citizens.

1861-1865 -- Civil War.

1863 -- President Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation freeing "all slaves in areas still in rebellion."

1865 -- 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery, added to the Constitution.

1866 -- Ku Klux Klan formed in secrecy; disbands 1869-71; resurgence in 1915.

1867 --1877 Reconstruction Era: series of measures aimed at suffrage

1868 -- 14th Amendment conferring citizenship added to Constitution.

1870 -- 15th Amendment barring racial discrimination in voting added to Constitution.

1896 -- Supreme Court approves "separate but equal" segregation doctrine with Plessy v Ferguson

1920-- Progressive Reform Era: WEB Du Bois & Ida B. Wells & Booker T. Washington

- slavery has always existed since the beginning of civilization
- American Revolution (1775-1783)
 - Declaration of Independence
 - Thomas Jefferson owned slaves (e.g. [Sally Hemmings](#))
 - slavery existed in all the states
 - in the south, more than 1/2 of the population were slaves
- 1860: 4 million slaves on the eve of the Civil War (worth \$4 billion dollars- about \$1,000 each)
- indentured servants: Colonial America, mostly whites, owned for 7 years, whipped, free after 7 years
- [serfs](#): Russia
- slavery is a racial institution (as opposed to indentured servants, serfs, Ancient Roman Times in Greece & Rome)
- the slave who becomes free bears the mark of servitude b/c of their skin color
- slavery in US: central to the world capitalist system, central system of the economy
- slaves are property: annual incomes of a working person is \$300; slaves are \$2,000, slaves worth more than
- Antebellum: Occurring or existing before a particular war, esp. the American Civil War
- 1860: more slaves in the western hemisphere than ever before, it was not dying out, USA was the major center, Brazil was another major center
- 1860: less than 10% of African Americans were free
- antebellum: slavery was embedded in the national identity, slavery alluded to in the constitution
 - slaves were counted as 3/4 of a person when determining the population
 - southerners wants slaves to count as people (Northerners not to count) because they would get more electoral votes
 - Native Americans not counted as “We, the People”
 - “Other persons” are not counted as “We, the People”
 - “fugitive slave clause”: required slaves who escaped to another state to be returned to the owner in the state from which they escaped
 - No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due

- extra-territorial situation, which means that it's a national issue
 - the only way to get free was to escape to Canada
 - England ended slavery in 1833
 - Congress was not allowed to inhibit slaves being brought from other countries for 20 years, so that ended in 1808 (except that it continued illegally sometimes)
 - 1730-1770: Africans brought to USA (slave trade), after that point slaves were reproducing in this country
 - by 1860, the slave population is "American": so the cultural differences between blacks and whites has lessened b/c the language is the same
 - Q: Who is a citizen of the US before the Civil War?
 - By 1860: 500,000 are free blacks. Some free blacks could vote but others were not allowed to in other states because it was open to interpretation.
 - Race replaces class, so that by 1860, free black men could only vote in 5 states (northern states), even though before more had been able to vote. Free black men were not considered to be citizens by 1860, even though the situation has been better before in some areas. Their rights had been diminished. Also, all white men could vote at this point.
 - [1776-1807: women could vote in NJ](#)
 - The abolitionists movement was interracial, intergender, (e.g. Frederick Douglass) and put forth a different vision of what America should be.
 - Dred Scott: 1857
-

Monday: 10:45-12:00: Foner

- Emancipation Proclamation: if the north won, slavery would end
 - slavery: labor system, class system, racial system, legal system, has customs & traditions
 - during Civil War, more than 200,000 black men serve in Union Army
 - the words "slavery" and "involuntary servitude" had not been used (except for punishment of crime) in the constitution before the Civil War
 - 14th Amendment: (1865): ends slavery everywhere under every circumstance and Congress will have the power to enforce this
-

- Lincoln: goal was to bring the nation together and win the Civil War
- [1860: 11 Confederate States](#) and dates of secession and [another map](#) and [border states](#) (AK, TN, NC, VA)
- Lincoln in 1864, said that "intelligent" negroes and black soldiers should have the right to vote. Because he was commander in chief, he could say this about the black soldiers
- slavery usually ends by war
- Lincoln initially believed that slaves should have been freed & sent to other countries (Africa, Haiti) to enjoy their freedom. He changed these ideas later on and evolved.
- Charles Sumner: advocated for black male suffrage for years
 - an American politician and senator from Massachusetts. An academic lawyer and a powerful orator, Sumner was the leader of the antislavery forces in Massachusetts and a leader of the [Radical Republicans](#) in the United States Senate during the

[American Civil War](#) working to destroy the [Confederacy](#), free all the slaves and keep on good terms with Europe. During [Reconstruction](#), he fought to minimize the power of the ex-Confederates and guarantee equal rights to the [Freedmen](#).

- [list of American presidents](#)
- border states are in the union and not part of the Emancipation Proclamation. The EP only applies to the confederate states
- Timeline of slavery ended in each state
 - 1783: [Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court](#) rules [slavery illegal](#) based on 1780 state constitution. All slaves are immediately freed
 - 1783: [New Hampshire](#) begins a gradual abolition of slavery.
 - 1784: Connecticut begins a gradual abolition of slavery, freeing future children of slaves, and later all slaves.
 - 1784: Rhode Island begins a gradual abolition of slavery.
 - 1804: [New Jersey](#) begins a gradual abolition of slavery, freeing future children of slaves. Those born prior to the Act remain enslaved for life
 - 1828: New York State abolishes slavery. Children born between 1799 and 1827 are indentured until age 25 (females) or age 28 (males).[\[38\]](#)
 - 1847: Slavery ends in Pennsylvania. Those born before 1780 (fewer than 100 in 1840 Census) are freed.
 - 1850: In the United States, the [Fugitive Slave Law of 1850](#) requires return of escaped slaves
 - 1863: In the United States, [Abraham Lincoln](#) signs the [Emancipation Proclamation](#) which declared slaves in [Confederate](#)-controlled areas to be freed. Most slaves in ["border states"](#) are freed by state action; separate law freed the slaves in [Washington, D.C.](#)
 - 1865: December: U.S. abolishes slavery with the [Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution](#); about 40,000 remaining slaves are affected
- [Timeline of slavery ended in various countries](#)
- [Harriet Jacobs](#)
- Paul Robeson (April 9, 1898 – January 23, 1976) was an African-American singer and actor who became involved with the [Civil Rights Movement](#).
 - could not get a meal in Greenwich village in NYC in the 1930s
- John Hope Franklin (January 2, 1915 – March 25, 2009) was an American historian of [United States](#) and former president of [Phi Beta Kappa](#), the [Organization of American Historians](#), the [American Historical Association](#), and the [Southern Historical Association](#). Franklin is best known for his work *From Slavery to Freedom*, first published in 1947,

Tuesday 9-10:30: Foner:

FREEDOM

Q: What is freedom?

- slavery seen as the “stealing of labor”
- Lincoln believed the whole country should take responsibility for slavery
- [William Sherman](#): was an American soldier, businessman, educator and author. He served as

- a [General](#) in the [Union Army](#) during the [American Civil War](#)
- “[40 Acres and a Mule](#)”: Many people believed they had a moral right to own the land they had long worked as slaves, and were eager to control their own property. Freedpeople widely expected to legally claim 40 acres (16 ha) of land and a mule after the end of the war
- “natural liberty” (doing whatever you feel like, like an animal with no discipline) v. “christian liberty” (internalizing a set of limits, living up to a set of standards)
- during reconstruction: freedom moves from a philosophy to a public policy (civil & political & economic freedom)
- slaves were not supposed to look a white person in the eye, don’t refer them to by first name, a whole etiquette around this.
- [Freedman’s Bureau](#): a [U.S. federal government agency](#) that aided distressed freedmen (freed slaves) in 1865–1872, during the [Reconstruction era of the United States](#)

Family/Gender

- rape of female slaves: [Harriet Jacobs](#) writes about that in her memoir
- the social ethos for middle class white people (not necessarily a reality) was women to be in the home. black men felt emasculated and didn’t feel like they had their “manhood” and black women were elevated to a higher status b/c they were working.
- antebellum: white women did not have the right to their own wages (belonged to husbands), did not have their own bank accounts
- [Freedman's Savings Bank](#): a private corporation chartered by the [U.S. government](#) to encourage and guide the economic development of the newly emancipated [African-American](#) communities in the post-[Civil War](#) period.

