

Consolidation of the Racial State

US History 1860-1920

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Civil War 1860-1865

- Bloody war, occupies White military forces
- Black soldiers, slaves gradually being liberated; 10%+ of Union army by 1865
- American Indians choose sides or try to avoid the war, diversion from "Indian wars" in the west
- Ends with the victory of the North, abolition of slavery
- South occupied by northern army, White southerners disenfranchised

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Constitutional Amendments 1865

- 13th: abolishes slavery "except as punishment for a crime"
- 14th: all persons born or naturalized in the US have rights of citizenship regardless of race, religion, national origin, or previous condition of servitude
- 15th: right of men to vote regardless of race etc.

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Race, Gender and 14th & 15th Amendments

- Battles over the 15th amendment split women's rights and Blacks' rights advocates
 - 1870s-1880s tensions
 - After 1890 most of White women's movement is overtly racist
- 14th and 15th amendments do not apply to non-White immigrants because they are not allowed to become naturalized
 - but do apply to non-Whites born in the US
 - this becomes an important part of Asian American politics
 - Does NOT make American Indians citizens!

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1865-1876 Reconstruction

- Union army occupies the south.
- Blacks vote. Whites who have been in Rebel army cannot. Black elected officials.
- Some reforms. Some improvement for Blacks. Some land reform (has future effects):
IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THE MISSED POSSIBILITY
- Much turmoil, resistance. Attempts by Whites to re-create racial domination
- Conflicts around 15th amendment disrupt the previous coalition between feminists and supporters of African-American rights.

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The End of Reconstruction

- Compromise of 1876 ends Reconstruction to break election deadlock, elect Hayes.
- Union army leaves the south, agreement to let southerners do what they will about race. White southerners can vote again.
- "Healing" White nation by sacrificing Blacks
- Denials that the war was about slavery
- [Later, Confederate soldiers are even made eligible for US veterans' pensions with the same standing as Union soldiers]

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1877 - 1920 Era of Explicit Racism

- Slavery was over, but a new racial order was created
- 90% of all Blacks live in rural areas, 90% in south: most in cotton farming, dependent on landowners, subject to violent repression
- Lynchings and KKK terrorism increase
 - KKK = Klu Klux Klan. Often just the local White authorities wearing sheets
- It was created by using proxies for race, circumventing the strictures of the 14th amendment
- Origins teach you how a system was built, once in place hard to see why things are as they are

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Creating the New Racial Order

- 1880s - 1890s Southern states pass Jim Crow segregation laws.
- 1893 Plessey vs Furgeson, "Separate but Equal," US Supreme Court effectively guts the 14th amendment.
- Failure of land reform. White elites reconsolidate class privilege
- Sharecropping as a new structure for cheap labor
- Criminal codes used to obtain free labor when needed
- Era of lynching (torture & death) & anti-miscegenation laws

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Anti-Miscegenation Laws 1880- 1920 (Laws against marriage between races)

Non-Southern (introduced but not passed)

Washington
Kansas
Minnesota
Iowa
Wisconsin
Illinois
Michigan
Ohio
New York
Pennsylvania

Non-Southern

Oregon
California
Idaho
Nevada
Arizona
Utah
Colorado
North Dakota
South Dakota
Nebraska
Indiana

Southern (Former Slave States)

Oklahoma
Texas
Missouri
Arkansas
Louisiana
Kentucky
Tennessee
Mississippi
Alabama
Virginia
West Virginia
Maryland
Delaware
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Florida

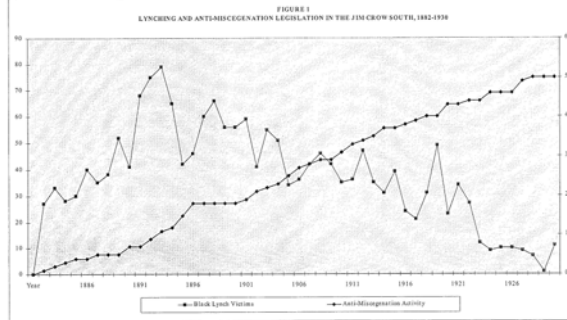
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Lynching



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Lynching & Anti-Miscegenation Laws 1880-1930



Source: Scott L. Washington, "The Killing Fields of the South"

Politics & Race

- Democratic Party = alliance of southern White planters and northern industrialists and working class.
- Republican Party anti-slavery in 1850s (Lincoln).
 - 1876-1891 debate whether to support Black rights
 - after 1891 abandon Black rights entirely
- Populist movement threatens trans-racial alliance among southern working class
 - elite Whites work to disenfranchise Blacks (and working class) to eliminate threat.

