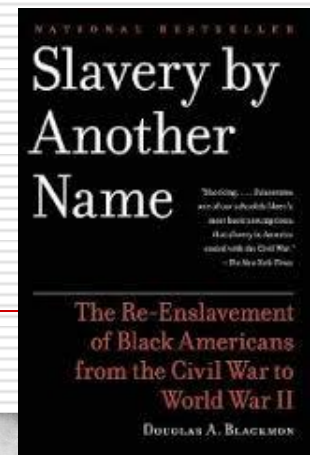


Slavery By Another Name: From 1865 to 1945

- ❑ The Civil War left the South in ruins, both in town and countryside
- ❑ In Charleston, a journalist in September 1865 discovered "a city of ruins, of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotten wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets."
- ❑ Reports from Confederate officials show 94,000 killed in battle and another 164,000 who died of disease, with about 194,000 wounded.
- ❑ The Confederate official counts are too low; perhaps another 75,000-100,000 Confederate soldiers died because of the war.
- ❑ The number of civilian deaths is unknown, but was highest among refugees and former slaves. Most of the war was fought in Virginia and Tennessee, but every Confederate state was affected.



What's going on here? Above: The utter destruction of Richmond. Below: Slaves remaining on ruined plantation



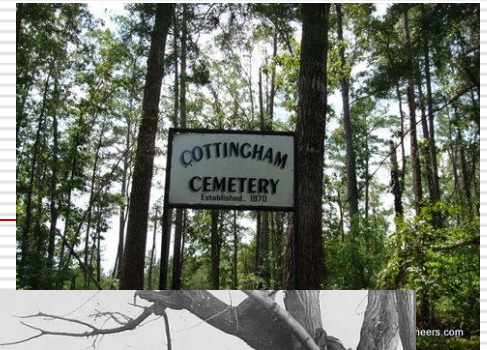
The First Dilemma: How To Turn the Freeman into a Labor Force

- ❑ The book uses the device of following the history of one Alabama family, the Cottinghams, both Black and White, Slave and Free.
- ❑ The Cottingham plantation and the surrounding area was in ruins, but some stayed of the place to bring in the crop, hopefully for wages.
- ❑ Others staked out a portion of land and worked it, hoping by paying a 'share' of the crop, to own it in due time
- ❑ Still others fled from their 'torture camps' to search near and far for whatever work they could find.

Former slaves on deserted plantation



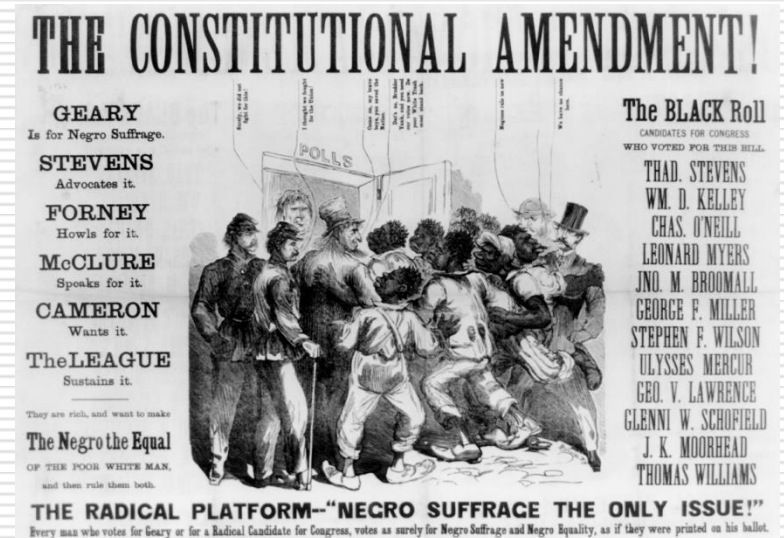
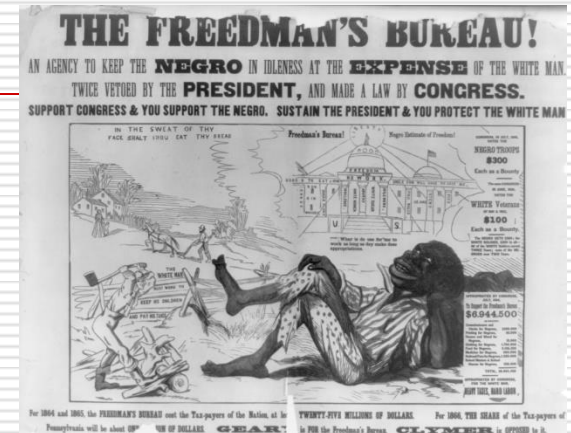
First Cottingham 'Big House'



