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Totalitarian Dynamics, Colonial History, and Modernity: The US South After the Civil War

Doctoral Thesis in Comparative, Political, and Social History

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"In thinking of America, I sometimes find myself admiring her bright blue sky—her grand old woods—her fertile fields—her beautiful rivers— her mighty lakes, and star-crowned mountains. But my rapture is soon checked, my joy is soon turned to mourning. When I remember that all is cursed with the infernal spirit of slaveholding, robbery and wrong,— when I remember that with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brethren are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten, and that her most fertile fields drink daily of the warm blood of my outraged sisters, I am filled with unutterable loathing..."

-- Frederick Douglass¹

"Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history."

-- Abraham Lincoln²

1 <https://glc.yale.edu/letter-william-lloyd-garrison-january-1-1846> accessed 15/06/18

2 Quoted in Eric Foner. *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*. New York: Norton, 2011, pg. xiii.

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Introduction

The following comparative examination of certain features shared by the USSR, National Socialist Germany, and the United States will be sufficiently unorthodox that a discussion of methods benefits from identifying a point of departure. Introducing a recent collection of essays discussing twentieth-century European politics of violence, from the genocidal attacks on Armenians, to the Holocaust, and beyond, the historian Javier Rodrigo suggests, by way of identifying fruitful approaches to understanding, that perhaps it is a question of critical inquiry into a certain kind of power. This is the heart of the matter, but such a critique must also be multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, and thus seems very likely to diverge into abstractions. Historical events, large and small -- that is, the sources that attest to them -- offer a sufficiently empirical basis for academic discussion of this question, and that factual grounding in turn lends itself to the basic activity of identification. What is this certain kind of power? How can it be recognized and known? Is it an ever-present curse of humankind, or is it a particularly historical phenomenon? How this power acts, what it does, and how it is represented by historical actors, including historians, is the subject of this essay.

This subject must be narrowed further, so inquiry will focus on the acknowledged leaders in twentieth-century European violence: the USSR and its forced labor institutions and National Socialist Germany and its genocidal racism. These regimes have been linked as the great Totalitarianisms, although the term is of disputed value, but their status as the iconic enemies of pop-culture protagonists also attests to their outstanding cultural impact and interlinked quality as existential enemies of freedom and prosperity, the latter being particularly marked in anglophone academic and cultural production since the war. Both self-identified "socialist" states also passed through similar periods of historical unrest, variations of a conflict common across central Europe,

before developing into highly regimented societies under charismatic rule. The hypothesis of this dissertation is that the nature of violent coercion, of power, exercised in the context of building Communism in Stalin's Russia and the racialized national community in Hitler's Germany, showed certain historically-determined qualities in these two cases, and that this particular form of power showed those qualities in the US South after the Civil War, as it was exercised against the freedmen and their allies.

Much of the second part of this dissertation is an essentially historiographic look at work that is directly relevant to the hypothesis at hand, but which does not really offer an overview of the scholarship. A detailed discussion of certain specific historiographical trends can be found there. Since even an overview in the subject areas under discussion would try the patience of the most historiographically-inclined reader, here one will only remark the works whose influence on the text has been important and which are not critically engaged later in the text.

Scholarship has addressed and is addressing congruences in these systems, as a rubric of individual and national wills in conflict moves to a more nuanced consideration of multiple relationships in play during certain historical conjunctures. Robert Gerwarth has contextualized the German interwar experience as part of European history more broadly, recently comparing the countries of Central Europe after the Great war in *The Vanquished* (2016). This volume read alongside Stanley Payne's *History of Fascism, 1914-1945* (1995) helps situate the push for dynamic dictatorships (Kershaw's phrase) in a certain early high-modern historical conjuncture across Central Europe. German anarchist refugee Rudolph Rocker's *Nationalism and Culture* (1978 (1947)) consciously rejects the racialized model as a framework for discussion and offers an implicitly post-nationalist construction of historical causality. In a sense Kershaw moves in this direction with *To Hell and Back, Europe 1914-1949* (2015) as international and supra-national pressures and relationships receive the focus.

James Whitman's new study *Hitler's American Model* (2017) details the connections between US and Nazi race law (but was published too recently to be incorporated into this dissertation). Alejandro Andreassi Cieri's work on the "biologization" of German politics, *El Compromiso Fáustico* (2015), intersects at many points with the discussion in part 4 of this dissertation from the European side. Another point of reference is Stefan Kuhl's *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (1994). Klaus Fischer's *Hitler and America* (2011) discusses the role of the USA in Hitler's worldview, as he imagined America. Carroll Kakel has described how specifically the US West served as a metaphor of colonial conquest for the Nazi elites in *The American West and the Nazi East* (2011). However, such works have remained focused on eugenics policies, or, as in the Kakel work, presented too general an overview. There seems to be a shift away from strictly intranational discussion of historical evolution -- and this internationalism is probably the strongest feature of Hanna Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) to retain relevance -- but Fischer is still calling Hitler "a political genius" and building off of Joaquin Fest's evil-wizard investment of the individual with charismatic power over the masses.³

The colonial legacy of the Holocaust tends to be argued against in the sense that it cannot be "empirically proved," as Gerwarth and Malinowski put it in their contribution to this debate, "Hannah Arendt's Ghosts: Reflections of the Disputable Path from Windhoek to Auschwitz." The possibility of empirical proof is nil, but then Benjamin Madley's characterization of "ideas" being "incubated" in the colonies is unsatisfyingly vague (see "From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe"). This dissertation presents some empirical grounding grounding for such claims, but readers' standard of proof will depend on what they consider reasonable doubt. The criticism of continuity offered by Goeschel and Wachsmann in "Before Auschwitz: The Formation of the Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933-1939," is too narrow to be historically meaningful, although that is not

3 <http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/toc/14851.html> accessed 15/06/18

to say it is meaningless. The most important influence on this dissertation's discussion of the colonial quality of German conquest and the Holocaust has been Götz Aly and Suzanne Heim's *Architects of Annihilation* (2002 in English), particularly regarding the international congruence of colonially-derived development models.

Regarding the Third Reich directly, Hans Mommsen's "cumulative radicalization" and the elaboration of this idea by Ian Kershaw have informed this dissertation's presentation of the spread of racialized relationships to new areas. Kershaw's description of how power operated on the ground, in particular the fragmentation of authority, and his investigation of widespread support the regime enjoyed in *The End* (2011), demonstrate the insufficiency of models that push responsibility up to the top of the nominal hierarchy. His two-part biography of Hitler details how little of his rise to power resulted from great-man the great man qualities projected upon his person, the latter process also described in *The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (1987). The collection of essays in *Hitler, The Germans, and the Final Solution* (2007) remains relevant, particularly here the first, "Working Towards the Führer." Since the historiographical examination of *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (1985), Kershaw has synthesized perspectives with excellent judgment.

A sense of everyday life in the Third Reich was given by Richard Grunberger's social history *The Twelve-Year Reich* (1971). Details of racist policy implementation have been provided by Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Iyer's *The Racial State* (1991), Saul Friedländer's *The Years of Persecution* (1997), Raul Hilberg's *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945* (1992), and especially by Peter Longerich's *The Holocaust* (2010). The nuts and bolts of the Holocaust from the point of view of the murderers on the killing floor are still best described by the close study of Christopher Browning in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992). In general, recent years have seen works of consolidation and detail, like Longerich's biography *Heinrich Himmler* (2012) and Wachsmann's

KL: *A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (2015), that provide effectively definitive accounts. Nevertheless, vocabularies that oppose modern to barbaric or revolutionary to conservative continue to be employed variously in ways that effectively beg the question, often by assuming an inherent benevolence to modern development.

Anglophone Sovietology has had its gravity warped by inflating victims and taking fiction as fact. Edwin Bacon sums up the ungrounded demographic techniques and much of the numbers battle quite well in the *Gulag at War* (1994). Nevertheless he chooses in the end to side with the less grounded figures. W. Bruce Lincoln chooses likewise in rejecting the figures of Latsis for Cheka killings in Central Russia, 8,000 by mid-1919, and for the period of 1918-1921, over 12,000. The number may indeed be a "gross underestimate," but no evidence supports accounts of vastly greater victims except questionable accounts of tortures from uncertain sources. The revolutionary participant Victor Serge denounced one such massacre, on the eve of the Bolshevik's brief abolition of the death penalty, when two to three hundred were shot;⁴ fifty such incidents over a couple of years is more credible than five hundred of them, or one every three days, but much English-language Sovietology consistently presents larger number of victims. Institutionalization of professional anticommunists also led to exaggerated backlashes against historians like J. Arch Getty and Stephen Wheatcroft for suggesting that classified archival tolls of the murdered victims of the state might be accurate. A recent kerfuffle over the poor work of Robert Service in his biography of Trotsky shows how institutionalization can work against accuracy and insight.

Still, work by socially-oriented historians like Sheila Fitzpatrick has described the daily life of ordinary people with a good eye for detail. Simon Montefiore, while occasionally flashing a tabloid style, has teased out details of character from the archives in subtle but telling ways. Between Fitzpatrick's *Stalin's Peasants* (1994) and *Everyday Stalinism* (1999), Moshe Lewin's detailed study of collectivization, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power* (1968), and Getty and Naumov's examination of interactions at the top of the political hierarchy in *The Road to Terror*

4 Serge's memoir cited in Albert Camus. *Notebooks, 1951-1959*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008, pp. 8, 8n9.

(2010), this dissertation has based its perspective on the Stalinist reorganization of Soviet agriculture. Paul Hagenloh's *Stalin's Police Public Order and Mass Repression in the USSR, 1926-1941* (2009) has put the Soviet police in perspective as a modern police force: the observation that the municipal police targeted the people waiting in lines created by systemic economic scarcity will resonate with anyone who has seen, for example, cops hassling homeless people in the USA. An interesting primary source is the *Russian Journal* of John Steinbeck and Robert Capa (1999 (1948)), as a point of comparison: stage managed their visit certainly was, but they also saw a society well within the norms of a recognizable modernity.

Lynne Viola has recently studied the experience of those deported during collectivization to "special settlements" in *The Unknown Gulag* (2007), influencing this dissertation's discussion of continuities between prisoner and "compulsory free" labor. Nancy Adler has provided valuable portraits of individuals struggling to reconcile the legitimization strategies of the Party and its terror and repression in *Keeping Faith with the Party: Communist Believers Return from the Gulag* (2012). A study of a particularly atrocious prisoner experience by Nicolas Werth, *Cannibal Island: Death in a Siberian Gulag* (2007), shows interesting dynamics of Soviet repression at work, such as intermingled hostility to and collaboration with its practices, although the lurid details are of questionable value except as popular legend. Ultimately such hearsay, like inflated numbers of victims, diminishes the reality of violent repression. Oleg Klevniuk has published a helpful *History of the Gulag* (2004) that works instead through presenting primary source documents. Kershaw and Lewin have edited a valuable collection of essays in *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (1997) that offers both theoretical and quotidian historical perspectives outside of a totalitarian model of analysis.

Although Niall Ferguson may continue to interpret global capitalism as the beneficent result of Anglo-Saxon pluck and ingenuity (and toughness),⁵ this dissertation has followed the more empirical trail of Immanuel Wallerstein's *Modern World-System, Vol 1-4* (1974-2011). The

5 Niall Ferguson. *Civilisation: The West and the Rest*. New York: Penguin, 2002, back matter.

presentation by Brian Fath at a seminar of the Italian Association of North-American Studies was invaluable in providing a framework for understanding modernity and development outside of cultural hierarchies. Sven Beckert's recent *Empire of Cotton* (2014) details the process of the first industrial revolution and Richard Dunn's classic *Sugar and Slaves* (1972) provides a comprehensive look at British Caribbean planter society. Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979) gives a comparative analysis that highlights the question of agricultural resource exploitation, and which compliments Wallerstein. Barrington Moore's study *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, despite a somewhat archaic framework for analysis, is still a useful work (1993 (1966)). Although it must be read critically, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972), by the murdered Caribbean intellectual Walter Rodney, fits in well with these works. As a study of North American slave society Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1978) remains relevant, although his conclusions about African-American language use are incorrect. Marcus Rediker discusses many relational features of the slave trade and early modernity in *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (2008). Peter Kolchin's excellent comparison of Russian serfdom and American slavery in *Unfree Labor* (1987) reflects on the general questions of modernity and coercion discussed here. Two different academic perspectives on this problem, which contribute in ways their titles make evident to the background if not the direct arguments presented herein, are Karlis Racevskis' *Modernity's Pretenses: Making Reality Fit Reason from Candide to the Gulag* (1998) and Humphrey Jennings' *Pandaemonium: The Coming of the Machine As Seen by Contemporary Observers* (1995 (1985)). Max Weber's *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (2013 (1924)) gives a good basis for comparisons with the way that modernity presents unique problems and functions in qualitatively different way from previous non-global world-systems.

An endless chain of black voices, like Frederick Douglass, Son House, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, Angela Davis, and Toni Morrison, to name some, have made contributions impossible to specify but which offer a perspective from which modernity can only appear as a problem. See, for

example, Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992). A tradition of black criticism from the margins compliments the intellectual perspective of the center, from David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored People of the World* (1829) to the current insistence that Black Lives Matter. A very brief historiography of Jamaican popular music that consciously criticizes the arrangements of modernity from the perspective of the descendants of those who built it reveals a certain progression. In 1963 the "Voice of the People," Cecil Bustamente, produced "Pain in my Belly," performed by the eventual winners of the first national song competition of the Jamaican Independence Festival; in 1974 Bob Marley and the Wailers released "Them Full, We Belly Hungry," a song performed in 2002 by later Brazilian Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil in a nod to its relevance to the pan-African diaspora; in 2004 a self-styled "prophet" of that diaspora sang, "I know them try and cause starvation."⁶ This perspective highlights the essential and structural nature of the power dynamic under discussion: it states the problem.

From the beginning to the end of the twentieth century one could chart a shift in historical interpretation of Reconstruction from outright racism justifying African-American exclusion to general acceptance that the country failed to extend black Americans their constitutional rights after the Civil War. Historians have been less successful at engaging these questions in the first half of the century; for example, David Reynolds' *Waking Giant: American in the Age of Jackson* (2008) has no substantive discussion of the ethnic cleansing of the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw. An excellent compact historiography of Reconstruction is presented in Thomas S. Brown's introduction to *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States* (2006). American historians of the Reconstruction period increasingly emphasize the violent side of the postbellum transition, as Douglas Egerton does in *Wars of Reconstruction* (2014). Specific massacres that went undiscussed before the nineteen-nineties now receive book-length treatments, useful for filling in the gaps in Eric Foner's *Reconstruction* (1984, 1988, 2014), as is his own *Nothing But Freedom*

⁶ The Maytals, "Pain in My Belly," Prince Buster, 1963. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Them Full, We Belly Hungry," Natty Dread. Island Records, 1974. Gilberto Gil, "Them Full, We Belly Hungry," Kaya N'Gan Daya. Warner Music Brazil, 2002. Capleton, "Man Bruk," In The Streetz Records, 2001.

(1983), which compares transitions during modern emancipations. W.E.B. DuBois' *Black Reconstruction* (1935), is both a useful history and historiographically useful as a primary source for nineteen-thirties progressive intellectual attitudes. Joel Williamson's study of South Carolina, *After Slavery* (1965), gives a good look at black agency in a complicated political and economic environment. Leon Litwack's two oft-cited volumes of socially-oriented history are basic texts.

Isabel Wilkerson's recent study *The Warmth of Other Suns* (2010) gives a vital sense of the black experience during the great migration. Pete Daniel catalogued much of the archival material on peonage in Justice Department archives, as well as describing the general state of forced labor in the US South in the first half of the twentieth century in *Shadow of Slavery* (1972). Alan Lomax romanticizes folk traditions but his interviewees in *The Land Where Blues Began* (1991) give rare primary source perspectives on southern labor practices. Douglas Blackmon's *Slavery By Another Name* (2008) offers both a case study and an overview of the mining/steel/forced-labor nexus in the South that is invaluable.

The nature of the power that will be examined is above all modern, industrial, and colonial (and post-colonial), and therefore developmentalist and racist, since the first industrial revolution depended on American cotton. These are not attributes and stages but processes and relationships, and they may operate at one remove; Stalinist collectivization was not ideologically racist, but the model of development and modalities of coercion derived from the historical practice of racism, substituting these modalities for colonial relationships as engines of industrial development. This power defines the countries of the European core by increasing social and economic complexity in the metropolises while decreasing it in the global periphery. It is nomothetic in the sense that it is always potentially active in modern social and economic intercourse, but it is idiographic in the sense that it is not a universal human quality, but one produced by these historically unique but locally specific conditions of modernity. This power excludes peripheralized populations from

political and economic influence, and it murdered human beings and human populations, in the service of developing modern industrial society. It reveals its essential racism through discourse conventions that maintain their characteristics when shifted to new exclusionary contexts, whether these are explicitly ideological or not. This power can be known by these discourse conventions and by the real acts it performs, or would perform, by what it has done and what it has said.

The period in the USA from the end of the Civil War through the Jim Crow period offers acts and discourse that especially illuminate the exercise of violent power in the "totalitarian" states, and vice versa. These histories bleed into one another: the United States was at its peak of legislative racialized repression during the interwar period that birthed the USSR and Nazi Germany. In fact, the USA held an exaggerated presence as an example to Adolf Hitler, in evidence when he told Albert Speer that the East would be their Mississippi. American slavery and Russian serfdom have been successfully compared, as well, and it should be no surprise that these structurally coercive agricultural labor systems should retain common features as they moved toward later modernity. Comparative discussion will not be restricted to the time-frame described above; it will at times be necessary to bring in historical events from a broader timeline in order to demonstrate certain aspects of the thesis. This breadth means that the essay will have to take certain clear positions in areas that are academically disputed, necessary positions from which to understand the inter-relationship of Enlightenment political philosophy, economic development, and racist mass murder.

The methodology of this dissertation will use tools that have been somewhat modified to fit their purpose, as the above use of world-systems-theory vocabulary shows, and this refinement is a necessary correction for the miscalibration produced by the greater institutional failure to accept the centrality of colonial violence to modern history. For present purposes the core-periphery relationship should not be considered a merely economic one: under conditions of modernity, producers do not choose what to produce. The periphery has been created through active coercion

and the use of force, by the imposition of a certain kind of power. The original core/periphery distinction being between specific products, it necessarily excludes the conditions of production in fundamental ways, and the extension of the idea to geographical areas remains insufficient to address them. The axial division of labor has been a racial division of labor throughout the modern period since 1492, or rather, a racialized division of labor; race does not exist organically. Departures from this racialized model will nevertheless share a morphological similarity on the level of real events and relationships as well as in their ideological representations. How the core has imposed its power to compel certain kinds of productive activity is the question that this vocabulary will be used to address. At the same time, this shift in usage allows for closer, more empirical considerations, examples that shed light on the complex ways that metropolises and periphery relate and how those relationships are established. Whether and why certain producers are producing at the point of a gun, literally and figuratively, is the essential point of the core-periphery relationship in the cases under discussion.

As shall be discussed, the academic consensus tends to elide or deny this reality, the more so as that academic production becomes institutionalized and connected to political power. More subtly, the construction of arguments may normalize extraordinary factors that resulted from colonial violence. So, for example, when an economic historian describes the planter class of the US South as being "forced" to use slave labor because of the economic dynamic of plentiful land and insufficient labor, this construction elides the reality that the planter himself is the agent of invasion and genocide that in turn created the conditions of land and labor availability. This is a fact of the history of New World extractive and productive economies that is structurally present throughout global capitalism, or the present world-system. Settler-colonial societies are so marked, as Patrick Wolfe, Caroline Elkins, and Susan Pedersen have pointed out, and thus the global system is so marked, through the global dependence on New World settler-colonial relationships for the raw products of the first industrial revolution, sugar and then cotton. The structural manifestations

of these violently coercive productive economies are highly specific, not only in terms of the practical continuities between the exploitative relationships but also in the discourse that accompanies them.

The methodology used will compare how this deep structure in the grammar of modernity manifested in the discourse and activity during the periods of Reconstruction and Jim Crow in the US South, and in the totalitarian or "totalitarian" states of the Stalinist USSR and Nazi Germany. Both the means and ends of real practices will be compared, although the ends may not always be those directly expressed by individual participants, and the means may be employed through a variety of what one may call political surface-structures. The latter are less important in terms of historical influence than the colonial-imperialist model of developmentalist modernity. Frequently points of comparison can be clarified by including the point of view of the disempowered; such points of comparison also appear with regularity across a wide range of cultural production and cultural ephemera. Correctly contextualizing certain kinds of discourse and events requires reference to their historical surroundings, from the context in which political speech is delivered down to the packaging of modern commodities.

Interdisciplinary tools of textual analysis will be used to examine the discourses of race and power, most often close reading, but also Jakobson's text-linguistic vocabulary and some basic semiotic comparisons of images. These tools allow the structural and lexical continuities of texts across time and space to demonstrate their parallels without excessive reference to the intentions, whatever one may ultimately suppose them to be, of the historical actors that produced them. Rather than a great-man theory of history, even one that puts the little man in that place as the people, the proletariat, or the bourgeoisie, this discussion will approach ideology by tracking the historical consistency of discourse conventions, the concepts that inform them, and the practices they explain or legitimate. If one may make so bold as to quote Jacques Derrida with regard to the method applied to the analysis of these discourse conventions, "intentionality... shall have its place,

but from that place it will not be able to govern the entire scene and system... we will be dealing with different kinds of marks or chains of iterable marks..." The focus herein will be on continuities in rhetoric instead of the way that sources are revealing intentions to act. This attention to textual detail in fact contributes to understanding the historicity of sources. Close reading provides a certain empiricism, at least a hook to hang one's hat on, that can help avoid a too-facile dismissal of the very serious epistemological problems surrounding the ideas of consciousness, action, intention, and representation. Text linguistics highlights the structural properties of texts, that is, sources, which can in turn help specify the qualities of the content. In any case, there will be little need to split philosophical hairs: the history and consistency of the discourse conventions under discussion will be quite evident.

The first part of the essay will summarize the Reconstruction and Jim Crow periods in the history of the US South, and to a lesser extent nationally. Because the history of North America presents certain features both unique and typical, the basic dynamics informing later Soviet practices and Nazi rhetoric can be found in the conflicts of the Reconstruction period, when the colonial model came into crisis over the continuance of the racialized slavery that had industrialized the core nations of Europe. The second part will criticize the totalitarian/free-world opposition so often found in Cold War discourse, and examine how the it elides the real history of colonial power relations and the congruent employment of structural exploitation in different political systems. The third part will compare the Soviet forced labor and collectivization experience with Reconstruction and Jim Crow forced labor and sharecropping, situating both as peripheral, agricultural societies which moved to violently suppress of political and economic activities in the name of production and development. The fourth part will trace the growth of biological racism, emphasizing its conceptual and practical colonial roots, especially in the US South, to the poison fruit it brought forth in the Holocaust.

The archival sources utilized in this dissertation are abbreviated in the notes to conserve space. All such sources are identified the first time they are cited by the archive in which they were physically consulted, or acquired, in the case of Congressional Serial Set volumes that were downloaded as .pdfs on site. These latter are identified by Serial Set ID numbers. Serial Set volumes consulted online are not identified by SSID number. Freedman's Bureau records accessed online will have their URL identified the first time they are cited, while those consulted at the archives are cited as such; there is some crossover in the microfilm rolls excerpted online and those that were consulted on site. Courthouse records are not abbreviated. All .pdfs without a URL specified were downloaded from www.archive.org.

NARAI	National Archives and Records Administration at Washington D.C.
NARAII	National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, MD
NARA IV	National Archives and Records Administration (SW Region) at Fort Worth, TX
LSA	Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, LA
LLMVC	Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, Louisiana State University
SAM	Collection 7, Archives and Manuscripts, Paul Debailon Papers, University of Louisiana at Lafayette

PART I

Reconstruction in the US South: Racialized Capitalism

"I claim the rights of a man."
- Henry McNeal Turner, black legislator

Chapter 1: Reconstruction and Economic Coercion

As is frequently said of Europe in 1848, so might it be said of the United States in 1865, or more properly throughout the Reconstruction period, that it experienced a turning point in history at which history failed to turn. Millions of freedmen and freedwomen and thousands of free black Americans were granted national constitutional recognition of their human and civic rights in an egalitarian republic; then they were prohibited from exercising those rights through means running from legal statute to extreme violence, organized and unorganized. However, such a perspective of failed turning points would depend upon a teleological model of modernity in which democracy is ever increasing, more or less in tandem with economic growth and technological sophistication. Not infrequently one encounters this historical telos marked by invocations of freedom, as in this formulation by the Hoover Institution's Valery Lazarev: "Modern history is characterized by the movement of freedom to labor contract, despite several major setbacks along the way..."

The first problem with this view is construing "slavery in the Americas" as *contrary* to the character of modernity when such coerced labor has in fact *constituted* that character through the production of mass agricultural commodities and the technology developed to process and distribute them. This sort of interpretation is encouraged by errors of fact, as when Lazarev claims that American forced labor ended with emancipation, as if the Birmingham steel industry or the Mississippi levees were built by those freely contracting their labor. Furthermore, if one were to wonder why history failed to turn in 1865, one might as well ask why it didn't turn in 1776, when early American modernity was less characterized by slavery than it was at the time of the Civil War. This telos depends on question-begging and special pleading that reduces two and a half centuries of increasing and increasingly coercive slave-labor to a "setback." The postbellum US South demonstrates the real relationships between such setbacks and the state of modernity in the

European core because the fantasy of race was most intensively and extensively historically determined there, in a context of modern European democratic governance. The conflicts of the Reconstruction period, roughly dated 1865 to 1876, and the accelerating discriminations and deprivations of the subsequent Jim Crow period, shed light on how and why exterminatory exclusionism and forced labor are concomitant with modern development.

At the same time, specific practices as well as the historical contingencies and attitudes of the historical actors bear comparison with those in the “totalitarian” states of the USSR and Nazi Germany, despite different political and social institutions. While it is not unusual to compare the American Civil War and World War I, and their aftermaths – the latter the proximate cause for the ascension to power of the totalitarian regimes – institutionalized narratives tend to compare them in line with the imaginary “movement to freedom” and technological advancement of the teleology of modernity, assigning Communism and Nazism a perverse role as the negative exceptions that prove the rule of European moral superiority. However, this essay eschews this basis for comparison, preferring to see these wars and their troubled peace as crises of modernization while negotiating core/periphery power relationships.

For this reason the “totalitarian” dictatorships emulated the ideological goals and practical methods of white-supremacist colonial imperialism, a theory and practice generally common across the European core and specifically evident in the postbellum US South. Yet this period also shows socio-political changes and potentials that historians consider revolutionary – indeed, with the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution the USA far surpassed any contemporary state in Europe as a legally constituted democracy, not only Germany and Russia, where general manhood suffrage would have been regarded as rabid anarchism if any political figure had been mad enough to suggest it, but also England, with its well-rooted if limited democratic traditions. In fact, some Radical Republicans of 1867 resemble nothing less than Bolsheviks and Social Revolutionaries of 1917 in their advocacy of disfranchising the wealthy, confiscating plantation land, and extending

the vote to the masses. Perhaps more to the point, however, is that the political class ascendent in 1876 resembles the Bolsheviks of 1921 and the Stalinists of 1932 in refusing representation to and allowing terrorism against their erstwhile allies in the name of developmentalist ends. The revolutionary appearance of former slaves in state legislatures representing plantation districts in place of the Cavalier aristocracy was but a brief caesura in the longer history of racialized repression at the local level.

Eric Foner's synthesis forms the basis for most current academic approaches to the Reconstruction period, marking the interactions between black agency and white power, the former consistent if not uniform and the latter ultimately victorious in keeping black Americans peripheralized subjects of a colonial economy. The events in each former Confederate state occurred under the influence of different balances of power and following different timelines, yet all arrived at the same place, and the tensions in each tended to coalesce around the same concerns. As far as possible those defined as "black" would be excluded from the benefits of modernity and be forced to work at the lowest levels of industrial and especially agricultural labor. Violence that aided these developmentalist goals had as a corollary violence that served a social and psychological as well as economic role in the maintenance of white domination: the imposition of certain kind of power took specific practical and discursive forms. No state was able to forge social, economic, or political unity between plantation-belt freedmen and upcountry white yeomen despite these two groups having largely identical economic interests and for a time similar political rights. The historically-developed logic of white supremacy made this unity impossible.

Planter control over their enslaved workforce had begun to collapse before the end of the Civil War, as bondsmen fled to Union lines and then into Union regiments, as represented by Robert Smalls spiriting his family and fellow crew out of Charleston Harbor in 1862 by commandeering the *CSS Planter*. His military intelligence allowed the navy to capture critical

defenses; he influenced the creation of black military units; he authored legislation as a Reconstruction politician in South Carolina. W.E.B. DuBois, writing in the 1930s, is too vaguely Marxist in referring to the increasing defections from slaveowners as a general strike, despite the damage to the Confederate cause that resulted, but one may conclude that fleeing to freedom did increase a subjective awareness of the power to change their condition in the ostensibly powerless that is often ascribed to participation in such collective action. If flight did not suffice, Army service augmented individual self-determination in African-American men, by all accounts, especially those of white Southerners shocked to find them flouting slavery's rules of ritual obeisance, like only speaking when spoken too and clearing off the sidewalk or road to make way for whites.⁷

Smalls symbolizes the most important factor in the postbellum period: black agency. African-American political and economic agitation shaped the moments that mark US history after the Civil War. Unfortunately these moments tend to be extremely violent acts of repression intended to exclude non-whites from the fruits of modernity, as individual and collective agency was opposed by power. Although black political organization did manage to achieve formal recognition of black Americans' constitutional citizenship, it would not be long observed. Abolitionist Wendell Phillips was wrong, in 1861, to propound that revolutions never go backward, but his comment points up the inherent quality of Radical Reconstruction, which brings one back to 1848, 1789, 1776, or 1917. These moments in the history of the European core have all featured democratic political organization against authoritarian powers, regardless of the color of one's interpretation or the narrative one favors, regardless of whether history succeeded in turning. Smalls's action is the specific instance of the general phenomenon, where the tools of modernity offer the means of democratic self-governance. African-American attempts to organize politically

⁷ Eric Foner. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*. New York: HarperPerennial, 2014 (1988), pp. 28, 62, 365-372. Joel Williamson. *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina Reconstruction, 1861-1877*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 7, 29-30. W.E.B. DuBois. *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. New York: New Press, 1992 (1935), pp. 55-83.

and to negotiate economically in the postbellum period belong to this history of European anti-aristocratic revolution.

However, their assertion of equality also belongs to the history of colonialism, or post-colonialism. In this context, one construes the post-Civil War exclusion of black Americans from citizenship in all but name somewhat differently. Democracy in the core was ever balanced with exclusion in the periphery, as colonialism brought the resource wealth that engendered modernity. The conditions of colonialism and how and why they reasserted themselves in a post-colonial US South is the key to the comparison with the totalitarian regimes. For the Gulag and the death camp are manifestations of the how and the why of European colonialism, as they are also failures to turn in the history of European democratic revolution.

Despit the fact that maintaining salvery had been the South's reason for war, the wavering decisions of Union authorities with regard to slavery and slaves reveal that little practical thought been applied to the question. Black defections across Union lines immediately forced the issue, when on May 23, 1861 three slaves who had been conscripted by the Confederate army to dig fortifications escaped to Fort Monroe, Virginia. Declared contraband of war by General Benjamin Butler when a Confederate General came to get them back, Butler astutely denied their labor to the enemy while preserving their status as property. The military installation became the destination for many more escapees, already five hundred by June 1861 and thousands more over the subsequent year. Congress made Butler's policy law in August and soon “contraband camps” of refugees from slavery were growing everywhere the Union army went. As historian Donald Schaffer points out, “without the initiative of the slaves, the situation likely would have never arisen.” The flow of slaves seeking freedom thus played a role in the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862, as recognized by Secretary of State William Seward at the time, who called emancipation “an accomplished fact” that the administration had been “the last” to acknowledge.

Butler again responded to the tide of refugees at his posting in New Orleans. Runaway slaves from the sugar plantations were forced to return to labor for their owners, still as slaves but paid wages, if those owners were loyal, or forced to work for new bosses, where absentee owners had their plantations leased to northern investors. Whipping was no longer allowed, but military discipline awaited any who did not sign labor contracts. In 1863 Butler's replacement, General Nathaniel Banks, codified these labor relations by decreeing yearly contracts for the former slaves at five percent of the crop or three dollars a month plus bed and board, with workers confined to the plantations. Policing was done by the military and the Union army took on the role of the slave patrols. The freedmen objected to being forced to sign these yearly contracts for piddling wages and the following year saw Banks concede higher pay and require planters to provide garden plots. Labor discipline did not revive, and the impressed ex-slaves neglected plantation work, favoring their tiny gardens. Described by Foner as “a compulsory system of free labor,” Banks's militarized post-colonial regime also failed to revive sugar production. The planters believed that it was because they could not whip the workers; torture was deemed essential to the enterprise.⁸

The fall of Vicksburg in July 1863 created another flood of black refugees from the Mississippi Valley cotton belt, overwhelming the system of camps that had been set up in autumn 1862; with insufficient resources the death rates climbed rapidly. Banks had ruled over 50,000 agricultural workers, but his system was now extended over 700,000 African-Americans under the authority of General Lorenzo Thomas. The plantations were leased by northern investors again, profiteers typically described as “an unsavory lot.” Wages were still paltry – seven dollars a month for men, five for women, with clothing and medical care deducted, but lessees frequently did not pay their laborers. A brief transfer to civilian rule under the Treasury Department saw wages go up, and proposals were floated to lease plantations directly to freedmen. Lessee Alexander Winchell, professor of zoology at the University of Michigan, thought that such oversight was exercised in “the exclusive interest of the negro” and ignored “the moral sense and patriotism of the white man.”

⁸ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 5, 55.

Lincoln seemed to concur, returning rule of the region to General Thomas, who dropped wages and did thus unilaterally abrogate all of the contracts signed by black laborers under the Treasury Department's aegis. Thomas made military governance a kind of bureaucratic-authoritarian version of the individual planter who refused to pay -- if governance is the word. The army took all the food, wagons, and tools, corrupt officers took most of the crop, and the "army worm" (named for the corrupt officers) devastated the fields. Confederate raiders killed over a dozen lessees and hundreds of freedmen in 1864, as the military proved unable or unwilling to provide security.⁹

The Treasury Department's plan to lease abandoned plantations to consortiums of freedmen, putting the question of the farmers' safety aside, would probably have been an economic success, as indicated by the unique experiment at Davis Bend, the plantation formerly owned by the President of the Confederate States of America Jefferson Davis and his brother. General Grant put the place under the authority of John Eaton and his system of refugee camps, called "home farms." Largely independent anyway, thanks to Joseph Davis's liberal racist paternalism, the former slaves were able to purchase or rent rations, tools, and mules on credit from the government (in fact the army) and were collectively given use of the land that the Davis brothers had abandoned. In 1865, a bad crop year for the South, the black capitalist collective produced two thousand bales of cotton and a profit of \$160,000. The plantation had its own elected sheriff and judges and would produce many black historical actors that were important during Reconstruction in Mississippi. After the war, Joseph Davis kept the plantation in their hands, but after his death creditors, or credit machinations, took the land away from the freedmen. The success at Davis Bend did not become typical for many reasons, but the profits realized should indicate how much room there was for black independent success, given access to land and minimal capital assistance.¹⁰

On the Sea Islands off the South Carolina coast, which give their name to one of the highest grades of cotton, planters fled their lands in 1861 after their army attacked Fort Sumter. The

9 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 57-58.

10 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 59.

remaining black population of about 10,000 promptly plundered the big houses, destroyed the cotton gins, and planted corn and potatoes. They did not want to grow cotton, but to practice subsistence-based mixed farming. In 1863 Treasury officials seized the land and auctioned it off to army officers, government officials, cotton companies, and northern speculators; eleven plantations were purchased by one Boston consortium that included a textile company agent and a railroad profiteer (“assistant supervisor”). Their vision was the very illustration of core/periphery relations, where black agricultural laborers would produce cash crops for wages and landowners would profit, while the landless would become a market for manufactured goods. Almost all of the former slaves were forced by the army to sign year-long labor contracts with the new landowners. One Boston investor, who made \$20,000 in 1865, still lamented the freedmen's preference to plant food instead of cotton (in an unusual outcome, he broke his plantation into small holdings and sold them to his former employees before returning to Massachusetts). The paternalistic Gideonite educators who came south saw the ex-slave as backward, in need of education and guidance to succeed in the modern world, but the islanders had a clear view of the realities of peripheralization. As one teacher noted, “The negro can see plainly enough that the proceed of the cotton will never go into black pockets.”¹¹

However, there was an exception to this authoritarian paternalism and crony capitalism in the person of General William Tecumseh Sherman, a practical man whose lack of sentimental idealism is revealed by his coinage of the phrase, “War is Hell” (as an admonition at a commencement speech to military academy graduates) and “war is cruelty” (in his “Letter to Atlanta”). Sherman ended his famous march to the sea in Savannah in 1864 with thousands of refugee former slaves on the hands of his army. Backed by Lincoln, he issued his Field Order No. 15, which reserved 400,000 acres of abandoned coastal plantation land for the settlement of 40,000 black escapees and declared that no white men except the Union military were permitted on the Sea Islands south of Charleston. Sherman and Secretary of War Stanton had met with a group of free

11 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 52.

black ministers four days before issuing his order, and he was probably influenced by their nearly unanimous insistence on the necessity of tillable land and freedom from white interference. In other words, both the actions of slaves to free themselves and the advice of black community leaders lay behind the decision; the practical exigencies of war and emancipation were more influential than any teleological beliefs about white civilization or the destiny of man in this particular example of revolutionary land reform.¹²

Eventually adding provision for one mule per allotment, Sherman's order is the most likely candidate for the origin of the phrase "forty acres and a mule" as a basis for a post-slavery settlement for freedmen. More to the point, these farmsteaders were granted deeds that put their holdings on a certain juridical foundation. One might think that such legal standing would garner greater respect from the Commander-in-Chief of the US Armed Forces than would the claims of absentee Confederates lately engaged in violent insurrection and traitorous rebellion, but one would be wrong. President Andrew Johnson ordered the military to confiscate the land in late 1865 and gave it back to the planters who had been first to secede, and whose armies had first fired upon the Union.¹³

Before and just after the end of the war, militarily imposed wage-labor contracts became the norm in three different areas under different authorities, essentially forcing black Americans to continue as plantation workers. Black claims to the land were almost entirely ignored and no credit systems were devised to allow purchases. Black mobility was curtailed by a pass system just as under slavery and the occupied plantation belt was patrolled by the military just as the poor-white "paddyrollers" had done. Under General Oliver Howard, the Freedmen's Bureau would continue some of these policies as Congressional (or Radical) Reconstruction went forward. Sherman's approach, although supported by Thaddeus Stevens and a small group of Radical Republicans, was never put into action again. Other examples, like plots on abandoned land in occupied Virginia and

12 Williamson, *After Slavery*, 59-60.

13 Williamson, *After Slavery*, 55, 79-86. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 158-163, 171.

North Carolina, were too tiny for subsistence farming and even there the deeds would not prove secure; some homesteading in Florida was marginalized by speculation. Southern whites overwhelmingly refused to rent land to black Americans despite the strong economic incentive to do so, and those who did faced violent retaliation from more fervent white-supremacists.¹⁴ The larger point here is that history did not mold the bases for the postwar economic stratification in the South according to the laws of classical economics, but under the terms of military intervention. Banks, Thomas, and the Bureau generally pressured freedmen to contract with their former owners and the generals set mandated price controls for labor: freedom of contract or of labor-market conditions have no meaningful application to the historical development of the South's immediate postbellum economic structure. Contracts and deeds were enforced or abrogated by the military according to the discretion of its personnel.

Despite its overall support of their economic dominance, the planters resented the Freedmen's Bureau, whose agents were empowered to adjudicate wage disagreements. Family correspondence of a very neutral sort referred archly to adjustments as an indignity and freedmen as troublesomely confused. (These “adjustments” appear as a grievance in the printed version of a 1875 Speech to the White Leagues, having become an affective synecdoche for a host of resentments coalesced around race¹⁵.) One 1866 letter bemoaned how a house servant had suddenly informed the writer that he would no longer be cleaning her room for her, as it no longer formed part of his duties. The former slaveowneress viewed this as effrontery, though with a kind of droll irony – after all, she simply gave the task to another house servant, who was coming along, even if not yet quite satisfactory. This kind of micro-negotiation was in fact the only economic leverage the freedpeople could use. Over time, many women working as domestics refused to live at the whites' house, for example, in order to salvage some time and avoid sexual exploitation. If this refusal was broadly successful, to the irritation of the whites, it still represented a kind of bare minimum that

¹⁴ Williamson, *After Slavery*, 291. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 368-369.

¹⁵ LLMVC, J. D. Bruns. *Address to the White League of New Orleans, Sept. 14 1875*. New Orleans; A. W. Hyatt, 1875, pg. 1.

had little effect on the exploitative economic conditions. The same daughter of the South above described how she had found a full-time cook for six dollars a month, considerably less than the slaveowners had paid each other to rent out their slaves, and for which price she also expected the cook's daughters to be constantly working; the younger girl was “idle” and had to be watched.¹⁶

In this context, pay disputes were endemic, as they had been during the 1864 cotton season in the Mississippi Valley. Neither northern investors nor former slaveowners wanted to pay black laborers. For their part the freedpeople believed they should get land. This point of view fits with Old Testament christianity as righteous justice for their years of toil, but it was incongruous with the sentiments expressed by whites. One of the Sea Island speculators from Boston professed to believe that by working as landless agriculture workers, black Americans would eventually own their own farms via “the ordinary workings of our system of land tenure.”¹⁷ For a New Englander, a historical meaning to the phrase would entail the freedmen hiring mercenaries to organize an attack on the nearest vulnerable settlement and to kill every man, woman, and child living there so that the freedmen could take the land, as the Massachusetts Bay Colony had done to wipe out Mystick Fort during the Pequot War.¹⁸ This had been the ordinary system of land tenure by which land had been acquired by Europeans in New England. It is probable that this speculator meant something else, “getting ahead through hard work” or some other cliché; the Free Soil ideology ignored the fact that the soil was free only by dint of military assaults and ethnic extermination.

The belief that they would be given rights to the land made many plantation-belt freedmen reluctant to sign the year-long contracts in the winter of 1865, while the whites, arguably, were terrified of insurrection, in part because of this minimal show of black independence, or perhaps they were just intent on controlling their labor source.¹⁹ As the earliest postwar state legislatures

16 LLMVC, Benjamin Cuny Family Papers 1845-1949, MSS.4246, Letter to Benj. Cuny from Maria Cuny, Jan. 21, 1866.

17 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 53.

18 Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2014, pp. 62-63.

19 Steven Hahn, "'Extravagant Expectations' of Freedom: Rumour, Political Struggle, and the Christmas Insurrection Scare of 1865 in the American South," *Past & Present*, No. 157 (Nov. 1997), pp. 122-158, 147, 150-151.

framed their Black Codes in 1865 and 1866, they took advantage of the Thirteenth Amendment's exception allowing forced labor for crime in order to criminalize black labor negotiation. So declares the Louisiana law of December, 1865, "An act to provide for and regulate labor contracts for agricultural pursuits": "Each laborer, after choosing his employer, "shall not be allowed to leave his place of employment until the fulfillment of his contract unless by consent of his employer, or on account of harsh treatment or breach of contract on the part of employer; and if they do so leave without cause or permission they shall forfeit all wages earned[...]it shall be lawful for the employer to retain the other merely until the completion of the contract..."²⁰

The restriction of movement was a typical planter hobbyhorse, clearly a way to keep wages low but also to keep labor present, especially at the close of the war. From the first opportunity, black Americans tried to reunite with their family members who had been sold away. As Bureau Agent H. G. Judd reported from isolated Beaufort on the South Carolina Sea Islands on August 1, 1865, "The average arrivals of Freedmen in transit from all parts of the state, Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina seeking their relatives and endeavoring to reach their homes have been fifty (50) per day."²¹ One might interpret these facts as indicating that black family structures inherently interfere with white control of labor.

In Florida, "whereas it is essential to the welfare and prosperity... that the agricultural interest be sustained and placed on a permanent basis," the January 1866 "act in relation to contracts of persons of color" penalized "any person of color" with 39 lashes, or being "remanded to [the employer's] service," should one: "refuse or neglect to perform the stipulations of his contract by willful disobedience of orders, wanton impudence, or disrespect to his employer, or his authorized agent, failure or refusal to perform the work assigned to him, idleness, or abandonment of the premises or the employment of the party with whom the contract was made.." This act was

²⁰ Louisiana law quoted in arguments in *Kellog v. Warmoth*, NARA II, *House of Representatives Ex. Doc. 91, 2nd Congress, 3rd Session*, "Condition of Affairs in Louisiana," SSID 1565, pg. 197.

²¹ Letter H. G. Judd to General R. Saxton, Aug 1, 1865, Records for the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870, National Archives Microfilm Publication M869 Roll 34, "Reports of Conditions and Operations July 1865-Dec. 1866." <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/southcarolina/scoperations5.htm> accessed 18/01/18

promulgated on the same day as the "act to punish vagarants and vagabonds," wherein a vagrant was defined as "every able-bodied person who has no visible means of living and shall not be employed at some labor to support himself or herself, or shall be leading and idle, immoral, or profligate course of life." They could be hired out to employers for one year or be whipped up to 39 lashes, and "the proceeds of such hiring shall go into the country treasury;" this latter provision would produce, at year's end, another crop of "vagabonds" with no funds to support themselves.²²

The economic coercion of these intertwined vagrancy and contract laws, their purpose to keep labor subservient to the agricultural interest on a permanent basis, was recognized at the time. When he ordered the non-enforcement of Virginia's vagrancy law in January, 1866, which made it a crime to refuse to work for the "usual and common wages given to other laborers," General A. H. Terry remarked that such a statute put the freedpeople "wholly[*sic*] in the power of their employers." He specified that:

meetings of employers have been held, and unjust and wrongful combinations have been entered into for the purpose of depressing the wages of the freedmen below the real value of their labor, far below the prices formerly paid to masters for labor performed by their slaves... wages utterly inadequate to the support of the themselves and families... The effect of the statute in question will be, therefore, to compel the freedmen, under penalty of punishment as criminals, to accept and labor for the wages established by these combinations..."²³

Decades later the investigator hired by a lumber company consortium told them that their form of black labor management was, "keep him broke."²⁴

In the case of *Kellog v. Warmoth* in 1872, counsel observed that the planters, railroad men, lumber operators, and so on were paying the freedpeople far less than they had paid to each other for the services of one another's slaves, and this with much worse workplace safety, since they were no longer worth a thousand dollars as property.²⁵ The kind of working conditions that the

²² One notes the projection of moral inferiority requiring statutory intervention. Florida laws quoted in arguments in *Kellog v. Warmoth*, *HoR Ex. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 201.

²³ General Terry's "General Orders no. 4" quoted in arguments in *Kellogg v. Warmoth*, *HoR Ex. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 203.

²⁴ Report to the Southern Pine Association, 1918 quoted in James Fickle, "Management Looks at the 'Labor Problem': The Southern Pine Industry during World War I and the Progressive Era," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Feb. 1974) pp. 61-76, pg. 68.

²⁵ *HoR Ex. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 204, 207.

freedpeople were compelled to accept, even after the "usurpation" of Radical Reconstruction, included being shot and wounded while working after failing to respond to the shouts of a drunken overseer – labor discipline gone past the point of encouraging productivity, and behavior more reminiscent of a prison guard than a supervisor – a grand jury refused to indict the overseer.²⁶ Unable to break contract, or re-contract on better terms, anyone objecting to such working conditions had, in effect, nowhere to go; if they tried to go somewhere, they could be arrested, and in Georgia could be returned to be worked for a year with a ball and chain on the plantation they had left.²⁷ Road patrols were re-established immediately after the war, executively ordered by the governor in the case of Mississippi; management of the roads was handed by the police jury for this reason. Even in the above the case of self-styled free-labor intervention from the North, contract terms for railroad labor could well be set by the military agent.

As political terrorism increased across the South during Reconstruction, attacks on Republicans dovetailed with economic interests, to an extent comparable to direct management of the economy. Some Black Codes explicitly criminalized private sales of agricultural products by any "person of color" working for "a master engaged in husbandry," as well as sales and distillation of liquor, and suppression of black market activity continued into Reconstruction.²⁸ A Virginia railroad contractor working in South Carolina in 1872 whose work-camp was attacked by the local Ku-Klux Klan was also offering higher pay to black workers than his Democratic competitors. Political terrorism also targeted successful independent black farmers, even those who were tenants of Democratic whites. Renting and especially selling land to black farmers could be violently discouraged through death threats, although conditions varied from county to county. The way that economic interest was framed by white terrorists was as a black versus white, zero-sum economic conflict: as one old Democrat explained to Judge James Justice, Klan terror was necessary, despite

26 Testimony of Amos Akerman in NARA II, *House of Representatives Misc. Doc. No. 52, 40th Congress, 2nd Session*, "Condition of Affairs in Georgia," SSID 1385, pg. 17. .pdf

27 *HoR Ex. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 203.

28 General Sickles countermanded the black-only nature of the legislation in the name of "the system of free labor," but military governors had no control over the local application of the law. Sickles' decree and South Carolina laws in *HoR Ex. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 199-201.

excesses, to "control the negroes... 'If not for them, we would not be sitting here by this fire this morning, for the negroes would take it away from us... The negroes are working well, and fear of the Ku-Klux keeps them about right and proper.'"²⁹ The freedmen taking away the fire, the symbol of human civilization, is an apt projection of whites zero-sum economic assumptions in the context of colonial labor relations under threat.

Witnesses found it hard to explain the attack on Essie Harris, of Rutherford County, North Carolina, who was a farmer who worked hard and bothered nobody, on the land of a sympathetic former slaveowner -- why should the KKK attempt to murder Harris and his family in 1871? Although he voted the Republican ticket, so did virtually every other African-American, and he was no Party activist. However, he did infringe all the anti-black economic rules of the postbellum South. He rented his land directly and chose what to grow on it; he held a consignment of corn from a neighboring black man (who had been attacked and beaten, causing him to flee the area, after he had refused the price offered by whites for his corn); he had also done some work on the railroad for the above Virginia contractor (who was a distant relation of the family of George Washington and Robert E. Lee yet was nevertheless called "Yankee" by the Carolina Klansmen); he bought whiskey in the morning before going up to the railroad, presumably selling some through the day (the man who sold him whisky was one of the band who attacked his house).³⁰ With the exception of the corn, no witness directly links the restriction of economic activity as a causal factor to the ethnic-cleansing-style attempted murder, but more blatant cases of economic terrorism took place frequently. Freedman Thomas Burrell testified that in 1868 "they took away all of my crops at the end of the year and said they did not think the cotton was gathered in time" and that men being beaten and driven away was an incident "too common to be noticed."³¹

29 NARA II, *Senate Report No. 41, Vol. 2, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session*, "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States" Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872. SSID 1485, pp. 55-57, 137. .pdf

30 *Sen. Rep. No. 41, Vol. 2*, SSID 1485, pp. 33-35, 74, 86-102.

31 *Executive Documents of the US House of Representatives, Vol. 265, 41st Congress, 2nd session, 1869-1870*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870, pg. 529. <https://books.google.es/books?id=mehXAAAACAAJ> accessed 15/06/18

Planters frequently drove away or refused to re-contract with agricultural workers, exposing them to arrest and forced labor. This began immediately after the war; one Bureau summary from 1866 reported three murders of freedmen and “many freedmen have been turned off plantations without cause, the planters not assigning any reason for so doing, and refusing to pay them” in Pointe Coupe Parish, Louisiana. Proximity to the city increased the number of recorded incidents: “In the Parishes of Orleans and Jefferson there are many complaints of injustice of the employers in hiring the freedmen and refusing to pay them.”³² A subsequent report from the state Bureau headquarters describing the 1866 harvest season stated, “The incidents are not infrequent where the freedmen were defrauded and swindled out of their earnings, by a class of disloyal, dishonest, and dishonorable men, who would unhesitatingly violate and evade their contract, in order to rob the laborers...”³³

As Reconstruction went forward such economic exploitation continued and overlapped with political terrorism. The alliance with this would-be peasantry that was offered by white power was only on its terms; voting was only encouraged if for the Democratic Party; the Party moved to break economic deviation from white control. One freedman in Natchitoches Parish described how, for not voting the Democratic ticket, “more than a hundred” were driven away “and it brought them nearly to starvation... I saw them after they were turned off going around trying to get homes.” At a Democratic Party barbecue before the Louisiana election in 1868, Congressman Michael Ryan – who sat on the committee taking the testimony – reportedly told the opposition, “God damn you, you should all be taken out and hung,” and that black Americans voting for “carpet-baggers” should be fired and anyone employing them should be socially ostracized. A Freedmen's Bureau agent in DeSoto Parish, who had been sent to replace his predecessor gone into hiding for his life, told of a freedman who “got his head broken open for wanting his pay,” and described how the planter

32 NARA I, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, RG 105.3, M1027, Roll 27, MF “Annual Report of Operations and Conditions,” Oct., 1866.

33 NARA I, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land,s RG 105.3, M1207, Roll 27 MF Report J. A. Korver, Assistant Commissioner Freedmen's Bureau HQ, New Orleans, Sept. 1867.

Gillespie claimed he would discharge all his men if they did not vote the Democratic ticket. He said that men were fired for reporting maltreatment to the Bureau agent, and explains, "If I had attempted to investigate a case, I would have got my chunk put out."³⁴

Such violent affirmations of racist power are amply represented one brief summary of events in Louisiana collected by a Bureau agent. One freedman who refused to sell his share of the cotton crop to the planter who owned the land he worked was shot to death by the planter, who was allowed to "escape" from jail before his trial. A freedman who refused to pay again for the second time a debt that he had already paid was taken out to the woods and whipped for insolence, then falsely charged with petty theft. A black laborer was kidnapped, whipped 400 times, driven off the plantation, and told "he would be taught he was not free" in August 1866. A freedman named Hardy, who on returning home from church was asked for his pass, replied that he did not have one nor think it necessary to have one; local lawman Amile Lovitt then began pistol whipping him and shot at him when he ran away, "wounding a white man who was standing near. When the freedman reached the street a man in a coffee house emptied his revolver at him," wounding him severely. On Christmas Eve and Christmas, ostensibly in search of arms, a gang of thirty ex-confederate "Bossier Parish militia," led by a certain N. Taylor (with four other men of the group later identified), kidnapped and tortured one freedman, Nelson Logan, by hanging him from a tree until he lost consciousness, and murdered another, Willis Dickson, as he fled from an assault. Labor discipline was not the only economic rationale: Black families and individuals were simply robbed and killed on the road, and in one incident of municipal piracy, a group of freedmen who had rented a building in town for a religious event were arrested and fined four dollars each before the service began, on the grounds that some other renter had previously "disturbed the peace" by praising god; the sum of 40 to 48 dollars the men were fined was certainly more than the night's rent they had paid.³⁵

³⁴ *House Documents, Vol. 265, 525-526; 535; 674-675.*

³⁵ Letter from General Samuel Thomas, Sept. 3, 1867. Records of the Assistant Commissioner for Louisiana, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865 - 1869. National Archives Microfilm M1027 Roll 34, Records

In Lafayette, Georgia, one finds a typical exemplar of southern economics in the planter, M. E. Owens, attempting to murder freedman Henderson Ketchum when he asked to be paid his wages on November 1, 1867.³⁶ This sentiment was widespread in the Peach State. A. P. Ketchum's Bureau report of September 1, 1865 from Savannah, one of the most protected areas of the former Confederacy due to Sherman's occupation, indicated the real basis on which any mooted movement to freedom of contract would in fact go forward.

Among planters of every grade, from the interior, as well as the city... for some time to come ex-slaveholders will take no interest whatever in the free labor system... we shall hear from them continual complaints, that the negroes 'won't work,' 'won't fulfill their agreements,' are worthless as free laborers, and these complaints will be made and circulated with the utmost assiduity, whether the negroes are faithful or not... On the Central Railroad it was said, the negro could not be hired to work... but could make his contract, get his first week's rations, and then abscond. I discovered that the Rail Road Overseer, instead of treating his men as they had a right to be treated, abused them much as if they were slaves[...] "I had new contracts drawn and procured[?] more laborers than the contractor could employ, although he had represented to the General and to numerous citizens that the negroes would not work, and could not be hired to work[...]

"Some of them returned. They had been abused, cursed and maltreated, and sometimes for two or three days could get scarcely anything to eat... others came, whose time [of contract] had expired, but their wages were held back, promised to them but not paid[...] Complaints crowd upon us from the Interior negroes who have worked on the crop until it is "laid by," and are entitled to a share of it for their services are suddenly driven from the plantation, and thrown upon the Government for support... The proprietor is insulting and defiant, and living as he does, perhaps, in some back county of the state not within a hundred miles of United States troops, is in no fear of punishment... A boy of twelve years old came to my office a few days since, battered and bruised, his flesh lacerated by the cruel blows of his former master, who had driven him off, helpless and hungry, to find food and shelter as best he could."*[sic throughout]*³⁷

The October 25, 1865 assessment to his superior officer of Lieutenant Colonel C S. Brown, a strictly military observer, noted similar white-supremacist economic measures in South Carolina.

Relating to Murders and Outrages, "Miscellaneous Reports and Lists Relating to Murders and Outrages" Mar. 1867-Nov. 1868 <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/louisiana/outrages/outrages4.htm> accessed 15/06/18

36 "1867 Report of Names of Freed People who have been assaulted with intent to kill, in the sub Dist. of Rome, GA in 1867,"*[sic] Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia*, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands 1865-1869, National Archives Microfilm Publication M798 Roll32, Reports Relating to Murders and Outrages 1865-1868, List of Freedmen Murdered or Assaulted 1867. <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/georgia/gaoutragespt2.htm> accessed 15/06/18

37 Letter from A.P. Ketchum to Rufus Saxton, Sept. 1, 1865, "Reports of Conditions and Operations," *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina*, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870, National Archives Microfilm Publication M869 Roll 34 <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/southcarolina/scoperations4.htm> accessed 03/01/18

"The determination among a certain class is to get rid of the freedmen and women now their crops are nearly gathered... There are those who delight in killing Negroes... I hear today that five Negroes have been murdered within a week or two in Greenville District..."³⁸ This sort of economic terrorism did not abate with the coming of Radical Reconstruction; freedmen taking up plots under the terms of the Homestead Act of 1862 were driven off their land, for example in St. Landry Parish in 1868.³⁹ One should note from Ketchum's report that the free-labor alternative to this kind of coercion was a contract with terms imposed by the military, not dictated by the market. The states had re-established slavery in all but name under the Black Codes legislated by the state governments under Johnson's lenient policies, but the free-labor beliefs of northern economic commanders, upheld in the name of maintaining agricultural production, offered little freedom.

The earliest work contracts adjudicated by the Freedmen's Bureau after the war reflected the realities of economic policies dictated by existing settler-colonial power relations. When stipulated, the working week was a full seven days, with Sundays given over to plantation upkeep. Planters generally agreed to pay between 200 and 250 dollars for a years work, before deductions for "supplies" and medical care (the lower bound of which was still the average allowed a cropper a half-century later, at least on paper) but they also demanded complete obedience and humility. So, one such contract stipulated that "The said freemen are to work unconditionally... & perform all labor of whatever kind," while another, for one-fourth of the crop, said the former slaves must "work six days a week and account for lost time. They further agree to cook and do the necessary feeding of stock on Sunday." A certain W. E. Copeland of Tennessee hired Anthony Perry for one year, for seventy-five dollars: "He is to work on the farm and do anything about the farm that I tell him to do; he pays his own doctors bill & if he loses time it is docted from his wages."[sic]

38 Letter from C.S. Brown to C.H. Howard, October 23, 1865, "Reports of Conditions and Operations," *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina*, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870, National Archives Microfilm Publication M869 Roll 34
<http://www.freedmensbureau.com/southcarolina/scoperations3.htm> accessed 03/01/18

39 This event, in which the freedman William Johnson was killed, occurred on Sept. 16, and may have been a causal factor in the subsequent massacre. NARA I, RG 105.3, M 1027 Roll 34, "Synopsis of Murders Committed in Parish of St. Landry," and "Miscellaneous Reports and Lists Relating to Murders and Outrages Mar.1867-Nov. 1868."

Another planter named Carruthers contracted with a couple for a year for the price of 195 dollars all told, "lost time to be taken out of their wages;" they were "to work faithfully, be obedient & respectful to said J. F. Carruthers and jointly do all directed to do."⁴⁰ A much larger workforce in Georgia was hired on these terms: "The laborers on their part agree to work faithfully and diligently on the Plantation of the said Clark Anderson & Co. for six days in the week and do all necessary work usually done on a plantation on the Sabbath, during this year 1866... that we will be respectful and obedient to said Clark Anderson & Co. or their agents."*[sic]*⁴¹

Two years later, a contract for two share-cropping families on one of the largest tobacco plantations in Tennessee shows little had changed despite the Congressional takeover of Reconstruction policy. The planter George A. Washington hired them for one year of labor, in exchange for one-third of the crop, minus deductions for supplies and tools, and including labor on the plantation fences and "any work on said farm that said Washington may direct, cultivation & management of said crop & work to be completely under the control of the said Washington." They were forbidden to take wage-work off the plantation, and "should the said Dick & Sam & families fail to comply with the above to the satisfaction of [illeg.] Washington or any of his family, the said Washington reserves to himself the privilege of dismissing said Dick & Sam or any member of their family at once & requiring his removal from said farm by paying themselves & family Twenty dollars per month for the services of the entire family or in proportion to that sum for any member that may be discharged & of them being discharged no longer to have any interest in said crop."*[sic throughout]*⁴² Compensation in the latter case was to be made after deductions. On such terms it was easy to dismiss workers and croppers after the crop was picked but before it was sold, giving

40 Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, National Archives Microfilm Publication M999, Roll 20, "Indentures of Apprenticeship Dec. 1865-Feb. 1868, Contracts: Jan. 1, 1865-Jan. 1, 1868."

<http://www.freedmensbureau.com/tennessee/contracts/dicksonindenture.htm> accessed 15/06/18

41 Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, National Archives Publication M798 Roll 36, "Unbound Miscellaneous Papers."

<https://www.freedmensbureau.com/georgia/contracts/georgiacontract.htm> accessed 15/06/18

42 "Sharecropping contract between George A. Washington and Dick Terry and Sam Vanhook," Tennessee State Library and Archives at <http://sos.tn.gov/products/tsla/washington-family-papers-1796-1962> accessed 27/12/17

them nothing at all without necessarily breaking the contract, and such a practice was far from infrequent.

However, as long as the Bureau and its agents were available as representatives of Federal military power, freedmen and freedwomen had a chance to prevent their being thoroughly cheated, although very often the agent would explain to the dissatisfied laborers that the contract terms made legal and legitimate the desultory payment of a few dollars at year's end. Planters expressed great resentment at these interventions in their exercise of total power, the "adjustments," all the more if they were actually trying to cheat the freedpeople. The non-pecuniary negotiation of power relations was more familiar to planters, whose constant complaints of pay disputes, labor difficulties, and labor shortages were a result of the excessive expectations engendered by slavery and the lash. Those who prided themselves on paying fairly and always paying claimed never to have labor problems, but they were few and far between, as well as probably rather lucky with respect to weather conditions, paramilitary assaults, and infestations. The Virginian railroad operator above, for example, had been attacked and had his credit cut – he could not pay outstanding wages. In other cases, as with the Bostonian above, they probably did not profit as much as they would have liked.

Sharecropping may have coalesced into permanence after cotton's rebound year of 1869, when high prices and high yields translated into tangible profits for the freedmen and their families, given the presence of Bureau agents to influence the planters to actually pay. Most sources, however, discuss the shift as a power negotiation between freedpeople and planters in which the debt was imposed on the farmer through control of capital resources and profit was reserved for the landlord through the state-enforced crop-lien giving the landlord all financial right in the crop. Tenancy and cropping arrangements, significantly different from slavery, represented the best that black Americans could achieve despite juridical legal and civic equality. In practical terms African-Americans were able to move away from the plantation house and slave quarters and decrease

violent and authoritarian interference in their daily lives, including outright terrorism, although not escape it entirely. Sharecroppers could also earn some money, here and there, twenty or thirty dollars per year, for their work in bringing in the crop. Some black Americans were suffered to remain landowners or cash tenants, but, especially in the latter case, economic dependencies tended to elide the differences.

The general plan is that the landlord furnishes the land and the teams and feed for the teams and the impliments, for which he draws one half the crop... \$95 to \$100 is as much as a hand can make, and that is not enough to feed any man in a Christian country. I have compiled a little table here... the average interest charged in Albama for supplies is a hundred percent.[...] Under the plan of working on shares the family clears \$37.50, and by way of renting, \$17.50. Out of this amount... the family must be fed and clothed and educated, and buy medicines.

So testified James Rapier before a Congressional Committee in 1880. Independent farmers could be and were lynched for disputing prices dictated by landlords, gin-owners, or cotton buyers -- this theft and murder is known as "moral hazard" to economists -- just as black laborers faced dangerous disputes over wages. "I may raise as much cotton as I please," said Rapier, "but I am prohibited by law from selling it to anyone except the landlord."⁴³ On the sugar and rice plantations collective labor organization and crop-processing requirements allowed for greater success in negotiating wage and working conditions, but these were only a small and declining part of southern economic production.⁴⁴ The long and steady flight of black Americans from the South to industrial centers of the North, away from extremes of violence and shackling of opportunity, testifies as to how little conditions would improve. In any case over the long term the cotton economy stagnated, and the notional worth of a cropper's year was around two hundred dollars after the turn of the century, the same figure as the early Reconstruction contracts.⁴⁵ For black tenant farmers, this was almost if not

43 "Until contracts are renewed for another year, the laborers will be forced to be idle." NARA II, *Senate Report No. 693 Pt 2., 46th Congress, 2nd Session*, "Proceedings of the Select Committee of the United States Senate to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes from the Southern States to the Northern States," SSID 1900, pp. 465-467. .pdf.

44 John C. Rodrigue, "Labor Militancy and Black Grassroots Political Mobilization in the Louisiana Sugar Region," 1865-1868," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol 67, No. 1 (Feb. 2000), pp. 115-142.

45 This economic stagnation is not Alston and Kauffman's interpretation of their results. They show no doubt that black farmers were remunerated according to their model, despite the overwhelming evidence that they very rarely received anything, nor do they question the representative validity of their data, despite the dubious relationship to reality that such numbers have frequently shown. The subtext of their argument seems to be that racism did not affect the economic structures of the South. Lee J. Alston & Kyle D. Kauffman, *Competition and Compensation of*

always adjusted downward by the planter to just a few dollars at the yearly settling time.⁴⁶ The terms of these sharecropping contracts remained the general terms for croppers well into the nineteen-forties.⁴⁷

If a black farmers objected to the planters' terms, they faced violent reprisals, but also being discharged: at which point they became criminal vagrants. Since forced labor was still constitutionally allowed as punishment for crime, African-American prison laborers were put to work on industrial infrastructure projects like railroads and levees. Every state except Virginia had systems in place for convict leasing by 1867 and they remained unaffected by the vagaries of Reconstruction policy. The later development of the Birmingham steel industry relied on such forced labor for mining the coal and keeping the coke ovens going; postbellum Republican governors like Georgia's Rufus Bullock relied on prisoners to build the railroads whose guaranteed bond payoffs lined their pockets. Mississippi had a cotton plantation tilled by convicted men at Parchman Farm and Louisiana used prisoners at the Louisiana State Penitentiary, called Angola, the private plantation of the state lessee S. L. James.

In one fiscal quarter, James received thousands of dollars from the Federal government for supplying labor to work on the Tensas Parish levees. In April 1890 he received 3,492 dollars for "services" to the Hard Times-Wilson Levee.⁴⁸ "Radical" Governor Warmoth had gotten the the cream of New Orleans involved in public-debt bond-issue schemes,⁴⁹ and who knows how much of "services," as identified in the ledgers, was forced labor supporting the paper securities. Another operator providing services in April of 1890 was J. L. Row, who worked for James himself. Contract approval was in the hand of local Levee Boards of Commissioners, led by local planter

Sharecroppers by Race: A View from Plantations in the Early Twentieth Century," *Explorations in Economic History*, No. 38 (2001) pp. 181-194.

46 Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and its Legacy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984, pp. 59- 61. Sven Beckert. *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism*. New York: Penguin, 2014, pp. 284-288. Williamson, *After Slavery*, 189-173.

47 Isabel Wilkerson. *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*. New York, Random House, 2010, pp. 51-55.

48 NARA IV, Abstracts Disbursements, RG77, ARCID581123, S-46-213-5, NM45/1755. "Disbursements 1886-1890"

49 *House Exec. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, pg. 74.

elites, like the Stovalls in Mississippi and none other than P. G. T. Beauregard in New Orleans (where he was also a player in politics, investor in streetcar lines, and employed to oversee the drawings of the state lottery). The Hard Times-Wilson Levee Supervisor was one John McGinty, who along with his wife or sister received contracts which he himself approved. In later years this type of levee contract would be a sub-contracting item at cost minus ten percent, and the contents of the archival folder reveal the seamy side of capital development: one memo reminds readers of the act of Congress stipulating that “contractors shall promptly make payments to all” while another points out that contractors and sub-contractors were also liable under the eight-hour-day law not to overwork “laborers and mechanics.” Such memoranda indicate the breach of payments and disregard for working conditions; one can only wonder which of these laws was more often broken.⁵⁰

James also supplied laborers to smaller individuals and farms that depended on his cheap “slaves,” as they were still sometimes called.⁵¹ When S. L. James wrote to the newspapers protesting their publication of a story about two escaped convicts (who were reportedly rented out to plantations without guards), which he felt was a fabrication, actionable to the tune of 250 dollars (“at least”) in damages, he wrote his missive under the letterhead of “Manufacturers Baton Rouge Sheetings, Shirtings, Osnaburgs, Jeans, Bricks, Hogsheads, and Barrels, Penitentiary.”⁵² This blurring between repressive power and business activity appears in the best-selling exposé of an armed guard in the South's agricultural and extractive economy, which with its title *American Siberia* deliberately played on Russia's authoritarian reputation in the nineteenth century (“where

50 LLMVC, Mannin and Gibson Levee Construction Records 1892-1896 MSS:395 Box 1, Folder 6, “Contract Between Manning & Gibson & Yazoo-Mississippi-Delta Board of Levee Commissioners,” June 13, 1895; folder 4 “Voucher, Office US Engineer” April 28, 1894; “Contract, Manning & Gibson and James A. Andrews.”

51 LLMVC, *Records of Southern Plantations from Emancipation to Migration*, Ira Berlin, ed. Series B, Part 2, Louisiana Cotton Plantations, Bethesda: University Publications of America, 2001 MF, Alexander Blanche Papers, 1841-1914, Marydale Plantation, Mss. 3342. Letter from S.L. James to A. Blanche, Oct. 28, 1886. Mark Carleton bluntly states “... into the 1960s... the terms 'convict,' 'slave,' 'Negro,' and 'farm work' have remained interchangeable in the mind of institutional Louisiana.” Mark T. Carleton. *Politics and Punishment: The History of the Louisiana State Penal System*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971, pg. 7

52 LLMVC, Alexander Blanche Papers 1841-1914, Marydale Plantation, Letter from S. L. James to J. Austin, Dec. 10, 1870.

despotism can be taken pure,” wrote Lincoln, “without the base alloy of hypocrisy”⁵³); the narrator fails to distinguish between prison-camps and free workplaces. It seems that generally speaking privately-run economic concerns made more profitable use than in-prison factory production did out of police-supplied forced labor. Ostensibly free-labor industries were really organized like prison camps, with armed guards, attack dogs, and bad food; often debt was used strategically to imprison workers in a lumber or turpentine camp who could never, at commissary prices, pay off their first week's “advance.”

Contract terms for convict-worked farms included the docking of food for “impudence” and “not coming when sent for,” like those in contracts overseen by the Freedmen's Bureau or the military. James's Good Hope Plantation at Morganza Landing, sub-leased to Supervisor J. D. Waters, is called in another letter the “Morganza convict camp.” It ostensibly paid its “third class” workers five dollars per day and offered “good and wholesome food,” but in one group of released prisoners from his Marydale plantation in 1886, each man has earned five dollars upon discharge, whether serving six months or two years. Guards were paid one dollar per day, or night, and capturing an escaped convict was worth thirty dollars; put another way, the price for recapturing an escapee was the labor of six men for six months to two years. Informants could earn money by turning in other workers, or prisoners, for theft.⁵⁴

The myriad forms of untranscended moral hazard made the black economy in the South something of a vast, unsupervised prison complex, something like a prison camp within a larger camp. This pattern emerged at the end of the Civil War, and not as a reaction to northern usurpation or criminal threat. The bribes that paid the legislators who sold the Louisiana convict lease almost certainly came from the money made by the Louisiana Lottery, the brainchild of Radical Republican Warmoth, and it would prove a long-lived slush fund.⁵⁵ In this environment, Louisiana

53 Letter from Abraham Lincoln to Joshua Speed, Aug. 24, 1855

<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speed.htm> accessed 11/02/18

54 LLMVC, Alexander Blanche Papers 1841-1914, S. L. James, “Contractor Payroll;” letter from S. L. James to H. J. Hart, Aug. 9, 1886; Louisiana State Penitentiary Discharge Receipts, Maryland Plantation, Nov. 1886; Good Hope Plantation Papers, “Contract for 1865;” J. D. Waters, “High Court of Pains and Penalties,” undated.

55 Carleton, 16, 28-30.

simply kept no records at all, a backhanded way of eliminating corruption, but also a sign of how difficult the impact of forced labor is to assess empirically. One might consider in economic terms the harshness of the labor regime when Mississippi levee-camp workers recall their lives being worth less than a mule.⁵⁶ Investigator A. J. Hoyt estimated that in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, one-third of operators with five plows or more used arrests to hold workers in peonage in 1907; there were captives forced to work in every county of Alabama and across all of Florida, he believed.⁵⁷ Although whites could get caught up in the system too, particularly in Texas, penal enforcement was overwhelmingly black and the goal of controlling black labor was superordinate to ideas about punishing “crime,” as the interchangeability of “slave,” “negro,” and “convict” in the Louisiana sources quite exemplifies, and as the vagrancy and other provisions of the early black codes shows in a more general way.

State prisoners were a minority in any case; convict workers were not only those convicted before state courts. Counties, municipalities, and any local crossroad justice-of-the-peace could also bind out to labor those who were convicted of crimes, and county prisoners could end up anywhere from a Carnegie coal mine to a Georgia road camp between Reconstruction and World War I (and beyond). Death rates for any group of prisoners in a documented situation in the South were very high, higher than most in Siberia, but the brutality of smaller operations frequently stood out, like the John. S. Williams case in Georgia. He killed the workers he had been holding prisoner when the Justice Department showed up in 1921 to investigate torture and murder on the Williams place (no prosecution, however, would have been forthcoming, the agent says); for some three years, no-one had ever been released from his custody; some of them had been acquired for five dollars plus their court costs. Williams was convicted of the murders and sentenced to life imprisonment; though he may have gone too far, “most all of the farmers in this county,” he said,

⁵⁶ Alan Lomax. *The Land Where Blues Began*. New York: New Press, 1993, pg. 253.

⁵⁷ Pete Daniel. *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972, pp. 107-108.

were holding workers captive who were purchased from town and city law-enforcement agents.⁵⁸

One complaint to the Justice Department in 1915 from a local drugstore proprietor in Alexandria, LA accused the area's law enforcement of farming out black children through the juvenile court for up to seven years.⁵⁹

This was not a free economy. While African-Americans were directly affected by these production techniques, they also lowered wages for the “free workers” and whites. Black forced labor also appeared at critical nodes of production in the industrializing process, mining coal for coke and keeping the coke ovens running, for example, upon which the economic viability of the steel industry depended, and “naval stores,” which serviced the prodigious carrying trade of the USA in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Violent economic compulsion continued in the Progressive Era, showing how exterminationist violence and government powers intertwined in the labor regimes of modern capitalism. The 1911 case of Ed Sanders featured a man severely whipped to force him to work in an eastern Louisiana Lumber Camp.⁶⁰ The next few years saw the Justice Department receive and file dozens of accusations of forced labor in such camps across the state; complainants described the Deputy Sheriffs and Justice of the Peace in Calcasieu Parish as “belonging to the American Lumber Company,” while the Justice Department was warned that Grant Timber and Manufacturing Company and Judge Boarman were “in cahoots.”⁶¹ People openly discussed the effect of terrorism on the labor market. In a 1911 Hawkinsville, Georgia case, the investigator noted, “Many people not hesitating to say that negroes will be compelled to work out labor contracts even if a few of them have to get lynched in order to terrorize the remaining ones into complying with these iniquitous contracts.”⁶²

This twentieth-century regime of casual violence that accomplished a racialized economic

58 Daniel, *Shadow*, 110-114, 122-123.

59 NARA II, RG 60, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Stack 230, Box 19, File 50-293.

60 NARA II, RG 60, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Box 19, Entry 114, File 50-277.

61 NARA II, RG 60, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Stack 230, Box 19, File 50-286; File 50-292.

62 Daniel, *Shadow*, 109.

exclusion shows its roots in the Reconstruction period, but there were deeper and broader implications than merely that of controlling a labor force, and these appear right after the Civil War as well. The peculiar psychology of white power under the peculiar institution came out in a rash of attacks that seem to lack economic justification. St. Landry Parish received special notice, where Bureau “adjustments” included the murder of five freedmen: “At present no one feels safe.” In Franklin and Caldwell Parish, eight freedmen were accused of the murder of a planter and

while being taken to prison, were met by a party of men disguised, and two of the prisoners shot dead, and four of the others have not been heard from since and are supposed to have been murdered. Affairs in the Parish of Franklin are in a terrible state. There is an organization there known as the “Black Horse Cavalry” composed of Planters and late Guerillas[sic] who go blackened and disguised for the purpose of whipping freedmen... Murders of freedmen are numerous.⁶³

In such conditions merely being on the roads or at home could provoke violence. In 1865, one African-American, George Niklas, was found two miles from Brunswick, Georgia with his head cut off; the perhaps doubtful attribution of the killing to “strangers,” if true, merely highlights the out-of-control state of southern whites capable of so severely mutilating a passing stranger.⁶⁴

Intimates were equally dangerous, as the testimony before a Bureau agent of one Mary Stewart of Tangapoho, Louisiana, reveals (“Mary Stewart formerly owned by Thos. Day”):

I was employed by Thos. Day to labor until January 1866 for \$6.00 per month to give me a dress and feed me; on the evening of the 19th of August 1865, D. D. Day came into my own yard and ordered me into my own house and said he was going to kill me. That we were all free niggers and that he was going to kill the damned free niggers. He cut me twice on my left arm with a long pocket knife; I got away from him, he caught me again and took me up in the white folks house, he then cut me once with his knife in the head; he then took me along the road towards his house and said he would keep me until morning. While on the way he said 'now I am going to kill you' before morning and bury you. When we arrived at his mother's house she came out and begged him not to kill me, he became mad at her and struck me twice in the right arm. I then attempted to get away from him and succeeded but he made one stab with his knife which penetrated my side. He tore all the clothes from me.⁶⁵

63 Note 26 *op. cit.*

64 Records for the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands 1865-1869, National Archives Microfilm Publication M798 Roll 32, Reports Relating to Murders and Outrages 1865-1868. <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/georgia/gaoutragespt2.htm> accessed 15/06/18

65 One should note the dimension of sexual exploitation here, the suggestion of attempted or intended rape; recognizing these references despite the sources' reticence to clearly address such matters is fundamental to an adequate interpretation. Letter from General Samuel Thomas, March 9, 1867, “Miscellaneous Reports and Lists Relating to Murders and Outrages, March 1867-Nov. 1868,” Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Louisiana,

Not only was Day acquitted when he went before the district court, he was immediately made a member of the Grand Jury then in session, deliberating over whether higher-court indictments should be brought in other cases.

These are in no way isolated but rather illustrative instances. The summary of violent incidents compiled by the Freedmen's Bureau for Louisiana for 1865 and 1866 alone, far from complete, shows how broadly, deeply, and aggressively ran the southern compulsion to deny African-Americans the rights of man. In one case from San Bernard Parish, a bartender simply shot a black customer on a whim, provoked by no discernable inciting incident; the freedman was showing his pistol to another man who had expressed interest in buying it, but when he set it on the counter, the barman, Santiago Artiello, picked it up and shot him, saying only, "look out." In the Cajun (Acadian) area of Lafayette Parish, baker Joseph Despeans, or someone in his house, shot and wounded one of pair of travelling freedmen right after they had bought a loaf of bread. Two freedmen were kidnapped by an out-of-town visitor and each forced to tie up and whip the other; a husband and wife teamed up to whip in turn a young, pregnant black girl while the son threw bricks at her; several young freedwoman were whipped and assaulted, one to the point of a fractured skull, when planters or planters' sons visited their cabins; local police whipped and sexually assaulted a freedman's wife and another woman when they had ostensibly come to arrest him; a white man set four dogs on and repeatedly shot a freedman who went to report the man for the serial rape of the freedman's wife; a white bragged to a shopkeeper that he had abducted a black man and given him 345 lashes.⁶⁶ These acts serve as examples showing the extent to which white-supremacist violence departs from economic or Enlightenment rationality -- how it enters the realm of sheer sadism -- in ways too complex to be addressed here beyond noting the evident strength of affect and widespread inclination to engage in wanton cruelty.

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869. National Archives Microfilm Publication M1027 Roll 34 <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/louisiana/outrages/outrages4.htm> accessed 15/06/18

66 NARA I, RG 105.3, M 1027 Roll 34, "Miscellaneous Reports and Lists Relating to Murders and Outrages Mar.1867-Nov. 1868."

Planters resisted by the most violent means any limitation on their total power over those defined as non-white (some of them their blood relatives); poor whites and small-business owners could also assault or kill black men and women at will. Efforts of black agency to get paid wages, to resist sexual assault, to assert freedom of worship, to walk down the street, or just to be at home brought a murderous response. In the incidents compiled by the Freedmen's Bureau, the historian will find ample confirmation of the immunity of southern whites to military authority while under occupation, and the continual flouting of even the limited legal equality later supposedly enacted by the constitutions of Presidential Reconstruction. In Georgia, district attorneys refused to prosecute whites named by witnesses as perpetrators of murder and assault, although they did prosecute African-Americans for "vagrancy" and sentence them to road work on the county chain-gang.⁶⁷ Out of the seventy-odd cases described in the brief Louisiana summary previously cited, most are ignored by the civil authorities of the state, while in those where an arrest was effected, the usual fate was that the violent actors were allowed to go free by "escape." In hardly any, if any, of the cases described in that representative document was a white brought to justice for a crime against a non-white person. Not the merest gesture was made toward legal sanction in the majority of cases in this limited account of the first year and a half following emancipation in Louisiana in those few areas accessible to Bureau agents.⁶⁸

If Louisiana and Georgia had long and complex histories of racist exploitation and its repercussions, the same strength of affect also appeared in newly settled areas. Texas had only been opened up to North American white-supremacist plantation agriculture for a generation and a half,

67 "Report of Cases of Outrage, made in compliance with instructions of Major General Howard forwarding letter from War Dept., Adj. Generals Office of January 23d 1867 requiring report of violations of 'Civil Rights Bill' and action of Bureau officers," & "1867 Report of Names of Freed People who have been assaulted with intent to kill, in the sub Dist. of Rome, GA in 1867," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands 1865-1869. National Archives Film Publication M798 Roll 32, Report Relating to Murders or Outrages 1865-1868, "List of Freedmen Murdered or Assaulted 1867" at <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/georgia/gaoutrages3.htm#Cases%201-5> accessed 03/01/18

68 Sexual assault has been interpreted from the agent's phrase "beat... in a shameful manner;" see note 5 above. One robbery stripped a black family of four mules, their wagon, a horse, furniture and goods, considerable capital; "civil authorities took no notice of the affair," despite the fact that one of the robbers was known to have committed another murder of a freedman. A few incidents from early 1887, not mentioned above, are included in the report. Letter from General Samuel Thomas, March 9, 1867 (note 59, *op. cit.*).

at most, at the time of the Civil War. There, slavery and the social pathologies of racial subjugation could hardly be called deeply rooted, but the conduct of whites in the immediate postbellum period was equally extreme. In Sherman, Texas, the Bureau's field agent wrote to the main office that "The freedmen here have been kept in perfect terror of their lives by the desperate men of the County who are hostile and active in abusive assailing and murdering this inoffensive people all over the County for any and every pretext that human ingenuity can devise and often without any plea whatever."^[sic] This agent explains why historians must regard these records as quite incomplete and the violence as effectively omnipresent: "the freedmen are so restricted that they are afraid to report the murder of a black man..." He sums up the postwar situation and offers his interpretation, which accords with that produced by a judicious evaluation of the sources. "These malcontents, villains and murders are numerous and vicious and smarting under a sense of lost mastery over their former slaves and determined they shall not enjoy their freedom." The agent blames the tolerance of President Johnson for having made the former Confederates "audacious" and declares that in the wake of the president's speech of February 22, 1866, which attacked anti-slavery Congressmen, "many of them have held violent possession of the children of their former slaves and defended their possession by arms."⁶⁹

The violent possession of these children was not just a fragmentary or localized response to the lenience of Presidential Reconstruction. Southern states had legalized the practice in different ways in the Black Code legislation following the constitutions of 1865 and 1866, sometimes allowing former owners to take children away from their parents directly, sometimes requiring parental consent, or limiting the practice in theory to orphans or those with absent parents. This latter practice must not be inflected with humanitarian qualities; it is the denial of normal human family relations to the settler-colonial subordinate class. Absent parents were the result of

⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the agent's enumeration and description of specific cases has, except for three examples, been lost. Letter from Sub-Assistant Commissioner to Assistant Attorney General Wm. N. Sanders, Oct. 6, 1866, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Texas*, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, National Archives Microfilm Publication M821, Roll 32, "Registered Reports of Murders and Outrages, Sept. 1866-July 1867." <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/texas/shermanoutrages2.htm> accessed 15/06/18

slaveowners breaking up families by selling children and parents away from each other; the result of parents escaping slavery but being unable to escape with their families; or the result of freedmen being driven off plantations or fleeing terrorist violence. The majority of orphans at this historical moment were the result of former slaves killed in or as a result of the war, many of these latter precisely those men who had defied modern property law, escaped slavery, and fought for their freedom, as well as that of their families and brethren. The Bureau agent quoted above seems aware of the cruelty of re-enslaving, even if only until adulthood, the children of those who had died fighting to obtain their freedom.

The words of Spotswood Rice, formerly enslaved on a tobacco plantation, who had escaped to the Union lines from Missouri, have been widely published; hospitalized for chronic rheumatism (at the age of thirty-five) he wrote two letters, one to his children, and one to their mother's would-be owner Kittey Diggs, who was holding their daughter against her parents' will.

To his family: "my Children... A few lines to let you know that I have not forgot you and that I want to see you as bad as ever... be assured that I will have you if it cost me my life... Your Miss Kaitty said that I tried to steal you But I'll let her know that god never intended for man to steal his own flesh and blood... I once [thought] that I had some respect for them but now my respects is worn out and [I] have no sympathy for Slaveholders. And as for her christianity I expect the Devil has such in Hell... Give my love to all enquiring friends... Spott & Noah sends their love to both of you Oh! My dear children how I do want to see you"

To Diggs: "I want you to understand that mary is my Child... you may hold on to her as long as you can but I want you to remember this one thing that the longer you keep my child from me the longer you will have to burn in hell and the quicker you'll get there... now you call my Children your property... my Children is my own and I expect to get them"[spelling edited]⁷⁰

This effective re-enslavement of children was no trifling phenomenon and was not just a caprice of a few slaveowners. Children could be and were handed over to masters for terms of a decade or more upon the order of the police jury that oversaw road maintenance, that is, a meeting run by the sheriff. As the minutes of one such conclave reveal, far less attention was paid to the future of a child than to the specifics of property lines delineating planters' municipal obligations

⁷⁰ One quotes the expressions of familial love and authority because white-supremacist theory denied that non-whites could have strong feelings of family ties -- a charge repeated a century after emancipation by the 1969 social-science text called *The Moynihan Report*. Rice letters quoted at <http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/rice.htm> accessed 30/12/17

and the personnel of the road patrols.⁷¹ After the war the Freedmen's Bureau oversaw many such indentures, agents' presumption to having the authority to bind children into servitude having never been questioned or contradicted by the executive or legislative powers. One list, half missing and far from comprehensive, shows over 225 such "apprenticeships" from December 1865 to March 1866 in North Carolina, less than two percent of them with parental consent noted, and less than two percent of them white refugees.⁷² A rough extrapolation would thus show an absolute minimum of over five thousand black children thus held captive across the South, a tenth of one percent of the entire black population: this figure is two hundred times larger than the 2015 murder rate and one hundred times larger than the 1980 murder rate in the USA.

The terms of the indenture contracts reveal the preoccupations of the former slaveowners. Bureau Assistant Superintendent P. J. Hawk bound nine-year-old "Lucy" to the service of one J. L. Motley for a decade, upon the seal of his agent, contracted "with him to dwell and remain and serve until she the said Lucy shall obtain the age of eighteen years; during all which time she, the said Lucy faithfully shall serve and obey, *all secrets keep*, and *all lawful commands willingly* do and perform; and shall not absent from the service of her master day *or night*, without his leave..."[emphasis added]⁷³ These terms were not unique. Another Bureau agent bound one Edwin Crouch to one George Daniel for six years, to "well and faithfully serve his master, keep his secrets and obey his lawful commands. He shall do no damage to his master, nor suffer it to be done by others..."⁷⁴ Harriet Norwood, nine years old, was signed over to one William G. John of Arkansas,

71 LSARL, Caddo Parish, Shreveport Police Jury Minutes 1840-1876 MF 398-1-5, 876-48, Book 3, pp. 243, 253.

72 "Register of Indentures Dec. 1865-June 1866," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870, National Microfilm Publication M843 Roll 35, "Records Relating to Indentures" at <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/northcarolina/ncindentures2.htm> accessed 02/01/18

73 "This Indenture..." 21/10/1865. Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870, National Archives Microfilm Publication M843 Roll 35, "Indentures Sept. 1865-Aug 1867" at <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/northcarolina/ncindentures3.htm> accessed 02/01/18

74 Freedmen's Bureau Indenture Bonds for Rutherford County, Tennessee, "This Indenture..." 8/01/1866. Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, National Archives Microfilm Publication M999 Roll 20, "Indentures of Apprenticeship Dec. 1865-Feb. 1868: Contracts Jan. 1, 1865-Jan. 1, 1868," at <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/tennessee/contracts/rutherfordindentures.htm> accessed 02/01/18

on terms that she "shall well and faithfully serve... and everywhere and at all times obey his lawful commands. She shall do no damage to the the said William G. John, or willfully suffer it to be done by others..."⁷⁵ These former slaveowners supposed there might be some doubt about the lawfulness of their commands (to young girls, perhaps at night), that they would have secrets that needed to be kept from others but known to their "apprentices," and that they might behave in such a way as to lead their charges to attack them. In short, the moral justifications for the superiority of the benevolent institutions of white civilization was belied in a textually verifiable way by the consciously expressed concerns of the former slaveowners themselves after emancipation.