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Black Disenfranchisement

- No disguise, overt White efforts to disenfranchise Blacks, but accomplish racial goals without explicitly using race (which is illegal)
- Example: Louisiana, 130,344 Blacks registered in 1895, after constitution rewritten, only 5,000 in 1898 and 1,772 in 1916.
- Poll taxes, literacy requirements, personal and periodic registration at difficult-to-reach places, White primaries. "Grandfather clause" protects Whites.
- Blacks lose all political power.
- Same tools in the north disenfranchise White workers especially immigrants.

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1895-1920 Virulent Racism

- Presidents Taft and Wilson are explicit racists
- US Supreme Court guts the 14th amendment
- Hundreds of African Americans are lynched (murdered) in the south.
- "Scientific racism" is taught in college science classrooms. This ideology distinguishes northern Aryan from southern Europeans, as well as what we now understand as "races."
- Explicit opposition to any form of mixing of "races." Intermarriage illegal. Includes Asians

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Some key events

- 1919 Wave of bloody race riots: Whites attacking Blacks in many cities
- 1921 Tulsa riot:
 - White community attacked and burned down the Black area of Tulsa.
 - Activists are seeking reparations for the survivors.
- 1927 Greenville flood.
 - Mississippi River flooded, largest flood until 1993
 - 13,000 Blacks on levees in Greenville; ships left them behind, took only Whites; plantations wanted labor
 - Contributed to Black shift from Republican to Democrat

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Black Resistance 1880-1920

- There is resistance to Jim Crow.
- Blacks demand reparations for slavery immediately after the war. (Whites ignore.)
- Some emigrationism, 500+ actually emigrate to Liberia. Most want to stay.
- Bus boycotts & consumer boycotts against segregation in the cities.
- Petitions, speeches. Rhetoric of citizenship, equality.
- Northern, educated Blacks speak out for equality, citizenship. But lose 1880-1920

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Counter-Trends

- Pockets of Black development
- Black migration (cowboys; movements into cities)
- Black schools, colleges
- Black political movements
- Too weak in this era to win, but set up the future (we will return to these)

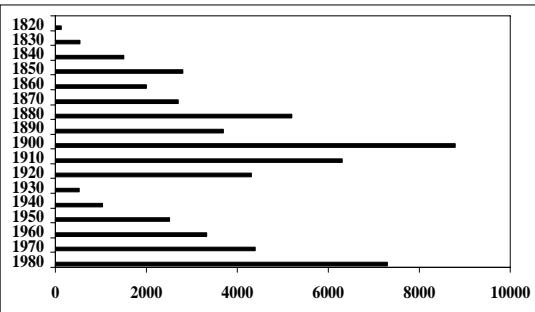
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European Americans 1870-1900

- High rates of immigration (see charts)
- Much ethnic conflict, riots in the streets: descendants of European migrants violently attack the new migrants as "foreigners" who are too "different" to fit in to democracy
- Northern Europeans view eastern and southern Europeans (and Jews, Gypsies etc.) as different "races" that are sub-types of "White"
- Capitalism consolidating, middle classes seizing political control from the immigrant working classes

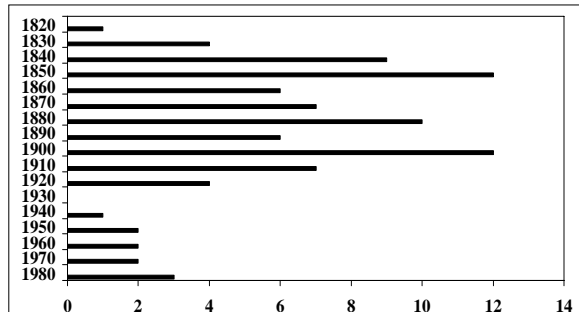
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Immigration to US, in 1000s



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Immigration to US as a % of Base



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For reflection: whose country is this?