Freedmen in Nebraska

Who Will Rule the Defeated Enslavers and Restart the Economy? The Four Phases of 'Reconstruction'

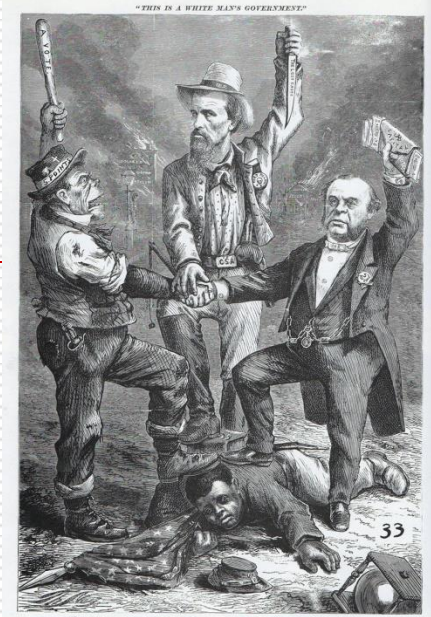
- ❑ 1865-66. First came the governments appointed by President Andrew Johnson. The Freedmen's Bureau was active, helping refugees, setting up employment 'contracts' for Freedmen, and setting up courts and schools for the freedmen.
- ❑ 1868-70. Second came rule by the U.S. Army, which held elections that included all freedmen but excluded over 10,000 Confederate leaders.
- ❑ 1870-1875. Third was "Radical Reconstruction" or "Black Reconstruction" in which a Republican coalition governed the state, comprising a coalition of freedmen, poor whites and 'carpetbaggers' from the North). Violent resistance by the KKKK was suppressed by federal troops. It spent large sums on railroad subsidies and schools.
- ❑ 1876-1878. Stage four saw the white antiBlack coalition, called Redeemers, had won political control of nearly all the states. The disputed presidential election of 1876 hinged on three violently contested states. The outcome was the Compromise of 1877, whereby the Republican Rutherford Hayes became president and all federal troops were withdrawn from the South.



1866: Black Codes, Labor 'Contracts' and Vagrancy Laws Get Started

- ❑ Black Codes restricted black people's right to own property, conduct business, buy and lease land, and move freely through public spaces.
- ❑ A central element of the Black Codes were vagrancy laws. States criminalized men who were out of work, not 'under contract' or who were not working at a job whites recognized. Failure to pay a certain tax, or to comply with other laws, could also be construed as vagrancy.
- ❑ Nine southern states updated their vagrancy laws in 1865–1866. Of these, eight allowed convict leasing (a system in which state prison hired out convicts for labor) and five allowed prisoner labor for public works projects.

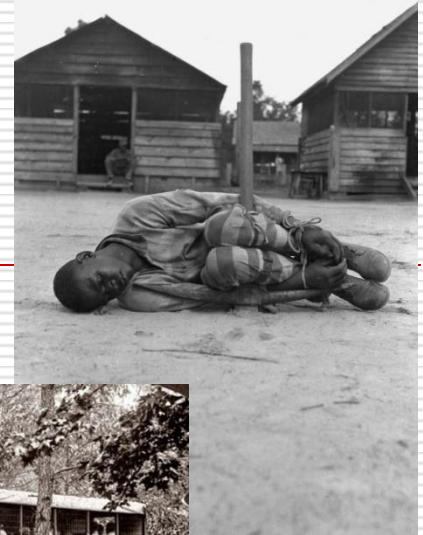
Thomas Nast cartoon attacking Andrew Johnson



