I. Snapshot 1: **Turbulent Virginia**:

By the 1650s, Virginia was not happy place. Jamestown had survived, and that in and of itself was a victory, but internal conflicts were tense. William Berkeley, governor at the age of 36, and ruled from 1642 until the 1670s. He had crushed the local Natives in 1644 and was popular at first. The Natives ceded a large amount of property and Berkeley promised them to restrain white expansion. But Virginia's population grew fast, reaching 16,000 by the 1650s, and 40,000 by the 1660s. However, all the good "tidewater" lands were taken and new immigrants flooded the Indian territory.

Bacon's Rebellion:

Nathaniel Bacon, wealthy young graduate from Cambridge, arrived in 1673. Like most new immigrants he settled in the backcountry (Piedmont of the Appalachian Mts); becomes gentry of the "backcountry". Tensions bw Tidewaters vs Backcountry: issue over Natives. Berkeley held back western settlement (1. seen to hold back backwater settlers, 2. protects Berkeley's fur-trade). Bacon excluded from Berkeley's 1. admin inner-circle, 2. fur-trade. Bacon is aristocratic and has great ambition and hates Berkeley.

In 1675 some Doeg (Algonquin) Natives, disgruntled, attack a village, kill one white servant. White response is haphazard and attacks both the small, weak Doeg and the powerful Susquehannock. Native retaliation on plantations, killing many. Berkeley is cautious in response. Bacon not so. A natural leader he organizes a small army and strikes (without consent) against local Natives (Berkeley claims him a rebel in response). June 1676, Bacon marches twice on Jamestown, burning it the second time. Berkeley is militarily weak. Bacon is about to get all Virginia, then dies of dysentery. 1677, Brit regulars arrive, Berkeley in charge, Natives sign over land in defeatism.

Analysis: 1. continuing struggle b/w white/native boundaries; 2. English settlers unwilling to follow previous agreements; 3. natives unwilling to give-up land; 4. bitterness b/w East and West; 5. problem of free, landless men (former indentured servants, propertiless, unemployed, no real prospects = unstable, large, floating pop., wanting for land). Bacon held these people together by hatred of Natives, but even he came to worry about their threat to landownership. Those w/ property, tidewater or backcountry, want to eliminate the growth of landless whites (a result of indentured servitude). So, they look to what the Muslims knew since 800 and to what the Dutch had taught modernity, and fell upon blacks as full slaves. The context is that white landless are very threatening (never heard of threatening blacks, and had historical precedent).

II. Snapshot 2: **Reconstruction**:
- View differently from the North and South. To the South, it was a horrible experience, a time where vindictive Northerners inflicted humiliation and delayed genuine reconciliation. To the North, it was about keeping the unrepentant South from restoring itself. This was conducted thru the fed. gov. actively intruding in not just Southern politics, but society. For former slaves it was neither vicious, nor deeply reformatory. Construction ended in the late-1870s when Northerners lost will, when economics problems took attention, and when Southerners started to violently resist. Freed slaves found themselves, after initial success, abandoned by the fed. gov. and left in a segregated racial caste system.

- The South was devastated: loss of slaves meant loss of capital; only have worthless Confed. bonds and currency; much of the land and existing infrastructure was destroyed; families rebuilding w/out adult males (20%KIA); in the extreme, starvation, homelessness. Mourning, nostalgia start: reverence to Gen. Lee, monuments.

- Blacks: 100,000s leave plantations, even before the conclusion of war. 38,000KIA for the Union, many were vets of the Confederacy: laborers. None of them had land nor possessions. Total disarray. Reconstruction then becomes about competing notions of freedom. Divided about redistribution, but united on desire of freedom from white control: autonomous organizations spring up: aid societies, churches, schools (if).