Churches:

- most slaves worshipped by themselves in rural areas, as opposed to in churches
- some churches in the south were biracial, and blacks sat in the back
- [Nat Turner](#): a black preacher, who was mobile
 - Turner often conducted Baptist services, preaching the Bible to his fellow slaves, who dubbed him "The [Prophet](#)"
 - an [American slave](#) who led a [slave rebellion](#) in Virginia on August 21, 1831 that resulted in 55 white deaths and at least 100 black deaths
- by 1860, most blacks didn’t want to go to Africa or Haiti. Some did, but not many.
- people looking for a “moral exodus”
- [Frederick Douglass](#): African American social reformer, [orator](#), [writer](#) and [statesman](#). After escaping from [slavery](#), he became a leader of the [abolitionist](#) movement
- Lincoln never belonged to a church, self-taught (just like Frederick Douglass)

Education

- it was illegal to teach a slave to read and write
- by 1860, most whites were literate (90%), had a public school system
- by 1860, most whites were illiterate, did not have a public school system (until Reconstruction)
- Oberlin College: the first American institution of higher learning to regularly admit female and black students
- Howard University was on the best schools in the country b/c black professors couldn’t work anywhere else, so the best professors worked there
- the integration of Major League baseball destroyed the Negro leagues. Similarly, the

integration of blacks into white schools impacted the all-black schools

- [historically black colleges & universities](#) (e.g. Howard, Morehouse, Spelman)

Economics

Land/Labor

- desire for land, owning land
- determine when you work, etc. control your own labor
- [Freedmen's Bureau](#): AKA The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands: a U.S. federal government agency that aided distressed freedmen (freed slaves) in 1865–1872, during the [Reconstruction era of the United States](#)
 - The Bureau encouraged former plantation owners to rebuild their plantations, urged African Americans to gain employment, kept an eye on contracts between labor and management, and pushed both whites and blacks to work together as employers and employees rather than as masters and as slaves
 - Its powers were expanded to help find lost family for African Americans and teach them to read and write so they could better do so themselves
- after slavery, white planters wanted blacks to “get back to work” and blacks needed to work, so blacks were “free yet not independent”
- Andrew Johnson: in office from April 15, 1865 – March 4, 1869
- ***[Black Codes](#): were laws passed by [Southern states](#) in 1865 and 1866, after the [Civil War](#). These laws had the intent and the effect of restricting [Black people's](#) freedom, and of compelling them to work in a labor economy based on low wages or [debt](#)
 - blacks were required to work by law
 - invalidated by the Civil Rights Acts of 1866
 - blacks were not allowed to have guns

Tuesday: 10:45-12:00: Foner

During the War

- After the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln was only willing to end of the war if slavery ended
 - the movie ‘Lincoln’ goes against this
- once black men became soldiers in the war, this affected the way that some whites viewed blacks
- slavery v. a free labor society
- some slaves worked/forced to work for the Confederate Army- but not many- just a few dozen
- [black soldiers in the Confederate Army](#)
- [Battle of Gettysburg](#): fought July 1–3, 1863, in and around the town of [Gettysburg](#), Pennsylvania between [Union](#) and [Confederate](#) forces during the [American Civil War](#). The battle involved the largest number of casualties of the entire war^[7] and is often described as the war's [turning point](#)
- cotton is the #1 exporter in the US during this time
- [Homestead Act](#): several [United States federal laws](#) that gave an applicant ownership of land, typically called a “homestead”, at little or no cost (i.e. Homestead Act of 1862, [Southern Homestead Act of 1866](#))

- yet people were saying that blacks should not be given land b/c they don't have a good work ethic. hypocrisy.
- [Thaddeus Stevens](#): a member of the [United States House of Representatives](#) from Pennsylvania who was one of the leaders of the [Radical Republican](#) faction of the [Republican Party](#) during the 1860s. A fierce opponent of slavery and discrimination against African-Americans, Stevens sought to secure their rights during [Reconstruction](#), in opposition to President [Andrew Johnson](#).
- ****distinguish between “The South” and “The Confederate South”
- Sojourner Truth: 1(797 –1883) was the self-given name, of Isabella Baumfree, an African-American [abolitionist](#) and [women's rights](#) activist. Truth was born into [slavery](#) in [New York](#), but escaped with her infant daughter to freedom in 1826. After going to court to recover her son, she became the first black woman to win such a case against a white man. Her best-known extemporaneous speech on gender inequalities, "[Ain't I a Woman?](#)", was delivered in 1851 at the Ohio Women's Rights Convention in [Akron, Ohio](#). During the [Civil War](#), Truth helped recruit black troops for the [Union Army](#); after the war, she tried unsuccessfully to secure [land grants](#) from the [federal government](#) for former slaves.
- it was illegal for states to own guns in every state, but owners gave slaves guns sometimes to protect the crops from animals (e.g. jaguars)
- ****[Davis Bend](#), Mississippi: originally founded by planter Joseph E. Davis as a model [plantation slave](#) community. He and his younger brother [Jefferson Davis](#), future [President](#) of the [Confederate States of America](#), had large plantations about 20 miles south of [Vicksburg](#).
 - He allowed a high degree of self-government for his 350 slaves, provided better nutrition and health and dental care, and created a communal environment.
 - He worked closely with [Benjamin T. Montgomery](#), a literate African slave, whom he allowed to establish a store on the property.
 - In the aftermath of the [American Civil War](#), Davis Bend developed into an autonomous free community when Davis sold the property in 1867 to his former slave Benjamin T. Montgomery. The community continued as a cooperative until the 1880s, but continually falling cotton prices, an economic depression, and hostility from the white community finally caused it to fail.
 - [Isaiah Montgomery](#), Benjamin's son, led many of the residents to a new black community, founding [Mound Bayou](#) in northwest Mississippi. It expanded and thrived through the 1920s.

Tuesday: 2-3:30: Martha Jones

What is Freedom? Women Gender, and Reconstruction

- Obama v. Hillary Clinton (2008)
- Fifteenth Amendment: to the [United States Constitution](#) prohibits the federal and state governments from denying a citizen the [right to vote](#) based on that citizen's "[race](#), [color](#), or previous condition of servitude". It was ratified on February 3, 1870, as the third and last of the [Reconstruction Amendments](#)
- “[Women Are Never Front-Runners](#)” by Gloria Steinem (January 8, 2008)
 - Black men were given the vote a half-century before women of any race were allowed to mark a ballot, and generally have ascended to positions of power, from

the military to the boardroom, before any women (with the possible exception of obedient family members in the latter).

- doesn't address the violence that black men endured after the 15th Amendment was passed
- The abolition and suffrage movements progressed when united and were damaged by division; we should remember that.
 - these movements were actually connected before the Civil War, not necessarily separate
- “[Contested: Rights vs. Rights: An Improbable Collision Course](#)” by Mark Liebovich (January 13, 2008)
 - One bitter case from the 19th century involved a split between the abolitionist Frederick Douglass and the women's rights' pioneer [Elizabeth Cady Stanton](#). Stanton was herself a fervent abolitionist, and a close ally of Douglass, who later confined herself to the cause of women's equality. These ideals would eventually clash, resulting in increasingly divisive rhetoric that reached a harsh climax after Stanton condemned the 15th amendment — which gave black men the right to vote but left out women of all races — as something that would establish “an aristocracy of sex on this continent.”
 - [Elizabeth Cady Stanton](#): Before Stanton narrowed her political focus almost exclusively to women's rights, she was an active [abolitionist](#)
 - referred to “Sambo” in an argument, which was offensive
 - Blacks won the right to vote with the 15th Amendment in 1870; women won theirs with the 19th Amendment, in 1920, a half-century later.
 - makes it seem like all blacks are men
- Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825 – 1911): an [African-American abolitionist](#), [poet](#) and author
 - Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention (1866)
 - “We are all bound up together in one great bundle of humanity, and society cannot trample on the weakest and feeblest of its members without receiving the curse in its own soul. You tried that in the case of the Negro.”
 - “O do not believe that giving the woman the ballot is immediately going to cure all the ills of life. I do not believe that white women are dew-drops just exhaled from the skies. I think that like men they may be divided into three classes, the good, the bad, and the indifferent.”
 - “You white women speak here of rights. I speak of wrongs. I, as a colored woman, have had in this country an education which has made me feel as if I were in the situation of Ishmael, my hand against every man, and every man's hand against me.”

Black Women: Race between Obama & Hillary Clinton

- Donna Brazile: an American author, academic, and [political analyst](#) who is Vice Chairwoman of the [Democratic National Committee](#)
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LzOTfbpGj1s>
- Oprah Winfrey:
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrOpKOrQDsk>
- Condoleezza Rice: an American political scientist and diplomat. She served as the [66th United](#)

- States Secretary of State (2005-2009)
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HeOWnmL-Rbs>
- Michelle Obama
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTFsB09KhqI> (start at minute 7:30)
 - was criticized for wearing a sleeveless dress
 - David Brooks called her arms “[thunder and lightening](#)”
- Hillary Clinton
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=268ncnoitEc> (start at minute 18:48)
 - Harriet Tubman: (1820-1913) was an [African-American abolitionist](#), [humanitarian](#), and [Union spy](#) during the [American Civil War](#). Born into [slavery](#), Tubman escaped and subsequently made more than nineteen missions to rescue more than 300 slaves
 - <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/08/27/did-harriet-tubman-really-say-that/>
- [Black man vs. white woman](#) (Boston Globe, 2008)
 - Race can evoke more visceral, negative associations, the studies show, but attitudes toward women are more inflexible and -- to judge by the current dynamics of the presidential race -- ultimately more limiting.
 - "Gender stereotypes trump race stereotypes in every social science test," says Alice Eagly, a psychology professor at Northwestern University.
 - As Clinton has discovered, gender stereotypes are stickier. Women can be seen as ambitious and capable, or they can be seen as likable, a host of studies have shown, but it's very hard for them to be seen as both -- hence the intense scrutiny and much-debated impact of Clinton's moment of emotional vulnerability in a New Hampshire diner last month.