At the same time, these contracts also show that emancipated Americans wanted above all access to education. In most of the indenture contracts with terms spelled out as above, the "master" is required to allow the "apprentice" to learn to read and write and to learn arithmetic "up to the rule of three." The masters most likely ignored these provisions, but their constant stipulation as the commonly-desired terms of the most powerless indicates the importance of learning to the freedpeople. Schools were organized by the Freedmen's Bureau, sometimes with teachers from the American Missionary Association; they were also frequently organized by black Americans directly. Collections were taken up to rent land or facilities despite the total lack of capital. Their priorities were reading the bible, reading their contracts, and acting as informed citizens -- none of these being priorities for the citizens of the white antebellum governments of Dixie, which had had no public school systems -- while the Bureau was only interested in fulfilling the minimal pretexts of Free Soil ideology, without the free soil.

The government agents varied in attitude. Some thought African-Americans were inherently inferior and best suited as landless agricultural laborers, while others assumed that they would climb the ideological ladder to economic independence in true Free-Soil republican fashion. They

75 Freedmen's Bureau Indenture Bonds for Hempstead, Arkansas, "Greeting: This Indenture..." 10/10/1867. Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, National Archives Microfilm Publication M999 Roll 20, "Indentures of Apprenticeship Dec.1865-Feb.1868: Contracts Jan. 1, 1865-Jan. 1, 1868," at <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/arkansas/arkindenture.htm> accessed 02/01/18

thought the freedmen needed to "learn the discipline of self-sufficiency, thrift, and hard work."⁷⁶ The freedmen themselves thought they needed access to land, if not outright reparations; thrift and hard work was their reality already and had been for over two centuries. However much confidence these whites had in their ability as teachers, black Americans preferred black teachers and self-funded education, even if the Bureau found this preference baffling, as in Mississippi, where the former slaves preferred to pay more for their own teachers rather than pay less or nothing for those from the Bureau. In Georgia, the the local freedpeople led the way in Savannah by immediately forming the Savannah Educational Society upon the city's fall to General Sherman in December of 1864. The Bureau agent describes how they "established the first colored schools of Savannah, and supported them for several months by their own voluntary contributions;" the pupils "passed a better exam than any white school in the city." Although in 1865 the schools required financial assistance from the Bureau, the agent says the freedpeople regarded this aid as temporary and were "dispose[d] to be self reliant in the matter of schools, as in other matters." In fact, it was the independent network of black schools in Mississippi, not the bureaucratic and missionary effort, that formed the material basis of that state's eventual public school system.⁷⁷

Nevertheless the Bureau's greatest success was with schooling. Black Americans took great effort to educate themselves, and schools were as full as the labor requirements of staple crop production allowed them to be. While the stereotype of the Bureau schoolteacher was an abolitionist woman from the North, and the most numerous group was white men from the South, the greatest number of long-serving teachers were in fact black southerners. Most southern whites only taught for one term, and only out of economic necessity, while Northerners had ties to their homes and local hostility pushing and pulling them out of the vocation. While they were unable to get access to capital in land or productive resources, intellectual capital, meager as it was, was

76 John Eaton quoted in Christopher M. Sage. *From Cotton Field to Schoolhouse: African American Education in Mississippi, 1862-1875*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012, pg. 76.

77 The first schools in Mississippi were set up by AMA missionaries and it was these that taught the first wave of black educators who formed the later system, among them future Congressman John R. Lynch. Sage, 72-82. Letter to Rufus Saxton from A.P. Ketchum (note 31 *op. cit.*).

assiduously sought after by African-Americans as both students and teachers immediately after emancipation.⁷⁸

White attacks on schools also began immediately, before Radical Reconstruction. In 1866 two of many attacks in Louisiana were noted by the Bureau. In one, an "adult colored school" was attacked and the lesson broken up, with one white man, identified by name, physically assaulting the fleeing freedpeople and almost fatally stabbing the black teacher. Local authorities did nothing. In another case an African-American schoolteacher was kidnapped by some thirty men with blackened faces, marched barefoot through the woods, harshly whipped by each kidnapper, and forced to cross a dangerous creek. Five of the white gang were identified, including the town constable. Anywhere they were without military protection, schools and teachers were in danger. In Fayette, Mississippi, two American Missionary Association teachers faced threats of arson and murder when they tried to open a school where there was no garrison; as AMA system superintendent in Natchez, Reverend Palmer Litts, concluded, "teachers should not be sent unless troops were to protect them." The Military District Commander, General E.O.C. Ord, concurred.⁷⁹ As time went on, similar attacks would be mounted by more organized terrorist formations, like the Ku Klux Klan, who attacked the local "colored" schoolhouse in Warrenton, Virginia on April 4, 1868. "Civil authorities aware of organization but do nothing to stop it," in the phrase of the Freedmen's Bureau agent who reported it. White Government Union Red Shirt paramilitaries would be shooting into black schoolhouses in the build-up to the attack on African-American Wilmington, North Carolina thirty years later. Although black enrollment jumped from effectively zero to ten percent by 1870, and over thirty percent by 1880, it held steady, like a sharecroppers's ostensible earnings, into the twentieth century -- when white hostility to black educational opportunity was still virulent enough to provide archetypal examples of white-

78 Michelle A. Krowl review of *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876*, by Ronlad E. Butchart. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Humanites and Social Sciences Net, Sept. 2011. <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=32584> accessed 07/01/18 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 96-102.

79 Letter from General Samuel Thomas, March 9, 1867 (note 59 *op. cit.*). Litts quoted in Sage, 73.

supremacist violence.⁸⁰

80 Tom Snyder, "Literacy from 1870-1979," 120 Years of Literacy, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993. https://nces.ed.gov/naal/lit_history.asp accessed 07/01/18 The four little girls that were murdered on September 15, 1963 when a United Klans of America cell bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham were killed as a white protest against allowing black Americans to attend educational institutions; since the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision twenty-one bombings (non-lethal) had targeted black institutions in that city, and three more bombs exploded in the 11 days between municipal school desegregation and this act of mass murder. After the bombing, city police shot a sixteen-year-old black teen in the back and killed him while he was running away after he had been throwing rocks at cars, and a thirteen year old black child was shot and killed by unknown murderers in a local suburb. *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 1963. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/churches/archives1.htm> accessed 08/01/18

Chapter 2: Reconstruction and Racialized Political Control

The economic necessities of colonial exploitation are not entirely separable from political prerogatives; the individual planter who shot his tenant for failing to accept his price for cotton may have been motivated less by simple greed than by the sense that black Americans must not be allowed to influence that price. However, the white line was most insistently drawn at the level of political participation -- although, as discussed, unhinged displays of violence could result from any challenge to colonially-established entitlements -- and the threat of black agency in the political field drew the most active participation in and careful organization of violence. In this field of power negotiation, murder tended to take on qualities that can be considered not as individual motivations, but as a structural factor in racist extermination events.

So it was with the first entirely political act of mass white-supremacist mass-murder after the end of the war, in New Orleans On July 30, 1866. Governor James Madison Wells, a Unionist planter from Alexandria, used a dubious legal loophole to recall the all-white 1864 constitutional convention; it possibly would have enfranchised black Louisianans or more likely the *hommes du couleur*, but in the event it was unable to assemble a quorum, as many of the all-white delegates stayed away. Many local African-American figures of importance were attending the deliberations in the galleries, having publically spoken for the right to suffrage. Although nothing had as yet taken place, it was common rumor that all the Union sympathizers and black people were to be killed in the city on Monday. A parade led by black Union veterans reached the Institute when armed local white irregulars, veterans, firemen, and police, led by former Confederate General Harry Hays, attacked in unison.⁸¹ Anywhere from dozens to over two hundred were killed, many murdered in cold blood while attempting to surrender. Cyrus Hamlin, son of former Vice-President

81 Ted Tunnell. *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism, and Race in Louisiana, 1862-1877*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984, pp. 104-107.

Hanibal Hamlin, described a "wholesale slaughter" worse than anything he saw on the battlefield; General Philip Sheridan called it "an absolute massacre."⁸²

New Orleans would be the site of repeated conflicts as Reconstruction went forward; it had already been the site of the armed semi-insurrection of the Vigilance Committee back in 1858, itself tied to the "Know-Nothing" movement that influenced the Klan.⁸³ Republican governor Henry Warmoth and a representative legislature would be elected by black suffrage in the last peaceful election for eight years in April 1868. In fall of that year, and in 1871, 1872, 1874, and 1876, the city would experience brigade-size fighting armies in the street and two different dual-power scenarios with rival legislatures. Exterminatory violence repeatedly broke out in the city and across the state in the name of bio-political exclusion of African-Americans. The conflicts, allegiances, and attitudes of the actors in Louisiana are indicative of affairs across the south. There were duelling state governments in Arkansas and Alabama, as well as South Carolina, while individual and mass murder was done to black Americans whenever whites felt like indulging themselves, but especially at election time.

On July 1, 1868, the Mechanic's Institute was again surrounded by white supremacist Democratic mobs, as the new black Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate Oscar Dunn inaugurated the historic session. He attempted to unseat members of the state legislature who would not swear the test oath and renounce their loyalty to the Confederacy, an example of "Negro Domination" in southern parlance, although the simple fact of black political participation may have been sufficient to bring out the paramilitaries. Dunn's partisan ploy was defeated in the legislature by the everyday political expediency of removal to committee, which returned a recommendation to take no action, and the Democrats were seated. Unlike in 1866, when the Federal garrison had not responded to unrest until six o'clock in the evening, well after everything was over, in July 1868 Military Governor General Robert C. Buchanan had dispatched troops to the city; with the army

⁸² Hamlin and Sheridan quoted in Foner, *Reconstruction*, 263.

⁸³ Tunnell, 102-103.

defending the legislature, the mob and the police did not attack the delegates.⁸⁴ Buchanan's adjutant, General Thomas Neill, later claimed that "on the meeting of the Legislature, anticipating trouble and bloodshed, by his strong and manly and prompt action I believe he saved the city of New Orleans from a massacre." Neill emphasizes the dangerous attitudes in the city while praising his former boss. "Our country has never given him the credit which he deserves for the great success which he achieved in the prevention of bloodshed and preserving the peace, whilst the city of New Orleans was seething with disloyalty, riot, and threatened bloodshed."⁸⁵

Subsequent events tend to bear out Neill's assessment, and subsequent Federal agents would not succeed in preventing massacres. As the national election of 1868 approached, bloodshed and riot increased, as the Democracy organized paramilitary "clubs" and other terrorist formations. In Louisiana, paramilitary organizations and secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, the Seymour Knights, the Crescent City Democratic Club, the Seymour Innocents, and many other "clubs" increased their violent activity across the state with the aim of defeating Grant and the Republicans in the presidential election. Both the KKK and KWC used their initials in newspaper advertising to attract members and intimidate the opposition. In six weeks from mid-June to August, only the confirmed murders in the state add up to over three hundred, including the sheriff and a judge of St. Mary Parish, and William Meadows, a black delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1868.⁸⁶ The killing of Meadows was dismissed by one witness before Congress, a Louisiana state legislator, with a story that evinces the strongly marked obsessions of the white South: He had been killed because he had supposedly attacked some white men who had supposedly whipped a black man who had supposedly raped a white woman; he had supposedly counselled his bretheren "to kill the white men and to take the white women for their wives." His

84 John Smith Kendall. *History of New Orleans*. New York: Lewis Publishing, 1922, pp. 328-329. .pdf

85 Neill quoted in Benjamin Alvord, "Robert C. Buchanan -- Obituary Notice," *Tenth Annual Reunion of the Association of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy*, June 12th, 1879.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/AOG_Reunions/10/Robert_C_Buchanan*.html accessed 21/01/18

86 Mark Bradley. *The Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877*. Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 2015, pp. 53-54. .pdf

story marks its fictional nature in its lack of details, like place, time, and person, an oft-occurring feature in the testimony; the story recounts instead the fears and prerogatives of white supremacy as an ideological discourse in the name of bio-political exclusion.⁸⁷

In the city of New Orleans the November 1868 election was a scene of armed white-mob rule, as the Democratic clubs patrolled the streets in bands of fifty to two hundred from October 24 to October 30. From mid-September, gun shops in the city had been doing a booming trade with local white Democrats, while Republicans, especially African-Americans, were refused. On the 25th, one witness saw the "Broom Rangers" club in a mass of over two hundred, all armed with revolvers. "Very often there was stray shooting at negroes during the day in this period," testifies the Metropolitan Police superintendent, although he remarked that the Seymour Innocents preferred to kill with knives and hatchets. One doctor saw at least seven people killed, and a dozen wounded. One policeman saw from eighteen to twenty dead. On the 26th, all black policemen were ordered to remove their uniforms, go home, and stay there to avoid being killed, a repeated threat. While going home, one was pulled off the street car, searched, and threatened with hanging from a lamppost. White terror groups had also been active outside the city previous to this period, with murders, robbery, rape, and assaults reported in nearby Jefferson and Gretna; one contingent of Metropolitan Police sent to Jefferson armed with billy clubs was attacked and fired upon by an opposing guerrilla company, or two, over one hundred men, until it was forced to retreat. "We were met and shot down." The Democrat *New Orleans Times*, quoting Cicero's speech against Catiline, demanded that Republican Governor H. C. Warmoth and the police should "leave -- fly from the city and all will be peace."⁸⁸

On Saturday the 24th, a column of Seymour's Sentinels attacked a black procession on Canal street, wounding one white man and killing six black men. Threats had been made to kill all the

⁸⁷ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 480-481; 482.

⁸⁸ Police Superintendent quoted in *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 620; *N.O. Times* and metropolitan police officer quoted *ibid.*, 625; *ibid.*, 624, 724-725, 735.

black police on that night; several were killed over the course of the week. On Monday the 26th, around one thousand men, or more, surrounded the main police station in a threatening show of force. They sent a group into Chief Williamson's office and demanded he give over the station to them, which he refused, but he did order all the black policemen to their homes and out of uniform. The First, Sixth, and Seventh and Tenth Ward Republican Clubs' meeting-rooms were sacked and registration papers taken and destroyed. On the 27th, the mayor reportedly requested patrols to keep the peace from the heads of the Democratic clubs, and a large crowd of three thousand formed in front of city hall, where police headquarters was. This crowd, however, dispersed after speeches from notables like Harry Hays, a leader of the attack on Mechanic's Hall in 1866, who informed them that the black policemen had been cleared from the streets. General Rousseau, commanding the federal troops, refused to send them into the city and gave his verbal approval to the white paramilitary patrols; he also told Republican state legislator S. M. Southworth that if Republicans did not vote, there would be peace. That night, one group of two hundred displayed murderous intent, forming skirmish lines and saying "let's go in here and kill these niggers," according to Metropolitan Policeman Robert R. Ray; they then attacked the house of so-called "white nigger" William B. Gray, forcing him out to the street and beating him severely. Violence continued until the 29th, with black and white homes invaded, voting registration papers stolen, families threatened, men stabbed and shot. African-American Lieutenant Governor Oscar J. Dunn could not safely leave his home after dark, and threats to kill him were shouted at him in the streets during the day. The Democratic State Central Committee controlled 78 clubs with a total force of 12,000 to 15,000 men according to the testimony of former Union General Steedman, "The Rock of Chickamauga" and internal revenue collector, who was friendly with the club leaders -- John S. Tully, president of the Seymour Knights, swore Steedman into the Knights of the White Camellia.⁸⁹

Steedman's association with clubs and secret lodges helps explain why he was chosen by the governor to head the Metropolitan Police in this pre-election moment of civic crisis. The

⁸⁹ Ray quoted in *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 720; *ibid.*, 165, 623-624, 642, 743-744, 754-755.

Metropolitan Police were Warmoth's men, but the mayor of New Orleans was a Democrat because the city majority was strongly white; the police force had been established to prevent another massacre like that of 1866. Rousseau and Steedman were both appointed by President Johnson and were, as their statements make clear, not sympathetic to the goals of the Reconstruction Acts passed by Congress. When the police board, headed by Dunn, asked Steedman to take over command of the Metropolitans on the 29th, the Republican government thus turned to precisely those forces who had been causing the violent disorder in order to quell it. Nevertheless, on that evening the police headquarters was again surrounded by the paramilitaries and two different individuals, one the chief of the city police in 1866, Thomas Adams, marched in and demanded that Steedman hand over the police force to them as they had been thus commissioned by the mayor. He refused, although whether these confrontations were mere theatrics or real plays for power is uncertain. In any event the violence quieted down and he resigned on the 31st, the Saturday before election day.

On that day, November 3rd, polls in the city were surrounded by armed Democrats; Republicans were afraid to vote. Various types of vote fraud were committed across the city, and sheriff's deputies confiscated all the ballot boxes and registration books. The mayor locked the state registration board out of their office and put all the records out in the hall. Any sort of investigation of specifics can only rely on the statements of witnesses. Steedman testified that he not only never saw any guns, but never even heard of any guns being exhibited at the polls or among the white patrol groups. As other Democrats tended to declare across the state, the election was in his eyes perfectly quiet and orderly. Such characterizations are thoroughly belied by the copious testimony of other witnesses, who offer specific details of things seen instead of bland generalities of what was not observed. Untrustworthy testimony is also frequently contradicted by other parts of the same statements -- Steedman, for example, sustaining his denial despite also claiming to have seen exchanges of gunfire, while his subordinate has seen and heard enough to mark that one particular paramilitary tended to wield knives and hatchets.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ *House Doc. Vol. 265, part 2, xxx-xxxii. House Doc. Vol. 265, 745.*

The coup effectively occurred in 1874, when the White League defeated the State Militia and Metropolitan Police in a battle between brigade-size forces, but the city regularly became a dangerous zone of white terror at every election time from 1868 through 1876. The political infighting and maneuvering was roughly split in three between the Warmoth machine, the Federal-legislative alliance, and the Democrats, with each calling on, deploying, or backing down in the face of Union troops and presidential authority. However, some Democrats also entered into alliances at the start of Reconstruction before the party line coalesced into its most racially exclusive form. Warmoth had had his own connections in the city power structure as a kind of precocious fusionist, owner of a sugar plantation in Plaquemines and a steamboat line; one of his graft-producing innovations, the Louisiana Lottery, lasted long into the twentieth century and was intimately tied to forced convict-labor, which in turn worked on the levee and railroads whose financial manipulation gave patronage opportunities. When a white citizen's council sent a petition to Grant protesting the corruption of Warmoth's administration, the accompanying commentary noted that not a one of the well over one-hundred signatories had failed to get involved with one of Warmoth's development schemes. The state legislators opposed to Warmoth in 1870, led by George Carter, included Democrats as well, who were willing to work politically with African-Americans like J. H. Burch to limit the power of the Republican executive.⁹¹

The Republican split was born in the white terrorism in the fall of 1868: the governor was granted special powers to combat it. House Speaker Carter's faction, in turn, opposed the use of those powers to take over the General Assembly and the party machine. In 1871, having been sidelined at the Convention the summer before, Warmoth made his play, and Carter's faction was nearly mobbed, then locked out of the state-house and an alternative legislature populated. Carter could not assemble a quorum, but probably had the greater claim to legitimacy, despite meeting at the rooms of the Gem Saloon. Not only were there Democrats working with both Carter and

⁹¹ NARA II, *Testimony Taken by the Select Committee to Investigate the Condition of Affairs in the State of Louisiana*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, SSID 1527, pp. 6-11. *House Exec. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 68-69, 73-74.

Warmoth, the latter's police and militia forces were commanded by James Longstreet, Robert E. Lee's former second-in-command. Longstreet, it seems, was being used for his reputation. Warmoth and he repeatedly called on General Emory to send the Federal troops to protect them from mob violence that never materialized – although this may be because the troops were often sent – and Carter, for his part, deputized several hundred “sergeants-at-arms” under the authority of his rump legislature, although they were rather a nominal force. The former Confederate general, with black policemen under his command, requesting Union troops in order to prop up half of a Republican regime backed by Democratic economic elites is a good symbol of the fluid political configurations of the time.⁹²

In 1872 Warmoth was allied with the Democracy and their “fusion” ticket headed by John McEnery against the Republican candidate William Kellogg. Both claimed gubernatorial victory and dual legislatures were again assembled; once again there was fighting in the streets and murder in the parishes. Kellogg could only claim victory in Federal court on the basis that the Democrats and Warmoth had so fraudelently befouled the election results that they could not be allowed to stand – a legal possibility that resulted from the Federal legislation influenced by the city's failed election of the unseated US Representative John W. Menard, sent to Washington by Warmoth in 1869 on terms of being denied election through fraud. Warmoth's former ally, P .B. S. Pinchback, had switched sides in the conflict and briefly served as governor himself – the first and only black governor in the US for well over a century – when Warmoth was impeached, but not convicted, by the state legislature. Eventually Grant recognized Pinchback and the court found for Kellogg, but city and state govenment remained the site of conflicts over taxes and offices. McEnery's shadow government functioned after a fashion, and it could call upon armed formations.⁹³

The most influential extermination event of that political season occured in the newly

92 Tunnell, 164-172. *Condition of Affairs in Louisiana*, SSID 1527, pp.10-31.

93 Tunnell, 201-205. *House Exec. Doc. 91*, SSID 1565, 104-109, 123-130, 157-228.

created Grant Parish at the parish seat of Colfax, named for the victorious presidential ticket of 1868. White Republicans gathered together with some black radicals in April 1873 and took over the Colfax courthouse, such as it was; in practical terms, they were a few men who broke into a stable. Retaliatory terror in the countryside drove black farmers to Colfax, which quickly became a refugee camp with 150 families. Many of these had the poor-quality arms typically owned by those black Americans who did have weapons. Whites with rifles and an improvised canon began to concentrate nearby; the white Republicans slipped away. The Democrats' attack was exterminatory in intent: they enfiladed the line of defenders, drove them into the "courthouse," and set it on fire; then they promised to spare all who surrendered, but those who came out were shot down. Eventually the white attackers briefly took 37 surviving men as prisoners, before marching them off into the woods in pairs to be shot. Eight more parish governments were violently overthrown in the state by white violence in 1873. The Colfax Massacre became the test case for Federal force in the South: *US v. Cruikshank*, the Supreme Court decision that the Federal government did not have the right to intervene legally in these affairs because the white men were not acting as agents of state power, came out of the case against one of the perpetrators of the massacre. The decision effectively legalized massacres of black Americans, in the eyes of the national government, if these killings were not proven to have been undertaken under color of state law.⁹⁴ That is, in this syllogism of chancery, terror was legal as long as it was illegal.

McEnery's shadow-state engineered a coup in New Orleans in September of 1874, the contentiously memorialized Battle of Liberty Place. Already on March 3, 1873 McEnery's forces had tried and failed to take the main police stations. Arms were procured from the North and shipped in, disguised, by rail. On September 14, thousands of white men were gathered around the Henry Clay statue in Lafayette Square and exhorted by city elites to go home and get their guns, then come back and use them. Others had arms distributed to them. Companies of openly

94 Tunnell, 189-193. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 437, 530-531. *US v. Cruikshank*, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/92/542> accessed 22/05/18

organized White League paramilitaries and these additional irregular recruits attacked the Metropolitan Police and State Militia concentrated on Canal Street under James Longstreet, whose telegrams for help went unheeded in Washington for three days. His troops, barely armed as they were, were routed. When General Emory then sent 1,000 Federal troops, the state administration was peacefully relinquished to Kellogg, but power had been permanently shifted by the destruction of the Metropolitan Police and the Militia. Company D of the September 14 White League forces, one of sixteen companies listed by a sympathetic historian, had mustered at the foundry where their canon had been forged and their arms shipments sent, a foundry owned by one C. J. Leeds; he was elected mayor of New Orleans in 1876.⁹⁵

The 1876 election followed the pattern established throughout Reconstruction, with violence, intimidation, fraud and white control of the polls; however, the contested results had national effect, as Rutherford B. Hayes needed every last electoral vote to capture the presidency. The Compromise of 1877 serves as a reasonable date to end the Reconstruction period, but one should recall that Redemption, as the South styles the return to “home rule,” had already effectively taken place everywhere in the former Confederacy except Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, the very states whose disputed returns sent the presidency to a Democrat-controlled House of Representatives. Bio-political exclusion was still incomplete, as the river parishes of Louisiana could still return some Republican majorities in 1876, and some patronage continued for black Americans afterward, mostly through the post office and the ports. Such representation would steadily diminish. Home rule did not mean the ejection of usurping outsiders but rather the disfranchisement of one-third of the population. The white militias offered themselves to Hayes's Democratic opponent, Samuel Tilden, claiming they had thousands of armed troops ready to march on Washington. In this context, removing Federal troops was hardly even a formality, and there is

95 Tunnell, 202. In Kendall's words, “In New Orleans the conservatives... maintained intact the armed forces which had participated in the September outbreak[sic]. Parties of armed men belonging to these organizations marched and drilled in the public streets... When the Democratic Parish Convention met, on October 7 [1874], it was under the influence, if not under the direct control, of the White League.” Kendall, 366-375, 376, 380.

evidence that they might have joined in exterminatory actions in any case. In 1868, troops on leave in New Orleans took to beating up black people for fun; troops of the First US Infantry were heard to say they would not shoot white men but only “the damned black niggers.”⁹⁶

Across the river to the southe-east from New Orleans in St. Bernard Parish, groups from the city contributed to the perpetration of a massacre in the fall of 1868. It was to a certain extent an extension of the election violence in New Orleans, as serious hostilities commenced in the rural parish in the same period, after October 24, that the paramilitaries took over the streets in the city itself. In St. Bernard, Three local Republicans, metropolitan policeman Michael Curtis, planter Thomas Ong, and General A. L. Lee, were seen as the key obstacles to attaining political control of the parish. The Federal military investigator J. M. Lee later took testimony -- "'damned white men in the parish who must be got rid of,' or words to that effect"⁹⁷ -- from a man and a woman who had overheard men conspiring to kill them on a boat off the coast: one A. Barrose and son with a group of the "Seymour Infantis," aboard the *Thomas P. May*. According to the the parish's Judge Thornton, a group of some ten to fifteen armed men had surrounded Curtis's house the night of the 24th. The massacre was planned and co-ordinated to some degree, the investigator concluded.

Local clubs clubs were joined on the 25th by the New Orleans groups of Knights, Klan, and the Infantis, in a procession to the local church, where the priest blessed a flag in their name. On their return past the courthouse, the first outright violence began when African-American Eugene Lock was accosted on the courthouse lawn by two local clubs, the "Bumble Bees" and the "Constitutionals," as well as the Infantis, who had earlier mustered at the Millandon plantation. Lock was ordered to cheer for Grant's opponents, Seymour and Blair. When he refused, he was

⁹⁶ US Infantry comments reported in Congressional testimony of Robert R. Ray, *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 725. Tunnell shows the decline of black political power to 1876 in Tunnell, maps 7-11, pp. 176-180. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 575-587. Tunnell, 150.

⁹⁷ NARA II, *Senate Executive Document No. 15, Index to the Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, 1868-1869*, "Letter from the Secretary of War Communicating In compliance with a resolution of the Senate, of Dec. 14, 1868, reports in relation to recent disturbances in Louisiana," SSID 1360, .pdf, pg. 20; general account of St. Bernard violence pp. 19-37.

attacked with a knife by one man and shot at by another. Lock returned fire with a pistol of his own and attempted to escape, but was delayed crossing a fence and murdered by one Vallvey Veillon. The groups returned to their gathering place, where Veillon was heard to say, while washing Eugene Lock's blood off of his hands, that he was "now ready to kill twenty more damned niggers."⁹⁸ He later tried to cut the throat of a freedmen named Spencer Jones; another man named Henry Sterling was attacked and wounded by this group.

Hearing of the killing, Ong sent Michael Curtis to the sheriff for help. Curtis was attacked by the procession as he tried to pass it, and shot to death by several men. A freedman who had witnessed the killing, Pierre Golet, was murdered that night; "this is the way that such witnesses are disposed of in many other Parishes of Louisiana as well as Saint Bernard," comments J. M. Lee.⁹⁹ Veillon and his compatriots returned to the city at sundown. As the news of Curtis's murder passed back down the road, Ong sent an old freedman, John King, on foot to take a back road to Judge Thornton, borrow a horse, and ride for the troops at Jackson Barracks in New Orleans. Reportedly, one suspects from Mr. King himself, he fell into an ambush but was let go on account of his age and assumed ignorance; he then rode off on Curtis's own horse.

As the freedpeople began abandoning their homes to hide in the swamps and cane-breaks, a large group of freedmen, some armed, began to gather at Thomas Ong's plantation, understood by them to be a target of the paramilitaries. They told him they would protect him, but he sent them away, telling them they would precipitate violence by being present in such numbers. They moved off, leaving a four-man guard, but soon the hundred-strong group found itself being fired upon from the house of Pablo Felio, a man who had reportedly threatened the life of Ong and Curtis repeatedly and shot at the latter earlier that day; he also sold whiskey, and his house may have been approached by some of the group trying to buy liquor. In any case, he did have several pre-loaded guns and shot some twenty times into the passing freedmen, whom Ong had heard planning to go

⁹⁸ *Sen. Ex. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 21.

⁹⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 22.

off to their rented houses on an unworked plot of land. They counter-attacked, and in the exchange Felio was killed and his house burned down. Southern newspapers reported the false story that Felio's wife and children were with him and burned with him in the house.¹⁰⁰

Felio's death, whether due to his own paranoia or bloody-mindedness, set off an extreme white response the following day. One armed and mounted group of fifty attacked the plantation of General A. L. Lee, where many local black Americans had gone for refuge, taking his father and four freemen captive. The group was dissuaded from killing Dr. Lee -- "it would not do to kill him openly," argued the cautious, one of whom floated a plan to disguise his murder as a suicide¹⁰¹ -- but four captives were taken out and shot, one of whom survived by crawling out to hide in the fields for three days. Many other groups, one led by Vallery Veillon¹⁰² and another by Julian Serpas, some pretending to be deputy sheriffs, went on a spree of murder, theft, and rapine at the other plantations' cabins while the military garrison, arrived from New Orleans, stayed at Ong's. At least two other mass-murders of captives were documented in the limited testimony taken by the Federal investigator, with many cases of individual shooting, rape, and theft alleged in accounts that name the guilty parties.

No action was taken by the civil authorities of the state, although one self-styled "judge," a certain Paul Tocca, with no formal municipal authority whatsoever, produced a writ that got some sixty local freedmen arrested and sent to the Orleans Parish Prison for a couple of weeks, where they were routinely beaten by a trusty. On election day in St. Bernard Parish, Sheriff Challaire arrested the only election supervisor who did not flee; "they wanted to kill every one of us... they wanted to shoot him; they wanted to kill all the republicans," testified J. L. Dupart, parish election supervisor.¹⁰³ Along with the white Mr. Gottschalk, sixty-eight black republicans were arrested and held without charge in the county jail by Mr. Challaire, who then supervised the election himself,

¹⁰⁰*Sen. Ex. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 23-25.

¹⁰¹*Sen. Ex. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 26, 32.

¹⁰²*Senate Executive Documents 1868-1869, No. 51*, pp. 31, 37. Presumably the same man identified as "Vallvey."

¹⁰³*House Documents, Vol. 265*, 631.

illegally.¹⁰⁴

St. Landry Parish was the site of a massacre in Opelousas in September of 1868 through which run many particularly American and typically modern historical threads, including the tendency toward exterminatory tactics in the name of exclusion. It began with a September 13 march by the Republican Party's black membership of Opelousas to the nearby town of Washington, where large political rally was scheduled, which was disrupted by a White Democratic paramilitary. Preceding this conflict Republican meetings had been held in which black speakers accused the Democrats of disrupting their meetings and threatening to murder them -- accusations which the historian must regard as amply justified given the general conduct of white political activism at the time, and the specific instances from late summer of 1868 in Opelousas, such as the murder of two freedmen and a child by masked men on July 7, the disappearance of a black prisoner taken away from the jail, and the everyday unattributed potshots fired at freedmen;¹⁰⁵ the later conduct of the whites there also tend to confirm the massacre allegations, as do the local black codes decreed by the Opelousas police board decreed in 1865: a pass system for black laborers and a ban on black firearm ownership and popular assembly – all the points cited by the whites as the reasons for the conflict. Democrats fulminated against black political meetings, declaring that "incendiary" speeches were made threatening to burn the town – unlikely threats whose incessant repetition in white-supremacist discourse calls attention to the absence of real occurrences in the factual record. In late 1867, for example, the *Opelousas Courier* charged that "leaders are familiarizing the minds of these negroes[sic] with the idea of blood, firearms, confiscation, robbery, and plunder;" although black "militias" did drill with shotguns (and sticks), no such apocalypse had come to pass one year later, until the whites themselves carried it out.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴House Documents, Vol 265, 649-652.

¹⁰⁵Matthew Christensen, "The 1868 St. Landry Massacre: Reconstruction's Deadliest Episode of Violence" (2012). *Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 190. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, pg. 40.

¹⁰⁶Christensen, 18, 40-41; *Opelousas Courier* quoted in *ibid.*, 26.

In the Democratic version, the September 1868 procession to Washington was challenged at a bridge, a significant location because the previous year the parish authorities had set up a toll system on these bridges (through the police jury that could sign black children over to planters), both to collect revenue and to limit African-American movement. A small paramilitary cavalry unit of fifteen to twenty Democrats blocked their advance, but "in defiance of all remonstrances," the procession went forward, marched through Washington with "a display of numbers and jubilant cheering," and then held a political rally "in an adjacent wood." To the chairman of the Opelousas Democratic Executive Committee, this political event "no doubt, but for the presence of this little Spartan band of knights, might have resulted in deeds of lawlessness and disorder." Indeed, "intelligence reached Opelouseas that a conflict had already occurred there, when instantly the entire physical white force were under arms. However... tidings came that the affair had passed off quietly, when it soon became current among the freedwomen of the town, who were the only colored population remaining, that they intended, the moment the whites left for Washington, to fire the town..." Confronted with the defiance of entirely legitimate political assembly, this voice of white supremacy has first projected an imaginary lawless disorder, then imagined an imminent arson plot calculated to frustrate the application of white power against that imagined disorder; few readers will fail to predict the exterminationist results of such hallucinatory paranoia.¹⁰⁷

The reality of the event was somewhat different. The Spartan band was a uniformed group of "Seymour Knights," first lined up across the road and later in front of the speaker's platform. This Democratic "club" was run in St. Landry by a local businessman, Solomon Loeb, and the deputy sheriff and future mayor, Ferreol Perrodin. Emerson Bentley, the editor of the Republican paper the *St. Landry Progress*, had been threatened with violence should he attempt to speak, which he did not, although he was still verbally confronted by Loeb. The assembled paramilitary disrupted the other speakers with frequent shouted threats, and at one point the Opelousas

¹⁰⁷ Democratic Executive Committee Chairman J. H. Overton quoted in *Sen. Exec. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 2. *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 452.

Democratic activist L. Saunders King, pointed a gun at Bentley's head, threatening to shoot him. Rumors spread of hundreds of whites hiding in the woods with weapons, and these rumors were credible due to the highly probable, though not definitively confirmed, reception of two shipments of arms by the local Democratic Party; local Republican J.J. Beauchamp, head of the parish board of supervisors, who had received two KKK-signed death threats over the summer, also testified that he had seen his Democrat neighbor preparing ammunition for months; the Republicans had brought four rifles in a wagon.¹⁰⁸

In any case the town's delegation returned to Opelousas without incident. Shortly thereafter members of the paramilitary club confronted Emerson Bentley and threatened him with repercussions should any article he might write on the subject fail to meet with their approval. He had received an anonymous KKK-signed death threat himself, posted on his door earlier in the month. Despite the subsequent formal agreement reached between the parish executive committees of the two parties, under the terms of which a Republican rally was held in Opelousas on September 26 without provoking remonstrances, three members of the Knight returned and assaulted Bentley at the local school on the morning of September 28. John Williams, a stranger, Sebastian Mayo, town constable, and James R. Dickson, a lawyer and future district judge, accused him of printing lies regarding the events of the 13th -- ten days after the article appeared -- and proceeded to beat him with a rattan cane in front of the black schoolchildren he was teaching, in a successful effort to make him sign a formal retraction. As the children fled the scene -- Mayo reportedly pointing his pistol at the fleeing children -- they ran through town shouting that some people were killing Mr. Bentley, and word quickly spread that he was dead, although he was shortly afterward seen alive. In fact, he went with a group of freedmen to file an affidavit with the local justice of the peace, where he was told his life was in danger should he return to town, that is, he was threatened by the local representative of the law when he reported an assault by a local representative of the law. He ended up hiding out overnight as the massacre began, outrunning armed white vigilantes across the

¹⁰⁸ Christensen, 45-47. *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 497, 510, 665-666.

fields, and escaping to New Orleans through a series of safe houses in neighboring parishes over the course of three weeks.¹⁰⁹

A town-dwelling black man, John Simms, free before the war, claimed to have encountered one Franciose D'Avy, local Republican leader, in a small group, declaring that the freedmen should come to town and "settle this," and although this testimony may be false subsequent events do show some armed black self-defense. Simms said he rode out and dissuaded a group on the Thomas C. Anderson plantation from coming into town, and the town was quiet by lunchtime, according to his testimony. Another free black witness said he came to town, saw all the whites armed and agitated, and promptly left, only returning when deposed by a Federal investigator on the 4th of October. Despite the lack of action, armed whites continued to gather, in numbers between 2,000 and 2,500. One group of shotgun-armed freemen apparently coalesced around a farm and ended up shooting at and wounding the head of the "Hancock Club" paramilitary sent out to patrol. With the help of a freedman, the shooting was stopped and eight men arrested. Aside from the odd musket and pistol, no further arms were found and no other black armed groups existed. White testimony reports seeing mounted and armed black men from a distance in some other areas, but it is probably false as well, since no other resistance to white attacks took place. The dubious quality of the depositions taken by J. M. Lee, Lieutenant US Infantry, as part of his investigation is partly due to the local Freedmen's Bureau agent, Oscar Violet, being a Democrat, known to abuse black people; without a sympathetic Bureau, Bentley had been correctly identified by the whites as the only local outlet for black voices. Lt. Lee was not allowed to talk to any black people without a white person present, and he reported that almost all the freedpeople were afraid to tell what they knew.¹¹⁰

Much circumstantial evidence points to a deliberate, premeditated escalation by the whites, not least the alacrity with which the rural community came flooding into town within a few hours of

109 Christensen, 47-50. *Sen. Exec. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 3-4. *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 406- 407, 417.

110 Carolyn E. Delatte, "The St. Landry Riot: A Forgotten Incident of Reconstruction Violence," *Louisiana History: Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Winter 1976), pp. 41-49, pg. 47. *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 455, 476, 611. *Sen. Exec. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 4, 6-8, 11-14.

the attack on Bentley. The mayor gave orders immediately after the beating "to stop all armed bodies coming into the town of Opelousas," meaning armed African-Americans, before any evidence of such bodies would have been available, even if they had existed. The St. Landry leaders of the Knights of the White Camellia, Isaac Little, James M. Thompson and R. A. Litell, were active organizers of the paramilitary action, along with Loeb and the Seymour Knights. Mounted units spread throughout the countryside, invading black homes, beating and killing black men and women, taking any weapons, and committing other acts of theft. The violence escalating the following day, September 29, when the most murders were committed. Around 10 p.m. on the 29th, a white mob destroyed the school and the Republican newspaper press and facilities, going so far as to smash the school benches. Whites posted pickets outside Washington and Opelousas to police black movement and patrols continued to roam the parish for the following two weeks -- as of October 5, according to Lee, "Armed white men guard the town and patrol the woods throughout the country during the night" -- but after the first few days most black inhabitants had fled or gone into hiding: the town of Washington was abandoned for a time by its non-white population. By the 30th, the murdered corpse of C. E. Durand, the French-language editor of the *Progress*, was on display in front of the drugstore owned by James Thompson and Claudius Mayo, brother of the town constable and head of the parish Democratic Party Central Committee.¹¹¹

From the start, some black men were arrested by the patrols and sent to the jail, including two brothers from Washington who had come (unarmed) to check on the safety of their family. However, on the evening of the 28th they heard the leader of the patrol that captured them receive orders from a certain "'Colonel' Thompson" to take no further prisoners but to "kill anything that was captured." On the afternoon of the 29th, Loeb was overheard making arrangements to get the key from the head jailor. That night, while the school and press was being destroyed, the jail was "broken into" and Loeb took all the prisoners out to a glade where a squad of over thirty armed

111 Christensen, 51-52, 55. *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 467, 476, 512, 576, 601, 611, 665-666. Lee quote in *Senate Exec. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 17.

Democrats waited. The brothers were lucky enough to be spared by the personal intervention of Deputy Sheriff Perrodin; the rest of the black prisoners were taken deeper into the woods in small groups and shot to death. Their bodies, perhaps 29 in all, were left where they fell, or were only sloppily concealed, to be fed upon by buzzards. When a later investigator was shown such a site, he estimated sixteen to nineteen bodies, but his informant told him there were many more such shallow mass graves, indicating further massacres.¹¹²

The transparent fiction of a threatening black insurrection, which Lieutenant Lee found hard to believe even before he discovered the mass murder of the prisoners, may have been sincerely believed by local whites. However, their solidarity in covering up the massacre led Lee to a different interpretation. "On making inquiries of the leading citizens and of the civil functionaries of the town, I was assured by one and all that nothing of the kind had occurred; that the freedmen committed to the jail had been released, and that no excess of this character had been committed by the whites." This obfuscation justifies his conclusion that "this was not done under the impulse of the moment, nor in the heat of passion, but designedly, deliberately, and secretly." There may have been another factor, although it was not mentioned by Lee or any of the deponents. The Freedmen's Bureau report of the murder of William Johnson while local freedmen were being forced off of their land in St. Landry is dated September 16, exactly within the timeframe of the political struggle taking place in Opelousas. The resort to arms or desperate posture of the few armed black men on the 28th may well have been in response to incidents of such a nature; such a report is likely incomplete (and one notes in passing that the leader of the Washington Republicans was named Sam Johnson, possibly a relative).¹¹³

Carolyn DeLatte, in the first academic treatment of the massacre, from 1976, also describes a general situation where "Groups of white men roamed the parish by night terrorizing the black population." On September 5, Cornelius Donato had written to his brother wondering "if we shall

112 Christensen, 53. *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 412, 477, 495-496 .

113 Lee quote in *Senate Exec. Doc. 15*, SSID 1360, 18. NARA I, RG 105.3, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Louisiana, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, MF M1207 Roll 34.

not all be murdered some of these days.” The weekend of the massacre may have been only the culmination of a longer-term, colder-blooded exterminationist strategy, provoking rather than provoked by a minor incident of black self-defense. It is certainly possible that the confrontation that resulted was the result of resistance to being forced off of land or just simply to being killed. That would fit with the witness saying he had knowledge of multiple mass murder sites. Perhaps the whipping of the white man over a point of “honor” and pointing a pistol at him during a political procession, the unsubstantiated threats, the supposedly obstreperous black Republicans, and the multiple black “couriers” seen or imagined by the whites are only the details of a white dramatization, the details that would create an *histoire Walter Scottée*?¹¹⁴

The white fear of their own imminent demise is the most consistent element in the misrepresentation of events by the local white actors; as the Opelousas Courier would have it, the deaths of a hundred or more black people resulted from “the bold attempt made in our Parish by the Radical leaders to have the whites massacred...”¹¹⁵ In the alarums of Knights of the White Camelia “commander” R. A. Littell, “the negroes would take the town and set fire to it, and kill the white people.”¹¹⁶ Upon being recalled to testify about his role in the murder of the prisoners, deputy Sheriff Perrodin invents a march of black women in Opelousas the first night of the riot that “went through the streets, frightening the ladies considerably by crying out, 'Men will fight, but we will burn.’”¹¹⁷ Nothing like this march took place: such a startling event was not mentioned in any other testimony, although the threats to burn the town were a consistent talking point; the presence of some two thousand or more armed whites in the town only confirms the judgement that it is a fabrication. Whites in St. Landry chose to reconstruct their extermination event as the inevitable result of a zero-sum race war, claiming that they thought “a large body of whites had been killed, and nothing would stop it but extermination.”¹¹⁸ Incendiarism and frightened ladies are also pieces

114 Donato quoted in DeLatte, 43-44, 44n12.

115 *Opelousas Courier* quoted in DeLatte, 48.

116 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 601.

117 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 494.

118 *Opelousas Courier* quoted in Christensen, 51.

of this particular rhetorical morphology – see Steedman's testimony on the attempt to desegregate a confectioner's in New Orleans¹¹⁹ – and form a kind of triad consisting of exterminatorial violence, sexual threat, and black agency, ruling over the white perception of the danger of post-colonial democratic inclusion.

The specific elements prominent in Louisiana repeat across the South. Extermination events like that of New Orleans in 1866 took place, for example, in Camilla, Georgia when a procession protesting the 1868 expulsion of black state legislators was ambushed in the courthouse square; a small Army detachment did nothing, in fact was pinned down by the amount of rifle fire. The sheriff colluded with the Young Men's Democratic Club in planning the attack, in which those who ran away were chased through the woods and killed. The general environment in the state was one of widespread KKK violence, including a man burned alive in a lynching near Augusta; two or three were killed and sixteen or seventeen wounded when police and paramilitaries fired into polling stations in Savannah.¹²⁰ At the top of the political hierarchy, Arkansas saw duelling Republican military factions dug in in Little Rock in 1872, with Joseph Brooks barricaded in the state house surrounded by his militia. Grant's administration ruled for the Radical faction of Elisha Baxter, known as the “Minstrels,” who then turned to the local Democrats who had backed his opponent, prompting accusations of betrayal from his erstwhile supporters.¹²¹ In Mississippi in 1875, murder victims included prominent figure Noah B. Parker and five others at Rolling Fork and state senator Charles Caldwell and his brother-in-law at Clinton, the latter murdered by parties led by the local judge in a well-planned mass assault by the whites of the town, who continued to

119 Asked about the “the trouble at Dumontiel's” wherein “colored men went in there and demanded to be served” coffee or sweets, Steedman relates that, “I know a highly intelligent, highly respectable lady in this city, who was there. She told me that she was there when it commenced, but that she was so frightened that she really did not know what passed. She got down stairs and got to the side door as rapidly as she could, and then ran.” The woman was overcome by panic despite having been up on the balcony. *House Doc. Vol.* 265, 747.

120 George C. Rable. *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007 (1984), 73-73. At one poll, black voters were violently assaulted despite the presence of US Cavalry. *HoR Misc. Document No. 52*, SSID 1385, 7, 19.

121 Carl H. Moneyhon, “Brooks-Baxter War,” *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture*, 2014.
<http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2276#> accessed 20/3/2018

murder many other black Americans: “We are going to kill all the negroes,” as one of the white-supremacist militants told Caldwell's widow. Violent intimidation at the polls drove away republicans in Monroe County; one white-supremacist group in Aberdeen had formed an artillery company with a caissoned 24-pound canon, which later appeared at the courthouse polling station, where whites levelled rifles at the black voters and ordered them to disperse or be killed.¹²²

Klans were active from 1868 at the latest in North Carolina and South Carolina, somewhat stifled perhaps by the presidential application of the force acts of 1870 and 1871, although very few individuals were convicted. The confession in the case of the 1870 murder of state senator John Stevens was obtained not only under immunity but also not until 1919.¹²³ South Carolina had a disputed election with dual legislatures controlling some of Hayes's votes in 1876, and it was here where the most marked federal retreat took place. Former Confederate General Wade Hampton restored white supremacy to power with the Red Shirt militia, and various other “rifle and sabre clubs,” paramilitaries numbering some 290 with 14,350 armed members according to the governor's secretary; they threatened to kill all the Republicans if they did not win the election. In Aiken they murdered, among several black people, the state legislator Simon Coker, reportedly while he was begging for mercy, and were stopped from engaging in a wider massacre only by the timely arrival of Federal infantry.¹²⁴

Generally, events of bio-political exclusion across the region share the features of exterminationist massacres, the pickets, terror squads, arrests, forced movements, constant threats, random violence, and executions. Deponents described how the polls were controlled by white supremacy in South Carolina in 1876 by “intimidation consisting of threats of violence; the constant

122 NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 527, 44th Congress 1st Session*, “Alleged Frauds in the Recent Election in Mississippi,” Vol. 1, 1876, SSID 1669, pp. xxxi-xxxiv .pdf The report of the committee, controlled by Democrats since their takeover of the lower house of Congress in the 1874 election, concludes that all the black witnesses are lying and the whites are telling the truth. The historian will not agree; see the Monroe County testimony, *ibid.*, 1021-1085.

123 NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 41, Pt. 1, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session*, “Report on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States,” SSID 1484, pg. 49 .pdf. NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 1, 42nd Congress, 1st Session*, “Condition of Affairs in the Southern States,” SSID 1468, pg. 72 .pdf John G. Lea, “John G. Lea's Confession to the Ku Klux Klan Murder of John W. Stephens,” *Civil War Era NC*, <http://history.ncsu.edu/projects/civil.war.era.nc/admin/items/show/22>. accessed January 18, 2012

124 Rable, 172-176;

raiding by night over said country of armed bands of democrats; the picketing and obstructing of highways by democrats, and thus preventing republicans from reaching the polls; the frequent discharge of firearms at and near the houses and places of resort of republicans; the continual use of abusive and insulting language, and the threatened discharge of tenants.”¹²⁵ Even if such incidents sometimes stopped just short of mass-murder, frequently the subsequent phase was a widespread hunt of fleeing African-Americans throughout the general area, as in St. Landry, St. Bernard, and Bossier Parish, as well as Laurens County, South Carolina in 1876, where the white militia stormed the courthouse and murdered several local political figures, among them a state senator and judge, followed by other mass-murders of black Americans in rural areas through the night, reaching into neighboring counties.¹²⁶

Although the Klan gave its name to the enforcement act of 1871, it is best understood as merely one facet of broader white-supremacist terrorism across the former Confederacy and the border states. The original KKK was the conceit of a small group of local elites in Pulaski, Tennessee, who banded together to terrorize black Americans for their own amusement; for various reasons, including its later adoption as a commercial brand name, it can be seen as the successful branding of a white-supremacist terrorism that took a myriad of forms. Its ritualistic secrecy was built on older traditions of political xenophobia and conspiratorial trappings previously tapped by the American Party, or "Know-nothings," which was probably the key to its popular adoption in one form or another throughout the South (and the North in the 1920s). By 1866 its gospel was being spread by the Confederate hero, exterminationist mass-murderer, and cavalry general Nathan Bedford Forrest, adding to its cachet and his. His own testimony before Congress, mendacious as it was, did attribute the Klan's growth and allegiance to the Democratic Party in no uncertain terms.¹²⁷

125 NARA II, *United States Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 48, 44th Congress 2nd Session*, "Testimony as to the Denial of the Elective Franchise in South Carolina at the Elections of 1875 and 1876," Vol. 3, SSID 1729, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877, pg. 38 .pdf

126 NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 41 pt. 5*, SSID 1488, 1332-1333 . pdf

127 NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 41 pt.1*, SSID 1484, pg. 10 .pdf

However, as discussed above, violence and terror were widely practiced by southern whites individually before they were adopted by political paramilitaries in the service of the Democracy. According to a military representative in October, 1866, such violence was increasing -- small wonder it should coalesce into a popular movement.

By 1866, General Lorenzo Thomas testified to Congress, there were secret terrorist organizations in "all the states lately in rebellion." The KKK brand was confirmed to exist, for example, in Tennessee and Georgia in 1866, in North Carolina in 1867, in Louisiana in 1868, and so forth, but other underground paramilitary formations existed everywhere at the same time with different if less popular branding: the Knights of the White Camellia, the Hancock Club, the Seymour Knights, the White Brotherhood, the Constitutional Union Guards, not to mention countless other Democratic clubs. In 1868 and 1869 General Meade was aware of "evidence of armed bodies being organized for the purpose of overthrowing the Government" in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The secrecy of such organizations was more a legal fiction than any serious attempt to remain clandestine. In Alamance County, North Carolina, one witness testified that the "Ku-Klux" was a name popularized only to provide deniability to members, who were sworn into a differently named organization, thus allowing them "safely" to deny knowledge of Klan activity while under oath. The same man estimated that well over half the white voters in the county belonged to the "Invisible Empire" and described being approached by two members of the state legislature by means of secret signs: participation in organized terror was rather an open secret.¹²⁸

However, the organization of groups dedicated to political terrorism and the violent acts they commit tend not to be clearly set forth in the historical record. When Forrest, allegedly former Imperial Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, testifies that his paramilitary operated on behalf of the Democratic Party,¹²⁹ should one understand a centralized repressive apparatus under Party

¹²⁸ Thomas and Meade quoted in *Sen. Rep. 41, pt. 1*, SSID 1484, 6. *Ibid.*, 5-6, 9, 19. *Sen. Rep. 41, pt. 5*, SSID 1488, 1318. *Sen. Rep. 1*, SSID 1468, pp. v-x.

¹²⁹ *US Sen. Rep. 41, pt. 1*, SSID 1484, 10.

control? This question is more difficult: although on paper the Klaverns were organized down to Congressional district, which indicates the idea was indeed so, Forrest was not really in control of anything like a real hierarchy – he was not giving any orders to Georgia's John B. Gordon, much less the myriad local groups.¹³⁰ If historians are correct in attributing the spread of the Klan from 1866 to 1868 to him, his role was urging local elites to organize, and attracting recruits as a popular symbol of the former Confederacy (which he remains to this day). Local cells were operating fairly autonomously, little evidence of state-level co-ordination appears in any accounts despite the consistency of ideological preoccupations.

Forrest did not go down to southern Louisiana, but the *Planter's Banner* of Franklin Parish published that in Lafayette it was the KKK who had disappeared a "carpet-bagger" from Illinois and had all the freedmen frightened, while "one negro, a big-talking radical, was lately carried off by these confederate ghosts at night has never been heard of since." The editor belonged himself to the Knights of the White Camellia and claimed 700 men in the parish also belonged to the KWC. He chose the Klan as the object of his editorial praise for action, but the central message was (for Anglo-Saxons) "arm yourself," "put your arms in order and keep your powder dry."¹³¹ Literal group allegiances seem less important, in any case, to the accomplishment of political terror: by 1876 the KWC name was moribund and the paramilitary organizers of anti-black violence were known as the "298."¹³² However many meetings General Steedman attended of the KWC after being formally "conducted" and giving his "obligation," his role in ending the rampage of the Democratic paramilitaries in New Orleans in 1868 was probably planned as he describes, through hobnobbing with the mayor (who called him "Steddy," he informs the Congressional committee) and the paramilitary club leaders. A commitment to white supremacy was sufficient to organize political violence in the name of one-party rule without strict hierarchies and with diffuse control, since

130 Wyn Craig Wade. *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, pp. 58-59.

131 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 542.

132 NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 701, 44th Congress, 2nd Session*, "Louisiana in 1876." Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877, SSID 1737, pg. 1982, 2523 [misprint on page reads 3523].pdf

every good Democrat was also a good white-supremacist.

Notwithstanding the lack of centralization, the Party was nonetheless fundamentally involved in the organization of exterminationist episodes and the violent control of the apparatus of political representation, as the Party clubs' participation makes clear in the cases of St. Bernard, St. Landry, and New Orleans. In 1868 Claudius Mayo, the patrol leader wounded in the shooting on September 28 in St. Landry, was head of his chapter of the Hancock Guards, the co-owner of the drugstore where a Republican newspaper publisher's dead body was displayed, and the chairman of the parish Democratic Party Central Committee; his brother was town constable and had been in the group that whipped the newspaper's editor. Presidential candidate Horatio Seymour may not have signed any massacre lists, but the names of Party elites were bestowed on the paramilitaries and served as slogans during the conflicts – and one should keep in mind that forcing a man to cheer for Seymour and Blair quickly segued into straightforward exterminationist rhetoric and action, as with Vallvey Veillon in St. Bernard. Whether Veillon and his squad were particularly more interested in murder, pillage, or political domination, such violent episodes were attuned to Party ends at repeated election intervals, and in the context of exterminationist threats and widespread murder. The same newspapers carried notices of the Democratic Party platform, editorials praising the murder of Radicals, and notices “signed” by the KKK or KWC, and the editors of the *Planter's Banner*, *Opelousas Courier*, and *Lafayette Advertiser* all claimed to be members of the latter organization.¹³³

Certain documents of Charles Homer Mouton of Lafayette Parish demonstrate this overlap between diffuse, decentralized Party organization and local terrorism, as does the evidence his cousin, William Mouton, gave to the Congressional committee investigating the 1868 election. Charles H. Mouton was the delegate to the state Democratic Party Convention of 1868, representing also St. Landry, and he worked quietly in a political capacity in various ways for decades,

133 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 410, 545, 564, 601. *Opelousas Courier*, Oct. 17, 1868

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83026389/1868-10-17/ed-2/seq-2/> accessed 20/01/2018

Lieutenant Governor before the war, district attorney after the war, an election supervisor in 1884, and a political grandée in 1903, discussing the success of complete black disfranchisement with a candidate for the US Senate (who seemed to ask without asking for his endorsement for Alexander Mouton's old seat). In the parish he was known as “the Governor,” and was the sort of man who had the personal ear of the governor concerning political issues in his parish.¹³⁴ Notes for an undated speech (probably from 1868, perhaps for that convention) reveal the same preoccupations, using the same discourse conventions, as his cousin and other KWC witnesses do in their testimony: “They cannot without dishonour consent to the transfer of the government to the hands of the african race.” He claims the “rump” Congress, that had not seated the former Confederate states and had enfranchised black Americans, “granted political supremacy to the negro over the white people of the South” and “imposed on the latter, social equality with their old slaves.” A draft resolution for the Party convention insists that “to uphold and maintain the rights of the whites in Louisiana – to protect Society against the negro element which is sought to be introduced in it,” white men must vote only for white candidates.¹³⁵

William Mouton offers the same estimation of the goals of the Knights of the White Camellia in his Congressional testimony, that it was organized to protest the “taking the reins of government out of the hands of the white people and placing them in the hands of the colored people.” He was “commander” of the parish council of this secret society and administered the oath to new members:

Q. Did not that oath bind the member to use all the means in his power to prevent the the political control of this country from passing in whole or in part into the hands of the negro or any inferior race? – A. By all lawful means.

Q. It had the words 'by all lawful means' included? – A. That was the spirit of the order.

He claims there were “only five, or six” clubs organized, “some were armed, some were not,” but

¹³⁴ William Arceneaux. *No Spark of Malice: The Murder of Martin Begnaud*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004, pg. 135. SAM, Paul Debaillon Papers, 1852-1944, Collection 7, Box 2, Folder 2-1: letter from Leon Jastremski to Charles H. Mouton, June 1, 1903; telegram from C.H. Mouton to S.D. McEnery, April 30, 1884.

¹³⁵ SAM, Paul Debaillon Papers, 1852-1944, Collection 7, Box 2, Folder 2-1: C.H. Mouton, undated draft of speech, pp. 4, 6-7; C.H. Mouton, undated draft resolutions 1st and 2nd.

confirms that armed and sometimes mounted squads patrolled the parish night and day. The committee did not inquire into the lawfulness of these patrols, but several black people were killed in the parish preceding the election. The possibility that these murders were committed by outsiders to the parish, as he suggests, seems faint when compared to the possibility that they were committed by the patrols themselves, whatever the spirit of the order.¹³⁶

William Mouton was not only commander of a secret society, he was also chairman of the parish Democratic Party Executive Committee and in that office he found himself offering protection papers to all local black men who registered as Democrats – a certificate entitling the bearer to protection and employment from all good Democrats. William Mouton rather coolly affects to believe to the committee that he was issuing papers to protect black Democrats from the violence of black Republicans, a logical conundrum in such a context, since if the threat of insurrection were great enough to warrant armed patrols, its exponents would be unlikely to respect such certificates; conversely, since the Republican vote in the parish in November 1868 was zero, black Democrats should hardly need protection. The same sort of protection papers were offered all over the South, including by neighboring St. Landry Party chairman J. H. Overton, who was also on the state Democratic Party Executive Committee. Overton's were printed in New Orleans and sent by the Central Committee, while Mouton had his own printed.¹³⁷

William Mouton attributes the fact that that no Republican votes were tallied in November, while eight hundred or more were cast in April, to what he says he was told by “several colored people... that their eyes were opened to their own true interests; that they had found out at last who were their friends; that those were were the democrats and white people of the parish of Lafayette...¹³⁸” This wide-spread white fantasy of reclaiming the loyalty of their people after they had been interfered with by outsiders was repeated in similar form by Georgia's Joseph B. Gordon

¹³⁶ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 442-444, 446.

¹³⁷ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 444, 611-616.

¹³⁸ White-supremacist testimony offering hearsay from sympathetic black Americans almost never specifies a real person, but generalizes to the point of stereotype; so William Mouton moots fantastic conversations “in a very familiar way” with “‘Bob, Bill, or Jim’ as the case might be... ‘Massa William, I am asking your advice as a friend... I want to vote the Democratic ticket.’” *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 445-446.

in the same context (representative before Congress of a white supremacist political movement and paramilitary) and innumerable other witnesses, including J. H. Overton. Gordon's telling turn of phrase was "We never had any apprehension form the conduct of the negroes[sic] until unscrupulous men came among them and stirred up strife... We can get along forever with the negro, loving him, and having him love us, if you will just take away these 'carpet-baggers.'"¹³⁹

The Republican election supervisor sent to Lafayette told a familiar, though different, story: it was not safe to vote a Republican ticket; he did not vote; he had hundreds of Republican ballots that he was afraid to distribute; he stayed inside and saw no-one. The leading African-American Republicans in the parish, one of them the April-elected Justice of the Peace Alexander François, son of the slain state senator (see below), had fled when the election supervisor arrived in October; another who withdrew testified that he did not think he was safe to remain. Joe Andrews, the most active or perhaps most vocal local black Republican, and his mother, were murdered two weeks before the November election, around the same time as the murders in St. Mary; the man's brother, the principal witness, brought charges against certain parties, but these were dismissed for lack of evidence when the brother fled to New Orleans.¹⁴⁰

One of the state senators for the district, a freeborn African-American, Alexandre R. François, was beaten to death by white men in the presence of his son Armand in May 1869; he was attacked on May 3, just before the committee began taking testimony, and died before his sons appeared before it. Armand told Congress that his father never identified the men who attacked him. The murdered senator was replaced by a Democrat, that is, a white man, completing the district's senatorial representation; the other white Democrat for the district was Thomas C. Anderson, the planter from St. Landry. Informal unseating processes significantly changed the composition of the state legislature from that which was elected in April 1868, to paraphrase one historian's laconic remarks. Armand's brother Achille, a butcher, describes encountering armed

¹³⁹ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 616. *Sen. Rep. 41, pt. 1*, SSID 1484, 55.

¹⁴⁰ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 446-448.

patrols more than once, and testifies that he “was afraid to be killed myself if I stayed in the parish, because they were killing people so much around.” Lafayette Deputy Sheriff F. Martin rather blithely asserts that the dead senator's son had nothing to fear: “I saw no danger there to him.”¹⁴¹

The sheriff's assessment is a common theme. The record shows numerous examples of exaggerated affirmations of peace accompanying the exaggerated threats of black agency in all the Congressional testimony from the former Confederacy from 1868 to 1876. James Fry, a northern Democrat who found himself gratifyingly “treated perfectly like a gentleman” in Lafayette, to the extent that he ran for the sheriff's office against local Gerard Landry, went so far as to testify that there “was nothing but peace and order” during the election in the Parishes of Lafayette, Vermillion, St. Martin, and St. Mary.¹⁴² Murders were committed in each, and the latter was where Sheriff Henry H. Pope and Judge Valentine Chase were murdered two weeks before the election. That murder was carried out under cover of a demonstration by a Democratic club, red-shirted Seymour Knights, operating in a parish in which judges, the sheriff, his deputies, and everyone else, were under threat if they did not vote Democratic. The night following the double murder, a newly-established Republican newspaper was destroyed – “It has not been ascertained who destroyed it,” drily quoth a sheriff's deputy – and the black population was “afraid of being mobbed” if they voted. “There was a guard kept up on the street and all through the parish,” and any white Republicans were “ordered to leave or they would share the fate of Pope.”¹⁴³ The head of the parish Republican Executive Committee was buttonholed and threatened in the Post Office by the parish Justice of the Peace. Most of the election supervisors who had handled voter registration were ordered or forced out on the day of the election. The deputy and registrar in St. Mary took his family out of the parish for safety. Nothing but peace and order in this picture, however, for the would-be gentleman of Lafayette. This should be kept in mind when considering William Mouton's

141 François and Martin quoted respectively in *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 634, 670. Howard J. Jones, “Biographical Sketches of the Members of the 1869 Louisiana State Senate,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol19, No. 1 (Winter 1978), pp.. 65-110, pp. 65n1, 66n2, 74-75.

142 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 520.

143 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 449.

evaluation of the KWC as “an organization... of peace and order.”¹⁴⁴

In these parishes there was no effective difference between the Knights of the White Camellia and the Democratic Party; in Lafayette, Mouton was commander of the one and chairman of the other, and he seems to conflate the two in his testimony, using his Party title when referring to his position in the secret society. In downstream St. Martin the man identified by several witnesses as the founder of the flowery order, Alcibade LeBlanc, was also chairman of the parish Democratic Party Executive Committee; the editor of the parish newspaper estimated 700 members of the KWC in that parish, and all of these were Democrats. As Mouton says, white people generally belonged, all these adhered to the Democracy, and in his testimony, it is not always immediately clear which form of organization he is discussing. There were five or six clubs organized for “self-defense” against a rumored black incendiary insurrection, Mouton tells the committee, clubs of which he seems only vaguely aware: “some had thirty, some forty, and some fifty. I do not think any had a hundred.” Later, however he says that the KWC was the only organized club, “just a club,” except for the Democratic Party Executive Committee and its sub-committees.

“Q. By your answer to Mr. Stevenson, that the only club of which you had any knowledge was the council of the Knights of the White Camelia[sic], to which you belong, do you mean to say there was no other democratic club in the parish except that council? – A. Except the democratic central committee with its different subcommittees.”¹⁴⁵

In short, the armed white patrols on the streets were either all under Mouton's authority as the parish commander of the only club, or they were under his authority as the parish head of the Party and its "sub-committees". Nevertheless, these organizational structures do not seem to be at all rigid or authoritarian, and hence he can't really distinguish between the roles; it might be more accurate to describe the paramilitary as being with the planter rather than under him – white supremacy was a movement more than a policy, a *Weltanschauung* more than a strictly political line.

A rough idea of the structure of these paramilitaries in this parish is offered by a notebook of

144 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 635-636, *op. cit.*

145 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 517, 536, 554, 559. Mouton quoted in *ibid.*, 443-446.

William Mouton's cousin and brother-in-law, Charles Homer Mouton; the former testified at the end of May 1869 that he was the former chairman of the Executive Committee, and he seems to have passed some responsibilities to the latter. Charles Mouton dated this notebook March 30, 1869, just before the formation of the committee that called his cousin as a witness. In it, he names the parish committee of the white league of Lafayette, number one being C. H. Mouton, chairman. There are some 14 clubs listed, with a number indicating from thirty to fifty members, more or less, none reaching one hundred; club number 7, the "White Men's Club" has 46, and club number 8, run by Norbert and R. C. Landry, has 68.¹⁴⁶ The names of the committee members and the club's presidents and secretaries are those of the most distinguished families of the area, all tied together by marriage. For example, the secretary of the Becur Club is one V. E. Dupré, the family of C. H. Mouton's first wife, a granddaughter of former Louisiana governor Jacques Dupré; Mouton's eldest daughter by Celimine Dupré, Louise Charlotte Mouton, married Conrad DeBaillon, presumably the C. DeBaillon listed as secretary of the Vermilionville Club and the parish committee; that club's president, J. R. Creighton, was married to Mouton's niece. Other prominent families in the parish named as heading clubs include the Landrys, Guidrys, Heberts, Broussards, Doucets, and Breauxs – a patriarch of the latter is described as the godfather of Vermilionville, the father being Jean Mouton (Vermilionville is the present-day town of Lafayette).¹⁴⁷ Four of the ten parish committee members are also listed as president or secretary of a club, while all the family names on the committee appear; club number 1, the Lafayette Club, has as its president J. E. Mouton, presumably Jérôme, Charles Homer's son. These clubs may denote geographical areas of responsibility. The Creighton, Broussard, and Mouton plantations were contiguous along the Vermilion river and each headed a club; many of the clubs took place names like Isle des Cannes, Carancer, and Old Cote. This would follow the practice of slavery patrols that put certain planters in charge of patrolling certain stretches of road, which was still employed by the police juries after the war, and Charles H. Mouton was in

146 SAM, Paul Debaillon Papers, 1852-1944, Collection 7, Box 2, Charles H. Mouton memorandum notebook.

147 Genealogy at <http://www.acadiansingray.com/Appendices-ATLAL-MOUTON.htm> accessed 20/01/2018
Arceneaux, 136.

fact the lawyer for the Lafayette Parish Police Jury.¹⁴⁸

The purpose of these clubs is revealed by the pasted-in New Orleans Times clipping that reads: “No man... can be a real friend of the negro who fills him with false and inflated notions of his own importance and by doing do unfits him for the real duties which are forced upon him by an inexorable law of nature.”¹⁴⁹ The total number of members reaches 620, a small but healthy battalion; one recalls similar numbers given for St. Mary Parish. The club list appears at the back of the notebook undated, and may not date from March 1869, although it is a fair assumption. They share the size of the groups described by William Mouton, as well as the many-in-one morphology his testimony revealed; there is no way to know which name to give these groups most accurately: is this the White League as formally constituted in 1874, or the White Camellia, or the Ku-Klux, or Democratic Party clubs? The best answer is all and each, or better, that the Party structures allowed for easy coalescence of actors into other units, smaller and more locally-oriented. The fact that this notebook ended up with Mouton's papers as a Party delegate supports the conclusion that the modern political party was inseparable from the racist terror units.

The total bio-political exclusion of black Americans, even a freeborn “colored Frenchman” (self-described) like Achille François, required some unsavory or at least illegal activities, however. Mouton starts off the notebook under the date with four paragraphs in French urging silence to all, concluding, “Your friends do not need to know what it is that you intend to do. If you have any projects, keep them to yourself.”¹⁵⁰ Good lawyerly advice, and “the Governor” was unlikely to have ordered any particular terrorist action, any more than his cousin would have needed to. In a court of law, it could not be proven that this list represents notes of a criminal conspiracy. In its historical context, it is clear that Mouton's notebook shows an organization of the parish elites for purposes of control and coercion, violent and otherwise; certainly the dated portion indicates that even if the

148 Mouton memorandum, *op. cit.* <http://www.vermilionville.org/Bayou%20Vermilion%20District/plantation-life-along-the-vermilion> accessed 17/02/2018

149 Mouton memorandum, *op. cit.*

150 Mouton memorandum, *op. cit.* *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 634.

details are from another year. Even if it was not one of these fourteen clubs and some their six-hundred members who murdered State Senator Alexandre François in May, 1869 – a justifiable supposition – his notes indicate Charles H. Mouton was at least urging these groups to take action requiring silence in the name of white supremacy shortly before that murder took place. It is more than likely that these were same bodies who organized the murder and intimidation in 1868. In that light, the rough organization of these secret white clubs as outlined in this source appears to be the archetype of the organization of coercive force by the planter elites of the one-party South.

The modalities of action and representation by means of which white supremacy operated were many and various. White supremacy was enforced through these different modalities just as the secret projects in Acadia were organized through various overlapping relationships. A Party speech was the place to formally extoll “government by white men, and for white men.” The KKK came to represent a certain kind of raw violence, midnight hangings and basement murders, while the Party club might disrupt a political meeting, attack a political procession, or trash a meeting hall. In an apt model, one hundred Party activists acting as Seymour Knights demonstrated raucously outside Sheriff Henry Pope's hotel, while five masked intruders entered and murdered him in the name of racialized political exclusion. The best way to describe the imposition of power may be the period use of “ku-klux” as a verb, where groups of white men would “go ku-kluxing.” A newspaper editorial celebrating white-supremacist violence is the place to invoke the “confederate ghosts” of the KKK, “romancing,” in the editor's phrase, but he did not really think such a thing existed in the parish. When discussing the masked men who murdered Henry Pope before Congress, it is more politic to disbelieve that an organized terror network exists, especially when one admits to being the commander of the KWC in St. Mary. John Moore, a leading black Republican of the parish, got right to the point when asked by Congress, “do colored people up there believe in the Ku-Klux?” He replied, “They believe there are white people around trying to

murder and kill them.”¹⁵¹

In Clairborne Parish, black people made no distinction between the Knights of the White Camellia and the Ku Klux Klan, for example, although white witnesses do try and distinguish them, at various levels. Military investigator J. M. Lee seems to think there are two different terror networks, the KWC in Shreveport and the KKK in Claiborne Parish, for example, but State Senator W. F. Blackman, from Claiborne, belonged to the KWC and claimed he does not believe that the Ku Klux Klan existed (“the negroes had an idea about it which they got from newspaper reports of things occurring in Tennessee and Mississippi”). In Claiborne Blackman attributed the warnings posted and signed "KKK" to a boy's prank. He should know if the KKK existed in the parish, he testified, and so he should have: after the May, 1868 murder of black Republican William Meadows, “I myself was on horseback for four nights in scouring that part of the country,” ostensibly defending against an incendiary black uprising. Murder was common there, mounted patrols notwithstanding, as Lt. Lee discovered that the morning he entered the parish a freedman had been murdered “in the presence of his wife,” and when he asked another freedman on the road about it, was told “he had heard of the killing... but that it was so common a thing for colored people to be killed that he did not inquire any further into it.” When Lee arrived in the parish seat, he was informed “that two or three days before my arrival in Homer [a week or so before the November, 1868 election] a white man had hunted two or three freedwomen around the town, and had fired on and wounded one of them, and had snapped a cap at another.”¹⁵² In such a context secret societies are superfluous, especially when they are not secret: their purpose is to amuse powerful whites and entertain the public more than enable crime and terrorism, although they may also do that.

So the pertinent question to ask about an organization like the Knights of the White Camellia is: Beyond mere group solidarity in white supremacy, which could be found in the Democratic

151 Quotes in, respectively, *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 525-526, 542, 546, 638.

152 Lee quoted in *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 475; *ibid.*, 478; Blackman quoted in *ibid.*, 483.

Party clubs or anywhere white men gathered, what was its specific appeal? The statements of the Knights themselves show the particular quality of obsession that the order addressed, fundamental to colonial relationships and the racial hierarchy. What members repeatedly say in connection with it, with differing degrees of emphasis, is that the organization was against any political power for non-whites, and against any marriage with non-whites. Assistant District Attorney and Commander of the oldest KWC council in Winn Parish, William F. Howell, declares the organization was “not political” although it was “opposed to negro suffrage;” it held no prejudice on account of race or color, only against “the offensive globule of African blood.” (Winn Parish is on the Red River, north of the Acadian parishes like Lafayette; Party activists from Winn participated in the Colfax massacre.) In Vermilion, KWC commander David Bryan calls it “an order of white people to resist miscegenation,” and W.B. Bailey, editor of the *Lafayette Advertiser* says its goal is “to preserve intact the 'Caucasian race'[quotes in original]... it was opposed to allowing the reins of government to go, in part or in whole, into the hands of the colored race.”¹⁵³ Complete exclusion from the civic polity is linked to white racial purity, not only rhetorically but through founding a new organization that affirmed, emphasized, and intertwined exactly those principles in that historical moment of crisis in intranational core/periphery political and economic relations.

This particular conjuncture in racist thought became general in the Euro-American core in the nineteenth century, but the order of the Knights of the White Camellia existed as a public expression of just this idea alone, in the context of a planter elite for whom such ideas, one would assume, went without saying. Thus it is all the more noteworthy that they chose to say them, especially in “secret” meetings with one another. The order itself might really have been nothing more than Walter Scott playacting, or it might have organized certain terrorist activities, or both, but as a practical matter, it was through the organization that the paramilitary clubs in New Orleans recruited the northern Democrat “Steddy” Steedman to shut down the metropolitan police. This example shows how the concept of “miscegenation” undermining political dominance had currency

¹⁵³ Howell quoted in *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 739; Bryan in *ibid.*, 572-573; Bailey in *ibid.*, 564.

with non-planters in the North (the term had been coined in a Civil War hoax political pamphlet which purported to be a Republican call for “interracial” sexual unions).¹⁵⁴ Steedman seemed to consider the KWC a matter of social bonding, and it is a mark of the importance of white-supremacist ideology that invoking its shared principles performs in this way as a phatic expression of solidarity among political elites.

These principles were not as transparent as they may seem, or as they may have seemed to Steedman, and they are interlinked. Blackman, the Democrat state legislator from Clairborne Parish, testified that the KWC initiation ritual was to deny that one had ever “married a negro woman,” and to deny ever to do so. However: “Q. Were any of them sworn to have nothing to do with a negro without marriage? – A. No, sir; I do not think such an oath would be binding.”¹⁵⁵ The African globule was only offensive in certain senses. Whites defended socio-juridically pure bloodlines to maintain political power, but they also defended their privileged access to black women's bodies; the sexual predilections of this class would not be bound. In Louisiana, sexual access had been juridically established in its own right in the “mulatto balls” during the late French period, whose licenses and security were set up by the city council,¹⁵⁶ while 1869, a black woman (called “colored girl”) with an established position as a white man's mistress was said to be “placéed,” Blackman explained to Congress. His fervent denial, in a later special address to the committee, of having any specific knowledge of any such personal arrangements whatsoever, should indicate how widespread such arrangements in fact were.¹⁵⁷

Open cohabitation was a different thing, as this witness explained in the case of the stoning of the Freedmen's Bureau agent in his town. He tells the committee that the Bureau agent “Mr. Stokes kept this prostitute negro woman... in his office... right in the most public thoroughfare... right next to a millinery shop kept by a lady that was visited by all the ladies of the place.” In

154 George Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Deabte of Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. New York: Harper & Row/MARC, 1977, pp. 171-173.

155 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 482.

156 LLMVC, New Orleans Municipal Records MSS. 719, Legal Papers, Resolutions, and Ordinances 1813-1846, undated T:48, 11:3, Conseil de Ville de la N.elle Orleans, Dec. 14, 1813 [date added].

157 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 489-492.

Homer, Louisiana, “any man” openly living with a black woman, “with private dwellings all around... would be very apt, if there were decent people in town, to be stoned.”

Q. What would be the effect in that town if a clever young democrat were to break through the back fence and commit depredations of that sort on the kitchen [person?] of a respectable family? Would he be driven out of town?-- A. Not at all, sir. That would be a different thing. There are certain rules of propriety and decency in all societies.

Quite. “I do not know what people did under cover of night, but they certainly did not make the thing known in such a way.”¹⁵⁸ One should reflect that Homer was where three black women had been hunted through town and one shot and wounded.¹⁵⁹ the “negro prostitute” was probably one of these women, seeking protection from the Freedmen's Bureau agent. This is an extreme level of distortion in representing reality, rather like asking white men in 1866 to 1868 if they had married a “negro woman.” Just as the witness invokes decency and propriety in the name of sexual assault, the ritual question of the KWC clearly did not mean what it seemed, literally, to mean; instead it uses a backward reference to white men's power over black women's bodies as a communicative metaphor that enables bonding among elites.

The “purpose of protecting the white race from degeneration,” as their statements make clear, is not necessarily nor exactly about “race” in a directly “meaningful” sense; political dominance was linked to bio-juridical exclusion from the master race, but in full knowledge of the arbitrariness of the exclusion from an ostensibly racist point of view. Highly affected language of somatic repulsion, like the endless references to black Americans smelling bad, existed alongside rules of propriety that dictated access to black bodies. The threat of “social equality” was not that black/white familial relationships would commence but that they would be recognized. The sexual exploitation enjoyed by planters and their sons undermined the bio-political exclusion that their economic and social status depended on, first through their black children and children's children, each generation potentially more difficult to exclude as a practical matter, but also because such

¹⁵⁸ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 489.

¹⁵⁹ *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 475.

sexual encounters and relationships undermined the very idea of racial difference as an abstract legitimization of the violence concomitant with peripheralizing economic relationships. When these relationships were put in crisis by emancipation, the Knights of the White Camellia offered an historically derived response. Faced with a potential loss of power and prestige, the whites' metaphorized their situation as racial purity under threat, the formerly unacknowledged other side of colonial power relations.

Chapter 3: Jim Crow and the Structural Spread of Racialized Power Relations

The conditions of economic marginalization and socio-political exclusion that were established during Reconstruction became fixed and then extended into new areas of conflict as time passed to the early twentieth century. Farming cotton remained the cornerstone of black rural life, but from 1876 to the Great War, the early and middle Jim Crow period show the spread of biopolitical exclusion and economic exploitation to new contexts, new physical territory, and new conditions of urban life. For black Americans there was ever-less freedom as the racialized paradigm of colonial slave-labor extended itself into the nooks and crannies of an ever-more complex modernity.

A sharecropping family in the 1940s faced the same quotidian conditions as one living half a century or longer before, including invasive coercion and violence from the landlord – even a “good” one.¹⁶⁰ When McKinley Morganfield left Colonel William Stovall's plantation to become a professional musician in Chicago in 1943, he had to tell his boss he was sick and slip away unobserved. The rural South, although it saw the arrival of appurtenances of high modernity like automobiles and refrigerated vending machines, remained quite static in its rural social and economic arrangements: the remains of Morganfield's shack testify as to how little had changed from the postbellum period, even if there was a jukebox inside – and he was higher than average in the plantation hierarchy as a tractor driver.¹⁶¹ In the nineteen-fifties, the ethnographer Alan Lomax found himself threatened with jail and accused of lying about his southern origin when he mistakenly told a Mississippi sheriff he wished to record a “Mr. Son House” for the Library of Congress;¹⁶² the citizen's honorific was taboo when referring to black Americans, and often the use

¹⁶⁰ Wilkerson, 125-126, 148-149.

¹⁶¹ Robert Palmer. *Deep Blues*. New York: Penguin, 1981, pp. 4-7. Migrants and would-be migrants often concealed their identities. Wilkerson, 556n8.

¹⁶² Lomax, 22-24.

of a surname was frowned upon, resisted, or resented by southern whites, another aspect of racialization going back to slavery and its aftermath. This practice would spread to the new phenomenon of national commercial network radio in the interwar period, continuing into the nineteen-forties: black performers were never mentioned with Mr., Mrs., or Miss on this modern purveyor of institutionally vetted culture.¹⁶³

This structural consistency in social and economic practices and the decline in prices did not prevent the spread of racialized cotton monoculture onto newly farmed land. The practical development of new technology and infrastructure, especially railroads, connected former “wilderness” areas to capital centers and trading depots. Modern “progress” here brought no freedoms or recognition of human rights, nor did it enable black independent homesteading as had occurred when whites took the lands of the midwest, but instead it underdeveloped the region more thoroughly, increasing the territory given over to racist socio-economic peripheralization. Arkansas saw its acreage of developed land double between 1879 and 1899, while the proportion of that land devoted to cotton cultivation doubled as well, to well over half.¹⁶⁴ The trend was against independent farmers: as new land was brought into cultivation, the percentage of farm owners working their own land decreased from 70 percent in 1880 to 18 percent in 1920.¹⁶⁵ In Mississippi, the well-known Dockery plantation, notable for being home to several historically important musicians, was not established until after the turn of the century. The figures for Arkansas are broadly typical; overall US cotton production doubled between 1865 and 1880, and tripled between 1880 and 1910, peaking in the late 1930s. Agricultural income was 61 percent of total income for the former Confederacy as a whole in 1900.¹⁶⁶ Gavin Wright argues further that the South was

163 Conversely, other racist forms of representation were obligatory: in 1943 the industry bellweather declared, “a Negro cannot be represented in any drama except in the role of a servant or as an ignorant or comical person.” Paul Dennis, “The Negro Makes Advances,” *Billboard*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan. 2, 1943), pg. 28. Philip H. Ennis. *The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of Rocknroll in American Popular Music*. Hanover, N.H. Wesleyan University Press, 1992, pp. 57-58, 173.

164 Carl H. Moneyhon, “Post Reconstruction through the Gilded Age, 1875-1900,” *Encyclopedia of Arkansas*, 2015. <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?search=1&entryID=402> accessed 12/03/18.

165 Jeannie M. Whyne, “Low Villains and Wickedness in High Places: Race and Class in the Elaine Riots,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Autumn 1999), pp. 285-313, pg. 294.

166 This production peak appears to be the result of improved yield, as cotton acreage peaked from 1925 to 1930 and yield bumped up just after. Gavin Wright. *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the*

actually a separate labor market from the North, and he points out that wages show the inequalities between the regions widening over time into the twentieth century;¹⁶⁷ that is to say that the economic exploitation of the bio-politically excluded increased despite the introduction of formal constitutional equality in a republican democracy.

As mentioned previously, economic indicators show that the turn-of-the-century pay for agricultural labor was about the same as after the Civil War, perhaps less given inflation, at least in the abstract,¹⁶⁸ but concretely sharecroppers were cheated by credit arrangements dictated by landlords – and simply cheated outright. A typical story of a black farmer who had brought in a particularly good crop one year ended with the landlord imposing different “storage” fees in order to reduce the “settle” taken away by the farmer to a few dollars.¹⁶⁹ The economics of the Southern agricultural economy paid good farmers just barely enough to keep them alive through the following year, while less productive farmers might be paid nothing or declared in debt, which could offer cause to be arrested and thrown into the forced-labor system, or motivation for them to move on elsewhere, which itself brought risk of arrest. Black agricultural workers were kept on the verge of starvation, with seasonal waves of disease from malnutrition. Pellagra increased every year through the winter months and declined only when spring and summer brought opportunities to forage; these conditions persisted after World War I.¹⁷⁰ Interviews and memoirs provide innumerable descriptions of hunger among rural African-Americans in this period. Global developments, particularly the accelerating de-industrialization of India as Britain pushed for cotton sources to replace American production, also played a role in the general stagnation of this economy as cotton prices dropped.¹⁷¹ However, at the site of production, the operative factor in constructing economic arrangements was the denial of economic benefits and resources in the name of white

Civil War. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1986, pg. 58t, 59t..

167Wright, *Old South, New South*, 66-67.

168 Alston & Kauffman, 194.

169 Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the age of Jim Crow*. New York: Knopf, 1998, pp. 131-142.

170 John M. Barry. *Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How it Changed America*. New York; Simon and Schuster, 1997, pp. 365, 387-388.

171 Beckert, 289-297.

supremacy.

The denial of educational opportunity was understood by whites and black Americans as an important tool in enforcing exclusion and economic inferiority. White discourse commonly spoke of how education would spoil those whom God or biology had supposedly condemned to toil. At a 1906 symposium on the “possibilities of the negro,” one remarkable deployment of a repeated racist trope compared black education to “placing a loaded magazine rifle in the arms of a chimpanzee.”¹⁷² Rebecca Felton claimed access to educational opportunity provoked the rape of white women, while the president of North Carolina Agricultural College believed the majority of crimes were committed by literate African-Americans. When a woman complained in 1902 that she could not find a sufficiently subservient black cook, her brother wrote her back that “too much learning drives them mad.”¹⁷³ These warnings shaded into outright exterminationism. In Thomas Dixon's 1902 novel *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900*, Dixon has his protagonist proclaim, “Make the Negro a scientific and successful farmer, let him plant his feet deep in your soil, and it will mean a race war.”¹⁷⁴ In 1877, in an academic coda to the defeat of Reconstruction, Richmond College's Bennet Puryear opined that “to invite the negro from those pursuits which require firm muscles and little intelligence to those callings which demand less muscle and higher intelligence, is to invite him to his sure extermination.”¹⁷⁵

Some individual white landlords and economic actors acted on these threats by murdering black tenants who disputed their book-keeping or fees. The planter Jaspar Clay shot and killed Henry Kirkland and shot and wounded his son Emmet when the father told his son to check his own records against the planter's; one Charles Holcomb concluded that education was too dangerous for black people to pursue after his son William, schooled at some sacrifice, had his skull crushed by a group of white men for arguing over the warehousing rates for his tobacco. Holcomb said he had

172 Richard H. Edmonds, “The Burden of the Negro Problem,” quoted in Leon F. Litwack. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Knopf, 1998, pg. 92.

173 Felton and letter quoted in Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 97, 100.

174 Thomas Dixon. *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900*. New York: A. Wessels & Co., 1908, pg. 463. .pdf

175 Puryear quoted in Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 97.

thus come to believe that education put black people out of their place, and that led to trouble. He claimed that whenever he heard of young men who were dissatisfied with their living conditions, he would take them to see William's grave.¹⁷⁶ Even Booker T. Washington's emphasis on industrial trade education, theoretically supported by many southern whites, could lead to dangerous delusions, as when the Tuskegee Institute founder claimed, by way of what Ibram X. Kendi has termed "uplift suasion," that "the Negro merchant who owns the largest store in town will not be lynched."¹⁷⁷ Yet this latter was exactly what came to pass in Memphis in 1892, when three successful black grocery store owners were murdered, without even a cover story of impending insurrection or sexual misconduct.¹⁷⁸ The former allegation, familiar from Reconstruction extermination events, appeared in the Elaine, Arkansas massacre of 1919, which was a response to sharecroppers's attempts to resist fraud, and the latter accusation appeared in the lynching of Sam Hose in 1906, in response to violence arising from a pay dispute. African-Americans who breached the terms of helot status faced this kind of exterminationist violence across the South through the Jim Crow period and World War I; the structural elements had been established during Reconstruction.