- Southern Whites: they figured if their old life was broken, then they'd start anew in what America offered best from 1780s: freedom. This gets manifested in liberty from the fed. gov. or Northerners. Even tho slavery was abolished by the 13th Amendment and or Emancipation Proclamation, white southerners eventually succeeded in re-producing black peonage in legal methods: sharecropping (produce instead of money for rent, but the percent maintains perpetual indebtedness [wage bondage -- the South mimics the criticism it laid against the North, but applied to Blacks instead of immigrants]).

- North creates the Freedman's Bureau and maintains troops in the South until 1877.

<u>Lincoln's Assassination</u>:
- The North had no time to enjoy whatever joy victory might bring. Appomattox was on April 9, President Lincoln was assassinated April 14. John Wilkes Booth, a deranged actor and Confederate sympathizer, shot Lincoln and his wife sat in Ford's Theater in Washington, DC. He was instantly martyred, and close to hysteria reigned with his death. Booth escaped but on April 26 was gunned down in a blazing barn by Union troops.

- Part of the problem of reconstruction was that the job feel to Andrew Johnson, who was not suited for the job (resentful, insecure, tactless, tempered). He did follow Lincoln: Northern governor in Southern States invited the electorate to draft a new constitution. By the end of 1865, all seceded states returned to the Union.

Reconstruction Society: Southern Blacks:
- In addition to rebuilding the shattered Southern infrastructure and farms, Reconstruction also involved delivering rights and freedoms to the millions of ex-slaves.

- It meant extending the rights outlined by the so-called Civil War Amendments – the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments – to African Americans throughout the land.
- The 13th Amendment, ratified at the end of 1865, abolished slavery.
- The 14th Amendment, ratified in 1868, granted automatic United States citizenship to ex-slaves and they would have all the rights and privileges as any other citizen.
- And the 15th Amendment, eventually ratified in 1870, stated, simply, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

- Reconstruction extended the Civil War amendments to African Americans. Reconstruction also resulted in sweeping reforms that transformed the fabric of the American South. One key goal of Reconstruction was the political enfranchisement of African Americans.

- A number of African Americans were elected to the United States Congress. A former slave named Blanche Kelso Bruce was representing Mississippi in the United States Senate. Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback, a freeborn African American who served as an officer in the Union Army, was sitting in the governor's office in Louisiana. In Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana, black lieutenant governors were sitting on the right hand of power. A black was Secretary of State in Florida; a black was on the State Supreme Court in South Carolina. In these and other Southern states, African Americans were superintendents of education, state treasurers, adjutant generals, solicitors, judges, and major-generals of militia. African American Robert H. Wood was mayor of Natchez, Mississippi. Seven blacks were sitting in the House of Representatives. After the Civil War, blacks and whites were going to school together, riding on streetcars together, even co-habitating in a few cases. An interracial board was running the University of South Carolina, where African American professor, Richard T. Greener, was teaching white and black students metaphysics and logic.

- This isn't to say that life instantly improved dramatically for all African Americans. Liberation was a slow, painful process. The masses of ex-slaves were struggling, as they had always struggled – working the land, coping with abject poverty, facing an uncertain future. *But at least now there was hope*.

The Backlash:
- By the 1870s, Northern support for transforming Southern society was waning. At the same time, Southern whites clawed back at Black liberation in a resentful backlash. Part of the problem was the Panic of 1873: a serious and long economic depression that triggered bank failures. It distracted governance, and business leaders used Social Darwinism to attack the growing poor and undermine legislation dealing w/ landless (Irish in N., Blacks in the S.). Another problem was that many ppl thought w/ the passing of the 15th Amend, everything was done.

- Unfortunately, this new era of equality was not to last in the American South. For a time in the late 1860s and early 1870s, the changes had been nothing short of remarkable. But a backlash against Reconstruction was underway among many whites across the South by the mid-1870s. Gradually it crept across the South, like a disease.

- KKK: It spread thanks to a new, secret organization of robed and hooded night-riders known as the Ku Klux Klan.
- Black Codes: It spread thanks to draconian "Black Codes" of the post-Civil War era that limited the freedoms of African Americans in counties and parishes all over the South. It spread because of Jim Crow laws that states slowly began to enact in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.
- It spread because of restrictive barriers placed on voting that prevented millions of African Americans from going out to the ballot boxes on Election Day.