Wednesday: 9-10:30: Foner

Andrew Johnson, Congress, and the Making of Radical Reconstruction

- [Thaddeus Stevens](#): a member of the [United States House of Representatives](#) from Pennsylvania who was one of the leaders of the [Radical Republican](#) faction of the [Republican Party](#) during the 1860
 - believed that black suffrage is the only answer to reconstruction
 - 1) just, 2) preserve the victory of the union, 3) preserve the republican party majority
- [Freedman's Bureau](#): a [U.S. federal government agency](#) that aided distressed freedmen (freed slaves) in 1865–1872, during the [Reconstruction era of the United States](#)
- [Civil Rights Bill of 1866](#): a [United States federal law](#) that was mainly intended to protect the [civil rights](#) of [African-Americans](#), in the wake of the [American Civil War](#). The Act was enacted by [Congress](#) in 1865 but vetoed by President [Andrew Johnson](#).
 - 1) any person born in the US is a citizen (overturns Dred Scott), 2) lists the rights of citizens: free labor, own property, go to court, testify , 3) it sweeps away dozens of laws, invalidates black codes, 4) describes the penalties for violation of the law
 - Johnson vetoed this bill, saying this law discriminates against white people

- Congress passes the act over the veto over the president
- Amendments:
 - 1865 -- 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery, added to the Constitution.
 - 1868 -- 14th Amendment conferring citizenship added to Constitution.
 - 1870 -- 15th Amendment barring racial discrimination in voting added to Constitution.
- 13th Amendment: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State where they reside.”
 - This did NOT include Native Americans
- [The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924](#), also known as the Snyder Act: granted full U.S. citizenship to America's indigenous peoples, called "Indians" in this Act. (The [Fourteenth Amendment](#) already defined as citizens any person born in the U.S., but only if "subject to the jurisdiction thereof"; this latter clause was thought to exclude certain indigenous peoples.
- 14th Amendment: DID include Native Americans. (Yay!)
- 2013: about 11 million people in the USA who are “illegal immigrants” or don’t have proper papers
 - but children who are born to illegal immigrants ARE citizens. (Yay!)
- Andrew Johnson (April 15, 1865 – March 4, 1869) impeached; Johnson acquitted in 1868

 Wednesday 2-3: [Randall Kennedy](#)

RACE AND THE LAW

- [Civil Rights Bill of 1866](#): a [United States federal law](#) that was mainly intended to protect the civil rights of [African-Americans](#), in the wake of the [American Civil War](#). The Act was enacted by [Congress](#) in 1865 but vetoed by President [Andrew Johnson](#).
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- Different types of rights:
 - [Classic Civil Rights](#): contracting testifying, owning property, suing and being sued
 - [Political Rights](#): voting, be on a jury
 - [Social Rights](#): going to a restaurant, marrying people
- [Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment](#): part of the [Fourteenth Amendment](#) to the [United States Constitution](#). The clause, which took effect in 1868, provides that no [state](#) shall deny to any [person](#) within its [jurisdiction](#) the [equal protection](#) of the [laws](#).

JURIES

- [blacks on juries in the USA](#)
 - *Strauder v. West Virginia*, (1880), was a [United States Supreme Court](#) case about [racial discrimination](#). *Strauder* was the first time that the Court had reversed a state criminal conviction for a violation of a [constitutional provision concerning criminal procedure](#).
 - At the time, [West Virginia](#) excluded [African-Americans](#) from [juries](#). Taylor Strauder was a Black man who, at trial, had been convicted of murder by an all-white jury. Strauder [appealed](#) his conviction, contending that West

Virginia exclusionary policy violated the [Equal Protection Clause](#) of the [Fourteenth Amendment](#) to the [United States Constitution](#).

- While a victory for the rights of black defendants and an important early civil rights case, *Strader v. West Virginia* upheld the right of states to bar women or other classes from juries
- books: The Common Law by [Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.](#) (1881)
- Black Panthers wanted black juries for black defendants
- Even today (2013), The Supreme Court will not say it's unconstitutional if a black defendant has an all-white jury (assuming that no blacks have been “excluded” from serving on a jury.)
- today, people feel comfortable with a multiracial jury

MARRIAGE

- Q: ****Does preventing interracial marriage violate Equal Protection Clause of the 14 Amendment?
 - **** No, because everyone is being treated similarly/equally
- [Loving v. Virginia](#), (1967), was a [landmark civil rights](#) decision of the [United States Supreme Court](#) which invalidated laws prohibiting [interracial marriage](#).
- [Wendell Phillips](#) (1811-1884) was an [American abolitionist](#), advocate for [Native Americans](#), [orator](#) and lawyer
- [Pace v. Alabama](#), (1883), was a case in which the [United States Supreme Court](#) affirmed that Alabama's [anti-miscegenation statute](#) was constitutional. This ruling was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1964 in *McLaughlin v. Florida* and in 1967 in *Loving v. Virginia*.
- **** [miscegenation](#): term comes from 1864, New York election, Democrats tried to get people to dislike Lincoln by getting people to believe that Lincoln was in favor of “amalgamation” and distributed pamphlets with a picture of a black man kissing a black woman and came up with the word “miscegenation” (the blending of peoples)

TRAINS

- [Plessy v. Ferguson](#) (1896), is a [landmark United States Supreme Court](#) decision in the [jurisprudence](#) of the [United States](#), upholding the [constitutionality](#) of state laws requiring [racial segregation](#) in public facilities under the doctrine of “[separate but equal](#)”
 - Plessy was born a free man and was an “[octoroon](#)” (someone of seven-eighths Caucasian descent and one-eighth African descent).
 - ***He was chosen for this because he looked white. He (and others) wanted to show how arbitrary the laws were.
 - The Plessy case was a “a legal fiction” because it pretended that racial segregation was not about stigmatizing, hurting, discrimination, etc.
 - ***consequently, blacks did not have as much power as they did during Reconstruction
- [one-drop rule](#): a historical [colloquial](#) term in the United States for the social classification as [Negro](#) of individuals with any [African](#) ancestry; meaning any person with “one drop of Negro blood” was considered black. The one-drop rule was not adopted as law until the 20th century: first in [Tennessee](#) in 1910 and in [Virginia](#) under the [Racial Integrity Act](#) of 1924 (following the passage of similar laws in several other states).
- blacks WERE in the “white cars” on trains if it were a black woman taking care of a white children

SCHOOLS:

- [Lum v. Rice](#) (1927), is a [United States Supreme Court](#) case in which the Court held that the exclusion on account of race of a child of Chinese ancestry from a state high school did not violate the [Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution](#). The decision effectively approved the exclusion of minority children from schools reserved for whites.
- 1954: Brown v Board of Education
- Thurgood Marshall (1908 – 1993) an [Associate Justice](#) of the [United States Supreme Court](#), serving from 1967- 1991. Marshall was the Court's [first African-American](#) justice. Before becoming a judge, Marshall was a lawyer who was best known for his high success rate in arguing before the Supreme Court and for the victory in [Brown v. Board of Education](#), a decision that [desegregated](#) public schools.

RESTAURANTS:

- blacks did NOT have a constitutional rights to go to a restaurant that is “all-white” because it’s privately owned. This changed 1964 when Congress passes **Civil Rights Act** declaring discrimination based on race illegal.

Thursday: 9-10:30

RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNMENTS

- James K. Greene: black man who became a political leader in Hale County
- “black belt”: a name that refers to soil (in the south), where the plantations were
- [American Slave Narratives](#): former slaves interviewed from 1936-1938
- [Robert Smalls](#):
 - an enslaved African American who, during and after the [American Civil War](#), became a ship's pilot, sea captain, and politician. He freed himself, his crew and their families from slavery on May 13, 1862, by commandeering a Confederate transport ship, the [CSS Planter](#), in Charleston harbor, and sailing it to freedom beyond the Federal blockade.
 - After the [American Civil War](#), he became a politician, elected to the South Carolina State legislature and the [United States House of Representatives](#). His example and persuasion helped convince President [Lincoln](#) to accept African-American soldiers into the Union Army.
- [Nathan Bedford Forrest](#): (1821 – 1877) was a [lieutenant general](#) in the [Confederate Army](#) during the [American Civil War](#). He served as the first Grand Wizard of the [Ku Klux Klan](#)
- [black office holders](#): many were educated, who had been educated by the Freedman’s Bureau, many were of modest means (not rich)
- [carpetbaggers](#): a [pejorative](#) term Southerners gave to Northerners (also referred to as [Yankees](#)) who moved to the South during the [Reconstruction era](#), between 1865 and 1877
 - only about 4,000-5,000
 - they were seen as the dregs of the North (poor), but in reality they were not poor and were welcomed by the south
 - they were seen as wanting to get “the black vote”, but there was not black vote until later!
 - in reality they were often army officers, some were teachers
 - on is [Adelbert Ames](#)