Agricultural labor practices were the result of two centuries of a certain kind of power imposed in the name of labor discipline, but coercion and mass-murder spread to newer, and newly racialized, parts of the southern economy. In the extractive and industrial sectors of the New South like lumbering, mining, and naval stores (turpentine extraction), and in infrastructure construction like railroads and the Mississippi levee, forced labor provided the model for the institutionalization of "free" labor. The coalfields of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee were worked by free and prison-labor, the latter depressing wages and negatively influencing working conditions. Ostensibly free-labor work camps often had armed guards and pay was often in scrip, forcing workers to pay

¹⁷⁶ Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 5-7, 60.

¹⁷⁷ Ibram X. Kendi. *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas*. New York: Nation Books, 2016, pp. 53-55, *passim*. Washington quoted in Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 148.

¹⁷⁸ Philip Dray. *At the hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America*. New York: Modern Library, 2003, pg. 63

exorbitantly for low-quality staples at company stores, a kind of concentrated peripheralization at gunpoint. In the nineteen-twenties, Justice Department peonage investigators found that the distinction between free and coerced labor was often lost on whites. Agent A. J. Hoyt estimated that forced labor was everywhere in Florida and that one third of farms with more than five workers in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia held laborers in bondage.¹⁷⁹

Even where convicted men were not a significant part of the workforce, race sufficed to keep pay depressed: according to an investigator for a southern lumber company commission, keeping black people impoverished was a form of labor discipline in itself, deliberately fostered by the lumber bosses. Black levee workers have described how their lives were worth less than a mule, and in the violent levee camps it was acknowledged that the only serious crime was to kill a good worker: an average or below-average laborer could be replaced, unlike a mule, free of charge.¹⁸⁰ Violence against individuals took place in the context of exterminationist attitudes linking the racialized labor regime and mass murder. In 1911 in Georgia, one man who refused to work for a local planter was arrested by the local sheriff and his son, who beat him and threatened to drown him in the river; in 1906 in the Tennessee/North Carolina mountains, one agent was told that no-one ate the fish from the river anymore because the river was “full of dead negroes” from the Oliver Brothers Construction Company railroad camp upstream.¹⁸¹

The Justice Department began to investigate labor conditions in the South around the turn of the twentieth century, asserting jurisdiction through an old anti-peonage law. Some high-profile affairs, like the John W. Pace and Alonzo Bailey cases in Alabama, offered glimpses into the system of captivity and forced labor that suffused black American life. Some dedicated agents and sympathetic judges were, however, insufficient to check the universal practice of violent labor coercion. Thousands of uninvestigated complaints can be found in the national archives. One 1916

¹⁷⁹Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery*, 22.

¹⁸⁰Lomax, 216-229.

¹⁸¹Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery*, 31, 41.

letter from Empire, Louisiana, almost certainly written and smuggled out at some risk, gives a sense of the New South:

I am serving a 20 year term in Capt. A.M. Anderson Levee Camp and We have wrote the government of our state about the way are treated and he has not helped us. Now we write to our people and they don't send our mail out they tear it up and they treat us like dogs. Beat us until the Blood run down our back. They have a foreman by the name of Gearesen [unclear] and he kicks us about and beats us with his fist... we are suffering something awful and need some help. When they whip us they make four men hold us... my home is New Orleans I was sentence from Stamanay Parish... [illeg.]...I trust you will help me.[*sic* throughout]¹⁸²

No record of any action exists. In Alexandria in 1915, W. Houston, owner of the Union Drug Store (the only black drugstore in central Louisiana), told the Attorney Genral that “little Negro boys” were being arrested on petty charges and sentenced to “5,6,7 years” on outlying farms.¹⁸³

Agricultural labor, infrastructure construction, and extractive industries like mining and lumber were the usual fields for black prisoner labor. In Lake Charles, Louisiana, African-American men were routinely arrested and convicted for “stealing” rides on freight trains, assigned jail time in lieu of their fines, and were hence “subject to be worked on the public works of the Parish,” as the court minutes of two 1914 cases puts it, if not farmed out to local magnates and entrepreneurs. Indeed, the dockets from 1910 to 1914 seem to show that the town of Lake Charles suffered under a crime wave consisting almost exclusively of “train riding” and dice gambling. Penalties varied for the same offense, here hopping trains: in case number 5355, Emile Johnson and Tennis[*sic*] Mayo were fined 10 dollars, converted to fifteen-day jail sentences; in case number 6910, L.J. Eagan and G.A. Hayden were only sentenced to ten days; in case number 6938, Walter Floyd and others received only two-day sentences; in case number 6901, Harry Vail, Rollin Green, and Charlie Johnson were saddled with 25-dollar fines and sixty-day sentences. One of this latter group who plead not guilty, Chester Paddo, was tried and convicted a week later and fined only ten dollars or ten days in jail. This discrepancy in particular seems to indicate that defendants were

182 NARA II, RG 60, Stack 230 Box 19, File 50-294, letter from John Richardson to US Government, Feb. 24, 1916.

183 NARA II, RG 60, Stack 230 Box 19, File 50-293, letter from W. Houston to US Attorney General, Nov. 5, 1915.

fined whatever necessary to put them in debt to the court.¹⁸⁴

The public works of the parish were not, however, the only destination for the wards of the legal system. Lake Charles and Calcasieu Parish appear often in complaints to the Justice Department. Clyde Harvey wrote that he had been “framed” in Lake Charles “for nothing at all,” although the charge was grand larceny; “I was kangarooed, was not even allowed to testify in my own behalf... several witnesses and they didn't know or seen me at any time... the officers who arrested me knew I was not guilty...”¹⁸⁵ He was given ten to twenty years in the state prison system. In Merryville, in the same parish, in 1913 the American Lumber Company had deputy sheriffs and the mayor working together to deliver locally arrested black travellers to the camps, at the time that a strike was underway and the company was shipping in black strikebreakers, luring them from Baton Rouge with cash advances that would put them into debt peonage.¹⁸⁶ The 1911 Ed Sanders case proved the existence of torture and forced labor, but the jury refused to convict the lumber operators¹⁸⁷ – apparently the local whites all agreed that whipping captive black men nearly to death was an acceptable labor regime. A year later another such complaint by one Matt Briscoe against the Great Northern Lumber Company and a policeman named Richardson in Washington Parish, on the other side of the state, was dismissed by the acting Attorney General on the grounds that successful prosecution was impossible given local attitudes.¹⁸⁸

The Justice Department had plenty of individual employees less dedicated or indifferent to

184 In November 2016, the (white) woman in charge at the Calcasieu County Clerk's office who provided these records interpreted them the same way, with no prompting from this writer. Calcasieu Clerk of Court Archive, Container 8054, File 1913-87, Calcasieu Parish Court Minutes, Book 19.

185 This letter was kept secret by the FBI, one of many “classified” documents in the peonage investigation files that historian Pete Daniel was not allowed to see in 1972, despite the support of a US Senator. NARA II, RG60 DOJ Classified Subject Files, Box 1 Entry 114, File 50-0 Sec. 3, previously restricted material, letter from Clyde Harvey to Department of Justice, Nov. 29, 1929. Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery*, 193.

186 NARA II, RG 60 Stack 30, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-286, letter from Ass. US Att. D.H. Burns to Att. General, Feb. 8, 1913.

187 US Attorney Charleton Beattie believed the jury refused to accept African-American testimony. NARA II, RG 60 Stack 30, Classified Subject Files Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-277, letter from Charleton Beattie to Att. General, Aug. 31, 1911. According to Special Agent Michele Berardinelli's fifty-odd-page report on peonage, southern juries refused to indict and convict white bosses and planters despite being presented with clear and legally binding evidence. *Ibid.*, File 50-300, Michelle Berardinelli, Special Agent DOJ, “Peonage...” March, 1909, pp. 48-50, and *passim*.

188 NARA II, RG 60 Stack 30, Classified Subject Files Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-283, letter from acting Att. General Winfred T. Denison to US Att., Oct. 4, 1912.

such prosecutions, but it also had to contend with hostile elites and local law enforcement who were frequently part of the labor impressment process and financially benefited from it. Even a conscientious, active US Attorney like Charleton Beattie could not make a southern jury convict a white for mistreating a black man. At the same time such officials also faced institutional resistance. Beattie was criticized by more than one Attorney General for his focus on peonage investigations at the expense of vigilance over Neutrality Act violations.¹⁸⁹ Not only did the FBI prohibit access to some correspondence, but the Justice Department even took the step of redacting the name of the company in internal correspondence about Briscoe's complaint; justice being, one may suppose, in this case not blind enough. After the Sanders case, the Attorney General ruled that all requests made of special agents in the field had to be approved by his office in Washington and would not be left to the discretion of local US Attorneys.¹⁹⁰

The response of the Justice Department to a complaint from southwest Louisiana lumber workers during a period of labor unrest from 1911 to 1916 reveals its institutional priorities. In 1912 the newly organized Brotherhood of Timber Workers unsegregated its locals and affiliated with the radically syndicalist I.W.W. The American Federation of Labor had no black workers in its federation except a few segregated chapters of the United Mine Workers, and it wanted no more. "Big Bill" Haywood and Covington Hall chaired the first public meeting in Alexandria, Louisiana that was integrated on terms of equality (the Socialist Party in the state practiced racialized segregation).¹⁹¹ In a 1912 "Petition for Intervention in Louisiana," sent to President Taft and forwarded to the Justice Department, the union presented a list of the grievances held by the lumber workers, beyond the naked exploitation of the mostly black workers through credit mechanisms and beyond the insufficient housing at exorbitant rents paid to the lumber companies. They chose language deliberately referencing the legal justification that the federal authorities had used in the

189 NARA II, RG 60 Stack 30, Classified Subject Files Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-283, letter from Charleton Beattie to Att. General Aug. 28, 1912. *Ibid.*, File 50-280, letter from Asst. US Att. Harris to Charleton Beattie, Oct. 19, 1911.

190 Note 20, *op. cit.*

191 The I.W.W. was the only American union that never had segregated locals. Philip S. Foner, "The I.W.W. And the Black Worker," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan. 1970), pp. 45-64, pp. 46, 48, 50, 54-55.

Enforcement Acts and Klan Acts during Reconstruction.

... here a Republican form of government no longer exists, all the guarantees of the Federal and State constitution having been overthrown by a combine of corporations known as the Southern Lumber Operators Association... it holds thousands of other workers, especially the colored people, under conditions that are nothing short of peonage... it has imported into the states of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Mississippi an army of gunmen... commissioned as deputy sheriffs by local authorities, promoting lawlessness and murder.

President A.L. Emerson of the Brotherhood was assaulted in Lake Charles, La., by general manager Sheffield Bridgewater of the Industrial Lumber Company... at Oakdale, La., on July 6, 1912, a thug of the Industrial Lumber Company fired two shots from a rifle at H.G. Creel... on July 7th, 1912, while the Brotherhood and its allies were holding a meeting on the public road at Grabow, La., they were fired upon by gunmen concealed in several different places on the plant of the Galloway Lumber Co., three men were killed outright... and forty or more wounded... Though women and children were in our assembly, the meeting was fired upon by fifteen to twenty gunmen using pump guns and rifles loaded with buckshot and soft-nosed copper-cased bullets...

Our people were arrested and indicted wholesale and there are now 64 of our men and boys in the parish prison at Lake Charles, La., awaiting trial on three charges each of murder in the first degree... Since this "riot," during the month of August, Carl Cunningham was strapped to a log and frightfully beaten... Nor is this one-tenth, your excellency, of the crimes and outrages that have been committed by the private army of the Association [which] has proclaimed martial law and established a reign of terror... we petition you that you ask of Congress the authority to intervene in Louisiana as well as Mexico, and this petition we make of you on the ground that a Republican form of government no longer exists in the State of Louisiana.¹⁹²

Assistant US Attorney W.R. Harris replied with the last words of the Justice Department, frequently repeated in those files where there is a response: "You are advised that the terms in which your communication is expressed is too general to justify action by the Department. If you will submit to the department a specific charge accompanied by such a statement of facts as warrants the assumption that there has been violation of any federal law, the matter will receive appropriate attention."¹⁹³ Despite Assistant US Attorney D.H. Burns's February, 1913 assessment that "their mistreatment of the laborers... is responsible for the riots and other labor troubles in that

¹⁹² NARA II, RG 60 Stack 30, Classified Subject Files Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-284, letter from Brotherhood of Timber Workers to President Taft, Sept. 9, 1912, "A petition..."

¹⁹³ NARA II, RG 60 Stack 30, Classified Subject Files Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-284, letter from Asst. US Att. W.R. Harris to Fredonia Stevens, Southern Lumber Workers Convention [undated].

territory,”¹⁹⁴ and despite the Attorney General endorsing the view that peonage existed and admitting that “very unusual conditions exist in the timber district,” no investigation was made. Special Agent Allred pronounced that there was no violation of the law in early 1913, while he remained in Baton Rouge without visiting the timber area.¹⁹⁵

Conditions in southwest Louisiana would only worsen, developing the subsequent year into the strike mentioned above. As the strikebreakers were shipped in, pickets lined the railroad tracks, and significant numbers joined the strikers. In February of 1914, a four-day spree of violence broke the strike. As Philip Foner relates, “company gunman, many deputized as sheriffs, marched through the streets, seizing Negro and white union members and shipping them out of town;” they also attacked and looted African-American homes, and in the end “deputy sheriffs, mobs of businessmen and company officials destroyed the union headquarters, and deported all union members... under penalty of death if they returned.” Appeals for help to the governor on the grounds that the deportations were illegal without due process were denied, the governor accusing the union of “seeking to destroy the Southern way of life,” in Foner’s words, “by allowing Negroes to meet together with whites.”¹⁹⁶ The governor offers a clear example of the structural tenacity of colonial slave-labor regimes, as his reply rather explicitly insists that complete bio-political exclusion must take precedence over the rule of law.

Southern industrial expansion, such as it was, relied on forced labor in resource extraction and agricultural production, but African-Americans were excluded from most factory jobs, most particularly in the cotton mills which began to appear in the New South. While much effort was expended to keep black Americans in the most peripherally exploitative economic relationships at the bottom of the employment ladder,¹⁹⁷ the classic developmentalist dynamics that send rural “excess” populations to the cities did apply to poor southern whites, as new legal and economic

194 Note 17, *op. cit.*

195 NARA II, RG 60, Stack 30, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Box 19 Entry 114, File 50-286, letter from Ass. US Att.

D.H. Burns to Att. General, Feb.13, 1913. *Ibid.*, letter from Charleton Beattie to Att. General, March 11, 1913.

196 P.S. Foner, 55-57.

197 Of 7,958 black workers in the lumber mills of Texas in 1910, 7,216 were unskilled laborers, and none was a sawyer. P. S. Foner, 52.

pressures discouraged subsistence farming and encouraged tenancy and wage labor. Enclosure and fencing laws took away small farmers' ability to keep livestock; crop-lien and monoculture practices reduced their access to capital and increased their risk.¹⁹⁸ The family farm geared toward subsistence and local markets remained a poor white ideal into the nineteen-thirties, but the nostalgia was a response to the shift to wage-work, as the popular folk songs at the onset of the Great Depression like “Gonna Raise Some Bacon at Home,” “Cotton Mill Blues,” and “Down on Penny's Farm” attest: “Got no windows but the cracks in the walls/ He'll work you all summer and rob you in the fall... Go to the store and the merchant will say/ Your mortgage is due and I'm looking for my pay.”¹⁹⁹

These class resentments reflect the exposure of rural whites to the pressures of the world-system economy in ways increased by the modernizing features of the Civil War and its aftermath. If these peasant-to-proletarian transitions are frequently institutionally historicized according to a theory of “movement to freedom of labor contract,” protagonists themselves describe capitalist praxis more directly: “Now in the year nineteen hundred and thirty/ They don't pay nothing and they do us dirty... Now the whistle blows and we run like dogs.”²⁰⁰ The impoverishment of independent white farmers was based on their loss of the landed independence that the freedmen had sought to achieve during Reconstruction. At the same time that the structural inheritance of the racialized settler-colonial economy reserved the greater part of economic activity to whites, that activity was channeled into sectors favoring peripheralized development. Legal interference with independent economic activity increased, particularly by the Federal government with alcohol distilling and liquor sales, another phenomenon with its roots in Reconstruction. Whites were not

198 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 373. Wright, *Old South, New South*, 171-174. Gavin Wright, “Cotton, Corn, and Risk in the Nineteenth Century: A Reply,” *Explorations in Economic History*, No. 14 (1977), pp. 183-185. Stephen Hahn, “Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging: Common Rights and Class Relations in the Postbellum South,” *Radical History Review*, No. 26 (1982), pp. 37-64.

199 Quote from Lee Brothers Trio, “Cotton Mill Blues,” (1930), *Hard Times in the Country: Down and Out in the Rural South, Songs and Tunes from 1927 to 1938*, Christopher King, ed. Charlottesville: County Records, 2002. cd See also: Bentley Boys, “Down on Penny's Farm” (1929) & Dutch Coleman, “Gonna Raise Some Bacon at Home,” (1929), *ibid.*

200 Dave and Howard, “Serves 'Em Fine,” (1931), King ed.

likely to be sucked into the formal forced-labor arrangements of the southern justice system, as only Texas subjected significant numbers of white citizens to the conditions of black prison labor. However, the methods of economic coercion that kept black Americans in their racialized, peripheralized condition spread to the formerly independent poor white farmer, as historian John William Graves has summed up: “White farmers... were increasingly caught up in the same economic mechanisms – the crop lien, verbal contracts between sharecroppers and landlords, and the convict-lease system – used to subjugate rural blacks.”²⁰¹

In the South proper, cities, if not as metropolitan as Chicago, still offered spaces of increased independence and potential for improving one's status, with some remaining elements of social and political black integration. The “boosterism” of urban growth and development could be shared by the small black middle-class elites in these contexts, and even some political representation survived for varying periods and to varying extent. In Little Rock, black Republican Mifflin Gibbs, a Reconstruction-era municipal judge and subsequent federal office appointee, attended the meetings of the bar association and the real estate exchange up to 1888, if not longer. In Arkansas, an 1873 equal-access/equal-facilities law prompted by the Reconstruction Acts stayed on the books until repealed in 1907, and trains were unsegregated into the early 1890s, after a failed postbellum attempt at segregation. Streetcars were originally open, and segregated their services only following a 1903 ordinance; when the cinema first arrived in Little Rock, it was unsegregated. The cinemas there show how segregation is a feature of exclusion, not merely separation, for when they were eventually segregated in the 1920s and 30s, it was by a gradual process of exclusion from theaters and cinemas until black Americans could attend only one movie house, confined to the balcony. In the city, Democratic leadership had to be ordered by the national Party to make their primary elections all white in 1906.²⁰²

201 John William Graves, “Jim Crow in Arkansas: A Reconsideration of Urban Race Relations in the Post-Reconstruction South,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Aug. 1989), pp. 421-448, pg. 436.

202 Outside of New Orleans, education never passed through an integrated phase, not even in sophisticated Little Rock.

Graves's study of streetcar segregation suggests that such arrangements may have been imposed on reluctant or indifferent city dwellers and their political representatives by rural conservatives.²⁰³ This interpretation indicates that the modern forms of individual empowerment based on equality and democracy that have been associated with the metropolises of the European core are vulnerable to the modern forms of disempowerment and exclusion that have been imposed on the peripheries. Instead of a teleological victory of the free world or an increasing spread of democracy, historically determined structural characteristics of colonial exploitation, here racialized exclusion from the benefits of modernity, can influence “advanced” democracies, reappearing within or migrating to the core, and peripherilizing new areas on old terms. The rural south was related to its urban centers as periphery and core; Little Rock, in the mid-eighteen-eighties, was “progressive” enough to eschew racial exclusion in ways that would have been impossible in rural Mississippi, but a decade and a half later formal racialized segregation laws were adopted and the practice extended into new areas. Democratic parliamentarianism has no inherent tendency toward pluralism or tolerance: Black Arkansans found themselves being newly excluded from urban facilities as and after white women fought for and won the right to vote, for example. White-supremacist exclusion advanced in formal juridical terms as disfranchisement and white primary elections eliminated all black political participation in the South, but this was a gradual process through the eighteen-nineties and the turn of the century. Black Americans like Mifflin Gibbs and others were integrated into the modern, democratic-republican “free world” before they were excluded from it on the racialized terms that had governed the colonial slave-labor system.

Exclusion was contested by populist “interracial” political coalitions and black efforts to organize, but they were rarely successful. Such attempts came to violent grief in extermination events in, for example, Phillips County, Arkansas in 1919 and Wilmington, North Carolina in 1892. Resembling a Klan attack on a cabin writ large, the first massacre was rural, and followed the

Graves, pp. 423n6, 425, 426n19, 428-429, 432.
203 Graves, 445-446.

pattern of Reconstruction massacres like that of St. Landry Parish, while the the second was urban and displayed features of twentieth-century extermination events, features exemplifying the increased social complexity of high-modernity. The dates here show the persistence of the one and the precocity of the other, as well as crossing up teleologies of “increasing freedom” or “descent into barbarism.” Arkansas whites were imposing colonial economic relations on black Arkansans after World War I, and high-modern techniques of mobilization, themselves refinements of methods familiar from Reconstruction, generated exterminationist attacks in North Carolina before the turn of the twentieth century.

In Arkansas the failure of black/white coalition populism in the 1890s had rested on electoral fraud and disfranchisement. It was a black farmers' union movement after World War I sparked the state's deadliest racist massacre, around Elaine in 1919. Hundreds of black Americans were killed and afterward over one hundred African-Americans were tried on murder charges in a deputy's death. No white was charged with a crime in the death of a black American. To this day the events are disputed by southern whites – a 1976 admission, by the county prosecutor at the time, that a massacre did take place, still claims “that damned Mississippi contingent... started the marauding.”²⁰⁴ Surviving African-American witnesses, however, gave statements, corroborated by whites, that establish the local provenance and the severity of the violence.

A good growing season and high cotton prices led white landlords, who state-wide controlled around four-fifths of the land, to drive off their tenants and sharecroppers and seize their crops. On the land owned by a Mrs. Jackson, for example, as harvest time approached white manager Billy Archdale had forced away nine out of thirteen tenant families by cutting off their credit for food and seizing their property to pay outstanding debts, or “debts,” contravening the terms of their labor contracts (the remaining four were those that were able to get supplies elsewhere, that is, they had attempted to drive off all the families in this way). Many accounts

204 John. E. Miller, quoted in David F. Kruger. *1919, The Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pg. 175.

mention that this pressure on the tenants had preceded the white attack, and some profess the belief that the attack itself was simply the last act in a process of economic despoilment.²⁰⁵

The most immediately inciting incident would seem to be when the secretary of the Progressive Farmers' Household Union, Ed Ware, refused to sell his cotton to the local buyers in Elaine at the price they offered, which was around one-half to one-third the market price. The buyers threatened to “mob” him, but Ware succeeded in avoiding their trap and went to Helena, where he found out how high the price of cotton was, the day before the union met. The next night, during a regularly scheduled meeting at Hoop Spur church, four or five carloads of whites shot up the church, killing an unknown number of black men, women, and children and resulting in the death, possibly by friendly fire, of one white “deputy,” really a special agent – whatever that may be – for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. The next day, as in the St. Landry massacre, whites poured into the area and began hunting down black people on the grounds that a violent, exterminatory uprising was imminent: “Negroes Plan to Kill All Whites,” according to the *Arkansas Gazette*, and “Vicious Blacks Were Planning a Great Uprising” (“Officers Who Stopped Near Church on Accident” demonstrates the high level of credulity such accounts demand – Supreme Court testimony later revealed that Deputy Sheriff Charley Pratt had led men there with the premeditated intention to attack the union meeting). The church was burned to the ground as well; in the opinion of one black farmer, “the white people went and burned the church to keep from showing up what they had done.”²⁰⁶

At least one credible white resident claimed that the fear of such an uprising was really felt, but the sincerity, or lack thereof, of the self-generated white paranoia displayed in some sources should carry little causal weight given the actual progress of events. The murder of four prosperous brothers, black drugstore owners, who had been away from the area on a hunting trip, better

205 Ida B. Wells-Barnett. *The Arkansas Race Riot*. Chicago, 1920, pp. 19, 12-25.

206 Statements of Ed Ware and William Wardlow in Wells-Barnett, 12, 16. *Arkansas Gazette* quoted in Griff Stockley, “Elaine Massacre,” *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture*, 2018, accessed 04/01/2018
<http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?search=1&entryID=1102#> Krugler, 171.

demonstrates just who had planned what, and for whom.²⁰⁷ What is significant is the structurally consistent pattern of mass-murder and discourse that projects an imminent zero-sum race-war to legitimate exterminatory violence in the context of colonial relations.

Black accounts say that whites not only stormed through the area killing whoever they could but also that the whites openly communicated their exterminatorist intentions.

We saw about 150 armed white men coming to our house and we left the house and ran on down in the woods and carried our sister down into the woods with us and they came and hunted us out and they shot at the women and killed three men... They were so thick around us, they killed one white man, and we heard them say, "We are killing our own men," and they went to our house and took everything... We got the news [that] day that they were going to kill every Negro they saw."

[...] "The white people was sending word that they was going to kill all the black people, then I run back in the woods and hid two days... They took everything I had, twenty-two acres of cotton, three acres of corn... all of my household goods. Clothes and all... These white people know that they started this trouble... we were threatened before this union was there to make us leave our crops."²⁰⁸

The National Guard (state troops) arrived and drove away the white murder squads but also arrested about 250 black people, holding them in barb-wire stockades, and torturing them by whipping and electric shock. "Many Negroes are reported killed by the soldiers," reported the black *Memphis Press* in 1919, while Sharpe Dunaway, a reporter for the anti-black *Arkansas Gazette*, later accused the soldiers of systematic killing: they "committed one murder after another with all the calm deliberation in the world, either too heartless to realize the enormity of their crimes, or too drunk to on moonshine to give a continental damn." The historian Griff Stockley calls this mass murder event ("if true") "a replication of past militia activity."²⁰⁹ One might point out that the racialized mass incarceration and torture prefigure later historical events, as does the pattern where attackers use their own violence as a justification to increase that violence in the name of restoring order in the threatened white-American *Volksgemeinschaft*. Hundreds of black Americans were killed and afterward over one hundred African-Americans were tried on murder

²⁰⁷ Whayne, 289-291, 297-300. Krugler, 173-174.

²⁰⁸ Statements of John Martin and Joseph Fox & Albert Giles, in Wells-Barnett, *Arkansas Race-Riot*, 14-15.

²⁰⁹ *Memphis Press* and Dunaway quoted in Stockley. "I was whipped twice in jail. Near to death. While they were whipping me they put some kind of dope in my nose; also I was put in an electric chair and shocked to make me tell a story on other men." Alfred Banks, quoted in Wells Barnett, *Arkansas Race Riot*, 12-19.

charges in the deputy's death. Twelve were sentenced to death; their assets, crops, stock, and possessions, were seized by persons unknown to the tune of 100,000 dollars, over 80,000 dollars (in 1919 numbers) in cotton alone.²¹⁰ The governor eventually commuted their sentences. No white was charged with a crime. The relatively late date of this massacre should indicate how easily exterminationist attacks can break out to enforce racialized economic peripheralization, and how these events repeat certain historically-determined practices and discourse conventions.

Midway between events at Elaine, and the Compromise of 1877, another significant massacre took place in Wilmington, North Carolina, the largest city in the state, in 1898. The town suffered the most violence in the broader statewide campaign by the Democracy against the Populist Party and “fusionist” tendencies. Unlike events in Arkansas, the violence in Wilmington resulted from a highly organized sequence of events in a modern, prosperous city. The official, state-endorsed historical interpretation, that in the course of stealing the election and mounting a *coup d'etat*, Party elites lost control of the militants they had encouraged, may give too much credit to those politicians' consciences – constant threats to exterminate African-Americans *en masse* and the creation of an armed paramilitary eager for action would seem to lead to a predictable outcome – but a variety of actors did act in different ways at different times, protecting certain people and dissuading action. More likely North Carolina's white power-brokers wished to avoid potential federal intervention caused by excessive violence.²¹¹

In any case, the massacre shows colonialist racist assumptions remaining the dominant force influencing events in a post-colonial context. Cotton shipped out of Wilmington's port on the Cape Fear River, but local elites were not planters disciplining a labor force and local African-Americans

210 Ida B. Wells claims the losses to African-Americans to have been “a cool million,” but this is a shaky extrapolation; the farmers on death row, however, gave details of their assets. Wells-Barnett, *Arkansas Race Riot*, 22, 24.

211 The facts of the following account are based on the *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report* produced in May 2006 by the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission on behalf of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. LeRae Umfleet is identified as lead researcher and is cited as the author. <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/1898-wrrc/report/report.htm> accessed 22/03/2018 Also, see Leon Prather, “The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol.62, No. 2 (April 1977), pp. 174-184.

were not growing cotton. They were pressing it and loading it onto ships, but there were also black barbers, clerks, janitors, firemen, lumber-mill workers, oyster shippers, and real-estate developers. Indeed, as African-Americans were replaced by whites at their urban jobs after the white takeover, it became evident that the latter were very much less competent and efficient yet they demanded higher pay. While white supremacy as a political doctrine resulted from colonial slave-labor arrangements, it could also dominate relations removed from that specific historical context: the tenets of racism apply beyond economic rationality when certain power relations are challenged.

The central event in the violence of November 10, 1898 was the destruction of the *Record*, the black daily newspaper edited by Alexander Manly, who counted an antebellum state governor as an ancestor and who was able to pass for white while escaping the city. In August he had enraged local whites, in a reply to a publicized speech by lynching advocate Rebecca Felton, by accusing southern whites of “hypocrisy” for decrying alleged sexual contact between black males and white females while ignoring real sexual exploitation of black females by white males, an exploitation of which Manly himself was living proof.²¹² Nevertheless, this sort of opinion was not to be expressed in the South, where saccharine adulation of the purity of “the white woman” as an ideal under threat was one of the anchors of public discourse. It was part of the semiotic vocabulary of Norman Jenett's political cartoons, which saturated the state on the front page of the widely-distributed *Raleigh News and Observer* (and were reprinted nationally) through the 1898 election season.

The many weeks between Manly's editorial and the destruction of the *Record* office two days after the election highlight the irrationality and the importance of the linkage between sexual destabilization and political mastery. “Why haven't you killed that nigger already?” asked United States Senator for South Carolina, “Pitchfork” Ben Tillman;²¹³ the historical question would be:

212 Felton called for a thousand lynchings a week in order to “protect woman's dearest possession from ravaging human beasts;” Umfleet characterizes her as desiring “to exterminate black men who attract white women,” although one must recall that in only one quarter or less of lynchings was actual “rape” even alleged. Felton and Manly are excerpted in: LeRae Umfleet. *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2006, pp. 97-99.

213 Tillman quoted in Umfleet, 100. Tillman relied on the racist mystique of the Red Shirt militia, and was a link in the Mississippi-to-South Carolina-to-North Carolina spread of the conceit. See Patrick Dean Kent, “Red Shirt revisited: The Politics of Martin Gary, 1868-1881,” Master's Thesis, Clemson University, 2015. One notes that throughout

Why kill Manly then (and destroy his press)? In fact, one of the Democratic establishment had gotten word to him that he should flee, and he did so, passing for white as he passed through the Red Shirt militia pickets surrounding the black areas of Wilmington by using the codes of the day with which he had been provided. Rhetorically and physically, violent assertions of white supremacy conflate the lack of total white political control with black sexual threat, most starkly in the case of lynching, but quite clearly in the oratory defending it. Tillman, advocating lynching in a speech before the Senate two years after the massacre under discussion, juxtaposes the two as the central structural feature of his argument: “We of the South have never recognized the right of the negro to govern white men, and we never will. We have never believed him to be equal to the white man, and we will not submit to his gratifying his lust on our wives and daughters without lynching him.”²¹⁴ One sees the same juxtaposition in the Jenett cartoon of October 28, 1898, “Why The Whites Are United,” captioned “McKinley has filled the Postoffices With Negro Postmasters and in Some Instances Ladies do not Find it Agreeable to Call for Their Mail;” the drawing is a white woman at the post office surrounded by crude black caricatures, one of which is touching her.²¹⁵ This discursive structural feature of white-supremacist rhetoric played a role in the real activity of election fraud, government takeover, and massacre in Wilmington. Even months after the fact, some kind of defense of “white womanhood,” however convoluted as a legitimation, had to be expressed.

Alfred Waddell, who led the two thousand Red Shirts, Rough Riders, and unaffiliated whites to the newspaper office to burn it down on November 10, had been the most popular and violent stump speaker for the Democrats preceding election day, constantly threatening to kill all the black Americans necessary to accomplish their total bio-political exclusion – a favorite

this thesis, Kent refers to Wade Hampton, who led a red shirt militia to seize the state government of South Carolina on explicitly white supremacist grounds in 1876, as a “moderate conservative.” The best explanation for the red shirt as a “Lost Cause” symbol is that it refers to Confederate General A.P. Hill, who wore a red shirt into battle.

214 “Speech of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, March 23, 1900,” *Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session*, 3223–3224. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/55/> accessed 04/02/2018

215 Jenett cartoon shown in Umfleet, 65.

rhetorical flourish was the threat to damn the Cape Fear river with black corpses.²¹⁶ He would be made mayor after the Wilmington city government was forced to resign (at semi-metaphorical gunpoint). Waddell may have intended the attack on the *Record* to be the cathartic release after weeks of tension and militarization: whites had ginned themselves up into a highly paranoid condition,²¹⁷ best expressed by the white woman who told her son that some kind of violent action was necessary to release the tension, that “we need it... it must come before things are settled.”²¹⁸ Another woman, Rebecca Cameron, wrote Waddell that “We applaud to the echo your determination that our old historic river should be choked with the bodies of our enemies... It has reached the point where blood letting is needed for the health of the commonwealth and when it commences *let it be thorough!* Solomon says there is a time to kill. That time seems to have come so get to work and don't stop short...”[emphasis in original]²¹⁹ For weeks, armed Red Shirt patrols had been roaming the streets and various militia, notably the Vigilance Committee under the control of Roger Moore, had been posting paramilitary irregulars as “guards,” down to the block level. “Groups of four to eight armed men were patrolling every block throughout the city from the day's first light until nightfall and had been doing similar patrols throughout the weeks leading up to the election,” the congressional historian relates.²²⁰ Election day on November 8 passed without major incident and whites suppressed the black vote sufficiently to defeat the Populists statewide, yet the level of tension in Wilmington was ratcheted up further with a mass meeting on Nov. 9.

This meeting may have been called to pacify Mike Dowling's Red Shirts and Rough Riders,

216 Dray, 127. Umfleet, 81.

217 Historians, as in this congressional report on Wilmington, frequently stress the sincerity of white fear: “One must realize that the rape myth inspired the sincere belief among whites that black men were intent on raping white women.” Even assuming this to be true, which one may well not, it excuses white violence by making whites victims of their own self-generated fear and obfuscates white responsibility while suggesting that their fear is reasonable and justified. (See following note.) Quote from J. Vincent Lowry, “Ever Threatened... Ever in Need: Alexander Manly's Confrontation with the Democratic Campaign in 1898 North Carolina,” *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission Final Report*, Appendix G, pg. 347.

218 For this middle-class white woman, violence against black Americans is necessary for her mental composure. Is this a result of sincere fear for her own safety? Or is it sadism? It is a structurally consistent feature necessary to maintain white supremacy. Letter from E.Y. Wootten to Edward Wootten, Nov. 8, 1898, quoted in Umfleet, 122.

219 One observes the hygienic metaphor. Rebecca Cameron to Alfred Waddell, Oct. 26, 1898, <http://core.ecu.edu/umc/wilmington/scans/ticketTwo/sizzlingTalk.pdf> accessed 07/04/2018

220 Umfleet, 88, 130.

who wanted to burn the *Daily Record* and lynch Manly on election day, or possibly it was set up in advance, by city business elites calling themselves the Secret Nine. Local Democratic Party chairman George Rountree claimed not to have known of it before hand, seeing only the call for “every good white citizen to attend” in the *Morning Star*, which he did, and called it a “respectable representative assemblage of business men, merchants, lawyers doctors divines and mechanics.” Congressman-elect John Bellamy denied knowing the purpose of the meeting, but addressed it, speaking about the need to get rid of the “venomous reptile” (though in his contested-election-hearing testimony he emphasized a call to “proceed lawfully”). Waddell – who at this point had only been a Party speaker, not a candidate and not a leader of paramilitary squads – also said he did not know why the meeting had been called, but that he had been asked to read a statement, which became known as the “White Declaration of Independence.” The upshot of the “citizen's meeting,” as described by a local attendee to his out-of-town wife, were resolutions demanding the staff of the *Record* leave town and that the Mayor and Chief of Police resign. Waddell was to lead a Committee of 25, appointed, as the husband put it, to “carry into effect the resolutions.”²²¹ The same structural features emphasized again, sexualized fear and total bio-political exclusion, in this context publically affirmed by a representative body as the defining features of their white independence.

At this point the Committee of 25 delegated and summoned a group of black residents, to be called the Committee of Colored Citizens, to appear before them and respond to their resolution that Manly leave (and the press be shipped out) within twelve hours, or he would be forced out. With a little hemming and hawing, the CCC agreed to do what it could to achieve that end, and a formal agreement was to be delivered to Waddell the next morning. When Armond Scott, a young black attorney, attempted to do so, however, “he encountered large numbers of hostile armed whites in the neighborhood,” in the congressional historian's phrase, and “white sentries” had “patrolled the town” all night. The previous evening, the *Wilmington Messenger* printed that the *Record* was

²²¹ Mayor Silas Wright and Police Chief Jonathon Melton were both white; the North Carolina campaign argued that any black political influence of any kind, even influencing the choice of white candidates, was literally “Negro Domination.” Umfleet, 61, 72, 72n52. All quotes in *ibid.*, 112-114.

being shut down and left to its creditors, while the morning papers generally printed stories that assumed Manly had left. Waddell knew the contents of the conciliatory response that Scott and the CCC had ended up sending by mail, given the threatening situation on the streets, but a meeting in front of the Baptist church the night before, probably led by the Reverend Blackwell, had determined to destroy the press and lynch Manly the next day if the demands, such as they were, of the White Declaration of Independence were not met. Roger Moore's Vigilance Committee, was to provide security "in the event of violence while the press was being destroyed," as the riot commission report paraphrases the white-supremacist perspective.²²²

At eight a.m. on the morning of November 10, Waddell walked down to the Wilmington Light Infantry Armory, where he was met by a crowd of about five hundred, including business elites, professionals, and clergy. The WLI was a North Carolina State Guard military unit, members of which had participated in a rear-guard deployment in the Spanish-American War and the recent white paramilitary activities, but which as a uniformed formation had remained in the armory. Waddell, informed of the contents of the letter that Scott had not been able to hand deliver because of the hostile, armed white paramilitaries in control of the streets, told the crowd there had been no reply from the CCC; the crowd grew restless and called for someone to lead them down to the *Record* office. At this point Waddell was supposed to have called Moore, who some in the crowd were calling for by name, but instead he chose to organize and lead the group himself (possibly due to personal rivalry). He put the crowd into four columns, which stretched for two city blocks, and marched them down to the offending press. Other leaders of the march were former mayor Silas Fishblate, Congressman-elect John Bellamy, Mike Dowling of the Red Shirts, and a few members of the Committee of 25. Although the troops of the WLI were eager to join in, their commanding officer did not grant them permission to leave the armory at that time. Nevertheless, the columns grew, perhaps to 1,500 people, as they marched through the affluent white areas on their way to the newspaper. The theatrical gestures of white power, forbearance, and spurned magnanimity

²²² Umfleet, 117.

engaged in by white elites came down to a final flourish as Waddell banged on the door of the building with the butt of his Winchester rifle. Then the crowd stormed the building and set it on fire.

Once the building had burnt down, Waddell reportedly reformed his columns and returned to the armory and told the ad-hoc division to disperse and go home. This order was not obeyed. There were already armed, hostile groups of white men roaming the city threatening black citizens like Armond Scott before the press was destroyed; jubilant shooting accompanied that act, including a “fusillade,”²²³ fired in warning or in greeting, at the black firefighting company that was eventually allowed to contain the blaze and break down the building; the result of all this action was that various squads of armed whites began roving through town, attacking black residents. Three major groupings can be observed: the collection of unaffiliated white citizens from the burning of the Record, the Wilmington Light Infantry, joined by Moore's Vigilance Committee irregulars, and Dowling's Rough Riders and Red Shirts.

Some of the first group took a streetcar, firing from inside it into black homes as the line passed them, until it arrived at the intersection of Fourth and Hartnett streets, where the best-documented incident occurred on the edge of the black district. The housing pattern was evenly split between black and white residents there, and four white residents, one of them from the streetcar, began firing at a group of their black neighbors gathered on a corner whom the policeman on duty had failed to disperse; he noted that they were unarmed, unlike the whites. Party official George Rountree later arranged for an affidavit to be filed that a black man first shot a white man with a pistol, almost certainly a fabrication given the physical positioning of the groups and the policeman's testimony.²²⁴ Some African-Americans began to flee, prompting whites to give chase shooting, and some black residents may have returned fire from their homes. As the bullets flew, white man named William Mayo was wounded by friendly fire²²⁵. A black man named Daniel

223 As described by the Wilmington Evening Dispatch, No.v 101898, quoted in Umfleet, 129.

224 Affidavit quoted in Umfleet, 142n74.

225 Mayo was wounded by a Winchester .44, a make and caliber common among the attacking whites, while Wright,

Wright was dragged from his home and murdered in the street in retaliation (he may have wounded two of the whites coming for him), but Mayo's wounding proved an exterminationist rallying cry and whites intensified their attack. The streetcar returned downtown and picked up more armed, hostile whites, the conductor claiming to have been fired upon, which, given that they were attacking black homes, was entirely possible. Minimal gestures of black agency tend to produce massively violent responses in the name of white supremacy.

An arrangement had been made to sound the city alarm as the signal for the WLI to march out and for Moore's patrollers to merge with them, and Moore called the armory in response to the shooting in Brooklyn (not the shooting, apparently, that accompanied the burning of the press). WLI commander Walker Taylor declared martial law, and deployed the infantry, aided by the federal Naval Reserve squadron. The WLI had a machine gun, a Colt that fired 420 rounds per minute, while the Reserves had a Hotchkiss gun that could fire 100 rounds a minute over a range of 5 miles (a light artillery weapon designed for exterminatory use in the Indian wars, not merely a rapid-fire gun as the state historian describes it). The Secret Nine had also purchased a Gatling gun privately and placed it under the command of WLI Captain McIlheny, who had demonstrated the machine gun on the river on the first day of November in order to intimidate black voters. The WLI machine-gun squad included men from locally posted US Army Company K, while accounts describe both the Colt and Gatling being deployed by the WLI.

Ostensibly, these machine guns were to be displayed to intimidate black Americans (who were either fleeing, defending their homes, or trying to reach their families) and perhaps keep white mobs at bay. At the confrontation at the waterfront cotton press of Jacob Sprunt, Rountree called the armory for the deployment of a WLI machine gun, presumably the Gatling (but he then left the scene and gave no account of how it was used). Hundreds of African-Americans worked in the area and the attack on the newspaper office, the sounding of the riot alarm, and the arrival of an armed

according to the man that fingered him, had "an outmoded rifle with a large bore," and "a missing thumb on his right hand." Harry Hayden, *The Story of the Wilmington Rebellion* (1936), quoted in Umfleet, 140.

group of whites created a stand-off. White patrols, presumably of Roger Moore's paramilitary, would not allow the black workers to go home, while the white mob threatened to murder them. Moore reportedly was told by a couple of men that if he did not give the order to fire, they would fire anyway, and he replied that his men would keep order; the men backed down. One man asked Captain Donald MacRae of US Army Company K to lead the group and “kill the whole gang of negroes.” MacRae demurred, recognizing the “whole gang” were only worried about their homes; “as very few of the negroes were armed, it was little less than murder.”²²⁶ The situation at the cotton press was defused, but the district generally remained threatened, and many African Americans were shot and killed on the railroad tracks and, reportedly, at the lumber plant, by white “patrols” and Red Shirts.

Harry Hayden's romanticized 1936 account claims that the machine-gunners killed 25 men at one intersection after receiving fire. Given that that “by noon violence was widespread in the Brooklyn section... shootings and fires are found throughout the historical record,” as the official account relates, whether these state/federal formations were really engaged in “peacemaking,” as it also suggests, may well be doubted, especially when the troops in the armory had earlier expressed their desire to take part in the action when it was a matter of lynching Manly and destroying the newspaper press. The sources do not overwhelmingly support an interpretation that the machine gunners drove around shooting at black Americans wherever they could find them, but the sources do not contradict it either, and the majority of kills on the official map occur along the route of the WLI machine-gun deployments. A black survivor highlights the use of the machine guns as integral to their being so thoroughly terrorized in his account.²²⁷ One member of the WLI expressed a desire for further retaliatory murder in a private letter to a Miss Elizabeth: “we have not killed enough negroes – two or three white men were wounded and we have not gotten enough to make up for it.” (this despite the fact that he “nearly stepped on negroes laying in the street dead.”)²²⁸ If the

²²⁶ MacRae quoted in Umfleet, 131-132.

²²⁷ Umfleet, 196.

²²⁸ Umfleet, 143. Jack Metts to Elizabeth, Nov. 12, 1898 quoted in *op. cit.*

Army/Navy Reserve/State Guard/Vigilance Committee did not kill many black Wilmingtonians, it certainly can have done little to prevent it. The congressional history offers an alternate possible scenario to the machine-gunning reported by Hayden, wherein only one African-American was killed by the WLI, and the other 25 potential victims were murdered by Red Shirts in the vicinity, which would not say much for the peace-keeping qualities of these military/paramilitary personnel.²²⁹

At around three o'clock in the afternoon, while shooting was going on in the streets and after the WLI commander Colonel Walker Taylor had formally declared the city martial law, the Committee of 25 convened at city hall, where over one hundred armed men had gathered. The Committee forced the resignation of the Board of Aldermen, Mayor Silas Wright, and Chief of Police Melton, the latter told by Democratic Party chairman Rountree that his safety could not be guaranteed otherwise. These officials would have served one more year until the next election. Waddell was named the new mayor by a new Board, selected by the Committee of 25. The first order of business, on the spot, was to banish from the city the most successful independent black businessmen, among them members of the Colored Citizens Committee that they had selected the day before. As the attack on black Wilmington continued, the WLI sent squads out to arrest those named by the Secret Nine, working through member J. Allan Taylor, not the Committee of 25, according to John Bellamy, and others were arrested and deported in subsequent days. A Red Shirt mob surrounded the jail and attempted to lynch the arrested African-Americans, but Moore and his Vigilance Committee would not allow them to enter. The federal soldiers of the Naval Reserve escorted the prisoners to the station the next day and sent them to Richmond, with orders never to return to the state on pain of death.²³⁰

The number of people killed during the riot-*coup* cannot be determined. The official history confirms a minimum of 31, but black oral tradition puts the number around 300, with up to

²²⁹ Umfleet, 144n89.

²³⁰ Umfleet, 153-155, 155n30.

1,500 fleeing the city immediately and another thousand in the following weeks. Many wounded had crawled under houses to die and were only found later. Multiple anecdotal reports of refugees filling the roads and hiding in the woods lead to the conclusion that the massacre was significant and indiscriminate.²³¹

The events in Wilmington stand out for their modernity and militarization. The use of the most modern weapons and communication techniques were employed by disciplined, organized paramilitaries. All these organizations bleed into one another, as do the state and federal units of the WLI and the Naval Reserve, a composite then joined by the irregular Vigilance committee, and as do the Secret Nine, the Democratic Party, and the Committee of 25. These military units and juridico-political committees gave shape to activity that was little more than treason and murder, but their deployment for the attack on black Wilmington and the *coup d'etat* did not follow traditionally or internally consistent chains of authority. Party Chairman Rountree had no authority to order the Wilmington Light Infantry to send units anywhere; the future Mayor Waddell was left out of the discussions leading to the White Declaration of Independence; neither Moore's Vigilance Committee nor Dowling's Red Shirts and Rough Riders had any legal loyalties or authority. Like New Orleans in 1868, leadership decisions were made in club rooms between cronies while organized violence meshed with unorganized. The Party was the central force in organizing violence through the umbrella organization of the White Government Union, but while formal organizations gave shape to groups, the groups acted without orders from a central dictating power. As long as it was a matter of disarming, dispossessing, and killing black people, the majority of whites acted together freely, outside of any authoritarian context.²³²

Interestingly, the course of events in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1898 bears close resemblance to the massacre in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana in 1868, despite the differences in

231 Timothy B. Tyson, "*The Ghosts of 1898: Wilmington's Race Riot and the Rise of White Supremacy*," Raleigh News and Observer, November 17, 2006. <http://media2.newsobserver.com/content/media/2010/5/3/ghostsof1898.pdf> accessed 15/06/18 Umfleet, 156.

232 When Party chairman Rountree was to address the Party activists in one White Government Union group, he found that while he had planned to "inflare the white men's sentiment," the men were "already willing to kill all of the office holders and all of the negroes." Rountree quoted in Umfleet, 78.

setting. The affairs with the newspaper editors as a theater for white displays of racist power and indignation stand out for their similarity, as well as the way the attack on the newspaperman and newspaper escalated into broader subsequent attacks on the local black community. Armed formations loosely controlled by the Party patrolled in both cases, attempting to control black movement and political participation for some time before the massacre. In both cases the widespread killing appears to have been premeditated, with predictable acts of self-defense by black Americans triggering a massive response that whites seemed to have been waiting and preparing for.

Yet many factors of the settings were very different. Not only was one extermination event urban/industrial and one rural/agricultural, but the political situation was reversed. In Wilmington, the black population had just been politically defeated statewide, and the city government toppled by the paramilitaries had had no chance of surviving the next election; in St. Landry the attacks preceded a political contest of which all-white political representation was not a likely outcome, that is the mass-murder was a tool for political repression in a recognizable way. That goal had already been met in Wilmington: the physical massacre, like exterminationist conclusions and threats, appears as a structural feature of white supremacy, an organic part of its functioning outside of direct causality or utility. There was no question of Jonathon Melton or Governor Daniel Russell being "carpetbaggers," and "negro domination" had expanded its meaning from minimal political representation to any political influence at all. There were no outsiders "interfering" with "the negro" and there was nothing that took place in Wilmington like the black political procession and rally in St. Landry. The battle against non-white political representation and economic power had in effect been won; yet the difference between total and nearly total bio-political exclusion was important enough to mobilize thousands of white people to the point of exterminationist violence.

The conflicts of 1868 can be read as a structural continuance, or an attempt to reproduce, colonial slave-labor conditions, and the context of the Elaine massacre in Arkansas, despite its high-

modern date, still resembles that transition period to post-colonial conditions of labor exploitation; in Wilmington in 1898, however, the context is firmly post-colonial and a transition has been made. Reconstruction was a period in which there was constant conflict between subjects and a renegotiation of slave-colonial power agreements in precisely the sense that a farmers' union might have really disrupted the economy of cottonfield Arkansas, but in Wilmington the black community had avoided conflict and given concessions all down the line in the weeks preceding the massacre. These people had already been integrated into modern American life on modern terms of citizenship, if second-class citizenship. This was not the conflict acted out between sharecroppers and landowners, who were reifying the power of the colonial planter, but a new conflict between black light-industrial laborers, professionals, and service employees and the progressive white business community. Nevertheless the model of colonial political and economic disempowerment continued to impose itself as a structural reality.

The aftermath of the mass murder at Wilmington had effects that resemble those in other modern societies initiating political purges and racial massacres. The class categories whose post-riot presence in the city declined the most were black professionals, entrepreneurs, and skilled workers. In the official reckoning, professionals are listed as undergoing a net increase between 1897 and 1900, but the fine print reveals a shift from 13 to 40 ministers, although the number of churches remained the same, while the number of teachers declined from 33 to 16 (teacher's wages and school funding were cut after the seizure of power). In any case the city's leading black professionals had been banished and deported; no black attorney operated in Wilmington until one set up an office in 1902. About one quarter of black businesses in the city disappeared in the riot and its aftermath. The surviving businesses, like the black population itself, were ghetto-ized: while the majority of 1897 black businesses establishments were located in the main downtown business district, in 1900 most were in the black district of Brooklyn. The riot decreased the number of black businesses located downtown from 76 to 33 in that three-year period, and future

black business growth took place within the ghetto and serving an exclusively black clientele. Those areas like Fourth and Hartnett that had seen integrated housing patterns became smaller and fewer, and were re-located to the outside fringe of the ghetto instead of being between the all-white and all-black sections of the city. Skilled laborers declined in number the most in the post-*coup* period while the numbers of unskilled and unemployed increased, whether due to out-migration or *déclassement*, likely the latter in light of the increase in black male domestic service positions that had not existed before the riot.²³³

The political effect of the seizure of power was to disfranchise black Americans and eliminate or drastically reduce the small amount of federal appointments they held; the supposed indignity of white women receiving their mail instead of their meals from black hands was ended. The newly “redeemed,” *i.e.* one-party, state legislature changed Wilmington's city charter, according to the wishes of George Rountree and a five-man committee selected by the Chamber of Commerce, most significantly by removing the governor's ability to appoint Aldermen. With hardly any black voter registration and no Republican candidates for the two black election wards of the city, the result of white terrorism in fall of 1898 was total Democratic control of municipal elections in spring of 1899. Along with a significant pay raise, Mayor Waddell was empowered to declare anyone black and without a job a “vagrant,” subject to deportation or forced labor for a month, the same power granted to rural justices of the peace across the South, and which in the urban setting even more clearly circumvents a trial by a jury of one's peers. The state legislature changed the administration of majority-black counties by ending the election of county commissioners and replacing it with appointment by justices of the peace selected by the legislature. Black disfranchisement was established through literacy requirements and poll taxes, but a grandfather clause protected poor, illiterate white voters. State elections in 1900 also saw Red Shirt violence reduce black voter registration. Besides these measures and other administrative maneuvers that

²³³ The black ministers' sermons after the massacre lauded humility, forgiveness, and knowing one's place; white elites influenced them but the dynamic cannot be discerned. Umfleet, 227-233.

allowed the legislature to control election infrastructure through appointed boards of elections, the legislature immediately introduced Jim Crow legislation by segregating train compartments in 1899. In Wilmington, streetcars were immediately segregated, and by 1903, black and white city dwellers giving legal testimony were swearing on two different bibles.²³⁴

The former Confederacy introduced, state by state, legislative exclusion of black Americans from political institutions and social space from 1876 through the 1890s, after the paramilitary seizure of voting machinery and state power in Mississippi and South Carolina completed the “redemption” of Dixie. Through this period some few districts could still elect black representatives to state legislatures and Congress, and the *Cruikshank* decision had left a door open to legal challenge to statutory disfranchisement. South Carolina in 1882, followed by Florida, introduced a law whereby ballots had to match one of eight labeled ballot boxes, which the registrars moved around during the voting. A literacy requirement would have effectively disfranchised many whites along with African-Americans, but the basic interference of the registrar provided many opportunities for rigging the returns, with seven dummy boxes per polling station. The registrar could simply point white voters to the correct box. Mississippi ratified a new constitution excluding black Americans from the right to vote: “There is no use to equivocate or lie about this matter,” proclaimed governor and co-framer of that state constitution James Vardaman, “Mississippi's constitutional convention of 1890 was held for no other reason than to eliminate the nigger from politics... let the world know it just as it is.”²³⁵ The state required voters to pass a literacy test, pay a poll tax, and have a grandfather who had been a voter prior to 1867. The poll registrar asked questions about the meaning of phrases in the state constitution to determine literacy; his challenges were intended to bar black Americans, and whites were generally allowed to vote without having to prove anything.

234 Umfleet, 207-210.

235 Vardaman quoted in Jerrold M. Packard. *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow*. New York: St. Martin's, 2002, pg. 69.

Thus the local election apparatus functioned as a political control mechanism for a one-party white-supremacist state. Louisiana changed its voting laws, disfranchising 125,000 out of 130,000 black voters. Many planters had not quite approved of such broad post-Civil War enfranchisement of whites, for that matter, at least according to their testimony before Congress, but as Vardaman's boast above indicates, property, literacy, and education were not the issue. As an editorial in the Jackson, Mississippi *Clarion-Ledger* wrote, "if every Negro in Mississippi was a graduate of Harvard... he would not be as fitted to exercise the rights of suffrage as the Anglo-Saxon farm laborer."²³⁶ Here one sees the structural legacy of racialized colonial economic exploitation maintaining itself, how even in a different context it overrides any conditions of increasing democratic participation and educational opportunity by insisting on total bio-political exclusion. The United States Supreme Court decided that literacy and poll taxes were constitutional measures in 1898's *Williams v. Mississippi*, building on *Cruikshank*, the Slaughterhouse Cases, and other cases from the 1880s to create a legal edifice in favor of states' rights by restricting federal jurisdiction.²³⁷ The exclusion of African-Americans was not the result of a strong state imposing itself but of a weak state retreating before, or ratifying, the usages of colonial expansion.

As racialized customs became laws, they became more exclusionary over time. When in 1910 Virginia defined as black anyone with one black great-great-grandparent, it increased the rigor of the previous 1758 law that had defined as black anyone with one black grandparent (thus Homer Plessy, plaintiff in the 1896 US Supreme Court case that declared segregated public facilities constitutional, was segregated out of the white car in Louisiana, but in Virginia, he would not yet have been legally black (or illegally black, as it were). In 1930 the Old Dominion extended the law

236 *Clarion-Ledger* quoted in John C. Willis. *Forgotten Time: The Mississippi-Yazoo Delta after the Civil War*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000, pg. 139.

237 *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), a challenge to Louisiana's 1890 law segregating train cars from a seven-eighths-white man (whose lawyers argued "that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him"), is generally held as the landmark case in which the Supreme Court interpreted the 14th Amendment to forbid federal authorities from interfering with southern racial segregation, but the chain of case law is best followed through the *Slaughter-House Cases*, *US v. Cruikshank*, and the *Civil Rights Cases*. Stephen Robinson, "African American Citizenship, the 1883 Civil Rights Cases and the Creation of the Jim Crow South," *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol. 102, Issue 350 (April 2017), pp. 225-241. Court decisions are transcribed at <http://guides.ll.georgetown.edu/c.php?g=592919&p=4172697> accessed 25/03/2018 Packard, 69.

to define as black anyone with “any Negro blood at all.” Louisiana, befitting a state that kept no records of its prison system, simply defined as black anyone who looked black. Although in 1920 the US Census Bureau dropped “mulatto” as a racial category because over three-fourths of black Americans had white ancestors, marriage and sex across race-lines was widely forbidden, carrying a twenty-year prison sentence in Mississippi, for example. By 1950, 29 other states, including in the North and West, legally prohibited marriage and sexual contact between white and black people, variously defined. While in the eighteenth century Linnaeus had been satisfied to classify four so-called races of man, in the twentieth-century American West and South laws were promulgated prohibiting, as Jerrold Packard puts it, “American Indians, India Indians, Chinese, Malays, Mongolians, Hindus, and Creoles from marrying with some or all of the other groups.”²³⁸

Interestingly, states were not allowed by the Supreme Court to legislate against housing sales to non-whites, the property rights of property owners being held above such infringement. Yet residential apartheid developed nonetheless through “restrictive deed covenants” controlled by property-development companies and home-owners' groups that regulated white-only property status through private contracts. Packard argues that these restrictions were more stringent than government measures would have been in confining urban black Americans to the ghettos in which eighty percent lived at the start of the Second World War. Attempts to escape ghettoization were met with terrorism. Between July, 1917 and March, 1921 in Chicago, private residences and real estate offices that crossed racialized boundaries faced violent retaliation through bombings, one occurring every twenty days on average across those three years and eight months.²³⁹ The black population of Chicago, overcrowded in the ghetto of the south side, was as large as it was because of the broader terrorism directed against black Americans across the rural south, as in Isabel Wilkerson's study points out: All of her three Great Migration case studies went north to escape violence (in two cases directly related to economic coercion). As she argues, the dynamic driving

238 Packard, 96-99.

239 Packard, 106-107.

the emigration of black Americans from the South to northern industrial centers was less the pull of economic opportunity – such being extremely limited by general racialized exclusion from all but menial employment – than it was the push of white violence, as acute incident, immediate danger, and constant threat.²⁴⁰

Exclusion of black Americans from physical spaces was ongoing, and its roots were in the slavery era. Park benches, waiting rooms, railroad cars, streetcar portions, and swimming pools became white-only territory (except for servants) as they emerged in developing modernity. Equally, exclusion from political space tended to increase over time as new forms of organization developed, like unions, from which black workers were almost universally excluded. A sense of how consistently white supremacy increasingly influences institutional structures in this period is also offered by the ascendancy of the racist American Federation of Labor. Although reasons other than race, directly speaking, were highly influential in that outcome, the more one considers racism as incidental to the AFL's institutional hegemony, the more that this bio-political exclusion requires explanation.

Another example of modern, historically new phenomena developing along structurally racist lines was in professional baseball, from which black Americans were excluded in the eighteen-eighties, an exclusion that lasted until after the death of the Major Leagues' first commissioner, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, in 1945. Publically he always maintained that there was no ban on black players, and when Brooklyn Dodgers manager Leo Derocher deviated from that party line in speaking to reporters, he was immediately made to recant his comments about an informal exclusion policy. Landis reiterated to the press that there was no rule in place excluding black Americans. Since all-black and all-white teams did play frequent exhibition games against one another outside of League schedules – Landis cancelled the remainder of one such series between the Negro League Kansas City Monarchs and the white Dizzy Dean All-Stars, who

²⁴⁰ Umfleet and others also argue that black migration was driven by “high levels of lethal violence.” Umfleet, 233, 233n23. Wilkerson, 148-149, 151-155, 216-220.

were not an official Major League team, on the grounds that the series was drawing bigger crowds than regular League contests²⁴¹ – this exclusion policy has no rational economic or cultural basis except as a structural manifestation of racialized colonial power regimes. Everyone simply knew and agreed, that black Americans had to be excluded from representation at the most prestigious level of the National Pastime, in Walt Whitman words, “our game: the American game,” representative of “the national character.”²⁴² The occasional grumbler like Derocher, or a private doubter like New York' Giants manager John McGraw before him, all conformed to this policy for six decades despite the lack of meaningful coercive authority.

The best example of the increasing influence of slavery-derived attitudes on American institutions over time is probably Woodrow Wilson's administration, which, literally inaugurated with rebel yells, segregated federal facilities and eliminated black Americans from those positions of patronage that had remained from the days of Reconstruction. The process began with the proposals in a cabinet meeting of the Postmaster-General Albert Burleson, to segregate offices and remove “intolerable” African-Americans from “objectionable” posts in the Railway Mail Service, which were mooted as a trial balloon for broader government-wide policies with no dissent from the President or anyone else in his cabinet. No executive orders were issued, and what historian Kathleen Wolgemuth calls “discrete and gradual” elimination of black employees began in Burleson's Post Office and William McAdoo's Treasury Departments (McAdoo was Wilson's son-in-law). By the fall of 1913 the purge had grown such that mass media picked up the story; although Wilson was to an extent shielded from possible political fallout by not having ordered it, he was fully aware of, supportive of, and defensive of the racialized exclusionary policy in the federal apparatus.²⁴³

This effort would seem to have been spurred by, or given political cover through, a letter that

241 Neil Lanctot. *Negro League Baseball: The Rise and Ruin of a Black Institution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 3-5, 126-127, 233.

242 Whitman quoted in Ed Folsom. *Walt Whitman's Native Representations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pg. 42.

243 Intolerable and objectionable are Burleson's words, quoted in Kathleen Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (April 1959), pp. 158-173, pp. 158-160.

the Postmaster received from a non-governmental organization called the National Democratic Fair Play Committee charging that the African-Americans employed by the Railway Mail Service were “low and criminal elements.” This organization also publicized comments by a postal clerk that qualified whites were kept away by the presence of black employees, and, inevitably, a white woman who purported that, working in the Department of the Interior, she had to take dictation from drunk black men, and that “I also worked for a dark-skinned, wooly-headed Negro. I then felt if a human would ever be justified in ever ending his existence I would then, for I was a Southern woman, my father a distinguished officer during the Civil War...” Readers will note how insufficiently subordinate black people are equated with the death of southern white women in this bit of politically manipulative text. Racial superiority is assumed to unite whites together even in the face of the most violent division: readers are expected to agree to the elimination of the “wooly-headed Negro” from the federal government on the basis of their sympathy for those who had distinguished themselves by making war on that government. Through mass-meetings, petitions, circulars, and personal letters, including to President Wilson, the National Democratic Fair Play Committee inundated political circles with tales of white women forced to work next to a “greasy, ill-smelling Negro man or woman.”²⁴⁴ This highly affected discourse appears in a thematically consistent way in an editorial from the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* of September 20, 1868, wherein former gubernatorial candidate John Ray complains that unsegregated public accommodations will put white women in contact with “the negro, reeking with fetid odors... compelling them to inhale their sickening stench.”²⁴⁵

Neither the semantic content of the argument (overt and covert) nor the structural relationship to power changed in the least from 1868 to 1913. In fact, Wilson had played a role in establishing the theme as an academic and popular historian in the latter decades of the nineteenth

244 All quotes of National Democratic Fair Play Committee in Wolgemuth, 159-160.

245 Ray editorial quoted in Frank J. Wetta, "Bulldozing the Scalawags: Some Examples of the Persecution of Southern White Republicans during Reconstruction," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 43-58, 53.

century. When the new cultural form of cinema took shape as mass entertainment, it took shape at this time and telling the same story of violated white women whose fathers' were noble Confederate officers in *The Birth of a Nation*. Wilson's publicized private White House screening and endorsement of the film's message played a role in its success. From political newspaper to political pressure group, from academic authority to political power, from the highbrow to the lowbrow, between Reconstruction and the interwar period, the particular narrative of “white supremacy under threat” increased in influence. As one would expect, from the omnipresence of this metaphor and its endorsement in government statement and policy, lynchings increased in the years following Wilson's inauguration; the president's rationale for segregation, preventing “friction” between black men and white women, represented racialized inferiority as sexual threat just as lynching advocates did, although he and his administration did not actually endorse this exterminatory ritual (although they did endorse the film above, which depicted it positively).

Nevertheless, official measures of bio-political exclusion went beyond the screens placed in Washington offices to protect whites, thus seemingly each like unto an emperor, from being gazed upon by the lowly. Because McAdoo's Treasury Department controlled the Office of the Architect, segregation was enforced in every federal office building in the country, manifesting itself through segregated bathrooms, for example.²⁴⁶ Any African-American in the United States faced ritualized, racialized humiliation when they came in contact with the national state – half a century after that state had legislatively and constitutionally made itself the guarantor of civil equality for black citizens. The mores of racialized colonial slave-labor became more influential in the first quarter of the twentieth century in the US, spreading to northern cities where formal rituals of inferiority had been less intensively and extensively imposed.

On the eve of the Great War, the United States had been extending its colonial reach for some time, becoming the only former colonial state with its own overseas colonies following the takeover of the Philippines. The latter occurred through a war which had exterminatory overtones

²⁴⁶ Packard, 124-125.

derived from the Indian Wars in the American West, as with General Jacob “Howling Wilderness” Smith's order to murder all indigenous males over ten. Theodore Roosevelt took part in that war for Spain's colonies, and later as president engaged in unprecedented military engagements throughout Latin America (projecting US power in ways resembling European post-colonial military activity); he consciously publicized his role in terms of masculine racist paternalism, an image of white power that resonated publically in advertising, cultural ephemera, and the names of southern white-supremacist terrorist militia. The choice of “Rough Riders” as a name by squads that murdered black Americans in the Wilmington, North Carolina extermination event of 1898, shows how these protagonists consciously conceived of their specific mission in the American South as representative of a broader white-supremacist colonial dominance; the *Wilmington Messenger* also characterized these Rough Riders as avatars of the Reconstruction Klan.²⁴⁷ these associations by the historical actors themselves display the relationships under discussion here.

The period following southern “Redemption” was marked by increasing legal sanctions and intensifying violence against non-white populations in the United States and its territorial possessions. Jim Crow may have weighed most heavily on black Americans in the interwar period, but it was unquestionably in this period that biological racism reached its greatest breadth of expression and political influence. The science was that of the antebellum years of the US South, the *Cranea Americana* and *Aegyptica* providing a model for pop-academic white-supremacist paranoia like Lothrop Stoddard's 1920 *The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Supremacy*. The fantasy of racial superiority was spread across the European core: Stoddard was invited to Nazi Germany as a sympathetic journalist and academic aparatshiks from the United States Eugenics Records Office kept up close relationships with Nazi race-scientists. The on-the-ground relationships at the center of capitalist development, the violent repression necessary to accomplish the sequestration and exploitation of New World and then African and Asian resources, spread as a

²⁴⁷ The newspaper described how a returnee had been driven off again by a group of night-riders, and asked whether they were “Rough Riders or ghosts.” Umfleet, 207n52.

template for abstraction and for action. Into to the twentieth century, exterminationist racism was increasing in influence and extermination events were increasing in intensity.

This increased intensity can be seen in the United States. 1921 was the year of the most technologically and technocratically advanced, if not necessarily the most deadly, white-supremacist extermination event to occur in the United States, in Tulsa, Oklahoma – until 1907 Indian Territory – in an assault by twenty-five thousand whites on the prosperous black ghetto of Greenwood. The attack included some dozen planes, with turpentine incendiary bombs and mounted machine guns strafing random black civilians. Whites simply shot black people on sight, they dragged black people from their car bumpers, and they threw “uncounted numbers” of black Tulsan corpses into the river to rot. The National Guard was sent in and they immediately confined, by bayonet, thousands of surviving black Tulsans in pens, essentially concentration camps on the Cuban or Boer War model. The ghetto was destroyed: twelve hundred buildings were burned. A refugee-camp/tent-city persisted over the winter on the edges of Tulsa, but no black neighborhood ever reappeared. Insurance companies refused to pay out the claims of black customers; no-one was prosecuted for a crime.²⁴⁸ The attack seems to have been loosely organized by the local KKK and city officials, but with such numbers participating, and the actions of the military, one observes how modern bio-political exterminationism was a vital part of the broader twentieth-century white American *Weltanschauung*.

248 Packard, 145-149. The Smithsonian has not truly made public the contents of the recently found account by B.C. Franklin, despite the fact that there is no copyright. A few excerpts were supplied to one journalist. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/long-lost-manuscript-contains-searing-eyewitness-account-tulsa-race-massacre-1921-180959251/> accessed 10/04/2018

Part II

Totalitarianism, Racialized Colonial Power, and Modernity: Emergently True Teleologies

"In our church, the Devil had many faces, all of them one's own."
- James Baldwin²⁴⁹

249 "The Devil was that mirror which could never be smashed." James Baldwin. *The Devil Finds Work. Collected Essays*, Toni Morrison, ed. New York: Library of America, 1998 (1976), pg. 567.

Academic and Political Discourse: the Modern Teleology of Power

The modern industrial state produced totalitarianism as a conceptual category, and perhaps as a distinct socio-political reality. As we gain distance from the upheavals of the previous century, a sense of unity in the historical experience of Europe and the United States has come to overshadow the differences in those experiences. Ian Kershaw, the English historian of Nazi Germany, has recently written, in the early twentieth century despite “the establishment – most notably in Russia, Italy and Germany – of systems of rule with quite different (and incompatible) economic models... there were underlying patterns of development that transcended (or at best were only temporarily interrupted by) political distinctiveness and division.” The key word for our purposes here is *development*, not only in the general sense that Kershaw invokes here, but in the more specific sense of the dialectical opposition between the developed and the underdeveloped world, that is, the core and the periphery of the modern world-system. Kershaw expands on these patterns of development:

The long term impact of industrialization, affecting different parts of Europe in varying degrees and at dissimilar tempos, was the determining dynamic force. The ensuing changes affected practically the entire continent, and were not confined by national boundaries. Even the least developed countries were touched in some ways – importing, copying or assimilating change that was already underway elsewhere. The gap between the wealthier, economically more advanced parts of western and northern Europe and the poorer south and east barely diminished over the first half of the century. Even so, the trends in development – in demography, urbanization, industrialization, employment patterns, social security, literacy and social mobility – were broadly similar.”²⁵⁰

For example, within the United States, as Ira Katznelson has recently observed, state intervention in the economy occurred along the same general lines as in fascist Italy and to a lesser extent Nazi Germany, intervention that would have been politically impossible before the crisis of the Great Depression and that compared somewhat unfavorably with the apparent stability produced

²⁵⁰ Ian Kershaw. *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914-1949*. New York: Allen Lane, 2015, pg. 409. Russia, Italy, and Germany, like the USA, had internal poorer south and east regions.

by the greater interventionist policies and propaganda of the Soviet Union. Fascist avatars were fêted despite the cultural, political, and economic distance between that movement and American life.²⁵¹ A certain ideological convergence took place on personal, discursive, and practical levels. Henry Ford reprinted the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in his own antisemitic newspaper, and Hitler kept Ford's portrait hanging in his office; not only was the Holocaust clearly organized according to Fordist production principles, but it was also technocratically managed in part by the American company International Business Machines.²⁵² Eugene Debs and the IWW could hardly have fared worse than fellow radical unionists and socialists in the Soviet Union in the interwar period, outlawed, arrested, and show-trialed: both USA and USSR combated political and economic dissidence from the left through essentially paramilitary means, locally organized deputations physically attacking enemies, as took place in Bisbee, Arizona in 1917 and Everett, Washington in 1916. The entire European core and semiperiphery from the nineteenth to twentieth century, as Wallerstein puts it, partook of “the same faith in progress via productivity that has been the gospel of liberalism” and “the unceasing drive to exclude the lower strata from the arena of the nation entirely,” the nation, here, understood as the notables – the heirs – that rule the broader population.²⁵³ This faith and drive were products of history: progress and exclusion are the two sides of the coin of colonial expropriation.

Even as the totalitarianisms have emerged from behind the “manichean... facade of intense

251 Balbo Drive in Chicago was renamed such in Italo Balbo's honor. Ira Katznelson. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of our Time*. New York: Liveright, 2013, pp. 59-63, 67, 93-96, 236-238.

252 There is no specific technique of Ford automobile production linked to the holocaust; one could say Taylorist as well. IBM's owner, Thomas Watson was given a medal by the Third Reich and eulogized by President Eisenhower as “a great humanitarian;” he was able to force the retirement of the Colonel investigating his companies' involvement in Holocaust administration. Bauman and others have argued that instrumental rationality itself – one manifestation of which is neoclassical economics – makes modernity incipiently genocidal through its failure to incorporate moral or ethical principles. See also the discussion of the Chicago School of economic theory in Naomi Klein. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Picador, 2007, pp. 59-70. Anthony Beevor. *The Second World War*. London: Phoenix, 2012, pg. 357. J.W. Grove, “A Matter of Business: I.B.M. and the Holocaust,” *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. 109, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 247-253. Jesse F. Dillard, “Professional Services, I.B.M., and the Holocaust,” *Journal of Information Systems*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Fall 2003). <http://search.proquest.com.ure.uab.cat/docview/235947869?accountid=15292> accessed 23/07/2016

253 Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Modern World-System (IV): Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789-1914*. Berkely: University of California Press, 2011, pp. 18, 22 n3, 23.

opposition to liberalism,”²⁵⁴ the conceptual similarities between those regimes have also diminished in importance. In Kershaw's work, he lately eschews the term “totalitarian” for the more descriptive and less politicized qualifier “dynamic dictatorship.” Upon deeper examination the origins, duration and evolution of these dictatorships have proven to be very different (not to mention the very different motivations expressed by the regimes' cadres). For example, they simply operated very differently at the level of political power structure: Stalin's immersion in bureaucratic administration was the very opposite of Hitler's avoidance of practical tasks of governance. Mussolini's charismatic leadership was hemmed in by institutional checks entirely lacking in Russia and Germany. Social historians of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, Hans Mommsen and Sheila Fitzpatrick to name two, have essentially abandoned the “totalitarian” construction as too abstract and disconnected from reality, existing more as science-fiction in the style of Orwell and Zamyatin than as actual reality²⁵⁵. Further underlining the point of congruence, *1984*, with its popular ur-totalitarian imaginary, is intended as a dark satire of democratic Britain in 1948. This congruence was largely lost on contemporaries: Hannah Arendt's early investigations are shot through with false dichotomies at many points intending to establish theoretical distinctions between “freedom” and “total domination.”²⁵⁶ Academic sovietology has not entirely removed itself from exaggerated imaginings and projections more proper to the television screen.

“Totalitarian,” then, seems to be a descriptive term of small utility, that neither differentiates modern developed European states from one another nor identifies their similarities in a systematic way. And yet. There seems to be some kind of qualitative shift in how one must perceive the quantitative expansion of organized violence that has marked the twentieth century. Enzo Traverso has suggested that for this reason one must keep the term “totalitarian,” in order to commemorate the victims of Auschwitz and of Kolyma in their historical uniqueness. It is altogether fitting and

254 Wallerstein, *Modern World-System (IV)*, 18.

255 Enzo Traverso. “El Totalitarismo: Uso y abuso de un concepto,” pp.106-107.

<http://historiacontemporanea.sociales.uba.ar/files/2014/02/Traverso-Enzo-El-Totalitarismo-Uso-y-abuso-de-un-concepto.pdf> accessed 02/29/16

256 Hannah Arendt, "Totalitarian Imperialism: Thoughts on the Hungarian Revolution," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Feb. 1958), pp. 5-43, 25.

proper that we should do this, as Lincoln remarked while honoring the dead. On the other hand, the pretense of moral engagement is undermined by the exclusion of other victims who were not European, but who were victimized by power in the name of creating modern industrial civilization and marginalized to protect the racialized distinction that defined the rights of access to the benefits of that civilization. These victims, who were murdered en masse and worked to death in the context of widespread and intense repression to ensure political and economic control, also deserve commemoration. Like the victims of acknowledged totalitarianisms, they were citizens of the nation in which power was imposed on them. Quantitatively they were imprisoned in relatively the same proportion to population; qualitatively they were murdered with utmost savagery and casual indifference. These are the black American victims of American white supremacy in the US South in the second half of the nineteenth century. As James Baldwin says, on the same terms of moral engagement suggested by Traverso: “It is not permissible that the authors of devastation should also be innocent. It is the innocence which constitutes the crime.”²⁵⁷

The social, economic, and political position of black Americans at that time resembles that of victims of the Final Solution ideologically, and the Gulag practically. Some will reject any such comparison out of hand. Traverso might find the similarities to be “superficial;” his discussion of totalitarianism focuses on intellectual abstractions rather than concrete practices. This approach is useful, but tends to elide the basic economic and political functionality underlying the intellectual rhetoric: modern industrial development in the name of core-status within, if not hegemony over, the capitalist world-economy. Otherwise expressed as great power status, this aim of the dynamic dictatorships²⁵⁸ followed the general European historical experience of establishing power relationships of core/periphery and development/underdevelopment, that is, the history of colonial imperialism, European economic and military domination of America, Asia, and Africa. The

257 James Baldwin. *The Fire Next Time. Collected Works*. New York: Library of America, 1998 (1963), pg. 292.

258 Alejandro Andreassi Cieri. *El Compromiso Fáustico: La biologización de la política en Alemania, 1870-1945*. Madrid: Viejo Topo, 2015, pp. 291, 299.

problem of the totalitarian regimes of the early twentieth century must not be segregated from a broader understanding of modernity itself because these regimes represented merely the high-modern intra-European application of practices – genocide, famine, and forced labor – that were the necessary conditions that produced modernity, or European development and the concomitant underdevelopment of the rest of the earth. The US South after the Civil War offers an excellent example, both practical and theoretical, of the modernizing dynamics of totalitarian techniques, or the totalitarian dynamics of modernizing techniques.

The conflicts that existed there and then are emblematic of the broader global conflicts that define modernity and European political and economic hegemony. The ideological force of white supremacy in the nineteenth century South was undiluted by the geographical and cultural distance that separated, say, Britain and India, and it applied its economic logic of despoliation without local non-European intermediaries or social structures. The disregard for human rights was in blatant contradiction to the juridical laws of the land: Slavery was not sanctioned by the US Constitution, and three constitutional amendments were passed to protect the rights of freedmen. Violent repression of the racialized other occurred in the context of a highly developed modern social imaginary,²⁵⁹ where premodern social relations cannot be said to have obtained; the deliberate exclusion of the black population from that imaginary demonstrates the logic of underdevelopment as the dialectical counterpart to development in the starkest manner. The economic locus of repression, a landless agricultural workforce producing monocrop staples for regional and national export, has been the primary base for capitalist development, always produced by destruction or transformation of traditional subsistence farming by different means in different cultural and political settings. Furthermore, the crop they produced was the material subsistence whose elaboration drove the first industrial revolution.²⁶⁰ The actors, forces, and ideology constituting the history of the transition to global modernity from the sixteenth century to today were present in the

259 Charles Taylor. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004, pp. 3-30.

260 Beckert, 81.

New South, highlighted in microcosm.

However, before these relationships are examined in greater depth and before a detailed comparison with totalitarian practice and ideology, one must confront arguments that de-historicize modernity and the specific conditions of European colonial imperialism. This position equates the nineteenth-century ideology of white supremacy with general ethno-cultural chauvinism,²⁶¹ and European colonial imperialism with other forms of imperial domination from antiquity, as if the Belgian exploitation of the Congo or the sugar plantations of Brazil were typologically equivalent to the Roman takeover of Britain or the labor tax of the Inca. They were not. Mass death measured in millions was not a result of incorporation into ancient empires; Andean peasants drafted for labor service constructing agricultural terraces or weaving blankets were not deliberately worked to death.

More abstractly, slaves in antiquity, however miserable their lot, existed within the system of personal patronage relationships and graduated rights that defined social reality, while slaves in modernity were excluded from the generalized equality of condition which defines modern societies, in theory, however fitfully and haltingly this condition has been realized across European societies. When John Locke defended slavery -- he was an investor in South Carolina -- in the seventeenth century, his defense was based on the slaves' status having been determined by being prisoners of war, the source of slaves in antiquity; while he may have been incorrect about the real dynamics of the slave economy, moral philosophy still looked to ancient models.²⁶² Historiographically, the patriotic chauvinism of Tacitus is qualitatively different from the racism of Thomas Carlyle: the former treated Rome's barbarian enemies with a certain respect and even admiration, while Carlyle and his Victorian allies denied the humanity of all "niggers" and insisted that they be tortured in order to force them to work themselves to death for the profit of their supposed superiors -- a superiority expressed as a moral imperative based on scientific fact, not

²⁶¹ This bit of Marxist vocabulary is used to mark the difference.

²⁶² <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/locke/#SecoTreaGove> accessed 06/06/18

legitimated by ancient institutions.²⁶³ This exclusion from the modern social imaginary was the dominant socio-political ideology of the American South no less than of the British sugar planters in Jamaica whom Carlyle was supporting in his infamous pamphlet.

Such an extreme position represented a development of the views of eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers, perhaps best represented by David Hume, who claimed that no "negro" culture had ever produced any civilization and even that no "negro" individual had ever done any historically notable deed whatsoever.²⁶⁴ One observes in passing that this argument was literally a mere footnote to his universalism, already excluded from his philosophy; one observes with attention that this view stands in diametric opposition to the more general humanism that the philosopher espoused; even more to the point, this declaration was utterly and unambiguously contradicted by knowledge of which Hume should not have been ignorant. These Enlightenment roots of white supremacist ideology have been linked to the Holocaust by George Mosse, in addition to Hannah Arendt.²⁶⁵ The intellectual roots of modernity grew the branches that produced the poison fruit of the Holocaust, and therefore one must insist that the attempt to universalize the mass murder accomplished during the imposition of European racial imperialism as a general constant of human behavior across all epochs is not merely an error of incorrect attribution: it is an apologia for genocide²⁶⁶.

263 For example, see Calgacus' speech against the Romans ("They make a devastation and call it peace"), who, although "one must remember we are dealing with barbarians," was "a man of outstanding valor and nobility." Tacitus. *The Agricola and the Germania*. New York: Penguin, 1970 (1948), pp. 61, 79-81. Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question," London, 1853 .pdf <http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/het/carlyle/occasion.htm> accessed 15/06/16

264 One scholar pairs Hume with Jefferson as the leading philosophers of black racial inferiority. Cited in Robert Palter, "Hume and Prejudice," *Hume Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (April 1995) pp. 3-23, pg. 10. <https://muse-jhu-edu.are.uab.cat/article/382922/pdf> For a broader discussion and optimistic conclusion see Michael A. Rosenthal, "The Black & Scabby Brazilian': Some Thoughts on Racism and Early Modern Philosophy," *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, vol. 31, no. 2 (March 2005), pp. 211-221. <http://psc.sagepub.com/are.uab.cat/content/31/2/211.full.pdf+html> Another pro-enlightenment, anti-racist view of the Enlightenment is expressed by Kenan Malik. <https://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/2013/02/13/on-the-enlightenments-race-problem/> accessed 15/06/16

265 Mosse analyzes a visual representation of "the Jew" that parallels the semiotic conventions of American representations of blackness, including elongated heels. Discussed in Felipe Smith. *American Body Politics: Race, Gender, and Black Literary Renaissance*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998, pg. 126.

266 This is the attitude taken by Céline, whose name has become synonymous with genocide and apologia. See Louis-Ferdinand Céline. *North*. Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive, 1996 (1972), pg.10 and *passim*.

The sequestration of New World resources and their stimulation of European power broke the cyclical rise and decline of previous world-systems. All the great empires, whose reign can be measured in centuries, have fallen due to the same general process of diminishing returns of agricultural yields and energy resources. The mutually reinforcing dynamic between soil degradation and deforestation eventually reaches a limit beyond which social decomposition and political collapse proved inevitable. As with the Romans, so with the Mayans, and even the Easter Islanders: whatever the specific features of ancient societies and their environments, eventually their need for food and fuel outstripped the available resources. The field of ecological modeling provides a useful vocabulary for understanding the cycle. Complex systems analysis has established a general rule that any complex system that experiences an increase of energy input will increase in complexity, and a decrease of energy input will cause a decrease in complexity; one branch of this field has applied the scientific model to anthropological data, treating human societies as complex systems. Rather than econometric relationships describing wealth, capital resources are understood as energy inputs whose availability determines levels of social complexity.

In the case of the Mayans, there was an increase in social complexity from tribal structures, to kingships, to empire, and a subsequent decrease in social complexity as the environmental limits of the resource base were reached, back to kingships and then tribal organization. The deforestation of western Europe in the late Roman period, along with decreasing agricultural yields due to increasing soil salinity, was thus the marker of the Empire's inevitable decomposition, while the reforestation of the same area during the Dark Ages provided the energy resources for the increased social complexity and political consolidation of the late Medieval period. There is evidence that the environmental limit was again being reached at that point, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷“Two centuries of uncontrolled expansion had been purchased on credit using as collateral Europe's natural resources, which were being rapidly depleted” (Bowlus, 1980) to the extent of decreasing yields, diminishing revenue, spreading famine, and provoking epidemics. The European lifespan in the 14th and 15th century was 30 to 35 years. Jason W. Moore, “The Crisis of Fuedalism: An Environmental History,” *Organization and Environment*, vol. 15 no. 3, Sept. 2002, pp. 301-322, 303-307. Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Modern World-System (I): Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press, 1974, pp. 42, 198; *MWS (II): Mercantalism and the Consolidation of the Eurpean World economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press, 1980, pp. 18, 25-26.

but one historical event took place which allowed Europe to overcome the quantitative limitations of local resource availability and make a qualitative leap to a historically unique level of social complexity. That event was Europe's discovery of the New World. This release of natural resources that had not been available to any world-system of antiquity increased social the complexity of the core European world-system and the core in turn, through economic, military, and political power, underdeveloped the periphery. Coal and later petroleum increased social complexity in the core even further, producing high modernity.²⁶⁸

The idea of social complexity increasing and decreasing with greater or lesser input of energy and resources helps one avoid this moral teleology of “progress toward civilization,” or “higher and lower stages” of development. Increased social complexity also increases social hierarchy and inequality, for example. The generally value-neutral language of this environmental perspective highlights the resort to value-laden historical narratives of European modernity, such as orthodox Marxism, Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, or Shumpeterian entrepreneurship. These narratives use science to buttress arguments that claim a moral imperative for their particular analytical construct explaining "progress" to modernity.²⁶⁹ This characterization holds for Hegel as well as Adam Smith, for Lenin as well as Martin Friedman, for Rousseau as well as Oswald Spengler. The opinions of these figures, though widely disparate, can nevertheless be classified as different species of a common genus that assigns a morally positive value to increasing social and economic complexity, i.e. modern development; we can call this genus "Whig" (with "Marxist" and "liberal" exponents), but however labeled its exponents share a "progressivist" or "developmentalist" ideology, the faith in progress via productivity.²⁷⁰ In this sense the totalitarian

268 Joseph Tainter. *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 11-14, 23-36, 48, 93-117. Brian Fath, “Complex Systems Analysis and Decline of Complex Societies,” *Into and Out of the American Century, Seminario di Letteratura, Storia, e Cutura Americana*, Associazione Italiana di Studi Norte-Americani, Rome, 10 May 1012. Jared Diamond. *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*. New York: Viking, 2005, pp. 77-119, 157-177.

269 Engels, in the Preface to the Third German Edition of the *18th Brumaire*, displays this scientism nicely: “The law according to which all historical struggles... are in fact only the more or less clear expressions of the struggles of social classes... has the same significance for history as the law of transformation of energy has for natural science.” Karl Marx. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/> accessed 07/23/2016

270 Wallerstein calls this “centrist liberalism.” *Modern World-System (IV)*, 265, 270 n79.

ideologies, or teleologies, represent an extremist whiggery, insisting on their moral imperative to achieve the ultimate *Aufhebung* through violent methods characterized by modern technologies of social control only made concretely possible by the previous European seizure of New World resources.