- Native peoples here first
- Most Mexican people are of native American descent
- Most African migration was PRIOR to 1808
- Most European migration was AFTER 1840, with huge waves 1870-1920
- Why do so many White people feel this is “their” country more than it is a “Black” country or a “Native American” country? Why do the descendants of later European immigrants identify with the Pilgrims?

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American Indians

The Final Wars

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For discussion

- Why are there any indigenous Americans left?
- Why were they not all killed in the battles?

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Treaties

- Were peace settlements: indigenous Americans agreed to stop fighting and killing the European invaders
- Were land contracts: indigenous Americans sold their land to the US government (the government of the White Europeans)
- Were/are legal documents governing the relations between nations.
 - Legally the same as the treaties with Great Britain that ended colonialism & with Canada and Mexico that established current borders
- Were cheaper for the US than taking land by force and killing everyone

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Treaties

- Are still in force and legally define the tribes as separate dependent nations
- Were only signed when indigenous Americans posed a threat, had some strength
- Were NOT consolation prizes, were NOT gifts
- Were often coerced, unfair (sell us your land or we will kill you)
- Often provided payments or land reservations in exchange for land cessions
- Sometimes “gave” indigenous Americans US citizenship as part of the treaty, but often did not

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After 1865

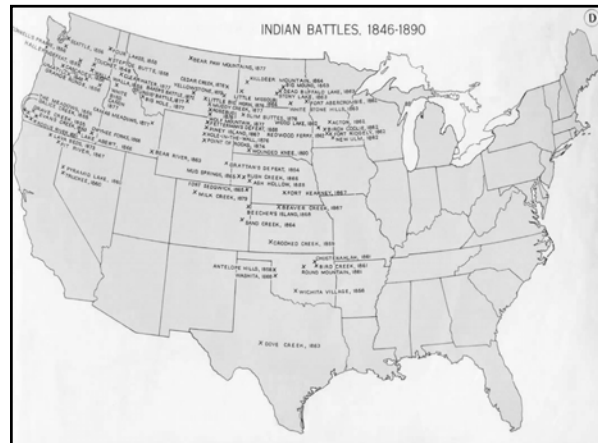
- After the Civil War, the US moves to finish its conquest of the American Indians
- The pressure on the land is due to the enormous rates of immigration into the US from Europe
- Indigenous Americans lose the rights of self-government and self-determination as [White] US government completes the imposition of a structure of domination

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The Final “Indian” Wars 1870-1900

- 1871 Indian Appropriations Act. US decides it will no longer sign treaties, will just legislate. Land belongs to Whites (Europeans). Asserts that indigenous Americans have no right of self-determination
- NOTE: the treaties are legacies of the period when the US was NOT strong enough to just legislate.
- US Army battles native people on the western plains, forcing them all onto reservations.

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Cultural Destruction

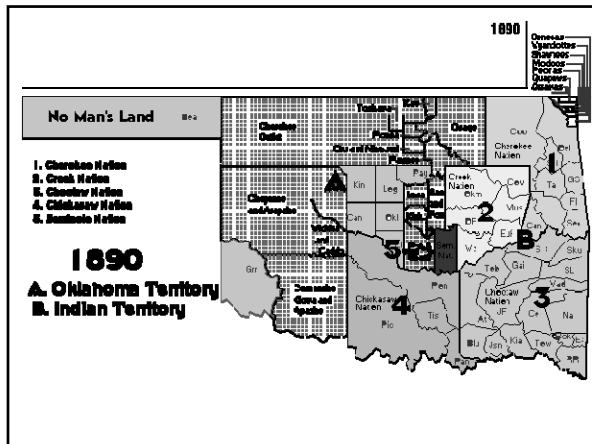
- “Friends of the Indians” 1883. Goal of US policy is to eliminate Indians as Indians. Force them to adopt European-American ways
- Boarding schools, ban their religions, language
- Dispirited, broken people, starving on reservations or battling to the death
- 1889 Wokova “Ghost Dance” sweeps American Indians. Spiritual practices will restore land to American Indians. Banned by US

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1887 Dawes (General Allotment) Act

- Break up the American “Indian” reservations, give land to individuals; “surplus” land to whites.
- Much land passes to white hands, reservations shrink by 60-70%.
- Indians not permitted to manage their own land, Bureau of Indian Affairs manages as a trust. If land is leased or sold, money collected by BIA is supposed to be paid to the Indian owner.
- [Recent lawsuit: \$20-40 billion dollars is missing, unaccounted for by BIA; BIA shredded documents, uncashed checks.]