- [scalawags](#): A white Southerner who collaborated with northern Republicans during the Reconstruction, often for personal profit. Southern whites who supported Reconstruction and the Republican Party after the American Civil War.
 - [James L. Alcorn](#): a prominent American political figure in Mississippi during the 19th century. He was a leading southern white Republican during Reconstruction in Mississippi, where he served as governor and U.S. Senator
- [Roscoe Conkling Bruce](#): an African-American educator who was known for stressing the value of practical industrial and business skills as opposed to academic disciplines. Later he administered the Dunbar Apartments housing complex in Harlem, New York City, and was editor in chief of the Harriet Tubman Publishing Company. He went on to Harvard University in 1898
- [Cold Mountain](#): movie (2003): tells the story of a wounded deserter from the Confederate army close to the end of the American Civil War who is on his way to return to the love of his life
- 1867: most blacks were living in the plantation belt (i.e. very segregated)
- the Republican Party during reconstruction was interracial
- Reconstruction Government: wrote new Constitution Acts

Thursday: 11:00-12:00: Foner

- ****some freed black men owned slaves!
- ***a free black person could marry a slave, such as Frederick Douglass
 - ***the status of the child is whatever the mother is (like Judaism!)
- *** with divorce in the 19th century, custody of the child goes to the father
- if someone freed a slave, the law required that the slave leave the state (the states didn't want a growing free black population)
- ****280,000 free blacks in the south before the Civil War
- [Oscar Stanton De Priest](#): an American lawmaker and civil rights advocate who served as a U.S. Representative from Illinois from 1929 to 1935. He was the first African American to be elected to Congress from outside the southern states and the first in the 20th century.
- ***Obama did not win the majority of the white vote in the white vote; McCain & Romney did!
- **** [The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan](#) is a novel published in 1905. It was the second work in the Ku Klux Klan trilogy by Thomas F. Dixon. It was influential in providing the ideology that helped support the revival of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The novel was immediately adapted by its author as a play entitled *The Clansman* (1905) and by D. W. Griffith as the groundbreaking 1915 silent movie [The Birth of a Nation](#).
 - Birth of a Nation premiered at the White House
 - The Supreme Court watch Birth of a Nation
 - Some northern states banned the film
 - Griffin, the writer & director, went to court, claiming freedom of speech, and was found guilty. (??)
 - Q: Should 'Birth of a Nation be banned?'
 - [NAACP's protest letter against it](#)

- [Martin Delany](#) (1812 – 1885) was an [African-American abolitionist](#), journalist, physician, and writer, arguably the first proponent of [American black nationalism](#). He was one of the first three blacks admitted to [Harvard Medical School](#). He became the first African-American field officer in the [United States Army](#) during the [American Civil War](#). Trained as an assistant and a physician, he treated patients during the [cholera](#) epidemics of 1833 and 1854 in Pittsburgh.
- [Ironclad Oath](#): an oath promoted by [Radical Republicans](#) and opposed by President [Abraham Lincoln](#) to limit the political activity of ex-Confederate soldiers and supporters. It enabled a Republican coalition to come to power in ten Southern states during [Reconstruction](#), and was the source of anger on the part of local civic leaders who were prevented from voting or holding office

Thursday 2-3:30: Jones

Women and the Work of War

- ****[Charlotte Forten](#): (1837 – 1914) was an [African-American anti-slavery activist](#), poet, and educator
 - born a free woman, teacher in Salem, MA. and the south
- ****[Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley](#) (1818 – 1907): a former [slave](#) who became a successful seamstress, civic activist and author in [Washington, DC](#).
 - best known as the personal [modiste](#) and [confidante](#) of [Mary Todd Lincoln](#), the [First Lady](#). Keckley had moved to Washington in 1860 after buying her freedom and that of her son in St. Louis.
 - She created an independent business in the capital based on clients who were the wives of the government elite. Among them were [Varina Davis](#), wife of [Jefferson Davis](#); and [Mary Anna Custis Lee](#), wife of [Robert E. Lee](#)
- ****[Susie King Taylor](#) (1848 - 1912) an [African American](#) army nurse; she worked with black Union troops during the [Civil War](#).
 - As the author of *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33d United States Colored Troops, Late 1st S.C. Volunteers*, she was the only African American woman to publish a memoir of her wartime experiences. She was also the first African American to teach openly in a [school](#) for former [slaves](#) in [Georgia](#)
- **** black women writing to Abe Lincoln: literacy, seeing themselves as part of politics, expect a response
 - [example of letter from Hannah Johnson to Abe Lincoln](#)
 - [example of letter from Annie Davis to Abe Lincoln](#)
 - made it to Washington, but not to Lincoln
- political cartoons:
 - [black man and white woman kissing](#) (miscegenation packet)
 - [miscegenation ball](#)
- *** [White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South](#)
 - book by Martha Hodes about consensual relationships between white women & black men

Friday: 9-10:30: Foner

- [KKK](#): promoted white supremacy
 - like Al Qaeda: both terrorist, violent organizations, both get more attention than needed
 - local groups, had other names
 - use violence to intimidate voters and Republican Party
 - school teachers and schools targeted
 - interracial couples targeted
 - organized/led by establish men, but it was young men who perpetrated a lot of the violence
 - [Colfax massacre](#): events that occurred on [Easter Sunday](#), April 13, 1873, in [Colfax, Louisiana](#) during confrontation between opposing political forces of the Republicans and Democrats
 - [The Panic of 1873](#): a [financial crisis](#) which triggered a severe international economic [depression](#) in both Europe and the United States that lasted until 1879, and even longer in some countries
 - ****consequences:
 - it diverts attention from Reconstruction to the financial crisis
 - whenever there is a crisis, people want to throw out whomever is in power, so Democrats gain power over Republicans
 - [Freedman's Savings Bank](#): a private corporation chartered by the [U.S. government](#) to encourage and guide the economic development of the newly emancipated [African-American](#) communities in the post-[Civil War](#) period.
 - [The Civil Rights Act of 1875](#): a [United States federal law](#) enacted during the [Reconstruction Era](#) that guaranteed [African Americans](#) equal treatment in [public accommodations](#), [public transportation](#), and prohibited exclusion from [jury service](#). The [Supreme Court](#) decided the act was unconstitutional in 1883.
 - Social Darwinism beliefs prevented people from wanted to help the Reconstruction
 - [Ku Klux Klan Act](#) of 1871: act empowered the [President](#) to suspend the writ of [habeas corpus](#) to combat the [Ku Klux Klan](#) (KKK) and other white supremacy organizations during the [Reconstruction Era](#)
 - [Plessy v. Ferguson](#) (1896), is a [landmark United States Supreme Court](#) decision in the jurisprudence of the [United States](#), upholding the [constitutionality](#) of state laws requiring [racial segregation](#) in public facilities under the doctrine of "[separate but equal](#)"
 - [sharecropping](#): a system of agriculture in which a landowner allows a tenant to use the land in return for a share of the crops produced on the land
 - ***problems is that it's a [cycle of poverty](#) and the sharecropper will be in debt
 - ***** blacks from the south did NOT travel from the south to the north because of racism. There were not jobs for blacks in the north.
 - *****blacks start moving en masse (hundreds of thousands) to the north in in 1914, which is the beginning of the WWI, because the US limited immigration from other countries at the beginning of the war
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Friday: 11-12: Foner in 'Rare Book & Manuscript Library

- *** KKK with white hats, etc. is from WWI on... they didn't have these organized outfits in white in the late 1800s or early 1900s. [Photo of KKK from late 1800's](#).
 - *** The Civil War is the first war in the US where we have photographs from it. However, some photos may have been manipulated in the sense that photographers laid out bodies in certain ways, etc.
 - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Photographers_of_the_American_Civil_War
 - [Minstrel Shows](#): an American entertainment consisting of comic skits, variety acts, dancing, and music, performed by white people in [blackface](#) or, especially after the [Civil War](#), [black people](#) in blackface
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Friday 2-4: Lesson Plans:

- *** Frederick Douglass: [WHY SHOULD A COLORED MAN ENLIST? Douglass' Monthly, April, 1863](#)
 - ***credibility of a secondary source
 - Q: What's the role/responsibility of movies to be accurate?
 - [The Dunning School](#): a group of historians who shared a [historiographical school of thought](#) regarding the [Reconstruction](#) period of [American history](#) (1865–1877). The Dunning School approach dominated scholarly and popular depictions of the era from about 1900 to the 1950s.
 - The school was named after [Columbia University](#) professor [William Archibald Dunning](#) (1857–1922), whose writings and those of his PhD students comprised the main elements of the school. He supported the idea that [the South](#) had been hurt by Reconstruction and that American values had been trampled by the use of the U.S. Army to control state politics. He contended that [freedmen](#) had proved incapable of self-government and thus had made [segregation](#) necessary. Dunning believed that allowing [blacks](#) to vote and hold office had been "a serious error".^[2] As a professor, he taught generations of scholars, many of whom expanded his views of the evils of Reconstruction. The Dunning School and similar historians dominated the version of Reconstruction-era history in textbooks into the 1960s. Their generalized adoption of deprecatory terms such as [scalawags](#) for southern white Republicans and [carpetbaggers](#) for northerners who worked and settled in the South, have persisted in historical works
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- ****List of offensive/racist movies from 20th century from [Bamboozled](#) (last 5 minutes a 2-hour movie)
 - The film concludes with a long [montage](#) of racially insensitive and demeaning clips of black characters from [Hollywood](#) films of the first half of the 20th century. Some of the films used in the sequence are [The Birth of a Nation](#), [The Jazz Singer](#), [Gone with the Wind](#), [Babes in Arms](#), [Holiday Inn](#), Ub Iwerks' cartoon [Little Black Sambo](#), Walter Lantz's cartoon [Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat](#), the [Screen Songs](#) short [Jingle Jangle Jungle](#), the [Merrie Melodies](#) short [All This and Rabbit Stew](#), and, from the [Hal Roach](#) comedy [School's Out](#), [Our Gang](#) kids Allen "Farina" Hoskins and Matthew "Stymie" Beard.
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- peonage: A system by which debtors are bound in servitude to their creditors until their debts are paid
- collateral: security - guarantee
- prostrate: Lying stretched out on the ground with one's face downward
- reprisal: retaliation
- salutary: Producing good effects; beneficial
- carte blanche: Complete freedom to act as one wishes or thinks best.
- piedmont: A hilly region of the eastern US, between the Appalachians and the coastal plain
- quantlet: an experience in order to reach a goal.
- libertarian: A person who advocates civil liberty.
- colloquialism: a word/ phrase that is used in conversational or informal language but not in formal speech/writing
- preamble: A preliminary or preparatory statement; an introduction (preface - introduction - prelude)
- due process: fair treatment through the normal judicial system, esp. as a citizen's entitlement.
- illicit: illegal
- pernicious: Having a harmful effect, esp. in a gradual or subtle way
- trope: A figurative or metaphorical use of a word or expression
- ratify an amendment: Sign or give formal consent to (contract, or agreement), making it officially valid.
- jurisdiction: the extent of the power
- jurisprudence: a legal system, law
- pundit: An expert in a particular subject who is frequently called on to give opinions about it to the public
- sambo: *offensive*. A black person
- aristocracy: the highest class in certain societies, esp. those holding hereditary titles or offices
- depraved: morally corrupt
- anathema: something or someone that one vehemently dislikes
- insoluble: impossible to solve
- underscore: emphasize, highlight
- historiography: The study of historical writing.
- sedition: rebellion - mutiny - revolt - riot - insurgency
- Cotton Belt: a region of the southern United States where cotton was the predominant cash crop from the late 18th century into the 20th century
- avant garde: any creative group active in the innovation and application of new concepts and techniques in a given field (especially in the arts, culture, and politics)
- Eugenics: The science of improving a human population by controlled breeding to increase the occurrence of desirable heritable characteristics
- social darwinism: various ideologies that seek to apply biological concepts associated with Darwinism or other evolutionary theories to sociology, economics and politics, often with the assumption that conflict or cooperation between groups in society leads to social progress as superior groups outcompete inferior ones.
- there is no such things as scientific race
- Rudyard Kipling: “the white man’s burden” poem: white people have to rule over non-white

- people (literal or sardonic)
- chickens come home to roost: You have to face the consequences of your mistakes or bad deeds.
 - vagrant: A person without a settled home or regular work who wanders from place to place and lives by begging
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Lecture Notes

Eric Foner:

- Looks to the NYTimes to see how Reco. Legacy is with us every day. Lowest social mobility is the old cotton belt/kingdom. Still the place where people are the poorest—History is imprinted on our society today.
- Focuses on the concept of freedom throughout history and its meaning of all senators only 8 who served were African American. Only two serve now. Two/8 were during Reco.

Reco is important in looking at the politics of history—The politics of a time affects the historian. Difference between scholarly history and pop history is the understanding that it's constantly changing. Revisionism is the objective. EH carr—if you want to study history study the historian. The present gives us the question we're interested in. The answers have to come out of the history.

African American women became important based on what historian started recognizing their importance.

Misconceptions:

-40s-60s view of Reconstruction. Was the Dunning School (see *Birth of a Nation*). Dubois's *Story of Black Reconstruction* was an opposing voice. Dunning view locked the white south into a view of race relations for the 20th Cent.

Therefore the south was justified in taking the ballot from blacks.

-Another misconception Recon was imposed on the south from the outside.

-Idea of a solidly democratic south. (except Coolidge won in south to beat al smith (catholic) *The Tragic Era* was written to remind folks what would happen if Republicans won.

1988—Foner created a new narrative.

New narrative of war: Mindless slaughter. Emancipation is downplayed. Persistence of slavery etc. implies Recon. Never happened. Historiography—the changing nature of the study of history over time.

The History:

Slavery—Go back to the Am Rev. Slavery deeply embedded in our history. In all states. More embedded in south. ½ southern pop was slaves in southern colonies. Slavery course of British Empire in the 18th century. 12 mil crossed Atlantic 1500—1860
At least 10 million were Africans. Only 4-500K came to the N. Am colonies.

The south was the most powerful slave society in the modern world.
Pt—slave and free are not the only two categories. Slavery is the end of the spectrum however. b/c of industrialization.—ind. Servitude and apprenticeship start to fall away. The dichotomy becomes sharper as time goes on.

--Slavery was a racial institution, which separates it out from other forms of oppression. Unique because of the racial element and the plantation system. Prior to plantation System slaves were household servants.

Slaves as property—By 1860 Prime field hand costs \$2,000.00. The 4 million slaves as property 1860 \$4Billion. Value of Banks, factories, and RRs in the US all together was \$3.6Billion.

Brooks Bothers started as manufacturers of “Negro Cloth” Rough clothes for slaves.

1860 more slaves in W. hemisphere than there’d ever been. Slavery was not dying out. Brazil was another major slave economy (more routes out of slavery).
Slavery is embedded in the constitution. 2or3 clauses

Fugitive slave clause—Article 4 section 1 Clause 3
“Right of Recaption” – Right to reclaim borrowed property. Extraterritoriality makes slavery an institution throughout the nation. Only way to really get free is to get to Canada or Mexico, or Indian tribes(why they tired to get the Seminole out of Florida). No repatriation. Slavery is illegal in Britain.

Article 1 section 9—Importation

Who are citizens?

--Free blacks can vote in some states in the 1820s and 30s (meeting property qualifications).

--NJ women could vote until 1807 (meeting property qualifications)

- Race replaces class by 1860 blacks could vote in only 5 states.
- Dred Scott—No black person can be a citizen (whites only)

ABOLITIONIST—Abolition of slavery and elevation to full citizenship. A nation severed from race—all people get equal rights. Interracial, Intergendered, Put forward a different vision of what America should be. Recon is an attempt to implement the abolitionist vision.

How do we get from Dred Scott to 14th Amendment? – The Civil War--

Recon begins with Emancipation Proclamation—starts the process
EP guaranteed the end of slavery if north won war.

Country is trying to come to terms with slavery. What status will these 4 million people have?

Slavery—Political system, social system, economic system—labor etc. All these are up for grabs with end of slavery.

200K black men serve in army and navy. That puts the topic of citizenship on the table.

13th Amendment does not have a state action clause—abolishes it every level and possible circumstance. Sweeps away dozens of state laws. Congress has power to enforce—Feds have power.

Lincoln's plan—didn't have a single plan. Plan was to win the war. Couldn't really put together a blue print while in the middle of the war.

--Best known Dec. 1863—proclamation of recon. In any state of the confed. where 10% of the prewar voting pop. Approve a new constitution, that state can come back into the union (but must abolish slavery) other than that you can regulate the transition from slavery to freedom. Trying to get states to leave the CSA. Pledge of future loyalty to the Union and you're back in AND you won't lose any other property.

- Again this is an attempt to win the war by getting states to leave the CSA.

- Only worked in LA. New constitution in LA abolishing slavery (no other rights though). Significant class of free blacks. Offspring of relationship between French/Slaves. Offspring became free, educated by their fathers 10-12K of these men. In AL's last speech—He publicly says Black people want to vote (Thus making it a consideration) I myself think that some of them (LA's Mulattoes and "those that serve our cause"). Greatness of Lincoln was his capacity to grow and evolve. Outgrows his original racism. Had Sumner stand by him during the speech—a statement to the radicals.

- TN Johnson made military gov. when state falls. No leniency. Lincoln: "If it works, that's fine with me."

- Right to issue the Eman Proc. War Powers Act.
- Slavery always end as the result of War. Always offer freedom to slaves (Lord Dunmore). Also—Look to the 2nd Seminole war—Give up now and you can take the slave that have run to you with you to the west.
- EP—borders states, S.LA (already underway) and TN (Johnson's got his own Recon plan underway and says that he needs not to end slavery at that time.

Declaration of Independence past the pre-amble—one of the things TJ puts in is an anti-slavery complaint. Two reasons VA wanted to restrict the importation:

- a. Socially—fear of becoming like the Caribbean cultures
- b. Economic—Worry of flooding of the markets decreasing value of slaves.