These teleological assumptions are not unusual in current academic history. C.A. Bayly's recent history *The Making of the Modern World* invokes a worldwide "industrious revolution" -- the vocabulary of free-market whiggery, as if Max Weber's Protestant work ethic had suddenly become a manifest destiny. The growth of "Atlantic slavery" is correctly contrasted with the slavery of antiquity as an "industry," yet that growth is not contextualized as a result of Europeans' claims of sovereignty over both American continents. Instead one finds the assertion that the colonial powers respected the property rights of indigenous Americans, which, by referring to policy goals, or good intentions, in the metropolises, elides the real question of colonial power as it imposed itself on the ground. The author calls Caribbean slavery "the most advanced form of economic specialization and long-distance deployment of capital... financially sophisticated, consumer-oriented, technologically innovative..." One doubts a slave in Jamaica would see it quite that way. The focus on these dubiously praiseworthy characteristics of forced labor obscures how these New World slave-labor regimes were engines of development of global capitalism, not just repositories of eternal capitalist values. The admitted "violence and cruelty" were not mere excesses but were intrinsic to the process of increasing social complexity, as the exterminatory process of sugar production stimulated metalurgy, for example; violence enabled the financial sophistication, consumer production, and technological innovation.²⁷¹

Less subtly, the author derides intellectual critics of imperialism from the former colonial world as hypocrites "detesting the world capitalism of which they are the products." One sees

271 C. A. Bayly. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004, pp. 40-41, 44, 60-62. Richard Dunn. *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972, pp. 188-223. Marcus Rediker. *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. New York: Penguin, 2007, pp. 41-72, 222-263. Wallerstein, *Modern World-System (I)*, 213-214, 341-343; *(II)*, 273-274.

where the shoe pinches: Peasants, desist! Industriousness, it seems, is not a choice. Jetisoning racialism does not include accepting criticism of modern capitalism from non-European perspectives. The failure of modernity to generate an acceptable standard of living for the enslaved or their descendants in, say, Jamaica, registers as less important in this history of modernity than the need to dismiss present-day criticism. It is all the more noteworthy that the text does not shy away from the European tendency to exterminate the people of their colonies, nor does it particularly condescend to the non-white world in general, as long as that world accepts the moral teleology of Whig history. Just because extermination and torture gave us our breakfast, that doesn't mean we shouldn't enjoy it.²⁷²

As Bayly makes the connection with breakfast, so historian Piers Brandon does between the slave economy and sugar production, and food in general: "John Bull ate..." He notes the profits from sugar production and the slave trade, and how these fueled economic growth and mortality: overseers found that killing thirty or forty "Negroes" every year to increase production by thirty or forty barrels was a profitable arrangement. Brandon describes the size of the slave economy as the largest since the Roman Empire -- the last time there was a hegemonic European world-system. Yet despite the fact that these arrangements "amounted to 'a massive injection of resources into the British economy,'" one is told "this is not to say that the industrial revolution relied crucially on slavery."²⁷³ This perspective is simply unhistorical. The industrial revolution did rely on slavery, slavery in lands whose original inhabitants were eliminated or killed: that is what happened, whether one judges that to be the "crucial" point or not. Historically, the development of European capitalism occurred through slave produced-commodities and industrialization through processing the raw materials; that is why the system of exchange is literally marked by representations of white supremacy to this day.

272 In the past, Bayly presented a more critical attitude toward the world capitalism of which we are the products, identifying an "ideology which derived from the idea that cultures attained "civilisation" by stages of moral awakening and material endeavor." Fifteen years later, this critical attitude towards "civilisation," and the offsetting quotation marks, are lost. Bayly cited in Wallerstein, *Modern World-System (IV)*, 27. Bayly, 68.

273 Piers Brandon. *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire, 1781-1997*. New York: Vintage, 2010, pp. 16-17.

The infinite subtleties in all causal chains are not more important than the totality of the links, taken as historical events. When Eric Williams presented this argument in Marxist fashion, criticism reached lows of scientific pseudo-empiricism: one econometrician declared the argument invalid unless one could produce one aggregate numerical figure representing the economic profits extracted from New World slave production. This objection is equally unhistorical, and verges on the fatuous: if that is the standard of reasonable doubt in economic history, the field seems unlikely offer much knowledge.²⁷⁴ A historical argument is, the profitability of holding the monopoly over the Spanish slave trade, the *Asiento*, transferred American bullion to Britain, funding the latter's eighteenth-century economic growth.²⁷⁵ A specific link in this historical chain is James Watt, whose steam engine was developed and constructed using the profits from a Caribbean sugar plantation, and other machinery was developed by similar means throughout the eighteenth century.²⁷⁶

The unhistorical attitude comes out more strongly in a work of political science, from the same year as Bayly's textbook, which promotes the innate cultural superiority of the "Anglo-Sphere." Rather more politics than science – the author claims Baroness[sic] Margaret Thatcher helped him with his ideas – James C. Bennett calls for a "Whig History Version 2.0," a vision of interest because of how clearly the developmentalist teleology reveals themes discussed above and to be discussed below, and how they relate to the historiography of totalitarianism. The twenty-first century substitution of "English-speaking society" for the nineteenth century "white race" of Whig History 1.0 might appear to be a transparent cover for simple racism, especially when appended to the social darwinism of an Anglo-Sphere-specific "cultural evolution," but Bennett takes pains to counter such a charge, for example by suggesting that Bangalore might be the anglophone metropole of the future and acknowledging that the "Amritsar events" are justly called "a

274 See Eric Williams. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. .pdf
Wallerstein, *MWS (I)*, 88n68; *MWS (III): The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730s-1840s*. Berkely: University of California Press, 2011, pp. 144-146, 145n86.

275 Wallerstein, *MWS (II)*, 191.

276 Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Baltimore: Black Classics Press, 2011, (1972, 1981), pp. 85, 104.

massacre."²⁷⁷ However, a more colorful user interface cannot make up for the fundamental problems encoded in an interpretive scheme built on the architecture of violent exploitation and racist discrimination. Unpacking these problems in a text whose author seeks to move beyond them reveals specific weaknesses that also appear in more intellectually sound academic constructions of totalitarianism.

"The Anglosphere," then, "is not remarkable for having traded in or kept slaves, but it is remarkable for having given birth to the philosophy of abolition." The invalid comparison between modernity and antiquity is linked to an assumption of culture-bound moral superiority based on the factually untrue (Japan abolished slavery in 1590, to say nothing of the Stoics). What *is* remarkable about Anglosphere slavery was how the slaves worked and what they produced: Carribean sugar-plantation slaves exported perhaps the first luxury good to become a mass commodity, a transition basic to modern development; sugar production was an industrial process that required and stimulated significant investment in technologically advanced physical plant, as did the Atlantic slave trade itself; enslavement of Africans led to the development of white supremacist ideology which legitimated and perpetuated the later, global colonial peripheralization by the European core. While Bennett claims that the "scientific-technological revolution" of modernity emerged from an Anglophone-specific cultural superiority based on "strong civil society" and "constitutional freedom," it really, factually emerged from the forced labor of those who were *excluded* from that civil society and denied those freedoms. By a familiar rhetorical device, such systematic exclusions are ahistorically characterized as "anomalies," mere footnotes. In this narrative of European modernity, excluded populations are not protagonists.²⁷⁸

If Bayly reserves his dismissal for intellectual critics of European capitalist modernity,

²⁷⁷ James C. Bennett. *The Anglo-Sphere Challenge: Why the English-Speaking Nations Will Lead the Way in the Twenty-First Century*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, pp. vii, 3-5.

²⁷⁸ Bennett, 4, 7. The "anomaly" in this part of the text are the Irish, whose timber was instrumental to British naval supremacy. Bennett's grasp of history is weak: "If slavery was the principal factor in financing the Industrial Revolution, then Portugal and Spain, the great slave masters of the Atlantic World, should have industrialized first..." The historical fact of the *Asiento* and its role in stimulating the British economy, for example in peripheralizing the Portuguese economy as Brazilian gold went to fund British development, has been disappeared. Wallerstein, *MWS (I)*, 281 n276; *MWS (II)*, 99-100, 191-193.

Bennett suggests that non-Anglo-Saxon polities in their entirety might be better excluded from the limited participation in the military administration of global capitalism that they currently have: "British colonialism may be preferable to United Nations humanitarian intervention." Referring to "the British [colonial] administrators of the nineteenth century," Bennett avers, "If they can be faulted, it must be for an insufficient confidence in the Indians as pupils (and thus, in themselves as teachers) in constructing a modern industrial society." Beyond the condescending racist rhetoric casting non-whites as children needing guidance, this argument states that one is *not permitted* to criticize colonial powers for those massacres which really took place in the process of constructing modern British industrial society (itself dependent on the destruction of pre-colonial Indian economic production). Excepting cases of insufficient self-confidence in its exponents, Whig history is declared a narrative beyond reproach. Like a divine logos, "the Whig narrative was what we might call emergently true."²⁷⁹

What truly emerges from this close reading of "Whig history [that] should not shy away from a clear-eyed discussion of slavery, colonialism, and internal oppression of minorities," is the incapacity of history so oriented to avoid expressing racist and colonial rhetoric, even when ostensibly attempting to avoid it.²⁸⁰ The strictly economic relationships whose development constituted the transition from the medieval world to the modern been sufficiently traced out between the New World, the rest of the colonized world, and European metropolises. Their importance as productive forces of economic strength was understood by contemporaries and later historians. Their basis in military usurpation and forced labor cannot be denied. The history of

279 To-from many languages, a back-translation of "emergently true" could be "manifest destiny." Bennet, 3-5.

Besides deciding who can or cannot be faulted, there is a further authoritarian tone in the author's declaration that Amritsar was called a massacre, "rightly so," as if his dispensation were required to characterize it. Robert Conquest strikes a similar tone in his 1961 reply to a British protest letter criticizing the invasion attempt at Playa Gijón, where Conquest speaks of not "condoning" Castro's government. Black Americans were ghettoized in the North, and not allowed to vote in the South, in the "political democracy" where Conquest lived and where he presumed to condone, or not, post-colonial governments. McGeorge Bundy, who pushed that invasion, was not democratically elected. Conquest quoted in <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2015/08/robert-conquest-there-is-something-particularly-unpleasant-about-those-who-living-in-a-political-democracy-comfortably-condone-terror-elsewhere/> accessed 05/29/16 Mount Holyoke University maintains a digital archive of primary source documents related to Cuba and the Kennedy administration at <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/cuba.htm>

280 Note 28, Bennett, *op. cit.*

modernity and development is structurally, functionally, and rhetorically inseparable from the massacres and slavery that created it. The logic of a history that imposes a morally positive judgement on the construction of a modern industrial society must also impose a positive judgement on massacres, slavery, and the ongoing exclusion of the colonized. This is the fundamental logic of all flavors of Whig philosophy, from Smith to Stalin, from McKinley to Mussolini to Mao, and in Bennet and Bayly: It was worth it, no matter what the massacred and enslaved think.

In a foundational text in the academic study of totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, despite a critical attitude to many features of bourgeois modernity and imperialism, despite in fact tracing the practical and ideological roots of totalitarianism to European colonialism, still takes for granted the assumptions of racialized capitalism. Arendt's text evinces an aggressive dismissal of the imperialized world, denying them any noteworthy history. American and Australia are “without a culture and a history of their own” while Africans “had vegetated for thousands of years.” These “tribes... never had found by themselves any adequate expression of human reason or human passion in either cultural deeds or popular customs, and which had developed human institutions only to a very low level.”²⁸¹ Yet Arendt must have known, or at least should have known if she would make a claim of such categorical certainty, that in fact the halls of Montezuma were more splendid than those of Valladolid, and Tenochtitlan was a larger and more complex city than London: the Europeans in America represented the “inferior,” less noteworthy, civilization. Arendt's work cannot dispense with the fiction of European superiority even while it examines and criticizes that notion itself. The Enlightenment's racist foundations are recycled in the intellectual reconstruction of totalitarianism. Excluding non-whites from the “civilized world” is

281 Although these echoes of Hume and Gobineau have been interpreted as the author waxing ironic, others interpret these statements as “her own voice.” Kathryn T. Gines. *Hannah Arendt and the Negro Question*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2014, pp. 90. Arendt, Hannah. *Origins of Totalitarianism*. London: Benediction Press, 2009 (1958), pp. 177, 194. The use of “tribes” here is imperialist and racist in and of itself. In anthropological terms much of Africa was governed by kingships, like medieval Europe. Benin had started down the road to modern development through slave-labor mines and plantations, the “Russian road” to modernization, in a way. Wallerstein, *MWS (III)*, 177 n244, 188-189.

the only way to claim that antisemitism was “incompatible... with all Western political and moral standards of the past.” From the point of view of a Jamaican slave in 1650 or a Cherokee in 1838, twentieth-century totalitarian practices might well seem the very culmination of Western political and moral standards. Arendt may affect to deplore King Leopold's extermination of twenty million people, but ultimately her condemnation of racism is that “it was allowed to destroy the comity of European nations,” of greater worth in her mind than any uncivilized African or American wastes she can imagine.²⁸²

Arendt's general thesis is, however, quite correct: totalitarianism is nothing more or less than the theory and practice of colonial imperialism, transplanted to the soil of Central Europe.²⁸³ The origins of the theoretical “comity” of European nations are to be found in exactly the same theory and practice. The Declaration of the Rights of Man does not appear apart from the sugar plantations of Haiti; The Declaration of Independence and The Bill of Rights do not appear apart from the tobacco plantations of Virginia, the rice plantations of South Carolina, and the Baltimore shipyards. Genocide cleared the lands of the Carribean and the US South for monocrop export production. Referring to Europe as a comity of nations begs the question – The Great War had shown an industrialized extermination of life beyond the scale of any other in human history, until the same nations produced World War II, yet Arendt still conceived of a “civilized” Europe confronting a “savage” Africa. The notion of comity derives from this racist exclusion.

Arendt's privileged subject position must have helped obscure the logical conclusion toward which her own work pointed. From New York in 1946 she enthused over American freedom, ignoring the conditions of life for African-Americans – as if Harlem, a train ride away uptown, were not a ghetto, with all that that implied after World War II. From inside the ghetto, James Baldwin tells the tale of a sister pointedly wondering how soon the white folks would start

282 Arendt, *Origins*, 154. Dunbar-Ortiz, 18-21. Kim Macquarrie. *The Last Days of the Incas*. London: Portrait, 2007, pp. 110-11. Arendt denies that English Victorian philosophy contained “outspoken racism,” emphatically including Carlyle, on the basis that the racism expressed was a side effect of their support for individual freedom. Precisely. Arendt, *ibid.*, 180-181, 183, 185 n2.

283 Enzo Traverso, *Totalitarismo: Storia di un dibattito*. Verona: Ombre Corte, 2015, pg. 78.

building the cremation ovens, now that black Americans were no longer needed for work. He himself makes no bones about calling the ghetto an “occupied territory” and a “rehearsal for a concentration camp.”²⁸⁴ This subject position questions the beneficent assumptions of modernist progress. In the account of the enslaved Olaudah Equiano, Western Civilization first appeared as an attack upon a stable peasant society, whereby men, women, and children were kidnapped from their villages to become forced-labor agricultural workers producing export commodities.²⁸⁵ From such subject positions one can perceive totalitarian regimes not as a failure in the broader context of development toward some higher form of human social life, neither a collapse of Western Civilization nor a failure of the revolutionary proletariat, but as specific examples of a generalized regime of violence and forced labor providing political unity and economic development for the European core. Modernity imposed totalitarian practices on select populations throughout its development, as can be seen when those practices are judged by their socio-economic functions and effects, which remain the same despite variations in ideological representations. Potosí was no different than Kolyma, when viewed from the bottom up, although both occurred in different moments in the history of European development and in different arrangements of political power: Two mines, two abyssmal forced-labor regimes, two harvests of precious metals employed by a far-off state to elevate its status in the European core.²⁸⁶

The Russian case occurred in the context of high modernity, but even early Spanish methods show a shift to modern over medieval relationships. For one thing, the abstract claim of sovereignty over these “Indian” subjects resembles more the abstract state-citizen political relationships of modernity than the personal, linear, descending relationship that defined Isabel's political authority

284 James Baldwin. *No Name in the Street. Collected Essays*. New York: Library of America, 1998 (1972), pg. 453. “Report from Occupied Territory,” *ibid.*, (1966), 738.

285 Olaudah Equiano. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*. Nina Baym, ed. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature, Shorter Seventh Edition*. New York: Norton, 2008 (1791), pp. 359, 364-369.

286 Following Wallerstein's analysis, Spain was still attempting to achieve a classically imperial hegemony, not optimize their position within a core/periphery model, as the Dutch would later do with the very silver extracted from Potosí. Wallerstein, *MWS (I)*, 186-187, 213-214.

over an Aragonese peasant in medieval terms.²⁸⁷ The New World did not follow the classic imperial lines of tribute or incorporation, but remained a territory for specific kinds of economic exploitation only, usually resource extraction, and Great Powers were willing to accept the mass death of the local population as the price for that economic activity. The Inca *corvée* laborer increased local prosperity, while the Spanish *mitayo* took silver from the mine and sent it to Seville and beyond. The death of the workforce and decline of the population reveals the genocidal results of New World colonization; the importation of slaves highlights the centrality of forced labor to the resource extraction process and the centrality of those resources themselves to European prosperity. Different positions on a timeline of modern development should not obscure the qualitative and functional similarity in the establishment of modern extractive economies based, on the one hand, on intercontinental slave trade by ship in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and on the other hand on intracontinental prisoner transport by train and barge in the twentieth.

The dependency on New World resources for the process of development in terms of economic and political power was understood by some contemporary actors in the early modern period. The Duc du France compared the French yeoman to the “mines and treasures of Peru” quite in the context of economic development, that is, in proposing intensification of agricultural production as a substitute for New World resource extraction.²⁸⁸ North-Central Europe generally had been able to increase pastoral production through use of American grasses and clover, incorporating the pastoral economy into the state, “pastoralism without nomadism,” another shift to a modern synthesis of the dialectical opposition between the nomad and the state familiar from antiquity. This is one example of how greater social complexity results from use of New World resources, and in a major area that defined the leading countries of the European core, it led

287 Eduardo Galeano. *Las Venas Abiertas de América Latina*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España editores, 2002 (1980), pg. 22. MacQuarrie, 33. Taylor, 144-146.

288 These two paths of development emerge from the comparisons of Moore and Skocpol, the former in Barrington Moore Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993 (1966), and the latter in Theda Skocpol. *States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

specifically to greater per capita meat and dairy production as well as increased animal power.²⁸⁹

Stolypin, much later, tried the same path as that promoted two centuries earlier by the Duc, but he largely failed to reorganize the peasantry into “yeomen” and “landless laborers,” much less achieve any increased meat or dairy production.²⁹⁰ Russia was backward according to the developmentalist telos of modernity, with a nobility and a peasantry both hostile to increased social complexity; put another way, Russia lacked access to the material resources, the stored energy, that would increase the complexity of its social and economic systems without a highly conscious and directed policy of industrial development. Far from New World bullion, slave plantations, agricultural diversification, or colonial resources, Russia had no choice other than intensification of production, meaning internal violence and forced labor, as a road to modern development. As Wallerstein has pointed out, “One has to eliminate the peasant farmer” to modernize agriculture.²⁹¹ The Party and State replaced the individual landowners and all peasants became landless laborers by fiat. Eventually Russia found her mines and treasures not in Peru but in northeastern Siberia. Only then did she truly attain Great Power status.

Germany only attained it through the luck of Sweden's decline and Prussia's taking advantage of Austria's threat to the core powers in order to improve its “relative status” in the world-economy. Frederick and then Bismarck's wily use of the state-machinery and military made them models for other authoritarian modernizers like Stolypin.²⁹² Germany found itself before a totalitarian conjuncture when she was condemned by the Treaty of Versailles to an eventual peripheralization. The overseas colonies that Germany had claimed were poor and yielded little more than what some call the first twentieth-century genocide, a fact which highlights how the ideology of colonialism has a logic of indigene extermination apart from economic utility: massacres can be justified by prerogatives of development without actually materially contributing

289 Wallerstein, *MWS (II)*, 56, 84, 87. Where pastoralism remained classically nomadic, in Dakota or Siberia, one finds whiggish interpretations of backwardness and banditry fought by Red Army or US Cavalry expeditions against nomadic and semi-nomadic populations to eliminate what has been called the “nomad war-machine.”

290 Stephen Kotkin. *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power 1878-1928*. New York: Penguin, 2015, pp. 94-96.

291 Wallerstein, *MWS (I)*, 247.

292 Wallerstein, *MWS (I)*, 229-231. Kotkin, 92-95, 119-120.

to that development. Hitler, a dilettante whose crude vision was absolutely built on whiggish principles of political economy, made no bones about the need for some sort of colonial exploitation to keep Germany a great power, but his colonies were to be in Europe. The fantasy of the Wild East and its taming by German soldier-farmers constantly referenced the American experience. Nazi racism was no more absurd than English, Boer, or American, unless one accepts *a priori* the notion of non-white inferiority. If Equiano can be enslaved in the Carribean, why shouldn't the Poles be enslaved in Krakow? If the Pequots, Arawaks, and Tainos must disappear, why not the Jews? If the first is accepted in the name of capitalist teleologies of development, why not the second? The same cultural hierarchy legitimated these actions, derived from Enlightenment philosophies and the practices of colonial economic exploitation.

The originary academic model of totalitarianism depends on the assumption of a greater value, morally defined, for the white European. This racism is integral to the ideologies of modern capitalist development and it is continuously present in European practice throughout the history of that development. The totalitarian regimes commonly recognized as such did not break with the general trajectory of modern progress, they encapsulated it: this is the bitter pill that must be swallowed. Looking back over modern history, the way exterminationist violence and forced labor have been employed practically and legitimated ideologically by European powers has been excluded from institutionalized philosophies of modern history, if no longer excluded from the historical record, just as non-white populations were excluded by the Enlightenment, relegated to footnotes and considered secondary. Similarly, the Stalinist dictatorship excluded collectivization, deportation, labor colonies, and their prisoners from its own triumphalist propaganda and bureaucratic record. Everywhere modernity has developed, it has happened because of practices and ideologies which the totalitarian states only distinguished themselves in applying in the most concentrated forms within the "comity" of Europe. Outside that so-called comity, "no ethical considerations such as the rights of man" come to bear on white rule.²⁹³

293 British South African Sir Thomas Watt, cited in Arendt, *Origins*, pg.221. Arendt seems to disdain this attitude, yet

Historians may go so far as to exclude real history in favor of a whiggish progressivism of the mind, or of the statute book, and we can observe this tendency with regard to the period of American history we will be discussing in detail, precisely in the context of the development of modern democracy in the European core. Drew Gilpin Faust recently published a popular-audience article that follows the general interpretive line we noted in Kershaw above, observing that many of the changes Europe experienced after the Great War came about in the United States after the Civil War, just as the American conflict introduced many features of modern warfare that killed so many on the European fronts. This interpretation places the USA squarely within a notional comity of European nations, and thus one must find the rights of man extended: Gilpin Faust implies that the freedmen and freedwomen of the US South, formerly enslaved, were really enfranchised after the war. The campaign of terrorism and mass murder, the pseudo-legal bars to voting, the one-party state, the steadily decreasing protection from and eventual adoption of white supremacy by the federal government, the simple fact that black Americans were openly denied the vote in the South for a century and murdered if they resisted, none of this has a place in the twenty-first-century interpretation of the Chair of the Department of History at Harvard. Instead, to use historian Dale Tomich's phrase, democracy and equality "are projected as teleological outcomes of historical development."²⁹⁴

In both Britain and America, the many millions of men who joined the military created the conditions for a new kind of warfare, as well as the necessity for a new understanding of citizenship and its privileges in the aftermath of such widespread sacrifice. In the United States, for example, the wartime courage and service of African-American soldiers played a critical part in the movement to expand the franchise and pass the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibited denial of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." In Britain, the slogan "One Gun, One Vote" captured the public sentiment that led to the Representation of the People Act in 1918, tripling the size of the British electorate.

her next paragraph is one of praise for the conduct of the British imperialists because "a minimum of human rights was always safeguarded": She contradicts the very argument that she just put forth, in an effort to promote an Anglo-sphere; she interprets "we do not respect non-whites' human rights" as meaning "human rights were protected."

²⁹⁴ Tomich emphasizes the economic-determinist side of the teleology. Dale Tomich, "World Slavery and Caribbean Capitalism: The Cuban Sugar Industry, 1760-1868," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 3, Special Issue on Slavery in the New World (Jun., 1991), pp. 297-319, pg. 313. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657555> accessed: 15-04-2016

Similar expansions of the franchise were enacted across Europe after the Great War.²⁹⁵

One might argue that the violent arrogance of the South after Appomattox played a greater role than any mooted “movement” to “expand the franchise,” which did not exist before the 1866 election returns, nor after 1872, nor in the House of Representatives in 1869.²⁹⁶ The movement that did exist was the movement to deny the freedmen the ballot despite the 14th and 15th amendments, a movement which accelerated and deepened at the state and federal level over time until the 1890s, when almost all pockets of black political participation were definitively eliminated and segregation was legally formalized in southern states. In any event, with the exception of some areas between 1866-1876, the Fifteenth Amendment was never enforced. The Supreme Court almost immediately forbade its enforcement. The franchise did not, in fact, expand. Considering the progressive exclusion of black Americans from the rights of citizenship, a better interpretation would discuss the movement to empower states and local authorities to deny civil rights to black citizens. To be sure, the juridical granting of abstract rights is still historically significant, as it is in Queen Isabel's case, even if it had little to no effect on reality, but the denial of those rights ought to weigh heavier in interpretation. More significant is that the “new understanding of citizenship and its privileges” included white-supremacist terrorism and forced prison labor. These facts are excluded from institutionally powerful interpretations of the recent past where, to paraphrase Voltaire, if democracy did not exist, it is necessary to invent it.

Some readers may infer a certain patriotic moral fervor in Gilpin Faust's text. That fervor comes to the fore in Anne Applebaum's institutionally lauded *Gulag*, a Pulitzer-Prize-winning text, wherein brave, principled anticommunists like Joseph McCarthy were undone by personal attacks, Hollywood produces too few anticommunist films, and a large cottage industry continues an apologia for the Gulag. Hence her volume, to make sure nobody forgets “what we were fighting

295 Drew Gilpin Faust, “Two Wars and the Long Twentieth Century,” *The New Yorker*, March 13, 2015.

296 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 222-223, 271-280, 311-312, 446-449.

for,” which remains undefined but was presumably not a prison system of two-to-five million prisoners featuring forced labor.²⁹⁷ In 1990, twelve years before *Gulag* was published and before the rapid expansion of the US prison population under President Clinton, the US incarcerated its citizens at about half the rate that the USSR imprisoned its citizens in the Gulag,²⁹⁸ evidence, perhaps, that a two-party democracy can be twice as free as a one-party dictatorship. This census-category snapshot excludes the particular experience of non-whites: Black Americans were incarcerated in the US South by 2001 at four times the rate of whites, and already in 1990 had been incarcerated nationwide at very nearly four times the Gulag rate. In 2004, the year after *Gulag* was published, the number of people in the United States in prison, on probation, and on parole, the number of legally incarcerated and restricted citizens, was well over the highest yearly total for the Gulag and the “special settlements” of the forcibly deported.²⁹⁹ Applebaum's text seems oblivious to these facts, the practical reality of “what we were fighting for.” Instead it proposes that it is impossible for historians to be too anti-Soviet after 1945. Yet clearly much Cold War hyperbole has been shown to be exactly that, not only popular culture agitprop like “Could the Reds Seize Detroit?” or *I Was a Communist for the FBI* but also highbrow creations like the mythical *Dzurma* episode and government overestimates of Russian military strength.³⁰⁰ Applebaum insists that academic disciplinary conventions should not apply to denunciations of Russian communism, a stance typical of Cold War discourse, which tends toward these manichean extremes, or manichean facades. By proposing that any denunciation of communism should be academically acceptable,

297 Anne Applebaum. *Gulag: A History*. New York: Penguin, 2004, pp. 6-9.

298 A Soviet incarceration rate of around 800 per 100,000 of population is from Getty's figures, compared with 426 per 100,000 in the US. South Africa in 1990 was less repressive than the US, with 333 per 100,000 incarcerated.

Kimberley A. Streeter. “Coin Blood into Gold’: The Development of the Prison-Industrial Complex in Georgia and Tennessee.” Unpublished masters thesis, University of North Carolina, Asheville, pg. 2n6.

299 The incarceration rate for black Americans in 1990 was 3,109 per 100,000, almost ten times the rate in apartheid South Africa above. Streeter, 1, 2n6, 13.

300 “Could the Reds Seize Detroit” appeared in Henry Luce's *Look* magazine in 1948. See http://conelrad.com/books/flyleaf.php?id=326_0_1_0_M accessed 06/01/16 Historians created the *Dzurma* massacre from an urban legend; Conquest's argument for its reality demonstrates the anti-empirical attitude to truth mentioned below. See Martin J. Bollinger. *Stalin's Slave Ships: Kolyma, the Gulag Fleet, and the Role of the West*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2003, pp. 66-73. Overestimation of Soviet forces described at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/cias-analysis-of-the-soviet-union-1947-1991/sov_89_10031.pdf accessed 08/06/18

her text promotes a version of anti-empirical truth based on desired outcomes rather than facts. Ironically, this is the same epistemological reasoning offered by those who chose to believe the “truth” of the second round of Moscow show trials.³⁰¹

Cold War oppositions break down not only at the philosophical level, epistemological or economic, but at the historical level of real events. Specific actions of the “free” and “communist” regimes have identical profiles – and not only the sphere-of-influence interventions in Guatemala and Hungary, or Santiago and Prague, or Afghanistan and Afghanistan, but unequivocally criminal acts. Consider the Phoenix Program in Vietnam and the Katyn Massacre in Poland. In each case, some twenty thousand political opponents, of the USA and USSR respectively, were secretly murdered by agents of a state which had invaded militarily after having previously partitioned the country by fiat. The Phoenix Program may have been more violent, as Vietnamese government employees were frequently tortured before being killed, and thousands more were kidnapped and tortured without being killed.³⁰² Poland had been colonized by Tsarist Russia and invaded by the Bolsheviks before her brief period of interwar independence; Vietnam had been colonized by France, close military ally of the USA, who subsequently aided the French in their war against Vietnam. Here are two nations emerging from a period of external economic exploitation and military occupation where external powers with close relations to the former colonial regimes invaded militarily and assassinated twenty thousand individuals in order to determine the structure of political rule. As this example shows, the problem with a dichotomy between the “free world” and the “communist bloc” is that these attributional labels obscure a simple reality, visible to some products of world capitalism like James Baldwin: “The moral leaders of the Free World are in great

301 Applebaum writes that it should not be “possible – still – for a British literary editor to reject an article because it is too ‘anti-Soviet.’” Applebaum, 6. The nature of this truth is that it appeals not to facts but to desired outcomes as the support for belief. Those who believed the confessions of the Trotskyites *et al.* stated their rationale for belief was based on the desirability of a socialist state and the fact that the alternative belief, that these trials were a sham, was undesirable to contemplate. Alan B. Spitzer, “John Dewey, the ‘Trial’ of Leon Trotsky and the Search for Historical Truth,” *History and Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Feb., 1990), pp. 16-37; pp. 21-24. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505202> accessed 07/06/16

302 The Phoenix Program is mentioned twice, in passing, in Tim Weiner's National Book Award-winning history of the CIA, but the CIA itself offers details, and no regrets: see <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol51no2/a-retrospective-on-counterinsurgency-operations.html> accessed 01/06/16. Tim Weiner. *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. New York: Penguin, 2007, pp. 394, 556.

trouble. This is not a free country... walk or ride up to 125th Street and walk through those streets and ask yourself... why it looks like a concentration camp.”³⁰³ In 1984 a Polish shipbuilder had greater institutional representation than a Guatemalan agricultural worker, and nuns were safer behind the godless iron curtain than in the heart of El Salvador.

At the start of the Cold War both these power-blocs expressed themselves using the same rhetoric, as can be seen from a comparison of two widely-distributed political texts : Henry Luce's “The American Century” and Stalin's 1946 *Speech to Voters*. The former comes from 1941, before the US entered WWII, while the latter comes after the Russian defeat of Germany. Beneath surface differences these primary sources reveal telling similarities between these two falsely opposed systems of political organization and modern development. Both texts appeared as mass-distribution commodities aimed at the politically conscious but not highbrow reader. Stalin's address originally took place in the context of a political convention but the distributed text was not the actual address; it was edited and shaped in a manner not unlike a magazine editorial.³⁰⁴ Luce was a powerful figure himself who might be considered as important than a Radek or a Zhdanov in terms of social and political influence – Luce's publishing empire would publish “Could the Reds Sieze Detroit?” and an address to America by President Kennedy. Indeed, Luce's “American Century” slogan from this article remains in play today both politically and academically.³⁰⁵

These political texts both stress unity over division and portray their “people” as having a confluence of interest, “one common cause” in which “all are engaged” for Stalin and a “triumphal purpose” to which “all are called” for Luce.³⁰⁶ The calls for unity use the same basic rhetorical

303 James Baldwin, “We Can Change the Country,” *Cross of Redemption: Uncollected Writings*. New York: Vintage, 2010 (1963), 62.

304 J. Arch Getty & Oleg V. Naumov. *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939*. New Haven: Yale University press, 2010, pp. 97-103.

305The ideologues in administration of Bush (*films*), including Hoover Institution Senior Fellow Condaleeza Rice, were members of a political pressure group calling itself the Project for the New American Century. Luce's *LIFE* cover of September 15, 1961: “HOW YOU CAN SURVIVE FALLOUT 97 out of 100 can be saved... Detail plans for building shelters... AND A LETTER TO YOU FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY” “I urge you to read and consider seriously the contents of this issue of LIFE,” says JFK. Ted Rail, “Checklist for the Neo-Fascists,” Mack White and Gary Groth, ed. *The Bush Junta*. Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2004. 95-96 For an historiographical treatment see Alan Brinkley, “The Idea of an American Century,” at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/publicEvents/pdf/20060207-Brinkley.pdf> accessed 15/06/16 *LIFE* cover accessed 17/06/16 http://conelrad.com/books/flyleaf.php?id=322_0_1_0_M7

306Above and subsequent quotes from: J. Stalin. *Speeches Delivered at Meetings of Voters of the Stalin Electoral*

strategies. Following Jakobsen's text linguistics,³⁰⁷ each text's dominant function is conative, and its secondary function is referential: each text seeks to produce action from the reader by means of giving information about the world. Each text also uses the first person plural to include the author with the addressee, adding a kind of sub-dominant expressive note with a corresponding phatic secondary function that reinforces the urgency of the conative appeal. It is also significant that the texts share the same tenor, in the sense of the field/tenor/mode analytical model, that of an equal speaking to equals, citizens of modernity all. Luce's text relies on poetic effects as well, while Stalin's is directly referential, although given the likely fanciful nature of the production statistics, one could argue that such data serves as a kind of Bolshevik lyric poetry. This conative/referential and expressive/phatic communicative structure is a text-linguistic matrix typical of propaganda, advertising, and public service announcements.

The referential content of each text is a record of progress along the path of modern development into an industrial power on the one hand, and a celebration of achievements befitting a hegemonic power on the other. Economically, the USSR produced the most “market produce” in its history, while Americans are simply “rich.” Stalin even demands and predicts that the quantity and quality of consumer goods will increase and prices decrease, in order to raise the standard of living of the population, and casts this productivism as a test of legitimacy for Communist Party governance – a logic shared by the advertisements in Luce's *LIFE* magazine where his article appeared, as well as in his text itself. Investments in science and engineering are emphasized, as well as victories obtained in those fields, fields in which increased systemic complexity is most marked. Luce can celebrate the international spread of American consumer goods and cultural commodities as evidence of the fitness of projection of US political power, while Stalin uses the greater quantity of heavy industrial production, as well as military success, as evidence of the

District, Moscow, Dec. 11, 1938 and Feb. 9, 1946. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing, 1954, pp. 19-45; Henry Luce, “The American Century,” *Life*, Feb. 17, 1941, pp. 61-65.

307 <http://www.dipartimentolingue.unito.it/herrmann/documents/oss-home/LingIngMed%202013-14%20class%2021%20fiss.pdf> accessed 15/06/16

correctness of the Communist Party's wielding of such power. To use Stalin's phrase, both texts declare the "victory" of their "social system," a victory which consists of the highest levels of economic and intellectual production; they announce successful modern development.

Here one sees in action how the Marxist and the capitalist invoke the same teleology: to put it in Luce's terms, "growth and increasing satisfaction of all individual men" is the purpose to which human society must be put, and the growth would presuppose and guarantee the satisfaction. For Stalin, growth depends upon the correct Party policy, the proper Five-Year Plan. For Luce, it depends on "freedom" (or "Freedom"), especially "freedom of enterprise." This poorly defined freedom, equated to profitable economic activity, relies on an authoritarian presence, just as the Party imposes the Plan on Russia.

It is for America and for America alone to determine whether a system of free economic enterprise - an economic order compatible with freedom and progress - shall or shall not prevail in this century... to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit.[...] 'For such purposes as we see fit' leaves entirely open the question of what our purposes may be or how we may appropriately achieve them.

Progress and growth must be achieved by any means necessary. Ironically, perhaps, Stalin refers more directly to democratic processes than Luce, when he tells the electors that it is they who will determine whether the Party was correct, that "It is for you to judge." Luce's text does not include this sort of rhetorical gesture towards the desires of those upon whom he would exert the full impact of whatever means "we" see fit.

The impact of the means deployed by the moral imperative for growth is best revealed by what these texts exclude. Stalin simply denies any ill effects on the peasantry from collectivization. This denial is all the more cynical as he directly compares the party's "success" to the brutal effects of early-modern primitive accumulation in the core countries. Luce excludes as well: he makes no mention whatsoever, in reference to "Justice," "Democracy," and "Freedom," of African-Americans, denied *de facto* and *de jure* the blessings of that triumvirate. This was not only a question of segregated public and private facilities or even of voting rights. The unfreedom

compatible with “progress” and “free economic enterprise” had more serious consequences. The year before “The American Century” was published, Jesse Thornton was lynched in Alabama after being shot five times in the back by policeman Doris Rhodes. Two months after its publication, Private Felix Hall was lynched in Georgia, while in uniform, at United States Army Fort Benning, named after Confederate States of America General Henry Benning.³⁰⁸ There is not even a footnote in Luce's text to allude to the 12-15% of the American population, unfree by any standard and subject to assault, murder, and continuous economic exploitation.³⁰⁹ This exploitation was based on mono-crop agricultural labor for the market, as with the Russian peasantry; these dual exclusions mark the violent expropriation of labor (or surplus value, or energy) without which industrial modernity has never yet developed. The emergent truth of “progress and growth” in both Stalinist and democratic republican political narratives depends on forced labor and violent disciplinary regimes to produce market commodities.

A helpful vocabulary for discussing the general historical confluence between “totalitarian” states and “Western Civilization” comes from Guy Debord, the cantankerous revolutionist, philosopher, and film-maker. Intellectually not unlike Marcuse, Debord followed Lukács, Castoriadis, and the Frankfurt school but went beyond them to declare that the consumer economy itself had established totalitarian rule over human societies. Gentile's formulation of the state expanding to impinge on all aspects of society is here understood to apply to the commodity itself, or exchange value, for which the state is merely a ham-handed proxy in fascist and communist polities. Formerly social or non-economic relationships and activities come to be monetized and reduced to a logic of production and consumption in the name of productivism and consumerism.

308 Thornton had referred to the officer in the third person without the honorific “Mr.,” and was running away from a pistol-whipping when Rhodes shot him. Michael Newton. *Unsolved Civil Rights Murder Cases, 1938-1970*. Jefferson, NC: Mcfarland & Co., 2016, pp. 117-119. <https://books.google.es/books?id=u9p6CwAAQBAJ> accessed 02/27/16 Benning told the secession convention that he preferred “pestilence and famine” to the abolition of slavery and black enfranchisement. Henry L. Benning. “Speech of Henry Benning to the Virginia Convention,” *Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861*, vol. 1, pp. 62-75. <http://civilwarcauses.org/benningva.htm> accessed 02/29/16

309 One page before Luce's article was an advertisement for the white-supremacist Confederate-nostalgia film *Virginia!* and two turns from the last page was the image of a figuratively constipated, white, black-faced comedian in an Uncle Sam costume (meant to be selling California Prunes). Luce's political speech is literally embedded in white supremacist discourse. accessed 15/07/16 <https://books.google.es/books?id=I0kEAAAAMBAJ>

Authoritarian political systems represent a concentrated form of social domination, while the European democracies represent a diffuse form of the same domination, operative in both societies as real economic growth and development and the discursive reign of the teleology of modern development.³¹⁰

Stalinism and fascism concentrated power in the party and state apparatus and ultimately in one charismatic personality; the postwar consumer democracies diffused power across actors both inside and outside of formal state and party structures. On the one hand, we have Stalin personally determining party lines while on the other we have Luce publically proposing them – but Luce was a political actor himself, of the ruling class, hobnobbing with Herbert Hoover, and ultimately powerful enough that his informal policy evaluations became political dogmas for decades, "Truman's 'loss' of China" as well as the "American Century." Although the protagonists of these political and economic systems exercise power and influence through a different organizational structures, they follow the same logic of political legitimation through economic growth – and exclusion of the producers of that growth from its benefits and from the historical narrative. Furthermore, without fully subscribing to a reductive view of what Debord might call the commodity totality, we should observe that the interlinkage of political discourse, advertising, and consumer commodities is rather more complete than less. Political propaganda appears on, or as, cigarette or candy packaging, in advertising images, and so on, in any modern system, just as the production, distribution, and sale of such commodities is central to the establishment and continuance of political regimes, which also manifest through similar emphera like stickers, buttons, pins, and posters.

Just before the collapse of communist Europe, Debord proposed a new perspective, that state and economic power need not be exclusively one or the other, but was "integrated" to the extent that both concentrated and diffuse practices were employed by bureaucratic and democratic systems.

310 Guy Debord. *The Society of the Spectacle*, Ken Knaab trans. 2002 (1967), theses 63-65.
<http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/debord/3.htm> accessed 05/06/18

Debord's example at the time was Italy, since it possessed a fascist state bureaucracy and a decentralized light-industrial bourgeoisie, not to mention being simultaneously a multi-party parliamentary republic and effectively a one-party state.³¹¹ Recent scholarship on Hitler and Stalin has also moved in the direction of seeing how even such highly concentrated authoritarian political systems relied on significant independent action from other actors.³¹² This vocabulary highlights that the certain kind of power under discussion can impose itself in both concentrated and diffuse manifestations, and that these are not exclusionary but complimentary.

The complementarity is visible in the discourse conventions shared by the dynamic dictatorships and the democracies. Fascism and Stalinism took their vocabulary of legitimation and practice of power from Marxist interpretations of capitalism, or a kind of Adam-Smith-cum-Hegel. Both regimes clearly regarded themselves as being emergently true. Colonialism and Nazism took their vocabulary of legitimation and practice of power from racism, meaning scientific nineteenth-century doctrines of white European supremacy and superiority. Both racism and Marxism, especially Leninist and Trotskyist constructions, claimed provenance as science, Stalinism employed practices, like mass deportation and slave labor, whose modern historical antecedents were racist and colonial. While all modern European regimes are in a sense historically specific and separable, they also display similar traits beneath their differences.

Opposing the “free world” to undemocratic regimes is a false opposition from a historical perspective. The constituent elements of totalitarian ideology are present in modern democratic regimes, and various examples of totalitarian practice can be seen in the “free world.” The

311 In 1973, 95% of state functionaries in Italy were fascist appointees. Paul Ginsbourg. *A History of Contemporary Italy, 1943-1980*. New York: Penguin, 1990, pg. 285. Guy Debord. *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, Malcolm Imrie trans. 1988, thesis 4. e-book see also <http://www.notbored.org/commentaires.html>

312 Although Hagenloh convincingly disputes Getty's interpretation that Stalin's “excesses” were a reaction to real political danger, the argument acknowledges the possibility of democratic centralism unseating a dictator. Kershaw describes well the dialectical relationship between the concentration of power in Hitler and the decay of structural governance. Paul Hagenloh. *Stalin's Police: Public Order and Mass Repression in the USSR, 1926-1941*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009, 405-406 n67, 416 n177. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936-1945: Nemesis*. New York, Norton, 2000, pp. 311-314, and *passim*.

Bundesrepublik Deutschland was a bastion of Cold War polarization, a beacon of freedom on the front line of the iron curtain, as it were. It employed Hans Globke, co-author of the antisemitic Nuremberg Laws, at the highest level of the Chancellery for a decade.³¹³ If a legal advisor to Eichmann can be a legal advisor to Adenauer, how can a totalitarian regime be fundamentally different from a Cold War democracy? The cadres are interchangeable, not only in the general state bureaucracy but at the highest levels of the national executive. Presumably, in his later role Globke was no longer defining racial exclusion with an eye to genocide nor drafting enabling decrees for dictatorial rule, but the point is that those activities were politically and practically congruent with, not opposed to, his high position in the governing hierarchy of the European nations who define Western Civilization.

Cold Warrior texts remain deaf to such an interpretation. In her book she characterizes the hearings of the US House Un-American Activities Commission as a brave struggle against unfair calumny and totalitarian intrigue. Hannah Arendt came closer to the mark a half-century earlier in characterizing those hearings as themselves having “totalitarian tendencies;” she could see the link between *Undeutsch* and Un-American, and she knew a show trial when she saw one. Unfortunately, she did not extend her analysis into how these tendencies might have emerged in the land that she called “immune to fanaticism” in her 1946 letter to Karl Jaspers. That was the year of the infamous Georgia lynching of married couples George and Mae Dorsey, seven months pregnant, and Roger and Dorothy Malcolm, in which Mae Dorsey's fetus was cut out of her body by the killers.³¹⁴ One might think that Arendt's experiences in Germany would color her evaluation of how such violence might leaven Americans' bread of liberty.

In any case, while theoretically supporting civil equality, Arendt's arguments oppose equality for black Americans. Her analysis of the “Negro question” follows the same line as Reconstruction-

313 Hannah Arendt. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking, 1964, pg. 62.

314 Arendt quoted in Traverso, 68. Translation by this writer. The Dorsey murders had a national media profile. Philip Dray. *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America*. New York: Modern Library, 2002, pp. 377-383.

era white supremacy in declaring black civil rights to be equivalent to a social equality which whites are morally justified in resisting. Considering that Arendt claimed her own supposedly “pariah” status was a “purely political” problem, Arendt’s discourse unifies her with white supremacists on the basis of a so-called social question. The claim of a “social” sphere from which the unwashed must be excluded (but not herself) is the claim of a European defending modernity from the encroachment of those who supposedly have no culture worth preserving: like the working-class immigrants of the eighteen-thirties United States, Arendt assumes to whiteness, in this context social and political equality with the dominant culture, through the exclusion of a racialized caste.³¹⁵

The very fact that Arendt is capable of connecting the Un-American and the *Undeutsch* marks strongly her acceptance of the “Negro question” as a conceptual category. *Die Schwarzenfrage* should immediately suggest to Arendt a subsequent *Endlösung*, given that she had just seen precisely this evolution a few years previously. This vocabulary of “Negro question” alone – apart from her support for some apartheid-type policies – puts her text in the position of a typical German sermon in the mid-1930s, urging restraint while accepting the terms of the Jewish question, the so-called threat of the Jews.³¹⁶ The real Negro question is, as James Baldwin put it, “Why do you need a nigger?”³¹⁷ Baldwin’s question is rhetorical. He knows that representatives of Western Civilization need a “nigger” in order to be civilized: “‘Civilization’ is a word used by those who think of themselves as civilized because they describe you as uncivilized.”³¹⁸ His *because* successfully captures the causal relationship at the heart of the *Herrenvolk* exclusionary dynamic. Arendt embraces her status as civilized, her culture self-evidently worth preserving, and she must therefore accept the bio-political exclusion of the non-European world. This is why she cannot make the connection suggested by her text’s vocabulary. From inside the ghetto, Baldwin tells us,

315 Gines, 10-11, 48-51, 57-58. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 239-251.

316 Ian Kershaw. *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*. New York: Norton, 1999, pp. 435-436. Kershaw, *Nemesis*, 146.

317 Baldwin quoted in Lawrence J. Friedman. *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970, pg. v.

318 James Baldwin, “Speech from the Soledad Rally,” *The Cross of Redemption*, (1971), 124.

“the terms 'civilized' and 'Christian' begin to have a very strange ring, particularly in the ears of those who have been judged to be neither civilized nor Christian, when a Christian nation surrenders to a fount and violent orgy, as Germany did...” He sees quite clearly that the “enlightened age” of European civilization that produced the Holocaust could well bring “the day that the United States decided to murder its Negroes systematically.”³¹⁹

In Arendt's “Reflections on Little Rock,” she argues for the exclusion of African-Americans from some aspects of American civic life, specifically from access to education. Her distinction between the social and the political is unconvincing in itself, as well as parallel to white-supremacist distinctions, but the major error in her thinking appears in the first paragraph, where she de-historicizes black American experience by disassociating it from the history of the world-system: “the color problem in world politics grew out of the colonialism and imperialism of European nations – that is, the one great crime in which America was never involved.” America and its “color problem” – to Arendt, “the unsolved problems connected with Negroes living in our midst” – are and were self-evidently the result of European colonialism and imperialism. Arendt follows this incorrect assertion with a return to the notion that the problem with racism is that it impacts the political relationships in the European core: “The tragedy is that the unsolved color problem in the United States may cost her the advantages she otherwise would rightly enjoy as a world power.” (One perceives a note of the moral authoritarianism in that “rightly.”) The tragedy, “something that causes great sadness or regret” according to Webster, is not, then, that black American children are denied educational opportunities, to say nothing of the many worse abuses that they endure (Baldwin tells us he was ten years old at the time of his first beating by the police). Despite claiming, “as a Jew,” her “sympathy for the cause of the Negroes,” she portrays Eckford as herself the problem, unaccountably “living in our midst.”³²⁰

319 Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*, 316-317.

320 Hannah Arendt, “Reflections on Little Rock,” @ http://learningspaces.org/forgotten/little_rock1.pdf accessed 15/06/16 In an example of anti-black and antisemitic attitudes intertwining, a journalist described how the crowd around the girls, who were threatening to lynch Eckford, spat in his face, called him a dirty Jew, and told him they would “take care” of him later. Gines, 17, 135n12.

From this inauspicious beginning Arendt goes on to present familiar white-supremacist arguments in favor of denying Eckford a high-school diploma. Arendt's dichotomy between "the mob" and the good citizen is quite false: The "law-abiding southerners" of Little Rock were those individuals screaming for the murder of a fifteen-year-old girl when she tried to go to school. Daniel Goldhagen, Raul Hilferding, and Christopher Browning have, in different ways, debunked similar dichotomies in reference to the totalitarian context. In the US South, not only law-abiding citizens but the agents of the law itself, sheriffs and sheriff's deputies, were highly likely to belong to the local cell of the Ku Klux Klan or other white terrorist organizations, just one of the many links between such groups and the Democratic Party (including the postbellum Chief Justice of the Supreme Court).³²¹ The argument Arendt advances was a commonplace of postbellum white-supremacist Southern political elites like Lucius Lamar, who condemned the excesses of the lower classes when he was in Washington while praising the violence against black Americans when at home in Mississippi. The principled leader attempting to control the mob was also the portrait of Lamar presented by John Fitzgerald Kennedy in his 1956 Party hagiography *Profiles in Courage*.³²²

Arendt justifies denying educational facilities to black Americans by defending the emotional validity of racist affect, invoking mothers who should not have to experience the trauma of their daughters being seated near non-white schoolmates.³²³ It is unthinkable that Arendt would have justified her own exclusion from German educational facilities in such terms. Her argument in favor of African-American exclusion comes very, very close to simply declaring that black people are viscerally disgusting and sexually threatening. Otherwise, how could one defend this hypothetical mother's response? Why, for example, should we not assume the mother is simply insane? Arendt's assumption – the same that lies under her imaginary confrontation between

321 David M. Chalmers. *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987 (1968), pp. 27, 40-41. Craig Wade, 57-58. Michael Newton. *White Robes and Burning Crosses: A History of the Ku Klux Klan from 1866*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014, pg. 22. Arendt, "Reflections."

322 Nicholas Lemann. *Redemption: The Last Battle of the Civil War*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 2006, pp. 68-70, 104-106, 119-120, 205-209. Dray, 230-232, 323, 339-340, 352-353.

323 Gines, 28.

European humanity and African savagery in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* – the assumption that repugnance is the sane, civilized reaction to African-Americans' mere existence is one of the most basic assumptions of white-supremacist discourse, although that repugnance reveals its ambiguity in the sexualized representations of blackness and the historical sexual exploitation of black women by white men. Arendt follows the rhetorical racist mainstream by equating African-American civil rights to a violation of mothers and daughters. This trope emerged after the Civil War, not before (although imagery depicting black sexual potency goes back further), and proved instrumental in sparking violence by cadres and justifying lynchings in the press.³²⁴ Frequently, investigation of individual cases reveals that the confrontations that led to lynching and lesser disturbances resulted from whites' refusal to pay black laborers, with a rape story wholly invented by newspapers. One sharecropper's story shows the relationship in a nutshell: he remarked that after he taught himself enough math to question the planter's figures, the planter told him that his wife had compiled the years books, and by questioning his pay, the cropper was insulting the planter's wife – an unveiled threat.³²⁵

These details are relevant here because Arendt is the first major investigator of totalitarianism, a representative of classically liberal Enlightenment humanism, a self-authorized and institutionally accepted spokesperson for Western Civilization, and an opponent of African-American civil rights (if not in her own mind; as with Gilpin Faust's article, one finds that opposition to black civil rights can be academically interpreted as support). Her discourse adopts many familiar tropes from white-supremacist fantasies of the nineteenth century: emotionally violated (white) mothers and daughters, conflation of civil equality with social trespass, and illegitimate violence of a lower-class mob opposed to legitimate upper-class paternalist rule of law.³²⁶ Just as the discourses of classical liberalism and Western Civilization exclude the

324 Mark Bauerlein. *Negrophobia: A Race Riot in Atlanta, 1906*. San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2001, 47-49, 57-61. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 131-136, 292-307.

325 Wilkerson, 96, 167-168. Litwack, *Trouble*, 135, 164.

326 Friedman, 10-11, 41-44, 166-167. Forrest G. Wood. *Black Scare: The Racist Response to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970 (1968), pp. 143-149.

perspectives and history of the colonized, so does the academic discourse about totalitarianism, from the very start, and this exclusion is central even to the philosophy of an author that historicizes totalitarian practice as evolving from colonial imperialism.

A close reading of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* reveals the teleological assumptions of Whig history in its treatment of the colonial context. As Arendt describes South Africa, its problems stem from the fact that the Africans do not want to work. They resist the “industrious” revolution, *pace* Bayly, and they somehow infect the Dutch settlers with their indolence, as the Europeans become savages.³²⁷ The Afrikaaners in turn reject the logic of development because, although their subsistence is obtained by forced labor, the results of that labor are not channeled into a developmentalist economic framework. Lacking industriousness, they too end up excluded from civilization. A closer reading finds Arendt suggesting that Africans are a different species who lack qualities of pride and dignity, or more specifically that Europeans possessed “human” pride and dignity that forced them to enslave others who appeared, to them, to lack it. That is, the Europeans were obligated, by the intrinsic qualities of Africans themselves, to enslave them: Arendt criticizes Gobineau (superficially: he “invented racism almost by accident”) and his theory of racial degeneration,³²⁸ but her analysis of colonial penetration mirrors his theory of white power as the motor of civilization. The theories are fundamentally the same because what produces these ideas are the structural realities of a racialized economic and political power imposed by Europe on the world.

As the vocabulary of “Negro problem” suggests, Arendt’s text structurally excludes black people from humanity; “human” is opposed to “African” in her text, an opposition repeated in other lexical threads, as civilization is opposed to savage. Arendt praises British colonialism and enthuses about a hypothetical Anglosphere, peaceful and modern, contrasted to the Dutch colonists who

³²⁷ This *Heart of Darkness* interpretation was central to Arendt’s depiction of Africa and the colonized world; she seems to have taken the tale for non-fiction (“the most illuminating work on actual race experience in Africa”). Gines, 89, 157n43. Arendt, *Origins*, 185.

³²⁸ Arendt, *Origins*, 172, 191-192. Gines, 83, 86.

seem to have reverted to savagery (the same degeneration seen in a Dutchman in Conrad's first novel, where it is contrasted with British political stability).³²⁹ Although her thesis is that colonial imperialism bred the genocidal attitudes of totalitarian movements in Europe, among the actual practices Arendt fails to discuss in this context is the German genocidal action against the Herero of the early twentieth century, despite its seemingly obvious connection to later events in Europe and its geographical proximity to South Africa. The typological similarities between Southeast Africa in 1903-1904 and later German practices are forced starvation and mass killing by military and paramilitary units. The colonial governor was Heinrich Goering, father to Herman, and Herman testified to the influence of his father's role in Africa on subsequent events.³³⁰ Yet Arendt's text misses this point to repeat another trope from nineteenth-century white-supremacist discourse: black people don't work hard enough (and probably aren't human, but in any case white people are justified by their own "pride" in treating them as inhuman). As in Bayly's recent textbook, Africans' and African-Americans' critical perspectives do not inform her historical understanding. The point is not that Arendt is particularly racist – she certainly would have strenuously denied being so. The point is that her analysis cannot escape the structural weakness embedded in the parameters of academic and public European discourse, which is the *a priori* assumption of white supremacy, which had established itself as social and economic practice anterior to its ideological elaboration.

The widespread institutionalization of academic discourse and disciplines has been a product of the European core in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The whiggery of anglophone historians is merely one facet of the pervasive developmentalist ideology that reigns across academia.³³¹ The academic disciplines are both the product and a producer of this ideology, just as

329 Arendt, *Origins*, 185, 192-194. Joseph Conrad. *Almayer's Folly & The Rover*. London, Wordsworth, 2011 (1895 & 1922), 19-30, 52, 89-92, 98-102, 110-112.

330 Benjamin Madley, "From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe," *European History Quarterly*, Vol 35, No. 3, (July 2005), pp. 429-465, 452.

331 Immanuel Wallerstein. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004, pp. 8-13.

much as they are the product of and a producer of the military, political, and economic hegemony of the European core.³³² In the anglophone and especially American humanities, perhaps an effect of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries having an English-language hegemon, the political influence on the study of history has been quite marked, especially with regard to totalitarianism as a conceptual field. Post-Arendt, the term became little more than a Cold War shibboleth deployed to spur atomic-bomb production and American military interventions. Totalitarian was a simple shorthand for the negation of the freedom supposed to be ontologically linked to capitalism. So one finds Zbigniew Brzezinski and Carl Friedrich in 1954 publishing what Enzo Traverso has called the most influential anglophone book in the field of the time, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Positing that totalitarian states established a terror so complete as to make resistance impossible, this text argued that the Germans were not guilty of the crimes of their Nazi leaders and that only war could bring down the USSR³³³

Friedrich had previously collaborated with eventual Nazi legal theorist Carl Schmitt, and if it is an exaggeration to call Friedrich a proto-Nazi, despite his colleague Schmidt's commitment to the *Fuhrerstadt*, the broader post-WWII environment was one where real Nazis and fellow travellers collaborated with the US against the USSR politically, academically, and secretly, with the areas and individuals frequently overlapping. Globke has been mentioned, but there was also General Freytag von Loringhoven, who served as liason through the last days in Hitler's bunker, and became an official not only in the *Bundeswehr*, but German military liason to NATO, eventually representing Germany in the strategic planning department; the best known case might be that of the US Army Counterintelligence Corps smuggling Klaus Barbie, "The Butcher of Lyon," local Gestapo chief, out of Europe to Bolivia for use as an interrogator in the fight against Communism.³³⁴

332 Following Edward Said, Robert Young sums up: "seemingly impartial, objective academic disciplines had in fact colluded with, and indeed been instrumental in, the production of actual forms of colonial subjection and administration." Robert C.J. Young. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995, pp. 159-160.

333 Traverso, *Totalitarismo*, 71, 74.

334 Traverso, *Totalitarismo*, 83. Bernd Freytag von Loringhoven. *En el búnker con Hitler*. Barcelona: Planeta, 2013,

Among these interchangeable cadres of totalitarianism and freedom-of-enterprise, Brzezinski remained a powerful apparatchik in US foreign policy circles for decades, and currently sits on the Advisory Committee of the Yale University Annals of Communism series.³³⁵ Academically, the field has been deeply compromised by political connections and its theses often influenced by political utility and ideological commitment. An intellectual low point came in 1984 when Hoover Institution stalwart and influential historian Robert Conquest signed his name to a tract called “What to Do When the Russians Come,” which asserted the imminent danger of a Communist invasion, traitorous collaboration, and speedy collapse into a Russo-Dickensian nightmare. The same year, south of Stanford, Hollywood produced an action film with the same plot, *Red Dawn*, depicting a guerrilla band of patriots fighting to the death in the American Rockies after a Soviet-Cuban occupation. The Soviet-takeover theme was also dramatized in an Department of Defense short film of 1962, *Red Nightmare*.³³⁶ In short, academically influential Anglophone historians' work on the subject of totalitarianism has not always been distinguishable from military propaganda or mass-market fiction's most ridiculous fantasy scenarios.

The shift from interwar anti-totalitarian intellectualism to postwar anti-communist propagandizing occurred as African-Americans were applying pressure for recognition of their civil rights; this conjuncture brought academic totalitarianism studies and political anti-communist agendas together on the side of white supremacy. Institutionally, this is reflected in the very names

pp. 160-162. Marcus Ophüls dir. *Hotel Terminus: The Life and Times of Klaus Barbie*. Memory Production Company, 1988. avi. Tom Bower. *Klaus Barbie: The Butcher of Lyons*. New York: HarperCollins, 1984.

335 Brzezinski, under Carter, promoted the military control of world energy resources, especially in the Persian Gulf. Walter LaFeber. *The American Age: US Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad, 1750 to the Present*. New York: Norton, 1994, pg. 701.

336 *Red Dawn* and Conquest's pamphlet aimed to batten on the year 1984, referencing the “Orwellian” science-fiction representation of totalitarianism. The “Wolverines,” as the American *Werwolf* called themselves, were all white. The film was remade in 2012 with North Koreans replacing Russian and Cubans. Conquest and Manchip White: “It is widely accepted that the United States now faces a real possibility of succumbing to the power of an alien regime...” The book's stated purpose is “to show the American citizen clearly and factually[sic!] what the results of this possible Soviet domination could be and how it would affect him or her personally...” Robert Conquest and Jon Manchip White. *What To Do When The Russians Come: A Survivor's Guide*. New York: Stein and Day, 1984. Accessed 12/12/15 <http://tapemark.narod.ru/conquest/> John Milius dir. *Red Dawn*. Valkyrie Production Company, 1984. *Red Nightmare* was produced through Warner Brothers, and starred Jack Webb, of *Dragnet* fame (“Just the facts, Ma'am”). “Film will depict contrast between concept of American freedom and life under Communism,” Variety reported. “It will be part of the Defense Department's long-range program to strengthen servicemen's faith in his American heritage...” <http://www.conelrad.com/sovietamerica/> accessed 06/06/18

of academic endowments like the Hoover Institution and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars – the latter including a sitting Secretary of State as a “public member.” Herbert Hoover received the KKK endorsement for his presidential campaign and ran a network of pellagra-ridden internment/forced-labor camps for black refugees from the 1927 Mississippi River flood. Many thousands of refugees were forced to work or starve – “Refugee labor is free to all white men” read one sign in Greeneville – while the National Guard shot those who would escape, in one instance shooting to death a black man attempting to deliver relief supplies to the refugees/prisoners inside a camp.³³⁷

Wilson advanced racism in all fields: politically he oversaw the extension of racialized segregation through the Federal Government; academically he published a white-supremacist history of the Civil War and its aftermath and enforced a white-students-only policy at Princeton; culturally he supported and helped popularize D.W. Griffith's white-supremacist film *Birth of a Nation* while president. This legacy of names is in a sense trivial, as present-day Wilson Center publications are not likely to advocate for a racialized legal status, yet it still highlights the exclusion of African-American experience that is inseparable from and indispensable to the dominant historical narrative. In Baldwin's words: “Sociologists and historians may conclude that we are moving toward ever-greater democracy; but this is beyond the ken of of a Negro growing up in any one of this country's ghettos.”³³⁸

In the post-WWII environment outside academia, many anti-communist, lodge-like fraternal institutions were virulently anti-black and anti-semitic, like the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society, not to mention less formal “rifle clubs” and the like. Nineteen-fifties popular press editorials frequently claimed civil rights agitators were communists – even rock'n'roll was called “a

337Refugee supplies were stolen by whites rather than distributed to black camp internees. Conditions were reported by the *Chicago Defender*, notably by Ida B. Wells, but ignored by white media in favor of tales of “happy negroes” repairing leisure facilities for the tourist season. Myles McMurchy, “The Red Cross is not All Right!': Herbert Hoover's Concentration Camp Cover-Up in the 1927 Mississippi Flood,” *Yale Historical Review*, pp.88, 90, 93, 96, 102. accessed 15/06/16 <http://historicalreview.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/McMurchy.pdf>

338 James Baldwin. *Notes of a Native Son. Collected Essays*. New York: Library of America, 1998 (1949), pg. 55.

communist plot to undermine American values” by inducing race-mixing and degrading morals.³³⁹ These attitudes were not limited to the social sphere, as Southern political figures, including Senator Strom Thurmond and Alabama governor (and presidential candidate) George Wallace, used anti-communist rhetoric to defend legal segregation and oppose black civil rights. The Federal Bureau of Investigation approached Josephine Baker, the African-American exotic dancer, and demanded that she stop criticizing American racial apartheid laws at her European performances on the grounds that she was aiding and abetting communism. She refused to comply, but the agency did successfully apply pressure to reduce her bookings.³⁴⁰ In 1949 African-American communist Paul Robeson had a concert attacked in Peekskill, New York by local Klan vigilantes organized by the police. Attackers reportedly shouted, “We're Hitler's boys – here to finish the job!”³⁴¹ Robeson moved his public persona even closer to communism after the attacks, but for present purposes it is relevant that his sympathy for Stalin derived from Russia's official position against racial discrimination. Robeson, product of capitalism as he surely was, nevertheless felt himself qualified to object to its racist practices, as did Baker. We have seen above how important historians exclude these perspectives, as would the FBI and “Hitler's boys.” When academic history demonstrates congruity of perspectives and personnel with internal police agencies and powerful political machines, it is unlikely to produce good work. As Wallerstein puts it, “The ideological descriptions that systems convey about themselves are never true.”³⁴²

Political power, economic hegemony, and academic influence continue to mix together in

339 Asa Carter, member of the Original Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy and important figure in the white Citizen's Councils, pushed this odd agenda most forcefully with picket signs like “Bebop Promotes Communism.” Michel T. Bertrand. *Race, Rock, and Elvis*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000, pg. 163. Dana Rubin, “The Real Education of Little Tree,” *Texas Monthly*, Feb. 1992, pg. 91. <https://books.google.es/books?id=ZysEAAAAMBAJ> Ellen Koskoff. *Music Cultures in the United States: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2005, pg. 353. https://books.google.es/books?id=R_2GNwBUWrIC accessed 15/06/16 Asa Carter's radio broadcasts have been preserved by Neo-Nazi internavts: <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t769667/>

340 Mary L. Dudziak, “Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (Sep., 1994), pp. 543-570 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2081171> accessed 06/06/16

341 Joseph Walwik, “Paul Robeson, Peekskill, and the Red Menace,” *Pennsylvania History*, 66 (Winter 1999), pp. 71-81. <https://journals.psu.edu/phj/article/viewFile/25557/25326> accessed 15/06/16

342 Wallerstein, *MWS (II)*, 32.

current anglophone anti-communist studies, as Applebaum's *Gulag* demonstrates. The Pulitzer Prize gives both political and academic weight to the text, while the author's Hoover Institution position connects her formally to political and economic powers like a former Secretary of State and Exxon. A text-linguistic analysis of *Gulag* reveals the same structure as advertising and explicit propaganda, mostly a result of the first and last chapters of the book, which recapitulate the argument of post-war institutional anti-totalitarianism as Traverso describes it: Applebaum uses communism as a negative rhetorical figure opposing an idealized, undefined freedom that is uncritically assumed to emanate ontologically from Euro-American capitalism.³⁴³ “Freedom” works in the same way in Luce's “American Century” text, as well as Arendt's letter to Jaspers, and it suffused political language in 2004, when *Gulag* was published – in the cafeterias of power, liberty was even said to abide in fried potatoes. The first task in a serious discussion of totalitarian power is the elimination of this false dichotomy between “freedom” and whatever is opposed to it.

When Applebaum describes what motivated her to write her history, the inciting incident was seeing people purchasing memorabilia from the former USSR. Surely, she thinks, they wouldn't buy Nazi souvenirs so freely. Applebaum does make the obvious point that the Swastika stands for nothing else than war and Holocaust, while the Hammer and Sickle has a more ambiguous ideographic status. For millions, it symbolized the defeat of Nazi Germany.³⁴⁴ She does not observe that Red knickknacks might symbolize resistance to Apartheid in South Africa or opposition to white supremacy in the USA.³⁴⁵ Granting, however, that the USSR caused enough suffering in the name of socio-economic development to taint its symbols irredeemably, this focus

343 Applebaum, 3-26, 503-515.

344 Applebaum, 5-6. The question itself shows a certain forced naiveté given the popularity of Nazi paraphernalia.

345 Angelo Baracco claims that Cuba's successful military intervention against Savimbi and South Africa inspired the 1976 Soweto revolt. Kapuściński emphasizes the anti-white-supremacist and anti-colonialist rather than the pro-communist nature of the conflict. Karl Maier considers the Reagan-backed UNITA to have had a “totalitarian grip on the the civilians under its control” unmatched by the less-disciplined MPLA. Maier quoted in David Birmingham, “Review: Angola: Promises and Lies,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Sep., 1997), pp. 532-533. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2637525> Accessed: 17-06-2016 12:10 UTC Angelo Baracco, “The Cuban 'Exception': The Development of an Advanced Scientific System in an Underdeveloped Country,” Angelo Baracco, Jurgen Renn, and Helge Wendt ed. *The History of Physics in Cuba*. New York, Springer, 2000, pp. 36-37. <https://books.google.es/books?id=TcPEBAAAQBAJ> accessed 17/06/16 Ryszard Kapuściński. *Another Day of Life*. New York: Penguin, 1987 (1976), pp. 49-50, 124, 138.

on iconography might lead critical readers to a different question: Why are American symbols of racism and forced labor not considered to be similarly tainted? In the USA, one regularly sees an unambiguous icon of slavery and racist violence proudly displayed, the “Southern Cross,” battle flag of the Confederate States of America. It can be purchased in various forms at any truck stop in Dixie, and beyond; it graces television and film as a positive symbol of American protagonism;³⁴⁶ it has flown from more than one Southern state-house and has adorned more than one state flag. It flew over the state capitol in Georgia until the year before *Gulag* was published, when it was replaced by a flag design based on the national flag of the Confederate States of America. Several states offer official vehicle license plates featuring the battle flag.³⁴⁷ If we wish to ruminate over symbols of oppression whose widespread consumption as cultural fetishes offends one's sense of human decency, there is an example close at hand.

This comparison is not merely superficial. White supremacy is the institution that flag represents,³⁴⁸ but it nostalgizes more specifically North American chattel slavery, which imposed on African-Americans conditions of everyday life that closely correspond to the vision Gentile proposed in advocating the totalitarian state, where no sphere of individual life would escape incorporation in the state. For slaves, not the state but the master controlled or strongly impacted work, family, religion, leisure, education, health care, diet, disciplinary regimes, and any other part of daily life that he or she wished to exert the energy to interfere with. It is noteworthy that fascism should have looked to this type of social reality in the name of modernization and economic development. However, if in many ways the century before the US Civil War ill fits comparison with phenomena of the twentieth, comparative studies have examined the affinities between North

346 The best example being the 1979-1985 television series and later film *The Dukes of Hazzard*, famous for the orange 1969 Dodge Charger, the “General Lee,” with the Confederate battle flag painted on the roof, whose horn played “Dixie.” One supporting actor, Ben “Cooter” Jones, went on to become Georgia's Fourth District Representative to the US Congress. The 2005 film contains an ostensibly comedic blackface scene which “sinks into the mire of its own despond,” according to film critic Roger Ebert. <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-dukes-of-hazzard-2005>

347 Former US Rep. “Cooter” peddles a host of Southern Cross gew-gaws; some products merge the Confederate battle flag and the US flag. <https://cootersplace.com/shop/category/rebel-buckles-lic-plates/> accessed 06/06/18

348 Although it may have emerged as a Klan symbol in the 1920s, after appearing in *Birth of a Nation*, display of the “Southern Cross” became widespread in following decades as a show of opposition to black civil rights; Baldwin reports its appearance at Montgomery, Alabama under Governor Wallace as a sign of opposition to a civil-rights march in which he took part. James Baldwin, “Black Power,” *Cross of Redemption*, (1968), 101.

American chattel slavery and Russian serfdom and German Junker estates, precisely those systems of agricultural labor exploitation in countries where extreme totalitarian regimes later emerged.³⁴⁹ It should not be a surprise, then, that one can find practical, conjunctural, and discursive similarities in the emergence and consolidation of those regimes and the emergence and consolidation of white-supremacist democracy in the US South after 1865.

One outstanding structural similarity between the Stalinist and Nazi governments was the one-party state in which radical party organizations could trump the state bureaucracy in policy formation and implementation. Although tending to work in parallel, conflicts did arise between state institutions founded on legality and party organizations founded on ideology. The same kind of parallel power situation existed in the South, a one-party region where State and Federal employees might come into conflict with the Democracy. In extreme instances, violent attacks on state-bureaucratic personnel considered opponents of party ideology took place in all three systems. Legality was never or rarely enforced by state institutions against party organizations and paramilitary or vigilante groups, but it was frequently mocked by ideological organs.³⁵⁰ Democracy did exist in some limited form in the US South and in Stalinist Russia, in provincial intra-party power struggles, but practices were politically determined within a narrow ideological bounds: Stalinism was an extreme form of authoritarian economic development; Nazism was a militarized form of extreme racial domination in the name of colonial power; Southern Democracy

349 Barrington Moore's hypothesis of the "Prussian" road to industrialization has been applied to the US South by John Wiener and critiqued by Lichtenstein and Wright, among others. Moore eschews any phatic exclamations on behalf of the disfranchised black farm laborers of the South, claiming their status is a typical example of humanity's inability to reach its loftiest moral goals, an inaccurate assessment; it is a failure to realize the minimum standards of "what we recognize as modern Western democracy." Moore's attitude shows the breadth of the academic exclusion of non-whites from the teleological assumptions of Western Civilization. Moore, Jr., pp. 111-155, 429, 460-467. Peter Kolchin. *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1987. Lichtenstein, 6-8. John Wiener, "Class Structure and Economic Development in the American South, 1865-1955," *American Historical Review*, 1 Oct. 1979, Vol. 84 (4), pp. 970-992. John Wiener, "The Barrington Moore Thesis and its Critics," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 2, No 1, pp. 301-330.

350 Edward Ayers. *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 31, 128, 186 n61. Regarding the note, although the North also had inefficient justice systems, Marion County, Indiana is not a better example of the North than Massachusetts. As a (free) border state Indiana resembled Kentucky and Missouri more than Pennsylvania or Connecticut, particularly in terms of KKK vigilantism. Linda Gordon. *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition*. New York: Liveright, 2017, pp. 98-104.

used racial domination to advance economic development. The diffuse nature of political and ideological authority among Southern Democrats did not prevent a relative uniformity of social and economic conditions across the region for African-Americans.

The Soviet dynamic dictatorship and the United States' slave republic both came to power as a result of consciously revolutionary, minority political action against monarchy, of which the French Revolution has been the model for historical interpretation. Whiggish and especially Marxist assumptions about the nature of that revolution have long been questioned or disproved as researchers have investigated its dynamics.³⁵¹ In particular the notion of a bourgeois revolution has been complexified to the point where simple Marxist class attributions are no longer particularly meaningful. It is not unusual to compare aspects of the French and Russian revolutions, and thereby to make connections with theories of totalitarianism.³⁵² Depending on the interpretive focus, there is reason to include the Revolution of 1776 with the others, as anti-monarchical, as anti-Church, as hypothesizing or mystifying a modern form of political representation of the mass, "the people" of Rousseau and Robespierre. The French drew on the American experience, the Russians emulated the French, the Nazis were influenced by the Bolsheviks. Furthermore, all these revolutions occurred in response to evidence and fears of economic and political peripheralization. However, in other ways the American Revolution stands apart, not least in its lack of an organized apparatus for terror. The colonies' were not geographically or economically part of the European core at the time of independence. Truly modern means had not yet been unambiguously employed for the elimination of Native Americans. The US military had completely different relationships with Native American nations in 1815 and 1876, going from intermittent cooperation and conflict to consciously eliminationist and exterminationist attacks. This shift took place after the forced

351 Skocpol, 174-179.

352 For example, the French created parallel and competing power structures typical of the totalitarian regimes, and newspapers were important in agitating cadres into action. Timothy Thackett. "Revolution and Terror: Reflections on the French Revolutionary Process," Facultat de Letras y Filosofia, Universidad Aut3noma de Barcelona, 19/05/2015 Stephen Kotkin traces the Bolshevik emphasis on centralization through Marx back to the French Revolution. Kotkin, 349-350. The French Revolution supplied the idea of the revolutionary, which a young Trotsky put down on a form as his "occupation." Wallerstein, *MWS (III)*, 45, 50-53.

deportation of the “Civilized” tribes to the Oklahoma wastelands and after the comity of the American republic had been disturbed by modern war; then, elimination and/or extermination by modern means emerged as a policy.

A more apt period of US history for comparison with the Bolshevik Revolution is the period after the Civil War in the slave states. From 1865 to 1892 one finds structural, conjunctural, and ideological similarities to processes and practices of the Bolshevik revolution, up to the German invasion of 1941, which coalesce around problems of establishing political and economic power over a relatively untrusting or hostile population, with emphasis on industrial modernization and mono-crop, for-market agricultural production.³⁵³ Extended modern conflict, followed by surrender and revolution, had produced a patchwork of real conditions and what amounted to a continuation of the war, with banditry a serious problem. Integral to both the political establishment of Stalinism and white supremacy was a decentralized terrorist network, shading into the legal law-enforcement apparatus, that acted against political and economic resistance. A brief period of democratic popular empowerment was followed by one-party rule and a violent reassertion of control over agricultural producers resulting in a highly coerced labor force. Similar laws criminalized similar behaviors, and economically successful individuals were at times targeted for repression or death. Ideologically-defined opponents were specific targets of repression, especially teachers and preachers.

Political elites recognized that “backwardness” afflicted the economy and forced industrialization by means of forced prison labor, especially in mining, infrastructure, and geographical areas where free labor would not go. Although it must be understood that Russia had over ten times the population of the US South and ranged over a vast space, these forced-labor workforces were roughly proportional to population in terms of the targeted population. Urban and rural policing of the population focussed on restricting movement, penalizing petty theft, and

³⁵³ “For market” applies to the USSR in that, as Stalin noted above, agricultural products were all resold as national and world economic assets; this is not mixed subsistence agriculture of small producers for local markets.

limiting economic activity, while juridical proceedings were perfunctory and sentencing was heavily influenced by local economic interests. Extra-judicial murder of accused criminals was common. Prison conditions were utterly abysmal, producing very high death rates, which were much higher in the US South – not even the war years produced a Gulag labor-camp death rate as high as the 40% produced by the Alabama state convict lease. That lease was, like the labor-camp, only one of a myriad of official and unofficial punitive institutions meant to extract wealth from forced and coerced labor.

Some readers may be troubled by the different ideological content of white supremacy and Bolshevik communism, especially the concern for humanitarian justice and economic equality of the Old Bolsheviks: Is it fair to compare the motivations of Felix Dzerzhinsky and Nathan Bedford Forrest? Despite the apparent cynicism of racist discourse, it was couched quite frequently in the same terms of justice and equality – for whites. The Chevalier was an anti-systemic figure of virtuous power. Zinoviev's exhortations to attack the bourgeoisie have affective similarity to Forrest's invitation to kill yankees. Concretely, the surplus value, or profit, that the Bolsheviks assumed they could wrest from the bourgeoisie, and did extract from the peasantry, is the same surplus value that the notables of the US South extracted from the freedmen and prisoners, and all this extraction was granted the status of moral imperative. Both ideologies claimed to be emergently true motors of progress, economic and moral, each of them the scientifically-established last word of Western Civilization. In practical terms, the activity and organization of cadres can withstand extensive comparison.

Ideologically, the exterminationist antisemitism of National Socialist Germany not only resembles but in part derives from the racism of the United States. The racism of the Nazi regime and the white-supremacist South had similarities beyond the legal restrictions regulating the group defined as inferior. The political and cultural rhetoric represented the racial other in similar terms, and legitimated their calumnies as science. Popular diffusion of racist discourse depended on mass-

market political texts, cultural productions like theatre, film, popular literature, and cultural ephemera, as well as Museum and Exposition exhibits. The Holocaust has become the symbol of genocide, but before it developed, the threat of exterminating African-Americans was commonly aired in Southern discourse. Just as Nazi cultural production and political power was concentrated, so was the violence against Jews, controlled, however fitfully, by party and Führer. In the South the threatened extermination of the freedmen was a topic widely diffused across public and private texts, and violence was equally unchecked, engaged in by virtually the entire white population in one manner or another.

The lack of a controlling center, however, did not indicate a lack of ideological commitment. General racial violence like church burning was accompanied by the outright murder of political opponents. The organized racist violence of the 1860s and 1870s (and beyond) in the US, and 1920s and 1930s in Germany, was engaged in by paramilitary groups with anti-democratic political ends. These groups smuggled weaponry more or less openly, aided by close ties to military and political elites. In the end, both sets of ideologically committed cadres were able to install their men in power and enact legislation against the racial other. In both time periods these laws restricted previously legislated rights, contradicting the progressive democraticization assumed by the telos of modernity. Finally, the mythology of the American frontier, with its genocidal assumptions and dialectical relationship between violence and spiritual regeneration, held an outsize place in the imagination of Nazi elites. They frequently analogized between the American Wild West and their own Wild East, particularly with regard to genocide.³⁵⁴ To the extent that both American history and American mythology reflect white supremacy in the service of modern development, their discursive comparability to Nazi racism supports this dissertation's argument that totalitarianism as a modern force is within the mainstream of European history. As Leo Kuper has said, "many features of contemporary 'civilized' society encourage the easy resort to genocidal

354 Carroll P. Kakel III. *The American West and the Nazi East. A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011, pp. xv-xvii, 73-73, and *passim*. e-book

holocausts.”³⁵⁵

Modern civilization and the regimes of violence typical of it are the product of New World resources which allowed the European world-system to increase its social complexity and economic power beyond the limits reached by the imperial systems of antiquity. The process of resource extraction necessitated “totalitarian” violence from the very start. Legitimizing the genocidal results of resource extraction, forced labor, and settler colonialism produced the racist ideas that came to the fore in the nineteenth century. The increase in social complexity produced a new social imaginary reflected in the increased democratization of political structures; however, the economic demands of maintaining great power status, or membership in the European core, required levels of exploitation enforced by violence and the exclusion of certain populations from that equalitarian imaginary through the exercise of a certain kind of power. Forcing people to work themselves to death through torture has generally been excluded from the cultural production and political speech that forms modernity's image of itself. As they coalesced, academic disciplines in the British and American hegemony embraced the teleological narrative of progressivist developmentalism, dependent on racism, which has strongly marked intellectual production through a practice and rhetoric excluding the racialized other. Many studies of totalitarianism and communism from within the economic hegemon in the Cold War period have assumed false oppositions between democracy and dictatorship, but the continuance of colonial models of exploitation based on racism until the high-modern period in the South makes it an apt subject for comparison with the totalitarian regimes. These political systems imposed power through similar practices and rhetoric to achieve similar ends. In the US South after the Civil War as in the USSR and Germany in the 1930s, the historical violence that enriches the core and impoverishes the periphery has been the price of the ticket to first-world modernity.³⁵⁶

355 Leo Kuper. *Genocide*. Harmondsworth, 1981, pg. 137, cited in Ian Kershaw. “‘Normality’ and Genocide: The Problem of ‘Historicization,’” *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, pg. 297.

356 “The price the white American paid for his ticket was to become white... This incredibly limited not to say dimwitted ambition has choked to death many a life here: and this, I contend, is because the white American has never accepted the real reasons for his journey.” James Baldwin, “The Price of the Ticket,” *The Price of the Ticket*:

Part III
Soviet and United States Forced Prisoner Labor

"Greenville, South Carolina -- Forty cotton growers asked officers today to round up unemployed able-bodied men and prosecute them for vagrancy if they refuse cotton-picking jobs:"³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ *New York Journal-American*, Sept. 18, 1937.

Chapter 1: A Historical Conjuncture and Violent Coercion for Progress

The idea of a historical conjuncture being shared by the southern United States from 1865-1915 and Russia from 1917-1941 seems counterintuitive: the end-dates are arbitrary, the political power was wielded and negotiated differently, important figures had different or opposed stated motivations. However, these outlying regions of the European core underwent many of the same socio-economic conflicts that recur in the process of industrial development. Viewed broadly, they were agricultural societies whose power structures were broken through war and replaced by a new system that confined agricultural laborers to centralized holdings producing a single cash crop. The political consolidation of power resulted in extremely repressive conditions of social control; traditional peasant land-use relations were blocked or overturned in the name of modernity and progress. Industrialization was achieved through the use of forced prison labor under abysmal conditions. Decentralized terrorist cells evolved into more formally constituted institutions – repression increased over time but also was applied through increasingly legalistic structures that were also seen as modern and progressive. The political elites spoke the same language and elided the same abuses. Paper constitutions gave citizens rights which were cynically ignored as ideological imperatives dictated a practice of violent repression under the political aegis of a one-party state. The differences between the cases illuminate the similarities: the idiographic uniqueness of each historical experience takes place within the nomothetic consistency obtaining in the larger history of modernity.

The biggest difference between the two cases is their different places on the timeline of energy-source availability and population growth – in 1865 Russia had about 8 times, and in 1917, 18 times, the postbellum South's population. Post-petroleum and post-railroad-development, the USSR had the more complex social practical infrastructure; in 1917 it was more industrialized.

However, it had not solved the problems and contradictions of that complexity, and it faced conflicts that had been revealed and resolved in the US South a half-century earlier. Despite the difference on the global timeline of European modernity and the absolute numbers of people affected, both these regions resolved their conflicts in very similar ways as they moved through a process of consolidation of political and economic power. Viewing that process functionally, somewhat in the anthropological sense, the individual and institutional actions that determined the outcome of those processes had the purpose of providing entry into the core of modern industrialized societies; this is a matter of sequestering wealth -- energy and resources -- whatever strange gods -- productivity and civilization -- the holy men invoked.

Undergoing such a study within the discourse of academic disciplines that have grown within the system to be studied presents the problem of texts which turn to those very gods as explanatory elements. Modernity speaks with a vocabulary which tends to beg the question. More specifically, the English-language historiography of both these periods is awash in distorted interpretations, untenable assumptions, and even outright lies which persist in recently much improved work. Interestingly, in the United States, the racism of older Reconstruction history crosses over into the history of Cold War anti-communism. In any event, even if it is no longer taboo to suggest that "bourgeois democracy" and "the dictatorship of the proletariat" are not so very different, custom and circumstance have given the interpretive flaws behind such vocabulary a long lease on life. Considering that Britain and the US held an anglophone economic hegemony for nearly two centuries, one should expect their intellectual representatives to produce works assuming both the inevitability and the moral superiority of that hegemony, and so it has been. Yet are not such ideas exactly the ghosts in the machine toward which intellectual activity should take a critical attitude?

Although all the continental nations, and to a certain extent Britain as well, could be said to

have lost the Great War, Russia lost its war in the most dramatic fashion: the dissolution of the army from the front on up, the collapse of not only the four-hundred-year-old Romanov dynasty but of tsarist autocracy itself, the seizure of power by the least-supported political faction, and the ceding of huge swaths of its most agriculturally productive and industrial developed territory. The Confederacy lost the Civil War due more to military defeat than outright collapse and desertion, but the latter was certainly a factor as well, and ultimately defeat came for much the same reason that Russia was not able to creditably oppose Germany. Like Russia, the Confederacy was “backward” in comparison with its more powerful neighbor, the latter more industrialized, better organized, more broadly legitimized politically. And in passing one might note that both “backward” countries had the bravado to have started their wars, the tsar by prematurely mobilizing his army, Beauregard by pointlessly attacking Fort Sumter.³⁵⁸

Appomattox and the October 1917 are convenient points for navigating the historical timelines, but neither was much of a turning point or endpoint in itself. The Bolsheviks had less seized power than seized the Smolny Institute, had no political presence in the countryside, and began a four-year process of establishing their power which included a very bloody civil war. The Bolsheviks won their war, and the Confederates lost theirs, but on the ground, in towns and villages where most of the population lived, the postwar environment of both regions was lawless and the political influence of the victors weak. Banditry and violence was endemic, with deserters, demobilized veterans, and ideological cadres (of white supremacy or Leninist communism) taking organized and individual action under cover of institutional prerogatives as Guards or militia, or simply as militants or even thieves.³⁵⁹ The point is that the distinctions were unclear, and power relations were yet to stabilize either at the top or at the bottom of political and economic hierarchies.

Just as the differences between the European armies of the Great War and the American

358 Christopher Clark. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. New York. Penguin, 2012, pp. 512-514, 524-527.

359 W. Bruce Lincoln. *Red Victory: A History of the Russian Civil War*. New York: Touchstone, 1989. Robert Gerwalt. *The Vanquished : Why the First World War Failed to End, 1917-1923*. London: Allen Lane, 2016, pp. 30-90 *passim*.

Armies of the US Civil War in motivation, size, and movement do not preclude recognition of the similarities in the respective historical conjunctures of the two continents, such differences do not preclude a recognition of the similarities of the forces in play as Stalinism and the white supremacist Democracy evolved. Politically, the Bolsheviks had first to overcome their minority status vis-a-vis the Social Revolutionaries, a task ultimately accomplished at Kronstadt in 1921 through military assault and subsequent political proscription. However, there was a political phase as well. The Bolsheviks were able to bring the soviets under their political control but the SRs did themselves no favors in this process, first with the assassination of the German diplomat Mirbock, followed by Spiridonova's attempt to seize the St. Petersburg soviet, and culminating in Kaplan's near-successful assassination of Lenin. The Bolsheviks were modernizers, intent on a scientific rationalization of their society on industrial lines; the SRs were Romantics looking back to an idealized community.³⁶⁰ This dual construction of political forces was typical of nineteenth-century European nationalisms, down to the racist or ethno-chauvinist elements defining the romanticized community. The US saw these elements split into North and South, partisans of the latter being anti-systemic revolutionaries in their own minds, conscious ideologues of white supremacy.