- By all accounts, the so-called "New South" – the South of the late 1800s and early 1900s – was a notoriously violent place. Homicide rates among both blacks and whites were the highest in the country and among the highest in the world.

- Against this backdrop of increased violence and hardening racist attitudes, the white South increased pressure, piling law on law. The laws came in spurts and waves. Every year brought some new twist or refinement (Black Codes, voting, KKK terrorism). Blacks were forcibly separated in public transportation, sports, hospitals, orphanages, prisons, asylums, funeral homes, morgues, cemeteries. Mobile, Alabama, required blacks to be off the streets by 10pm Birmingham, Alabama, forbade blacks and whites from playing checkers together.

Compromise of 1877:
- Election of 1867 was bitter and there were disputed votes in four states. Rutherford B Hayes needed all 20 votes, electoral college (not pop. vote, but by value of State [by pop.]). Dems control House, Rep Senate, no mention of disputed votes in the Constitution, but the deadlock is solved by elaborate compromises: Hayes becomes President, but fed. troops are removed from the South. South gets back autonomy, but starts to industrialize. National gov. no longer dealing w. Southern social issues.

III. Snapshot 3: **Highlander Folk School and Rosa Parks**:
- The Highlander Folk School, founded in 1932, was located in a wooded plateau of the Appalachian Mountains in rural Tennessee. It's a poor and isolated area, with lots of forests and streams and dirt roads. For years, the Highlander Folk School was a training academy, of sorts, for young activists in the labor, peace, and civil rights movements. At Highlander, idealistic men and women – most in their late teens and early twenties – gathered to learn from the experiences and guidance of older, veteran organizers.

- The school was created by Myles Horton, an educator, socialist and nonviolent activist, who wanted to teach poor and marginalized people how to agitate peacefully for their rights. Horton was born in 1905 to an impoverished white family in rural Tennessee. As Horton later remembered: "I was poor, we were sharecroppers, we worked in factories. I had to leave home when I was fourteen to go to school, and start earning my own living – we lived in the country and we didn't have a school … I was the first person in my family ever to go to college."

- When the Great Depression arrived in rural Tennessee, it hit the region hard. By this time, Horton entered university, and he looked for ways to improve the lives of poor mountain people. While in New York, Horton came up with the idea of returning to rural Tennessee with "the idea of a school in the mountains for mountain people." Education, Horton, could be used as a tool for social change.

- Horton came back to Tennessee and, with the help of other activist educators – both black and white – he created the Highlander Folk School. The experiment was an idealistic one: showing poor people how to transform their communities for the better by creating healthier and more loving environments. At Highlander, poor union activists, Appalachian mountain people, civil rights folks, and a variety of other marginalized people came together to study community building and social change. Classrooms filled up with eager learners. Participants slept inside crude dormitories, attended church together and sang songs. It was a very idealistic atmosphere. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt supported Highlander in the 1930s.

- Later, the school was investigated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities; spied on by a governor of Georgia who suspected communist activity was taking place there; and it was marched on by the Klan. But through it all, Highlander flourished. Horton and the other staff members at Highlander also went out into poor communities around the country to recruit students and seek out sources of support. In the process, they educated illiterate blacks, helped organize picket lines of striking workers, and taught other nonviolent forms of resistance.

- Beginning in the 1940s, Highlander began bringing blacks and whites together to confront the problems of racism and segregation. In 1955, Rosa Parks, an African American seamstress from Montgomery, Alabama, arrived at Highlander to take part in a nonviolent protest training workshop. Septima Clark, an black educator sometimes known as the "Queen Mother" of the Civil Rights movement, remembered Parks' visit:

> Rosa Parks was afraid for white people to know that she was as militant as she was. She didn't want to speak before the whites that she met up there, because she was afraid they would take it back to the whites in Montgomery. After she talked it out in that workshop that morning and she went back home, then she decided that, 'I'm not going to move out of that seat.'