SC—No we can't stop importation (Because the Brits have occupied SC and freed 1000s of slaves)

LOOK UP CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JEFFERSON AND HIS NEPHEW RANDALL.

TJ—Only supports Colonization. 1. Can't forget the injustices of the past
2. Prevent "amalgamation" of the races.

TJ's plans—1. Ship all slaves to Africa & send ships to Europe to pick up poor Europeans to replace slaves (Bad Idea)
2. Send only infants let all of 'adults die off eventually.

Dunning school part of a larger intellectual world—Eugenics, Social Darwinism.

Race is deeply embedded in sociological thought, political thought, etc. Review of Race not until post WWII. Up until then racial hierarchy was the rule of the day.

Reconstruction and The Web:
Martha S. Jones—

Gateways:

- Historical Institutes: gilder-Lehrman
- Educator Collectives: Historty Matters
- Museum of the Modern Image—good history of campaign ads.

DAY 2:

Start with Sherman's meeting with black ministers and speaks to Garrison Frazier who defines slavery and freedom.

This war is the *Nation's* punishment for slavery—we are all complicit (Lincoln)

Field order 15 reverberates throughout the south. Opens up this question of what is freedom?

- John Winthrop
- Natural liberty—the liberty of animals
- Christian Liberty—Living up to and internalizing a set of moral standards

the concept of freedom is contested and fluid

Reco is a moment when freedom moves from being a matter of personal ideal to a matter of public debate and policy.

James Garfield speech in Reconstruction about “What is freedom?”

“A society built on slavery has to be changed to be a society based on freedom.

Hahn-A Nation Under Our Feet. Book on Black political history—the politics of slaves. Case: Slaves had political ideas. Slaves came out of slavery with ideas. Concept of freedom came out of slavery.

Organizational strategy for students

3 way contest of looking at freedom:

former slaves-----Southern whites----The victorious North

(Former) Slaves—For them even simple stuff as clothes to movement. Day to day etiquette of social interaction? Some demanded to be addressed formally. Tremendous amount of violence in 1865—personal not organized like the KKK. See the Texas murder register maintained by Freedmen’s Bureau.

Desire for autonomy

Frazier tells Sherman we want to live by ourselves

Lynch says we need to live together.

The way in which the family was under controlled by white people. So first objective was to legitimize/Legalize their marriages. FB records and black press is replete with ads taken out by people looking to reconstitute their families.

Recent scholarship on Recon has broken up the experience of slaves by looking at both male and female experience.

Slavery has unnaturally removed the man from his traditional role. And elevated women. The ethos was a man supporting his family—slavery changed this because women were working.

Emancipation saw women removed from the fields. A large # wanted to stay home and raise kids and remove themselves from situations where they might be abused by white men.

- Women’s role? Freedmen’s Saving Bank had married women setting up their own accounts.

- Another issue: labor of children? Who decides?

- Role of the Black Church as a key independent organization pillar of black community .

After war—separation out from bi racial churches and rise of autonomous black led institutions. Only institution completely controlled by black people—also the

avenue for African American leaders to get their start. The Exodus Story was the pivot for the black community and saw the war as their Exodus moment. It's a moral exodus, not a geographical exodus.

*Dissension: DuBois did not see black ministers as the talented 10th.

- Tremendous desire for education after war was another critical element of what freedom meant.
- Higher education: Oberlin's created. Black colleges created in the South during Reco. First purpose of these schools was to train teachers for the public schools. Played a big role in black life with churches.

Economic Autonomy—

Desire for land is a common phenomenon in all post slavery societies. Day to day independence means you have direct control of your labor. Own your own land determine pace and amount of work, etc. Many thought they were getting land because of order 15.

1865 Congress creates Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and *Abandoned Land*.

Land is just there and is taken by the army. The feds started taxing land to pay for the war. Seized land for non payment of taxes. The Bureau had a lot of land assigned to it. Johnson in Summer of '65 ordered land returned to owners as long as they took an oath of loyalty.

Close to 60000 folks had moved into "Sherman Land" had to give it up unless they had officially bought it.

Creation of Labor contracts by FB.

Southern Whites—Particularly the planters: They wanted the plantation system reborn. We have grow cotton and the only way to do it is with black labor. They wanted a situation as close to slavery as possible. Freedom didn't mean social equality, or political equality, certainly not economic because if they had their own land how were they going to work on plantations.

*Presidential Reconstruction: Johnson allows new state govs to be run by all whites and former planters, which led to the creation of the Black Codes.

Labor provisions were the key thing: Required all black men to sign a labor contract at the beginning of each year to work for the year. Didn't do that and he was a vagrant. A man who owned his own land and worked for himself would be considered a vagrant and arrested. Free blacks in cities (artisans and craftsmen) have to pay large fees to avoid vagrancy.

Black Codes erased Dec. '66 in Civ. Rights Bill. *OT allowed to make laws that apply only to one race. (?)*

The North-- The abolition of slavery was not a purpose, but a consequence of the war which was welcome and eventually it became an explicit purpose. By the end it was completely shared in the North that abolition was the purpose. Racism was weakened by the service of black soldiers. By end of the war black suffrage worked its way toward the table.

The north saw freedom was the right of free labor—to compete, to rise in the social scale. The opportunity has to be there. Black Codes violate that. A free labor society is progressive, diversified, and maximizes productivity.

Slavery is a drag on the economy. The world of Lincoln in the 1850s was the ideal free labor society—small farms, one big industrial city with many industries, etc.

North sees what's happening in south and says we gotta do something about what's happening down there.

Reasons opposed to land redistribution:

- Violation of rights of property
- Just giving them land will not build work ethic
- Disruption of plantation system—Cotton is still king. And get the economy going again.

But the gov. was giving land under the homestead act in '63?

Then the Southern Homestead Act in '66? Blacks get first dibs. Problem: The best land is already gone in the south. Not much help.

Before the war, southern govs made money through taxes on slaves, but not on any other property. That's why poor small farmers were cool with the system.

By late 18th/early 20th there was land owned by blacks—mostly in upper south.

Under Radical Reconstruction: SC was only state to create a state land commission. The commission bought up land from strapped white planters, and unclaimed land. Sold to blacks (and whites) at low interest, long term loans (Glory Field).

What is Freedom?: Women, Gender, and Reconstruction— Sarah S. Jones

Objectives:

Debates around the terms of the 15th. Looking at Dem. Primary contest between Hilary Clinton and Barack Obama

What did Freedom look like from perspective of African American women.

1/8/08 "Women are Never Front Runners" by Gloria Steinem NYTimes

“...Black men were given the vote a half-century before women of any race were allowed to mark a ballot, and generally have ascended to positions of power, from the military to the boardroom, before any women (with the possible exception of obedient family members in the latter).”

Black Men were not given the vote, and once the 15th was passed soon thereafter systems were created to prevent them from voting. Black women the same.

Dangerous moment in that EC Stanton flirted with the white supremacist Dems as they were trying to expand their base since she was opposed to the 15th along racist lines.

There was a rupture at this point in the valences of race inform those two coalitions: NWSA & AWSA

Tendency of popular op ed writers commentators etc. tend to look at all blacks as men and women as white.

1866 Frances Ellen Watkins Harper—"We are all bound up together...." She acknowledges the compromise of the 15th, and spend the rest of her life fighting for women's rights in politics.

Race, Gender, and Political Culture—

Oprah, Donna Brazile, Michelle O, Condeleeza Rice, Hilary--- Video clips. All speaking and presenting images and ideas of the merger of women and black futures together.

Hilary evoking Harriet Tubman was a magical moment reflecting this being all bound up together. Except she ascribed inaccurate quotes to Tubman.

Day III: Johnson and Reconstruction

Delaware and MD still held on to slaves up until Dec. '65. Slave societies don't voluntarily give up their slaves.

History—The very inclusion of fact is based on interpretation

The Constitution—On ticket because he was strong unionist from the south. Only one to keep his seat in the senate after secession. "I will be your moses..."—A Johnson. Radicals liked him because his staunch approach. He appealed to the legions of loyal white southerners who'd been dragged into the war against their will.

Johnson started poorer than Lincoln. Rose up through politics and drive. But unlike Lincoln didn't have the flexibility of mind. Intolerant, stubborn, narrow minded, deeply deeply racist. Criticism was disloyalty.

Johnson could not conceive of any justice for blacks.

All about the Yeoman farmer

- His plan: excludes the planter class unless pardoned (so yeomen can take over)
- Only whites vote

Things fall apart. All old planters get elected come back to power in the south.

This is happening while congress is not in session. Election in 64 Nov. to Dec. 65.

KY only state doesn't ratify 13-15 amendments.

Radicals were not the majority of republicans. Moderates were. **But radicals had clear policy: Equal civil/political rights and federal protection of those rights.**

Stevens: "Black suffrage is essential"

1. It is just
2. The only way to preserve the victory of the Union
3. It will preserve the republican party majority

Moderates want to work with Johnson—in early '66. FB bill—extend life. Fund it for four years.

Up until then it had been under the auspices of the Army which is where the money came to fund it.