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Oklahoma: The end of self-determination

- After removal, American Indians organized stable self-government in "Indian Territory," coped with continuing influx of American Indians displaced by the wars.
- 1889 Despite treaty, the "unassigned" parts of "Indian Territory" [Oklahoma] is opened to whites in a "land run."
- 1893, Congress passes law requiring tribes to sell their land, tribes hold out.
- 1898 Congress passes Curtis Act, forcing allotment and division of their other property, terminating their government. Dept of Interior takes over their schools.
- 1901 Tribal citizens declared citizens of US and Territory of Oklahoma
- 1907 Oklahoma admitted to the Union as a state.

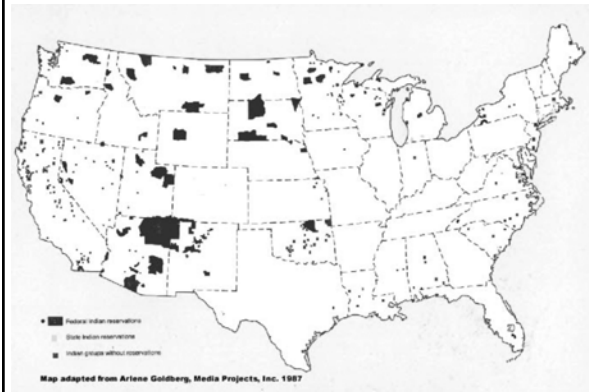
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Final Battles

- 1876 Battle of Little Big Horn. (Crazy Horse vs. Custer) The last major Sioux victory.
- 1886 Geronimo surrenders after a decade of guerilla warfare
- 1890 The Battle/Massacre at Wounded Knee. 300 Sioux, including women and children, and 25 soldiers are killed after the army breaks up a Ghost Dance.
- 1890 census, American population down to 200,000. Its low point.

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What's Left (1980s)



South Dakota



Alaska



Native People



Inuit woman c. 1907

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- Several different cultural-linguistic groups
- Relatively inhospitable climate not attractive to Europeans
- Natives still more than 50% of population in 1930

Alaska history (quick sketch)

- Native people: thousands of years
- Some genealogically related to people who moved farther south ("Native Americans")
- Others are distinct groups, especially the Inuit (aka Eskimos) & the Aleutians
- 1725-1865 Russia explores, "claims" Alaska, establishes a few settlements
- 1867 the US buys Alaska from Russia
- 1870s-1940s Gold, fisheries etc. draw more European-Americans
- Territorial organization 1912
- 1959 Statehood

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Asian Americans

Discrimination, Hostility, Exclusion

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Chinese Migration

- Begins 1848s, with Gold Rush.
- Fleeing economic disaster and poverty, political turmoil.
- Predominantly male, predominantly uneducated peasants
- Small as part of US total, but high percentages of several western states.

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Chinese Exclusion

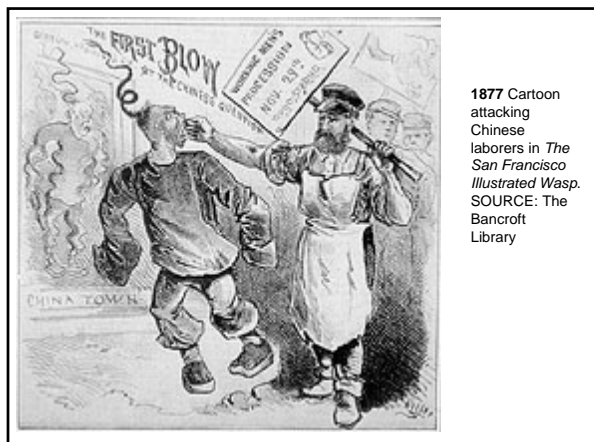
- Explicit racism, hostile attacks, race riots, forced removal
- 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act
- Chinese here are largely isolated males, forced into the cities by hostility and violence
- Chinese laundries & tourism as survival strategies