Convicts who had violated the Black Codes

Industrial 'Convict' Slavery Expands

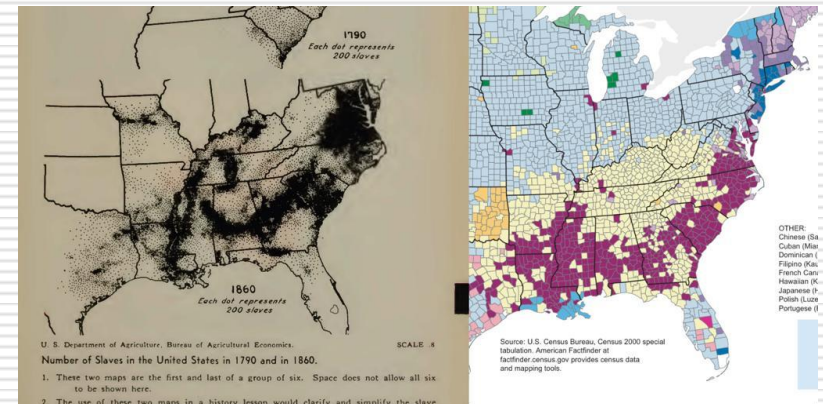
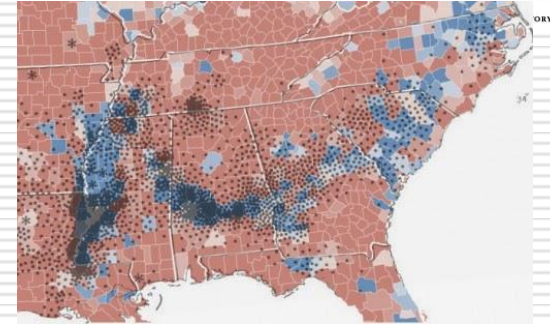
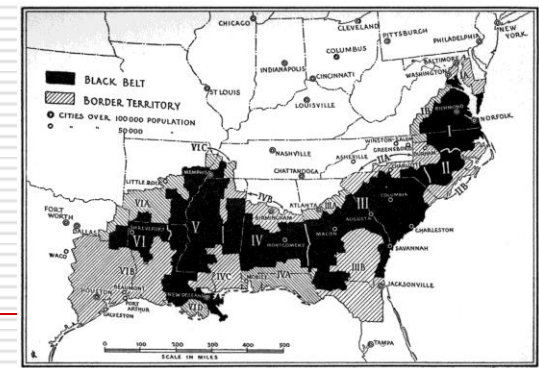
- ❑ **Black workers captured by the 'Black Codes' were used to construct the South's railroads, mines, blast furnaces and other factories.**
- ❑ **The horrific work conditions saw many die, and graveyards grew alongside the mines and factories.**
- ❑ **Some convict miners never saw the Sun except once a month. They were kept underground, whipped, and lived in filth and vermin. Not many survived. 'Niggers die easy', said one state inspector.**



Top: Convict tortured with axe handle. Center: Rail wagons as cramped woodland housing. Bottom: Convicts working in brick factory.

The South's Addiction: Subjugated Labor

- ❑ If cotton were to come to market again, Black labor was essential
- ❑ The choice: 40 acres and a mule, and independent farmers. Or imprisonment by Black Codes, Vagrancy Laws, and sharecropping. The latter became dominant.
- ❑ Getting the cotton to market required railroads, and trains and rails required iron and steel, and steel required coal mines and coke furnaces

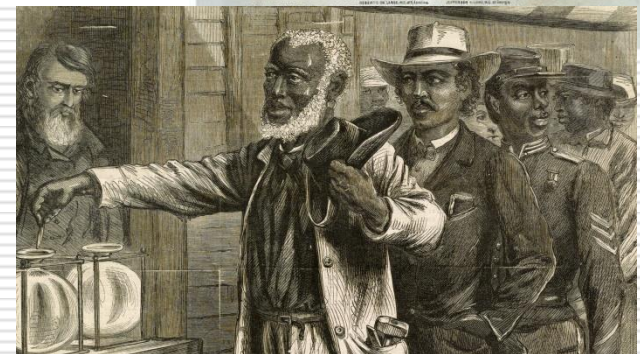


Radical Reconstruction as Resistance to White Supremacy

- Upon Inauguration in 1869, US Grant bolstered Reconstruction by prodding Congress to readmit Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas into the Union, while ensuring their constitutions protected every citizen's voting rights.
- Congress passed three powerful Enforcement Acts in 1870–71, protected the Freedmen's right to vote, to hold office, to serve on juries, and receive equal protection of laws.
- Most important, they authorized the federal government to intervene. Grant prosecuted thousands of Klansmen under the tough new laws.
- Grant sent federal troops to nine South Carolina counties to suppress Klan violence in 1871. Grant supported passage of the Fifteenth Amendment