Booth's successful assassination of Lincoln is comparable to Kaplan's attempt in the first place as an act of Romantic terrorism, and in the second as part of a series of actions that radicalized their political opponents. Spiridonova waving her pistol and stamping her feet at the Congress of Soviets has as its American parallel the Southern passage of the Black Codes and the return of the ex-Confederacy to power, most symbolically by Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stevens being voted into the Senate. Smugness, self-righteousness, and a gross overestimation of their political power doomed these players from the start. The political threat was real, however. The SRs did have a larger following than the Bolsheviks. The former Confederate states would

³⁶⁰ Lincoln, 73. The communiques from Kronstadt demonstrate that this idealist naiveté died hard: "If the workers of the whole world only knew that we, defenders of the power of the Soviets, were guarding the conquests of the social revolution! We will conquer or die amid the ruind of Kronstadt, fighting for the just cause of the working masses." Quoted in: Voline. *The Unknown Revolution, 1917-1921*. Montréal: Black Rose, 1990, pg. 527.

increase their relative strength in the lower house of Congress as the full population of African-Americans would be counted, and Andrew Johnson was testing the limits of Presidential power in their support.³⁶¹ The Union used strictly parliamentary means to take over Congressional power, while the Bolsheviks simply dispersed the soviet and ended it as a representative political institution. Yet in the long run, the democratic institution of the United States Congress was the formal political superstructure governing the violent consolidation of white power in the South.

In other ways the ex-Confederates resembled the Whites. They had each been planters, in their way, and they fought for a certain kind of personal domination and impersonal elevation over the agricultural workforce, one that did not fit into the social imaginary favored by progressivist modernity. There is no question that southerners viewed the Republican government, from before Lincoln's election, as interlopers intent on dissolving their "rights," most especially their right to property in human beings. If the direct subordination within an individually linear hierarchy resembles something feudal, the actual economic production of southern society was on the cutting edge of modern technological development. The right to property, both in humans and to the surplus they produced is the modern expression of seigneurial, aristocratic rights which the democratic revolutions of Europe enshrined in new language. What had been a right vested in individuals became fungible, transferable, for sale. The French Revolution, the first self-consciously anti-systemic revolution,³⁶² effected this change, and it is no coincidence that various features of totalitarian practice emerged there – "plenipotentiaries," ideologically motivated cadres taking "revolutionary" action, political terror.³⁶³ In many ways the US South shows the deepest contradictions of this transition in the starkest contrast. The political enshrinement of mass democracy entailed the denial of those rights to forty percent of the population – indeed the denial

361 The relationship between the peasantry and the SRs was very different than that between the freedmen and the planters, but the panthers' claims to authentically represent their former chattel were discursively similar. John B. Gordon strikes a note of wounded idealism and true interest in agricultural producers' welfare in his testimony. *Sen. Rep. No. 41, Pt. 1*, SSID 1484, pp. 52-53, 55.

362 Wallerstein, *WSA: An Introduction*, 51-52.

363 Timothy Tackett, "Revolution and Terror: Reflections on the French Revolutionary Process," Facultad de Letras y Filosofía, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 19/05/2015. Wallerstein, *MWS IV*, 78n3.

of those rights is culturally and politically represented as the necessary condition for that democracy.

Viewed through a long lens, the 1905-1921 period in Russia and the 1854-1876 period in the US share many features that do not line up neatly in linear fashion, but that show the broadly convergent tendencies of developing modernity. The United States South, like France before it, had its mines of Peru in an agricultural workforce, one whereby production could be intensified through violent compulsion and territory extended by war and political maneuvering. In both Russia and the US, the former was probably at its limit and the latter had been frustrated by the failure to export slavery to California or to conquer newland in the so called "golden circle" of slave-commodity production. While the increasing social complexity of modernity was producing demands for civic equality and political participation from urban and rural workers, whose leverage came precisely from their ability to keep their economies strong enough to remain in or accede to the core, Russian autocracy and American white supremacy did not wish to include the great unwashed. In the difficult transition, limited analogies abound: abolitionists as Mensheviks, or copperheads as Kadets; dual powers claiming legitimacy in various places; industrialist, productivist, and producerist rhetoric encountering inflexible aristocratic pretensions; war and terrorism.

What interests us here are the terms of integration offered to the agricultural producers, producers of the basic wealth of their societies; Barrington Moore and Theda Skocpol have both put the process of integration of this production under scrutiny in terms of democracy, dictatorship, and social revolution. Moore dismisses the lack of civil rights for black Americans as irrelevant to conceptualizing the US as a democracy as opposed to a dictatorship – the classic exclusion in Western Civilization's dialogue with itself.³⁶⁴ The issue is that this dichotomy is an insufficient explanatory structure. The progress toward Jim Crow (democracy) and the struggle for socialism (dictatorship) are different variants of the general European process extending popular sovereignty without actually disempowering economic elites, but always while excluding the majority of the

³⁶⁴ Moore, Jr., 154.

globe. The central point is maintaining a certain power relation: How to preserve the right to the economic surplus, the ultimate modern *droit du Signior*, while ensuring that it can concentrate in sufficient quantity and will make industrial power increase? The Bolsheviks and the Southern Democracy answered this question for their overwhelming majorities of rural producers, after a brief period of political empowerment and economic independence, with a violent resocialization under heavy-handed authoritarian techniques and legalistic maneuvers. Political control was achieved through terrorism and negotiation, the latter frequently with violent threats waiting in the wings. Industrialization was achieved only through extremely deadly forced-labor regimes, on the back of which increased complexity in information distribution, transportation infrastructure, and military development allows politically excluded groups to pressure kings, cabinets, and diplomats for status recognition -- "white" status.

The South had been declining in economic and political power as the West expanded, if only because President Polk failed to bring in California as a slave state after going to war to get it. Colonial slavery in North America required expansion due to the ecological problem of soil exhaustion and the economic benefits of slave-breeding.³⁶⁵ It required expansion politically because the national expansion westward led to a diminution of Southern power in the Senate. The battles over Missouri and Kansas showed that settlers might not share the interests of the Southern gentry, problems that had emerged in the Jacksonian period with Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama. The United States as a whole was coming into parity with the European core, an *entente cordiale*, but the South was not developing modernity: no labor market, few railroads, little industry, not much cash, poor financial liquidity. Like "backward" Russia, the region exhibited little of the "improvement" ethos by means of which the Northern and Western populations were becoming resocialized as hardworking, churchgoing republicans.

It was impossible to reconcile slavery with the kind of ideology appropriate to modernity, in particular the darker side of sexual exploitation. One won't save Greece from the Turk like that.

365 Beckert, 245.

Culture, in novels like *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Dred*, represented this cognitive dissonance in Northern literature – the Heart of Darkness in the Heart of Dixie. While many in the North were economically tied to cotton, in the antebellum period powerful cotton magnates, like the Browns, began to invest in domestic industrialization, which threatened the "peculiar institution" even as it produced the raw materials for that industrialization.³⁶⁶ This cultural dissonance and economic contradiction was masterfully depicted by Melville in *Benito Cereno*, through the two captains, one representing the exhausted, corrupted, aristocratic South and one of the optimistic, go-getting, modern North.³⁶⁷ Melville imaginary drama plays out the historical shift of early modernity: a fading, imperial, European antiquity meeting the global-trade-minded, liberal, American pragmatist.

In the USA after the Civil War, the socially and culturally entrenched peripheral economic activity and core political institutions from which the real producers were excluded came into direct conflict over how the terms of that exclusion impinged on white colonial expansion. The first solution, simply ignoring the conflict and re-legislating the essential colonial economic relationship of forced labor through the Black Codes, proved unpalatable to the northern Republicans in congress, if not to Andrew Johnson. However, the second phase, of Radical political reform, could not be sustained without interfering with basic capitalist principles that had developed to maintain exclusionary production. The final solution was the economic integration of the former slaves through more modern techniques like credit mechanisms while reducing violent coercion in some areas and increasing it in others. This latter coercion of the larger agricultural workforce produced a system of policing and prison labor that performed the most deadly work of industrialization. The second and final phase of resolving the conflict by fixing landless laborers to the land and forcing prisoners to labor were accomplished in Russia through the 1920s and 1930s, speaking loosely, and

366 Beckert, 240-241.

367 Herman Melville. *Bartley/Benito Cereno*. Firenze: Giunti, 2001, pp. 63-64, 141. At the close of the tale, after the slaves have been recaptured, the American captain tries to cheer the Spaniard, referring to the trade winds:

"Warm friends, steadfast friends are the trades."

"With their steadfastness they but waft me to my tomb. Señor," was the foreboding response.

"You are saved," cried Captain Delano... 'what has cast such a shadow upon you?'

"The Negro."

the process saw both financial debt-structures and forced labor, the former intended, in the words of Moshe Lewin, to "bring about the collapse of private agriculture."³⁶⁸ Trotsky's final flourish on the Party stage was to demonstrate the economics of the problem quite clearly: given control of the land, peasants would not necessarily market sufficient produce nationally to maintain urban industrialization. A virtuous cycle of grain-for-consumer-goods, paycheck-for-bread did not develop, and would not develop.³⁶⁹ Stalin resolved the question through the "collectivization" drives, eliminating the political power of the peasantry and reorganizing economic production.

In the US South the freedmen and the poor white farmers showed little inclination for modern agriculture – ex-slaves did not want to grow cotton – but preferred subsistence-based farming with local market activity, as peasants, and other emancipated populations of the nineteenth century, always have.³⁷⁰ Different varieties of ideologically motivated productivist cadres acted differently to channel economic activity more properly. Those from the North believed the freedmen's wishes to be "backward" and in need of "improvement," and growing cotton was "improving." While most often identified with the New England reformers and teachers who came South, the northern black African Methodist Evangelical church was also emblematic of this ideology of pious, hard-working sobriety in the name of personal, "racial," and national progress. Most of the black political representatives at the time shared this *Weltanschauung*.³⁷¹ The failure to confiscate ex-Confederate's land and redistribute it kept freedmen in contractual bondage to the landowners, who invariably had their contract terms enforced by the Freedmen's Bureau or military officers at hand during Congressional Reconstruction. The basic economic arrangements of "free contract labor" were being enforced, despite the many limitations on freedom of choice in this "compulsory free labor" system. The NEP, to continue the analogy, was working.

368 Lewin adds that long-term projections saw the colonization of "the new lands" to the east. Party personnel displayed affective attitudes toward the peasantry resembling colonial ones, characterizing them as non-citizens and as child-like. M. Lewin. *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power: A Study of Collectivization*. New York: Norton, 1975 (1968), pp. 154, 409, 425, 426, 498, 517.

369 Kotkin, 495-496.

370 Foner, *Nothing But Freedom*, 19-21. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 51-54.

371 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 89-95, 358-361. Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 8-9, 12-15.

Yet this was insufficient. Terrorist cadres increased violence against black political organization and economic independence. The eventual control did not become total in a political sense until the 1890s – violence steadily increased, peaking in that period, but the takeover of state governments and effective elimination of black political influence was symbolized in the Compromise of 1877. In the Russian experience, the decisions to escalate violent repressions and force certain kinds of economic production were highly centralized and ideologically motivated. In the US, similar repressions and force were highly diffuse but also ideologically motivated. Both Marxism and white supremacy presented themselves in the nineteenth century as scientific doctrines for progress; both discursive traditions sought to achieve a resocialization of the toiling masses. Perhaps an inherent authoritarianism influenced Leninism and Stalinism in the direction of concentrated power, or more complex forms of bureaucracacy are always less democratic;³⁷² perhaps the more diffusely-generated ideology will always produce a more popular ideal narrative and greater popular participation. The cynic will note that equality and solidarity seem less successful organizing principles than racist exclusion.

In any case the exclusion of black Americans was accelerating in the 1830s on several levels. Economically, the spread of cotton agriculture had intensified and extended black chattel slavery, increasing the economic importance of the institution, total exclusion personified, even in areas where it had become marginal. These latter areas, as Marx observed at the time of the war, turned to breeding for sale in new areas of settlement.³⁷³ Culturally, science provided more than one rationale for the literal inhumanity of African-American, while low-culturally the minstrel shows and Tom plays provided moments where whites could physically and symbolically enact rituals of group inclusion through the pointed exclusion of black Americans, an exclusion dramatized by the appropriation of black cultural production, and enactments of ritualized humiliation.³⁷⁴ Different

372 Moshe Lewin, "Bureaucracy and the Stalinist State," *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pg. 66.

373 Published in *Die Presse*, Dec. 14, 1861; Karl Marx, "The Crisis over the Slavery Issue," *Marx/Engels Collected Works, Vol. 19: Marx and Engels, 1861-1864*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1984, pp. 115-116.

374 Eric Lott. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013 (1993), pp. 19, 90-91. Charles T. White, "The Hop of Fashion," (c. 1856), *Inside the Minstrel Mask*:

styles appealed to different classes, but minstrelsy was positioned by contemporary critics as the site of ethnic working-class resocialization, ethnic here meaning Swedes, Germans, Irish, and “Bohemians.” Postbellum, even southern Europeans could become white through this process, at one extreme by an accusation of rape; even when unsuccessful, the attempt shows that immigrants perceived that the social mechanism existed.

By the 1830s, two notable facets of white supremacist ideology had been very clearly laid out in an 1838 pamphlet by South Carolina lawyer, planter, and political actor William Harper, “read before the South Carolina Society for the Advancement of Learning.” First, that slavery was responsible for modern economic and cultural evolution; in liberalist terms, “the coercion of slavery alone is adequate to form man to habits of labor... He who has obtained command of another's labor, first begins to accumulate and provide for the future, and the foundations of civilization are laid.” Judge Harper is quite precise about the relationship:

"If a man has the command of slaves, he may combine labor, and use capital to any required extent, and therefore accumulate wealth... no colonies have been successfully planted without some sort of slavery... So far as wealth has been accumulated in the states which do not possess slaves, it has been in cities by the pursuits of commerce, or lately, by manufactures. But the products of slave labor furnish more than two-thirds of the materials of our foreign commerce... The prosperity of those states, therefore, and the civilization of their cities, have been for the most part created by the existence of slavery."

Harper frankly observes that one can only “preserve the ordinary habitudes of civilized life, by commanding the necessary menial and domestic service.” He would know this power relation intimately, and his vocabulary strips the issue down: *civilization* means to *command*. “Will those who regard slavery as immoral, or crime in itself, tell us that man was not intended for civilization, but to roam the earth as a biped brute?... at what stage of the progress of society will they say that slavery ceases to be necessary?” The judge does not fail to predict the results of emancipation in conventional discourse: due to “the nature of man,” it would mean that “one race must be driven

out by the other, or exterminated..."³⁷⁵

These are the ideological roots of the postwar New South; the conflict between democratic institutions and modern economic development was resolved by theories and practices associated with the totalitarianisms. All the more because this is also the site of a colonial economy, from which came those structures back to Europe as a conceptual schema for socio-economic development. Economic control was established late in post-revolution Russia, and the Gulag was institutionally slow to develop. Whether due to a century of SR proselytizing or the mystical spirit of the Russian commune, peasant rebellion had established village control in the countryside as the aristocracy and military collapsed. Political control was established first in the cities – one interpretation is that the Bolsheviks eliminated resistance in urban centers which were then used as staging grounds for raids on the peasants. These civil war methods in returned in the "battle for grain," war communism all over again, but this is also the typology of colonial outposts, the Dutch guns at Accra pointing inland, but also of the Union trying to assert its authority in the defeated Confederacy.

In the US, Congress claimed control of the states in rebellion after the winter of 1865-1866. In urban centers with a military garrison like Vicksburg, black Americans were able to assert common rights of citizenship, trial by jury and rights of contract. But through 1868 the countryside was lawless. Like the Bolsheviks, southern white supremacy used terrorist cadres to kill opponents of the regime, sow fear, and display idealized Romantic/Revolutionary virility. In comparing the Chekas and the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camelia, and so forth, some differences must be kept in mind: the targets of the Cheka would correspond to the planters, those of the KKK to the freedmen, would-be peasants, especially the politically active. As Trotsky put it, the Bolsheviks were killing landlords and warmongers in the name of progress,³⁷⁶ but they were also imprisoning the SRs who were the political representation of democratic pluralism and the interests of the

375 William Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," *Southern Literary Messenger*. Richmond: T.W. White, 1838, pp. 609-639.

376 Leon Trotsky, "The Red Terror and Freedom of the Press," *The Basic Writings of Trotsky*, Irving Howe, ed. New York: Random House, 1963, pg. 147.

countryside. White-supremacist terrorism targeted Republicans, Northerners, economically successful black farmers, and meetings and rallies – the countryside and its would-be political representatives.

The seizure of power from the aristocratic political elite and the subsequent collectivization of the peasants took the same form and accomplished the same local historical process as the suppression of democratic organization and reassertion of local control over black farmers that occurred in the US; that process, which always requires violent coercion, is complete when agricultural workers produce sufficient surplus value in commodity crops to fund industrialization in metropolises. In the US South, the colonial elite was the deposed by the Civil War and then democratic organization was suppressed by terrorism, creating new political machinery and enforcing new economic arrangements. In Russia the gentry were defeated by a Civil War and terrorism, creating new political machinery that used terror to suppress democratic organization and enforce new economic arrangements. Ideology and terror coalesced into political regimes in different moments on the timeline of "progress" and under very different political traditions. However, the predominance of state or private, concentrated or diffuse organization of ideological terror is less relevant than the prevalence of violent coercion as the key power relation in the architecture of modernity.

In practice the terror against the populations was not so very different. Although the paranoid obsessions of the Communist Party center produced consensual deferment to the strongman, the Party's actual control over cadres was weak and policy was inconsistently, at best, translated into practice (with the exception of the intra-party Great Terror, unless one views that as a symptom of weak control). The groups who dispersed into the rural areas and attacked "kulaks," or shot White industrialists in Nizhni Novgorod, were not organizationally uniform, nor were they ideologized in the same way or to the same extent as individuals. Men do not seem to require excessive ideological indoctrination before taking part in organized violence, even for ideological

purposes.³⁷⁷ In any case, the organizational methods of this kind of terror depend on, or at least are consistently displayed through, certain features of modernity, like newspapers and advertising, transportation infrastructure, scientific pretension, and political organizations, that require development of socio-economic complexity to the European level of, say, 1875-1925, or a fairly specific historical moment. The tools and tempo, and overall number of victims, of organized terror differed more due to the locally specific differences in modern social complexity than due to the features of the ideology being imposed, qua ideology. What must occur is that an excluded caste must work in a violently coercive system to produce the raw materials of mass commodities.

Part of the coercive environment is the restriction of common-use access rights to public resources, “enclosure” in the broadest sense. In Britain the process of enclosure was rather long and gradual, producing famine, socio-economic dislocation and therefore crime, along with economic growth.³⁷⁸ The increase in urban refugee populations, criminalization of petty theft, and creation of some sort of prison infrastructure took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in England (producing, more or less directly, modern Australia). The relative dearth of criminal prisoners in the antebellum South and tsarist Russia is a sign of their underdeveloped, peripheral status more than some sort of *noblesse oblige* benevolence. The violence against “criminal” acts like the theft of food was in any case merely diffused across the estates and left to the owners instead of concentrated as state practice. Without relations of slave or serf, the Five Sheaves Law and the Mississippi pig law both sought to force the agricultural worker to accept high levels of privation in the name of privatization or be sent to a deadly work-camp. The destruction of usufruct right and creation of hunger and famine is a constant in the history of modernity, whatever road to industrial

377 In the lone aspect of dismissing the propaganda sessions the Nazi Party made the killing squads attend, Daniel Goldhagen is nearer the mark than Christopher Browning; following the methodology of the present discussion, one would say that the existence of such sessions exemplifies the general ubiquity of exterminationist discourse in which people were immersed, whether they individually were exposed to indoctrination, or whether cadres believed the propaganda in itself. Paraphrasing Goldhagen, compared to the daily ideological fare of society itself, direct ideological instruction was meager gruel. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. *Hilter's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage, 1993, pp.184-185.

378 Wallerstein:, *MWS III*, 64-65, 75, 121 & *MWS IV*, 24-27. Bayly describes the "discovery" of criminality and the urban poor, quoted in *ibid.*, 27. Robert Hughes. *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787-1868*. London: Vintage, 2003 (1986), pp. 29, 35, 19-42 *passim*. Hughes also compares British transportation to the Gulag, *ibid.*, 2.

modernity was followed, especially the road of colonial imperialism; it was in this way indispensable to Stalinism and white supremacy.

In the USA, as time passed, this enclosure dynamic affected poor white farmers who needed some access to common forage or woods could no longer survive on subsistence-based small farms, with attendant effects of being driven into monocrop production, and held there by new, abusive credit relations, of being forced into manufactories as unskilled workers, or of being absorbed into the grey- and black-market illegal economy (corn liquor, gambling, prostitution). Ironically, these measures and land-ownership concentration made wage-slaves of formerly independent Americans, the exact opposite of the utopian individual independence promulgated and predicted by the Free Soil – Free Labor ideology of the antebellum Republican party. The upcountry poor-to-middling white farmers, as close to a traditional peasantry as there was in North America, did not possess the real and dangerous power of the Russian peasants, whose staple crop production was simply a matter of life and death for the country at large. But the possibility (and very rarely the reality) of black and white farmers, sharecroppers, and tenants making a political deal threatened the ideal of industrial development, a case in point being consistent populist opposition to railroad schemes. Their political and economic marginalization culminated in the 1890s in a climate of extreme violence and violent rhetoric, and not coincidentally with the formal passage of melanin-based disfranchisement and segregation laws. The economic pressures created by “enclosure” legislation may have been originally intended for use only against African-Americans, but the historical effect was to eliminate the same classes of small farmer as had been eliminated in England. These even went to work in cotton textile factories, though there were few, but this could not and did not industrialize the South.

Economic pressure and legal sanction bled into one another. Legal and administrative formalities were risible and little pretense was given to the actuality of a specific act having been committed. The incarceration and exploitation apparatus was deliberately meant to produce and

produce profitably. Stalinist prison labor and African-American convicts worked in the most primitive conditions, at the most deadly jobs, and in the key sectors of industrial growth and infrastructure improvement. Historians and economists may debate the efficiency of the labor performed and the economic benefit of the results. Empiricism should not obscure the comparable historical contingencies that were answered through the use of a certain kind of power on a cohort populations whose relationship to the development of modernity required that they be coerced into producing agricultural commodities and raw materials, and into constructing industrial infrastructure.

The structural similarities in implementation of forced labor regimes in the Stalinist system and white-supremacist American democracy can be seen at the institutional and informal levels. There was a continuum of techniques of criminalization that produced prisoners, ranging from trials with legal protections and controlled sentencing procedures to individual arrest and summary sentencing by ideological activists that amounted to little more than kidnapping. Between these extremes lay a middle layer of administrative arrest and sentencing procedures. The concentrated/diffuse dichotomy generally holds: Stalinism tended toward bureaucratic oversight and centralized authorities empowering the selection and sentencing bodies while white supremacy imposed itself without an actively involved center overseeing the process, especially empowering the middle level of local power-brokers. In the effort to control an agricultural labor force and discipline industrial workers, similar cohorts and behaviors were classified as criminal by Communist Party decree and Democratic Party legislation. In each case, a thin veneer of legalism covered a disorganized and ill-supervised system that scattered prisoners across industrial, extractive, and infrastructure worksites and left them to the arbitrary cruelty of guards and bosses.

The most legalistic manner of condemning individuals to terms of forced labor was through trial by the nationally-legitimated state judiciary in the USA, or the national justice ministry in the

USSR (NKIU). The US system was known as the circuit court, as the state judge would make a circuit of the county seats where arrestees were held awaiting trial. Although it was possible to avoid incarceration through a not-guilty verdict, essentially the purpose of these bodies in both USA and USSR was, as one southerner put it, to give the accused a fair trial before he or she was found guilty. These institutions were empowered to hand down death sentences. Although formally the highest form of justice, which included the right of access to appellate courts, in practice the courts could be over-ridden by ideology in the form of Party decrees, Stalin's intervention, or, in the American case, direct action organized by cadres would be subsequently approved by political elites. For example, a state governor like Benjamin Tillman or James Vardaman might declare an extra-judicial murder to have been justified despite the pre-empting of constitutional guarantees (guarantees the Bolsheviks might denigrate as "bourgeois legalism") because it conformed to the ideological requirements of white supremacy. Tillman offered to lead the lynch mob himself, to defend white womanhood.³⁷⁹

While forced labor of prisoners did not get underway in the USSR until after Stalin's political consolidation of power in the late twenties, most former slave states turned to convict leasing immediately after the Civil War, while under Radical Reconstruction, before strict one-party rule. The Black Codes legislated by the ex-Confederate state governments between 1865 and 1867, which legalized racialized slavery without necessarily saying the word, provided the definitions for majority of "crimes," like breaking a contract and vagrancy, that could be used to control the recalcitrant freedmen, who were not fool enough to trust their former owners. Their purpose was, in the words of the governor of Texas, "to establish a coercive system of labor," a system described by one historian as "a subterfuge for keeping the black[*sic*] in some sort of peonage."³⁸⁰ In some states these criminal laws were not repealed or were simply re-legislated without explicit racial

379 Their contemporary, Chicago Brahmin William Walling, identified Vardaman and Tillman as fomenting "race war." Dray, 112, 169.

380 Governor James W. Throckmorton and historian Joe B. Frantz, quoted in: Barry Crouch, "'All the Vile Passions': The Texas Black Codes of 1866," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (June 1993), pp. 12-34; pp. 15, 21. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 199-201.

language by Republican majorities, including black legislators, many of whom believed implicitly in the developmentalist labor practices that define modernity.

Few black state legislators were freedmen and in any case they formed a majority only in South Carolina; it should be no surprise that they generally shared the ideology of their northern political brethren, since they tended to be closely tied to white patrons or to be scions of the African Methodist Episcopal church and its modern, “improvement” ideology, like Henry McNeal Turner.³⁸¹ W.E.B. DuBois himself was later to lament the insufficient labor discipline and perceived tendency toward crime of his people precisely in these terms of inadequate zeal for progress toward industrial modernity.³⁸² Also, because state prisoners up to the end of the Civil War were few and white, slaves having been almost exclusively disciplined by their owners, the Radicals may not have foreseen the expansion of the system and the change to almost exclusively African-American imprisonment and forced labor.³⁸³ In those states where leasing and criminalization were not upheld during the brief democratic interlude, Redeemers made such measures law throughout the section by the end of the 1870s. Draconian penalties for petty theft, best symbolized by Mississippi's "pig law," and restrictions on commons usufruct, essentially mandating enclosure pactices, criminalized formerly widespread subsistence activity, as well as disfranchising those convicted.³⁸⁴

As with the collectivization drives that created the *kolkhoz* system, the legal structures enacted pre- and post-Redemption restricted farmers to cash-crop agriculture for intermediary powers who took the harvest and provided a criminalized cohort that was forced to work in resource extraction and industrial production. However, some differences should be noted, besides the obviously greater overall numbers affected in the highly concentrated Stalinist repressions. The greatest difference is that in the 1920s the Russian peasantry had attained a level of practical local control over their own affairs and grew a staple crop that they could eat. This degree of subsistence

381 DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 499.

382 DuBois, *Souls*, 106.

383 Alex Lichtenstein. *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labour in the New South*. New York: Verso, 1996, pp., 23, 29.

384 Pippa Holloway. *Living in Infamy: Felon Disfranchisement and the History of American Citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 58-62. Wright, *Old South, New South*, 49.

and independence was never achieved by the mass of American freedmen, who remained in a classic position of colonial dependency.³⁸⁵

Those who had settled on the coast where Sherman's Field Order No. 15 had briefly been in effect were dispossessed of their subsistence-oriented farms. Violence and the threat of violence in the name of agricultural labor discipline could remain diffuse, following the same forms as it had before the war. Instead of the Party sending urban cadres out into the countryside, white supremacists were already spread throughout the land, supported by the military and Freedman's Bureau when they insisted that black agricultural laborers had to sign yearly contracts to work for them as cash-crop laborers. Those who tried to escape the enforced poverty and grinding labor faced arrest as committers of fraud as contract breakers, or simply as vagrants, who, to borrow the Stalinist vocabulary, "were not engaged 'in any socially useful labor and were hanging around the markets.'"³⁸⁶ Once arrested, conviction was a near-certainty,³⁸⁷ and convicts in different areas might be sent to phosphate or coal mines, timber or turpentine camps, or railroad and levee gangs.³⁸⁸ One recalls that the mortality rates in these prison camps were higher than those in the Gulag.

The most successful industrialization project was that of Birmingham, Alabama. The state was one that immediately began leasing its prisoners after the war; it was prison labor in an industrial context that was "the crucial relation of production on this distinctive southern path to modern capitalism," in the words of Alex Lichtenstein³⁸⁹. The coal mines that fed the iron, and later steel, foundries were worked by all the black convicts the sheriffs and courts could impress, reaching some 700 at any one time, including hundreds of children, in the 1880s and 1890s. The prisoner-labor reduced wages and intensified the disciplinary regime for the free workers, an arrangement Gavin Wright has termed a "system of 'colonial' control" and which has been closely

385 This dependency was formally effected by credit arrangements enforced by military, paramilitary, or police force, just as it was in the era of European colonial incursions. Rodney, 107-125.

386 The first quote is from the South, the second from the OGPU. Daniels, *Shadow*, 53. Nicolas Werth. *Cannibal Island: Death in a Siberian Gulag*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, pg. 185.

387 Ayers, 176, 179-181. Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 59-60.

388 Blake McKelvey. "Penal Slavery and Southern Reconstruction," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Apr. 1935), pp. 153-179. Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, xiv-xv.

389 Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 77, 87.

compared to South African diamond mining by William Worger.³⁹⁰ The USSR was in a similar position to Alabama and South Africa in that "establishing new industries" was hampered by "expensive capital, high fixed costs for plant and operations," and the necessity for imported machinery and/or technicians.³⁹¹ All three regions (treating the "New South" as distinct from the North and West), with distinct historical experiences, political structures, and geographical constraints, required violent forced-labor regimes in order to accede to industrial modernity.

Among these areas, health conditions were the least bad among the DeBeers diamond-mine convicts. The USSR employed direct torture the least, mostly through deliberate starvation of the least productive prisoners; this tactic was also employed in the Alabama coalfields, as was the general withholding of medical treatment, but less insidious, more direct methods of physical torture were more common; usually whipping, but one case of scalding to death stands out.³⁹² The Bolsheviks regularly inspected their camps, and regularly decried the failure to live up to the minimum norms established by central party organs.³⁹³ The mining camps populated by Alabama's state-leased convicts were also inspected and judged unacceptably dire, although there were no mandated minimum conditions, but unlike the Russian security personal, the whip-crackers in the mines of Dixie offered the excuse that African-Americans, unlike whites, were too feeble to survive ordinary working conditions.³⁹⁴ These were the most tightly controlled conditions in the prison-camp archipelagos of the US South.

One area of Soviet criminal justice, so to speak, that Applebaum singles out for moral condemnation was the way that class could determine guilt or innocence, that people were sent to jail and forced-labor camps "for who they were" not "for what they did."³⁹⁵ The displays of affect in

390 Wright, *Old South, New South*, 156-159. William H. Worger, "Convict Labor, Industrialists, and the State in the US South and South Africa, 1870-1930," *Journal of South African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Special Issue: Race and Class in South Africa and the United States (Mar. 2004), pp. 63-86; pp. 81-82.

391 Worger, 85.

392 Worger, 77, 84.

393 Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 209-211.

394 Worger, 76.

395 Applebaum, 19, 21.

her text, and Anglophone Sovietology in general, reach a kind of nadir of credibility at precisely this point: should academics fail to recognize a normal function of all modern juridical systems they display an ignorance and naiveté unfit for critical inquiry. One supposes that the Cold War assumption of virtue inherent to the free-world/totalitarian dichotomy functions here to imply that the political system to which Applebaum is tied does not impose its power in this way. Leaving aside the fact that this implication is morally reprehensible and intellectually indefensible in the present day,³⁹⁶ historically speaking the Bolshevik attitude might have been derived from the judge's instructions to the jury in the case of *United States v. R.B. Oliver et al.*, one of whose railroad camps had so fouled an adjacent river with the corpses of black workers that residents feared to fish in it.³⁹⁷

The judge instructs the jury to evaluate witness testimony based on "the kind of people they are," because "with [morally] weaker men it might color it." The judge encourages the jury to weigh evidence in light of "the distinction between what you may call again the good and the bad classes of society." He orders the jury to "apply... to this case and to these people" a certain "classification of witnesses." "Good people," he continues, "are entitled to a degree of credit" at the hands of the jury that the "immoral," "idle," and "vagabond" class is not; "in other words, the Negro," as the federal prosecutor has written on the transcript with regard to that latter description. Should the jury "find that any one or more of these peons belonged to that class of people called the bad class," they should think twice before "making it the basis of a verdict," and they are to specifically disregard "cruel or brutal treatment," because the federal government has no authority to punish the railroad operators for it.³⁹⁸ The judge's orders demonstrate the shift to an ostensibly de-racialized language that relies on a moral hierarchy derived from racist discourse, highlighted by the oblique reference to testimony that might be colored. The prosecutor blamed the acquittal of Oliver Brothers directly on the judge's instructions to the jury and the fact that "much evidence was

396 See, for example: Michelle Alexander. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: New Press, 2010. Ruth Wilson Gilmore. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkely: University of California Press, 2007.

397 Daniel, *Shadow*, 41.

398 NARA II, RG60, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Box 21, Entry 114, File 50-376, "Charge of the Court," *United States vs. R.B. Oliver et al.*

peremptorily excluded."³⁹⁹ Unlike the cases that *Gulag* refers to, however, the judge is arguing *against* finding the defendants guilty by invoking class hierarchies -- the defendants are of a certain class and the witnesses of another, morally depraved class -- but a focus on the status of the essential power-relation of modernity demonstrates why this should be so. The judge and jury are here maintaining an historically determined system of labor exploitation while the Party was creating a labor system to serve the same function in different historical circumstances. The power relations on the ground in the US South had already emerged as true.

The next level of legalism was the county and city court system, present to different degrees and under different nomenclatures in different states, and overlapping with a highly local arrest and sentencing infrastructure based on justices of the peace, municipal judges, and plantation owners and extraction operators. This roughly corresponds to the regular municipal police level of arrest and sentencing in the Soviet Union; again this latter was formally controlled by the Party although not staffed by it, while the southern US depended on informal but widespread ideological commitment. Larger municipalities would have a sitting judge, often called a city recorder, who processed defendants. This urban setting was one of the few places where whites might be judged along with black Americans. In any event the legalism was just as perfunctory here as before the infamous Stalinist troikas: a single man sentenced those who came before him based on little more than whim and/or his personal knowledge of the defendant. More serious cases could be remanded to the circuit court, but usually the recorder would declare sentence immediately and move on to the next case. As with the Russian sentencing machine, race (standing in for class), job status, political ties, and previous records of conflict or submission to authorities were paramount in determining the punishments declared. The Atlanta city recorder, "Jedge Briles" as the *Atlanta Constitution* column had it, processed 19,000 cases in 1906.⁴⁰⁰ However, these courts were not the most

399 NARA II, RG60, DOJ Classified Subject Files, Box 21, Entry 114, 50-376, Letter from G.W. Pickle to Att. Gen., March 30, 1907.

400 The psuedo-phonetic misspelling of Judge Broyles marks it as a reference to the racial disparity in the number of those accused and sentenced; it's racist wit. Bauerlein, 37-41.

common means of sentencing. In the small towns, some mere crossroads, scattered across the South, literal troikas consisting of a justice of the peace, sheriffs and sheriffs' deputies, and sometimes a pro-forma witness processed arrestees. Since those convicted by these groups formed the majority of the workforce deprived of freedom, their functioning should be observed in some detail.

The justice of the peace combined elements of the Party cadre and the state functionary. He was an official vested with legal powers, not quite a "plenipotentiary," because he could not override existing legal arrangements, but as an interpreter of the law he still wielded great power. His judgements were based on an ideological imperative to exclude non-whites from the benefits of citizenship, impose ritualized humiliations, and keep them working at the most arduous tasks possible for a white beneficiary. Such figures retained their authority in perpetuity, acting *ex officio* after their appointed or elected term was finished. This element of diffuse state power was supplemented by the economic and cultural weight he might carry in a given locale and the personal and political relationships that had gotten him to his station in the first place. This combination of ideological and formal power were also present in the sheriff, an elected official of the Democratic Party who depended on the support of the local notables. He appointed his deputies, who were essentially free to do whatever they wished -- which might include shooting an unarmed man in the back five times -- as long as they conformed to the tenets of white supremacy. The deputies were dependent upon the fines levied against arrestees for their own pay, giving them an economic motivation in the zealous performance of their duties, and their own class position as landless whites probably influenced them in the direction of brutality, much as it had with the impressed slave-patrollers of the antebellum period.

The deputies would arrest unrecognized African-Americans on charges of varying degrees of spuriousness. Sometimes no charge at all would be recorded. The night's haul was brought before a local justice of the peace known to be co-operative, who would assess standard fees, from

which he, the sheriff, and the deputy would be paid, and a fine of some magnitude to the arrestee so that he or she be unable to pay. The "criminal" would then be purchased for the price of his debt to the state by a local notable who controlled various types of economic enterprise, perhaps a sawmill, a quarry, or a plantation. Douglas Blackmon points out that these convict debts were traded like securities, indicating how direct coercion relates to financial debt-mechanisms. Having had his or her "bond" paid, the arrestee signed a contract that forced him to work off the debt at whatever terms the local magnate dictated, with whatever deductions he demanded, for board, for broken tools, for anything. Usually the bond-payer contractually established his right to torture his debt peon by means of a clause stating that the indebted accepted whatever terms of discipline the other workers did, which meant whipping at best. It was not unusual for those bonded out to be chained up at night. In any event there was no regulatory mechanism for checking on the conditions in which these unfortunates labored, no statutory minimum of food, limits on working hours, or punishment guidelines.⁴⁰¹

At the lowest level of arrest and sentencing, individuals might just take others by force without any real pretence of criminal activity. In the USSR, such cases might result from ignoring the authentic travel documents of those travelling, for example, or simply grabbing someone on a train platform who had stepped off of their train.⁴⁰² In the US South, a traveller might be tackled on a country road, beaten, and forced to work in chains. In 1903, the Reverend L.R. Farmer of Alabama wrote the justice apartment that his daughter had been kidnapped and was being held prisoner.⁴⁰³ In 1926, Rebecca Jones wrote the White House asking for help freeing her daughter, who had been kidnapped at the age of thirteen on a country road by two men claiming to be deputy sheriffs, who had then kept her in captivity for five years, in collusion with the Butler County judge, forcing her to work and sexually abusing her; Jones had been driven off at rifle-point when she tried

401 Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery*, 30-32, 44. Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery By Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Anchor, 2009, pg. 87-93, 132-135. e-book

402 Werth, 14-16.

403 Blackmon, 329.

to get her daughter back, but not before seeing that "She was scarred unmerciful all over her body."⁴⁰⁴ Another 1911 appeal to a local judge in Georgia claimed he had been thrown in jail when he tried to leave the farm after the boss raped his wife.⁴⁰⁵ No action was taken in any of these cases.

The arresting agent in the USSR probably would be a low-ranking part of a very formal law-enforcement bureaucracy (although Tolmachev had installed a militia-system of volunteer workers in 1929-30, more like the South),⁴⁰⁶ while in the USA he would be a partner or relative of the workcamp's owner, perhaps deputized, perhaps not. To the arrestee, the situation looks the same. There was not a chain of formal empowerment nor a structure of legal definition that was necessary in order to engage people to act if they had sufficient ideological motivation. Even a real policeman is operating outside of the procedurally defined structure in such cases, probably because they believe they are meant to.⁴⁰⁷ One telltale feature of totalitarian power relations dynamics is this empowerment of local security and party personnel to go beyond a legally defined brief in the service of ideologically defined goals.

Collectivization and Redemption had slightly different parameters, in that the colonial relationship and historical contingency dictated keeping the freedmen as landless agricultural laborers in the latter case as opposed to reducing them to that point in the former. The structure of repression is similar in that independent farmers and artisans were major targets, even if independence meant only resisting pressure to sign a year-long contract, and in that those seized by state authority were to be put to work in industrial development. Large-scale deportations were not necessary in the US South because the marginal areas and mines, and work-sites more generally, were not in the far-flung wilderness but closer to hand; projects were smaller and more realistically attainable than much Soviet planning.

404 Blackmon, 459.

405 Daniel, 31.

406 Hagenloh, 60-61.

407 A deputy sheriff might cross state lines and capture a prisoner without jurisdiction. Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery*, 6-7.

The measures directed against black farmers in the US South closely resemble the measures from the central committee in 1928-1929 that reversed the NEP grain-marketing incentives and criminalized certain economic and political activities, free sale of produce and free association. The future “special settlers” were successful farmers whose small-scale concentration of capital irritated the regime; they were specifically seen as having the potential for political opposition to the requisition of agricultural production. Despite the theoretically highly concentrated nature of decision-making power and the specificity of the arrest procedures on paper, in practice OGPU personnel were given authority for summary action against “terrorists.” In January 1929 a local Party Secretary Sheboldaev and OGPU boss Trilektor from the Lower Volga had 50 leaders of a supposed SR-kulak “insurrectionary group” executed. In October, the same Secretary asked the Politburo for permission to act against 5 “terrorists” who had resisted grain requisition. Other local regional Party officials led the way in expropriation and exile of larger groups and in re-assignment of the worst lands to these potential political enemies. The centralized government decrees for imprisonment and exile were applied against those who could not pay taxes or fines, had failed to produce sufficient crops, stole or broke tools or inventory, or tried to sell crops outside of legal restrictions.⁴⁰⁸ These are precisely the measures of the Black Codes and post-Redemption legislatures (and during Reconstruction) used against black farmers and agricultural laborers.

The back-and-forth from regional to central party officials shows that even centralized, authoritarian decision-making requires local independence in the process of applying repression: the collectivization scenario was not as simple as Stalin giving a few orders to Molotov and Kaganovich, but depended upon local initiative in establishing practices and assembling cadres. Various forms of antipeasant repression had begun in some cases before the January 1929 Central Committee decree, and broke out in many more areas before Molotov's more detailed decree at the end of that month. When Yagoda asserted OGPU authority in early 1930, the centralized police

408 Lynne Viola. *The Unknown Gulag: The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 18-19.

agency based its plans on the anterior practices of the regional powers.⁴⁰⁹

The urban Party cadres assaulted the villages and hauled away families, but these cadres were usually not soldiers or police, who were used to transport arrestees and to arrest the “first category” of “counterrevolutionary kulak activists.” There were 60,000 individuals set as the target for this operation, victims destined for death or the Gulag, but 150,000 families were in the category for exile to “special settlements,” that is, forced-labor colonies. The individual activists who collected the “kulaks” and their families were not necessarily Party members, but might include hangers-on, opportunists, greedy or grudgeful neighbors, or simply criminals (to the extent that these can be distinguished). The specifics of the decrees defining who was a kulak and even the supposed purpose behind these operations, to spur collectivization, were ignored in practice, as cadres outside the village political structures chose victims rather arbitrarily. Those rural soviets and village committees empowered by decree with the responsibility for the process took no action to structure or control it, most likely as intended; in the field the expropriation resembled little more than what Lynne Viola calls “simple pillage and wholesale theft.”⁴¹⁰ In 1932 this disorder continued as the OGPU continued to complain that local authorities were not arresting the right people. The compensation for weak government power in the countryside had been overcome through “plenipotentiaries” from the Party apparatus or the factory, creating that power dynamic essential to peripheralizing relationships.⁴¹¹ This is the power dynamic that became more pronounced through the subsequent famine period.

In the postbellum South, the self-styled plenipotentiaries were already there in the former slaveowners. In those places where they were not, one encountered resistance to authority. In the South Carolina rice country, where maximum control over working conditions had been delegated to slaves, freedmen divided the land into strips and planted cereal crops, refusing to work for anyone

409 Viola, 23-25.

410 Viola, 27-29. Werth, 73, 78-90. "One need only be a member of the Party cell in order to make requisitions or arrests... It was difficult to tell where the Party cell ended and the tribunal, or the police, or the land commission, et.c, began," as the Party described the perspective of the peasants in 1925. Quoted in: Lewin, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, 120.

411 Werth, 175. Viola calls this relationship "semi-colonial." Viola, 29.

else – shades of the immortal *mir*. One planter returned to his Wacamaw River estate to find his former property working the land, “claiming the right to remain on the place” and rejecting “the supervision of an agent or any white man.” On the Sea Islands, even more independent freedmen had established local government and driven away investors. Away from the very short-lived Sherman cession, some planters found freedmen more forebearing. A former slave in Tennessee proposed to divide the estate fifty-fifty, going so far as to replant half an apple orchard on his side.⁴¹²

To varying degrees, the freedmen simply believed the land belonged to them. A situation of de-facto independence was not widespread, as it was in the Russian countryside before collectivization, but it should serve as the example of non-coercive agriculture that both white supremacy and Stalinism found unacceptable. Different observers in Alabama, Maryland, and South Carolina noted the refusal to sell any land whatsoever to would-be black farmers, despite the tremendous need for liquid capital; the Alabaman remarked that anyone doing so was in physical danger, the point proven in Tennessee when a planter named Ransom that rented land to freedmen was attacked by a thirty-man armed band and the renters driven off.⁴¹³ Despite the lack of a coordinating center, this point of ideology was maintained in four different states with different historical, agricultural, and demographic profiles. White supremacy demanded dependent, not independent, agricultural workers and its exigencies were super-ordinate to the “laws” of classical economics.

Violence was more constant and intensive than in the collectivization drives, diffused across the whole ex-Confederacy. White southerners responded to losing the war by committing serial mass murder with no provocation or motivation other than commitment to racialized domination or personal sadism.⁴¹⁴ One contemporary estimated two or three people per day were murdered in

412 Douglas R. Egerton. *The Wars of Reconstruction: the Brief, Violent History of America's Most Progressive Era*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014, pp.108-110, 115.

413 Egerton, *Wars*, 108, 121.

414 Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. New York: Vintage, 1979, pp. 277, 371-372.

Mississippi, and said that moving out from a town he had encountered one desecrated body every 6 miles. Describing black Tennesseans, General Hatch reported that “murders, shootings, whippings, robbing and brutal treatment of every kind are daily inflicted upon them.” In 1868 well over one hundred African-Americans were murdered in two waves of attacks in Bossier Parish, Louisiana, which began when a white man from Arkansas shot a random black Republican and was then taken prisoner by the plantation hands. Two groups, one referred to as the Arkansas Desperadoes and the second the white residents of the parish, were "hunting all through the woods for black people and killing every one of them that they could see," as one survivor put it. One of the local "alleged leaders," as the Freedman's Bureau had it, was burned alive but escaped.⁴¹⁵ Robbery and worse was committed by the state militias who roamed at will. In fact there was little to distinguish the officially sanctioned militia from ex-Confederate bandits like Jesse James's gang in Missouri or ex-Confederate terrorists like Nathan Bedford Forrest's Ku Klux Klan, the latter formally established at Christmas in 1865 when whites feared direct action to seize the land. Freedman Oscar Evans was murdered in Alabama by his former owner when he refused to work on Sunday. A man recorded only as Jack was shot by a former owner when he refused to work for him. Black veterans were targeted by white guerrilla bands, especially in Louisiana where the Military Governor Edward R. Canby had ordered the black soldiers to be mustered out without their weapons.⁴¹⁶ The lack of weapons available and greater ensuing vulnerability of black communities may have invited violence in Louisiana. Other states were hardly calm, however.

Anywhere that black soldiers were garrisoned, they were attacked by local whites, sometimes by the police themselves, often as a result of drunken confrontations and petty

415 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 537-538, 541. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Louisiana, "Miscellaneous Reports and Lists Relating to Murders and Outrages, Mar. 1867-Nov. 1868," National Archives Microfilm Publication M1027 Roll 34, "Synopsis of Murders &c. Committed in Parishes of Caddo and Bossier September and October 1868" <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/louisiana/outrages/bossierandcaddo.htm> accessed 19/05/2018

416 DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 141-144. Foner, 342. Anthony Castriota, "Jesse James and Ideological Violence in the Post-Bellum South," *Just a Theory of the Mind, A Collection of Philosophical Investigations on Culture*. 04/14/2013, <http://antoncalia.blogspot.com.es/2013/04/jesse-james-and-ideological-violence-in.html>, accessed 14/09/2015 Egerton, *Wars*, 111-112, 114.

squabbles. In particular, whites were extremely upset that African Americans would no longer yield the sidewalk to passing whites. Major disturbances occurred in Memphis, Wilmington, Charleston, New Orleans, and Clarksville, in 1865-66. Memphis displays the general situation in microcosm. South Memphis had extended itself into a shantytown of black refugees, some of whom were family of the three black regiments stationed in Fort Pickering at the southwest end of town. The soldiers had been in frequent violent confrontations with the mostly immigrant-Irish police. Local newspapers, the *Argus*, *Daily Commercial*, and *Avalanche*, had been editorializing in a white-supremacist vein leading up to the attacks (“we are to have the black flesh of the negro crammed down our throats...” etc.) and, in the words of one historian, “aroused the white citizens and readied them for aggression.”⁴¹⁷ The day after the black soldiers were mustered out and gave up their arms at the end of April, a group of African-Americans celebrating their freedom and their release from military service battled some police attempting to make an arrest. The confrontation escalated into a skirmish and firefight. Sheriff Winters met with General Stoneman, who declined to use troops to keep the peace, but did offer 150 men as a detachment to be used in extreme circumstances – if the mayor so requested. The mayor, John Park, called a special meeting of Aldermen which granted him and Winters' posse emergency powers to quell the by then long-concluded disturbance. The posse and about fifty men went out and murdered some African-Americans and burned some homes and churches.

The next day, May 2, began with the General refusing to return arms to black veterans who requested them for self-defense. The rest of the day saw escalating violence. Local small-time power brokers in the urban population, like John Pendergrast, Irish saloon-keepers/grocer, and his sons Mike and Patrick had been leaders in planning and were aggressive in executing the attack, up to assaulting and burning alive a teen-age girl; his business was in the center of the area where the recorded instances of violence occurred and was used as a “headquarters.”⁴¹⁸ Forty-one out of

417 Rable, 36-37.

418 These sorts of locales were also organizational nodes in the SA structure in Germany; as Jesús Casquete points out these social spaces became militarized. Jesús Casquete. *Nazis a Pie de Calle: una historia del las SA en la*

sixty-eight rioters identified in congressional testimony had fought in the Confederate Army, and 15 of them, including Pendergrast's son, had fought in the same unit (John Walker Knox's Second Infantry, the "Irish Regiment" at Shiloh). Five others had been in Nathan Bedford Forrest's Third Cavalry that had massacred the black POWs at Fort Pillow. Witnesses of the violence reported paramilitary trappings like orders to "fall in" and a flag, while one policeman said "it was all planned beforehand."

Groups ranging in size from 4 to 25 people ranged through South Memphis and its shantytown, breaking into houses and committing violent assaults, murder, rape, and arson. On this second day, trains began transporting armed whites from the surrounding countryside into the city. Political elites were out in the street encouraging the rioters. Mayor Park was "too drunk to talk," and the municipal judge, City Recorder James Creighton, was in the streets exhorting whites to kill every black person down to those in the cradle. Memphis Attorney General William Wallace led one group to the Folsom and Co. Gun store, purchased dozens of shotguns and abundant ammunition, and distributed them to the "posse." An editor of the *Avalanche*, Mathew Galloway, was seen leading one group of the mob, along with at other times the attorney general, the inebriated mayor, and a local constable. The violence continued through that evening and night, and continued less intensely on May 3 whereupon Stoneman declared martial law and violence ceased. Sixteen out of the sixty-eight rioters identified were police, twenty-four percent, and seven more were firemen; a major portion of the crowd and its leaders who engaged in murder, arson, and other violent crime were the political leadership and forces of order.⁴¹⁹

This 1866 pogrom in Memphis shares the archetypal features of postbellum white-supremacist organized violence. They can also be seen in Atlanta in 1906. One-party, political mass media prints rabble-rousing editorials. Former military personnel lead attacks, in tandem with

república de weimar. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2017, pp. 36-41.

419 Rable, 33-42. Altina L. Waller, "Community, Class and Race in the Memphis Riot of 1866," *Journal of Social History*; Winter 1984; 18, 2; ProQuest pg..233. Barrington Walker, "This is the White Man's Day!: The Irish, White Racial Identity, and the 1866 Memphis Riots," *Left History* 5.2, 31-56.

<http://lh.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/lh/article/viewFile/5336/4531> accessed 01/05/16

local leaders, small-time notables, but not the planter elite (the city recorder, for example, had no legal training, but worked as a labor foreman), who then decry excesses. Ritualized violence, sexual violence, and violence that seems totally unhinged is engaged in by lightly organized masses, whose numbers are increased through the use of modern information and transportation infrastructures. Although not extensive enough to be genocidal, violence is accompanied by eliminationist and exterminationist rhetoric. These modern structural features were also part of the Stalinist collectivization drives, with the apparent exception of sexual violence. The use of the press in promulgating Party decrees, more broadly including the printing and distribution of Party material, was a primary means of communication between the center and the regions. Contempt for the peasantry was rife and the grain requisitions of the civil war had legitimated violently repressive practices. The Party used eliminationist rhetoric against the excluded population cohort whose labor it required – the infamous “liquidation of the kulak.” The transportation and information infrastructure of modernity made the concrete activity of the cadres possible. The violence of the collectivization/deportation process was less intense, but hardly more rational, while being in a sense more extensive, in that victims' families' deportation lasted a lifetime. Regional bosses led the way on the ground, and their practices determined the shape of the center's organizational efforts.

The attacks upon the black community of Memphis had been preceded by repeated military attempts to deport the refugees to plantations, that is, to “re-collectivize” the agricultural labor force and disperse the motley urban underclass. Urban centers in the USSR had experienced periodic waves of refugees since the October Revolution, as well as a swollen population of orphans, and collectivization added to this problem. Terror in the villages drove people to the cities, and some to crime, where they preoccupied the Stalinist authorities. The laws and language they developed to respond were quite similar to those of the postbellum South, where the same combination of war, economic repression, and violent expropriation drove African-Americans to cities, to worry the white citizenry. Homelessness, unemployment, and vagrancy were arrestable and imprisonable

offenses. Russian orphans were sequestered in dubious housing and basically criminalized by the regime.⁴²⁰ Black orphans were held in peonage, frequently by former owners; the effort to legislate the right of impressment indicates the importance of this cohort. Vagrancy was synonymous with unauthorized movement, although formal state-legislated pass systems did not survive Reconstruction.

The OGPU used its passport regime both to regulate necessary movement and corral “criminal and marginalized populations,” as Hagenloh puts it; this is another way of pointing out that the margins were seen as criminal.⁴²¹ The mayor of Savannah, Georgia, Edward C. Anderson, expressed the paranoid view of white power of “the changed circumstances” of 1866, “with a vagabond freed element in our midst, and constantly pouring into the city, together with the influx of 'roughs' coming in by every steamer...”⁴²² In Russia, a 1932 police report saw “a real threat of befoulment of our cities [and] the growth of hooliganism and criminal activity.” The “unemployed declassed elements” and “social anomalies "in the cities were a result of the violence and coercion in the countryside in both cases, refugees who were criminalized for the potential for crime that they embodied.⁴²³ Cigarette dudes become hooligans.

On the other hand, certain ideologically-defined economic activity was prohibited, “speculation” as the OGPU had it, not only unauthorized large-scale commodity sales but also small-scale marginal activity. Postbellum southerners wished to restrict markets and market-access as well. One former slaveowner, for example, attempted to prohibit freedwomen marketing potatoes they had grown.⁴²⁴ Eventually after-sunrise/before sunset sales were forbidden to keep tenants from getting a market-determined price for their produce. Alabama criminalized produce sales by black farmers.⁴²⁵ The Black Codes had contained strict labor enticement laws, which

420 Sheila Fitzpatrick. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, 150-152. Michael Jakobson. *Origins of the Gulag: The Soviet Prison Camp System, 1917-1934*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993, pg. 123.

421 Hagenloh, 120.

422 Ayers, 175.

423 Hagenloh, 115-118.

424 Egerton, *Wars*, 111.

425 Mary Ellen Curtin. *Black Prisoners and Their World, Alabama, 1865-1900*. Charlottesville: University Press of

continued through the Reconstruction period in Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina, and prevented black agricultural laborers from changing employers for higher wages. Florida's strict law effectively criminalized negotiation and outlawed black movement through vagrancy statutes, as did the laws of Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, all of which came evolved the Black Codes. As an Arkansas lawyer said in 1866, local (white) sentiment believed in making breaking a contract a crime for which a nigger[sic] can be sold." The intended effect was to keep wages down, and workers immobile, "fixing" populations in the same manner as the OGPU attempted to do.⁴²⁶ However, the planters colluded poorly, at least right after the war, and black movement was encouraged by the terrorism in the countryside, including economic terrorism like violently driving off, without pay, the workers who had brought in the crop.⁴²⁷ However, depressing wages and relying on debt peonage also created economic refugees in the South, just as famine and collectivization did in the USSR. Marginalized urban populations grew despite, or because of, criminalization efforts in Russia and Dixie.

Savannah's Chatham County's black population increased from around 15,000 in 1860 to 25,000 in 1870, creating the ring of slums around the city characteristic of colonial economies. Ninety percent of the African-Americans owned nothing. From 1865 to 1888 Savannah's police chief was ex-Confederate General R. H. Anderson, who outfitted the force in Confederate grey uniforms with rifles, pistols, and sabres. During Reconstruction some Republican administrations in various states had hired black police, and in some districts black sheriffs were elected, but Savannah's all-white police force became the Southern model as Reconstruction moved to the Jim Crow era. The model could be thought of as showing its effectiveness in the 98-page petition to the 1871 Congressional Ku Klux Klan committee accusing Anderson's police of abuses. They had, for example, attacked the black voters at the polls in November, 1868, part of a state-wide campaign of

Virginia, 2000, pp. 53-55.

426 William Cohen. *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*.

Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1991, pp. 29-36.

427 DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 137.

violence that ended black participation in political life by 1870. Chatham County judges found themselves presiding over criminal trials for “improper conduct.”⁴²⁸ This too was a Southern model: Florida criminalized “wanton impudence” from “persons of color,” amended in 1867 to “extend to all persons without discrimination.”⁴²⁹

Juries at this level of legalistic endeavor were not only all-white, but restricted to a very small pool. For one decade in the rural black-belt Greene County, only 307 men served in 630 total grand-jury openings, and just under half of them were related to another. Eleven families served in a fifth of the spots. In Savannah, “professional jurymen” offered their services for a fee. Wealthy whites were acquitted even of murder, to the despair of prosecutors and possibly judges. Poor whites could also be sent to forced-labor gangs or camps for stealing a hat or a pair of trousers.⁴³⁰ In Wilkes County, a Freedman's Bureau agent reported at “a dozen murders” of black Americans by the sons of the wealthiest families for which no indictments were forthcoming.⁴³¹ Local Communist dignitaries could hardly have engaged in such activity without legal or Party censure, nor could they have controlled the trials more effectively; the courts of the USSR procuracy could hardly have been more arbitrary or unjust.

428 Ayers, 162-163, 172-174. Superior Court judges frequently were quite attentive to the letter of the law, although juries were not necessarily so. Once black arrestees had access to the law, there was access to legal precedent intended to benefit whites, but also the possibility that a precedent intended for use against African-Americans might lead to use against whites, hence their wariness.

429 Cohen, 35.

430 Ayers, 224, 226, 228.

431 Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 280.

Chapter 2: Practical Parallels in the Structure of Coercion

The closest structural similarity between Stalinism and white supremacy appears in the use of forced prison labor to develop industrial resources. The repression of the Russian or “Soviet” and African-American populations was proportionate to population, insofar as one can hazard to estimate. Georgia provided a model, legally instituting the convict lease in December of 1866.⁴³² Although some historians argue for the economic pressures pushing toward leasing, any such pressure was the direct result of the politically-motivated waves of arrests and convictions, for example those in 1865-1866 in Georgia that created the economic pressure on the small penitentiary in Milledgeville. The shape of this repression can be seen in that the number of state convicts: black prisoners in 1868 outnumbered the total number of prisoners in any year of the 1850s, while the absolute number of imprisoned whites decreased. Of the 1868 black prisoner contingent over 80% remained imprisoned in 1870, while less than 40% of whites were still serving their sentence. Over half of the black prisoners had been convicted of burglary based on the Black Codes passed by the pre-Reconstruction legislature, and one-fifth of these “burglars” received life sentences. The state condemned them to perpetual industrial labor for life, going further in this regard than the USSR. Nor do parallels end there, for such crimes were the result, as a planter observed in Burke City in the fall of 1865, of a policy of starvation directed against freedmen resisting the contract terms of their former masters,⁴³³ that is, resisting their “re-collectivization.”

One group of Sumter, Georgia planters told the Freedman's Bureau representative that if freedmen continued to resist signing year-long contracts, they “would make the woods stink with their carcasses.”⁴³⁴ The New York *Herald* reported in 1865 that self-organized “regulators,” led by

⁴³² In 1923 Soviet incarceration began to swell rapidly. Jakobsen, 125.

⁴³³ Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 28-29.

⁴³⁴ Hahn, “Extravagant Expectations of Freedom,” 150-151.

ex-Confederates, were murdering any Georgia freedman who insisted on wages.⁴³⁵ The planters' seizures of the crop further resembled the Russian "requisitions" in that the seed was seized as well. Freedmen who tried to resist requisition, that is, keep a portion of the crop that they grew, would be arrested for theft.⁴³⁶ The South went further in spurring cadres against "socially harmful elements" than the USSR: in Georgia vagrancy statutes allowed "any person" to arrest uncontracted individuals and bind them over for trial, or to be subsequently bonded out for an uncertain term.⁴³⁷ (These methods also produced a poor harvest in 1866, increasing destitution and probably increasing planter obstreperousness.) Like the Stalinist "dekulakization" drives and the collectivization decrees, the attempts to control the agricultural workforce in the postbellum US South were part and parcel of the growth of the prison system; these repressive arrangements were a product of diffuse ideological commitment to white supremacist political and economic arrangements without concentrated bureaucratic control.

Yagoda's plans for convict labor were practically related to the 1929 and 1932/33 dekulakization sweeps and ideologically aimed at resource extraction and industrial development. They were also colonially-inspired designs, recognizing the necessity of core/periphery economic relationships in developing industrialized modernity: "We have to colonize the North in the shortest possible time."⁴³⁸ The process of bureaucratic negotiation was real, expressed in conflicts with Sovnarkom and the NKVD – essentially Stalin was hostile to Tolmachev and favored Yagoda, to whom he granted OGPU control.

In Democratic Georgia, a three-man committee made recommendations to the governor, eventually resulting in the Assembly voting for the convict lease to private companies. Members of

435 The *Herald* was a Union Democrat organ. Quoted in: Dubois, *Black Reconstruction*, 139.

436 Egerton, *Wars*, 120.

437 DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 169. These were also the laws in Guatemala in the 1950s. Galeano, 180-181.

438 The colonial point reveals itself also in the propaganda campaign responding to Western criticism of Soviet forced labor, as Karl Radek proposed attacking "slavery in English, French, and other colonies," a logical riposte. Klehvnjuk, *History of the Gulag*, 23, 29. Applebaum notes that the settler colonialism proposed has pre-Stalinist antecedents. Applebaum, 66. Galina Ivanova also quotes Dzerzhinsky: "Criminals... must be used to settle undeveloped areas." Galina Mikhailovich Ivanova. *Labor Camp Socialism*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2000, pg. 186.

the Georgia advisory committee presented very much the same arguments as Yagoda in pressing for forced labor to develop state resources. The pressure of increased arrests on prison logistics was an important factor. This pressure does not seem to have been the result of previous intentions leading to practices that provided a labor force (although it would become so), but the result of the measures necessary to impose economic and political control. Once repression had created criminals and cigarette dudes, well, the South needed railroads and Stalin wanted the White Sea Canal, both countries needed to develop mining in particular, as well as other industries like timber and granite quarries. Although the ideological aggrandizement of Stalin and of pseudo-rehabilitory labor were factors somewhat peculiar to the USSR, one can ask whether they are so different from the financial aggrandizement of Georgia politicians who owned the railroad and the mines, or the status boost a white man received for forcing black men to work under him.

The interpersonal and economic modalities of exercising power in the USSR and the USA were very different, yet the functional purposes to which power was exercised, and the structures of control that it generated, were remarkably similar. The difficulty here in separating political, financial, and social motives and relations might be best represented by Georgia Governor Joseph P. Brown, who went on to make his fortune by leasing state convicts to work in his Dade mines, whose original owner, Mark Cooper, had served on the 1866 advisory committee. Their report advised the governor “to use convict labor for the development of the mineral and other resources” of Georgia by means of what Alex Lichtenstein calls “state-capital cooperative economic development.”⁴³⁹ Both the concentrated power of Stalinist centralized bureaucracy and the diffuse arrangements of Reconstruction/Redeemer political machines sought to and did increase their use of forced labor for resource development: from 1930 to 1933 the Gulag population almost doubled, while from 1871-1880 the black convicts leased by the State of Georgia for mining and railroads more than tripled.⁴⁴⁰

439 One of these railroads was also directly owned by the state, while more generally, “state aid in the form of financial security went hand in glove with state provision of forced labor.” Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 30-32, 44.

440 Khlevniuk, *History of the Gulag*, 31. Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 60, table 3.

The the black prison population of the South included political prisoners, and that these prisoners came from targetted population contingents beyond the “socially dangerous” economic refugees. Property crime and even violent crime can also be essentially political. Albert Smith has characterized arson as “interracial protest” against “the poverty and racism that defined the region[;]” in another work he points out that in the postbellum US South “property crime was nothing less than the price paid by the dominant culture and its elites for structuring... society the way they did.”⁴⁴¹ The latter quote could well be referring to *kolkhoz* theft or “hooliganism.” “A criminal was not always someone who had committed a real crime,” as Applebaum suggests regarding the USSR.⁴⁴² In Belgorod in 1947, a peasant woman named M.A. Marchenko, from the Stalin Collective Farm, took 850 grams of rye, was searched, and received a five-year labor-camp sentence.⁴⁴³ In Atlanta in 1888, a starving Lee Chapman took a pair of gloves from a stable, panicked and ran when approached, and was sentenced to ten years in the former governor's mines. That year, sixty percent of Georgia's incarcerated inmates had been convicted of property crimes and property crime as a percentage of total convicted offenses was even higher.⁴⁴⁴ From the perspective of these two hungry landless agricultural workers, Stalinism and Democracy look no different.

More traditional categories filled the prisons in Georgia as well. The principal keeper in 1875 said his prisoners were “teachers, preachers, politicians, and 'negro boys” under fifteen.⁴⁴⁵ These are the same categories familiar to us from those who were arrested “for their literary, religious, or political opposition to the Soviet system”⁴⁴⁶ or were “juvenile delinquents” – child refugees of the system's repression – considered dangerous enough to spur draconian decrees against them from Stalin and the Politburo.⁴⁴⁷ In Georgia, an archtypal political prisoner was Tunis

441 Albert C. Smith, “Southern Violence' Reconsidered: Arson as protest in Black-belt Georgia, 1865-1910,” *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 51, no. 4, (Nov. 1985) pp. 150-151.

442 Applebaum, 226.

443 Ivanova, pg. 51.

444 Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 70-71.

445 Except for “negro boys” the quote is Lichtenstein's paraphrase. Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 59.

446 Applebaum, 472.

447 Hagenloh, 181-193. See also Fitzpatrick. *Everyday Stalinism*, 150-152. Kapuściński describes these *beznadzorni*

Campbell, preacher, teacher, and politician. A senator in the state legislature representing black-majority McIntosh County, “King of the McIntosh County Congos,” as the white-supremacist press had it, Campbell found himself indicted on spurious charges in 1875, stripped of his senate seat, dragged through the streets of Savannah on a chain, and leased out to one T.J. Smith. His crime had been, acting in his capacity as a justice of the peace, to fine a white man one hundred dollars for breaking into two black homes.⁴⁴⁸ The case is not only about removing an African-American from political power but also about supporting whites in criminal activity against black people.

In the USSR one of the most important and earliest uses forced labor was in timber operations. Although the highly fractured nature of Gulag production limits generalization about productivity, timber had been identified as a valuable product in the early stages of the 1929 shift to forced-labor contingents and was a major industry for the “special settlements.” Timber would not be harvested for the market by an independent peasantry that was interested in extracting use-value from common lands, and in any case it would need to be paid for; unpaid, forced production could bring in hard currency which in turn could be used to import grain and industrial plant. In any event no-one wanted to work in the Perm forests: “Problems of labor recruitment and retention,” in one historian's phrase, made forced labor the only way to harvest the area's timber.⁴⁴⁹ There was also the element of social importance, as these counterrevolutionary agriculturalists were to be resocialized as worker-bees for industrial modernity: “these settlements will become proletarian” in Yagoda's phrase.⁴⁵⁰

Several camps and colonies were dedicated to lumbering. In 1932 Gulag timber production

(“unsupervised”) as the roots of the present-day Russian mafia, which is interesting in light of a similar relationship between police repression, delinquency, and criminal organizations in Los Angeles from the 1960s to the 1980s. Ryszard Kapuściński. *Imperium*. London: Granta, 2007 (1994), pp. 189-190. For the transition from political organization to gang activity in Los Angeles see Mike Davis. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New York: Verso, 1990, pp. 297-300.

448 Campbell's connections helped him get released after one year; he left the South. Egerton, *Wars*, 93-96, 299-302.

449 Jakobsen, 119. Dominique Moran, “Exile in the Soviet Forest: 'Special Settlers' in the Northern Perm' Oblast,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 40 (2004), pp. 195-413, pg. 399.

450 Khlevniuk, *History of the Gulag*, 23.

was 9% of the national total, rising to 12-13% before WWII, and two camps provided 60 percent of the firewood for Moscow and Leningrad.⁴⁵¹ The amount is significant in itself, but forced labor regimes exist at critical economic nodes in the process of development, here providing scarce hard currency and heating Party offices. While the symbol of coerced labor chopping the wood that went up in smoke out of “Iron-Ass” Molotov's chimney is quite apt (he earned his sobriquet for an endless capacity to do paperwork), a more traditional indicator of this sector's importance in the process of industrialization is that the hard currency from labor colonies' timber export paid for industrial machinery and foreign training personnel at Magnitogorsk and other industrial sites.⁴⁵²

The US South also relied on forced labor in the Florida naval stores and timber industry. Florida leased out black prisoners for the first time in 1880, acquiring bids through newspaper advertisements. In 1889 the forced-labor prison system was placed under the authority of the state commissioner of agriculture. At this time the timber and naval stores industry in the state was booming, but union activity was increasing and free labor was disinclined to accept the pay and working conditions of harvesting lumber and resin. It was “exhausting work, it was difficult to obtain enough labor,” and “[n]atives of Florida's piney woods would quickly abandon the work when any other type of livelihood became available,” according to prisoner-lessee Charles K. Dutton. “Naturally,” according to one Western historian, the state “suppl[ied] local industry with much-needed cheap labor.” The vocabulary of resocialization appears here in the same general terms offered to non-white colonized populations: “Even if against his will the convict is taught what it means to be healthy, cleanly, industrious, and orderly.”⁴⁵³ Is this the “industrious” revolution? Prisoners were the source of the growth in this extractive economy, as their presence in the workforce rose from 27 percent to over 90 percent in the most profitable period from 1907-

451 Khlevniuk, *History of the Gulag*, 33, 333.

452 Moran, 398. Nickname in Simon Sebag Montefiore. *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar*. New York: Knopf, 2004, pg. 122.

453 Jeffrey A. Drobney, “Where Palm and Pine Are Blowing: Convict Labor in North Florida's Turpentine Industry, 1877-1923,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 72. no. 4 (April 1994), pp. 411-434, pg. 414. Dutton quoted in Ayers, 192.

1909,⁴⁵⁴ and in 1900 prison labor produced 32% of the state's naval stores. The pivotal quality of this sector to the rising core-status of the United States is in maintaining the world's second-largest merchant fleet, after Britain.⁴⁵⁵ The fundamentally colonial nature of this extractive economy, outside of the conditions of labor, also appears in the fact that the private corporation that ran the most camps in Florida, the Putnam Lumber Co., was located in Wisconsin.

The use of state power in its rawest form – legitimacy through violence, as Max Weber puts it,⁴⁵⁶ – is here evident in both a concentrated Stalinist and a diffuse democratic variety. In one system, the state decrees an extractive forced-labor economic bureaucracy under its control to exploit the economy. In the other, forced laborers are given to economic bureaucracies owned by state senators (and their brothers). Florida State Senator T.J. Knabb, for example, lasted a decade in power and owned a camp in Baker County. His brother William ran a camp of several hundred black prisoners, paid from fifty cents to one dollar per day, locked behind barbed wire, and forced to buy necessities from a commissary that doubled prices. Conditions were “as repressive as any in the state.”⁴⁵⁷ The Stalinist cadres set off at coordinated times, producing masses of prisoners and prisoner-settlers, while an investigator in 1901 claimed that kidnapping for forced-labor occurred “almost every day” in Levy County, Florida. One journalist described an arrangement between a sheriff and a turpentine operator: together they made a list of 80 “husky” local African-American men, the sheriff arrested them, and the justice-of-the-peace (“in on the game”) fined them and sent them out to the operator's work camps, with the sheriff receiving a five-dollar bounty per man. No General Secretary was needed to sign the list. The men were captured by detaining and sweeping large groups in targeted areas, most successfully the Saturday night dances, the same tactical

454 Drobney, 417-418.

455 F. Crouzet, "Variations on the North American Triangle from Yorktown to Waterloo: Substitution, Complementarity, Parallelism," *Economics in the Long View, Vol. 2: Essays in Honor of W.W. Rostow*, Charles P. Kindleberger & Guido di Tella, ed. New York: Springer, 1982, pp. 44-66, pg. 47. The naval stores from colonies were vital to the British naval supremacy as well, to say nothing of American lumber. Wallerstein, *MSW II*, 240-241.

456 Weber quoted in Werth, 178.

457 Quote from historian Jarrell Shofner in: Robert N. Lauriault, “From Can't to Can't: The North Florida Turpentine Camp, 1900-1930,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol.67, no.3 (Jan. 1989), pp. 310-328, pg. 322.

method utilized by the MVD in urban settings.⁴⁵⁸ In Leon County, for the seven months after convicts were leased to Putnam, “vagrancy” arrests increased by just under 800 percent, vagrants defined as those who “remain in idleness.”⁴⁵⁹ This vagrancy statute would in no way be out of place in an OGPU decree of the 1930s, a time when William Knabb was still running his peonage slave farm.

One must question how much the centralized expressions of power directly control repressive activity that they may authorize. Despite the incredibly detailed preparation, on paper, for supplying housing, food, water, and tools, the “dekulakized” in Perm and their overseers found that nothing had actually been prepared. The prisoner transport barges' steamer captains sometimes dropped captives off randomly on the riverbanks, leaving them to rot or die. OGPU personnel might have been outraged, but were not necessarily able to impose their authority on everyone, not even the politically repressed. One drunken captain cursed the manager of the Party economic trust (*leskhoz*) and left him with a batch of prisoners on the side of the river, without shelter, where they waited for relief for a week. Having been previously disfranchised as a class enemy, the captain's hostility has evident origins. The manager reported his action as “sabotage,”⁴⁶⁰ evidence of the kind of “wrecking” on which the Bolsheviks blamed their impotence in the face of real organizational difficulties and justified hostility from the population, especially in the early thirties. In Karelia, by 1937 the Gulag trust BBK-BBLag produced 35 percent of raw and 12 percent of milled timber in the region, but at the start of that five-year-plan period, coordination between the center and the region was poorly managed. Four different plan variants were produced by the Karelian planning agency, Gosplan USSR, the Leningrad oblast, and the BBK, and these each received funding without, however, ever being integrated.⁴⁶¹ The full process of repressive economic exploitation was not controlled in any meaningful sense by one authority.

458 David M. Oshinsky. *Worse Than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*. New York: Free Press, 1996, pg. 71. Hagenloh, 196-227.

459 Lauriault, 319, 321. Oshinsky, 74.

460 Moran, 402-403.

461 Christopher Joyce, “The Gulag in Kaerlia: 1929 to 1941,” in Paul R. Gregory and Valery Lazarev, ed. *The Economics of Forced Labor: The Soviet Gulag*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2003, pp. 173-174.

The fact that even concentrated power diffuses itself in application is cold comfort when facing the statistic that 40 percent of the members of the 1700 families deported to Perm “settlements” in 1929 died during the first winter. Had Stalinist authority functioned on its own terms, had everyone “obeyed orders,” that would not have happened. This argument does not in any way morally exculpate Stalin or the Bolsheviks, for they are responsible for the effects of imposing the authority they claimed, even if they did not directly desire these deaths. However, acknowledging the limits of social and economic control that the Party was able to impose, even under the authority of its secret police, should complicate any vision of totalitarianism as an intellectual construct opposable to democratic parliamentarianism. The two come together precisely here at the necessity for extreme repression in resource exploitation to build industrial modernity.

One survivor of the Perm forced exile, Maria, interviewed at eighty years old, “bore little grudge” according to her interviewer; she legitimated her government's treatment of her in terms of the exigencies of development, an attitude Nancy Adler has found to be not unusual, many regarding their experience as “acceptable growing pains in the construction of socialism”: “When you chop wood, chips fly.” Maria's phrase is an echo of Yezhov, using the same expression to excuse the murder of innocents in the terror in March 1937. While Maria is rather more pro-Stalin than the Volga German survivors who were interviewed, they also failed to express rancor. The inmates of the *Visherlag* timber-production prison camp that functioned from 1928 to 1934 may have had a different point of view, but some individuals even there do not fail to express pride for contributing to national industrial development.⁴⁶²

The *Visherlag* prisoners never faced a regime as insane as that of the Blue Creek turpentine camp run by W. Alston “Captain” Brown and his brother Mose. Some features of the camp were typical; all the prisoners were black, of course. Workers were entrapped by offers of a small

462 Moran, 402-403, 408-409. Moran cites N. Adler, “Life in the Big Zone: The Fate of Returnees in the Aftermath of Stalinist Repression,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 51 (1) (1999), pp. 5-19. Monefiore, *Court of the Red Tsar*, 218.

advance of credit at the commissary, the only source of food in the remote forest, to make ends meet until the first paycheck. Then, their debt was perpetuated by fair means and foul. Some fell victim to the vagrancy statutes and were delivered by sheriffs, in return for a small kickback. Workers were forbidden to leave the camp area, guarded by armed trustees and surrounded by barbed wire and a network of informants. Letters were allowed but were censored and suppressed by Brown in collusion with the local postmaster. Torture in the form of whipping was frequent. Escapees would likely be apprehended, arrested under the same vagrancy statutes, and enter or re-enter the county lease system, perhaps to be returned to Blue Creek. If anyone did escape, his debt was transferred over to the guard who was responsible; they shot to kill. Brown, a private individual capitalist employee under no state authority whatsoever, empowered these “pets” (as prisoners called them) to summarily execute anyone resisting the terms of contract or working conditions. New arrivals to the camp were shown the graves of the so executed and the boards that served as headstones, inscribed with warnings that death awaited those who ran. Some may attempt to find a substantive difference between such executions and a Chekist delivering an administrative death sentence for “theft of state property,” but from the perspective of the victim there is no difference at all. Applebaum reports some Visherlag prisoners in the in the outlying taiga timber camps being “quietly tortured and even murdered,” (citing Shmirov); her qualifying adverbs should indicate the relative rarity, comparatively speaking, of such events in this Gulag zone, which, in fact had certain amenities lacking in Northwest Florida, like theatres, ornamental gardens, libraries, and regular pay.⁴⁶³

"Captain" Brown set up different entertainment facilities, where Kurz met Kafka. The work week lasted from six o'clock Monday morning to noon on Saturday. On Saturday, payday, some

463 Berzin set up this early camp as a showpiece for prisoner rehabilitation and its labor and arrangements were not typical in any way of the Gulag. However, the Blue Creek Camp and the Visherlag were operational at the same time at the end of the 1930s, with Brown's reign just preceding the opening of the Siberian camp. After a trial at which Brown was not apparently convicted, he was replaced by a certain T.W. Higgenbottom, who had the year before murdered a rare white teenager in his camp; within the year Higgenbottom had killed at least one black worker at Blue Creek. Torture and murder were common across “Big Bend” Florida. Applebaum, 97. Lauriault, 316, 318, 321 n24, 322-333. Jerrell H. Shofner, “The Legacy of Racial Slavery: Free Enterprise and Forced Labor in Florida in the 1940s,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 47, no. 3 (Aug. 1981), pp. 411-426, pg. 413.

prisoners would receive some money, depending on Brown's whim and the state of their arrears. Many workers had no idea what they were supposed to be paid or the state of their debts. However, at noon on Saturday all workers, men and women, were herded into the shack that served as Brown's casino, where he ran the games. Anyone refusing to gamble was whipped. Those with no money would be advanced sums by Brown, adding to their debt. The casino closed at six o'clock Monday morning, when it was time to return to work. Brown did a cash business on the side pimping the women who worked in the camp. If they refused to have sex with whomever he designated, they were whipped. Husbands would be whipped if they protested and might be imprisoned. Cases occurred where men came to the camp, claimed a married woman, and her husband spent months in the stockade – that is, in a special cell within the larger barbed-wire compound.⁴⁶⁴ It should be sobering that Blue Creek was not actually a jail facility, but part of the spectrum of ostensibly free-labor institutions in the USA at this time. Brown's incredible conduct can be characterized as merely one extreme along a continuum of prison-boss sadism, perhaps matched by some Gulag wardens and certainly exceeded by some Nazis, that shades into “free” labor relations. That is the point. For black Americans in the South, capitalist freedom was indistinguishable from totalitarian prison camps.

The construction of the White Sea Canal plays a pivotal role in the anglophone Gulag historical narrative. Now generally considered an economic white elephant, it nevertheless seemed to demonstrate, to the Russian leadership, the value of forced labor in lowering the costs of capital improvement projects, and not without reason, since construction came in at 33% of its original budget after the use of forced labor was extended across its full length. Practically speaking, this particular project institutionalized the Gulag as a supplier of labor, bridging the gap between the 1920s Sovletsky prison and the 1930s and 1940s forced-labor juggernaut. In the words of Oleg

464 Lauriault, 319.

Khlevniuk, it “determined the style of development of the Stalinist Gulag.”⁴⁶⁵ Many practices became entrenched on this project, perhaps most notably the shock-work deployment later known as Stakhanovism. Contemporary Bolshevik propaganda seized upon *Belomorkanal* as a symbol of Communist moral and economic progress. It may have played a role in Stalin's growth into a totalitarian despot politically, as a tangible victory for him, Molotov, and their clique against Rykov and others, and perhaps also more subjectively, making him, as the song says, a legend in his own mind.

The general interpretation of Cold Warrior histories is familiar. Stalin made the project happen through his eldritch charisma, death rates were massive, propaganda was cynical and hypocritical, and the economic value of the project was low to nonexistent. In fact the canal had been proposed centuries before. Nevertheless, prize-winning US textbook history continues to simplify the political struggles and organizational maneuvers to a formula whereby Stalin “demanded” the construction of the canal and the use of forced labor, as if notes to Molotov were commands to the Politburo.⁴⁶⁶ In fact, the waterway served the institutional interests of several administrative bodies and the political interests of several individuals. The number of deaths on the canal that a historian can choose to report remains widely divergent – 250,000 dead is a figure that has been bandied about. Our textbook figure has settled down to 25,000, based on extrapolations from Zemskov, but this number lines up with the recorded deaths for all 3 camp complexes through which the canal passed. The canal had priority, but so did lumbering. The obvious conclusion, that the number of deaths attributed solely to this construction project should be lower, is not proposed, rather the historian claims that “we can assume” subsequent deaths of the injured and overworked “exceed this amount by a high factor.”⁴⁶⁷ Whether or not it is good practice for historians to assume they should be tripling or quadrupling the number of extrapolated victims of prison and labor

465 Khlevniuk, *History of the Gulag*, 334.

466 Applebaum, 78.

467 Applebaum cites 25,000 from Nick Baron, “Conflict and Complicity: The Expansion of the Karelian Gulag, 1923-1933,” *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, Vol. 22 (2001/2), pp. 614-648. Quote from Baron, 643. It seems equally likely that the weakened and injured would have died in the three-year construction process. In any case subsequent deaths would not be attributed in this manner if discussing West Virginia or Yorkshire mining fatalities.

conditions, this is common for anglophone Sovietology. A Russian author has published that archival recorded deaths for 1931 on the the canal were nearly 1,500.⁴⁶⁸ Tripling this figure to account for the increased size of the workforce and the “deteriorating” conditions of 1932 and 1933 gives a figure 7,500 – a third of the institutionally supported figure in *Gulag*. An OGPU circular from February 1933 supports this lower estimate.⁴⁶⁹

Applebaum's text also implies that the leadership was irresponsible in undertaking the task with a deficit of technical and geographical knowledge; her text and Ivanova's suggest that the primitive tools used were an added feature of repression. Yet these deficits of development were also present during the building of the Erie canal a century earlier, without it being considered a blot on the record of the Empire State or Dewitt Clinton. Is it prison labor in Russia or free labor in New York – both sets of laborers being the flotsam of the process of agricultural modernization – which is described in this passage?: “Work was carried on out of doors, powered by man and beast using traditional tools- shovels, picks, wheelbarrows, and carts. This meant a harsh labor regimen for canallers, who toiled twelve to fifteen hours a day in all kinds of weather. They were exposed to many health-threatening illnesses, including malaria, yellow fever, and cholera, as well as work-related injuries.”⁴⁷⁰ Independent capitalist contractors and ideologically and politically driven commissars put people to work at the same job in the same conditions. In one case, when a navy was murdered by a contractor's wife, she and her husband were acquitted at trial due to their “record of service to the canal.”⁴⁷¹

The land that was put into cultivation around the Mississippi Delta region from about 1870

468 Mikhail Morukov, “The White Sea-Baltic Canal,” in Gregory and Lazarev, ed. pp. 151-162, pg. 158.

“Deteriorating,” conditions *ibid.*, 159. The tripling of this figure is my suggestion.

469 Khlevniuk cites a OGPU circular that complains of the sloppy reporting of the sanitary department in underreporting deaths outside of medical facilities. In 1932, from a sample of three complexes, this factor of underreporting was at about 1%. Coincidentally, two camps named in the circular were of the three which built the canal. Total deaths for 1932 in these complexes, Belbaltlag and Svirlag, were just over 3,000, and not all prisoners worked on the canal. GULAG OGPU circular letter NO. 640178, 19 Feb. 1933, in Khlevniuk, *History of the Gulag*, 323.

470 Peter Way, “Evil Humors and Ardent Spirits: The Rough Culture of Canal Construction Laborers,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (March 1993), pp. 1397-1428, pg. 1406.

471 The murder appears to be a result of drunkenness and personal animosity based on inter-clan ethnic conflicts. The quote is Way's synthesis of the local newspaper response. Way, 1401-1402.

to 1930 had been wilderness, the Territory, during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Farmland was created by the enormous Mississippi Levee, a vaster infrastructure project than the Baltic-White Sea Canal. The levee construction and maintenance system was based on forced and coerced labor described by twentieth-century workers as a "free penitentiary" and "privileged penitentiary": "When you worked you wasn't locked up. But other than that it was just like the penitentiary. They *paid* you what they wanted, they *give* you what the wanted you to have. If you didn't do it like they want it, somebody's gon beat you up"[*sic*] (emphasis in original). In 1919, at the age of eleven, black child William S. Hart was taken to his first levee camp by "a fella out of Memphis called a 'man catcher.' Catchin' boys, carryin' 'em down to the camps... getting up labor for the levee camps." These men were paid for each worker they delivered by independent contractors, although formal convict-lease prisoners might also be employed. Conditions were harsh and the tools primitive; black workers claimed their lives were worth less than a mule. Land was cleared with brute labor, including moving huge logs by hand, well into the twentieth century. Workers were not allowed to stop by a fire to get warm, or they faced a beating with a stick or a pistol-whipping. Land-clearing and levee workers were in some cases literally worked to death. In the nineteen-seventies, the chief engineer of the of the levee board said, "Used to be, you could smell those camps a mile away, and there was a buzzard on every fence post. " As former contractor Charles Idaho described it, "they needed a whippin' at times. I'd go after them with a club or whip... and when I was through with them, they was better workers... We were the law and everything else in those camps.[...] That's the way all that dirt got moved... handling all nigger labor. We levee contractors created a billion dollars worth of land and property..."⁴⁷²

The White Sea Canal had both military and economic purposes, which Western literature has downplayed as "useless" or "insignificant." In 1940 the canal operated at forty-four percent of its capacity – is this really "insignificant"? Mikhail Morukov has argued that its military use had

472 Informants describe camp conditions from 1919-1935. There were no tractors, only mules. Lomax, pp. 66-67, 229, 233, 236, 245, 2147, 251-253.

indeed been limited by the shallower bed, although there was some military traffic, but that strategically, military opponents believed the canal was a major military asset, which *ipso facto* made it one.⁴⁷³ However, it is the ubiquity of the inefficiency argument and its presence in texts marked by phatic interventions of moral condemnation that is of interest in relation to the totalitarian/free-world dichotomy. For if underfulfilling its economic or military purpose is morally reprehensible, that in turn implies that the suffering of those who were forced to construct *Belomorkanal* would be justified if it had occurred in order to build sufficiently economically or militarily efficacious infrastructure. For its part, the Mississippi Levee system, as it was elaborated by the US Army Corps of Engineers, was in large part responsible not only for producing capital in land, but also for the destruction wrought by the 1927 flood; the engineering choices produced by bureaucratic negotiations were those that exacerbated the most dangerous tendencies of the river and increased the likelihood of an environmental disaster.⁴⁷⁴ Mister Charlie, however, saw his role as producing wealth and resocializing the underclass. It is a shared habit of thought with the totalitarian regimes and their approach to development, which in Western scholarship is most evident in colonial history: the idea that human suffering is justifiable as long as it has successfully produced industrial European modernity.

As one saw in Bennet's text previously, and in the discussion above, episodes of colonial violence and economic exploitation are portrayed as a necessary resocialization of subaltern populations under the tutelage of superiors, an interpretation of history influenced by political elites. The USSR's propaganda celebrating the construction of the White Sea Canal is part of the mainstream of European modernity's discourse about itself: it describes the resocialization of recalcitrant workers through labor. The Bolsheviks don't express the "doubt in themselves as teachers" that Bennet sees in the British, however. Thus former "saboteurs," insufficiently committed to labor in the name of economic development, perhaps like the stubborn captain in

473 "Useless" from Baron, 641, and "insignificant" from Morukov, who is the source of the 44% use of capacity. A million tons, after all, is still a million tons. Morukov, 161-162.