- Rosa Parks came from Montgomery, Alabama. She was born Rosa Louise McCauley in 1913 to a rural Alabama family that was poor but proud. Some of her earliest memories were of her grandfather, Sylvester Edwards, who kept a shotgun nearby in case the Ku Klux Klan paid a visit. As she wrote in her 1992 autobiography, "I remember that sometimes he would call white men by their first names or their whole names, and not say 'Mister.' How he survived doing all those kinds of things, and being so outspoken, talking that big talk, I don't know."

- She married Raymond Parks, who cut hair in Montgomery for a living, in 1932. For most of her life, she worked outside the home full time, sometimes taking more than one job to make ends meet. When Raymond and Rosa met, Raymond was a volunteer for the NAACP, and Rosa followed in his footsteps, joining the group and becoming one of its most effective organizers in the state of Alabama.

- Parks was shocked to hear about the murder of fourteen-year-old Emmett Till outside the small, sleepy town of Money, Mississippi (28Aug1955). By this time, Rosa Parks was a seasoned NAACP activist. She journeyed to Highlander Folk School in Tennessee in a militant frame of mind to meet supportive blacks and whites. It proved to be an incredibly important experience. As she later recalled:

> I found out for the first time in my adult life that this could be a unified society, that there was such a thing as people of differing races and backgrounds meeting together in workshops and living together in peace and harmony…. I gained there strength to persevere in my work for freedom.

- Rosa Parks left the Highlander folk school, in the summer of 1955, determined to make change back home in Montgomery Alabama. In her mind, she debated what would be the most effective form of protest. Four months later, in the early evening of December 1, 1955 – it was Christmas season in Montgomery with tinsel and festive sparkling lights everywhere – Rosa Parks climbed on a city bus.

- She was working in a big department store next to historic Court Square, once a center

of slave auctions and the first capitol of the Confederacy. A bright banner said, “Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men.” Parks sat down in a row bw the “White Only” section and the rear seats reserved for “Colored.”

- Even though blacks made up 75% of the passengers on the Montgomery city bus system, they were subjected to the humiliating ritual of giving up their seats to whites when the buses filled up. Many bus drivers forced the black passengers to board and pay up front, then exit the bus again and enter through a rear door to find a seat. Sometimes, the bus drivers were even cruel. Gussie Nesbitt, a 53-year-old domestic worker who rode the buses regularly and later joined the boycott, remembered this awful ordeal. The bus driver, Nesbitt said, would “take our money at the front, and then before we could come on through the back door he’d drive off and leave us standing there. He done took our money and gone.”

- On this overcast day, Friday, December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks decided she was not going to leave her seat. This was not the first time Parks held a one-woman sit-in – in fact, it wasn’t even the second or third time. Since World War II, she had resorted to this form of protest on the city’s buses many times. And each time, she was ejected from the bus. But this was the first time her actions triggered a mass movement.

- When some white passengers boarded, the bus driver saw in his mirror that Rosa Parks refused to move from her seat. The bus driver was a white man named James F. Blake, a veteran who had fought in Europe. He got up and went back to her and ordered her to leave so a white passenger could sit down in her seat. She refused to move. Years later, Civil Rights leaders would portray Parks as an essentially apolitical, tired seamstress who had had enough degradation, and just spontaneously made up her mind not to move from her seat. It was true that Parks had spent all day pinning hems, raising waistlines, and carrying dresses back and forth.

- But a more accurate way of putting it was that Parks carried out her protest in a deliberately provocative manner, and she was -- by this time (esp after Highlander) -- an accomplished nonviolent activist who knew very well the risks her action entailed. As Parks later said, “I had almost a life history of being rebellious about being mistreated because of my color.” Mrs. Parks’ arrest in December 1955 sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Speaking of her action, Parks said, “This is what I wanted to know: When and how would we ever determine our rights as human beings?”