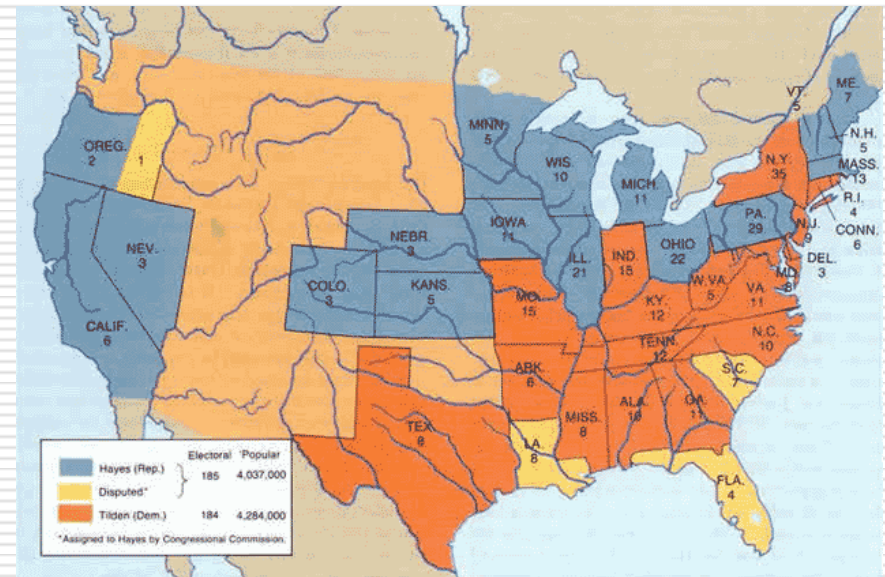


Top: Racist poster. Above: Federal troops. Right: Blacks in congress. Bottom: Result of the 15th Amendment



1876 Counter-Revolution: The Hayes-Tilden Election

- ❑ Tilden won the popular vote, but too many electoral votes were in dispute.
- ❑ The 20 electoral votes were in dispute in four states. In the case of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, each party reported its candidate had won the state, while in Oregon one elector was replaced after being declared illegal for being an "elected or appointed official".
- ❑ The Compromise of 1877. The deal: Hayes will be the 19th President of the U.S. – the Republicans get their way BUT: Hayes must remove ALL federal troops from the South – the Democrats get their way.
- ❑ Hayes must also give support to help rebuild southern railroads and levees on the Mississippi River—all of which required convict labor. Reconstruction was declared over.



Redeemers Return: New Industry's Need for the Chain Gang

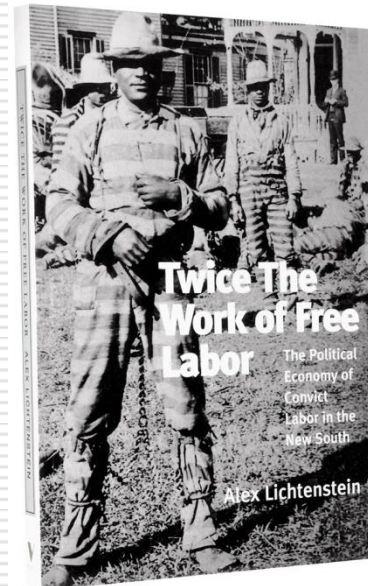
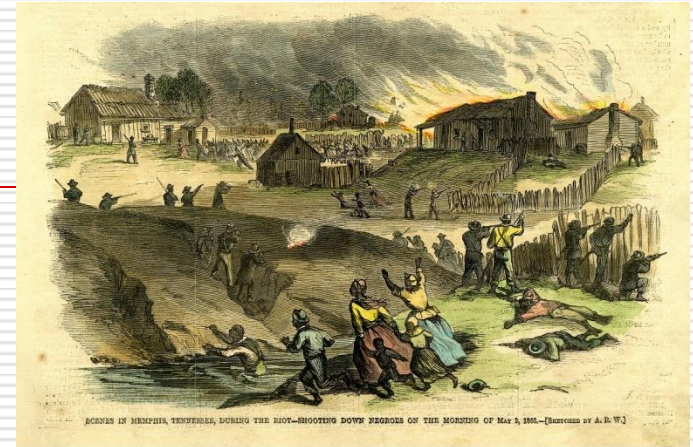
- ❑ The income from convict-leasing 'fees' amounting to 25% of all tax income in Alabama.
- ❑ That doesn't count the unrecorded 'fines' and court costs' that made it into the pockets of sheriffs, deputies, justices of the peace and 'witnesses.'
- ❑ For the owners of railroads, miners, and fledging iron and steel mills, It meant labor that couldn't strike, could be whipped, and barely fed. 'Niggers is Cheap,' said a NY Times reporter of the day.