474 Barry, pp. 89-91.

Perm, could be resocialized through labor. They “honestly earned the right to return again to the bosom of the class in which [they were] born,” as the Gorky-led *Belomorkanal* propaganda text *Kanal imeni Stalina* put it.⁴⁷⁵ In the earthier language of Zhdanov, writing to Stalin after surveying the canal project, “They allow kulaks and criminals elements to work for socialism and they may become real people...”⁴⁷⁶ This “prevailing orthodoxy presents a somewhat whiggish view of class formation,” to borrow historian Peter Way’s phrase, originally referring to American labor history.⁴⁷⁷

Culturally, *Kanal imeni Stalina* follows the general contours of modernist cinematic and literary innovation in formal and stylistic ways typical of its era, such as montage and “literature of fact.”⁴⁷⁸ It is visually and ideologically congruent with the narratives of Constructivism and late nineteenth-century American advertising.⁴⁷⁹ This is not a matter of aesthetics, however, as much as a change in the physical environment produced by modernity. As Raymond Williams points out, “the late nineteenth century was the occasion for the greatest change ever seen in the media of cultural production,” as between 1890 and 1910 new methods of visual representation and new scales of distribution exposed everyone to advertising and propaganda (and art), producing, for example, the American postcard industry and mass-distribution magazines.⁴⁸⁰ Consumer goods and political powers both utilized these new vectors of communication, as a glance at any publication of

475 The *Kanal imeni Stalina* text was produced by a collective, but Gorky penned the introduction and conclusion. Quotes from Applebaum, 82.

476 Zhdanov quoted in Montefiore, *Court*, 183n.

477 Way, 1400.

478 Cynthia A. Ruder, “Modernist in Form, Socialist in Content: *The History of the Construction of the Stalin White Sea-Baltic Canal*,” *Russian Literature* XLIV (1998) pp. 469-484. Ruder seems to accept a contradiction between “socialism” and “modernity” based on a fundamental immorality in Russian developmental practices (including their lack of sufficient economic utility) that modernity in some sense is free of. There is no contradiction. Natasha Kolchevska describes “literature of fact” in the same terms as Dos Passos’ “Camera Eye”: “he envisioned the development of ‘hybrid’ prose forms which combined journalism’s respect for material with narrative or compositional techniques which could most expressively ‘organize’ that material.” Kolchevska in Ruder, 473. Dos Passos was an early doubter of the Stalinists, politically and ideologically independent; his travel memoir from Russia in 1921-22 combines criticism of the cynical consumerism of Hoover’s relief personnel with pointed references to the local Cheka torture facilities. John Dos Passos. *Orient Express. Travel Books and Other Writings, 1916-1941*. New York: Library of America, 2003 (1927), pp. 161-165. See also Stephen Koch, *The Breaking Point: Hemmingway, Dos Passos, and the Murder of José Robles*. New York: Counterpoint, 2005.

479 Elena Barkhatova and Alexander Shklyaruk. *Soviet Constructivist Posters*. Moscow: Kontakt-Kultura, 2005.

480 Rob Schorman, “The Truth about Good Goods: Clothing, Advertising, and the Representation of Cultural Values at the End of the Nineteenth Century,” *AMSJ: American Studies with American Studies International*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Spring 1996), pp. 23-49, 25, 27. <https://journals.ku.edu/amerstud/issue/view/222> accessed 22/05/18

the Henry Luce empire makes clear; at the same time the model of political participation began to imitate the advertising campaign. In the Soviet context, one might expect propaganda for "Lenin and Electrification" to resemble advertisements for magazines like *The Urals Worker* and *At the Lathe*. Working-class magazine posters also resembled cigarette advertisements, using the same visual motifs; one who does not read Cyrillic cannot be sure whether an advertisement is for *Worker's Moscow*, the products of the Ukrainian Tobacco Trust, or rolled-oats porridge.⁴⁸¹

Ideological messages could be explicit or implicit in commodity packaging; indeed consuming the product necessitates an economic legitimation of its conditions of production. White Supremacist ideology in the second half of the nineteenth century celebrates its supposed superiority in advertising for Red Man, Nigger-Hair, and Bull Durham tobacco, or in later ads for the 1923 Klansman All-American Cigar Co -- in fact a black caricature from advertising can return to function as an aesthetic art object, as with the "Aunt Jemima" kitchen clock.⁴⁸² A more subtle message can be found in the Soviet cigarette brand, The Guns, which celebrated the shells launched at the Winter Palace during the October Revolution, or in Lucky Strike, a brand name referring to New World gold prospecting,⁴⁸³ and thus legitimating a history of occupation and genocide (especially in the Black Hills after 1874), just as The Guns legitimates a violent seizure of power. In the case of black caricature, one white woman (in the early nineteen-nineties) described how these images represented, to her, historical reality: "That's how they really were back then."⁴⁸⁴

This multivalent nature of ideological historicization also appears in the Belomor brand of cigarettes, a New World drug in modernist packaging that celebrates Stalinist economic development, specifically the Baltic-White-Sea Canal. Returning to the bosom of their class while keeping the goods moving is also one message of the "good roads" movement championing the use of black chain-gang labor to build and maintain roads in the US South around the turn of the

481 Barkhatova & Shklyaruk, ed., 24-25, 42, 52, 54, 56, 58-59.

482 Carol M. Motley, Geraldine R. Henderson, and Stacey Menzel Baker, "Exploring Collective Memories Associated with African-American Advertising Memorabilia: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 47-57, 48.

483 <https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/lucky-strikes/> accessed 21/05/18

484 Informant quoted in Motley, Henderson, & Baker, 53.

twentieth century.⁴⁸⁵ Nothing, in the final analysis, could be less subtle than the series of Gold Dust detergent advertisements featuring black caricatures and the slogan "Let Us Do Your Work." The media vectors, style, and content of these propaganda/advertisements are the same. If historians call such systemic self-promotion of modernity "shameful," the shame should not be restricted to only "Soviet literature."⁴⁸⁶ These paeans to progress reify a certain kind of power relation, under the guns, at the prison camp, or in the kitchen.

The White Sea Canal was a consciously directed infrastructure project, using forced labor, that was intended to, and did, create economic growth and empower and aggrandize political agents. The same was true of the railroad-construction in postbellum Georgia, and to varying extents throughout the former slave states. Where Stalinism sponsored extremely concentrated management of labor and enforcement of labor discipline, the US South produced diffuse measures. They were not apolitical; members of the political and economic establishment at state and local levels were ideologically and economically tied to railroad construction. The economic interest might be shares in the railroad, local property investment by the railroad company, or state-backed bond issues. Smaller, local political interests across Dixie revolved around "boosterism" and property speculation with an eye to industrial growth.⁴⁸⁷ Opening up "unimproved" areas of the state and increasing the commercialization of the upcountry did not require Party directives.

Postbellum continuity with the slavocracy was preserved in figures like Alfred Shorter, former slave-holder, investor, and Whig, "the area's leading financier and businessman." In 1872 Shorter was a director of the Memphis Branch Rail Road, which applied for a lease of fifty convicts at thirty dollars a head, proposing the project benefited the state "by developing resources of a large and valuable region of the country, encouraging the manufacture of iron... as well as opening up a vast undeveloped coal region." Shorter, along with Memphis Branch co-director Hugh Coltman,

485 Alex Lichtenstein, "Good Roads and Chain Gangs in the Progressive South: "The Negro Convict is a Slave,"" *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 85-110, pp. 86-89.

486 Ivananova, 79: "This systematic praise of forced labor is one of the most shameful pages in the history of Soviet literature." For similar language see also Montefiore, *Court*, 120.

487 "Virtually every industrial beginning may be traced to someone's attempt to make a capital gain on property." Wright, *Old South, New South*, 37-42, 47.

also owned the Etna Iron Company, which had itself applied to lease convicts to mine iron.⁴⁸⁸ How different are a Yagoda and a Shorter, the Politburo-appointed commissar and the slavemaster-bourgeois company director? Both are focal points of economic interest and political power through which coercive power relations are established in the name of development.

The politics of reconstruction did not affect the convict lease in Georgia: Republican governor Rufus Bullock leased the entire state convict population to John T. Grant and his son's Grant, Alexander and Company; John's brother Lemuel had constructed railroads with slave labor for the Confederacy. Two hundred convicts had been leased out by Military Governor General Ruger previously, but smaller prison labor projects soon found themselves concentrated into the single corporate entity that worked their prisoners across the different railway lines. Railroad financing was dependent on forced labor because the state-backed bonds were issued after the first five or ten miles had been laid. Alex Lichtenstein sums it up well: "Railroad firms... needed a stable, cheap, and readily available labor force at a fixed cost, which would not hinder rapid initial construction by quitting, going on strike, demanding higher wages, or having to be reconstituted at each new section of the line to be graded." Free labor and free market dynamics did not suffice to induce industrial development. Free workers rejected the necessary labor discipline by working only for daily wages and showing up intermittently; they did not wish to cleave to the bosom of the class identity that industrial expansion required of them. From 1869 to 1880, prisoners were forced to grade a thousand miles of railroad, more than 5 times the length of the White Sea Canal. This adds up to millions of dollars – 1,200,000 for the Air-Line alone – in state-backed capital created through the use of state-supplied forced labor. A similar axis of economic and political cooperation can be seen in the use of convict labor on the Macon and Augusta line – seventy-seven miles, seventy thousand dollars in bonds – controlled by acting president Governor Rufus Bullock.⁴⁸⁹

The brutality was incredible. Men, women, and children were whipped until they collapsed

488 Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 63.

489 Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 45-50.

from exhaustion trying to keep up with the pace of work, misdemeanants from the counties included; this was the method of determining their capacity to endure the arduousness of a certain task. General Ruger had outlawed whipping in 1868, but the injunction was ignored. Prisoners were whipped to death if they claimed illness yet were worked in all weather for 16 hours a day, or sunup to sundown. Ruger's leased African-Americans had a yearly mortality rate of least 16%, a rate higher than White Sea Canal prisoners even using the figure of 25,000 dead; contractors also sent prisoners near death back to the penitentiary to die in a ruse resembling that employed by the OGPU sanitary department. In 1870 the Atlanta and Charlotte Air-Line put up similar mortality figures. "The fact that the same agency was responsible for conducting arrests and exploiting the labour of prisoners could not fail to induce its planners to assume a potentially open-ended labour supply," says the Sovietologist promoting 25,000 dead on the *Belomorkanal*,⁴⁹⁰ but it seems less relevant that the agency be the same, although it frequently was the same in the South, than that the agencies involved share the ideological goal of industrial modernization and embrace the level of coercion necessary to achieve it. In Lichtenstein's words, "The Democrats' antipathy to positive government and obsession with racial control, and the unabated desire for economic development neatly coincided."⁴⁹¹

Georgia was not yet a one-party state when an 1870 legislative committee sent a report on the convict lease to the floor of the General Assembly. In fact, three black Republicans sat on the committee. The report's recommendations should be considered on a spectrum with Stalinist decrees on the treatment of forced labor, that is, less an accounting of what the system will produce than a public display of how the system would like to see itself. The report recommended prohibiting work on Sunday, limiting lashes to 25, indicating whipping was usually worse, while at the same time recommending not to discipline those overseers who acted inhumanely out of sadism. Yagoda insisted on more humane treatment of forced prison labor during White Sea Canal

490 Baron, 646.

491 The separation of the MVD from the secret police did not result in a more humane Gulag. An apparent typo has been corrected by making the possessive plural. Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 50-53, 57.

construction, and prisoners were more humanely treated in practice. Democratic negotiation, of the type that some consider “anglo-spherical” institutions to foster, appears to have broken down in the preparation of the convict lease report to the Georgia legislature: When it reached the floor, of the three black Republicans who had sat on the committee, one, Henry Turner, attempted to amend it and denied having signed it; another immediately introduced a resolution calling for an end to the lease; and the third called Governor Bullock a “murderer.”⁴⁹² Formally democratic institutions functioning normally can also impose the cruellest slave-labor exploitation.

The mines of Kolyma hold a symbolic place as the worst the USSR had to offer – the highway there is still apparently referred to colloquially as the “road of bones” – even in the archival mortality figures historians encounter the ominous note “Kolyma excluded.” Although a fully deserved reputation, to the extent that anglophone sovietologists have contributed to it, they have tended to elevate it into the science-fiction realm. Popular audience non-fiction works refer to impossibly high numbers of inmates and victims, tens of millions, two million dead, only one of four prisoners survived. Both popular writers and academic historians quote fictional accounts and hearsay as if they were eyewitness testimony. Rumor and metaphor become history. In the moral sense, these practices are legitimate, as part of a cultural record of the inhumanity of modernity; on the other hand, exaggeration diminishes the reality of repressive practices. Fewer victims are sufficient to create a socially recognized road of bones. The best population estimate for Kolyma, based on congruency between Martin Bollinger's estimates of shipping capacity and Aleksandr Kozlov's examination of the archives, is that around one million prisoners toiled in the mines and that of these, 130,000 were killed by working conditions and eleven thousand were executed.⁴⁹³ Fifteen percent mortality is very bad – as bad as the State of Georgia's postbellum forced-labor camps mentioned above. Because Kolyma took on an exterminatory role during the Terror,

492 Applebaum, 78-79. Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 56.

493 Bollinger, 81-86. Kozlov cited in *ibid.*, 86.

subjective conditions must have been much worse from 1937 to 1939. It is not so hard to believe that three out of four “politicals” at Kolyma were killed by their conditions of imprisonment in that period. Logically, since the pre-Terror regime under Berzin was good, relatively speaking, in terms of food, early release, and even pay, then the mortality rate must have been extremely high when things went bad.⁴⁹⁴ This high intensity of repression may be seen as having translated itself into a greater extent in our academic and popular historical consciousness.

There is no question as to the importance of those mining operations for the industrialization of the USSR. Gold mined by prisoners was a major source of hard currency for the import of machinery and expertise.⁴⁹⁵ While one must keep in mind Oleg Khlevniuk's point that “the Stalinist type of industrialization was extremely cost-intensive and inefficient,”⁴⁹⁶ there was no other way to get that gold, and that gold did pay for industrial plant that could not otherwise have been acquired. No free-market mechanism was going to motivate people to mine Northeast Siberia, especially without any industrial or social infrastructure. One cannot conceptually separate the development of industrial modernity and the slave labor that produces it by positing a counterfactual efficiency that the free market might have produced. Like the Potosí silver based on slave labor that created financial liquidity and financed grain imports and other critical nodes in the European modernization process, the Kolyma gold put specie into the world economy, cash without which Russian development would not have occurred: No industrial plant, no war production -- and no defense against Operation Barbarossa.

Equally critical to the Russian war effort was the mining complex at Vorkuta-Pechora, the only source of coal in the country after the German invasion of the Donbass. Forced labor in extreme conditions was the only way to get at these natural resources: “The Commissariat for

494 David Nordlander, “Magadan and the Economic History of Dalstroi in the 1930s,” *The Economics of Forced Labor: The Soviet Gulag*, Paul R. Gregory and Valery Lazarev, ed. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2003, pp. 105-126, 108-117. Oleg Khlevnyuk, “The Economy of the OGPU, NKVD, and MVD of the USSR, 1930-1953,” in Gregory and Lazarev, ed., pp. 43-66, 48-49, 65.

495 Nordlander, pg. 108.

496 Khlevnyuk, “Economy of the OGPU...” 61.

Heavy Industry would never have accepted a mine in that condition as ready for production.”⁴⁹⁷

This operation, despite its recognized importance, was plagued by the disorganization and lack of effective planning that characterized so much of the Gulag's operation. Prisoners were dumped in the woods in the middle of winter and expected to get to work grading the railroad bed with no barracks nor wood to build them. Most supplies, including food supplies, were stuck frozen in the ice due to a late harvest and an early freeze. As the NKVD boss of a prisoner unit noted, “living quarters for the prisoners had not been included in the work plan,” although “a brigade of carpenters was building coffins.”⁴⁹⁸

Although Vorkuta-Pechora and Kolyma were mining and labor complexes where climactic conditions were extremely dangerous, the milder Alabama coalfields produced a mortality rate among the state convicts of forty percent, dwarfing even Kolyma, although the victims can be counted in hundreds, not tens of thousands. How high mortality rates might be for misdemeanor and county convicts is unknown. Throughout the 1870s and beyond, reports of the working and housing conditions in the mines were falsified, sometimes for a fee, by the state supervisory agency. In 1883, Alabama's “chief inspector” Reginald Dawson was granted legal access to the county-level prison-labor facilities, like William McCurdy's Lowndes County farm, which held an unknown number of local convicts in two pens while working the plantation, an arrangement that stood for over fifty years. A visit to J.W. Comer's Barbour County plantation revealed that the prisoners were in terrible condition, badly fed, and “unnecessarily chained and shackled.”⁴⁹⁹ Comer was the brother of future governor Braxton Bragg Comer; his prisoners had committed misdemeanors. There was no executive arm of the state's Board of Inspection to enforce a minimum standard of care that it suggested, had it wished to do so. The governor ignored Dawson's appeals, as did private operators like John Milner, who projected an apocalyptic future if African-Americans were

497 I. Negretov, “How Vorkuta Began,” *Soviet Studies*, vol. 2, no.4 (Oct. 1977), pp. 565-575, 569.

498 Negretov, 567. Fyodor Vasilevich Mochulsky, *Gulag Boss: A Soviet Memoir*, Deborah Kaple ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 6-7, 33.

499 Inspector Dawson quoted in Blackmon, 103.

allowed political participation: in an 1892 political pamphlet, he urged, "WHITE MEN OF ALABAMA STAND TOGETHER... It would be better... if left in the control of their negroes for Alabama... to sink beneath the waves and be forever lost."⁵⁰⁰

McCurdy and Comer also ran the Pratt mines, responsible for 200 state-level prisoners, where there were "miserable conditions, unfit for men to be kept in" and inmates were served food on coal shovels. Lice-infested miners had not been allowed a change of clothes for weeks. At the time there were at least 400 county convicts who had been judged by the local troikas and sent to work off their fines, ostensibly, in the Alabama mine complex. There were also many men for whom there was no arrest or conviction record of any kind and who were not listed on the rolls, meaning the county received no monthly payment and they could be held indefinitely.⁵⁰¹ The details make it seem unlikely that conditions on privately-run county farms could be better than at a state-run plantation like Angola or Parchman, where no inmate ever lived to serve out a ten-year sentence.

A subtle but important feature of the coal-to-steel process of industrial production in Birmingham was the position of forced labor in the most expeditious and capital intensive points in the process. The coal mined by the prisoners was really coal powder, more difficult and unpleasant to extract but ideal for conversion into coke, which in turn drove steel production. Free labor did not want to mine that powdery coal, but convicts had no choice. Shutting down coke ovens also had expensive consequences that the unruly free workforce could exploit. Would steel production have remained profitable under the shutdowns created by strikes or slowdowns? The position of forced labor in this industrial process at this juncture increases its importance beyond mere monetary savings, lowering the wages of free miners, for instance.⁵⁰² The centrality of its production to the overall process of industrial growth, like the gold that bought machinery and expertise for the USSR, suggests that industrialization was not possible without forced labor in this

⁵⁰⁰ Blackmon, 137.

⁵⁰¹ Blackmon, 100-106.

⁵⁰² Lichtenstein, 77-79, 89, 92-94.

instance.

There is no direct equivalent in Stalinism to the kind of forced labor enterprises manned by leased-out county captives to the smaller concerns in the postbellum South, many of which overlapped in ownership and management with state-level lessees. The judges who were appointed in the counties tried a handful of men in a given year, but the majority of prisoners were generated by the justices of the peace.⁵⁰³ The county judge had total powers over taxation, infrastructure, and imprisonment. He might decide which local farmers benefited from road construction by the county chain gang. However, private actors' economic motives had a greater influence on increasing forced labor. As soon as a county legislated a convict lease to private individuals, black arrests began. In 1880, Shelby County, Alabama legalized the use of convicts on public works (under the authority of Comer and McCurdy as "labor agents"), and little changed. In 1881, the county commission decreed their eligibility for lease to certain private businesses, like the Shelbyville Ironworks and Comer and McCurdy's mines and farms. Immediately, arrests mounted, on charges of vagrancy, adultery, use of profanity, and "obtaining goods on false pretenses," and these were almost always arrests of African-Americans. In 1883, the Shelby County labor agent was one Amos Elliot, justice of the peace and well-known storekeeper. The county also paid the sheriff and county solicitor a fee per prisoner. The former was an elected official, while the latter was a partner in the local bank with the many-time mayor of Shelbyville. These men controlled much of the financial activity in the cash-poor area and were the whole of the law. In two years over 200 black prisoners were leased out to various private individuals and corporations under this troika's authority; most of the prisoners did not have their "crime" or the size of their "fine" recorded.⁵⁰⁴

In Georgia, thousands of acres owned by former state senator and gubernatorial candidate James M. Smith were worked by hundreds of such locally procured debt-slaves, many among them

⁵⁰³ For a case study of these arrangements, see Blackmon, 160-170.

⁵⁰⁴ Blackmon, 107-109.

Smith's former slaves or their children. Some small-scale factories were also on the site. Smith used credit to keep the workers in debt and heavy whipping to enforce labor discipline. According to one man's testimony, Smith kept former slaves as prisoners for decades. Described by former prisoner John Hill in the 1930 -- the plantation had been founded in 1866, just after emancipation -- "He had what they called chain-gang slaves... They had to stay there and work all the time, and if they didn't work, they got beat."⁵⁰⁵ "Smithsonia," as Marse Jim called it, was entirely a product of his use of forced labor, a concentration of capital in private hands produced by independent action with very little political structure, under the authority of a virtually absent state. Some of the special settlement camps or labor colonies in the USSR had similar conditions, where remoteness gave a sadistic boss unchecked power, but the concentrated form of political and economic decision making does not seem to have tolerated so much independence from its executors.

A qualitative judgement of which system might be judged worse might be informed by the memoirs of lower-level participants, one in Siberia and one in Florida. In his memoir, Fyodor Mochulsky generally follows the whiggish revolutionary line, with occasional references to heartless exploitation by quasi-bourgeois "Big Bosses" who make sure the prisoners arrive but fail to deliver the food. He himself is referred to by his prisoners as "Citizen Boss," as he lets readers know. The constant theme of his narrative is the effective organization of work, of successful production in an impoverished, authoritarian yet anarchical context. At each assignment in Pechorlag, Mochulsky tells a tale of negotiating a consensus with groups of prisoners, be they criminals or intelligentsia, that benefits all: the work gets done and the prisoners get fed. Frequent details call attention to the living conditions he shared with the prisoners, and Mochulsky takes great pains to describe his own respectful treatment of them. Granted some social autonomy and privileges, the convicts learn to labor collectively for the good of all. "I developed a good working relationship and a mutual feeling of trust with them," he says repeatedly. Although he was a party member and eventually a diplomat, he describes himself as a worker: "So, After a twelve-hour

⁵⁰⁵ Blackmon, 122. A neighbor of Smith said, "He is able to buy his justice as it suits himself." Daniel, 34.

workday, you can sleep a few hours, and then go on to cutting and hauling wood for the Big Bosses. As they say, 'You can complain...'⁵⁰⁶

His depictions of political prisoners or “intellectuals” tends toward anti-bourgeois (or perhaps antisemitic) stereotyping, accusing them of devious and manipulative behavior. If he is critical of his immediate bosses, screaming for quota fulfillment while prisoners have no barracks, his description of an early attempt to discipline him reads as a triumph of Party democracy, as conniving superiors try and fail to make a case against him for building the barracks that saved the workforce. The former low-level Gulag boss and self-decried “patriot” clearly expresses belief in socialist labor as a force for modernizing the world. At the same time, he says that the Gulag system was “at its very core criminal” and “a barbarity that has nothing to do with socialism at all.” Mochulsky cannot believe that citizens of the USSR should be treated in this manner; unlike Cold War colonialists, he does not use racialized definitions of civilization as an excuse for the treatment meted out to them. Without recourse to human/inhuman and civilized/savage dichotomies, he must, at least rhetorically, confront the crimes in which he participated, although he has “not found any convincing answers.” He criticizes the Gulag system on several grounds: for persecuting intellectual dissent, persecuting petty criminals, allowing serious criminals practical authority, and being misogynist. Despite this condemnation of the forced-labor system he worked for, the editor of his memoir takes Mochulsky to task for failing to sufficiently confront the “unimaginable hell,” as she imagines it, of the Vorkuta-Pechorlag complex.⁵⁰⁷ One may judge it insufficient, but Mochulsky nevertheless identifies clearly certain aspects of the system he finds morally objectionable and objects to them.

The same cannot be said of J.C. Powell, author of the popular 1891 prison-guard memoir *American Siberia*. He expresses no moral qualms whatsoever about what he is doing; indeed, his “clear conscience” derives from never having whipped an undeserving convict (his text never quite

⁵⁰⁶ Mochulsky, 93, 86, 108, *passim*.

⁵⁰⁷ Mochulsky, 169, 172.

features a white man being whipped). The procedure is described: “[The whip] consists of a section of tough leather about a foot and a half long by three inches broad, and attached to a wooden handle. The castigation is applied below the loins, and the convict placed upon his knees with his palms on the ground. The clothing is then drawn back and the leather applied until, in the judgment of the captain, a sufficient punishment has been administered.” Powell claims to have insisted on performing all whippings himself because “the matter was always unavoidably the source of more or less outside criticism and I did not wish the responsibility to be divided.” He goes on to describe how chained men are forced to run through the Florida jungle to their worksites, dragged through the dirt when they fall from fatigue, and never is heard a discouraging word for the forced labor prison system in which he works. Indicted at one point to stand trial for cruelty to prisoners, he feels that he simply did his job. This attitude comes out despite his frank acknowledgement that many of the convicted are simply poor people facing false charges as cynical as those faced by a blind man convicted of stealing a gun. Even the title betrays a sense of moral disconnect – shouldn't such a state of affairs invite explanation or outrage? Isn't some sort of muckraking attitude the very selling point of the title?

Most episodes feature “Cap'n” Powell forcing others to submit to his authority, almost always through violence. In a particularly lurid bit of white-supremacist folk pornography, he interrupts a black couple during sexual intercourse and forces them to whip each other. Powell objects to nothing, however: in the end his work is a more or less dry, more or less lurid account of episodes of prison and work-camp life. When he describes how the vermin crushed by the convicts creates a rusty wash of blood over the walls around the bunks exactly like that in the Tsar's exile cabins described by George Kennan, there is no phatic interjection of moral dismay. Tellingly, he mixes his experiences of working “free labor” and “convict lease” camps. Conditions were similar enough to render it an unremarkable distinction.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁸ He also describes forcing prisoners to work with no shelter provided. J.C. Powell. *The American Siberia, or Fourteen Years in a Southern Convict Labor Camp*. Chicago: Homewood Publishing, 1891, pp. 22, 58, 117-118, 121-122, 130, 135, 224. .pdf

Unlike the terrible conditions commonly found in the Gulag camps, the wretched reality of this American form of forced labor was not a result of bureaucratic indifference to environmental factors and lack of resources. One of the outstanding features of this level of prisoner exploitation was its personal nature: those responsible for the forced-labor regime were in daily or near-daily personal contact with their victims. While the boss of a Gulag or "special settlement" prison camp did not have the authority to use the minimally available resources to improve prison conditions, the Captain Powells who ran their prison compounds and railroad camps had no institutional factors or higher authorities impinging on the treatment they meted out. While pure sadism was not unknown and may well have been relatively common, the southern boss tended to present himself as a hard man capable of hard action, unencumbered by sentimental weakness.⁵⁰⁹ This is precisely the type of figure the Bolsheviks fetishized in their own commitment to violent exploitation in the name of industrial modernity, a tough-guy attitude typified by a Zinoviev or an Ordzhokinidze. As Lewin puts it, "the Party wanted bosses to be efficient, powerful, harsh, impetuous, and capable of exerting pressure crudely and ruthlessly and getting results "whatever the cost"..." He goes on to observe that this was also the model for the Party bosses, the "rulers." This attitude created problems in camp administration. In Vorkuta, Negretov mentions that "Ya. M. Moroz, who arrived as head of the Ukhto-Pechora Trust in June 1935... was a man of the 'energetic but technically illiterate' type, and issued orders overriding elementary technical requirements, with disastrous consequences."⁵¹⁰ This sort of institutional aggrandizement is not unique to Bolshevism; regarding the decision-making process on Mississippi Levee construction, one senator wrote that "the [US Army] Chief of Engineers has refused to allow any civil engineer to approach him who differed from him in opinion."⁵¹¹

All in all, the Bolsheviks expressed far more concern over their miserable camps than

509 Blackmon, 167-68, 172.

510 Lewin quoted in: Ronald Grigor Suny, "Stalin and His Stalinism: Power and Authority in the Soviet Union," *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin, ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 27-52 pg. 45. Negretov, 567n15.

511 Barr, 74.

southerners did over theirs. In this area, for decades US historians practiced their craft by uncritically accepting certain source material while excluding other sources. Even while writing negatively about the forced-labor system of the South, the promotional material of mining companies and white supremacist historiography was favored over, for example, inspector's reports. The wooden stockades of the Pratt mines were not "model," they were "totally unfit for use, without ventilation, without adequate water supplies, crowded to excess, filthy beyond description." Prisoners were "poorly clothed and fed ...excessively and sometimes cruelly punished; there were no hospitals; the sick were neglected; and they were so much intimidated that it was next to impossible to get from them anything touching on their treatment."⁵¹² One penal historian characterizes the warden charged with supervising the state slave-labor system as "conscientious." Men were made to eat out of their coal shovels.⁵¹³ Applebaum describes Tolmachev's protests about Gulag failures to meet their minimum standards as being devoid of any real moral concern – ironically, she characterizes the primacy of the profit motive as amoral and sinister – despite his repeated efforts to deal with, for example, the death rate of deported "kulak" children, which earned Stalin's contempt.⁵¹⁴ This historiographically consistent assertion that communist state administration had no real humanitarian impulses to improve conditions may be ascribed to by some historians, despite the frequent on-the-record complaints, but no contemporary administrator of any ex-Confedrate incarceration system ever allowed even this minimum: that the "goal" of imprisonment "should not be to inflict physical punishment on the inmates or take revenge on the inmates for their crimes," as E.V. Shirvindt, head of early prison administration in the USSR, said in 1928.⁵¹⁵ The abuse meted out to black prisoners, even as late as the 1930s, in Georgia, changed little. The ritualized and sexualized torture techniques give the impression that they were in fact a goal of the South's prison system, as do the smiles of the guards while displaying them to a visitor.

512 McKelvey, "Penal Slavery...", 160-161. McKelvey's cited source, the state inspection organ, repeats the contractor's specifications. Blackmon, 101.

513 Blackmon, 106.

514 Applebaum, 65-66. Viola, 50.

515 Jakobsen, 85-86.

John Spivak observed this type of punishment regime in the most highly supervised part of the state system considered most humane by 1890s writer George Washington Cable.⁵¹⁶

516 In response to Spivak's muckraking novel and photographs, Georgia Governor Hugh Dorsey made this connection as this dissertation: "If the conditions indicated by these charges should continue, then both God and man would justly condmen Georgia more severely than man and God condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities." John L. Spivak. *Georgia Nigger*. New York: Brewer, Warren, & Putnam, 1932, pg. i. .pdf. Berkely Hudson & Ron Ostman, "A desire to End These Things: An Analytical History of John L. Spivak's Photographic Portrayal of 1930s Georgia Chain Gangs," *Journal of Visual Communications*, Vol. 16 (Oct.-Dec. 2009), pp. 191-209, 196-197, 200, 203.

Chapter 3: The Organization of Terror

The Ku Klux Klan was and is both a real organization and a loose attribution for racist violence and provocation. Ultimately it became emblematic of the white-supremacist action groups during Reconstruction and beyond. Understood in terms of its function, one observes similarities with the early Bolshevik terror apparatus. The Cheka and KKK had very different trappings and historical antecedents, not to mention different conscious ideological self-images, but they built themselves through similar structures, unleashed terror against political opponents, and operated in an anarchic post-war environment where modernizing forces were in conflict with colonial economic relationships. Although the Chekas tended to act against political opponents who were engaged in real military and paramilitary activity, they did take part in the struggle for economic control of the countryside. However, this control was not established on modern principles – landless agricultural laborers working on centralized industrial farms producing for market – until Stalinist collectivization a decade after the formative period of the Cheka. The KKK operated to establish economic control from the very start, with political terror going on at the same time. The weakness of the political opposition and of the freedmen's economic position probably helped the KKK to do more at once, but demographically as well the white-supremacist position was much stronger than the Bolshevik. Tsarist officer armies and conspiracies threatened revolutionary government across Russia and the political institutions everywhere were ad-hoc and discontinuous. In the postbellum South, political institutions were the same as ever and unlikely to change, while the military played no disruptive role after Appomattox. Kolchak, Deniken, and Wrangl had no southern US counterparts (had there been European-core states supplying arms, uniforms and food to ex-Confederate generals, however, one surely would have arisen), and the bandit gangs that flourished likely evolved into the Klan, while the Cheka suppressed banditry -- although Chekists

might confiscate valuables, and bandits posed as Chekists. The line between ex-Confederate bandit groups and those claiming a quasi-police function as “Regulators” was similarly unclear and probably porous, as was the line between bandit and Chekist, at least until 1919.

The ideological positions and presumptions of the actors in the two periods are dissimilar to the point of obscuring the parallels in the historical juncture. The Whites, superficially, more resemble the Confederate slavocracy, the latter parading their romantacized, pseudo-fuedal, aristocratic pretensions to the point of self-parody. Chevaliers, with their Ladies, on their “piazzas” at a “Chicora Wood” or a “Belle Meade” plantation, duelling to “satisfy one's honor,” all imitated the treacly fantasy world served up by Sir Walter Scott's mass-market romances, while Bolsheviks spoke a language of equality quite the opposite of white-supremacist insistence on biological and moral superiority. Yet the southerner lived in a kind of *Herrenvolk* aristocracy, with equality a matter of honor: the Confederate Army awarded no medals or even separate accolades to its officers. The contradiction resolves itself partially in that both Social Democrats and white Democracy claimed moral superiority on the grounds of scientific laws that defined civilization, iron laws of history and biology. White supremacy was in this way part of the mainstream of nineteenth-century creeds like Saint-Simonianism and Byronic Romanticism. The Left SR mystification of the peasantry is a phenonemon of the nineteenth-century urban classes, a spiritual socialism alongside the scientific socialism of the Social Democrats, the “science” of the latter reaching back, in any case, to Hegelian spiritualism. White supremacy also defined itself in the 1830s through discourses of science and spirit; the skull shapes and facial angles proving that God had created two distinct races.

Trotsky and Spiridonova, like Nechayev and Zasluch, but also like Booth and Forrest, were playing a role, that of the professional revolutionary. The southerners also saw themselves as occupying an anti-systemic niche, informed by somewhat different currents in the flow of modern European culture. Despite his broken leg, John Wilkes Booth, in spurs, struck a pose in Ford's

Theatre to deliver his line “*sic semper tyrannis*” after shooting Lincoln. Maria Spiridonova, accessorized with a red carnation, waved her revolver around the Bolshoi stage, shouting “Long live the revolt!” during the Fifth Soviet Congress.⁵¹⁷ Beyond sharing a certain flamboyance, these figures also claim to represent an agrarian alternative to the perceived domination of industrial modernity. They both occupy a privileged position *vis-a-vis* the actual agrarian labor force of the rural worlds they presume to speak for in their romanticized posturing.

The Cheka gained its governmental authority, such as it was, in a quite specific circumstance, the 1917 Public Employees Strike that threatened to separate the Bolsheviks from the bureaucratic levers of power. Cheka historian George Leggett observes that Lenin did not intend to create a political police “at that time,” but was opportunistic and pragmatic about breaking the strike. This made the organization more Dzerzhinsky's creature than Lenin's, originating as an extension of Iron Felix's Military Revolutionary Committee responsibilities and including many Left SRs among his personnel.⁵¹⁸ The significance of these specifics is that the terrorist secret police began as a contingency plan, with only “investigative” powers, in the context of two-party limited franchise democracy, and with bipartisan personnel. Likewise, the Extraordinary Commission was not a Party organization, formally in that it was directly subordinate to the Sovnarkom and not the Central Committee, but also in the sense that the Party was not the leading influence responsible for creating the ideological commitment or directing the practical activity of Cheka cadres. Morally, the Party may be responsible, or more broadly the Russian revolutionary left, but this terrorist secret police did not come into being through a preconceived plan or through Party discipline and Party

517 Lincoln, 127-128. Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 116. Booth paid for his theatricality. While leaping from the president's box to the stage, his spurs, which had been given to his father, famous actor Edwin Booth, by *his* father, Junius Brutus Booth, those spurs caught in some bunting and he landed poorly, breaking his leg. A broken leg limited his ability to escape and ultimately aided in his capture. *Secundo, sicut mimo*.

518 He also points out the antecedent “Anti-Kadet Decree,” which passed in response to the real Kaledin conspiracy and the fears created by Denikin and Kolchak, was “the first step towards the murderous Red Terror.” George Leggett. *The Cheka. Lenin's Political Police; The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (Dec. 1917-Feb. 1922)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986 (1981), pp. 13-14, 17-20.

organization. Lenin's well-documented insistence on “the most cruel revolutionary terror”⁵¹⁹ was not translated into action because of Lenin's direct command over Bolshevik cadres.

In fact Cheka formation across Russia was totally decentralized, even if on paper it was directly subordinate to Sovnarkom, and practically to Lenin. Outside of Moscow and St. Petersburg they had no means of enforcing their writ – Lenin could not even travel safely in the cities' immediate environs without being attacked by bandits. The push for terror was scarcely coherent. In December 1917 Lenin began “encouraging the masses” to violent direct action to “rob the robbers” and dispense “street justice,” but in January 1918 he told the Presidium of the Petersburg Soviet that looters must be shot on the spot, and in the martial law decree of February 21, 1918 (also drafting bourgeois “labor battalions”) “thugs” and “hooligans” are included along with resisters among those who “are to be shot on the scene of their crimes.”⁵²⁰ Looter or robber of the robbers? Street justice or hooliganism? The victim of the first summary execution attributable to the Cheka shows this lack of structural implementation and overall ambiguity: along with his “wife or mistress,” it was a “blackmailer and bandit affecting the title of Prince Eboli,” who also claimed to be a Chekist. The next two victims were also bandits posing as Chekists.⁵²¹ By March 5, 1918 Justice Commissar Steinberg (Left SR) presented to the Executive Committee a list of crimes committed by Cheka cadres, including “pilfering, assault, and bribe-taking.” As with Roman Malinovsky, criminal, citizen, revolutionary, and government agent, or as in 1908 when 4 out of 5 on the Bolshevik Central Committee were Okhrana agents, the roles blur. When are bandits Chekists, and when are Chekists bandits?

In December 1917, the Executive Committee had told local Soviets, many with heavy SR representation, to form their own local Chekas. The same sorts of dubious characters as those in

519 Lenin to People's Commissar for Justice Steinberg from the latter's memoir, in Leggett, 56.

520 “Encouraged” is Leggett's characterization, while the following quotes are Lenin's words. Trotsky later said Lenin constantly stressed the terror's inevitability, but the idea of terror in “the traditions of French revolutionary history” was widespread; Trotsky himself exulted, in December 1917 (to the Executive Committee of the Russian Republic, not a Party organization), that within a month, “after the example of the great French Revolution[,] the guillotine, and not merely the jail, will be ready for our enemies.” Leggett, 54-56.

521 Leggett, 55.

Petersburg, where the party had the greatest influence, must also have been operating across Russia, where it had very little. Definitions blur in the attack on the popular clown act of Ivan Radunsky, known as Bim-Bom. When the pair's anti-Soviet satirical couplets cut too deep, a group of Latvian Riflemen in the audience shot up the circus and provoked a panic.⁵²² They almost certainly were not ordered to shoot up the circus because of a clown's satire. However, historians are not wrong to consider this act a sign of terrorist political repression, only to consider it Chekist in the sense of being committed by a formally constituted political police. The question of power preceded formal organization.

The killings in late February of “Prince Eboli” et al., according to Martin Latsis, were “not anticipated by any decree, not authorized by anyone.” They *resulted* in a decree giving the Cheka the right to “summary trial and execution of sentence, including the death penalty.”(LG,32,58) Black Sea sailors who murdered their officers in January 1918 were not Chekists (nor necessarily Bolsheviks), nor were the Taganrog troops who killed 50 cadets from the military academy; the Bolsheviks doubtless approved of this kind of terror but they did not order it. Authoritarian Party organs did not engender these attacks. The Cheka did not take part in the disbanding of the Constituent Assembly. The Romanovs were executed by the local Ural Regional Cheka, but independent of the central Vecheka authority, and not according to a plan – the original intention had been to give the nobles a fair and public trial before shooting them. Advancing White and Czech armies provoked the regional Cheka, who received authorization for the killings through the regional soviet who turned to Moscow's Executive Committee; the most symbolic and political murder of the Russian Revolution was authorized by multiparty government in response to a

522 Although identified by Orlando Figes and George Leggett as Cheka, they were probably regular army, part of the Latvian Rifle Regiment, as Von Geldern specifies. Leggett, 60. James Von Geldern. [Bolshevik Festivals, 1917–1920](#). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pg. 114. David Satter, citing Orlando Figes, reports that the audience at first thought the soldiers were also clowns, that the clown Bim-Bom was shot in the back, and that his funeral became a public expression of dissent against the regime, but since the act had two clowns, Bim and Bom, only the first assertion is likely accurate. David Satter. *It Was a Long Time Ago, and It Never Happened Anyway: Russia and the Communist Past*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011, pg. 310n24. The joke, according to *Lapham's Quarterly*: "Bim came out with a picture of Lenin and one of Trotsky. 'I've got two beautiful portraits,' he announced, 'I'm going to take them home with me!' Bom asked, 'What will you do with them when you get home?' 'Oh, I'll hang Lenin and put Trotsky against the wall.'" <https://www.laphamsquarterly.org/tags/russia?page=3> accessed 17/05/18

military threat, not the result of centralized, Party secret-police organization. Had the 1918 Constituent Assembly results formed the basis for that government, a multi-party democracy might well have had the Romanovs executed, SRs not being known for their opposition to such tactics.

The local cheka organizations were, in Leggett's judgement, a "heterogenous collection of improvised bodies," such that even six months after the move to Moscow and the beginning of systematic control, they remained free from central oversight. Latsis went as far as saying that no local Chekas had been formed until after March 1918 and "such local Chekas as were being created appeared initially under a variety of names and shapes." On August 29, 1918, just before Lenin's shooting and Uritsky's assassination provoked their mass terror campaign, Dzerzhinsky affirmed the "indisputably autonomous" local Chekas in their independence.⁵²³ Progressive terrorism from independent actors coalesced into a bureaucratic terrorism by establishing itself as practice before any kind of centralized political terror organ developed.

In the first part of 1919, the Moscow Cheka's cases were 47% criminal; one study has found that "policing economic crimes, speculation and malfeasance, constituted the Moscow Cheka's main focus."⁵²⁴ Their assault on the anarchist compounds of Moscow and Petrograd would be seen as suppression of criminal elements in any parliamentary democracy, following on-the-scene British agent Robert Lockhart's perception;⁵²⁵ Leggett says the anarchists were "imposing a reign of lawlessness on the citizens of Moscow."⁵²⁶ The use of the Vecheka to suppress the state employees' strike – its proximate reason for existing – would have been equally unremarkable anywhere in Europe or the US. In July 1917, Sheriff Harry Wheeler's posse of 2,000 newly deputized men took over the telegraph office in Bisbee, Arizona, in the middle of the night and violently arrested over 1,000 striking miners. They were marched to and held in the baseball park before a train arrived, equipped with a mounted machine gun. 1,186 men were loaded onto filthy manure cars, "deported"

523 "Indisputably autonomous" are Dzerzhinsky's words. Leggett, 36, 43, 53, 64-66, 124.

524 Michelle Jane Patterson. "Moscow Chekists during the Civil War, 1918-1921." Unpublished dissertation, Simon Fraser University, April 1991.

525 R.H. Bruce Lockhart. *Memoirs of a British Agent*. London: Pan, 2002 (1932), pp. 242, 258-259.

526 Leggett, 35.

into the middle of the desert, and abandoned.⁵²⁷ The specifics of these actions in Bisbee closely resemble the morphology of totalitarian repression, but they did not result from the creation of a totalitarian political police, but the imposition of a certain kind of power.

In the US South postbellum conditions were like those in 1917-1918 Russia, in the sense of the collapse of law and order, social dislocation, and economic shortfalls produced by war. There was no immediate political threat to the ex-Confederate elite, however – Andrew Johnson's pardons and blocks on federal government action returned them to power at the state and national level. The mass murders reported by those few Federal representatives on the scene began immediately after surrender. White Southerners required immediate and obsequious obeisance from freedmen or they would respond with violence. Black Codes criminalized the failure to perform these gestures of humiliation as “impudence” and criminalized independent social and economic behavior far beyond petty theft. The political domination of the black population descended to the most inconsequential acts and exclusions in comparison to which the enemies of the Bolsheviks and the targets of the Cheka enjoyed an almost complete equality. The most minimal inclusion in the European social imaginary of “rights” was denied the freedmen, not only their free association and employment. Whites insisted on physically abusing the the black labor force as a ritual of exclusion, total exclusion, from that social imaginary: no ethical considerations such as the rights of man come to bear on white rule.

The Ku Klux Klan was only one of many, many indisputably autonomous groups in the heterogenous collection of improvised bodies engaged in racist terrorism across the South. The KKK formally began, according to the commemorative plaque, on Christmas Eve, 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee. The date is significant because, although the ex-Confederate Congressional delegation elected in 1865 had just been denied its seats by the Republicans, there had been no legislative policy established, and Johnson's policies on re-admission to Congress were lenient in the extreme

⁵²⁷ <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/bisbee/history/overview.html> accessed 12/05/16

(in fact, the South stood to gain in representation by fifteen to twenty percent in the House of Representatives when freedmen were counted as five-fifths of a person). The Freedman's Bureau extension and Civil Rights Act bills had not even been introduced, much less had their presidential vetoes overridden. The place is relevant because Tennessee had abolished slavery under a restricted franchise by state constitutional amendment in February 1865, and the Unionist governor William Brownlow advocated an eliminationist policy for the black population by deportation to some unincorporated territory.⁵²⁸ The Klan did not begin in reaction to Northern military occupation, white political marginalization, federal usurpation of states' rights, or the policies of Radical Reconstruction, none of which applied to its time and place of origin.

Historiographically there is some consistency across sources in repeating the claims of the founders that the original pre-Forrest Klan was a "hilarious social circle" that played "pranks" around the area. Wyn Craig Wade treats as a straightforward practical joke the "gag [that] seems to have been played by every Klan den in the South" wherein a Klansman would ask a black person for water and pretend to drink an excessive amount while the liquid was actually funnelled into a hidden skin or gourd.⁵²⁹ This prank should be seen as a *threat*: one of the tortures meted out to black Americans was the "excruciating painful" water torture, where a person was forced to swallow a great amount of water until the stomach distended and it was difficult to breath.⁵³⁰ Michael Newton's 2014 history points out that whites included "even killing" in the category of a prank, and it could well include whipping and rape.⁵³¹ Such a "gag" also takes place in a general context of widespread assault on and murder of African-Americans. Tennessee's Unionist state legislators said that aside from "group violence, the organized fight against the Negro which was continuous, the personal physical opposition was continually in existence."⁵³² The essential power relation establishing social and economical exclusion was the dominant rule of white conduct.

528 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 44-45.

529 Craig Wade, 35.

530 Powell, 8-9.

531 Newton. *White Robes*, 6.

532 Quoted in Dubois, *Reconstruction*, 144.

The mummery, the costumes and rituals, did make good newspaper copy and helped popularize the Klan. Giles County was steeped in witchy folklore, and Sir Walter Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft* was in its second printing. The Klans' ritualized foolery and intimidation tactics connected back to the Know-Nothing Party, the anti-immigrant lodge of the 1850s, and the Knights of the Golden Circle, its descendent. Started by William Buckley, this organization, with chapters in every southern state and California, proposed to organize a private army to conquer the "Golden Circle," with Cuba at its center, extending across the Caribbean, down to South America and up to Mexico. These lands were to be a new Slave Republic. Less successful, in a way, than other filibusteros such as William Walker, Buckley never got any Knights across the Rio Grande. However, after secession, his organization became the operational nuclei for several states' contributions to the Confederate Armies.⁵³³ Perhaps in a different cultural matrix the Knights of the White Camellia or the Yellow Jackets might have become the most popular organizations for perpetrating white supremacist violence. In any case, by spring of 1866 local Klans had spread well beyond Giles County and the State of Tennessee, acknowledged by Pulaski headquarters or not, aided by sympathetic newspaper accounts.

The Memphis Riot of May 1866 was not a result of Klan organization but was the context governing its expansion; the New Orleans Riot of June 1866 also preceded the founding of the White Camellia. The New Orleans riot had been provoked by the Governor James Madison Wells's attempt to reconvene the state Constitutional Convention, much to the consternation of the ex-Confederate Mayor, Confederate veterans, and the police. Only twenty-five delegates arrived, with about 200 black Union men in the galleries. The police and Confederate veterans attacked and produced, in General Philip Sheridan words, "an absolute massacre."⁵³⁴ This is also a clear example of political terrorism without a centrally-organized political police or paramilitary. It is outside the framework of political totalitarianism, especially the Brzezinsky/Friedrich model, unless one

533 Craig Wade, 38-39, 43.

534 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 263.

includes white supremacy as such, and changes models accordingly. Newton reports that in north Mississippi, not far from Memphis, a gang calling themselves Heggie's Scouts killed 116 African-Americans in one massacre and dumped the bodies into the Tallahatchie River in 1866; this group later became Klan.⁵³⁵ The practical activity of violent repression preceded institutional consolidation of organs that perpetuated it.

In the consolidation of the more or less self-generated terrorist groups one sees the idea of concentrated and diffuse manifestations of the "totalitarian" power dynamic. The Cheka was redeployed as a state terror organ in the wake of the Lenin shooting and Uritsky murder, six months after executing the self-styled Prince. In January 1919 the regional Chekas were abolished and the OO Special Department at the supervisory Vecheka level took over responsibility for local political murders and arrests, and by the end of February this was applied to the Army and Navy as well. The same decree structured the Revolutionary Tribunals as troikas, with no access to appeal of sentence, setting up the basic three tiers of legal processing (or two tiers of legal and one of extra-legal action): Courts/Tribunals/Cheka.

This is also the time when the Cheka began labor discipline operations, threatening to shoot state foresters if they failed to meet the timber quota. The decree of April 1919, prohibiting city workers from transferring to different jobs show an early instance of workforce movement control; Cheka-run concentration camps, conceived as "schools of labor," were by November 1919 the threatened destination for "particularly obstructive workers who repeatedly refuse to submit to discipline measures." The Inter-Departmental Commissions were formed with the intent to apply "coercive power to to improve efficiency and boost production in the economic system." Lenin had already declared, "We need compulsion in labour discipline," as clearly as any plantation owner in 1865 insisting that "the *lash*" was the only way to get freedmen to work.⁵³⁶

In the US South these elements of violent coercion appeared without being legislated or

⁵³⁵ Newton, *White Robes*, 7, 14.

⁵³⁶ First quotes from USSR decrees; "coercive powers" are Leggett's words. Leggett, 172, 174, 179, 205, 241, 243. Plantation owner Hugh Davis, Jr., May 30 1865, quoted in Litwak, *Been in the Storm*, 343.

decreed. However, the Ku Klux Klan did shift into a more organized form as leadership in Pulaski was passed to ex-Confederate Brigadier General George Gordon. He created a lightweight bureaucratic structure on top of the local dens, whose individual organizational tenets were not changed. Although one will not find a Sovnarkom-style decree connecting the political elites and their terror organization, the Klan was by April 1867 deeply tied to the political interests of the Democracy. Gordon's re-organizational meeting took place during the Democratic Party caucus at the Maxwell House Hotel in Nashville where the Party was choosing political candidates for the fall election, elections made necessary by the Congressional rejection of the 1866 body of ex-Confederates sent to Washington under the terms of Presidential Reconstruction. The Party was taking some control of the cadres that had previously been acting purely based on ideological motivation, independent of direction. The most telling connection between the Klan and the political elite was that Gordon's loose hierarchy organized the local county dens by congressional district. Each district was to be headed by a Grand Titan, and these answered to the state-level Grand Dragon.⁵³⁷ This networking of terror cells was the answer to the first challenge to political supremacy of the ex-Confederate planters, although the cells had been practicing terror in an independent manner previously.

The political pressure was much less acute in this case than that faced by the Bolsheviks from without and within their SD-SR coalition in 1918, since the Fourteenth Amendment kept the former Confederate masses enfranchised; the economic distress was less severe, although it was considerable, and it was disproportionately felt by black Americans, given the common practice of driving off the workers without pay after the harvest.⁵³⁸ The political pressure and economic distress impinged much more on the Russians. What the case of the US South makes clear is that a totalitarian-effect terror organization can arise under much less extreme conditions. Nor should one fail to identify the presence of ideologically motivated political terror solely because it lacks

⁵³⁷ Craig Wade, 37-38. Newton, *White Robes*, 5-7, 9.

⁵³⁸ The Freedman's Bureau tried to influence freedmen to stay and work on the contract terms that the planters defined. Litwack, 309, 386, 418-420, 441. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction*, 137, 225-227.

sufficient bureaucratic presence, especially when, as in the US South, the upper-echelon personnel are military, police, and government figures. In the words of Klan Grand Wizard, ex-Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Klan was “a protective, political, military organization... giving its support of course, to the Democratic Party.”⁵³⁹

Both Wade and Newton conclude that Forrest, moving around the South as a railroad booster and insurance salesman, co-ordinated in some manner the interstate Klan formation through the following years, but he may have been no more than a recruiting poster (although he did meet early with Georgia Governor John B. Gordon, and Georgia's Klan was active by 1868). Different dens did cooperate in attacks, especially on black-belt targets, where few “klaverns” were based, but how much executive oversight took place remains conjecture. There were “front” organizations like the Young Men's Democratic Club in Florida and various Rifle Clubs across the South, not to mention sister organizations like the White Camellia or the Texan Knights of the Rising Sun, founded by William Saufley, Democratic Party County Chairman. On October 4, 1868, the latter group lynched a white Republican, George Smith, and his two black companions, who had been jailed for assault after defending themselves from a previous attack.⁵⁴⁰

The turning point for organized violence appears to have been the 1867 elections in Tennessee, in which the “Conservatives,” Democrats and former Whigs, discovered that black Americans would not, in fact, vote for them. Georgia and South Carolina were also bloody early, the former state experiencing, by October 1868, an absolute minimum of 31 murders, 41 shootings, 5 stabbings, 55 beatings, and 8 whippings of over 200 lashes attributed to the Klan alone, including the murder of judge George Ashburn, who had chaired the 1867 Constitutional Convention. In Louisiana, a minimum of 1,884 freedmen were murdered between the months of April and November 1868. One recalls the previously discussed attacks in St. Landry Parish, where the local

⁵³⁹ Forrest also claimed the Klan had originally resisted the “[Union] Leagues and The Grand Army of the Republic” and that the Klan had over 500,000 members, or one for every four African-Americans estimated to live in the South at the end of the war. Craig Wade, 50. Newton, *White Robes*, 14, 19.

⁵⁴⁰ Newton, *White Robes*, 15-16. Craig Wade, 40-44.

teacher and newspaper editor Emerson Bentley was forced to flee, the printing facilities were destroyed, and many ad-hoc, lightly organized groups subsequently fanned out into the plantations, murdering at least 200 African-Americans. In South Carolina, 1868 saw the assassination of black Constitutional Convention delegate Benjamin F. Randolph, followed by two more state legislators. Arkansas congressman James Hinds was murdered.⁵⁴¹ Georgia State Senator Tunis Campbell, before his arrest, was threatened with shooting by eight men holding revolvers while attempting to speak in the statehouse.⁵⁴²

Governors without Klan sympathies found themselves unable to establish a military defense. In Tennessee, Governor Brownlow could not raise enough men for a white state militia, despite Unionist East Tennessee. In Arkansas (in 1869) Republican Governor Powell Clayton's shipment of 4,000 rifles was intercepted by the Klan when it arrived. Adelbert Ames would face similar problems in Mississippi. South Carolina Governor Robert K. Scott could not stop the Democratic bands from killing whomsoever they chose, but he attempted in any case to disarm the black militia.⁵⁴³ The military authorities were at this point Johnson appointees who reflected his white-supremacist line, and those few US Army regiments still in the South did nothing. The Klan also practiced grass-roots disarmament: In 1866, in southwestern Tennessee, Klan squads were already raiding black homes at night and stealing their firearms; in Maury County, the Klan managed to seize 400 guns from black homes in February 1868 in a spree of murder and flogging.⁵⁴⁴

They did not neglect the pen for the sword. The year saw an attack on schools (this emphasis on blocking access to education was acknowledged even by pro-Klan historian William Garret Brown in 1901). Two Tennessee teachers were badly flogged and beaten, one covered in tar, turpentine, and lampblack, the latter substance being a blackface minstrel device.⁵⁴⁵ As Leon

541 Foner, *Reconstruction*, 342.

542 Egerton, *Wars*, 191.

543 Egerton, *Wars*, 298.

544 Newton, *White Robes*, 13.

545 Craig Wade, 63. David Chalmers describes "a veritable reign of terror which saw schools burned and teachers whipped, tortured, murdered, and driven out of the state." Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 14-15. Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 279. Lott, 37.

Litwack puts it, “In nearly every part of the South, but especially in the rural districts, the destruction of schoolhouses only begins to suggest the wave of terror and harrassment directed at the effort to educate blacks.” “They would kill any one who would go down there and establish colored schools,” testified a Virginia freedman in 1865. Outside of terrorism, schoolhouses might be declared “nuisances,” informal compacts among the whites denied rental facilities, churches lost their fire insurance if they offered classes, and teachers found themselves unable to find room and board – all legal and even ostensibly race-neutral white-supremacist tactics. When teachers were stubborn enough to board with black families, they were arrested under miscegenation and vagrancy statutes.⁵⁴⁶

These tactics were extremely effective, as Republican votes dropped vertiginously by the fall elections of 1868 in Tennessee, northern Alabama, and Georgia. In Columbia County, Georgia Republican votes went from 1,122 in spring to one lone vote in November.⁵⁴⁷ Across Georgia's black belt, eleven black-majority counties failed to record one single Republican vote. In Louisiana, Johnson's Military Governor, General Lovell Rousseau, told African-Americans not to vote or they would face violence and declared that the “ascendance of the negro in this state is approaching its end.” (Louisiana did not have a majority-black legislature.) Although the paramilitary resistance was great enough that in some areas armed pickets kept black voters away from or simply closed down the polling places, Grant still won the national election, as he would in 1872.⁵⁴⁸ However, in 1876 it was precisely the paramilitary and terrorist activity in the states of Louisiana and South Carolina that resulted in two sets of election returns, which created the opening for the political class to officially end Reconstruction by withdrawing the few remaining garrisons from the former Confederacy.

A telling incident in South Carolina from October 1868 highlights the constitutive elements of white supremacist terror. Southern Unionist trial judge William Champion, Republican Party

⁵⁴⁶ Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 487.

⁵⁴⁷ Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 15.

⁵⁴⁸ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 342-343.

registrar for the county, had allowed a school to be built on his land, and treated black people as equal before the law in his court. A Klan party kidnapped him and hauled him out to the woods, where they encountered an unrelated group of Klansmen who had kidnapped a sixty-year-old black couple, the Bowdens, who had managed to acquire twelve acres of farmland. The Bowdens were stripped and whipped, while Champion was beaten to unconsciousness. Then the groups united, revived him, and forced him and Mr. Bowden to act out a ritual of sexual humiliation; they had attempted to force Champion to rape Mrs. Bowden.⁵⁴⁹ Violent assault was so ubiquitous that two entirely different parties met while torturing different victims: an attack on a political actor, an attack on black education, and an attack on independent black farmers -- the Bowdens were successfully driven off their land. The forced sexual submission in this context speaks to the colonial roots of this violent assertion of power, just as the political and economic ramifications highlight the colonially-structured ends to which it is employed.

Only the lurid tales of propagandists for Kolchak and Denikin, original sources for which are lacking, can compare Bolshevik practices to the intensity of violence employed by the Klan and the diffuse networks of white-supremacist terror.⁵⁵⁰ Although it is impossible to prove, it is quite possible that a greater proportion of black Americans than Russians were murdered by organizations dedicated to political terrorism during the process of establishing political power, at least following archival evidence. More important than numbers is how the modalities of repression of the Invisible Empire resemble those of the Bolsheviks. The Cheka had, in some ways, a more limited sphere of operation, and its initial victims were differently socially situated, but it attacked both economic and political resistance to the regime, while legislation through decree disfranchised and barred from education those perceived as enemies.⁵⁵¹ Teachers and preachers are intelligentsia and clergy, in so many words. Both terrorist groups relied on independent action from the ideologically committed that came before organization from political centers. Opposition press

549 Craig Wade, 69-71.

550 Lincoln notes the lack of sources, but accepts the tales. Lincoln, 389-391.

551 There were also bars to state employment. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 115-117.

was attacked and shut down, and economic independence could incite a terrorist response.

Violence with impunity was the main type of action; Leggett's appraisal of the Cheka also perfectly fits the Klan: "Deterrence was the essence of the terror... the very fact that it was arbitrary, indiscriminate, and incalculable in its application heightened its pervasive, paralyzing effect."⁵⁵² One scheme of organization had abstract power concentrated in the hands of one man, or one governing organization – complaints to Bolshaia Lubianka 14 – and expected decrees to be followed, while the other never had more than a veneer of command structure, no control over local cells at all, and no formal position within political structures. These different forms of political and practical organization made no difference in the scale of repression, to the victims individually, nor to the categories of victims that were chosen. The structure of political power whether Communist or Democratic allowed murder and violence to thrive in its name and be used against the same relationally-defined categories of enemies.

The Cheka and the KKK both relied on Party newspapers as organizational tools and promotional outlets. Although nothing quite as formal as advertisements for Cheka training courses appeared in the US South, the newspaper was the means by which the Bolsheviks and the Democracy called for local cells to organize. When the Cheka control commissions were established, complaints welcome, even, it was publicized through *Izvestia*. Multiple newspapers were used "to publish appeals for public cooperation, to issue stern warnings, to announce various security measures, and to proclaim its triumphs," as Leggett says. He believes that the press accounts of the violent suppression of the Savinkov (SR) revolt in Iaroslavl were a device "*pour encourager les autres*." The Vecheka ordered the regional chekas, transmitting the order through *Izvestia*, to report their doings "for purposes of publicity."⁵⁵³ In the South, dedicated news weeklies like *Ultra Ku Klux* and even dailies like the *Daily Ku Klux Vedette* kept track of and publicized

⁵⁵² Leggett, 340.

⁵⁵³ Leggett, 29-30, 85, 103-104.

violent incidents.⁵⁵⁴ Ryland Randolph, “Cyclops” of a KKK cell in Tuscaloosa, claimed that the Klan announcements like the one he printed in the local *Independent Monitor* in April 1868 resulted in specific targets being attacked, “three notably offensive negro men” in that instance.⁵⁵⁵

Ideological images were distributed in both systems as advertising and product packaging, with political broadsheets and cigarette ads using similar visual and linguistic tropes, more or less explicitly. The cigarette branding of Belomor and The Guns celebrated the achievements and victories of the USSR, offering a message of workerism and militancy like the poster “Work with no fear, your rifle is near.”⁵⁵⁶ The Klan's name endorsed a wide of array of consumer goods, from tobacco, to paint, to a Nashville children's baseball team.⁵⁵⁷ The visual consistency in representations, especially of the face, in a wide variety of product packaging can also be discerned in the 1866 political poster castigating the Freedman's Bureau for “keep[ing] the negro in idleness.” This broadside shares an interesting motif with an anti-*kulak* propaganda poster. The *kulak* and “negro” both relax while others work to support them. These congruent attitudes towards the necessity and nobility of work, as well as the oppression and laziness of the enemy, are visible despite the fact that one text exhorts the viewer to vote while the other propagandizes following Party decree.⁵⁵⁸

The economic, political, and social are not separable fields of action, but self-reinforcing modalities spreading the same message and enforcing the essential power dynamics. By 1910 one can see it all come together in a Gold Dust detergent advertisement, a brand whose trademark was the “pickaninny” trope: “Roosevelt Scoured Africa! The Gold Dust Twins Scour America! 'Let the Gold Dust Twins Do Your Work!’” The “pickaninnies” carry Roosevelt's luggage ashore while Uncle Sam welcomes a grinning T.R. in pith helmet and Wellingtons in front of a group of

554 Dray, 45.

555 Craig Wade, 42-43, 456.

556 The advertisement and the political poster also share a color scheme and elements of of composition. Barkhatova & Shklyaruk, ed., 2, 37.

557 Dray, 45.

558 Political and advertising images share wide eyes; tilted head; exaggerated, open mouth; fancy dress; too-dark skin; and bare and/or exaggerated feet. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 194-195. Kotkin, 618-619.

battleships firing – the imagery beggars satire.⁵⁵⁹ It also lays out the narrative of white supremacy in its most basic form: white people will use force to make non-white people work for them. Roosevelt, like Woodrow Wilson, was both president and historian as well as a white-supremacist, and this advertisement demonstrates quite clearly the close relationship between ideology, political power, economic interest, and cultural authority in modern states, be they democracies or dictatorships.

A good example of the congruence between totalitarian or dictatorial governments and the more formally democratic countries of the European core shows up in the historian Simon Sebag Montefiore's choice of vocabulary to describe powerful Bolsheviks: “magnates.” The Party revolutionary as uber-capitalist, the captain of industry redefined as a commissar. Montefiore's choice of vocabulary should be seen not as a back-handed criticism of capitalist individualism but as a practical description of a kind of economic and political power as wielded by an Ordzhonikidze or a Vanderbilt, a Kirov or a Frick.⁵⁶⁰ This is the type of power that organizes deportations of recalcitrant workers and attacks on trade-unionists, that administrates industrial production and exercises political control. More specifically, “magnate” correlates first and foremost with lexical categories of modern production and industrial development, especially extractive industries like coal and steel, and secondarily with mass consumption, where, especially in mass media, the term can cross over with “mogul.” It does not simply mean successful bourgeois, much less a mere manufacturer, and the term and the powers it describes do not derive from lordship, despite the transfer of seigneurial rights as property relations.

Magnates are always parvenues and nabobs; to a traditional aristocracy there is something vaguely Wat-Tylerish about them and the process of development. A secondary meaning in Polish and Hungarian is the term for bourgeois parliamentarians, not coincidentally, but the Oxford

559 <https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/2014/09/18/teddy-roosevelt-empire-builder/> accessed 06/06/16

560 Where Montefiore's vocabulary choices are most questionably exuberant, they are orientalist, sensationalist, or Cold War moralist; “magnate” stands out for being none of these. Montefiore, *Court*, xix, and *passim*.

English Dictionary does indicate a general break between nineteenth-century and earlier usages:⁵⁶¹ the term is a European coinage of the colonial-era core describing new, powerful agents of modernity and progress. They are the top cadres of industrial development, possessing a kind of “beyond the law” power relation implicitly denied by the social imaginary of modernity and explicitly denied by post-revolutionary democratic legality. Reality will demonstrate violent coercion, personal and political. Sergo slapped his underlings to get them motivated at the Commissariat of Heavy Industry, and Yezhov and Beria killed thousands at Kolyma. Carnegie never visited the mines where his prisoners worked themselves to death for US Steel. None of these figures had substantive democratic processes limiting their power over certain economic actors. As Beria's daughter is said to have remarked, in a different system he might have been the Commissioner of General Motors.⁵⁶² A Stalinist or gilded-age magnate possessed sufficient political and economic power to impose conditions of production, and did so, in the name of progress and development.

Whence this power? For the Bolsheviks, the principle of “revolutionary” action over legality was part and parcel of their self-image and practice. Legitimation derived from the scientific certainty of the Marxian teleology of modernity. Following this logic, the USSR would have to undergo a phase of primitive accumulation which would differ from that of the capitalist core precisely because “Russia had no colonies on which to draw,” as Lewin describes Preobrazhensky's prescient analysis of 1924. In addition to stripping wealth from the bourgeoisie, then, Preobrazhensky saw that the peasantry would have to become an “internal colony” of the socialist economy. Tellingly, his vocabulary was judged politically incorrect; when the article was republished in a book, mention of a “colony” was suppressed, but “exploitation” was not. “The immediate task would be to take from the pre-socialist sector [*i.e.* the agricultural producers] even

⁵⁶¹ A secondary meaning in Polish and Hungarian is the term for bourgeois parliamentarians, not coincidentally.

Oxford English Dictionary, Compact Edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. “Vaguely Wat-Tylerish” is a wry line from Dickens, in *Bleak House*.

⁵⁶² Montefiore, *Court*, 510.

more than had been taken from it under the Tsars," in order to produce "a rapid rate of development, and the highest possible level of accumulation."⁵⁶³ The whip-hand of the cotton overseer remains the frame of reference for exploitation that will demand a certain power dynamic. Potosí, Jamaica, South Carolina, Congo, South Africa, Kolyma: Forced and coerced labor being the essential colonial practice, the power to go beyond the law claimed by the commissar, and the projection of this power as a historical necessity, derive from the imposition of peripheralization on colonial lands.

The cruelty at Kolyma resulted from the concentrated application of models from the diffuse experience of colonial resource exploitation. "We have to colonize the north in the shortest possible time," said Yagoda. This is the type of authoritarian power relation that Arendt identified in *Origins of Totalitarianism*, created through the militarized administration of colonial territories and then transplanted back to the home countries. One sees this power relation in Stanley having African carriers shot, or Frick having Pennsylvania steelworkers shot, in murder as a form of labor discipline. One sees it in Guatemala legislating that any indigenous people may be impressed as agricultural laborers, the the most basic concept of white supremacy: black labor is free for all white men. The magnate and the commissar are the figures who control and develop economic resources, Charles Gould with his silver mine in *Nostramo* or Berzin with his timber-harvesting prison camps in Perm, but also Kurtz in "Heart of Darkness," a director of economic exploitation in the name of civilization who has the power to "exterminate the brutes" or "liquidate the *kulak*."

An interesting parallel between the Stalinist and white-supremacist forced-labor prison complexes highlights the undemocratic and beyond-the-law power relations revealed in the utility of a term like "magnate." In both systems a subculture of personal appeals, interventions, and pardons flourished. In the much more extensive Russian Gulag, this tendency also appeared as

⁵⁶³ Lewin, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, 150-151. The same phrase and developmental logic, referring to Japan's development in the early twentieth century, appears in an liberal-centralist institutional source: "Europe... [had] colonies to provide cheap labor and resources... In Asia... there were no colonies on which to draw, except when Japan created them." Janet Hunt. *Disarming Poverty: Disarmament for Development in Asia-Pacific*. Australian Council for Overseas Aid, 1987, pg. 29. <https://books.google.es/books?id=OOWyAAAIAAJ> accessed 19/05/18

mass amnesties. This subculture demonstrates the tenuous legitimacy that modern legality had in the eyes of ruled and rulers alike, the latter in practice willing to override the law for one man's whim. It is a kind of limited *Führerprinzip*, resocializing the backward masses into the terms of modernity. Prisoners in both Gulag and Dixie camps assumed, correctly, that powerful individuals, magnates, could intercede with the formally constituted authorities and trump the law. The granting of reprieve from deadly forced labor reinforces the power to dictate economic arrangements: one can only suspend conditions that one has the power to impose. As Sheila Fitzpatrick has commented, these pleas to paternalism counterbalance “the restriction of association and collective action and the weakness of legal processes;”⁵⁶⁴ this description aptly fits the situation of African-Americans in the South in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Ironically, the refusal to intervene on someone's behalf could be justified by recourse to legalism, a legalism which was contradicted by the observable conditions of everyday life. Stalin told his own secretary Poskrebyshev, who had handled paperwork dealing with Stalin's personal interventions, that he could not intervene to save his wife because the case was in the hands of the NKVD,⁵⁶⁵ which indicates a cynicism so deep, in petitioner and petitioned, that it becomes indistinguishable from self-deception. This faux innocence is aslao a distinctive part of white-supremacist affect, visible in the post-Reconstruction cultural idealization of what Jackson-Lears called “the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*.”⁵⁶⁶ Baldwin observes that the legitimating principle behind slavery relied on denying the humanity of black people in order to deny the criminality of the acts perpetrated on their bodies, and by the civil-rights era the institutionalization of this denial allowed white Americans to engage in “a flight from reality... an attempt to dismiss social reality.”⁵⁶⁷ A kind of analogue to the Stalin/Poskrebyshev encounter, where a man lies to another, who knows it, both knowing that the other also knows the lie is false, took place in

564 Fitzgerald, *Everyday Stalinism*, 175-176.

565 Montefiore, *Court*, 318-319.

566 T.J. Jackson-Lears. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1872-1920*. New York: HarperCollins, 2009, pg 43.

567 James Baldwin, “The White Problem,” *Cross of Redemption: Uncollected Writings*. New York: Vintage, 2011 (1964), pp. 95-96.

Monroe, North Carolina between the Police Chief and Robert F. Williams, head of the local NAACP. After his vehicle was attacked by white Griffin Bynum, whom he could identify, Williams showed the damaged car to Chief A.A. Mauney, who told Williams he could see no damage.⁵⁶⁸

Getty and Naumov have described how the Bolshevik loyalty ritual involved a stylized submission to power, and this relationship is highlighted in the pleas for clemency received by leaders.⁵⁶⁹ Is it a stretch to compare this with the ritual of submission demanded of non-whites? To miss the mark, to be insolent or impudent, could get one killed. The submission to the Party was in this sense palpable evidence of its continuing power, as black submission was for white supremacy. Get to the back of the bus, Bukharin. Stalin's more or less paranoid obsession with loyalty was shared not only by Hitler but by the planters of the US South, who according to private texts felt deeply betrayed by their former slaves leaving their plantations. This shocking departure was heavily influenced by the fact that slaves had relatives elsewhere, having been sold away from their families, but loyalty was expected to trump family ties, "loyalty" meaning here not only labor discipline but also submission to racist behavioral injunctions. Stalin, who had informal but evident behavioral rules as well, also demanded family be sacrificed to loyalty, as when Kaganovich had to publically accept the veracity of false evidence against his brother (who killed himself rather than face Beria), among other incidents.⁵⁷⁰ One should recall that for the cotton magnates, the unruly or "disloyal" slave could well be their son or daughter. There is, in this power and the submission to it, more at stake than strictly economic or political utility, as Kissinger and Pasolini noted in opposing emotional registers. Returning to Theodore Roosevelt and the Gold Dust Twins, one might doubt the utility of a Lacanian or more generally psychoanalytic interpretation of the libidinal tensions in which this image is fairly drenched. However, one must acknowledge that any such discursion, perhaps beginning with T.R.'s explosive, phallo-celebratory pith helmet, would

⁵⁶⁸ Immediately after this encounter, another white rammed Williams' car off the road and went after him with a bat, while a pair of police pulled guns on Williams and his passenger. Williams, however had his rifle to hand and achieved a tactical advantage. "No charges were filed." Timothy B. Tyson. *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999, pp. 253-255.

⁵⁶⁹ Getty and Naumov, 47-48, 50-54.

⁵⁷⁰ Montefiore, *Court*, 344-346.

necessarily be robust. This is a level of affective intensity that seems excessive in an encouragement to buy soap.

This detergent advertisement can stand shoulder-to-shoulder with any piece of totalitarian personality-cult propaganda. The Twins at right are the very definition of stylized submission to power. These multivalent political/commercial texts tended to be more subdued in the Soviet idiom, but the Bolsheviks used the techniques pioneered by the imperialist core. For example, one of the Bolshevik regime's propaganda efforts were Sovnarkom trading cards.⁵⁷¹) "Teddy" Roosevelt appeared on trading cards, not campaign promotional material, by at least 1913;⁵⁷² he was one of the first US politicians to understand the high-modern personality-cult possibilities and tirelessly worked to publicize himself even outside of the context of elections; he may have been the first modern celebrity. He influenced cultural, military, political, academic, and economic features of the nation, and had himself photographed while doing so.⁵⁷³ The Gold Dust Twins advertisement refers to his hunting trip to Africa, which had been extensively documented, rather than a political event or military victory. This is the image of the celebrated magnate at play, free to "scour" Africa the way a Reconstruction cavalry irregular scoured his corner of Louisiana. A specifically colonial power is represented by almost every visual element displayed: the sailors with their oars aloft in native pose, the battleships, the Twins themselves, the tiger-skin, and Roosevelt's clothes.

Yet, setting the Twins aside, how far off are these images of T.R. and Uncle Sam from possible Bolshevik propaganda depictions of, say, Voroshilov and Kalinin? Change their hats, or squint, and one has a suitable image to propagandize the Red Army being welcomed by the President after the victory at Kronstadt. The style here is more Rockwellian than constructivist, but then Norman Rockwell's oeuvre fits perfectly within the aesthetic decrees of socialist realism,⁵⁷⁴ and,

571 Voroshilov traded higher among the kids than Molotov. Montefiore, *Court of the Red Tsar*, 165.

572 Card scanned at <https://www.cardcow.com/146573/july-4th-teddy-roosevelt-holidays/> accessed 03/08/16

573 Daniele Fiorentino, "The United States at the Beginning of the Century, 20th and 21st," Associazione Italiana di Studi Nord Americana Seminario di Letteratura, storia e cultura americana, "Turning in and out of the American Century," Centro di Studi Americani, Rome 08/05/2012. Roosevelt's representation currently serves as mascot for the Washington Nationals baseball team.

574 See Rockwell's Henry Luce-published 1967 *Look* illustration, "Russian Schoolroom," although one might observe that where Soviet Realism presented a faux-reality based on the aspirations of progress, Rockwell depicted an ideal

in a similar vein, Roosevelt appears prominently in one of the most gargantuan piece of aesthetically "totalitarian" monumental art in the world, the bas-relief at Mount Rushmore.⁵⁷⁵ Its sculptor, Gutzon Borglum, had earlier begun the KKK-funded Stone Mountain, Georgia carving featuring Confederate notables and white supremacists General Robert E. Lee, General "Stonewall" Jackson, and Confederate President Jefferson Davis (at present, the largest relief sculpture in the world). He only completed Lee's head, however, before the Klan money dried up and he went on to Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills of South Dakota.⁵⁷⁶

Borglum moved in the higher KKK circles of the 1920s, allegedly brokering meetings between the Klan and President Warren Harding following the 1922 electoral success of Klansmen and Klan-supported candidates. He did partipate in meetings that year between Indiana Klan leader "Grand Dragon" D.C. Stephenson and national figurehead "Imperial Wizard" Hiram Evans, in which Stephenson tried to negotiate a deal backing his presidential aspirations. (In Indiana, at this time, Klan paramilitary groups were being legally deputized as armed "constables," at least twenty thousand of them, under an 1852 statute that had legalized vigilante killing. Stephenson's self-styled "Military Machine" claimed to have informants on every city block, probably an exaggeration, but the largest outdoor Klan gathering in its history was held in Kokomo, Indiana on the Fourth of July, 1923.)⁵⁷⁷ Borglum's political influence and connections are not unusual in this

present, the future of a nostalgic past, that is, Rockwell could wax nostalgic over the progress and prosperity to which Socialist Realism aspired. John Jenks, "Review: Manufacturing Truth: The Documentary Moment in Early Soviet Culture," *Journalism Review*, Vol.35, No. 4 (Winter 2010), pp. 243-244. "Norman Rockwell and socialist realism - 'Russian Schoolroom,'" 2014. <http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/es/2014/06/norman-rockwell-and-socialist-realism.html> accessed 04/08/16 John E. Bowlt, "Stalin as Isis and Ra: Socialist Realism and the Art of Design," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Vol. 24: Design, Culture, Identity (2002), pp. 34-63.

575 This analogy is made the other way in the (peer-reviewed) journal of the "libertarian" Cato Institute: Mao has "permanently solidified his place on tyranny's Mount Rushmore, alongside Hitler, Stalin, and Kim Jong Il." Cato Institute has had Rupert Murdoch chair its board of directors and is funded by the Koch brothers, whose father Fred Koch, a founder of the John Birch Society in 1958, warned "The colored man looms large in the Communist plan to take over America." Jude Blanchette, "Review: Mao: The Untold Story," *Cato Journal*, Vol. 25, No 3 (Fall 2005), pg. 639. <http://www.cato.org> Jane Mayer, "Covert Operations," *The New Yorker*, Aug. 30, 2010. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/08/30/covert-operations> accessed 07/08/16

576 Work on the Stone Mountain Confederate monument was taken up and completed during the post-WWII era of black civil-rights struggle, recommencing in the early 1960s. None of the three figures were from Georgia. <http://www.stonemountainpark.com/Activities/History-Nature/Confederate-Memorial-Carving> accessed 04/08/16 Craig Wade, 233.

577 Although Chalmers and Linda Gordon downplay the violence of the 1920s Klan, glimpses emerge: in 1922 the governor of Louisiana had the KKK tapping his phone and reading his mail, and they tortured and murdered two of his political allies. Gordon, 192. Chalmers dates the statute to 1865. Craig Wade dates the statute to 1852,

period; across the European core and semi-periphery, volkish cultural movements were manifest in the political sphere.⁵⁷⁸

The Park Service of the United States nevertheless interprets Borglum's "colossal" memorial as "a symbol of freedom and hope for people from all cultures and backgrounds" and goes on to claim, "All the cultures that make up the fabric of this country are represented by the memorial and surrounding Black Hills." This interpretation presents some evident flaws. Even without considering the background of the monument, one should consider that, individual flourishes aside, the role of this sort of decorative architecture is always "to glorify power."⁵⁷⁹ Borglum himself, quoted by the Park Service, stated, "The purpose of the memorial is to communicate the founding, expansion, preservation, and unification of the United States."⁵⁸⁰ "Founding" alone is difficult to square with the "all cultures" of the official government line, which is politically correct, to be sure, but seems oblivious to the historical facts of the process Borglum describes, even more the case regarding the genocidal results of "expansion."⁵⁸¹ Self-deception or cynicism? The non-Anglo-Saxon might not interpret the statement that "All the cultures that make up the fabric of this country are represented by the memorial and surrounding Black Hills," as merely bland, hopeful liberalism. One might, especially considering the history of the Black Hills, interpret that statement as a threat.

South Dakota was ground zero for that recurring feature of the twentieth-century, the recourse to exterminationist and eliminationist rhetoric, a mark of industrial modernity with its roots in colonial experience. The Bolsheviks turned this exterminationist rhetoric against class enemies,

following the 1851 Indiana State Constitution that banned black immigration. Douglas Harper, "Slavery in the North," 2003. <http://slavenorth.com/northwest.htm> Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 166, 169, 200, 282. Craig Wade, 215, 224-225.

578 Stanley G. Payne. *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1995, pp. 11, 162.

579 The genre has been called dictator-kitsch. Deyan Sudjic. *The Edifice Complex*. London: Penguin, 2005, pp. 315, 385.

580 Borglum and NPS quoted at <https://www.nps.gov/moru/learn/historyculture/index.htm> accessed 03/08/16

581 Jesse Lerner argues that the monument symbolizes Manifest Destiny and the destruction of the Lakota; this view is disparaged by local academic authority. David A. Wolff, "Different Ways of Viewing a Monument," *Great Plains Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring), pp. 119-223.

<http://search.proquest.com.ere.uab.cat/docview/763106305/fulltextPDF/59F7587CCC054033PQ/1?accountid=15292> accessed 03/08/16

as they called them, particularly in the terror unleashed after Kaplan's shooting of Lenin. Leggett calls it “the extreme conclusion of proposing the physical extermination of hostile classes.” Zinoviev, predictably, demanded that “They must be annihilated!” in a September 1918 speech, while Pravda exhorted the workers to “destroy the bourgeoisie or it will destroy you... all who are dangerous to the cause... must be exterminated.” Latsis wrote a November 1918 editorial in the Cheka's periodical *Red Terror* that stated, “We are exterminating the bourgeoisie a class.” Lenin seems to have opposed deploying this kind of exterminationist language, but the ideological commitment to an eliminationist political line made it difficult to avoid. Later, in 1920, after the first proper period of concentrated terror, following bureaucratic centralization of the political police, Dzerzhinsky discusses “the extermination of enemies of the revolution on the basis of their class affiliation.”⁵⁸² Class affiliation and the status of enemy of the revolution may be slippery concepts -- Dzerzhinsky himself was a Polish noble who attacked and killed anarchists and Social Revolutionaries -- but they knew they had to exterminate somebody; only thus could industrial modernity be achieved. It is no coincidence, therefore, that this language returned in the collectivization drives that broke the power of the peasantry and industrialized agriculture; it might be said to have found its victim as the process of modernization moved forward. “Liquidating the *kulak* as a class,” as a slogan, is more precise, more actionable than Zinoviev's fire-eating or Dzerzhinsky's cool determinations. It also correctly identified the socio-economic conjuncture resisting modernity that market forces could not overcome without the aid of violent coercion.

The violent events in the US South with the most exterminatory quality were lynchings and race riots. Little in the Soviet record matches the intensity of violence of the former. The tortures meted out were utterly savage. Even among the Nazis, only the medical experiments or the atrocities of the criminal SS brigades, such as Kaminski's or Dirlwanger's in Warsaw, could be considered comparable.⁵⁸³ The humiliations regularly meted out to Jews by the extermination

⁵⁸² Leggett, 113-115.

⁵⁸³ Alexandra Richie. *Warsaw 1944: Hitler, Himmler, and the Crushing of a City*. London: William Collins, 2013, pp. 276-283.

personnel were less frightful, and the agents directly participating represented a more limited sector of the population. Raul Hilberg, Daniel Goldhagen, and Christopher Browning have all provided evidence that most Germans would have acted, given the orders or the opportunity, with similar cruelty as that exhibited by the ordinary citizens of the police battalions.⁵⁸⁴ However, in the United States the ordinary citizens sought out opportunities to act with even greater cruelty under no orders at all. Lynching participants included children, ladies fine and otherwise, mayors, judges, essentially the entire white community of the South. The act itself might be attended by out-of-towners arriving by train and might be publicized, and spectators could a did partifipate in torturing the victim. It was generally treated as both an entertainment and a religious spectacle: Refreshments might be sold and confession was a part of the ritual. In Hawesville, Kentucky in 1897 a crowd of 800 watched an accused rapist hang, with 200 women on a rise cheering. Contemporary newspaper accounts promoted the inevitability of action and praised the unity of the community in committing the act. This victim, Raymond Bushrod, was not tortured, however, and his murder serves better as an example of the extent of the popularity of staged violence against black Americans. This was the county's only recorded lynching, yet it was attended by men, women, boys and girls, from seven to seventy years old, some reportedly arriving across the river from Indiana.⁵⁸⁵

The lynching of Sam Hose just outside Atlanta in April 1899 displays the major elements of this white-supremacist ritual. 4,000 Atlantans took trains, some specially commissioned, out to Newnan to watch him be tortured and murdered for the crime of killing his employer and raping his employer's wife. There was no evidence of rape except statements made to the sherrif and the press from the murdered man's father and a family friend, including supposed hearsay from his daughter-

584 Goldhagen, 188-189, 394-396, and *passim*. Browning's criticism of Goldhagen is well stated. Christopher R. Browning. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution*. New York: Pengiun, 2001 (1992), pp. 162, 191-223. Raul Hilberg. *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1992.

585 Woodrow Wilson Maglinger III, "Dark Days in the Ohio Valley: Three Western Kentucky Lynchings, 1884-1911" (2004).Masters Theses & Specialist Projects. Paper 242, pp. 99-114. <http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses/242> A contemporary account from the *Illinois True Republican*: <http://idnc.library.illinois.edu/cgi-bin/illinois?a=d&d=STR18970929.2.11> accessed 06/07/16

in-law, who was never examined by any medical practitioner and did not say a public word. Newspaper and other accounts invented lurid details following the genre conventions of black-rapist “folk pornography,” in Philip Dray's phrase. Hose was described bashing a baby on the floor, a recurring element in exterminatory discourse, and remaining long enough to “accomplish his fiendish offense twice more and again!” -- this latter effusion from Georgia Congressman James M. Griggs. Such accounts also suggested that Hose should be burned at the stake. He was. Various figures from Governor Candler to the *Atlanta Constitution* offered large rewards for his capture. When Hose was found hiding at his mother's, he was captured and taken as close to Atlanta as the reward-seekers could get before a mob took him out of the jailer's hands. He was methodically cut to pieces while still conscious, his ears sliced off, each finger severed, castrated, his genitals displayed to the crowd; then he was burned alive. The crowd subsequently hacked apart the body piece by piece, broke up the chain that had bound him, and chopped up the tree to which he'd been chained, removing all as souvenirs. Hose's knuckle-bones were later seen on display in a butcher-shop window by W.E.B. Dubois.⁵⁸⁶

A private investigator hired by anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells found the details of the crime differed from the newspaper accounts. Following general investigations by Walter White and Dubois, in only one-fifth to one-quarter of lynchings was rape even alleged; between employer and employee, violence broke out commonly over pay and working conditions, whatever the allegations. Hose, a landless agricultural wage-laborer, had demanded he be paid because he wanted to go see his sick mother, but his employer Alfred Cranston refused. Cranston threatened Hose with a gun, so Hose struck Cranston with an ax and fled; Cranston died of his wound. Cranston's wife had not been present. She confirmed this herself in a later interview with a white investigator. Walter White found that very few, if any, alleged cases of sexual violence had merit. Before the 1906 Atlanta riot, or pogrom, newspapers invented and embellished several tales of

⁵⁸⁶ The cannibalistic connotations of displaying human remains in a butcher shop window should be obvious. Dray, 4-13. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 280-283.