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Discrimination, Segregation

- Cartoons of era equate Asians and Blacks. "Yellow peril."
- Explicit racial laws applied to Chinese, Japanese.
- California: laws passed requiring school segregation
- California: laws make it illegal for "persons ineligible for citizenship" to own land.
- Asian-descent people born in US are citizens.

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1877 Cartoon attacking Chinese laborers in *The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp*. SOURCE: The Bancroft Library

Japanese Migration & Exclusion

- Begins 1868, Meiji Restoration, more after Chinese excluded in 1882
- Younger sons (& their wives) urged to migrate as part of development strategy; generally well-educated & skilled as farmers.
- Often quite successful in US as farmers, business owners. Vegetable farmers.
- 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement. No more immigration from Japan. (Japan agrees to restrict.) Korea a Japanese colony.
- Face violence, hostility, explicit segregation laws.

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Anti-Asian Laws

- 1906 California passes law segregating Asians from Whites in schools. Modeled on "Jim Crow" laws.
- 1913 California law denies right to own land to "persons ineligible for citizenship." (Aimed at Japanese farmers)
- 1920, 1923 amendments also prevent leasing or farming others' land. many forced into cities. Some hold land in children's names.
- 1924 absolute prohibition of immigration of "persons ineligible for citizenship."

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Overseas expansion & colonialism

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Hawaii



Hawaii, part 1

- A kingdom of Polynesian people, recognized as a nation by the US. (Polynesian descendants about 20% today)
- 1830s-1900 Anglo-American planters take over much of the land, import many Asian workers; population becomes predominantly Asian. Chinese, Japanese, Pilipino: Whites a minority.
- Ethnic, linguistic differences. "Pidgen" spoken. Class conflict predominates.

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Hawaii, part 2

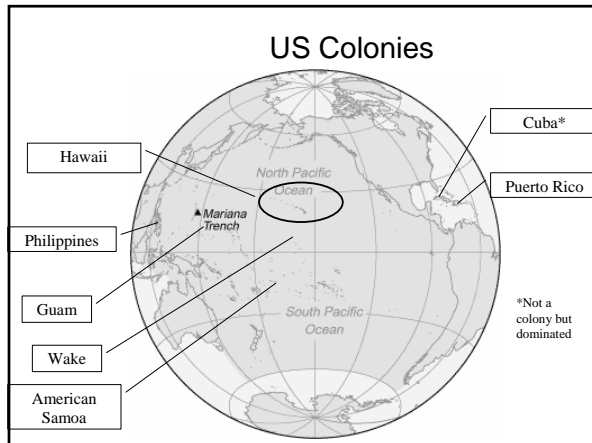
- Anglo-Americans overthrow the Kingdom of Hawaii (Queen Lydia Liliuokalani) in 1893 with US naval support, establish a “republic” in 1894; viewed as illegal at the time (then-president Cleveland denounced it).
- In 1898, US annexes.
- Hawaiian independence movement still active; significant legal claims on public land

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Spanish-American War 1898

- Cubans fighting independence war against Spain
- The “Maine” blown up under mysterious circumstances in Havana harbor
- US declares war, wins easily in 10 weeks (more US-ians die from malaria than warfare)
- Puerto Rico, Philippines, Guam, Wake, become US possessions.
- Cuba “permitted” to be independent under US oversight, 1901, still controlled by US after
- Independence wars raging against Spain become wars against US, take time to subdue, especially in Philippines

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Pilipino Migration & Exclusion

- 400 years of Spanish colonialism: Filipinos a blend of European and Asian, racially & culturally
- After 1898, Philippines a US possession
- Much migration to Hawaii, some migration to mainland. Smaller numbers than Chinese or Japanese.
- On mainland, often lived and intermarried with Mexicans.
- 1934 Philippine “independence” curtails Philippine immigration

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