Johnson's Veto of FB bill—Congress is not complete so can't pass a bill.

Civ. rights bill of 1866—1. Anyone born in the US is citizen (main purpose: overturns Dred Scott)

3. Lists the rights all citizens enjoy. No state law can discriminate among citizens in the enjoyment of these rights. Whiteness goes from exclusionary to a baseline—if whites enjoy it then all enjoy it.
4. Sweeps away all laws based on race.
5. Describes penalties for violation

Veto language: Elevates black people at the expense of white people. Violates rights of states. But Congress (see 13th amend) has power to enforce...

Overridden. First piece of leg. To get the override.

--Repubs had to be united

14th—Each section was the result of a series of compromises section 4—don't question the debt. Ignore debts of confederacy and confederates (no repayment for loss of property)

3. no one's denied the vote, but denied office if before the war they served in office before the war and then went with the confederacy. Unless 2/3 majority says they're back in. (If you join the Republicans, then it's OK).

2. States determine who votes and can eliminate right to vote. But there is a penalty for excluding people's rights to vote. Males are mentioned because denying women the vote was not illegal. Convolutioned way around 1. Black suffrage and 2. The possibility of female suffrage. Led to a considerable negative reaction by the women's suffrage movement.

1. Unlike the civ rights act. This did not have specifics but principles. Bingham knew it had to be open and non specific. That's why section 5 says congress has power to enforce. Reservation Indians excluded. 1924 all native Americans are made citizens. Also excluded children fathered by occupying armies.

This is a new principle that redefines America.

The US is the only nation that has jus soli.

The constitution does not give citizens the right to vote. It determines who can not be deprived the right to vote.

The bill of rights have come to be “incorporated” into the constitution by the Supreme Court through the 14th amendment.

What is equal protection of the laws—Segregation? Affirmative action? Equality doesn’t exist in the constitution until the 14th, section 1—Constitution is rewritten. Going from “Congress shall make no law” (Bill of rights) to “Congress has the power”.

14th has nothing to do with the right to vote. If 2/3 of cong and ¾ states ratify it, it’s a law. Johnson says the southern states should not ratify the 14th. All except TN reject it. Elections of 1866 republicans sweep to an even bigger majority. It’s the intransigence of AJ that has pushed Congress in the radical direction.

March of 1867—reco act. Military districts preserve order and register new voters all adult men except for those barred from office under the 14th amendment. Old rulers excluded from reco process. Set up new state conventions new governments and equal suffrage. Johnson then went about doing all he could to support southern whites.

15th eliminates racial qualifications, but does not eliminate other ways to deny the vote—poll taxes, literacy tests, etc.

Voter ids—disparate impact is an argument.

Shatters the old alliance between the women’s movement and the old radical abolitionists. Angelina Grimke: Abolition movement was the “school of human rights.” 15th was the (as Douglass said) the negro’s hour. Women said no it’s a matter of Principle as was the abolition movement. 1870—American anti slavery society dissolves, declaring victory. But guys like Wendell Phillips says now we gotta keep working on it. Women’s mvmt—AWSA, and NWSA split. AWSA--Women’s interests have been sacrificed, therefore they need their own mvmt and we will ally with anyone who favors women’s suffrage—made for strange bedfellows NWSA—say, no we’ll stick with the old abolitionists. By 1919 the mvmt sacrifices black women. Discriminatory laws affecting black men will also affect black women.

The impeachment of Johnson—Needed 2/3 of the senate to convict. Lawyers convinced members of congress that he’ll behave himself for 8 months.

Reco. act of 1867 shifts the battle to the south.

During 30 years after war the national narrative goes thusly: North was right during the war slavery is bad and fought to end it, even though the south fought gallantly. The south was right in Reconstruction.

Randall Kennedy— Looking at Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Civil Rights Act of 1866. Does not regulate political rights, social rights.
Juries—Southern legislatures applied laws that did not cover race—Proxies.
--Practice racial segregation without actually saying it—indirect racial discrimination.

Reeves v. Virginia—def wanted at least one black person. SC said no, it's wrong to *exclude* someone because of their race. BUT, people can't be on the jury *because* of their race.

Marriage—Biggest issue regarding equal protection because it meant, as Jefferson called it, Amalgamation.

See Pace v. Alabama—AL had two sets of laws one for intra racial sex relations, and another for inter racial relations—
Segregation statutes and laws were all about fear of mixing race sexually.
1967—Loving v. Comm of VA. Violating one of 16 states' miscegenation laws.

Miscegenation origins of the word—pres. Election of 1864. Dems created myth that Lincoln was in favor of “amalgamation”. Pamphlet created pushing the idea. Just to make sure they make the famous picture of black man kissing a white woman

Misser(blending) + genus (people).

Gong Wang v. Mississippi—where does the Chinese kid go to school?
State gets to decide.

Difference between Plessey and Brown—A change in consciousness.
Marshall et al had to show how the black kids were getting the short end of the stick.
Plessey theory—This law was not about hurting anyone. Racial separation is innocent. Plessey and his ilk are imagining things. They *think* they're being oppressed.

Brown—Education had grown significantly. Questions were asked about the deal kids were getting.

Factors:

Browder v. Gale is the case that allowed the Montgomery Bus Boycotters to prevail.
Truman integrates armed services 1948.
Cal. State SC overturns Cal. Miscegenation laws 1948.

Why choose Homer Plessey—His crew wanted to show the stupidity of the race line. Wanted to make race look arbitrary.

One last point—What is a state actor when invoking the Eq. prote. Clause of the 14th?

Day IV: Radical Reconstruction Governments

Who was involved, what did they do, how successful they were.

James K. Green Grew up in the black belt (called such because of the excellent quality of the soil)

Becomes leader of Repubs in Hale County and leader of the Union League. Also leader of a labor union, organized a black Militia Unit (after a freedman was shot to death in Greensboro).

Over 2000 black office holders once radical reconstruction got under way.

African Americans did not “control” govs in the south. That’s a myth. There was no true “black rule”.

Old Dunning School Accounts of black office holders. Pilloried in the lit. of Dunning school—ignorant and incompetent and unfit. Perpetuated by “Birth of a Nation’s” representation of SC’s legislature, where there was a black majority.

Women were engaged in the public sphere. Only political office was post mistress.

Political Mobilization--Even before the end of the war there were mass meetings of African Americans mostly in cities. But after the war and during rad reco it showed up in rural areas.

- Union Leagues Clubs—Represented the wealthiest and poorest Americans. The are political gathering places and represent the mobilization of black political leadership.

- Courage to enter politics—often met with violence. See Foner: Freedom’s Lawmakers. Of the 1500 elected officials 35 were assassinated.

- Because of ostracism there were more and more dependence on \$\$ made in office (led to corruption for white and black)

- By 1870s more and more former slaves were being elevated to office having

received some education.

--Hiram Revels—First black senator (born free in NC. Attended Knox College) During war—Chaplain of a black regiment. Worked for the FB in Mississippi

--Ovit Gregory. Fluent in Sp & Fr. Alabama

--Mifflin and Jonathan Gibbs (black Carpet Baggers). b. Philly. -CA—

--Robert Smalls—slave in SC, steals ship, surrenders it to the union navy and becomes hero, ends up running the political machine of Beaufort SC

--Richard Griggs. Mississippi. Former Slave. Sold 18 times. One owner being Nathan Bedford Forrest. (most statues in state of TN).

•In SC and LA—political leaders emerged due to large free black population

E Merton Coulter, History of the South. “The negroes were fearfully unprepared to occupy positions of rulership,’ and black office holding was ‘the most spectacular and exotic development in government in the history of white civilization...(and the) longest to be remembered, shuddered at, and execrated”

Historian [Eric Foner](#) wrote: "Anti-Reconstruction scholars faithfully echoed Democratic propaganda of the post-Civil War years. 'The Negroes,' wrote E. Merton Coulter in 1947, 'were fearfully unprepared to occupy positions of rulership,' and black officeholding was 'the most spectacular and exotic development in government in the history of white civilization...(and the) longest to be remembered, shuddered at, and execrated.'" ¹³

During Recon. The backbone of the southern Repub. Party were black voters. But they knew they needed white members for legitimacy and success.

--Carpetbaggers (not a lot of ‘em. But did wield power in Republican party because of their connections to the north)—myth (because of the bag). Classism in the image indicated they were poor. Also seen as opportunists to ally themselves with blacks. But most were middle class or upper. Originally welcomed in South because they were bringing \$\$ to invest. They were also coming to introduce a free labor system. Myth that they were coming for office to take advantage of the black vote since blacks weren’t voting until ‘67. Carpetbaggers most influential in SC and LA.

--Scalawags—Southern born Republicans. Largest population of white supporters of the Repub. Party. Unusual Ex: Alcorn of Miss. Knew he had to ally with Republicans since they were the only source of \$\$. We (whites) have to have a “harnessed revolution”. Need to take the lead or be swept away.