“assault” on women and girls by unknown, roving blacks – at least one of whom was a corked-up white man. It is tempting to read the “Southern rape complex” as a pathological manifestation of unconscious guilt for the sexual exploitation of black women, transferring the crime to the “other” even while revelling in violent details.⁵⁸⁷

It seems less speculative to observe that the agents having the greatest responsibility for publically fomenting this complex – in the case of Hose, the Cranston family and the newspapers – are those with the greatest access to knowledge that it is not empirically true (for the newspapers in 1906, especially so). Wells's investigator did nothing a journalist could not do. These agents also represent the political, economic, and intellectual elite (such as it might be). Pro-lynching crusader Rebecca Felton may have believed her paranoid pornographic hyperbole that helped set off the white riot in Wilmington, or she may not have, but she was wealthy and educated enough that empirical truth was available, as it was to Dubois and White. Interpretations have been offered that rape was merely a cynical charge that fended off federal interference with the custom of lynch law. Some see lynching in general as a religious ritual of human sacrifice rather than a political or economic control mechanism. Sociological number-crunching reveals some correlations to economic conditions, but no one view has become dominant.⁵⁸⁸

These explanations have their merits. However, postbellum lynching is a facet of white supremacy that indicates, in common with the totalitarianisms, the acceleration and intensification over time of violent practices with eliminationist and exterminationist connotations. Lynching increased decade by decade, peaking in the 1890s and apparently declining thereafter. Over time

587 Dray reports the newspaper/pogrom connection for Springfield, Illinois in 1908 as well. Dray, 16, 162. Maglinger, 12. Litwack, *Trouble*, 283, 306. Bauerlein, 61-127, and *passim*. Craig Wade, 20, 451.

588 Tolnay and Beck have found violence increasing when the cotton price is low but there is no convincing economic rationale for lynching, nor does it correlate to leniency in criminal sentencing. It was less frequent in the large planter's domains and more frequent in areas where holdings were smaller and black labor was mobile. Tolnay and Beck connect lynching back to bloody conflict between settlers and Indians, that is, the practical activity of colonialism. Michael Bellesiles sees lynching as having grown out of the “outrageous brutality” practiced by the settlers against Indians and slave revolts. Brundage thinks the practice is just “one manifestation of the strenuous and bloody campaign by whites to elaborate and impose a racial hierarchy upon people of color throughout the globe,” in other words the core's underdevelopment of the periphery. Maglinger, 5-6, 15-17. For a brief comparison with Nazi genocide, see Andrew Austin, “Review: Explanation and Responsibility: Agency and Motive in Lynching and Genocide,” *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 5 (May 2004), pp. 719-733.

the practice became more clandestine. Gradually the public spectacle before a crowd was replaced by the private murder by a small group, and the practice of lynch law may not have been declining. When Emmet Till was murdered in 1955, one of the local residents suggested that the body fished from the river probably wasn't Till; in *defense* of the community, the white southerner said, "that river's full of niggers." The full river is a rhetorical trope going back at least to the Fort Pillow massacre, the first exterminatory action against black Americans – "a mass lynching" in the words of historian Richard Fuchs – of which the leading perpetrator, Confederate General and future Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest, remarked that the river was too full to count the victims. It was uttered by former Democratic Congressman Alfred Waddell, the leader of the 400-man militia, calling themselves the Rough Riders to honor Teddy Roosevelt, in Wilmington, North Carolina in November 1898: Waddell threatened "to choke the current of the Cape Fear River with negro carcasses." The Wilmington attack became a model for other Southern eliminationist ethnic-cleansing operations, often begun with a lynching, that became known as "clearances." The eliminationist and exterminationist reality of European colonialism are symbolized in the lynching victim, and lynching and clearances are the ultimate exclusionary acts by means of which inclusion in the body politic is celebrated, a bloody version of the minstrel show cementing the unity of the *Herrenvolk* and the exclusion of the colonized. As a participant in the lynching of Henry Smith in 1893 explained, the ritual proved that one was American and possessed positive moral worth.⁵⁸⁹

Smith's lynching offered a vicarious transcendence to all Americans through the latest technology and most modern cultural commodities, not merely extensive press coverage. Onstage before thousands – the Paris, Texas lynching was advertised as far away as New York – he was tortured by being stabbed and burned with red-hot pokers and was then burned alive; people began searching for mementos before the embers had cooled. Many photographs were taken and mass-produced for sale, and in fact, the event was even recorded and sold as a cylinder for Edison's sound machine – one of the earliest sound recordings mass-produced and mass-distributed was of a man

⁵⁸⁹ Dray, 77-79, 123-127.

being tortured to death (it was a studio recreation). These items were displayed in a Seattle shop window in 1893, sound and image on sale together, touted as technological innovation “for civilized citizens.”⁵⁹⁰ A starker confirmation of Baldwin's definition of civilization would be difficult to find. Jacqueline Goldsby's 2008 text takes lynching as “a fundamental part of the national consciousness whose cultural logic played a pivotal role in the making of American modernity,” as the University of Chicago Press puts it.⁵⁹¹ One might say the same of Leninist and Stalinist terror, which shifted from public activities to secret, more closely resembling the shift in lynching practice to secret executions than the kind of public celebration and sales opportunity that Henry Smith's murder was. The OGPU did not publicize their activities like the Chekas had, and the *Yezhovschina* was not recast as a travelling circus.

By the 1870s, politically, economically, and culturally powerful white Americans cultivated an attitude of what historian T.J. Jackson-Lears calls “urbane exterminism,” best exemplified by Buffalo Bill's sellout performances of sensationalized genocide, which also “epitomized the march-of-progress mythology” of Whig history. After his death at Little Big Horn in the Black Hills, General Custer's spirit was imbued with the mystique of the Southern Chevalier as a national symbol, claimed for “the whole Saxon race” by the *Richmond Whig*. Jackson-Lears calls Custer “the hero of an emerging race-based empire,” and the same discourse conventions and symbolic tropes applied in investing the process with a specifically racialized heroism. Press accounts of Custer and Sheridan's massacre at the Washita River invented a rescue-of-white-women story, the same inventions as one finds in lynching cases and early colonial captivity narratives, whose cultural logic represents the masculine narrative of European superiority. In reality Custer and his troops had taken women and children hostages, using them as shields, and shot down Black Kettle as he approached to negotiate under a white flag. 105 women and 28 men were the catalogued

⁵⁹⁰ Jacqueline Goldsby. *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature*. University of Chicago Press, 2006, pg. 13. Gustavus Stadler, “‘Never Heard Such a Thing’: Lynching and Phonographic Modernity,” *Social Text*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2010), pp. 87-105. For a contemporary account of the lynching, see <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5487/> accessed 19/06/16

⁵⁹¹ <http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/S/bo3645697.html> accessed 19/06/16

victims of the earlier 1864 Sand Creek massacre, where Black Kettle's village was attacked inside the military reservation in which his group of Cheyenne had been confined. Soldiers mutilated the dead and displayed trophies on their uniforms and saddles: fetuses, penises, breasts, and vulvas. Then they displayed the hacked-off sexual organs to the public in Denver in various saloons and the Apollo Theatre. Acting as a historian, Theodore Roosevelt called the the massacre "as righteous and beneficial a deed as ever took place on the frontier."⁵⁹²

After his death, Custer's emblematic status appeared in mass-produced cultural commodity, a lithograph of "Custer's Last Fight" distributed to and displayed in thousands of taverns as a promotional device by Anheuser-Busch. This example of ideological dissemination along the commercial axis blurs any line between propaganda and advertising. The line between the political and the commercial interests was equally indistinguishable in the event: Custer had various speculative interests in the mines of the zone where he was searching and destroying, and he had been hired by the Northern Pacific Railroad as a shill to promote settlement in the Black Hills. The "chivalric posturing" in the Southern mode offered "legitimacy for the violent reassertion of pre-existing (but sometimes precarious) power relations – lynching and other forms of racial terrorism in the South, the killing of striking workers in the North and West."⁵⁹³ Jackson-Lears point out the shift that reapplies frontier exterminationism to recalcitrant populations within the recognized body politic. These power relations are the fundamental relationships of colonial exploitation that support modernity, materially and culturally.

Roosevelt, three years before founding the Progressive Party, writing as an academic in "The Expansion of the White Races," Roosevelt displays the paternalism of the slaveowner in his characterization of conquest: "There is one feature of the in the expansion of the peoples of white, or European, blood during the past four centuries which should never be lost sight of, especially by

592 Jackson-Lears: "Urbane exterminism flowed easily from the assumption that whole populations were little more than infestations of valuable real estate." Roosevelt and *Whig* quoted in Jackson-Lears, 37, 43. Dunbar-Ortiz, 137-138, 146.

593 Jackson-Lears, 41-44.

those who denounce such expansion on moral grounds. On the whole, the movement has been fraught with lasting benefit to most of the peoples already dwelling in the lands over which most of the expansion took place."⁵⁹⁴ This is why it was a specifically Southern cultural archetype, based on the reality of the most absolute and violent racist exploitation and exclusion, that informed the narrative of modernity and progress as the United States consolidated its empire and core status at land and at sea, even as white supremacy reconfirmed the pre-existing but precarious power relations across the former Confederacy. In this regard, nothing comparable to the labor camp run by Alston Brown appears in Gulag narratives. *Kolkhoz* workers were not subject to disciplinary practices as invasive as those of postbellum planters. The most lurid and sociopathic of the acts attributed to the secret police and Gulag administration often depend on hearsay, rumor, fiction, and missing original sources. They may have occurred; some may be urban legends. We know that Cold War historians have manufactured specific atrocities and it is likely that other stories we present as true are also false. This is not unfortunate because it causes a flawed moral judgement of Stalinism; in such apocrypha the system is fairly maligned. However, when our abstract representation becomes "unimaginable," it becomes divided from the history that produced the original reality, and our disciplinary reconstruction becomes, ironically, imaginary. Thus we misunderstand the nature of repressive practices employed by power, projecting a progressive fantasy of benevolence on the one hand and a science-fiction version of totalitarianism on the other. In both cases the projection amounts to little more than a kitsch pastiche that lacks the dignity demanded by its victims and that fails to inform our knowledge of ourselves and our history.

⁵⁹⁴ Roosevelt quoted in Dunbar-Ortiz, 162.

Part IV

The Science of Racialized Capitalism, The Model of Modern Development,
the Discourse of Dysgenic Apocalypse, and National Socialism

"The only way to solve the social problem is for one lot to kill the others and take their land."
- Heinrich Himmler, 1942⁵⁹⁵

595 Götz Aly & Susanne Heim. *Architects of Annihilation: Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*. London: Phoenix, 2002, pp. 7, 296n5.

Chapter 1: Science, Racialized Power, and Modern Development

Any discussion of Nazi Germany must in some way seek to address the moral implications of the Holocaust and the related atrocities committed under that regime. This is easier said than done, despite the broad pop-culture and Cold War consensus of Nazi-as-villain, or perhaps because of it. Historians must grapple not only with limited knowledge, but with false knowledge. At the extremes one can find holocaust denial and anti-communist good-war truisms, but academic treatments also show lingering constructions from other politically-influenced models of interpretation. Hannah Arendt, for example, continued to use the Nazi vocabulary of social and racial deviancy, in discussing “asocials” or the “negro problem.” One thinks of how frequently one encounters rhetoric construing Germans as victims of Nazi ideas, as opposed to active consumers of them, following the Brzezinski/Friedrich theory of totalitarianism. Recent syntheses of opposed points of view in the historical literature have eroded the contradictions of certain positions staked out in the broader debate. Nevertheless, uneasiness remains.⁵⁹⁶

The failure of West Germany to de-nazify after the war, in fact its tendency to place high-ranking former Nazis at the highest levels of the state, hardly encouraged moral reckoning. Nor did short, desultory, and soon-anulled sentencing of war criminals fulfil any need for expiation, assuming any such need existed. At the time of the Eichmann trial, certain comments by the accused, and his lawyer from the Federal Republic of Germany, seemed to indicate a failure to appreciate the moral dimension of the events at hand. Like Eichmann lamenting how he stopped enjoying his job when he was killing Jews, former *Wehrmacht* interviewees for a nineteen-seventies BBC documentary were capable of expressing sentimental complaints about how they were made

⁵⁹⁶ Hannah Arendt. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Milton Keynes: Benediction Classics, 2009, pp. 81-84. Hannah Arendt, “Reflections on Little Rock,” *Dissent* 6 (1) (Winter 1959), pp. 47. .pdf Kathryn T. Gines. *Hannah Arendt and the Negro Question*. Indiana University Press, 2014, pp. 2-3, 15-29. A typical construction of Germans as victims can be found in Evans, describing the German middle class as “helpless in the face of demagogic assaults.” Richard J. Evans. *The Coming of the Third Reich: How the Nazis Destroyed Democracy and Seized Power in Germany*. New York: Penguin, 2004 (2003), pg. 110. Traverso, *Totalitarismo*, 83.

“desconsolate” by the bleak Russian countryside they were invading. In academia, one of the noisier vessels of the *Historikerstreit*, Ernst Nolte, has expressed some quite transparently Nazi interpretations of German history, among them that Germany had been forced to defend itself from an inevitable Jewish-Bolshevik attack; the moral lacunae can be seen in Nolte's interpretation itself, but also in the fact that Nolte felt sanguine about uttering such Hitlerian claptrap – and that he was vigorously defended by other academics. Certainly, one feels that under conditions of adequate moral understanding of the Holocaust, it should be a Nolte, not a Friedländer, who feels moved to leave the historians' dinner party on account of their views.⁵⁹⁷

In such an environment, the spectacular success of Daniel Goldhagen's book, especially inside Germany – not entirely explained by publicity-blitz alone – may have been encouraged by this failure to address the Holocaust's moral implications. Many historians will agree with Ian Kershaw and Eberhard Jäckel's evaluation of Goldhagen's work as “simply a bad book,” but the simplicity of his thesis struck a chord in a mass audience, as Kershaw also noted. The blunt attribution of collective and individual responsibility to Germany and Germans for the Holocaust was a point that many people seemed to feel was necessary to make. His text also consigned the significance of the Holocaust temporally to the past and geographically to Germany; once they began working for the Federal Republic, in Goldhagen's terms, Globke and Stuckart, *et al.*, ceased wanting to kill Jews. More thoughtful writers, even those working with the same material, have reached different conclusions, deducing the alarming ease with which most individuals can be induced by the tools of modernity to participate in shockingly cruel behavior. The uniqueness of the Holocaust lies in the extensive and intensive mass murder techniques that marked a shift from the quantitative to the qualitative; not just more bodies, but new means. That it was almost all Europeans who were murdered by these techniques was also a novelty. Nevertheless, this singular

⁵⁹⁷ Hannah Arendt. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Study of the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking, 1964, pg. 19. e-book. Raul Hilberg. *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*. New York: HarperPerennial, pp. 50, 71. *The World at War*. Thames Television, 1973. Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, “The Pre-History of the Holocaust?: The *Sonderweg* and *Historikerstreit* Debates and the Abject Colonial Past,” *Central European History* 41 (2008), pp. 477-503, pp. 482, 488. A. Dirk Moses, “Historiographical Review: Genocide Studies, Holocaust Historiography, and the 'Apocalyptic Conjunction,’” *The Historical Journal* 54, 2 (2011), pp. 553-583, pp. 560-562.

event does not lie cut off from the past which created it or the humanity that executed it and so the question of the relationship of modern civilization to the Holocaust remains troubling.⁵⁹⁸

Historians have posed this question as “How could such a world-historic barbaric crime be committed by a modern, stable, industrially advanced, highly-cultured nation?” Yet such a formulation begs the question in two different ways. Richard Evans addresses one facet of the problem, warning that “it is questionable to assume that it was somehow less likely for a an economically advanced and culturally sophisticated society to fall into an abyss of violence and destruction than it was for one that was less so... High cultural achievements across the centuries did not render a descent into political barbarism more inexplicable than their absence would have done.” Questioning this assumption in this way is still questioning insufficiently, as argued below. However, prior to proposing or discarding any causal or corelative relationships between capitalist modernity and violence and destruction, one must examine the opposition that Evans has made between barbarism and high cultural achievement. For this distinction is always dependent, in the last analysis, on the assumption of inherent superiority of race or class, and it is precisely these social constructions within which the violence of the "totalitarian" regimes operated.⁵⁹⁹

The low culture to which high culture would contrast itself becomes a sign of the necessity of imposing disciplinary regimes on recalcitrant workers. In antebellum New York, working-class theatergoers' vulgar behavior indicates their liminal social power, which must be held in check. They stomp their feet and spit tobacco juice: It's good that we are in charge, imply or insist, the voices of elite opinion in the newspapers. In Germany, jazz music, played by blacks and Jews, becomes a sign of racial impurity legitimating Nazi claim to power in the name of cultural superiority and Western Civilization: Jazz was described by German cultural arbiters as the result

598 Goldhagen, 17, 76-79, 314-316, 442. A.D. Moses, “Structure and Agency in the Holocaust: Daniel J. Goldhagen and his Critics,” *History and Theory*, vol. 7, no. 2, (May 1998), pp. 194-219. Finkelstein sees Goldhagen as a political operative. This would make him something of a Bzerzinski of the post-USSR period. Norman G. Finkelstein. *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Antisemitism and the Abuse of History*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2008, pg. xxxi. Browning, 185-189.

599 Richard J. Evans. *The Coming of the Third Reich*. London: Penguin, 2004, pp. xxii-xxiii. Pierre Bordieau. *Distinction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984, pp. 41-46, 230-232, 239-240.

of “nigger blood” and “the most disgusting treason against all occidental civilized music.” A popular 1932 history textbook characterized American slavery as a “necessary transition to civilization” for “the Negro,” who was all too ready, Thomas Jefferson thought, to stomp his feet. Those northern textbook writers will have cited Columbia University historian and political-science pioneer John Burgess, who in 1902 explained that, “a black skin means membership in a race that has never... created civilization of any kind.”⁶⁰⁰

One must insist on a Boasian essentialism: there is no formal way to establish greater or lesser cultural achievement, as opposed to measuring social or economic complexity. Indigenous Australians, with their limited resource base, had a fairly low level of social and economic complexity, but the internally their cultural world was extremely complex, insofar as we can understand it. There are no exterior objective criteria by which one could establish the superiority of this or that example of cultural production, say a French ballet over a Seneca funeral dance, or a European ball game over a Mayan ball game. Evans refers specifically to “great music” and Beethoven as examples of high culture, and concludes that “high cultural achievement” is “irrelevant” to Nazi political violence, but these were precisely the markers of racial superiority in the value system espoused by Hitler himself -- not exactly irrelevant: “If we put a Beethoven symphony alongside a shimmy, victory is clear.”⁶⁰¹ While the superiority of high culture proved to be a deceiving road to victory, the concept lends itself to racialized interpretations of the inherent superiority of European modernity, and must be disposed of.

This high/low distinction was made by Andrés Segovia when claiming “to redeem the guitar from flamenco and other folkloric amusements” in favor of concert hall recital of music in the European Classical tradition, more accurately called “scholastic” by the flamenco guitarist and pedagogue Manolo Sanlúcar. The distinction cannot be maintained by any empirical or technical

⁶⁰⁰ The word “jazz” originally described sexual intercourse, a suggestive etymology when the music is called foreign blood and disgusting treason against blood and civilization. Lott, 84-85, 89. Howard Zinn. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: HarperPerennial, 2015 (1980), pp. 172, 200.

⁶⁰¹ Evans, *The Coming*, xxiii. Kershaw, *Hubris*, 305. The “shimmy” is not a song form but an early twentieth-century black American dance, probably similar to the “twist.” John Lee Hooker, “(Twist Ain't Nothing) But the Old Time Shimmy,” Simply the Truth. BGO Records, BGO MC40, 1969.

criteria. One cannot make a distinction on the grounds of technical virtuosity between Segovia and Sanlúcar. Nor can one convincingly assert, despite academic assumptions of some sort of universal aesthetic superiority in the fine arts, that non-participatory recitation is superior to amusements or that the cadences of Baroque or Classical music are somehow inherently “perfect,” as the cadence from the dominant to the tonic is called, or in some way closer to perfection than other traditions. The scholastic twelve tones might sound dull and clumsy to an ear versed in the twenty-two frequencies dividing the octave on the Indian subcontinent. Whatever the considerable harmonic sophistication of European high musical culture, it is also rhythmically simplistic. As Amiri Baraka has remarked, for many Africans attuned to polyrhythms, Mozart could be considered insipid.⁶⁰²

In the European cultural imagination the presumed superiority of Western culture has been dramatized by a recurring scene wherein non-white natives are played great music on a gramophone and are reduced to tears or amazement, in the imagination of Joseph Conrad but also in a quite recent fake memoir of an African adventure. Such a scene illustrates how notions of high culture create a hierarchy out of an arbitrary cultural preference and how that hierarchy meshes with white-supremacist narratives. This racial element is hinted at in Segovia's disdain for “folkloric amusements,” but his attitude reveals more clearly the class distinction behind high-cultural assumptions of the superiority of Kantian contemplation and notions of certain fine arts as “pure.” Perhaps it is too much to posit a necessary relationship between such cultural distinctions and

602 In the language of the tonal system, the cadence from the flattened supertonic to the tonic, common to flamenco music but unknown to the great music tradition, is so unknown the tonal system fails to correctly identify the root tonality. That supertonic can be played as a chord with a major third, a diminished fifth, and a major seventh; this latter chord does not exist in the tonal system elaborated in Europe during the centuries of colonization and colonial resource extraction. The rigid distinction between major (happy) and minor (sad) keys that the tonal system is based on and insists upon, which would eliminate the flamenco supertonic chord, is frequently ignored in “low” music and folkloric amusements, including the American blues tradition. Hence James Baldwin's disparaging comment that “white Americans seem to feel that happy songs are *happy* and sad songs are *sad*.” The supposed sophistication of European music here rests on a zero-sum formal and affective distinction that Baldwin accurately calls “fatuous.” Bruce Chatwin. *The Songlines*. London: Vintage, 1998 (1987), pp. 9-15, 72-73, 105-109. Robert M. Jacobsen, ed. *Reverberations: Interviews with the World's Leading Musicians*. New York: Morrow, 1974, pg. 192. Julio Blasco, “Acerca de la cadencia frigia, la cadencia andaluza, y la tonalidad menor: Aproximaciones fundamentales,” *Neuma*, no. 2 (8), pp. 80-94, pp. 85-86. Bordieau, 486-488. Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones). *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. New York: Morrow, 1963, Chapter 6. James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time, Collected Essays*, 311. The participatory nature of African-American church ritual was also described as uncivilized by white elites; Litwack notes the relationship between black independent worship and white notions of “indolence and vagrancy.” Williamson, *After Slavery*, 201-203. Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 469.

authoritarianism more generally, although both are projected as universal human ideals by and by means of Kantian philosophy. One recalls how the transgression of high-culture contemplative purity in cultural consumption was a class and race marker, inappropriate behavior that indicated the subjects' inability to exercise political rights. The working-class Irish of New York, boisterous audiences who tended to participate in the entertainments on offer, made the political and cultural connection manifest in the 1849 Astor Place riots, where “higher” and “lower” performative styles became explicitly linked to class and race resentments: “Burn the damned den of aristocracy!” the crowd reportedly shouted. As mentioned, New York elites linked these riots to the general anti-contemplative cultural preferences of working-class Irish, both being signs of moral inferiority. Thus, “high” cultural achievement is not simply “irrelevant” to anti-democratic political ideologies, as Evans proposes; rather the concept has been deployed to argue for the exclusion of lower, inferior races and classes from the body politic – and from humanity itself. Like the police protecting the performance hall of the “legitimate” Shakesperean actor from the Bowery b'hoy mob, high culture tends to reach for its revolver.⁶⁰³

Cultural hierarchy, the idea that cultures develop more or less highly, follows from the academic model of racial hierarchy in which races would be higher or lower on a series of definable stages. For that reason proponents of scientific antisemitism declared that the Jews lacked truly high culture – like black Americans, they were held to be mere imitators – but the problem is not that those claims were so evidently false, given the presence of prominent Jews in every cultural field commensurate with European modernity. The problem is the extent to which the language of this hierarchy, derived from racist theory, suffuses our broader construction of the past. As Barbara Fields has said, “With a few well-publicized exceptions, no one holding reputable academic credentials overtly adheres to the view that race is a physical fact. But echoes of this view still

⁶⁰³ Conrad. *Almayer's Folly & The Rover*, 65. The memoir, by an actress engaged to President Trump's Treasury Secretary, seems to be no longer available: Louise Linton. *In Congo's Shadow*. WHINC Ltd., Kindle edition, 2016. For an African response, see <https://eyewoke.wordpress.com/2016/07/04/a-concerned-african/> accessed 03/17/17 Lott, 69-71. Bordieu, 486-488. For the view that Kant “set up unqualified submission of the subject to the power of the state as a principle of social morality,” see Rudolf Rucker. *Nationalism and Culture*. St. Paul, MN: Michael J. Coughlin, 1978, pp. xi, 184-186, 195; in 1933, Rucker fled the Gestapo with this manuscript and little else.

insinuate themselves...” Furthermore, the barbarism-to-high-culture continuum untenably invokes a moral teleology of progress, the idea of moral superiority inherent in the invisible hand of the highly-cultured Englishman. To suppose that the Germans were too good to commit mass-murder because of a sufficiently high culture, or that they should have been, such a proposition attributes mass-murder to lower, *i.e.* non-European, cultures; it tacitly assumes a moral superiority correlated to both the “white race” and industrialized modernity. The moral problem of the Holocaust cannot lie in the fact that the Germans had attained a supposedly high ethno-cultural status, and much less that European Jews had also attained such; to paraphrase Hannah Arendt, it's just as much a crime to kill anyone, even if they're no genius.⁶⁰⁴

In re-phrasing the idea of “high culture” as “culture consistent with the norms of the modern European core,” one can avoid Eurocentric pitfalls of phrasing, but another problem then appears. On what grounds can one suggest that mass murder would be in any sense inconsistent with the norms of the modern European core? The qualities of the “Ode to Joy” notwithstanding, only fifteen years before the Nazi ascension to power the modern European core had been engaged full-swing in mutual mass murder, on two fronts, with a subsequent collapse of civil institutions and outbreaks of continued warfare and post-war terrorism from Hamburg to Vladivostok. Previous to that conflict, every great power and some minor ones had committed mass murder in their colonial possessions, closely antecedent to World War I being the German massacre of the Herero in Southeast Africa under Göring (*pere*) and Von Trotha. Benjamin Madley points out, “Genocidal rhetoric, a new definition of *Vernichtungskrieg*, executing POWs, murdering civilians *en masse*, and deporting POWs and noncombatants to work and death camps were all introduced to modern

604 Richard J. Evans. *The Third Reich in Power: How the Nazis Won over the Hearts and Minds of a Nation*. New York, Penguin, 2006, pp. 190-191. Barbara Fields, “Ideology and Race in American History,” J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson ed. *Race, Region, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 143-177, pg. 149. John Coatsworth, Juan Cole, Michael P. Hanagan, Peter C. Perdue, Charles Tilly, & Louise Tilly. *Global Connections: Volume 2, Since 1500: Politics, Exchange, and Social Life in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pg. 172. “There are more than a few people, especially among the cultural elite, who still publically regret the fact that Germany sent Einstein packing, without realizing that it was a much greater crime to kill little Hans Cohn from around the corner, even though he was no genius.” Arendt, *Eichmann*, 65.

German history through the Namibian colonial experience.”⁶⁰⁵

In the USA, death camps notably excluded, each of these features emerged in the postbellum South, while in the West, the second half of the nineteenth century saw genocidal massacres of Native Americans and the codification of those massacres in modern entertainments, historical narratives, and literature. Black Americans found themselves subjected to petty oppressions, economic exploitation, and violent attacks including torture and murder, which escalated into the 1890s but had not ceased in 1933, or 1945. What's more, the anti-black violence and social repression, like genocide and colonial imperialism, legitimated itself through scientific racial hierarchies and the teleology of progress. The century preceding the Holocaust may not have led to it upon “a road of terror that is smooth, direct, and brightly lit,” yet one can say that the highly cultured, modern, industrial, “advanced” nations of the European core would be precisely those most expected to descend into what Ian Kershaw has aptly called a “bottomless pit of inhumanity.”⁶⁰⁶

The question, then, “How could such a morally abberant act be committed by a highly civilized nation?” is no conundrum; from a moral perspective, there is no nut to crack. The process of becoming highly civilized rested on violent coercion and racial hierarchy, and the European comity of nations had already descended into exterminationist theory and action. The economic and cultural processes that define modern civilization or great powers have pivoted on one political, economic, and social power relation, the imposition of racial inferiority on subject populations. This is not some fuzzy ethnic chauvinism universal to humanity, but a racial hierarchy that has been created practically and academically through the process of colonial expropriation of resources,

605 Ian Kershaw, *To Hell*, 93-294. Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*. Characteristic of post-1918 European violence were the linked phenomena of “exclusionary” ethnic nationalism, including antisemitism, and a shift in legitimation discourse from legalistic questions of right and wrong to “the more fundamental question that defines sovereignty... who has rights and who has none” (Michael Geyer). This phenomenon compares with the Dred Scot decision in which black Americans are declared to have no rights. Geyer quoted in Julia Eichenberg and John Paul Newman, “Introduction: Aftershocks; Violence in Dissolving Empires after the First World War,” *Contemporary European History*, 19, 3 (2010) pp.183-194, pp. 190-191. One questions Madley's inclusion of death camps; quoted in Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, “Hannah Arendt's Ghosts: Reflections of the Disputable Path from Winhoek to Auschwitz,” *Central European History*, 42 (2009), pp. 279-300, pg. 283.

606 The well-lit “road to terror” is J.A. Getty's phrase criticizing Cold War anticommunist scholarship. Getty and Naumov, pg. 6. Kershaw, *To Hell*, 356.

beginning to take a recognizably modern form in the nineteenth century. The Nazi innovation was in applying the most radical interpretation of scientific racial inferiority to European Jews. Peter Longerich's remark that Holocaust antisemitism lacked anthropological support is only true up to a point, for anthropology as a developing discipline was central to the academic construction of white supremacy that the Nazis appropriated, and Vacher de Lapouge's anthropological case for Jewish inferiority was supported by many eugenicists in Anglo-American disciplinary circles. Eugen Fischer's title at the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institute was Director for Anthropology, Human Genetics and Eugenics. Himmler's search for the anthropological evidence to support his theory of Germanoid superiority in central Europe was not cynical even if it was absurd. Academia still relies to ethnocultural constructions as a source of meaning, especially in anthropology: both interpretations in the *Black Athena* debate, for example, depend on a racially defined source for classical Greek civilization. Beyond the empirical difficulties, or sleights of hand, with the evidence itself, or the conclusions and interpretations drawn from it, one must question whether ethnic distinctions have any explanatory power whatsoever.⁶⁰⁷

One returns to Barbara Fields, emphasizing the primary importance of the complete unreality of notions of race. Fields demonstrates the basic unreality of race with the story of Papa Doc Duvalier, who once informed a journalist, who had asked, that ninety-eight percent of Haitians were white; Duvalier explained to the uncomprehending journalist that in Haiti they measured

⁶⁰⁷ Longerich describes how Himmler's approach to crime was based on Lombrosian so-called criminal anthropology. Peter Longerich. *Heinrich Himmler*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 199, 227-288, 397, 600, 820n140. Jennifer Michael Hecht, "Vacher de Lapouge and the Rise of Nazi Science," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 61, no. 2 (April 2000), pp. 285-304, pp. 297-299. Regarding *Black Athena*, here one notes only that Thomas Schmitz, in criticizing Bernal, ignores the nineteenth-century white-Egypt science of Samuel Morton and accuses Bernal of relying on the induction from linguistic remains to ethnically or racially defined populations, yet this latter error is the foundation of the white-Greece theory that Mary Lefkowitz promotes (that Greek culture is free of Egyptian influence, that is, *Not Out of Africa*). Thomas A. Schmitz, "Ex Africa lux?: *Black Athena* and the debate about Afrocentrism in the US," *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft*, 2, pp. 17-76, pp. 23-24, 48. .pdf Comparisons of genetic and linguistic inheritance have found no patterns indicating continuities between ethnicity and language. Keith Hunley & Jeffrey C. Long, "Gene Flow across Linguistic Boundaries in Native North America," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 102, no. 5, pp. 1312-1317. As an independent scholar in the 1930s, the anarchist Rocker rejected racial science and ethnic conceptualizations in discussing Germany, Greece, Egypt, and Rome, insisting on the independence of ethnicity, language, and culture, but his perspectives have not been academically institutionalized. Rocker, 299-323, 396, 442, 454.

according to Mississippi's one-drop rule, but the other way. Unlike class, which can be explained by objective if somewhat arbitrary criteria such as “possession of two cows makes a *kulak*,” race is indefinable in objective, non-self-referential terms. A classic example is the NAACP's Walter White, who was black despite pale skin, blond hair, and blue eyes. Both race and class offer subjective identity and grounds for economic exploitation, and both become sites for elite discourses of indecent behaviors and desires. However, class transitions are always possible, especially for white Americans, as the Free Soil ideology and Lincoln's own life emphasized; in Eric Foner words “social mobility was essential to northern society.” However, racial transition becomes “passing,” illicit and fraught with peril. Sister Carrie meets a very different end than Clare Kendry, protagonist of Nella Larsen's Harlem Renaissance novel *Passing*. Race becomes a permanent status, one ideally situated in the role of economic periphery, contributing to concentration of capital in the core while, unlike a modern socio-economic class, being essentially excluded from the rights of citizens. The Rights of Man were not for Africans, as Jules Ferry proclaimed in French Parliament in 1884, and superior races have rights over inferior races.⁶⁰⁸

A Marxist view of ideology as reducible to obfuscations of economic exploitation, which segregates such complications to the side as merely “false consciousness,” is insufficient to understand the phenomenon as a whole. The real social hierarchies enforced by power that race encodes can indeed have determinate effects on subjects, as with the segregated housing patterns in the US that contribute to higher rates of disease for black Americans. Race has also been invoked by subjects of racial repression more broadly as a vehicle of dissent, in the 1830 political jeremiad of David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, in modern academic texts like *Black Athena*, in the literature of the Harlem Renaissance, in popular novels by Chester Himes or Iceberg Slim, by hip-hop groups like Public Enemy or N.W.A, and Jamaican pan-Africanist singers

608 Fields, 141-146. Howard Winant, “The Theoretical Status of the Concept of race,” *Theories of Race and Racism, a Reader*, Les Back and John Solomos, ed. New York: Routledge, 200, pp.181-190, 182-186. Foner, *Free Soil*, 14-17. Nella Larsen. *Passing, Quicksand, and the Stories*. New York: Anchor, 2001 (1992, 1929). Theodore Dreiser. *Sister Carrie*. New York: Dover, 2004 (1900). Ferry's speech is best consulted in a transcription including interjections from the benches and Ferry's replies. https://users.wfu.edu/watts/w10_racism.html accessed 04/01/17

like Winston Rodney or Capleton. However, Fields warns of the danger for historians of accepting the social construction of race as a given and allowing Thomas Jefferson or Theodore Roosevelt to have merely shared the ideas of their time, or to construe them as mere victims of false consciousness. They were agents, actors and ideologues responsible for deadly exploitation and racist ideas, ideas which are not a universal condition of humanity. The trivial human variation in melanin quotient does not naturally create feelings of repugnance or repulsion, as even Winthrop Jordan has argued. Few would propose that it was natural for Germans to feel repulsed by Jews because they were collectively or individually less blond. This interpretive danger ensnares Zygmunt Bauman in *Modernity and the Holocaust* when he posits an ontological hostility between abstract strangers on the basis of abstract difference. Any such hostility, like the strangers and their differences, must be historically determined.⁶⁰⁹

Nazi antisemitic ideology was historically determined by the broader history of European racism, not by some unique German spirit and not by the persistence of religious persecution. Clearly the history of medieval antisemitism played a role in the demonization of Jews, and it lent various images and stereotypes to modern propaganda. However, the antisemitism of the Nazis was above all scientific. It expressed itself in the language of science and progress that had developed throughout the practical activity of military, political, and economic domination of the non-European world by a handful of European states after 1492, and top Nazis followed most particularly the experience of the United States of America. The Holocaust was enacted with direct comparative reference to that project, utilizing both ideological constructions and practical methods derived from it. These methods and constructions were extended to their "logical" conclusion, and this extension produced a quantitatively and qualitatively unique massacre, yet to be surpassed or

⁶⁰⁹ Fields, 155-159, 169. Jordan himself points out that "white" did not arise to describe settlers in American discourse until the 1680s. Winthrop Jordan. *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968, pp. 95. For a small sample of self-consciously black cultural production, see: Chester Himes. *Cotton Comes to Harlem*. Edinburg: Canongate Crime, 2001(1965); Public Enemy. *Fear of a Black Planet*. New York: Def Jam, 1989. Burning Spear. *Marcus Garvey*. Island Records, 1975. Zygmunt Bauman. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity, 1989, pg. 63.

re-enacted. However, only after 1941 did Germany break with the norms of European discourse and conduct. Complaints from European diplomats about cynical gangster methods are themselves cynical; Hitler violated the ethical standards of intra-European diplomatic behavior, but he did so by imitating the standards of European colonial behavior. The legitimation of these moral and ethical violations depended on the European intellectual consensus that white supremacy was a scientific fact.

This consensus was a product of the nineteenth century. A small shift in Eric Hobsbawm's dates, from 1785 to 1925, say, and that "long" century becomes the century not of teleological progress toward democracy, however halting, but of progress from the suggestion to the certainty of the biological inferiority of arbitrarily defined groups of people and the necessity of their elimination. These dates move from the publication of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Jefferson was one of the first to propose that Africans were biologically inferior to Europeans, as opposed to negatively influenced by climate and condition. Like Hume, he discards the known history of African civilizations, although unlike Hume he does so less by willful misrepresentation than by rhetorical device: Jefferson simply insists that the basis of evaluation must be the "African"[*sic*] in America, by then mostly American-born, in a condition of slavery. This limitation was logically necessary to his proposal because only through reference to the experience of American colonial slavery could such an opinion be sustained, even disingenuously. Nineteenth-century science had not yet thoroughly legitimated racism; Egypt had not yet become white. Jefferson also made claims for the universal aesthetic superiority of the melanin-poor European complexion (claims not unlike those of Jordan). His fear of reprisals for white abuse, which he did not deny would be "justice," and his declared intention to preclude black/white sexual relations, led him to support the permanent elimination of black Americans through deportation and colonization elsewhere, anticipating by thirty years the American Colonization Society and by one hundred and fifty years the Madagascar project of Jewish

deportation. Finally, he suggests that continued co-existence of two groups that "nature has made [different]" would "produce convulsions which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race." The radical democrat thus projects, if pseudo-speculatively, the inevitability of an *Existenzkampf* based on the danger of a biologically-defined other in the *Volkskörper*.⁶¹⁰

Before elaborating further the subsequent scientific legitimization of Jefferson's "suspicion," one must historicize the notion of eventual racial extermination that he finds so likely. Whence this idea? His text precedes the Haitian revolution; international conflict in medieval European history had not produced any such notions of the necessity of mass racial extermination, not even the bloodletting of the Hundred Years' War, and neither had the more modern conflicts of the English, French, Dutch, and Spanish. Recent attempts of genocide studies to place the destruction of Carthage or the sack of Baghdad under a genocidal rubric are not convincing, nor is there any reference to them in Jefferson's text. The extermination that he does reference, however, waxing both scientific and elegiac, is that of the Native American tribes of the eastern seaboard that did not survive the first century and a half of British colonization: "It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke." The best conclusion is that Jefferson derived his faith in the inevitability of racial extermination from the colonial experience of Native American genocide.⁶¹¹

These initially unintentional genocides, plural given the multiple cultural entities that were wiped out, were not accomplished in the name of biological elimination. A documented instance of deliberate distribution of smallpox-infected blankets to Native Americans did occur in 1763, at Fort Pitt, but known cases of such biological warfare are very few compared to disease spread by human contact. In fact, the nations that British colonists encountered in North America in the seventeenth century were already in crisis from the effects of European diseases, which often preceded direct

610 Thomas Jefferson. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Boston: Lilly and Wait, 1832 (1787). pp. 144-151. .pdf

611 Jefferson, *Notes*, 104. Matthew P. Fitzpatrick. *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionsim and Nationalism, 1848-1884*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008, pg. 484, 484n39 & n40.

contact with whites as the pathogens spread; coastal fishing contacts had been occurring for a century before landfall by settlers, at least 500 ships a year at the end of the sixteenth century. Mortality rates were massive -- ninety percent over a century -- and must have contributed to a similarly massive social decomposition, which in turn made the Algonquians and others even more vulnerable to economic peripheralization via the fur trade as limited hunting for subsistence became unlimited hunting for commercial markets. Nevertheless, indigenous North Americans still produced enough agricultural surplus to support the hapless British in the earliest period, and this despite the fields cleared for cultivation that the colonizers found abandoned and the destruction of crops for purposes of war (claims that settlers believed the Indians did not cultivate or improve the land cannot be taken at face value: they themselves referred to the Indians' "cultivated lands"). The point is that the Europeans in North America had observed ethno-cultural eradication from the earliest days of settlement; one can contend that they were aware that these obliterated communities gave them the space to get a foothold on the continent. At the same time, the precariousness of their existence and the justified hostility of the inhabitants of the lands they were invading led to the fear that they themselves might be wiped out, an anxiety that a recent genocide studies scholar has claimed is a necessary condition for modern genocidal events.⁶¹²

This fear influenced the Pequot massacre of 1637, the first deliberate attempt by Europeans in the modern era to kill every single representative of an ethnocultural group at hand, including women and children – in fact, they chose to assault the village of women and children instead of that of the warriors. The remains of the tribe were hunted down in the following months; this conflict also initiated the taking of scalps for bounties paid by the colonial officials of

612 Zinn, 87. Betty Wood. *Origins of American Slavery: Freedom and Bondage in the English Colonies*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 1998, pg. 73. Francis Jennings. *Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, pp. 17, 19, 21-23, 24-26, 41, 86. Genetic studies have been at odds with the historical record until recently. Brendan D. O'Fallon & Lars Fehren-Schmitz, "Native Americans experienced a strong population bottleneck coincident with European contact," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America*, vol. 108, no. 51, (Dec. 2011), pp. 10444-10448. Recent scholarship has emphasized the warfare and socio-economic conditions that exacerbated the effects of disease. Some scholars argue that anthropologists favor a "terminal narrative" that marginalizes surviving indigenous North Americans. Dunbar-Ortiz, pp. 39-42, 60-63.

Massachusetts and Connecticut. However, it was only possible to wipe out the whole group because they had been decimated by disease. Actions like this one caused some indigenous allies like the Narragansett to break with the settlers, whom they saw as too violent and bloodthirsty. Most Native American warfare was low intensity and showed no exterminationist traits prior to white settlement. For the settlers the event was equally unsettling; cultural production began to rationalize the violence through the captivity narrative, which propagated a fundamental American cultural trope, the captivity myth: “the victim feminine, helpless, and possessed body and soul by Indian-devils; the rescuer masculine, ruthless, and self-righteous,” as Richard Slotkin describes it. This rescuer, the “Indian fighter” in one genre guise, is a hybrid of savage and civilized, who knows the ways of the dark woods. In reality, Puritan Massachusetts suffered from runaways to the native villages, and adoptees frequently did not want to go back to “civilization,” especially during the early period of Jamestown when the governor organized forced-labor gangs. The thematic continuities of subsequent cultural production, from James Fenimore Cooper to *Friday the Thirteenth*, have indicated the serious psychological repercussions of their actions on the perpetrators and their descendants. The cultural omnipresence of this conceit supports the idea that Native American genocide was the font of the eliminationist attitudes of later European-Americans.⁶¹³

These attitudes were first expressed in religious terms. John Underhill, an English mercenary hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, led the assault, with John Mason, on the fortified Pequot village on the Mystic River and published an account of the campaign in England. He had been trained in early-modern warfare techniques in the Dutch military academy of the Prince of Orange. He called the Pequots “wicked imps” under the control of Satan and claimed the

613 Slotkin has noted the parallels between the horror genre and the captivity narrative. Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1800-1860*. Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1973, pp. 55, 91, 135. Laura L. Mielke, “Transforming Captivity Narratives in Kevin Willmott’s *The Only Good Indian* (2009),” *American Studies*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2016, pp. 5-30, pp. 5, 8, 14. Ronald Dale Karr, “‘Why Should You Be So Furious?’: The Violence of the Pequot War,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 3 (Dec. 1998), pp. 876-909, 876-879. Katherine A. Grandjeane, “The Long Wake of the Pequot War,” *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring 2011), pp. 379-411, 381n7, 384-385.

massacre had been blessed by god, whatever dissenters might think of the cruelty in killing women and children. Underhill has been described as a sociopath based on the American Psychiatric Association's guidelines for antisocial personality disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. The earlier booster of English colonization Richard Hakluyt had not employed this sort of religious rhetoric, being largely concerned with geographical and economic affairs, including the kidnapping of natives, which is to say that this literal demonization of the inhabitants of North America originated during the process of physically occupying the land and expropriating its resources. The early state historian of Massachusetts William Hubbard, commenting on the later King Philip's War, claimed that native religion was learned from the "Prince of Darkness" and that enemy leaders were "Ministers of Satan." This war expanded on the strategies and tactics of the Pequot War, search-and-destroy missions and mass murder of women and children.⁶¹⁴

By the time of Cotton Mather, the most important North American intellectual in early colonial history, such obscurantist religious attitudes had deepened and become entrenched. As of 1675 he had sublimated reality to an ideological "invisible world" behind the real, according to Slotkin. Despite the fact that King William's War was the extension of English-French conflict to the colonies, and the fact that the native auxiliaries of the Wabanaki Confederacy were always led by French officers, Mather described the conflict in 1692 as "inexplicable" and "made by the spirits of the invisible world upon the people of New-England." Mather went so far as to claim that the native inhabitants had started the war, based on "strange things" he had seen (but did not describe)

614 Laurence M. Hauptmann, "John Underhill: A Psychological Portrait of an Indian Fighter," *Hudson River Valley Review*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 101-110, pp. 101-105. Emerson W. Baker and James Kences, "Maine, Indian Land Speculation, and the Essex County Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692." *Maine History*, volume 40, number 3, Fall 2001 (pp. 159-189). excerpted at <http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/page/11881/> accessed 01/04/2017 John Underhill, "Newes from America; Or, A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, A True Relation of Their War-like Proceedings These Two Yeares Last Past, with a figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado," Paul Royster ed. Electronic Texts in American Studies no. 37 <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/etas/37/> accessed 03/13/17 Increase Mather, father of Cotton, wrote that the war had been sent by god to punish the colonists for their sins of drunkenness, dandyism, and bad language. Increase Mather, "A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England" (1676): An Online Electronic Text Edition, Paul Roster, ed. Faculty Publications, UNL Libraries <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/librarscience/31/> accessed 03/13/17 Ben Kiernan. *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, pp. 232-242.

and the fact that natives were "horrid sorcerers, and hellish conjurers, and such as have conversed with demons." If holocaust eliminationism has been described as "hallucinatory," in the case of Mather this is literally true: In both the Essex County witch trials and the exorcism of Mercy Short, Mather and other preachers provoked visual and aural hallucinations of Indian/demons in their patients and defendants (Increase Mather opposed the use of such "spectral evidence," while Cotton did not). In a more rational style, Mather compared the Indians to the supposedly cannibal ancient Scythians, a reference to Edmund Spenser's dismissal of the Irish whose land Spenser was expropriating at the time; Spenser had advocated subduing the Irish by means of famine, a proto-genocidal colonial policy which Mather surely meant to advocate through his comparison. The escalation to eliminationism and resort to fantasy while effecting colonial expansion is clear; Roger Williams saw it at the time, recommending leniency to natives lest they "turne wild Irish themselves."⁶¹⁵

As early as 1627, Thomas Jefferson's future home state of Virginia pursued the deliberate elimination of indigenous communities through forced starvation by destroying their food supplies, following a Crown edict. Since the 1622 attack of Opechancanough, the Virginia Company had issued what Alfred Cave has called "strident demands for total Indian extermination," eventually decreeing that any native was to be shot on sight, but the colonists were militarily too weak to pursue so final a solution and adopted a more limited policy of slow territorial clearance. The Virginia settlements lacked the religious imagination of the Puritans and rather more frankly sought individual and Company profit. Nevertheless, the local notables resisted further attempts to create a peaceful status quo, using false charges to have Governor John Harvey removed to England when he seemed too slow to grant new land patents, a policy which favored a de-escalation of hostilities and increased fur-trade profits for existing patent-holders. The anti-Harvey movement was led by former Governor John Potts, who may be the first physician of the modern period to commit

⁶¹⁵ Baker & Kences, excerpted at hawthorneinsalem.org. Slotkin, 119, 132-141. Joseph Allen Lennon. *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008, pp. 49-53. Kiernan, 132.

medical mass murder in the service of colonization; he poisoned the peace delegation of Powhatans who came to Jamestown in 1623, of whom two hundred or more were murdered. The exterminationist activists of the colony were not yet successful, however, as the replacement for Harvey pursued the same policy of native conciliation and profit. The all-out extermination effort came later, in retaliation for the 1644 attack by the weakened remains of Opechancanough's Powhatans.⁶¹⁶

The Virginian colonists did not really bother to legitimate their seizure of resources any more than Hakluyt had bothered to legitimate his kidnappings. At best they claimed that the attack on Jamestown, or for that matter "theft" of their free-roaming livestock, justified more violence and further seizures. Historians should resist the urge to grant an ethical basis to the colonial subject position: they were invaders, and they must have known it. The English had no more right to "settle" on the Rappahannock in the seventeenth century than the Germans had to settle on the Vistula or the Don in the twentieth. Further parallels beyond the general extermination policy of the private company or state are evident in the activity and discourse of settler colonialism: medical personal orchestrating mass murder, exaggeratedly violent reprisals, starvation as a weapon for ethnic cleansing, contrived comparisons with antiquity, spurious assumptions of cultural superiority, false treaty commitments, and misrepresentation of one's own acts of war. These practical devices, however, are not necessarily specific to modernity, and while the congruences are meaningful, it is not until *Notes on the State of Virginia* that the foundation supporting US and Nazi racial ideology was truly laid.

This is because Jefferson's book is above all a work of modern science. Douglas Egerton points out that *Notes* "foreshadowed what would become the scientific racism of the nineteenth century," but calls the racial theories therein expounded as "bad science out of step with

⁶¹⁶ Different sources assign differing responsibility to Potts and Captain Tucker, who distributed the poison drinks. His notoriety in this affair may be partly due to a bad reputation. Alfred Cave. *Lethal Encounters: Englishmen and Indians in Colonial Virginia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011, pp. 128, 130-133, 188n21. Anthony S. Parent. *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, p.18. John Frederick Fausz, "The Powhatan Uprising of 1622: A Historical Study of Ethnocentrism and Cultural Conflict," (Ph.D. diss., The College of William and Mary, 1977), 496-499, 498n292.

the prevailing scientific trends of the eighteenth century." This latter characterization is anachronistic. Jefferson's work is absolutely in step with the prevailing trends of eighteenth-century science, beginning with Linnaeus, who divided humanity into four races on the basis of skin color. These races are hierarchized with white at the top and black at the bottom. The appellation *Africanus Niger* already invokes typical racist discursive elements, given the secondary definitions of the latin "niger": pertaining to death, sad, mournful, bad, and wicked. Another recurring discourse trope appears in his sexualized anatomical description of *Africanus* women's "clitoral flap and elongated breasts." He went on to double down on this dubious taxonomy in later editions of *Systema Naturae* by assigning the races dominant temperaments corresponding to the humors of antiquity; at this point he also changed the Asian color appellation from the neutral "fuscus" to "luridus," the latter having secondary definitions of ghastly, lurid, and horror. Like Linnaean taxonomy, Jefferson's *Notes* is primarily dedicated to descriptive natural science, with a soupçon of racist opinion. In describing Virginia, he practices geology, geography, anthropology, archaeology, and biology, in some cases engaging in field work himself, as with his descriptions of digging through indigenous burial sites and his detailed personal observations of local flora and fauna. Jefferson's scientific acumen was great enough that he hypothesized that deforestation may have changed the climate of Virginia and attempted to model that climate change through fluid dynamics, thermodynamics, and rates of solar reflection; Linnaean classification forms the basis for the entire system of biological nomenclature in use today. The text-linguistic structure shared by the work of Linnaeus and Jefferson, where empirically-based observations anchor racist flights of fancy, will be seen to recur in political, academic, and popular cultural production as European and Anglo-American global hegemony solidified.⁶¹⁷

617 Jefferson contributed to science – intellectual capital accumulation – only as part of the broader colonial effort, with all that implies. Douglas R. Egerton, "Race and Slavery in the Era of Jefferson," *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Jefferson*, Frank Shuffleton, ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 79. Kendi, 28-83. Latin translations from Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/> accessed 10/03/17 Jefferson, *Notes*, Contents page, and *passim*. Timothy Sweet, "Jefferson, Science, and the Enlightenment," *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Jefferson*, Frank Shuffleton, ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 104-105.

In Robert C.J. Young's words, "Racial theory... was developed at a particular era of British and European colonial expansion in the nineteenth century which ended in the Western occupation of nine-tenths of the surface area of the globe." One should add this theory and practice developed strongly recognizable traits through American colonial expansion. Racist theory was endemic in all branches of science and the humanities; it was "substantiated and 'proved'" by means of "interdisciplinary academic knowledge;" it "became one of the organizing axioms of knowledge in general" and "[arguably]... the common principle of academic knowledge in the nineteenth century." Preceding Jefferson, Edward Long's 1774 *History of Jamaica* demonstrated this interdisciplinary consensus. The historian declares that Africans are a separate species, following Linnaeus, therefore "mulattoes" are sterile, and African women engage in sexual intercourse with "monkies, or baboons." As in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Long's racist discourse is embedded in a work of natural science and history, on the one hand presenting "The Topographical Features of the Island," the development of local schools, and the effects of the tropical climate, and on the other hand describing the precise patterns of racial ascent or descent to or from whiteness from various sexual couplings, as a "Sambo de Mulatta" is the product of the union between "Negroe and Mulatta." Manuel Alvar has found 128 terms in the Spanish lexicon specifying racial types in the Linnaean taxonomical tradition -- an example which clearly displays how scientific racial theory is the result of colonial sexual exploitation. The colonial power dynamic can be seen also in the fact that according another such tabulation, of the 23 hybrid types identified by Johann von Tschudi in his 1847 *Travels in Peru*, none has a white mother. Sex constantly obtrudes into historical literature, even where it might be left aside. In Bryan Edwards' 1793 *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, a numerical and historical accounting of the slave trade and the plantation economy, the author begins by quoting Isaac Teale's 1765 "The Sable Venus: an Ode," adding a new verse of his own, a stylized erotic fantasy confessing a desire for black women.⁶¹⁸

618 Young, 87, 91-93, 158, 177. Edward Long. *The History of Jamaica, or General Survey of the Antient[sic] and Modern State of that Island: with Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws and Government*. London: T. Lowndes, 1774, vol. 2 pp.1, 246, 260-261; vol. 3 pp. 505. .pdf

As Young remarks, "Nineteenth century theories of race did not just consist of essentializing differentiations between self and other: they were also about people having sex -- interminable, adulterating, aleatory, illicit, inter-racial sex... The cultural construction of race has always been fuelled by the corrupt conjunction of such hybridized sexual and economic discourses." Jefferson's own hybrid discourse on the inevitability of African-American elimination or extermination, based on fears of sexual "mixture" and "staining the blood" of the master, comes at the end of a chapter discussing inheritance law. Given Jefferson's sexual exploitation of his slaves and his long relationship with Sally Hemmings, with whom he had several children, who were manumitted at his death (she was not), his reflections on white-black relations cannot be taken at face value. Without assuming to know his intentions, however, one can observe that this founding father of both the USA and the University of Virginia serves as an example of the broader process of the growth of nineteenth-century racist doctrine out of the conjunction of the ideas and practices of Enlightenment science and the real processes of imposing economic and political hegemony on colonized lands and enslaved populations.⁶¹⁹

The historical record leaves no doubt as to the ubiquity of sexual exploitation of racially-defined free women of color and slaves in the Americas. In New Orleans, such exploitation extended to an entire class of nominally free "filles du couleur," essentially a hereditary caste of concubines, who were displayed by and for their white paramours in special balls capitalized by private entrepreneurs and formally licensed by the municipal government, which also paid for a security squad. Apparently begun by August Tessier, these entertainments were institutionalized by 1805 and were nationally notorious by the late 1830s. In her 1837 *Society in America*, Harriet Martineau described the arrangement: "The quadroon girls of New Orleans are brought up by their mothers to be what they have been; the mistresses of white gentlemen... Every young man early selects one, and establishes her in one of those peculiar and pretty houses... in the Ramparts...

http://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/thesaurus/pdf/44/TH_44_001_183_0.pdf accessed 13/03/17
619 Young, 158, 181. Jefferson, *Notes*, 151. Egerton, "Race and Slavery... Jefferson," 80.

Every white lady believes that her husband has been an exception to the rule of seduction.” Popular historian Herbert Asbury characterizes these affairs as “glorified slave marts.”⁶²⁰

Jefferson's slave Sally Hemings was herself a hereditary concubine, unofficially, being the daughter of Jefferson's father-in-law John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings, the slave who attended his mother-in law (and thus Martha Jefferson's slave was her half-sister). Confederate war diarist Mary Chestnut famously declared that each and every planter used their slave quarters as harems, and that everyone knew it, although the southern belles affected to believe their own husbands refrained from such activity. The Jamaican planter Thomas Thislewood detailed his own frequently sadistic rapes of his slaves in a 10,000 page diary. Lady Nugent, visiting Jamaica in 1801, noted that all the white overseers had a non-white slave concubine. Even a relatively small-scale slaveowner practicing an extremely dour and repressive variety of Methodism that forbade dancing would have children by his slaves in the deep south. As Scottish abolitionist Peter Neilson remarked in a 1830 memoir of American travel, "Many white men evince a wonderful inclination for black women." The American economic historian William Z. Ripley, in the 1900 edition of *The Races of Europe*, offers a telling explanation: "One of the most subtle physiological effects of a tropical climate is a sure excitation of the sexual organs, which in the presence of a native servile and morally underdeveloped population often leads to excesses even at a tender age." The sexual servility and moral depravity thus projected onto non-white peoples was produced through the imposition of colonial power.⁶²¹

The power dynamic by means of which the colonial imperialist satisfied his desires can be

620 LLMVC, New Orleans Municipal Records. Mss.719. Legal Papers, Resolutions and Ordinances 1813-1846, T:48. Folder 11.3. Thomas Marc Fisher, "The African Presence in Creole Louisiana: An Essay on the Continuity of Caribbean Culture," *Louisiana's Black Heritage*. Robert R. MacDonald, John R.Kemp, Edward F.Haas, ed. New Orleans: Louisiana State History Museum, 1979, pg. 26. Martineau quoted in Emily Clark. *The Strange History of the American Quadroon: Free Women of Color in the Revolutionary World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013, pp. 153-154. Herbert Asbury. *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld*. New York: Arrow, 2004 (1936), pp. 129-131.

621 Chestnut quoted in Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 236. Egerton, "Race and Slavery... Jefferson," 80. Blackmon, 33-34, 55-56. Philip Sherlock and Hazel Bennet. *The Story of the Jamaican People*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1998, pp. 153-154. Peter Neilson. *Recollections of a Six Years' Residence in the United States of America: Interspersed with Original Anecdotes, Illustrating the Manners of the Inhabitants of the Great Western Republic*. Glasgow, David Robertson, 1830, pg. 297. .pdf Ripley quoted in Young, 150-152.

seen in the casual attitude of the protagonist in Tennyson's 1842 *Locksley Hall*: "I will take some savage woman, she shall rear my dusky race..." The poem's 1835 manuscript shows the line was changed from "Could I wed a savage woman steeped perhaps in monstrous crime;" if one may be permitted a close reading, the poet laureate chosen diction highlights both the absence of consent and the illegitimate hybridity of his imagined offspring, while the projection of immorality on to the "savage" in the discarded line resembles Ripley's above, in the same context of sexual exploitation. In the antebellum US, the slave narratives of Harriet Jacobs and Henry Bibb highlight the obsessive nature of the planters' sexual interest. Frederick Douglass claimed in his first autobiography that his master had raped his mother and was his biological father, and that her sister had been brutally beaten when she showed romantic attention to another slave instead of to her master. This power dynamic existed across the colonial experience, where rape and coercive sexual arrangements were always present. In the Congo, Belgian state agent Eugène Rommel abducted young girls from a mission school and kept them in sexual servitude, while for another young officer there, possessing a harem was one of the perks of colonial service that he described in a letter home. In the US, slaveowners consciously treated their female slaves as breeders, and they themselves were the studs. Women might be tortured and starved to force or their submission, although bribery and gifts were usually preferred.⁶²²

However, at the same time, the projection of monstrosity on non-white populations produced a highly ambivalent, if not schizophrenic, attitude, as can be seen in the 1831 philosophical treatise, *Essay on the Origins and Prospects of Man*, by British Orientalist Thomas Hope. Hope heavily romanticized the Orient, also penning the popular Byronic adventure *Anastasius*, but affected to find Africans "disgusting," "repulsive," "preposterous," and "hideously ugly." Yet this abusive

⁶²² Tennyson quoted in Young, 90. Leonard Cassuto. *The Inhuman Race: The Racial Grotesque in American Literature and Culture*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1997, 110-11. Henry Bibb. *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. New York: 1850, pp. 38, 133, *passim*. .pdf Harriet Jacobs. *Incidents in the life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*. L. Maria Child, ed. Boston, 1861, pp. 70, 79-80. .pdf Adam Hochschild. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Mariner Press, 1999, pp. 126, 136-137. Charles Harold Nichols. *Many Thousands Gone: The Ex-Slaves Account of Their Bondage and Freedom*. Boston: Brill Archives, 1963, pg. 36.

chapter ends with him declaring that there are "certain Nubian nations" and "certain Caffre tribes, whose figures, nay even whose features, might in point of form serve as models for those of an Apollo." Hope's detailed physical description of this black Apollo, including "pouting lips," culminates in an appreciation of "the glossy black of marble or jet, conveying to the touch sensations more voluptuous even than those of the most resplendent white." A similarly ambivalent recurring *leitmotiv* in racist discourse, in the preposterous vein, are the references to sexual intercourse with apes. The naturalist credited with confirming the great apes' existence, for example, Paul Belloni du Chaillu, titillated his lecture audiences by telling them of the vile but unspeakable purposes the hairy beasts would accomplish in their lairs with kidnapped African women. Perhaps this was the source of the divergent species "discovered" by Linnaeus, *Homo Monstrosus Monorchidae*, the Khoi people of South Africa, who were considered, scientifically, "the missing link between human and ape species," in the words of historian Thomas Holt. Nevertheless, it was such a so-called missing link, Sarah Baartman, whose physique was ogled in London and Paris, on stages, in cafes, and at private parties, billed as the "Hottentot Venus." Her death in 1815 received more obituary notices in French newspapers than any other black woman in the nineteenth century. After her autopsy by French anatomist Georges Cuvier, who cut out and preserved her genitals, boiled her corpse until the bones came clean, and assembled and displayed her skeleton, Cuvier claimed that her skull was closer to a monkey's than any other he had seen. This sort of animalizing discourse becomes fantasmagorical in Thomas Carlyle's *Discourse on the Nigger Question*, when he suggests, following a thinly-veiled reference to interracial sex, that abolition "will give birth to progenies and prodigies; dark extensive moon-calves, unnameable abortions, wide-coiled monstrosities, such as the world has not seen hitherto!"⁶²³

All these fantasies had one source: The physical intrusion into non-European lands by

623 Hope quoted in Young, 96-97. Hochschild, 27. Kendi, 137-139. Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question," *Complete Works of Thomas Carlyle, Vol. 4, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. New York: Collier & Son, 1901, pp. 293-326, pg. 298. .pdf

colonial imperialists, beginning with the Americas. The economics of the project bred the racist response: Carlyle deploys his demonic bestiary in protest against the tendency of Jamaican freedmen to prefer subsistence to commodity production and against their recent revolt against colonial power relations. Black Jamaicans had no right to food nor to land upon which to grow it, says Carlyle. They would merely stay “indolent” and “grow pumpkins.” Their only right was “an indisputable and perpetual *right* to be compelled, by the real proprietors of said land, to do competent work for his living.” Civilization, that is, economic utility and progressive modernity, demanded cash crops, spices and “fruit spicy and commercial.” “The one perfect eternal proprietor is the Maker,” and commercial productivity is “the Eternal Purpose and Supreme Will.” Imposing this economy demanded black submission, in accordance with the divine logos, so racial equality was “a palpable falsity, big with hideous ruin.” The monstrous birth Carlyle evokes may reach back to medieval imagery, but in texts like Carlyle's, racial grotesques quite explicitly serve colonial economic models. Carlyle highlights the racial grotesque through familiar discursive strategies like those above as well as animalizations, comparisons to pigs, cattle, and horses and so on – at one point the rebellious “Demerara nigger” with “its rum-bottle and no breeches” is metaphorized as a baby in the kennels. He emphasized the racist point even further by changing his title from a discourse on the *Negro*, to the *Nigger* question.⁶²⁴

Carlyle is emblematic of the British intelligentsia of the mid-nineteenth-century, which responded to confrontations like the Demerara rebellion, the Indian mutiny, and the Morant Bay revolt with violent rhetoric that paralleled the violence of military repression; Dickens, for example, speaking through a character in an Indian-mutiny fiction, expressed a wish “to exterminate the Race... with all convenient dispatch and merciful swiftness of execution, to blot it out of mankind and raze it off the face of the earth.” Racial theory, economic development, and extermination demonstrate their interrelationship quite clearly here. Another such intellectual was the Scottish

⁶²⁴ The title was changed for the pamphlet after magazine publication. Notable is the racial grotesque of a literal *sans-culotte*. Carlyle, “Nigger Question,” 299, 312, 314, 316-317.

Robert Knox, medical doctor and member of the French National Medical Academy, whose 1850 *Races of Men* proposes that "Race is everything: literature, science, art -- in a word civilization, depends on it;" he formed his ideas while serving in the army in South Africa. However, the best illustration of the generative connection between idealized civilization, colonial power and racist theory is in the work of Arthur de Gobineau. His influence on European racist thought in general and Nazism in particular, has been noted by Arendt in 1951 and Evans in 2003. Both authors, however, fail to discuss the specific structure of Gobineau's argument and its derivation from the colonial experience of sexual exploitation.⁶²⁵

In his 1853-1855 magnum opus *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, Gobineau proposes that all great civilizations, from antiquity to modernity, were created by the so-called Aryan race, not alone, however, but only through a "fertile marriage" (*hymen fécond*) with lesser races. He insists that only physical reproduction initiated by the Aryan can civilize non-white populations, not religious conversion, education, workplace discipline, or other forms of resocialization: "The civilizing instinct of these chosen peoples were continuously forcing them to mix their blood with that of others. As for the black and yellow types, they are mere savages and have no history at all." This mixing must occur through rape because the "black and yellow" woman feels "a natural repugnance, felt by men and animals alike, to a crossing of the blood," that must be overcome by the conquering white male, who on his part feels a natural attraction to the so-called savage races. The offspring of what Young calls "this sadistic imperative" produce the glories of civilization, but this hybrid progeny also degrades the Aryan blood, so that civilization is doomed to decline and collapse as racial purity is further adulterated. This argument collapsed race and class; for Gobineau, French aristocrat and diplomat, the Aryan represented the aristocracy, in peril from the peasantry, to whom he assigned the same traits of brutishness and stupidity as he assigned to "savages," and the bourgeoisie, to whom were assigned the traits of insufficiency and impurity, not

⁶²⁵ Young claims that both Knox and Gobineau directly influenced Matthew Arnold and his theories of Aryan-Semitic racial difference and English multiculturalism. Young, 17, 85, 93. Arendt, *Totalitarianism*, 162-175. Evans, *The Coming*, 33-34.

coincidentally those associated with the stereotype of the "tragic mulatto," the symbol of American racial hybridity.⁶²⁶

Gobineau's American translators, Josiah C. Nott and Henry Hotze, were at the very epicenter of colonial hybrid progeny, particularly Nott, a son of the South, slaveowner, and Confederate army surgeon. Given prevailing trends in Dixie it is highly likely that he fathered children by his slaves and absolutely certain that he experimented on his African-American patients without their consent, although he seems to have been attentive to the welfare of his patients. Nott, who published many medical papers, made his first foray into racist anthropology, or as he called it, "niggerology," with the essay "The Mulatto a Hybrid -- Probable Extinction of the Two Races If the Whites and Blacks are Allowed to Intermarry." This discourse on racial hybridity, supported by the highly-honored French scientist Louis Agassiz, among others, claimed that "mulattoes" had a shorter life expectancy, were prone to disease, and tended to infertility, claims that were backed up by Nott's invocation of scientific authority through his medical practice and his use of data from the 1840 census, now notorious for its inaccuracy. This data authenticated by state power and obtained through the exercise of settler-colonial power. His championing of polygenesis was built on the Linnaean classification of the races as different species, of which "mulatto" infertility was a scientific proof. Yet all his data was belied by the daily evidence of his own eyes regarding the fertility question, and his exhaustive biometric data could not have been accurate.⁶²⁷

Such data was common across the profession; fellow physician Charles Caldwell compiled similar measurements, and one of Caldwell's descriptions of these findings claimed, in a truly hallucinatory style, that African-Americans' ankles were placed ("almost") in the middle of the foot. In any case, most relevant here is the insistence on how the scientific fact of biological

⁶²⁶ Gobineau quoted in Young, 99, 107-108.

⁶²⁷ Although some historians assign him honest scientific intentions, it seems clear that Nott, as well as Hotze, had a commitment to defend American slavery first and foremost; he was pleased to have a later text used by John C. Calhoun to defend the institution. John S. Haller, Jr, "The Negro and the Southern Physician: A Study of Medical and Racial Attitudes," *Medical History*, vol. 16, no. 3 (July 1972), pp. 238-253, pp. 242, 246-248. Paul A. Erickson, "The Anthropology of Josiah Clark Nott," *KAS Papers*, nos. 65-66, pp. 103-120, pp. 103-105, 108-109. Michelle M. Wright, "Nigger Peasants from France: Missing Translations of American Anxieties on Race and the Nation," *Callaloo*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 831-852, pp. 833, 839.

incompatibility necessarily called for slavery, exclusion, or extermination, the same zero-sum approach insisted upon by Nazi racial theory and American postbellum racial legislation and cultural production. These results are not simply racism as prejudice, but racism as power. Theodor Waitz, German psychologist and anthropologist certainly believed in white supremacy – one writer suggests that anthropology itself could be defined as “classification and explanation of racial differences” – but Waitz warned what the consequences of Nott's zero-sum racial economy implied: “All wars of extermination, whenever the lower species are in the way of the white man, are then not only excusable, but fully justifiable, since a physical existence only is destroyed, which, without any capacity for a higher mental development, may be doomed to extinction in order to afford space to higher organisms.”⁶²⁸

Nott and Hotze altered Gobineau's text substantially, excising over sixty percent of it, since the Frenchman's insistence on hybridity as a root of civilization and utter contempt for the white racial stock of the US failed to meet their ideological needs. Nott went so far as to make up quotes for his own 1854 *Types of Mankind*, which began by citing Robert Knox and would go through eight editions by the time the Civil War began; this work became the standard scientific text, still quoted by an 1881 student anthropology textbook. *Types* was co-authored by George Glidden, the consul in Cairo who had provided skulls for Samuel Morton, whose *Crania Aegyptica* followed upon his *Crania Americana* in arguing the biological inferiority of "negroes" based on skull shape and internal capacity. These texts effectively launched craniology as a cutting-edge academic discipline in the 1830s and established a vocabulary of white supremacy, still in use today, describing the "long-headed" Nordics as the most supreme race in Europe, distinguishable from the "short-headed" Alpines and Mediterraneans. One recalls how members of the SS had their heads measured as part of the biometrics like height and eye-color that were supposed to indicate their Nordic racial superiority. Craniology also served the intra-European discourse of class superiority

628 Herbert H. Odom, “Generalizations on Race in Nineteenth century Anthropology,” *Isis*, Vol.58, no. 1 (Spring 1967), pp. 4-18, pg. 8, 8n10, 10.

in the work of Cesare Lombroso, wherein examination of hundreds of skulls scientifically proved the hereditary nature of criminal behavior like petty theft and prostitution (Lombroso concluded that some women were "born prostitutes"). The urban underclass formed by the economic destitution caused by early processes of modernization is the location, in intellectual production, of the morally "asocial" behavior attributed to the racialized "inferior" dispossessed by colonial imperialism. Lombroso and his successors applied colonial ideas of racial inferiority to the *mezzogiorno*, and their works would be cited by the 1911 US Congressional Dillingham Commission. As Peter D'Agostino sums up, "American racial thinkers coopted and linked Lombrosianism to racial arguments that successfully sought to defend, detail, and extend racial hierarchies... and that structured legislation on a vast scale." Craniology, racism, and evolutionary teleologies of capitalist progress reinforced one another through the use of the skull as a "scientific fetish object," in the phrase of L. Franey. Skulls and preserved hands taken in battle by Victorian colonial army officers and mounted as trophies or sent to collectors were considered by their owners as part of a broader paradigm of scientific exploration, by way of that odd logic which argues that skulls displayed by the Ashanti represent savagery while skulls displayed in Turin, Paris, or Philadelphia represent civilization.⁶²⁹

The violent imposition of power that enabled such science was not always so directly tied to narratives of colonial power; for example, Robert Knox, in seeking cadavers for public dissection, purchased the corpses of the murdered victims of Burke and Hare, probably knowing the bodies'

⁶²⁹ Richard Burton noted the similarity between Ashanti displays and Jacobite heads on sticks that were displayed at Temple Bar in London from 1746 to 1778. "King Philip," that is, Metacomet, son of Massasoit, who led the resistance to Puritan invasion in late-seventeenth-century New England, had his skull displayed at Plymouth for two decades, where it became an early American tourist attraction (a young Cotton Mather ripped off the jawbone so the Devil would not be able to speak through it). Wright, 839, 846. Young, 88, 123, 140-141. Fredrickson, *The Black Image*, 74-77, 86-87. Kendi, 179-180, 198. Simon J. Harrison, "Skulls and Scientific Collecting in the Victorian Military: Keeping the Enemy Dead in British Frontier Warfare," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 50, no. 1 (2008), pp. 285-303, pp. 286-290, 295n7. Alan Taylor. *Writing Early American History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, pg. 63. See also Eric B. Schultz & Michael J. Tougis. *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict*. Woodstock, VT: Countryman Press, 2017. Peter D'Agostino, "Craniums, Criminal, and the 'Cursed Race': Italian Anthropology in American Racial Thought, 1861-1924," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 44, no. 2 (April 2002), pp.319-343, pp. 319-321. L. Franey. *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855-1902*. New York: Springer, 2003, pg.118.

provenance. However, the racist lineage appears at one remove. The murdered came from the marginal fringe of the lower-class urban populations created by primitive accumulation, Lombrosian cousins to the lazy, unwashed races: Lombroso claimed that the anatomical deviations from the norm that indicated criminality were biological expressions of a “savage” evolutionary past. Africans were also murdered by colonial soldiers specifically to provide specimens to their Army surgeons, a practice first documented in the eighteen-twenties. The construction of scientific knowledge in the European core has tended to be based, like Knox's racial theories, on the practice of colonialism -- Knox himself had begun a cranial collection while he was stationed in South Africa and forming his racial theories. Much of Morton's non-American skull collection came to him from colonial army surgeons like Knox (from "remote frontier outposts," as William Stanton has remarked, globalizing white-supremacist teleologies of manifest destiny in the famous thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner), and all of the American skulls were a direct product of North American colonization. While *Crania Americana* used empirical values of craniology to claim that whites were more intelligent than Native Americans and Negroes, Morton's *Crania Aegyptiaca* used similar measurements to argue that the ancient Egyptian elite had been white "caucasians." This argument was deemed essential for the purposes of promoting American slavery by Nott and Glidden, and presumably lay behind the claims of Hume *et al.* that there had never been a notable non-white civilization. Nott was supported by scientists of great prestige like Agassiz and Paul Broca, who founded the Society of Anthropology of Paris and argued for white biological superiority from craniological evidence. Nott perhaps goes further than science would strictly have allowed in alleging that the white man's destiny was to “conquer and hold every part of the globe” while non-whites would serve their role unto extinction, but he does follow the scientific method of inductive reasoning from what he called “the practical fact” of white supremacy in the American south. Just as Morton's anthropological texts moved from North America to Egypt, so did Nott, projecting white supremacy as a historical inevitability on the basis of his colonial experience. Nott

was cited by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, but these views were a kind of cosmological constant in the background of all scientific and social-scientific theory, balancing all colonial equations.⁶³⁰

The development of race in European scientific, cultural, and political thought thus grew out of the colonial experience, of which the United States may be seen as an ideal variation. It certainly figured as such in the Nazi world-view, not only as a Karl May-inspired fantasy frontier, but in the substantive elements of European consensus reality from which the fantasy derived. The historical background of the power relations under discussion has three relevant aspects: the modern industrial development of Europe resulting from the New World's expropriated resources and slave-labor mass-commodity production; the violent imposition of global geopolitical exclusion of non-Europeans and privileged resource access by European treaty or doctrine; and the growth of scientific knowledge – including technical expertise in production techniques – through physical examination of, and experimentation on and in, colonized lands and bodies. All fields are interdependent: Henry Hotze, who wrote the introduction to Dr. Nott's translation of Gobineau, was a political operative working for diplomatic recognition of the Confederate States of America in Britain during the Civil War. His work included publishing editorials under others' bylines, funding publications of the Anthropological Society of London, and dining with Gladstone, a slaveowner's son who supported recognition. The Anthropological Society had been founded by James Hunt, Richard Burton, and others in a split with the Ethnological Society on ostensibly purely scientific grounds, which apparently meant popularizing scientific racism: as President Hunt put it in a letter to Hotze, “the negro's place in nature will ever be scientifically ascertained and fearlessly explained.” The Society's *Anthropological Review* sublimated all academic fields to racial interpretations, medicine, art, language, anatomy; in Richard Young's words, by the mid-eighteenth century, “the idea of race as the determining factor of cultural difference became part of a

630 Young, 17, 122, 127-128. Deborah A. Symonds, “Book Reviews,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 83, no. 3 (Sept. 2011), pp. 644-647. Evelleen Richards, “A Political Anatomy of Monsters, Hopeful and Otherwise: Teratogeny, Transcendentalism, and Evolutionary Theorizing,” *Isis*, vol. 85, no. 3 (Sept. 1994), pp.vii, 377-411, pg. 385n23. D'Agonstino, 322. Terence D. Keel. “Religion, polygenism and the early science of human origins,” *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 3-23, 9-11.

“‘common knowledge’ which did not have to be sustained by any form of empirical evidence.” One can go further: This idea became generative of “empirical” evidence, in Cartwright's anatomical measurements, Morton's cranial capacities, Agassiz's “scrofulous” mulattoes, and spurious census data. No-one could doubt the factual authority of Thomas Huxley when he declared that “Negros” were “inherently inferior.”⁶³¹

The entire scientific and hygienic vocabulary of Nazi antisemitism derives from these sources. Students of these roots have noted their ultimate source in the “works of the anthropological racists.” In the German context one finds the anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and the biologist Ernst Haeckel, who each hierarchized the races differently, but with caucasians at the top, the latter further producing his own hallucinatory biometrics with the claim that Africans had bigger first toes than whites, proving their proximity to apes. In 1871 the German Anthropological Society attempted a project to classify all the skull shapes in Germany in order to scientifically distinguish between Aryan and non-Aryan (*i.e.*, Jew), an early scientific effort at empiricist antisemitism that followed the methodologies of colonial racism. Craniology was championed by Vacher de Lapouge, and through him, by the Nazi race ideologue Hans Günther, to Hitler himself. Günther's influence is often played down, but as “an avid head-measurer” he gave an empiricist base to Nazi antisemitism – some sources consider him more influential than Alfred Rosenberg. Through the compulsory introduction of “racial science” to German schools after Günther's installation at the University of Jena in 1933, such cranial measurements helped indoctrinate the generation raised under the Third Reich not only through the curriculum but also through the experience everyday medical hygiene -- getting a physical examination. In fact, the specific details of Lapouge's cranio-racial Malthusianism were never part of Nazi doctrine, as much as his air of objectivity (as well as his Bazarevian anti-morality convictions and an apocalyptic death-obsession). The production of these kinds of metrics goes hand in hand with the process of

⁶³¹ Young, 133-140. The Society claimed a scientifically-based intellectual pre-eminence over the humanities. “Race in History,” *The Anthropological Review*, vol. 3, no. 11 (Oct. 1865), pp.233-247. Egerton, “Race and Slavery,” 80.

colonial penetration: in Stanley's memoirs as well, as he produces endless quantification in lists and calculations while wiping out villages and working porters to death; such data proved the scientific value of such expeditions and created a context of empiricism in which Stanley could lead his militarized surveying expeditions against Africans, called by Stanley's American publicist James Gordon Bennett "human vermin."⁶³²

The language of long-skulled Nordics, of brachycephalic Alpines and Mongloids, was the language of the leading US eugenicist of the interwar period, Madison Grant (as it was of President Coolidge, who claimed in 1924, "Biological laws show... Nordics deteriorate when they mix with other races.") Grant's 1916 bestseller, corrected in collaboration with Lapouge, *The Passing of the Great Race*, advocated forced sterilization of "social derelicts... the criminal, the diseased, and the insane," and only "perhaps ultimately... the weaker races." This book was cited by Hans Günther as an influence; Hitler wrote to Grant claiming that the book was his bible; Dr. Karl Brandt introduced it as evidence for the defense in Nuremberg. Grant's introduction to Lothrop Stoddard's ("A.M., Ph.D. (Harv.)") popular 1921 *The Rising Tide of Color against White Supremacy* reads like a Nazi speech, perhaps in the more restrained style delivered to economic and political elites; it is also an example of the convergence of white-supremacist and anti-communist arguments in American academic literature: "Asia, in the guise of Bolshevism, with Semitic leadership and Chinese executioners, is organizing an assault upon western Europe," so the Nordic must "reassert the pride of race" and refuse "to share his blood with, or intrust his ideals to, brown, yellow, black, or red men." Grant speaks as a representative of a global hegemon – "The Nordic race... still grasps firmly the control of the world" – a discourse of universal racial superiority in support of political power rooted in colonial dominance.⁶³³

In the US case this hegemonic discourse becomes prominent preceding the Mexican War, in

632 "Avid head-measurer" is the pithy phrase of J.M. Hecht. Hecht, pp. 292-294, 299-300, 299n54, 300n60, 303. Aly & Heim, 123. Eric Henry Vieler, "The Ideological Roots of German National Socialism," Ph.D. diss., University of Nevada, Reno, 1996, pp. 16, 39-42, 118, 118n252, 131-132. Hochschild, 49-51.

633 Hecht, 298. Kendi, 311, 321. Vieler, 162. Madison Grant, "Introduction," in Lothrop Stoddard. *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. xxx-xxxii. .pdf

the slogan of Manifest Destiny, that is, Anglo-Saxon racial and territorial supremacy. In Reginald Horsman's words, "the scientist's ideas of permanent racial inferiority, widely disseminated in books and magazines, permeated political and diplomatic arguments of the late 1840s and became of key importance in the controversy over American expansion." Senator Thomas Hart Benton, speaking to Congress in 1846, exclaimed "Civilization, or extinction, has been the fate of all people who have found themselves in the track of the advancing Whites," who were "the van of the Caucasian race." Benton invoked Blumenbach's racial classifications in the speech as well. In his 1847 memoir, former Minister to Mexico Waddy Thompson declares, "That the Indian race of Mexico must recede before us, is quite certain as that that is the destiny of our own Indians." No longer an explanation for the present, Manifest Destiny became a blueprint for the future of racist conquest, authenticated and authorized by science and history. Such views were rejected by the founder of the American Ethnological Society, Albert Gallatin, the last living member of Jefferson's cabinet, who wrote in an 1848 letter, "... all these allegations of superiority of race and destiny... neither require nor deserve any answer; they are but pretenses under which to disguise cupidity, ambition, or silly vanity," but this opinion did not become politically or academically institutionalized. After Gallatin's death, the Society faded away until the turn of the century, when it was revived as the American Anthropological Association, which was led by Madison Grant. When Boasians took control after World War I, Grant responded by founding the Galton Society, whose prestigious members formed an interdisciplinary elite adept at getting federal grants, private funding, and government posts. They were internationally recognized: Harry Laughlin, the head of the racio-Lombrosian Eugenics Records Office in New York City received an honorary degree from Heidelberg University for his contributions to "the science of racial cleansing." Grant himself advised on the restrictions on non-Nordic immigrants promulgated in the US Immigration Act of 1924.⁶³⁴

634 Reginald Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *American Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 2 (May 1975), pp. 152-169, pp. 153-154, 165, 168. "Eugenics, Race, and Immigration Restriction," Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, June 17, 2015

If eugenic legislation in the interwar US lagged behind Galtonians' expectations, doctors were still applying eugenic techniques to non-whites. Unconsenting sterilization of African-American women was already going on when Grant proposed it as a future possibility, remaining common into the 1960s (a 1970 Princeton study found that twenty percent of married black women had been sterilized). In fact, medical experiments – even sadistic medical experiments – were performed with some regularity in the US south on slaves, the element of sadism coming in the frequent choice not to use anaesthetics or pain relievers like chlorophorm or morphine as well as the gruesome hackery of the experiments, not exceeded by those of Auschwitz. Doctor Thomas Hamilton built an primitive underground oven and used it to test a slave's resistance to extreme heat by baking him until he passed out, as well as cutting and blistering his subject's skin to discover how deep the black went. W.E. Aiken, MD. drilled into a slave woman's head and poured acid in the apertures, among other butcheries, in an attempt to remove a tumor. Aiken published his work in an 1858 issue of the *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*. The best example here remains Dr. James Marion Sims, “the father of gynecology,” who developed a surgical technique for repairing vesico-vaginal fistula through repeated experimental surgeries on slave women in the 1840s. Sims had access to morphine, yet chose not to use it during his surgical experiments, recording the sufferings of his black subjects in his diary. When Nathan Bozeman purchased Sims's practice in 1855, he continued experimenting on black women and developed a new suture technique; Bozeman published in the *Louisville Review*.⁶³⁵

Josiah Nott's pioneering epidimiology articles, which identified mosquitos as the vector of transmission for yello fever, may have been known to Dr. Claus Schilling, who experimented on

<https://cla.umn.edu/ihr/news-events/other/eugenics-race-immigration-restriction> accessed 05/04/17 “Origins of Eugenics: From Sir Francis Galton to Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924,” Eugenics, Historical Collections at the Claude Moore Health Sciences Library, University of Virginia <http://exhibits.hsl.virginia.edu/eugenics/2-origins/> accessed 05/04/17 Frank Spencer, ed. *The History of Physical Anthropology: an Encyclopedia, Vol. 1 A-L*. New York: Garland, 1997, pp. 320, 363, 518-519.

635 Todd L. Savitt, “The Use of Blacks for Medical Experimentation and Demonstration in the Old South,” *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 48, no. 3 (Aug. 1982), pp.331-348, 332, 335, 341-348. Stephen C. Kenny, “Power, opportunism, racism: Human Experiments under American slavery,” *Endeavor*, vol. 39, no.1, 10-21, esp. 16-19, *passim*.

prisoners in the Dachau malaria experiments, funded by the “respected” German Research Association. At the Nuremberg trials the doctors could hardly be called cynical for citing the US history of medical research and human experimentation in their defense. In fact, had the Tuskegee syphilis experiments not been kept secret, the Nazi physicians would have had a concurrent example of medical research on unconsenting subjects defined by racist exclusion (those experiments, one recalls, continued until threatened with exposure in 1972). One case they did cite was of Harvard professor Robert Strong, who in 1906, in the newly conquered Philippines, infected 24 prisoners held by the US Army with plague-infected cholera without their consent. Strong was subsequently exonerated by the Governor General, despite criticism from an investigating committee. When Schilling asked the Dachau court for facilities to write up his experiments and publish them for the good of humanity, the court declined and chose to hang him, in spite of precedent.⁶³⁶

Sims in particular added to knowledge in a tangible way, inventing the first vaginal speculum and a surgical procedure to repair a real injury. He created intellectual and economic capital from violence – vivisection – performed on bodies enslaved in the process of colonizing North America. In fact, a majority – 63.3 percent – of subjects in Richmond medical journals were African-American between 1851-1860. In 1852 the Medical College of Georgia purchased the slave Grandison Harris to provide cadavers; he robbed graves and supplied black bodies until the end of the century. Black bodies from the south were also shipped above the Mason-Dixon line for use as cadavers in Northern medical schools. The widespread use of slaves as experimental subjects and the published papers they generated, as well as the general use of slave bodies and slaves in the schools, grounded early academic medical practices in colonial power relations. These practices were shared, not deviated from, by the progressive health professionals of the Third Reich

⁶³⁶ The Tuskegee experiments promised ill black Americans free medical care, but then doctors denied treatment and let the disease run its course for purposes of observation and autopsy. The hypothesis was that syphilis damaged white brains, but bypassed the “underdeveloped” black brain, attacking the cardio-vascular system directly. Kendi, 333. Joshua A. Perper & Stephen J. Cina. *When Doctors Kill: Who Why, and How*. New York: Copernicus, 2010, pp.87-90. Nikolaus Wachsmann. *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*. London: Abacus, 2015, pg. 611.

as that state attempted to establish itself as a colonial power in central Europe. The holocaust was scientific to the point of being a “medical matter” in Germany because historically modern medicine and science helped construct global white-supremacist racial superiority, the specific modalities of which informed the Germans claim of racial supremacy over Jews and Slavs. If the holocaust is a synthesis of medical practices and mass murder it also the historical culmination of white supremacy.⁶³⁷

Beyond mere scientism – and “antisemitic” was a scientific term, unemotional, reasonable – the fundamental concern with biological race theory differentiates Nazi antisemitism as a variety of white supremacy from medieval hatred of the Jews. The roots of the biological metaphor of “undermining nations with racial tuberculosis” are not just an extension of a “dirty Jew” stereotype. Rather, the bacillus is the metaphor derived from modern medicine, in turn derived from colonial capital accumulation. Hitler's 1919 letter as an Army propagandist to a soldier emphasizes that break with the “emotional” in favor of “reason” – the “fact” being that Jews were a race, not a religion, and as a foreign race, they must be removed or eliminated entirely. This point is fundamental to the entire Nazi project; it is no trivial shift. The discourse of immutable racial characteristics developed in the nineteenth century European colonies, but especially the Americas, and can be recognized by discourse like “stained blood” and “cranial capacity” but also by its consequences and attendant features. It is no accident that racial theory and *Lebensraum* appear together, because unlike ancient or medieval concepts of empire, Nazi ideology called for a biologically-defined domination of others' living space that would result in the other's extinction. “The only way,” as Himmler said, was “for one lot to kill the others and take their land.” This highly specific model is best exemplified by the history of the United States and more generally the New World. The very idea of working racially “inferior” forced laborers to death has its

637 Savitt, 336n14,339, 340n35. “Medical matter” is Eichmann's counsel, Dr. Servatius of the BRD. Arendt, *Eichmann*, pg. 36.

provenance in Caribbean colonialism and slavery. The Nazi's lack of successful economic achievements in this field, in comparison with the French, English, and Spanish, highlights rather than diminishes the connection, for the Germans had no other successful model to which they could point. The German experience of colonial extermination had probably been close to profitless. Their African colonies were of insufficient influence for Germany to develop *sui generis* the complex of racial attitudes brought to bear against the Jews, most specifically the central concept of bio-racial degradation.⁶³⁸

Josiah Nott's appearance in *Mein Kampf* speaks precisely to this point: Hitler cites "The Mulatto a Hybrid – Probable Extinction of the Two Races If the Whites and Blacks are Allowed to Intermarry." This would be an odd hobbyhorse for German antisemites to ride, since the small Jewish population could hardly provoke this paranoia without the supporting scaffolding of scientific racial theory; Jews were becoming Germans, like Victor Klemperer, more than German society was becoming in any way Jewish or sterile. As Hilberg points out, the Jewish birthrate "had fallen below the replacement level," no longer high enough to offset assimilation. Even if every German Jew managed to racially "infect" two German "Aryans" only about one thirtieth of the population would be affected, and Hitler effectively conceded this point in the Nuremberg legislation in deciding that "*Mischlinge*" would be exempt. Hybridity was simply not a visible or historical "problem" in Germany – it had to be imported.⁶³⁹

It was eminently visible, however, in the European colonial experience more generally, especially in the United States, and formed the major problematic of the racist philosophies of civilization as represented by a Gobineau, a Lapouge, a Chamberlain, a Madison Grant or a Lothrop Stoddard (even a Lanz "von Liebenfels," author of the 1905 tome *Theozoology, or the Science of the Sodom-Ape-lings and the God-Electron*). The problem with "racial" hybridity was how it both

638 Kershaw, *Hubris*, pg. 125. Hilberg, 5. Aly & Heim, 7. Janne Lahti, Review: German Colonialism and the Age of Global Empires," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 2016) <https://muse.jhu.edu/> accessed June 15, 2018.