Above:
Imprisoned
Black miners,
Middle:
convicts
building
railroad,
Right: Black
convicts in
iron mill

Legalizing 2nd Class Status: The Civil Rights Act of 1875

- ❑ The Supreme Court, in an 8-1 decision by Justice Joseph P. Bradley, held that the language of the 14th Amendment, which prohibited denial of equal protection by a state, did not give Congress power to regulate these private acts, because it was the result of conduct by private individuals, not state law or action, that black people were suffering.
- ❑ Section five empowers Congress only to enforce the prohibition on state action. Legislation by Congress on subjects which are within the domain of the state were, apparently, not authorized by the 14th Amendment. Private acts of racial discrimination were simply private wrongs that the national government was powerless to correct.
- ❑ The Southern states proceeded to embody individual practices of racial segregation into laws that legalized the treatment of blacks as second-class citizens for another seventy years



Birmingham Coal, Iron and Railway Company

- ❑ Black labor in chains formed the workforce anchor.
- ❑ Whites hired as armed company thugs.
- ❑ White miners on strike were turned against the convicts.
- ❑ The entire industrial base of Birmingham and Southern Tennessee was built on the basis of these relations.
- ❑ Eventually they were bought and became a key part of US Steel.



Top: Convict miners. Above: Company guards. Right: Iron mill. Bottom: White mine workers strike.

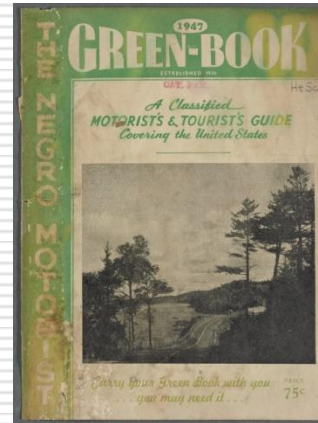
Drawing the Color Line: Jim Crow across the South



- ❑ 'Jim Crow' was a term of ridicule from 'Minstrel Show' feature a white in blackface playing the fool.
- ❑ Jim Crow was practiced 'de facto' across the South and in parts of the North as well since the time of slavery
- ❑ With the defeat of Reconstruction, Southern states began making it into state laws.
- ❑ The 'Redeemer' rulers of the South wanted to restore as much of slavery as possible, arguing, at times, that segregation 'was for their own good' due to uncontrolled white bigotry



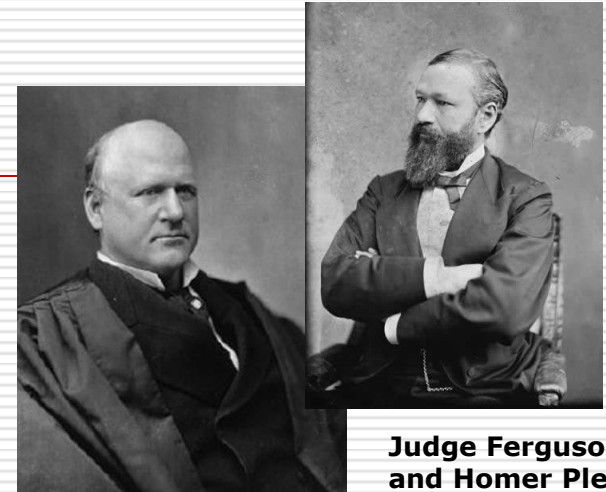
Blacks who were on the road needed this guide to find places to sleep and eat



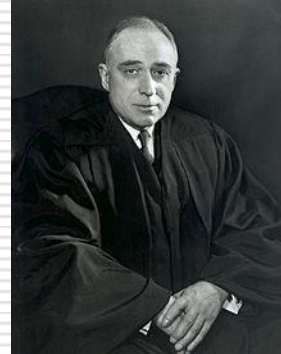
Above: Separate and unequal schools

Nailing It All Down: Plessy vs. Ferguson

- ❑ **Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) was a landmark constitutional law case of the US Supreme Court. It upheld state racial segregation laws for public facilities under the doctrine of 'separate but equal.'**
- ❑ **The decision was handed down by a vote of 7 to 1 with sole dissent of John Marshall Harlan.**
- ❑ **Plessy legitimized state laws in the South and provided an impetus for further segregation laws. It legitimized laws in the North requiring racial segregation as in the Boston school case of the time.**
- ❑ **Harlan: '...in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful.'**



**Judge Ferguson
and Homer Plessy**



Judge Harlan



Niagara Movement leaders W. E. B. Du Bois (seated), and (left to right) J. Clifford, L. Hershaw, and F. Murray at Harpers Ferry.