--Common Scalawags—Upcountry whites—poorer whites. It was a class issue. They hate the rebels, but face a dilemma. Their first aim is to disenfranchise ex confederates. Gov. Brownlow says take the “ironclad oath” of past and future loyalty to the Union. Blacks opposed this, they want *universal* manhood suffrage. By 1867 the yeoman face a dilemma—accept

black suffrage which is not a problem due to geography. The two populations are separated. Blacks are in plantation belt.

--Suspension of debt in GA. Congress rejects that constitution. Gov. Brown says we need that to keep the poor white vote. The idea that Reco. Was doomed from the start might come from the constant struggle to maintain republican leaders in office.

Reco. Gvts.— Most counties with local black office holders are in richest parts of the south (black belt)

All southern states '67-'68 wrote new constitutions.

--(most significant)-State supported pub. Schools represented the expansion of the state since expansion of population. Separate schools were set up

--White parents not want kids at school w/black kids

--Black parents wanted black teachers.

--Education was paramount to blacks.

--NOLA (due to black desire for “public rights”) fully integrated school system.

--Economic modernization was seen as the way to increase economic opportunity for freedmen. RR investment.

--Challenges—getting northern investment. South was seen as riskier than the west because of its instability. But can't make the leap that corruption was caused by black suffrage. Corruption was rife all over the nation.

Lien laws. Laborers have first lien—who does and doesn't get paid.

THE democratic/republican SHIFT

1940s start with new deal

1964 Civil Rights Act and the Goldwater campaign.

1968 Nixon was the father of the “Southern Strategy”—Law and order, crime in the streets, etc. By the 1970s significant inroads into the white south.

John R. Lynch—Prof. photographer. He is a congressman into the 1880s. Lives into 30s.

Martha S. Jones—The role of Family History in understanding history.

Fannie Miller Williams b.1863 in KY

Looking at sketch from Harry Simmons sketchbook and diary.

Labor—Four washerwomen on banks of Mississippi. Nothing new about the labor done by women. Did they have contracts? Working together, they start to talk about the nature of their work and then the terms of their labor.

Charlotte Forten—Teacher left from Salem, MA. To the Sea Islands of Georgia. Learns to carry a gun in her skirts. Has to develop entrepreneurial skills. Takes a de facto leadership role. Skills and obligations of post war southern teaching transform her and other women teachers.

Elizabeth Keckley—Helps found the Contraband Relief Association

Devoted to relief of former slaves gathered in refugee camps. Organizer, raises money, goods, and supplies to develop network of far reaching relief organizations.

Susie King Taylor—b. GA. Liberates herself when war presents opportunity. Attaches herself to husband's Union regiment to aid and support CTA in his unit. Ends up being formerly hired. Another example of how (the)war opens up opportunity for women and other marginalized groups to assert themselves.

Women and military service—women felt themselves invested in. Hannah Johnson (free woman in Buffalo) example of women who are literate and are even feeling like it's OK to write to Lincoln. She is an Example of women who see themselves as members of the body politic. Part of the transformation.

Gender and sexuality enter politics—Miscegenation appears in 1864 as a democratic election scheme against Lincoln and the Republicans.

The Miscegenation Ball

http://amhistory.si.edu/petersprints/lithograph.cfm?id=325557&mode=normal&Keywords=sept&Results_Per=10

Harper's 1868—The Colored Sorosis (image) image of black women out of place as buffoon.

The Church—Struggle for ordination. All couched in the rhetoric of Women's rights. Right to vote for and hold church offices.

DAY V: The End of the Reconstruction

Rise of Violence—Endemic in South. Originally, unorganized local altercations. KKK—Organized, but Really local groups and not all had KKK name. White Leagues, Knights of the White Camellia. All set out to use violence to intimidate local officials (black and white) and organizers of Reconstruction Govts. Violence directed at teachers (black and white), schools, interracial couples, folks disputing contracts, etc. Overarching thing: Reestablish white supremacy.

Violence spread from individual acts to mass events. Actions carried out by younger men, but organized logistics handled by the members in high standing of

the the community. There was also tacit approval by rest of white community. Colfax massacre 1873 in Colfax, LA. Arose from an election. Black militia moved into town and exchanged fire with white mob. Eventually blacks surrender and are massacred.

Cruikshank v. US is the cast that comes out of this event.

Mobilization against the Klan. Texas Rangers were created to hunt KKK. But most state and local leadership too weak to

1871—Enforcement Acts. KKK Acts—pushed the legal aspects of r reconstruction as far as it can constitutionally go. KKK crimes are federal crimes. Normally those had been state crimes. Murder was federal if it was to deprive someone of a federally guaranteed right.. If it still gets out of hand the President can declare Martial Law, suspend right of Habeas Corpus. Grant does this in SC. Sends in fed troops, in AL also send in fed marshalls to do the same.

IRONY—Klan members run to Canada to get away from feds just like runaway slaves.

1872- Most peaceful election of the time. But also the time the Liberal Republican Party broke from the Rep. party.

--Free Trade

--Best Men (clean out gvt.) classist—"take the vote out of the hands of the poor and ignorant"

White southerners appealed to these elitist northerners by saying the Rec. Governments are corrupt because the best men can't get in office.

Lib. Repubs—nominate Greeley. And Dems. Get behind him. Greeley gets no electoral votes. Dies before electoral college.

PANIC OF 1873—Bubbles and speculation. 1873-1878. Reconstruction tragedy: The failure of Freedman's Savings Bank. The board started speculating with depositor's money.

For first time in 30 years, Slavery and aftermath (reconstruction) are no longer the primary conversation in the nation. Economic concerns supersede social/political concerns. Midterm elections of 1874 Dems take over House (on a throw the bums out fervor). Stopped funding the army unless they were removed from supporting black people.

Civil Rights Act of 1875 passed during the lame duck session of the last Repub. Dominated gvt.

1883—law declared unconstitutional due to no state action.

Moving away from notion of equality philosophically in north. James S. Pike publishes The Prostrate State. Blacks a running amok, SC gvt is a mess. Good, well born, educated men need to be put back into office.

This parallels the rise of Social Darwinism. To assist the folks at the bottom is to mess with the natural order.

Legal decimation of Reconstruction

Slaughterhouse cases—LA—Based on public health concerns. White butchers sue under the 14th as a violation of their liberty (free labor). Nothing to do with black people. It becomes essential in SC jurisprudence.

Cruickshank case—2 perps are indicted for murder and convicted in fed court in NOLA. Appeal to USSC. The decision was to overturn it because this was really supposed to be done at the state courts and not in fed. Crim. Action.

1883-- The Civil Rights Cases 8-1. Harlan dissents as he did in '96 Plessey—This violates the 13th as well, which is about freedom—But these cases legalizes state sanctioned racial discrimination.

1898 *Williams V. Mississippi*-- About jury selection. Juries are taken from voter rolls. Since they can't vote, they're not on rolls.

By mid 1870s. Recon gvts have already fallen in southern states. Violence is now openly practiced in public. Large bands of armed whites

1875—Gov. Ames asks Grant for help in protecting & restore order for the election. Grant says if I do that I'll lose Ohio—public sentiment has retreated from the support of inserting federal troops to put down violence in individual states.

1876 Election. Dems choose Samuel J. Tilden. Comp of 1877—Hayes gets presidency. Dems get the south. Fed troops will no longer intervene in local disputes.

Finally troops Removed in July 1877. When the national RR strike took place. Hayes sent in troops into Pitt, St. Louis, & Chicago. That's when armories with troops billeted in them are built to put down labor unrest.

None built them in the south to protect the constitutional rights of American citizens—This fact is the representation of a shift from the rights of black people to an emphasis on protecting corporate property.

What Labor systems emerge as a result of the end of Recon. Sharecropping emerges. Seems rational—You've got folks with land and no labor and folks with labor but no land. Both have no money. Blacks like it because they get autonomy over the land they've been allotted. Planters like it because they have a fixed supply of labor.

More and more white people become sharecroppers. Production levels go way up to higher than before the war.

Problems—The credit system is the problem. Farmers always in debt. Collateral is always the land. In the south the land is worthless after the war. Banks aren't loaning, but merchants are. Blacks have no collateral, but the cotton is. So a lien is placed on cotton crop—cropper has to grow cotton. Glut on market means by the end of the year you're still in debt. Impossible to get out of debt. Every census from 1880-1940 show there are more white tenant farmers than blacks, but higher percentage of black population are tenant farmers.

Why not leave? Racism is a national system. There are not jobs in the dynamic sectors of the north. Andrew Carnegie would rather go 5000 miles to the eastern

Europe to bring labor in from Poland, etc. than go 500 miles to the south. Racism is a national system. 1914 WWI cuts off stream of labor from Europe, so they open up to southern blacks. Thus begins the Great Migration.

Final Point—The failure of reconstruction is pivotal to the rest of American History. Imagine a scenario where the basic rights of citizenship actually applied across the board. What if blacks could have voted in elections for the years. The New Deal was shaped so that it wouldn't help black people. Social security excluded two forms of labor—Agriculture and domestic labor. The local level—GI bill is distributed at the local level.

All the Civil Rights movement did was get the constitution to be observed. They did not change the constitution hardly at all. (except for a little poll tax amendment)

The need for continued vigilance even after legal acts are accomplished.