639 Hilberg, 139.

both reified power, in the ease with which one could just take some savage woman and rear a dusky race, yet undermined that power by destroying the essential distinction that made it possible. While the benefits can be enjoyed, say for example, the increased capital or more visceral pleasures deriving from sexual and economic exploitation, then problems can be ignored, as in New Orleans with its famous quadroon balls, or denied, as with Jefferson insisting on the greater aesthetic appeal of white bodies. However, when dominance is threatened, or seems to be, then hybridity becomes a problem. Mixing metaphors along a Grant-Stoddard axis, that which seems so firmly in one's grasp can become a dangerous rising tide. The manner of problematizing racialized impurity in the American context is discussed further below, but first the perception of this problem and its logical consequence in Germany must be explained.⁶⁴⁰

Germany's Prussian Road or *Sonderweg*, variously interpreted as a path to industrial modernity, might be better thought of as a variety of the Japanese Road, but in any case the way it had leveraged its semi-peripheral early-modern status into that of a core great power left Germany vulnerable after World War I. Hindenberg and Ludendorff's failure to conquer a European land empire, essentially repeating in a compressed form the sixteenth-century failure of Carlos V, probably would have led to a long-term decline. However, the danger in increasing productive efficiency through authoritarian coercion of one's own population showed itself in the postwar revolt and violent reaction. In that context the Treaty of Versailles, certainly intended to reduce Germany in economic and political as well as military power, became a symbol of potent histrionic potential. In the postwar context of 1919, in the grip of Wilson and Clemenceau, or as Lloyd George had it, Jesus Christ and Napoleon, the country was like Daniel Boone in the hands of the Shawnee; they would "make a Negro" of Germany. To be thus consigned to the ranks of the less civilized had an insulting aspect in a cultural milieu of Sodom-Ape-lings and stunted brachycephaloids. From an economic perspective the provisions of Versailles suggested that Germans were to be reduced to a non-white status, but since Germany was a modern power, it had

640 Vieler, 148.

imparted to itself the white-supremacist racial ideology of its times. Decline indicated racial impurity or unworthiness, to be of the people without history who vegetate for thousands of years. Because Germany had arrived on the stage of modernity, represented to itself as a high cultural level, scientific racism and civilization theory suggested the reason for the decline was the presence of this racial impurity, bringing scrofulousness and moral decadence into the national body.⁶⁴¹

Like the concentrated urban proletariat which is produced by modern industrialization, and whose political rights and economic power threaten the social dominance of the economic elite and the concentration of capital, the hybrid is produced in turn by colonial dynamics, the literal offspring of the sugar baron and cotton magnate. The problem is that these people must be excluded from the political and economic benefits they generate in order for capital to accumulate instead of dispersing. What's more, one must torture serf and slave to achieve sufficient profits and enforce regimes of poverty. However, after a few "hybrid" generations, the racialized other can pass for European, undermining the entire narrative of superiority that legitimates one's conduct and indeed implying that one has been engaged in a moral monstrosity. In Young's phrase, "the civilized European subject defined himself specifically through the exclusion of what is marked out as dirty and low." If that exclusion were breached, there were also repercussions beyond one's identity construction. As the American planter William Heyward sighed to a friend in 1868, "If the reality ever came upon me that I must labor... I am sure I cannot do it, I must then lay down and die." Whether Heyward truly grasped the deadly requirements of producing colonial wealth more generally, his comment does reveal the basic realities of global underdevelopment necessary to produce modernity. The southern planters were able to avoid the reality of labor and imposed a sufficiently exploitative regime after the war only by means of strict exclusion of the racial other

⁶⁴¹ Richard Evans argues that the provisions of the treaty were onerous, not necessarily unfulfillable, but the economic policies of the German financial powers were disastrous, making every problem worse. Gerwarth points out it was the least disadvantageous treaty signed by a loser. Gerwarth, *Vanquished*, 199-208. Evans, *The Coming*, 62-67. In his account, when put to fieldwork after being captured, Boone protested that they would "make a Negro" of him. John Mack Faragher. *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer*. New York: Henry Holt, 1992, pg. 171. Andreassi, 106.

from economic wealth, social status, and political rights.⁶⁴²

The American freedmen generally suffered in a very different socio-economic condition than did interwar German Jews, who could not, for example, be defined by a common socio-economic condition. That is, until the Nazis were finished with them and their economic wealth, social status, and political rights. The Nuremberg legislation excluded German Jews in the ways black Americans had been progressively excluded since the Civil War and Reconstruction. New social myths that mirrored the racial fantasies of the US south, of the lazy shirker, criminal dandy, or sexually potent threat, emerged and were encouraged in German cultural production. Old social myths of chivalric honor and elite superiority, also mirroring those of the Cavaliers, re-asserted themselves in a modern context. The matrix of legislative penalties and social opprobrium over *Rassenschade* or miscegenation seemed to be borrowed entirely from the South, although the so-called “*Mischlinge*” fared better than the multiracial in Dixie, where the one-drop rule reigned. At the time of World War I, some 38% of Jewish marriages were mixed (73% in Hamburg), indicating the trivial importance of *Rassenschade* in German consciousness before the Nazis, while miscegenation was an American obsession dating from the antebellum period at least, when that term was coined in pro-slavery political propaganda.⁶⁴³

Specific exclusionary obsessions could parallel those of Jim Crow, such as the banning of Jews from swimming pools. Nazi author Hans Zöberlein linked the presence of the Jewish body in this zone, one typically symbolizing hygiene and health, to hybrid race-degradation. Saul Friedländer has compared this obsession with sex to that in the US, as in a text like the *SS Bulletin* that claimed Jews were driven by “uninhibited animal lust” and that they “prefer blonde women,” prose resembling Dixon's *The Clansman* or 1868 United States vice-presidential candidate Francis Blair warning of black men about to “subject white women to their unbridled lust.” In the US, Georgia's white-supremacist politician and publisher Thomas Watson transferred this pornographic

642 Young, 115. Williamson, 119.

643 Evans, *The Coming*, 23.

content in stories of black lust for blond women, a “ravenous lust for the forbidden fruit,” over wholesale to the Jewish Leo Frank, falsely accused, falsely convicted, and torturously lynched for the rape and murder of Mary Phagan in 1915; through his magazines, Watson was instrumental in organizing that lynching.⁶⁴⁴ Frank's case demonstrates the ease with which white-supremacist tropes could be code-switched, so to speak, and applied to other ethnicities. Frank did not represent, to Georgians, a local population that must be kept completely disempowered in order to maintain an economic system and social dominance, as did lynching victim Sam Hose, but he was made to meet the same fate, a fate legitimated with the same discourse.

German racism followed conventional European ideological trends that present themselves discursively, in Carl Jung's declaration that Jews “never created a cultural form and... never will” or *Die Stürmer's* description of “flat-footed” Jews doing a “true Negro dance” while killing a cat; in shades of the post-World War American south, Heisenberg was even insulted as a “white Jew.” Walter Frank deployed a Conradian metaphor at the opening ceremony of the Jewish Section of the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, whose research was “an expedition into an unknown country whose darkness is shrouded in great silence.” In a different kind of metaphor, the economic structure of the to-be colonized east was racially categorized according to the functionality of modern underdevelopment. The helot class required to produce the raw materials of mass commodity production, cotton in the colonized and peripheralized American south, grain in the peripheralized and to-be colonized European east, was to be Polish. The Jews were to be killed, on the one hand, because they were the racial other whose hybridizing presence degraded the race. On the other hand, the Jews were expendable to the economic planners under Himmler and Göring because they supposedly occupied the intermediary positions in the urban goods-distribution network or in light-industrial production that Poles should fill as they were driven off the land by the “rationalization” of agriculture and German settlers; this analysis considers a highly specific

644 Saul Friedländer. *The Years of Persecution: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933-1939*. London: Phoenix, 2007 (1997), pp. 122, 197. Dray, 209-210, 213. Craig Wade, 143-144.

colonial model of development to be a nomothetic law of history, economics, and nature. The key problem, as the Third Reich's colonial economists saw it, was the "excess population" in the countryside, living at subsistence level, and thus limiting the size of the cash-crop for market and the urban proletariat. This notion of "surplus population" and "superfluous mouths" retarding capitalist growth (and therefore socialist revolution) also appears in Marxian analyses, and the "rural overpopulation" was singled out as the major problem in a 1939 report on Poland of US government advisor Raymond Buell. This broad European intellectual consensus came from the experience of this conflict between subsistence-oriented peasant farmers and capitalist growth through the global expansion of cash-crop cotton cultivation.⁶⁴⁵

Poles themselves had analyzed the situation in the same terms as the Reich technocrats. To them, Jews monopolized the urban jobs, preventing the rise of a Polish middle class, and there was no "Colonial outlet" to "absorb" the excess. The Polish government after 1936 began demanding at the League of Nations that they be granted secondary access to colonies, especially as destination for its "surplus rural population" which would in turn enable "Poland to solve the Jewish question." In 1937 Poland negotiated with the French over the possibility of deporting Polish Jews to Madagascar, sending an investigatory delegation to the island. Also in 1937 Poland negotiated a emigration treaty with Palestine intended to keep emigrant Jews' wealth in Poland; by 1939 Poles were floating a scheme whereby wealthy Jewish emigrants would use eighty percent of their assets to finance the emigration of the poor Jews, paying the other twenty percent as a fee. This latter idea, very similar to the Jewish emigration policy that Eichmann developed in Vienna, never did attract much international support, but it does indicate that European Jews were racially problematized across Europe in similar ways and for similar reasons. As Götz Aly and Suzanne Heim have said regarding this matter, "starting from the the initial focus on the economic function of the Jewish population, their existence per se gradually came to be seen as a problem." Once they

645 Friedländer, 3-4, 124, 171-172, 192-193. Aly & Heim, 40-41, 53-63. Marx, 23. Lewin, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, 30, 112.

were racially defined, Polish Jews were stuck in the interstices of the conflict between peasant subsistence and modern development that one finds during British primitive accumulation, in post-emancipation Jamaica, in pre-collectivization Russia, or the postbellum US south.⁶⁴⁶

All the institutional European actors defined economic problems according to modern developmentalist teleology. White-supremacist racial ideology and science allowed Germans and Poles to give Jews a status as an other that could not be assimilated, that would, in the febrile racist imagination, destroy the stronger race if exclusion were not achieved. The Reich Four-Year-Plan Office, for its part, used racist ideology and science to plan their colonization of Poland in the name of German development. One couldn't have cranially-inferior, "surplus" Poles sitting around growing pumpkins when a German colonist needed agricultural laborers or I.G. Farben wanted to build a synthetic rubber factory. One sees the commonalities of the colonial model and Nazi developmentalism in the fact that the jobs projected for Poles in the frontier outposts of empire were the same as those open to black Americans in the US South from the Civil War to World War II, that is, agricultural laborer, domestic service, and unskilled labor in factory production and resource extraction. The logic of the German colonialist technocrats, and the Polish government before them, assumed the necessity of colonial power relations for industrial modernity. Racist affect and hubris tend to overshadow the classically colonial economic conceptions which condemned the Jews to death.⁶⁴⁷

Some may object that these theories were simply window dressing, that, more or less, Germans simply wanted to kill Jews. Hitler had no time for theories of colonial maintenance – he seemed to view the east as a Hobbesian, sub-human wasteland out of propaganda or popular culture – and his attitude toward the actual holocaust could be described as one of sadistic gloating. In one case of a camp guard convicted by the courts of excessive sadism, Hitler intervened with a pardon,

646 Aly & Heim, 46-51. Eichmann had a Fordist conception of forced emigration in Vienna: he called it an "assembly line." Arendt, *Eichmann*, 25. Peter Longerich. *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 105-106.

647 Aly & Heim, 74, 78.

sanctioning cruelty. These traces of sadism re-occur across the hierarchy of perpetrators, shown by Streicher obviously, Himmler more subtly, by Göring, eager to “settle accounts” with Jews during the planning of the 1938 attacks, or by the camp guards on a daily basis. However, the vehemence of Nazi antisemitic rhetoric and the violence of individual perpetrators gain historical resonance from an understanding of their contextual underpinnings more than from the character of persons engaging in them.⁶⁴⁸

Sadism, as noted above with regard to medical experiments, can be ascribed to historical actors operating in quite specific circumstances in both Auschwitz and antebellum Alabama. Accounts from Alabama prison camp guards in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century also reveal constant violence from guards toward prisoners. One guard frankly admits that, “jest to have fun”[sic] black men were publically tortured by the guards because they liked to watch the sexualized floggings, and other disciplinary techniques like the sweatbox or bread-and-water diets lacked such *jouissance*. It seems clear that modern prison regimes breed violence in a general way, as shown by the Stanford prison experiment and the trajectory of concentration-camp violence, a process somehow related to the institutionalization of certain power relations. Yet sadistic violence of the above type does not seem to have flourished in the USSR incarceration complex. Political prisoners were not, as in Dachau, stripped, forced to bark while on all fours, and attacked by dogs for the evident pleasure of the guards. Gulag punishment regimes did not include the sexualized whipping postures illustrated in Henry Bibb's antebellum slave narrative and shown off to John Spivak in 1930s Georgia. This sort of behavior seems to be *prima facie* sociopathic, an extreme human behavior rarely normalized. As the example of the USSR shows, it may not simply correlate to authoritarian social control. It does correlate, however, with the features of racist domination in a colonial context. In the case of the Third Reich these features appear as theories of modern development, applied intentionally in Europe, but they follow the practical experience of

648 Goldhagen, *passim*. Aly & Heim, 175. Kershaw, *Nemesis*, 486-495. Wachsmann, 89, 92. Longerich, *Himmler*, 308-309, 343-344, 742.

New World colonialism.⁶⁴⁹

The power relations, bred by the colonial process of extermination/elimination, forced labor, and economic peripheralization, relations that are sadistic in extreme manifestations, can be characterized as racial domination. By the early twentieth century in the USA, the expression and legitimation of these power relations through academic and popular culture was commonplace: from the coerced labor of Florida citrus groves or turpentine camps, to lynching and mass assault; from the bestselling works of doctors of philosophy or white-supremacist historian presidents, to minstrel shows, cinema, or pulp literature. Nazi ideas were echoes of a broad Euro-American consensus known popularly and academically as “White Supremacy.” The entire Nazi project, as it was theorized and realized by multiple actors in various sectors of influence, was one of precisely structured colonial economic exploitation based on racial domination. The holocaust was the most sadistic, the most extreme, act that this project executed, but it existed only within the broader constellation of acts committed in the name of German continental dominance as a modern developed society, following the American colonial model. The portrait of Henry Ford in Hitler's office is more than a distasteful reminder of American antisemitism; it indicates the profound congruence of values and goals between the dictator and the industrial magnate profiting from the labor of a racial underclass on land seized by war and ethnically cleansed by extermination.

649 Curtin, 166-167. For sadism see also Spivak, Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 371-372, and Bibb, 133.

Chapter 2: Exterminationsim, "Hybridity," and Apocalyptic Fantasies in Racist Discourse

The nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties were the high point of almost two centuries of scientific racism, the product of a longer time of racist colonial labor exploitation. Beginning around the turn of the century scientific racism becomes ubiquitous in textual production across the Euro-American colonial-imperialist core. It informed scientific treatises, but all genres, popular literature, private speech, academic discourse, high literature, muckracking journalism, newspapers, tabloids, pulp fiction, pamphlets, political negotiation, and police forgeries; its popular zenith and moral nadir was the practice of eugenics, the practice of the eliminationist and exterminationist strategies designed to avert the perceived biological threat to white supremacy. Both the high-modern texts and events demonstrate the roots of bio-political exterminationism in the fear of the "mongrel" or hybrid, the product of sexual contact and exploitation in a colonial setting. The colonized other becomes a cultural synecdoche for white supremacy, shifting among whatever populations are to be opposed to whiteness. Whether emphasizing the aesthetically pleasing, "factually" positivist, socio-economically pragmatic, or politically exclusionary, expressions of white-supremacist intellectual thought have shown a remarkable uniformity of content despite differences in the emphasis of textual functions and degrees of political engagement and influence. Ubiquity is not merely intertextual but also a political matter, in that eugenic scientific racism was intertwined in powerful political structures whether highly democratic or extremely authoritarian. The specific qualities that defined scientific racist texts and real exterminationist practices is strongly represented by the science fiction of American author H.P. Lovecraft. His stories embody the paranoid eugenic apocalypse.

Although the roots of scientific racism go back to the mid-eighteenth century with the biologized Linnaean taxonomy of white, red, black, and yellow, the subsequent advance of science

did not thoroughly popularize exterminationist white supremacy in the United States until the Civil War period. The extreme theory that a "lesser race" -- that is, a group of people arbitrarily-defined as non-white -- would have to die out or be exterminated in the course of the modern progress of civilization was expressed by a wide range of social actors at this geographical and historical site of a colonial labor regime in crisis. The theory was extreme; some scientists, like Louis Agassiz, advanced a softer eliminationist model wherein the lesser race would disappear itself through emigration to its supposedly natural climatic zone. Those most intimately engaged in the North American business of racialized labor exploitation, however, tended to favor the more extreme interpretation of the necessities of civilized progress. The postbellum explosion of violence, echoing to today, against the freed men and women is the best demonstration of that choice, but one finds specific examples of discourse can be more revealing in some ways.

From that historical period alone, there is the planter's wife on her plantation, or rather her husband's, who confides to her diary that in the wake of emancipation, the "black" former slaves will end up being exterminated like vermin, implicitly referring to scientific theories of hygiene like those of the eminent European academic Paul Lagarde. There is the abolitionist minister Theodore Parker, who secretly helped fund John Brown's failed raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and argued that slaves were not only entitled to their freedom by God, but allowed to kill their owners to achieve it; Parker wrote a friend that African-Americans would simply die out in the face of the superior whites, a withering away of the race that Parker justifies historically, in a synecdochal shift of the Native American experience onto another colonially subjugated population. There was the Memphis City municipal judge in the white riot of 1866, exhorting the rampaging mob to "kill every damned one of the nigger race and burn up the cradle;" there was US President Andrew Johnson, explaining to Frederick Douglass that allowing black Americans to vote would inevitably lead to a zero-sum race war in which one "race" would be exterminated.⁶⁵⁰ Personal ideas of

650 Andrew Johnson. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson, February-July 1866*, Paul H. Bergeron, ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992, pg. 46.

individuals, communications between peers, cries of leadership during orgies of violence, and political speech at the highest level, all these varied manners of address displayed assurance in the inevitability of an exterminatory racial apocalypse. The sources expressing this opinion differed widely in their social backgrounds and positions -- these historical contemporaries would make up an unpleasant dinner party -- and they represented a broad sector of economic and political power; the most alike in these matters would be the political actors, although John C. Creighton of Memphis was at the opposite end of the power spectrum from the President of the United States.

This last example should remind one that a major component of the context for these remarks was a political crisis of democracy. All the above statements *a priori* assume that no "interracial" social assimilation or political integration is possible, much less desirable. This assumption persisted, in the mid-nineteenth century, despite the fact that the reality of such social assimilation had long been a feature of the slave-owning South due to the sexual predations of the planter elite, and that innumerable examples of accomplished black Americans, Douglass for one (also a living example of such predation), had amply demonstrated the pointlessness of racialized exclusion from political integration. Racist ideas endured in the face of a reality that had already invalidated them. They were little more than extravagant fictions, ramified throughout the whole of white society. However, more to the point here is how the crisis of political exclusion occasioned by emancipation colored these beliefs. The obsession with miscegenation, that is, with the existence of the "hybrid" in a biologized narrative of colonial exploitation, is at the heart of apocalyptic exterminationism.

When Germany experienced its postwar crisis of democracy it turned to the same bio-ethnological narrative, which was developed, not coincidentally, at the same time that the Wilhelmine Reich was directly colonizing Africa -- which, one recalls, led to an early twentieth-century expression of military exterminationism in the Herero Wars. Jews were first construed as a biological threat in the racialized sense at the end of nineteenth century, but the conceit easily

spread beyond ethnicity or "race" to encompass ethnologized poverty and racialized communist radicalism; to the extent that groups are racialized in textually verifiable ways, one can observe the re-narration of the colonial experience. The most American-style, folk-pornographic expression of this narrative was Julius Streicher's tabloid *Der Stürmer*, wherein Jews were depicted very much like the "black brute" of southern folk pornography, but many were the variations on this theme across Europe and America, from gutter press to modern science. Cesare Lombroso's "atavistic being who reproduces in his person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals" concisely sums up the racialized "brute" stereotype, which by the 1930s had been deployed by threatened political and economic powers against lower classes, particularly against "bolshevism" as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* spread over Europe in the wake of the October Revolution. Indeed, that antisemitic text itself had its origin in the Tsar's own "Red Squad," the *Okhrana*. Henry Ford's 1920 American version of the *Protocols* highlighted the racialized perspective, which was the sort of thing that endeared him to Adolf Hitler, while a 1924 Nazi book claimed to trace "*Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin*."⁶⁵¹

Such tracts of fictional non-fiction can perhaps be summed up by the SS publication *The Subhuman*, dedicated to proving the racial inferiority of Slavs, but the idea goes far beyond totalitarian propaganda. One may recall the scene dramatizing this bio-politics of atavism in Joseph Conrad's novel *The Secret Agent*, in which the Assistant Commissioner descends into the neighborhood of the "criminal classes," a "descent into a slimy aquarium" and "immoral atmosphere" which "assimilated him" into "but one more of the queer foreign fish" and gave him a sense "of evil freedom." In this scene recapitulating the *Heart of Darkness* storyline, the secret policeman finds himself "all alone in the jungle," searching not for Kurtz but for radical socialists in 1907 London. This colonially-derived racialization is presented more explicitly by Jack London in

⁶⁵¹ Lombroso's daughter extended the atavism parallel further to mongrelism by calling describing criminality as the result of a physical "process of degeneration." Lombroso's first book was *White Man and Colored Man: Lectures on the Origin and Variety of the Human Races*; in 1897 he claimed "the primitive instincts of the savage" were "latent" in "the negro." Lombroso and Ferrero quoted in Brooks E. Hefner, "Weird Investigations and Nativist Semiotics in H. P. Lovecraft and Dashiell Hammett," *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 60, no. 4 (2014), pp. 651-676, 656, 665-666. Friedländer, *Persecution*, 94-95, 97.

his 1902 *The People of the Abyss*, in which the ethnographic techniques of anthropology are applied to “a new class of urban savages,” and by Salvation Army founder “General” William Booth in his 1890 *In Darkest England, and the Way Out*, which both in title and in text aped Henry Morton Stanley's best-selling *In Darkest Africa*. Stanley describes colonial explorations in the Belgian Congo with an exterminationist bent, sometimes wiping out whole villages for sport (funded and published by American newspaperman James Gordon Bennett); Booth invokes this narrative in a non-extremist description of the misery of England's working classes. Continuities are evident with Jacob Riis's photographic exposé *How the Other Half Lives*, wherein the subjects are depicted using naturalist and ethnographic imagery – the ethnically-defined neighborhoods of New York's Lower East Side, ghettos, were referred to as “colonies” at the time -- and such self-consciously realist social observation, as one historian has put it, “drew on nativist and racist thought that was widespread in the nation to stigmatize the urban poor as dangerous.” Riis's photographs were documentary illustrations that projected racialized inferiority onto their subjects; like Riis, Lombroso “objectively” projected racialized criminality onto the poor as part of the same spirit of scientific reform that was in vogue in the Progressive Age. The more insidious ideas and more sinister practices of eugenics are also a part of that positivist progressivism.⁶⁵²

Scientific fears of racial degeneration emanated from the reality of colonial sexual activity, the products of which undermined white-supremacist ideology. As the colonial experience generally, and the American experience of colonial labor exploitation particularly, came to be interpreted by leading nineteenth-century scientists, the “Negro” was always the lowest “race.” According to the 1867 Nashville pamphlet, “The Negro: What Is His Ethnological Status?” and 1900's “The Negro A Beast,” he was literally an animal, the most highly evolved ape, although about this latter point there was not complete agreement. A sound scientific consensus prevailed, in

652 Joseph Conrad. *The Secret Agent*. London: Penguin, 1963 (1907), 150-153. The first full-blown non-white/urban-poor conflation may be Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, published in English in 1887. John McLaughlin. *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000, pp.21-23.

any case, on the point that "interracial" progeny represented a health risk. The French scientist Paul Broca supported the findings of Alabama doctor Josiah Nott, that children of a black male and a white female were few and unvigorous, while Louis Agassiz, later made head of the Smithsonian Institute, observed "mulattos" first-hand in the United States and pronounced them "scrofulous." The skull-collector and leading craniologist of the time, Samuel Morton, even proved (as it were) that racial mongrelization had caused the degeneration of the originally-white ancient Egyptians and doomed their civilization. This science took political form in the United States in the increasing exclusion of black Americans from political power; lynching reached its registered peak in the eighteen-nineties.⁶⁵³

In the US, the immigration of the late nineteenth century supplied the new racial threats for which mongrelization stood by proxy, like Italians and Jews. The inferior savagery that supposedly lay latent in non-whites could be discovered anywhere and everywhere as a result of degeneration; it could be seen, and had been measured. Cesare Lombroso with his biometrics and cranial grooves, Joseph Conrad and his literary forays into the jungle, Samuel Morton with his racial taxonomy and cranial capacities, Jack London and his anthropologically-evaluated savages, William Booth and Henry Stanley with their expeditions into Darkness, and Jacob Riis with his realist exposé of degenerate poverty, all offer a variety of examples of how the racialized view of mankind born in colonialism and labor exploitation could be situationally and synecdochally extended to other ethnicities and classes in a context of modern developmentalism.

The 1920s national rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan in the USA also explicitly conflated class and ethnicity in this way, promoting the social and political exclusion of poor and racialized immigrants in the same way it insisted upon the racial exclusion of black Americans, the same type of synecdochal shift of the historically-defined status of non-white to other subjects. Jews and their property were attacked along with black Americans in the 1908 white riot in Abraham Lincoln's hometown of Springfield, Illinois, in which entire blocks of the black residential district, that is,

653 Wood, 6. Fredrickson, *The Black Image*, 277.

ghetto, were completely levelled and at least two black men were tortured and lynched. Although newspapers trumpeted a supposed “hellish assault” by a “Negro fiend,” *i.e.* rape, they also legitimated these acts of white-supremacist exterminationism by claiming more broadly that such violent discipline was necessary to control racially-determined “misconduct, general inferiority [and] unfitness for free institutions.”⁶⁵⁴ The racist paranoia informing such orgies of destruction was rooted in the colonial experience, with attendant hybridity destabilizing the political dominance of the whites. Thomas Carlyle anticipates this axis of insubordination – sexual threat – exterminationist apocalypse when he metaphorizes the loss of direct colonial political and economic control in Jamaica as a marriage between “Quashee” and English liberals that would produce offspring like “dark extensive moon-calves, unnameable abortions, wide-coiled monstrosities, such as the world has not seen hitherto!” (Quashee is male, making this exaggerated display of affect consonant with the scientific argument and racist assumptions of Nott and Broca.) It is no coincidence if these wide-coiled monstrosities should call one's attention to the threatening creatures from the covers of American pulp magazines like *Weird Tales* from eighty years later.

The most popular of the authors who were published in that pulp magazine in the 1920s and 1930s was H.P. Lovecraft, judged by his current cultural footprint and semi-canonization, although he remained fairly obscure at the time. Posthumously his work has since been extensively and internationally reprinted and re-interpreted in several feature films, table-games, and graphic novels. Yet in Lovecraft's oeuvre one finds the most insistent racist anxiety linked to apocalyptic paranoia: mongrel fiends orchestrating hellish assaults that threaten white civilization. To his weird fiction applies perfectly Franz Fanon's observation that “Racism is never a super-added element discovered by chance in the investigation of the cultural data... the cultural whole [is] deeply modified by the existence of racism.” Lovecraft's most repeated and structurally indispensable plot device features biologized racial degeneration that leads to personal, local, or possibly global doom, a degeneration

⁶⁵⁴ Dray, 167-170, 208-209, 214.

depicted in the terms of the grotesquerie of pan-European scientific physiognomies and taxonomies of racial inferiority. This racist apocalypse could be considered the negative dialectical manifestation of the positive occult racialism that focussed on messianic or transcendent realization through racial superiority in so many variations, from the Thule Society to the Theosophists, those highbrow attempts to return to the time, as Lovecraft put it in a poem, when "Man, yet untainted and happy, dwelt in bliss on his far arctic isle."⁶⁵⁵

One immediately recognizes the link to proto-Nazi influences, but rather than debate the importance of one or another spiritualist philosophy, scientific theory, or crackpot occultism to the exterminationist activities of the Third Reich, one will observe that these variants were all facets of a consistent, fundamentally white-supremacist cultural production across the Euro-Atlantic core. The fear of zero-sum apocalyptic racial obliteration that Hitler's antisemitic speeches consistently project and threaten, and which provided the rhetorically "logical" legitimation for the Holocaust, this fear is repeatedly dramatized in Lovecraft's occult science fiction. This is not to say that he was some kind of closet Nazi: it is to point out that high modernity expressed the same paranoid racial preoccupations across a wide array of genres, quite independent of authoritarian or democratic political traditions.⁶⁵⁶

Perhaps the clearest expression of these preoccupations is the early short story "Facts Concerning the late Arthur Jermyn and His Family," published in 1924 as "The White Ape" in *Weird Tales*, in which the lineage of the House of Jermyn is corrupted by an ancestor's mating with a white ape-princess while exploring the Congo, bequeathing sorrow and extinction to their progeny. One descendent meets his end when he literally goes ape and attacks a circus gorilla, with whom he was "singularly fascinated," by "bit[ing] fiendishly at its hairy throat" before the brute beats him to death. The story's great-great-great-grandson immolates himself upon discovering this racial history, and the Royal Anthropological Society itself hushes everything up, not least the facial

655 Fanon quoted in Young, 91. Hefner, 661. H.P. Lovecraft, "Nemesis," <http://www.hplovecraft.com/writings/texts/poetry/p121.aspx> accessed 20/05/18
656 Hefner, 661.

resemblance between the mummified white ape-ess and the last of the Jermyns. The white apes were themselves hybrids, Lovecraft repeatedly remarks, created when “the great apes had overrun the dying city” of the lost white tribe, the latter an idea which had serious institutional currency in Europe, which is to say that this element of colonial unease is doubly represented in the plot.

Arthur Jermyn, the titular descendent, creates a “thrill of repulsion” in those who meet him on account of “his facial angle” and “the length of his arms.” Facial angle was one of the measurable signs of racial inferiority, originally developed by Pieter Camper in the late eighteenth century and continuing through the work of Paul Broca and Josiah Nott. However, unlike the racial divisions supposedly self-evident in the works of science, it is suggested at the beginning of the tale that this hybrid ape ancestry is ubiquitous, that “if we knew what we are,” we would all burn ourselves to death.⁶⁵⁷

One sees how racist ideas slip back and forth between science and fantasy, how fantasy suspends disbelief through scientific grounding, and how science can deduce extravagant nonsense from objective measurement. The story mentioned above resembles and recalls nothing less than the “Sodom-Ape-lings” of Jörg Lanz “von Liebenfels” (his honorific was the self-bestowed “Aryan von,” indicating self-conferred membership in the world’s racial aristocracy), who was an ideosyncratic though hardly unrepresentative contributor to the interwar Viennese antisemitic scene. In his world-view, Jews were created by Adam and Eve engaging in bestiality with primates, and indeed “most of the world is in the likeness of the apes,” who “through their arts of love (*Liebeskünste*)... breed themselves to a higher level and us to a lower level.” He also called for the “extirpation of the animal man and the development of the higher new-man,” offering a succinct history of New World colonial imperialism in the New World and a prophetic summary of Nazi colonial plans for the Wild East.⁶⁵⁸ Lanz’s magazine *Ostara* was likely present in Hitler’s reading matter but without specific influence. He published in a cheap, mass-distribution format like *Weird*

⁶⁵⁷ H.P. Lovecraft. “Facts Concerning the Late Arthur Jermyn and His Family,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999 (1924), pp. 14-23.

⁶⁵⁸ Lanz quoted in Vieler, 148-150.

Tales and other American pulp fiction, a format possible due to the mass literacy and production/distribution infrastructure that are coeval with high modernity.

These many overlapping voices, not only in the antisemitic world of Vienna, harmonize into the international cacophony of well over a century of racist European cultural production in every field. A favorite theme in such artifacts is the woman under threat from bestial races or racialized beasts. The telos and ontology in John Vanderlyn's "The Murder of Jane McCrae" (1804) is so familiar it might pass without comment: the tableau recalls dozens of "captivity narratives" from the colonial period and "slasher films" since the nineteen-eighties, right down to the softly pornographic exposed skin. Its spit and image can be found on an American *Planet of the Apes* comic-book cover, a genre descended from the pulps, that neatly bridges any conceptual gap one might try to impose between Vanderlyn and Emmanuel Frémiet's unaccepted (yet displayed behind a curtain) offering to the 1859 Paris Salon Exhibition, "Gorilla Carrying Off a Negress." In 1887 Frémiet would win the Salon's Medal of Honor for a smaller, more highly-eroticized sculpture, "Gorilla Carrying Off a Woman." In interwar Vienna, in *Ostara*, there were similar "Predatory dark 'beast-men' who preyed on the 'blond' women with animal lust and bestial instincts that were corrupting and destroying mankind and its culture." Out of all these variations on the theme, Lovecraft's is the least didactic, or conative in text-linguistic terms, but it is the most extreme. Lanz's fantasies culminated in "God-humans [rising] up from Germany's ancient holy earth to put the sodom-apes back into chains." Thomas Dixon dramatizes an racial transcendence that returns to the whites to dominance through symbolic murder but without full-scale extermination. The mass self-imolation suggested by Lovecraft turns out to have been a far more intuitively correct reading of the consequences of the racist fears of colonial hybridity and degeneration.⁶⁵⁹

The fears and apocalyptic conclusions dramatized by the regression of the Jermyns emerged from the danger represented by individual exemplars of Lombrosian taxonomies of inherent,

⁶⁵⁹ *King Kong* was a "favorite of Hitler's." Ian Kershaw's words describe the content of *Ostara*. Kershaw, *Hubris*, 50-51, 485. Freidman, *White Savage*, 15, 79-80, 41-43, 124, 166-167. Dray, 124-125.

physically-expressed, bestial instincts, but also from the collectivity of racial inferiors that constituted a clear and present danger of racial degeneration to modern civilization. The dire warnings of academics and state actors, like Lothrop Stoddard in *The Rising Tide of Color: The Threat Against White World Supremacy* (1920), and Madison Grant in *The Passing of the White Race; or, The Racial Basis of European History* (1916), found their expression in Lovecraft as weird fiction, which however has had a longer influence than those two serious and superstructurally influential authors. Such fiction was not necessarily confined to the pulps: the infinitely more famous (in the 1920s and 30s) author and celebrity Irwin J. Cobb wrote two macabre tales that have been attributed with influencing Lovecraft's stories of hybrid devolution, one of which, "Fishhead," received high praise in Lovecraft's non-fiction, academic taxonomy of the genre, "Supernatural Horror in Literature." Literary outsider Lovecraft may have been, but his work is an undistorted reflection of his era's popular mainstream of scientific theory, political science, and aesthetic production.⁶⁶⁰

Lovecraft himself was an amateur scientist and rational materialist who knew quite well the science he dramatized, which is one reason he serves as such a clear popular expression of it. Simian devolution through hybridity in a colonial setting informs the "The Lurking Fear," published in 1927, in which the Martense family stagnates in the desolate American wilderness, "interbreeding" first with the "menial class" and then with the "mongrel population." Shunned by all and with "an unclean animal aspect," over the course of a century and a half they degenerate into simian, burrowing anthropophagi identifiable by their ocular heterochromia. Lovecraft depicts one as "a filthy whitish gorilla thing with sharp yellow fangs and matted fur. It was the ultimate product of mammalian degeneration; the frightful outcome of isolated spawning, multiplication, and cannibal nutrition..."⁶⁶¹

660 H.P. Lovecraft, "Supernatural Horror in Literature," *Dagon and Other Macabre Tales*. London: Panther, 1969, pp. 141-221, 192.

661 H.P. Lovecraft, "The Lurking Fear," *The Lurking Fear and Other Stories*. New York: Del Rey, 1971 (1927), pp. 1-22, 13-15, 22.

This eugenic nightmare is represented as a hypertrophied process of devolution in “The Rats in the Walls,” in which the narrator himself degenerates into a cannibal, the process depicted through utterances in successively older languages that terminate in grunting, a clear fictional illustration of the concurrent academic hierarchies of race, language, and civilization. Like so many Samuel Mortons or Cesare Lombrosos, craniology allows this story's fictional team of scientist investigators to identify and qualify a quantity of subhuman, ape-ling skeletal remains on the evolutionary scale, as “pithecanthropoid,” “lower than the Piltdown man,” or “slightly more human than a gorilla;” one batch of devolved “skeleton things must have descended as quadrupeds through the last twenty or more generations.” Finding himself in an ancestral charnel house where his forebears had raised their own cannibal nutrition for consumption in ancient rites, the narrator degenerates backward linguistico-dysgenically, attacks and feeds on his associate, and ends up confined in a mental institution.⁶⁶²

In “The Shadow over Innsmouth” the theme becomes ichthyological, as the members of an isolated New England community are actually physically devolving into fish-things by following the tradition of the “Kanyak[sic]” Indians and mating with the “water-beasts.” The local librarian displays “disgust at a community slipping far down the cultural scale;” Anglo-Saxondom on a descent into a slimy aquarium, so to speak. At the end of this tale from 1936, the loosely-modelled Heart of Darkness narrative winds down with the narrator physically devolving into a queer foreign fish because of a hereditary pathogeny. One great-grandparent was the hybrid result of a Kanyak-mating: the narrator degenerates because he is an ichthyo-octaroon.⁶⁶³

Lovecraft's reference to the Kanak of the South Pacific, whose imaginary rites have been

662 Joshi speculates that Lovecraft may have been influenced in his linguistic representation of atavistic devolution by the Cobb story “The Unbroken Chain,” passed to him by Frank Belknap Long in 1923: “This tale deals with a Frenchman who has a small percentage of negroid[sic] blood from a slave brought to America in 1918. When he is run down by a train he cries out in an African Language – “*Niama tumba!*” – the words that his black[sic] ancestor shouted when he was attacked by a rhinoceros in Africa.” H.P. Lovecraft, “The Rats in the Walls,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999 (1924), pp.89-108, 104-108, 381-382, 384n33.

663 H.P. Lovecraft, “The Shadow Over Innsmouth,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999 (1936), pp. 268-335, 277, 282, 295-299.

transplanted to the New England coast, is another example of the synecdochal representations of white supremacy. Just as the racist imaginary conflated individual black Americans with the “negro” or the “African” collectively, and, at the time of publication of “The Shadow over Innsmouth” in 1936, just as Germany had decreed every Jew in the Reich to be equivalent to “Jewdom,” so Lovecraft employs one indigenous culture as a representation of the collective indigenous other. This process is explicit in the very use of the term “Indian.” However, of particular interest here is the coincidence that the Kanak specifically have served exactly this synecdochal purpose as a metaphoric “racial inferior” in the German language itself, as the English-derived words *Kannaker* or *Kannakermann* moved from referring to the specific peoples of the South Pacific to a general ethnic insult, *Kanake*, by 1900. At this point it was defined as synonymous with the anti-Slav and anti-Czech insult *Hanake*, both signifying a despicable, low (*niederträchtigen*) person. After World War II, *Kanake* was used to insult southern and eastern immigrants to Germany, especially Turks, some of whom have responded by re-appropriating the term for identity formation in a process mirroring the adoption of “nigga” by some African-American youth today. In short, the racial, economic, and social aspects of colonial labor regimes converge linguistically in the German language, as they converge across race and class in Conrad, London and the *Protocols*, as they do structurally in these Lovecraft tales; the symbolic threat of racial degeneration shifts wherever and whenever colonial or colonially-derived notions of racial superiority are undermined by the reality of co-existence. In 1920, the *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexicon* grew to reflect this obsession, listing *verkanakern* and *Verkanakerung* as meaning “the sinking of Whites down to the level of the natives.”⁶⁶⁴

The lowest level is black, and Lovecraft evinces a special antipathy toward African-Americans, who as “negroes” tend to be portrayed with emphasized negative affect. They often

664 Originally in English the term signified a certain exterminatory violence: “esp. one in Queensland as labourer on the sugar plantations” according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Deniz Gozturk, “Postcolonial Amnesia? Taboo Memories and Kanaks with Cameras,” *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory*. Volker Langbehn ed. New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 278-802.

have little effect on the plot of the narratives, which gives the descriptions the gratuitous quality of hate speech, text-linguistically definable as a phatic expression serving an emotive and conative purpose, although the latter in Lovecraft's case is almost entirely emotive, and conative only in a social and personal sense, as opposed to political or economic. In one story, Herbert West, a blend of the fictional Romantic scientist Victor Frankenstein and the real medical pioneer Robert Knox, acquires the corpse of boxer “Buck Robinson, 'The Harlem Smoke,' [who] was a loathsome, gorilla-like thing with abnormally long arms which I could not help calling fore legs,[sic] and a face that conjured up thoughts of unspeakable Congo secrets and tom-tom poundings under an eerie moon.” When this “loathsome African monstrosity” is brought back to life, the “ink-black apparition on all fours” murders and eats a small child, appearing with the severed hand “between glistening teeth.” This is the most violent scene in “Herbert West—Reanimator,” while the rest of the resurrections are treated satirically. The other re-animated corpses are also all united in the course of the story, while the only non-white character is shot and killed by the vainglorious West.⁶⁶⁵

More gratuitous is the out-of-place anti-black racism in *At the Mountains of Madness*, Lovecraft's most popular work: in this bit of pulp science-fiction, an ancient race of extra-terrestrials, living on earth hundreds of millions of years before human life, allow to evolve – “bothersome forms, of course, were mechanically exterminated” – “a shambling primitive mammal, used sometimes for food and sometimes as an amusing buffoon... whose vaguely simian and human foreshadowings were unmistakable.” Nevertheless, even in this tale, historical parallels to colonial fears are not only evident but structurally pivotal. The human scientists probing the antarctic are menaced less by the ancient extra-terrestrials than by the other form of life that the author has imagined, not a negro-derived buffoon who amuses the ancient ones but rather a slave-creature they created that does all the menial work and heavy lifting upon which their higher civilization depends. Lovecraft imagines an ancient slave revolt that brought down the advanced

⁶⁶⁵ Lovecraft also throws a casual antisemitic jab, in that the Harlem Smoke's opponent is one “Kid O'Brien... with a most un-Hibernian hooked nose.” H.P. Lovecraft, “Herbert West – Reanimator,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999 (1922), pp. 50-80, pp. 63-65.

race living in bliss on the antarctic isle, and it is the physically repugnant slave-things that destroy and consume all but the last survivors of the hubristic human scientific expedition⁶⁶⁶

In any case, Lovecraft's negro-as-such tends to remain external to plot development, and most references could be removed without changing the trajectory of the stories. Declassé but consciously part of Oliver Wendell Holmes's New England Brahmin caste, Lovecraft could emote some of the racist stereotypes that were common and unmistakable to his class and colleagues without serious engagement; he had no nostalgic need for Joel Wilson Chandler's Uncle Remus or William Faulkner's Dilsey, nor did he have the psycho-sexual obsession that might drive a Thomas Dixon or Julius Streicher. His negro, if "loathsome," could be effortlessly excluded without angst -- which leads one to note the fact that it should appear at all.

The real destabilizing force in Lovecraft's texts comes from the mongrel hybrids, who, for example, execute a literally fishheaded *Verkanakerung* in "The Shadow Over Innsmouth." Unlike the throwaway racist grotesques of "Herbert West -- Reanimator" and *At the Mountains of Madness*, the idea of racialized hybridity is central to the plot of many other stories. This structural emphasis dovetails with those plots featuring actual devolutionary regression but is present in many others. In the novella *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward*, the alchemist who would raise monstrous slaves from other dimensions can only work his science-magic with hybrid servants, be they "a sullen pair of aged Narragansett Indians... the wife of a very repulsive cast of countenance, probably due to a mixture of negro blood" or, in a pinch, an "evil Portuguese mulatto." In the hallucinatory "He," the necromancer met by the narrator gained his powers from learning the "rites" of "half-breed red Indians" who "got part of their customs from red ancestors and part from an old Dutchman." These "half-breeds" return to doom the wizard in the climax. In Lovecraft's signature tale "The Call of Cthulhu," two cults whose members are literally marked by the author as racially "hybrid" worship the titular monster, and their human sacrifices incite the plot. In Louisiana, the "hybrid spawn were

666 H.P. Lovecraft. *At the Mountains of Madness*. The H.P. Lovecraft Archive. <http://www.hplovecraft.com/> accessed 06/07/17

braying, bellowing, and writhing around a monstrous ring-shaped bonfire” while in the South Pacific the “swarthy cult-fiends” are a “queer and evil-looking crew of Kanakas[sic] and half-castes.” Of these latter, “there was some peculiarly abominable quality about them which made their destruction seem almost a duty.”⁶⁶⁷

This latter phrase and the action of the plot are precisely the suppression of savage customs requiring that one exterminate the brutes, and other Lovecraft scenes and stories follow the contours of a *Heart of Darkness* narrative. In “The Call of Cthulhu” the conceit occurs twice, staged the first time in the Louisiana bayou, where the police, accompanied by “the muffled beat of tom-toms,” enter “black arcades of horror... substantially unknown and untraversed by white men.” The “black morass,” once penetrated, reveals a hybrid voodoo ritual where the “indescribable horde of human abnormality” do their chanting bonfire dance with “animalistic fury and orgiastic licence” inside a circle of scaffolding hung with the bodies of their human sacrifices. Less subtle than Conrad, perhaps. Nor is the similarly structured story “The Horror at Red Hook” in any way subtle. In Brooklyn, not Marlowe but Malone descends into the darkness. Like Jack London looking at “urban savages,” mentioned above, Lovecraft metatextually invokes Conradian and Lombrosian themes when he describes how his protagonist Malone “united imagination with scientific knowledge, that modern people under lawless conditions tend uncannily to repeat the darkest instinctive patterns of primitive half-ape savagery.” The Red Hook neighborhood’s “Syrian, Spanish, Italian, and negro[sic] element,” the “babel of sound and filth,” is viewed by the protagonist “with an anthropologist’s shudder...” even before his investigations uncover the “Yezidi” satanic cult, “Asian dregs” with “squat figures and characteristic squinting physiognomies.” The climax is precipitated by a police “clean-up,” that is, a raid on an ethnic ghetto featuring mass arrests, after three children, “blue-eyed Norwegians,” have been kidnapped and sacrificed by “the

667 S.T. Joshi, “Introduction,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999, pp. vii-xx, vii-xiii, xvii. H.P. Lovecraft, “He,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999, (1926) pp. 119-129, 124-125. H.P. Lovecraft, “The Call of Cthulhu,” *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*. S.T. Joshi, ed. New York: Penguin, 1999, (1928) pp. 139-169, 152, 161. H.P. Lovecraft. *The case of Charles Dexter Ward*. The H.P. Lovecraft Archive. <http://www.hplovecraft.com/> accessed 06/07/17

unbelievable throng of mixed foreigners.”⁶⁶⁸

This story was written after a period in which Lovecraft went south to New York for two years, can be construed as a sort of Hitlerian "Vienna moment" for this struggling bohemian, following interpretations by his most prominent academicizing exponent. He reacted negatively to what biographer S.T. Joshi calls the “heterogenous megalopolis,” to a point that Lovecraft described in a private letter to author Frank Belknap Long:

The organic things – Italo-Semitico-Mongoloid – inhabiting that awful cesspool could not by any stretch of the imagination be call'd human. They were monstrous and nebulous adumbrations of the pithecanthropoid and amoebal; vaguely molded from some stinking viscious slime of earth's corruption, and slithering and oozing in an on the filthy streets or in an out of windows and doorways in a fashion suggestive of nothing but infesting worms or deep-sea unnamabilities.”[*sic* throughout]

The strength of affect and the scientism prefigure Céline, with his “Bulgaro-Bastaves, Afro-Polacks,” and “Sub-Hebraics,” and of course the whole of *Mein Kampf*, the latter association superficially marked by Joshi's self-italicized, infelicitous choice of words, in a different context, declaring that these stories were the “*consequences of a world view* [italics in original].” This latter was a pet phrase of Hitler's to describe his antisemitic convictions. Céline might be summarizing the most insistent point in Lovecraft's oeuvre when he declaims, “It's enough to make you scream... to shudder, if you have the least inkling of instinct left in your veins [...] They erupt from the depths of the ages, to terrify us, to draw us into miscegenation, [...] and, finally, into the Apocalypse!”⁶⁶⁹

One finds the same quality of racist nightmare in the rants of Céline, in the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, in academic works by Madison Grant, in the colonialist arguments of Carlyle's "Discourse on the Nigger Question," in the fervid, fantasized prose of journalists in Dixie, and in Lovecraft's supernatural science-fiction. In “He,” for example, by means of the "half-breed" rites,

668 Raymond Chandler named his pulp detective Marlowe, a conscious metatextual reference to this Conradian narrative. Lovecraft, “Cthulhu,” 151-152. H.P. Lovecraft, “The Horror at Red Hook,” The H.P. Lovecraft Archive. <http://www.hplovecraft.com/> accessed 06/07/17

669 Joshi, “Introduction,” xi. Lovecraft to Frank Belknap Long, 21 March 1924, and Joshi quoted in Hefner, 657-658. Céline, *North*, pp. 2. Céline, *Bagatelles pour un massacre* (1937), quoted in Wyatt Mason, “Uncovering Céline,” New York Review of Books, Jan. 14, 2010. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2010/01/14/uncovering-celine/> accessed 15/07/17

the narrator is shown a vision of the future where “swarming loathsomely on aerial galleries I saw the yellow, squint-eyed people of that city, robed horribly in orange and red, dancing insanely to the pounding of fevered kettle drums, and the clatter of obscene crotala...” This is the threat to white world-supremacy realized, the future after the passing of the white race: “the Chinese in Brest,” in so many words. In Malone's Carlylian vision in the "mongrel" depths of Brooklyn, “headless moon-calves bleated to the Magna Mater” in the crypt where children were sacrificed to Lilith; the latter reference to antisemitic blood-libel is reinforced by the appearance of the Hebrew word *Adonai* in the story's incantation. However, as in Nazi circles, these ritual murders are merely a superficial bit of affect laid over the foundation of scientific racism – Lovecraft didn't believe in Jewish ritual murder any more than Hitler did, but both believed the Semitico-Mongoloid to be inferior in scientifically provable ways, as did virtually all institutionalized European voices.⁶⁷⁰

One must admit that despite Lovecraft repeatedly dwelling on the miscenation-spawned apocalyptic eruption from the depths, compared with Louis-Ferdinand Destouches or Adolf Hitler either authorially or biographically, the latter are thoroughly morally compromised. However, the purpose of these comparisons is not to suggest equality between any of these authors' texts nor, *a fortiori*, their deeds. In a sense, bad-to-worse ranking or simple moral censure of this language can obscure the more interesting and equally self-evident point that what should shock or surprise, precisely in a moral sense, is the ubiquity of this idea in so many different kinds of discourse, addressed to so many different purposes, by such very different authorial personalities, who occupied such a variety of institutional niches. If the threat of white degeneration wasn't everywhere all of the time, it was everywhere some of the time and somewhere all of the time. Ubiquity is not uniformity, however. Lovecraft, it should be pointed out, is constantly offering scenarios in which white-supremacy fails to reign supreme, and it is often already deeply compromised by the breaching of its premises, especially eugenically. Even more significantly, he was no propagandist of the racist cause, but an aestheticist trying to evoke an emotional state.

⁶⁷⁰ Lovecraft, “He,” 126-127. Lovecraft, “Red Hook.” Céline, *North*, 64.

Certainly there is little of the triumphalist posturing of Hitler's antisemitism; Lovecraft's texts defend no powers, urge no action, envision no utopia.

Although a simplistic application of Jakobsen's text-linguistic rubric could organize legislation, popular fiction, eugenic jeremiads, and beer-hall harangues into the same category as conative texts, a more complex hierarchy highlights certain differences and parallels that aid interpretation. The idea that one is wallowing in hatred for the pleasure of one's own psyche is conveyed by the emotive function; the idea that such speech should influence the actions of others is described by the conative function; high literature is supposed to fulfil the poetic function, essentially metatextual; discussion of the external world of facts is encompassed by the referential function. Sometimes, as with Lombroso's or Grant's books and articles, a primary function of a text is also referential, the setting forth of facts or transfer of information, or in this case, non-facts and misinformation. Lovecraft's texts are largely emotive/poetic, and conative only to the extent that, as in a letter, such expressions are directed to the addressee and thus perform an act of social bonding. Despite the quality of magazine in which he published, the author was primarily concerned with the literary merit of his work, writing for his own satisfaction and not working to sell material. In that sense his cultural productions are a fairly pure aestheticization of scientific racist paranoia. In contrast Hitler's public texts were highly conative as well as highly emotive, and the addresser-addressee relationship explicitly political. One was expected to join the party, for example, a concrete action with economic as well as political repercussions, but in the best case to "work toward the Fuhrer," doing as he would do.⁶⁷¹ Lovecraft and Hitler are at the opposite extremes of a continuum of emotive to conative priorities with regard to the primary text-linguistic functions of their texts, with a Madison Grant, a Thomas Carlyle, or a Houston Stewart Chamberlain somewhere between the middle and Hitler's end, text depending.

However, the secondary function used to achieve Lovecraft's texts' emotive/poetic effects or *Mein Kampf's* conative ends is in both cases one and the same. Modern science and academic

⁶⁷¹ Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*, 20.

discourse provide the real-world information by means of which the text internally or externally moves the addressee. The discourse conventions of scientific racism are the information that works this way in these texts. The referential function may not reference true facts in the fulfillment of its purpose, and such is the case here: Jews are not comparable to a tubercular biohazard, and "negroes" are not biologically reminiscent of apes; eugenic degeneration is a myth. As the variety of texts discussed above demonstrates, however, precisely this colonially derived, scientifically supported, factually untrue data set was the scientific object of the secondary referential function that served as the means for the ends of every kind of early twentieth-century communicative material. Atlanta newspapers present false "factual" accounts of racialized sexual violence just as Hitler might cite Madison Grant or Nazi doctor Eugen Fischer, who in turn might cite Lombroso or Morton.

This text-linguistic convergence is not the result of flawed individuals being exceptionally prone to some universally shared human trait of xenophobia. As the structure of the racist hierarchy reveals, it is the result of colonial power relations most forcefully imposed in African slavery in the New World. Even the relatively uninstitutionalized Céline's loose-cannon racism – Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religions each and all trying to mongrelize the white race, for example – followed academic orthodoxy in putting black on the bottom, anchoring the racist hierarchy just as Lovecraft considered the “Blacks” to be “fundamentally the biological inferior of all White and even Mongolian races.” This specific hierarchy is in fact the referential support of Céline's antisemitic ranting; black inferiority is the basis everything that is wrong with Jews. Céline lamented that Jews “negrified” Aryan culture to a “tom-tom beat,” thanks to their “nigger blood.” “The nigger Jew is in the process of toppling over the Aryan in communism and robot art... The Jew is a nigger... The Jew is only the product of a cross between niggers and asiatic barbarians.”⁶⁷²

⁶⁷² Céline, *Bagatelles*, quoted in Edward Andrew, “George Grant's Céline: Thoughts on the Relationship of Philosophy and Art,” *George Grant and the Subversion of Modernity: Art, Philosophy, Politics, Religion, and Education*. Arthur Davis ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, pp. 77-105, pg. 85. H.P. Lovecraft, “Anglo-Saxondom,” *The Conservative*, vol. 4, no. 1, (July 1918). <http://hplovecraft.hu/print.php?type=etexts&id=618&lang=angol> accessed 20/07/17 From 1915-1923 Lovecraft edited and appeared in the 13 issues of his self-published journal “The Conservative,” wherein he opposed immigration, espoused militarism, and

Not only the hybrid obsession but also the logical dependency of this relation reveal the origins of modern biopolitical antisemitism in New World colonial settlement and labor regimes. The visual analog of this synecdochal racist nonsense is the "Black Jew" on the poster of the Nazi degenerate music exposition.

High-modern political-elites opposition to jazz expressed fears of a degenerating culture with both race and class as dangerous elements, but both of these dangers were scientifically expressed. Racialized cultural hierarchies could make this white cultural superiority evident, but so did the use of the language of scientific materialism itself -- even the flakiest SS occultism used pseudo-scientific language or sought scientific confirmation -- science supposedly proved European superiority over the rest of the globe simply by existing as a system of knowledge superior to everything else. Lovecraft, like Hitler, was a convinced scientific materialist, an atheist without the slightest belief in mysticism or the fad of spiritualism. Fittingly, despite his anti-modernist aesthetic stance and antique prose style, his stories employ common elements of popular fiction and modernist literature. This modernism shows in his frequent, precise references to real places and events and his use of camera-eye techniques like those of John Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer* or *U.S.A.* Newspaper stories, but also diaries, letters, and court testimony appear, along with attention to details of scientific equipment and expeditionary logistics, to accentuate the realism of patently unreal tales. Authorities at Brown University may be consulted, or geneological tables might be checked; real and false texts are referenced. This narrative technique is necessary to provide a foundation for the suspension of disbelief that can balance the weight of supernatural events, a sophisticated scientific truth-claim that underlies the high-modern paranoid terror of racialized collapse.

In this sense the narrative technique of his fiction, in order to work as a poetic/emotive text,

lamented German and English racial fratricide. With a print run in the low hundreds, it circulated in a web of amateur cultural journals. Sentiments like this would have sold well in interwar Vienna: "Tracing the career of the Teuton through medieval and modern history, we can find no possible excuse for denying his actual biological supremacy... his innate racial qualities have raised him to preeminence. There is no branch of modern civilisation that is not his making." H.P. Lovecraft. *The Conservative*. Alex Kurtagic ed. London: Arktos, 2013, pp. 17-18.

uses realia in a way that mirrors the use of scientific racism as the secondary referential function in "non-fiction" conative or informational texts, while simultaneously using science in the same way as those texts, as evidence of white supremacy. The stories use scientific racism as the basis for claims about reality, and the realist fictional world depends in turn on referential pieces of the real world, pieces whose institutional existence depends on racist science. Hybrid white apes not only mongrelize white human racial purity through apocalyptic miscegenation, following the most authoritative scientific thinking of the time, but scientific authorities like the Royal Anthropological Institute contribute to the plot's denouement. It is as if, in another genre, the theory of Lamarckian evolution were used to establish who a long-lost relative was, and then Tirofim Lysenko himself entered the story and confirmed the protagonist's descent, allowing him or her to claim their inheritance. However, the weird tales under discussion do not have such happy endings. Lovecraft uses meticulously rationalist descriptions and historically accurate realia in order to describe utterly unscientific events, breakdowns of the rationally ordered universe that frequently cause characters to go insane.⁶⁷³ Modernity in its most empirical guise leads characters to apocalyptic monstrosities and impossibilities. The fear in his stories results from the failure of positivist scientific materialism to adequately explain the world in the face of dark forces portrayed as uncanny and irrational, forces that emerge from, are worshiped by, or simply are, hybridity and degeneration.

The ubiquity of racist paranoia is why one finds modern racism behind the logic of the Holocaust, just as the derivation of that paranoia is revealed by the colonial schemes that were the site of its practice. Despite the long history of anti-Jewish sentiment in Europe back to Roman times, it is the colonial experience and the scientific advancements coeval with it that provide the defining element in racist paranoia: the fear that scientifically-condemned and colonially-derived "racial" hybridity is degenerating the biological homogeneity upon which advanced civilization depends. It's a medical diagnosis, and medical science provides the metaphors in even the purplest

⁶⁷³ Frank Woodward dir. *Lovecraft: Fear of the Unknown*. dir. Wyrd, 2008.

prose, from Lovecraft's editorial outrage at “the detestable contamination of alien blood” to Céline's fear that “Everything is mysterious about germs just as everything is mysterious about Jews... Harmless Bacteria, harmless Jews, semi-virulent germs become virulent tomorrow, epidemial.”⁶⁷⁴ Medically speaking, notions of infestation, as in Lovecraft's letter above, or in Hitler's favored metaphor of Jews as a tubercular “bacillus” in the racialized body of the nation, and the extermination thus required to maintain hegemony through homogeny, had been spelled in 1887 by the highly respected bible scholar, linguist, orientalist, and antisemite Paul Lagarde.⁶⁷⁵

A figure on the cutting edge of high-modern knowledge, at the epicenter of liberal, turn-of-the-century academe, Lagarde was also an enthusiast of individual sacrifice for and promotion of the German race, as well as an advocate of German racist imperialism in the east. In his person are combined white-supremacist politics, aesthetics, and science, as they were in Ernst Haeckel.⁶⁷⁶ One of Lagarde's closer antisemitic intellectual contacts was Theodor Fritsch, who popularized a Dixonian Jew-as-sexual-threat fantasy and started the German-Socialist Party; Fritsch was prominent in the Thule Society, and thus one finds occult fantasies of racial *Aufhebung* through manifest destiny and racial degeneration through mongrel hybridity intertwined with leading academic and political voices; exterminatory paranoia, expressed through sexual, scientific, and apocalyptic metaphors, is everywhere in Germany to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁷⁷

Madison Grant and his closest followers were equally integrated into political and academic circles in the United States; it is also their work that links the American eugenics movement with Hitler and the Nazis. A racist text like a Madison Grant article in a mass-distribution magazine like *Argosy* (where weird tales were too lowbrow to be published) operates at a slightly different conjunction of political, social, and economic forces from Party propaganda; such work must be

674 Lovecraft, “Anglo-Saxondom.” Note 23 *op. cit.* Céline, *Bagatelles*, quoted in Mason, *op. cit.*

675 Kershaw, *Hubris*, 78-79, 151.

676 Andreassi, 128-129, 200.

677 Kershaw, *Hubris*, 135, 151-152.

acceptable to the major advertisers who provide the mass-distribution magazine's revenue, for example, a far more diffuse relationship than the direct contributions of early Nazi supporters or the Party's funding of Streicher's paper, but still economically underwriting the text. In Grant's role on the executive committee of the Eugenics Records Office at the Cold Spring Harbor National Laboratory, funded by the Carnegie Institution and generous donations from the wealthy and influential Harriman family, he worked to certain extent in that kind relationship of direct subsidy, as would his major follower, Harry Hamilton Laughlin, funded mostly by Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund. Political validation came from no less a political comer than Herbert Hoover, who sponsored a eugenics conference at the New York National History Museum in 1921 that was inspired by Grant's racist tome, the introduction to which was written by Henry Fairfield Osborn, the head of the museum and a leading anthropologist. Academic journals such as the *American Historical Review* and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* gave positive reviews to *The Passing of the White Race*, intellectually validating sentiments like "The cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew."⁶⁷⁸

Grant, working with Laughlin, also influenced national legislation like the 1924 Immigration Act and state legislation like the Virginia Racial Integrity Act of 1924. In fact, Laughlin wrote a model law upon which the latter statute and fourteen other state laws were based. As early as 1921, Laughlin was helping publicize the foundational texts of Nazi race theory in private letters and scholarly publications like the London Eugenics News. Laughlin corresponded with the German "racial hygiene" promoters Alfred Ploetz and Fritz Lenz, first chair of "race-hygiene" at the University of Munich, and Laughlin and the German doctor, colonial skull-collector, involuntary-subject medical experimenter, and forced-sterilization enthusiast Eugen Fischer arranged to get each other's articles translated and published. Fischer's 1913 paper on the "problem of miscegenation" was the ideological basis for the Nuremberg Laws of 1935; again, the term itself is of American

⁶⁷⁸ Madison Grant. *The Passing of the Great Race, or The Racial Basis of European History*, 4th rev. ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, pg. 18 .pdf

Civil War origin. When the Nazi forced sterilization law, the Law for the Prevention of Defective Progeny, was decreed in 1933, Laughlin printed it with praise in his *Eugenical News*; as Paul Lombardo has said, "positive publicity for the Nazi eugenics program filled the pages of his journal." In April 1934 he published papers by Frick ("German Population and Race Politics"), Fischer ("Eugenics in Germany"), and others ("German Sterilization Progress"). He also distributed, using the Pioneer Fund, the Nazi pro-euthanasia and anti-semitic documentary *Erbkrank (The Hereditarily Diseased)* shown in US public high schools, among other venues.⁶⁷⁹

Laughlin also created the Committee to Study and to Report on the Best Practical Means of Cutting Off the Defective Germ Plasm in the American Population, with the goal "to purify the breeding stock of the race at all costs." The committee was a model of academic co-operation, chaired by the president of Stanford and influential scientists from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the University of Chicago, and more. A French member was the surgeon Alexis Carrell, Nobel Prize recipient at the Rockefeller Institute, who declared in a 1935 best-seller that criminals, the insane, and "those who have misled the public in important matters... should be humanely and economically disposed of in small euthanasic institutions supplied with proper gases." Capable of overfilling New York lecture halls to the point of 5,000 listeners, Carrell believed that a "High Council of Doctors" should be empowered to safeguard the rule of "the dominant white races."⁶⁸⁰ He echoed views expressed earlier in the United States by American Dr. William Duncan McKim, author of *Heredity and Human Progress* (1900): "The surest, the simplest, the kindest, and most humane means for preventing reproduction among those whom we deem unworthy is a gentle, painless death."⁶⁸¹

Laughlin was unusual in US eugenic circles for his unqualified enthusiasm for the Nazis, although he found a wealthy benefactor in Draper and an enthusiastic surrogate in Dr. Clarence

⁶⁷⁹ Paul A. Lombardo, "The American Breed: Nazi Eugenics and the Origins of the Pioneer Fund," *Albany Law Review*, Vol. 65, No.3 (Spring 2002), pp. 745-831, 761-762.

⁶⁸⁰ Robert N. Proctor. *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988, pg. 180.

⁶⁸¹ Kirk C. Allison, "Eugenics, Race Hygiene, and the Holocaust: Antecedents and Consolidations," *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, Jonathon C. Friedman, ed. New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 45-58, 47.

Cambell, whom he sent to Berlin to read his contribution to the 1935 International Congress for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems. The Honorary President and keynote speaker of this conference was the future war criminal Frick, the President was Fischer, and other readers were the luminaries of Nazi racial science, allegedly "bitterly disappointed" that Laughlin could not attend. Cambell declared that "Germany has set a pattern which all other nations must follow" and closed his speech with a toast "to that great leader, Adolf Hitler," as Henry Luce's *Time* magazine reported in a sympathetic tone. Cambell's own contribution to the conference included the conclusion that "the difference between the Jew and the Aryan is as unsurmountable as that between black and white."⁶⁸²

In the latter statement, one observes the historical derivation under discussion. It may also help explain how Laughlin's views earned him the post of the US House of Representatives' expert advisor on the Committee of Immigration and Naturalization. Institutional ties between eliminationist and exterminationist racism run much more deeply and broadly than these indicative references; Pioneer-funded author Earnest Sevier Cox's *White America: The American Racial Problem as Seen in a Worldwide Perspective* (edited and promoted by Grant) was read on the Senate floor by Mississippi's Theodore Bilbo as part of a filibuster to stop an anti-lynching bill, and Bilbo received funds from Pioneer for the development of a 1939 bill for the forced deportation of all black Americans to Africa -- a "Madagascar plan," in so many words. More to the point, Laughlin's publications, agitation, and political power played a role in the Supreme Court's 1927 decision declaring that forced sterilization was constitutional; their decision upheld the several involuntary sterilization laws that he had helped formulate for various states. These statutes in turn informed the text of the 1933 forced-sterilization Nazi Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring: in 1927 and 1933, National Socialism and American democracy were in complete legal accord with the eugenic principle that "to prevent our society from being swamped with incompetence," as wrote Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., "society can prevent those

682 Lombardo, 773.

who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind."⁶⁸³

These very different political contexts, one democratic, for whites, and the other authoritarian, hosted similarly sinister activities based on the fear of "racial" degeneration, but one must observe that the Nazis went quite a bit farther in attempting to realize the exterminationist vision. "Only" some 60,000 people were forcibly sterilized in the United States under state law -- a figure, however, that excludes all the African-American women who were sterilized without their knowledge or consent during other medical procedures. The United States did not institutionally endorse exterminationist mass-murder, only eliminationist involuntary surgery, in defense of racist homogeneity and white supremacy. Yet, even if historian Garland Allen is correct in asserting that "Germany had a far more active and virulent pro-Nordic and pro-Aryan tradition than most mainstream American eugenicists," and that American eugenics policy should be understood as part of the "origin of eugenics movements in a wide range of countries,"⁶⁸⁴ surely such claims make it even more noteworthy that the United States was the source of both the legal statutes providing the model texts for Nazi Germany and the warmest praise coming from politically-connected academics, as the Third Reich took the first steps toward the most apocalyptic racist extermination event in human history.

In these weird tales, juridical decrees, academic treatises, private speech, and political manifestos, positivist scientific materialism provides the vocabulary for understanding the modern world; seen as both a philosophy and a body of empirical knowledge, this concentrated intellectual capital legitimates racist distinctions. These distinctions are really only one distinction, that between the master race, which however defined is always a variation on colonially-derived whiteness, and

683 Jason McDonald, "Making the World Safe for Genetics: The Eugenicist Harry H. Laughlin's Encounters with American Internationalism," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (July 2013) pp. 379-411, 381-382, 384. Michael Yudell. *Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the 20th Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014, pg. 94

684 Garland E. Allen, "Was Nazi Eugenics Created in the US?" review of *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* by Edwin Black, *EMBO Reports*, Vol. 5, No. 5 (May 2004), pp. 451-452.

everyone else. In science and science-fiction, when that distinction blurs, the imagined result is the collapse of modern reality and the reign of disorder. Miscegenation is construed as apocalypse, both an original sin, as in "Arthur Jermyn," and a monstrous crime, as in "Red Hook." The same conclusions were reached by colonial political powers and scientific experts on race. Lovecraft employs detective-story tropes, including clues for the reader and describing racialized physiognomies but especially, in the context of scientific materialism, deploying the fact-gathering investigator. However, where the pulp detective, by positivistically finding and interpreting the evidence, eventually creates order, Lovecraft's investigators, using the same advanced techniques, find only monstrous disorder and chaos.

The protagonists of the author's supernatural fiction face the same imaginary conflict, described by many historians in dealing with the reality of Nazi atrocities, between civilized modernity and horrible cruelty. The telos of modernity is reversed. Thanatos reigns. The evil cult is real, it cannot be rooted out, their awful deity exists, and they sacrifice victims to it; science has documented the horror so that one knows it to be true. In the fictions of nightmare science and the science of horrific fiction, the apocalypse arrives when racial distinction is breached and white supremacy is eroded; conversely, in the real world, humankind unleashed the apocalypse of mass death when racist distinctions were upheld and white supremacy was enforced. H.P. Lovecraft's stories dramatized the real fruits of the branches of white-supremacist thought and pre-figured the real course of future events: the apocalyptic insanity of the most advanced civilization, the total moral failure of rational scientific materialism.

Chapter 3: Discursive Parallels in Popular Culture and Political Constructions of History

The expressions of white supremacist intellectual thought have shown a remarkable uniformity of content despite differences in the emphasis of textual functions and degrees of political engagement and influence. For this reason, one is not surprised to discover that the premier antisemitic propaganda film of the Third Reich, *Jud Süß*, utilizes the same plot devices and characterizations as the premier white supremacist film in US history, *Birth of a Nation*. The plots are not exactly the same, but the construction of the racial other is identical, the totally different historical epochs depicted notwithstanding. Both of these films received backing from political elites and reflected an official and academically-supported historical line. Their depictions of historical events legitimated legal restrictions that had in both cases reached a kind of recent apotheosis, in the Nuremberg Laws and in Woodrow Wilson's segregation of the federal government along the Jim Crow lines that had previously been established in the US South at the state level; these films were produced in the periods following the legislative concretization of such forms of racial discrimination. Extra-legal violence against the racial other had been ubiquitous in Dixie for the half century between Appomattox and the Griffith film, while it was seriously beginning against Jews in Poland during the production and premiere of *Jud Süß*. Both these films, in this context, present historical dramas insisting on racially-defined exclusion and dramatizing extermination when that exclusion is sexually breached. Both films also insisted on their historical veracity, truth claims explicit in the texts themselves and supported by powerful political actors.

It is an interesting coincidence that Goebbels and Metzger, the first scriptwriter, turned to a version of *Jud Süß* written by Wilhelm Hauff, the “Walter Scott of Württemberg” in the phrase of film historian Susan Tegel, even more so in that this choice was based on the writer's reputation as such and not the actual text of his novel. In a similar way the southern identity construction based

on *Rob Roy* and *Ivanhoe*, which Mark Twain excoriated and even blamed for the war, was based on a southern reading of Scott's novels in which the historicity itself ennobles the Cavalier: “the Scott that the South imagined,” says James Chandler, was “of the idealized past and the romantic lost cause... of mythical Celtic aura and rigid class stratification.” Dixon's cod-Scott *Clansman* fed *Birth of a Nation*, which copied and popularized some specific Waverlian references from Dixon's source novels, most familiarly the burning cross, but also the raid on the manor house, caring for the fallen enemy, observing a racialized other in their natural habitat, and a woman's plea for a great man's pardon. In a sense, the Klansmen in *Birth of a Nation* are historically accurate, as a representation of “white supremacist groups before the war who emulated what they thought they read in Scott to constitute a Southern knighthood.”⁶⁸⁵

More abstractly, if one is correct to attribute to Scott the birth of the historical novel in English, the claim of properly verisimilar fiction to truth value as history is made by the very generic form of historical melodrama, as well as by the metatextual truth claims in the films and their promotional material. In this regard Isak Dinesen, who visited the film studio in 1939, reported a high degree of attention to period detail in the sets for *Jud Süß*, while the “Historical Facsimile” title introduced sets that were authentic reproductions, so to speak, of the historical locations in *The Birth of a Nation*. In “historical romance... costumes, 'authentic' sets and locations, and well-known actors take precedence over historical accuracy, ”as Robert Rosenstone points out, and these markers of “realism” are those of the nineteenth-century novel. The French refer to such misrepresentations as *histoire Walter Scottée*. Nevertheless, “realist” fiction of this type also becomes history: the 1871 Scott Centennial in the US was celebrated by a special meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society. So, Terra Filmkunst's 1939-1940 catalogue for forthcoming films advertises that *Jud Süß* is based on “Hauff's well-known story and on factual reports in the Stuttgart

685 Susan Tegel, “Viet Harlan and the Origins of 'Jud Süß,' 1938-1939: Opportunism in the creation of Nazi Anti-Semitic Film Propaganda,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Oct. 1996). James Chandler, “The Historical Epic Goes Hollywood: Scott, Griffith, and Film Epic Today,” *The Birth of a Nation, D.W. Griffith, director*. Robert Lang ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994 pp. 225-249, 241, 248.

archives,” as if the genre and the sources were equivalent guarantors of truth. The film's claims to historical accuracy were supported by foreign and domestic film critics and believed by the public after its release, *Le Parisien* calling it “in keeping with historical fact” and Nuremberg viewers calling it “frighteningly real” (according to the SD). These truth claims were echoed by documentaries like *The Eternal Jew* but also by contemporary American biopics like the 1938 *Marie Antoinette*, which promised viewers that they would see, in the words of film historian George Custen, “true history in the guise of spectacle,” based on authoritative research; this biopic convention began with *Birth of a Nation* and its “Historical Facsimiles.”⁶⁸⁶

Cinematic narrative techniques and the manner in which feature films were later produced, distributed, and viewed essentially began with the 1915 film. *Birth of a Nation* has been an enormous commercial and critical success, lauded as one of the hundred best films of all time by the American Film Institute in 1998. Aesthetically, it marks the emergence of cinematic techniques that were employed for the first time in a long-form narrative by Griffith, most significantly cross-cutting and back-cutting, but also purposeful narrative use of close-up, medium, and medium-long shots. Theater viewing by large groups as opposed to nickelodeons and private screenings, the latter in any case rare, was established, if not pioneered, by Griffith in the United States. Press-release promotion was also used as advertising, in this case by inventing fake details of historical research, shooting locations, and production requirements that would be given to local newspapers. Pre-existing melodramatic conventions, especially those of bourgeois drama and tragedy, were re-organized as a visual text according to specific rhythms that had not been followed before and that

686 Explicit truth claims made by these films, especially the numerous ones in *The Birth of a Nation*, ultimately follow the same methodological basis as academic history: references to other texts. A sarcastic letter to the editor in Boston in 1871 spoofed this phony historicity by pretending that Waverly was a new encyclopedia. Custen quoted in Eric Rentschler. *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 150-151, 155, 356n10. D.W. Griffith, Frank E. Woods & Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr. *The Birth of a Nation*. “The Continuity Script,” Shot 144, 505, 544, 839, *The Birth of a Nation*, D.W. Griffith, director. Robert Lang ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994, pp. 52, 83, 88, 110. Mimi White, “*The Birth of a Nation*: History as Pretext,” Lang ed. pp. 214-224, pp. 217-218. Robert Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words: Reflections of the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 93, no. 5 (Dec. 1988), pp. 1173-1185, pg. 1179. Emily Todd, “Walter Scott and the Nineteenth-Century American Literary Marketplace: Antebellum Richmond Readers and the Collected Editions of the Waverly Novels,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 93, no. 4, (Dec. 1, 1999) pp. 495-518, pg. 500.

are still followed today, as with the use of a close-up or medium-close “reaction shot.”

In short, the internal narrative devices and external display infrastructure of modern cinema were born in 1915, for the specific purpose of legitimating white supremacy. Critical conventions also began with the film: Melvyn Stokes dates the consideration of film as art and the *auteur* concept to *Birth*: “the aesthetics of the film, many believed were such an advance on what had gone before that *Birth of a Nation* signified little less than the emergence of the motion picture as a new form of art... One reviewer classed [Griffith] with Homer, Herodotus, Phidias, Michelangelo, Titian, and Wagner.” Like modern industrial society, dependent on institutionalized racism for the raw materials and technological innovations that allowed for production of mass commodities, this high-modern entertainment developed, profitably, to promote racialized domination (film developing depends on complex technology, like sugar milling, with temperature dependencies, stages of processing and cleaning, agitation, drying, and so on). One may presume that this new form of cultural expression would have evolved anyway, but this assumption is unhistorical – it happened that way and no other. *Birth of a Nation* defined what a feature film was: the formal invention of modern movies occurred through the creation of an American white-supremacist propaganda film.⁶⁸⁷

Although there was no US Ministry of Propaganda that formally controlled the production of cultural artifacts, Griffith intended *Birth of a Nation* as propaganda and said quite clearly that his film was made with an eye to education, as a true record of events. He seemed to see film moving into the niche that academic specialization had created, as history books declined in popular sales, and then moving even further to supplant books in general education entirely. “The time will come,” he predicted in 1915, “when the children in the public schools will be taught everything by moving pictures. Certainly they will never be obliged to read history again... All the work of writing, research, collating, and reproducing will have been carefully attended to by a corps of

⁶⁸⁷ Melvyn Stokes. *D.W. Griffith's The Birth of A Nation: A History of the Most Controversial Film of All Time*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 72, 74-77, 122-123, 278-281. Roger Ebert, review of *Cabiria*, directed by Giovanni Pastrone, 1914. <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/great-movie-cabiria-1914> accessed 22/07/17

recognized experts.” He seemed to believe that the very medium itself, through the production of “vivid and complete” visual texts, allowed the viewer to be “present at the making of history;” this view was essentially seconded by historian R.J. Raack in 1983, claiming that the cinematic narrative techniques – “quick cuts to new sequences, dissolves, fades, speed-ups, slow motion” – are the only way to build an “empathetic reconstruction” that can “recover all the past’s liveliness.” Some of these techniques had been present in previous features, notably *Cabiria*, but both Griffith’s new contributions and his use of established methods served the emotive function necessary to produce an empathetic audience response. In fact, the generic conventions of documentary film, emotionally distancing the audience from the scenes depicted, may undermine the believability of its presentation (which is in any case a constructed narrative); certainly, if one compares the reception of *The Eternal Jew* with *Jud Süß*, the former was far less compelling to paying customers, and therefore less successful as propaganda. This fact fits nicely with Lukács’ original discussion of Scott’s popular historicism as a function of empathic reconstruction, not “the re-telling of great historical events” in an epic style, hence its popularity and impact. The effectiveness of this discursive model can be demonstrated by a current history professor, who reports that when screening *Birth of a Nation* in class, even those (white) students who think they astutely see through the film’s pretenses instead find themselves emotionally compromised by the film’s narrative technique when they side with the Klan during the attack sequences.⁶⁸⁸

However powerful these techniques are, Dixon and Griffith are clearly re-telling historical events; for all intents and purposes, the melodramatic narrative is subsumed by the didactic role Griffith outlined for his film of promoting and historicizing white supremacy, the same priorities revealed when Goebbels called for all sorts of scripts to promote and historicize antisemitism. The

688 Stokes, 171-173. Rosenstone also points out the academic historian’s distance from popular narratives and the broader construction of truth as a social fact and sees film as a possible solution. Rosenstone, 1175-1176. Rentschler, 149, 154, Lukács and Scott quoted in Kathryn Bevilacqua, “History Lessons from Gone with the Wind,” *Mississippi Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Winter 2014), pp. 99-125, pg. 102. Ari Kelman, “Reconstruction and Popular Memory,” & comments, *The Edge of the American West*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22/03/08. <http://www.chronicle.com/blognetwork/edgeofthewest/2008/03/22/reconstruction-and-popular-memory/#comment-511869974> accessed 31/07/17

characters in *Birth of a Nation* are clumsily metaphorical, a clear allegory to the process of Reunion as academicized by historians like Woodrow Wilson and popularized in veteran ceremonies. In contrast, Margaret Mitchell's 1936 rearrangement of Dixon/Page material, *Gone with the Wind*, presents a high-modern protagonist who relegates faux-history to the background as the setting for her personal, individualist drama. Still, the text also manages to insist on its historicity metatextually through the sophisticated use of an omniscient narrator who continually intrudes to correct the heroine's lack of Confederate patriotism. Mitchell's own sense of historical reality was indebted to Dixon much as Roosevelt's by Mayne Reid or Hitler's by Karl May: She wrote Dixon that "I was practically raised on your books and love them very much." The MGM production of *Gone with the Wind*, released in 1939 while *Jud Süß* was being written, was the successor to *Birth of a Nation* as top-grossing and most-seen film – sixth best film of all time on the 2007 American Film Institute ranking – and also its successor in institutionalizing the white supremacist, Lost Cause narrative of the Civil War and Reconstruction. This pseudo-history remains, according to Eric Foner, the dominant popular narrative. Historian Carol Bleaser, the first full-time female faculty member at Colgate University and former head of the Southern Association of Women Historians, credits *Gone with the Wind* as the basis for her interest in history in a 1996 interview – in fact, she implies that she sees the novel as valid history, "better than anything I'd ever read in fiction." The Atlanta Historical Center has sponsored frequent Wind-based exhibits, and, as a civic-minded counterpart to the transport, reconstruction, and display of Tara's facade, from the MGM backlot to Clayton County, Georgia (billing itself as the "Home of *Gone with the Wind*"), in 2015 the El Paso Museum of History exhibited, along with real civil-war-era clothes and weapons, a replica of Scarlett O'Hara's wedding dress. This latter display of a replica of a stage costume as history is as if the statue of Moloch from *Cabiria*, now on exhibit at Turin's Museum of Cinema, were to be replicated and displayed in Turin's Egyptian Museum. Just as Scott's fictional depiction of the burning cross lent historicity to *The Clansman* and to *Birth of a Nation*, part of *Gone with the*

Wind's historicity is its repetition of scenes from *Birth of a Nation*, like the women sewing Klan uniforms, the escape from a "black rapist," the subsequent attack on African-Americans, and the loyalty of Mammy and Big Sam to white masters.⁶⁸⁹ These specific features clearly demonstrate one way that historical "structures of feeling" maintain themselves and reproduce through cultural production.

The history that Griffith was reconstructing and selling was also the politically-supported academic interpretation, promoted most particularly by Columbia University's William Dunning, whose 1897 and 1907 histories of Reconstruction set the foundation for American academia into the 1950s and beyond; the works of Dunning followers Walter L. Fleming and James S. Pike, author of *The Prostrate South: South Carolina under Negro Government*, were cited by Griffith's publicist J.J. McCarthy as sources used by *Birth of a Nation*, and the histories of then-President Woodrow Wilson are quoted more than once in that film's intertitles, three screens of quotations that introduce the completely fictional second part. Wilson famously praised the film's veracity as "writing history with lightning" after his private White House screening, although the accuracy of this phrase, presented by Dixon in advertising the film, has been questioned. However, Wilson and Dixon fundamentally agreed in their constructions of history and had done so since they had met at John Hopkins University graduate school. Dixon convinced Wake Forest College to give Wilson an honorary degree while precociously endorsing him as a presidential candidate in 1888; Wilson specifically described his granting of the screening as returning that favor, though he did so gladly.

⁶⁸⁹ Stokes, 82. Bevilacqua, 103-105. Chandler, 242n26. "Gone with the Wind," Leonard Maltin Classic Movie Guide (2010), *Turner Classic Movies* <http://www.tcm.com/tcmdb/title/414427/Gone-With-the-Wind/notes.html> accessed 22/07/17 Kelman, "Reconstruction..." Dr. Bleser only mentions two historical novels, *Northwest Passage* and *Gone with the Wind*, in her account of discovering that she wanted to be a historian at 11 years of age, no non-fiction. The first novel is a reconstruction of exterminatory warfare in the Northwest Territory. The grown-up historian, reminiscing, shows no critical awareness of conflating real historical events with their highly romanticized white-supremacist fictionalizations. Constance B. Schulz. *Clio's Southern Sisters: Interviews with Leaders of the Southern Association for Women Historians*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2004, pg. 135. Stephanie E. Yuhl, review of *A Tough Little Patch of History: Gone with the Wind and the Politics of Memory*, by Jennifer W. Dickey. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2014. *American Historical Review*, vol. 120, no. 3 (June 2015), pp. 1067-1068. David Hernandez, "El Paso Museum of History hosts 'Gone with the Wind' exhibit," *El Paso Times*, 23/07/15.

Dixon was a state representative in North Carolina for a term, considered for Speaker of the House at 21, and then minister to a large Protestant congregation in New York City, where he was close to John D. Rockefeller. From the pulpit, he wielded political influence, attacking immigrants and populists, supporting the Spanish War, and promoting Theodore Roosevelt's New York gubernatorial campaign. Dixon's mass-market bestsellers were matched by Wilson's mass-circulation *History of the American People*, originally serialized with illustrations in *Harper's* in the 1890s. In fact, Wilson's history might well be the last that achieved prominence before academic specialization reduced popular sales of history, opening that market niche identified by Griffith into which his work could fit as popular edu-tainment. As a cultural artifact, the narrative of *Birth of a Nation* had an academic pedigree inseparable from the political power that supported it, as evinced by economic and political elites like Rockefeller and ex-Confederates/Klansmen like the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Edward White (who arranged a private screening for Congress and the Court the night following Wilson's). The film also reached a popular audience that included the general northern and southern audiences who had bought Dixon's novels. No *Gleichschaltung* was necessary to present an adequately racist message in the USA, as all the institutional heavyweights involved in the production and promotion of Griffith's film, not to mention the overwhelming majority of other tangentially-related but influential, institutions and individuals, from the president of the nation down to the spectators, were active white supremacists.⁶⁹⁰

In contrast, Goebbels, although the idea for the film had originally been brought to him, after sponsoring it found that his regular creative personnel would not produce a sufficiently antisemitic script. It was given to Eberhard Möller, an SS writer of fiction, poetry, and a young reader's biography of the *Führer*. He jettisoned the Hauff material as ideologically unsuitable and produced a script that satisfied Goebbels. However, the actors were not impressed with what the titular roleplayer Ferdinand Marian called "an antisemitic pamphlet," and the film was difficult to

⁶⁹⁰ Stokes, 21, 32-35, 191-192, 199, 206, 218. *The Birth of a Nation*, "The Continuity Script," Shot 622-624, pg. 94. Friedman, 150, 170.

cast until the veteran director Viet Harlan took over, except for Werner Krauss, who seems to have been eager for a multiple turn in Jewish blackface. Harlan, a professional melodramatist, modified some of the more hamfisted antisemitism, in particular changing the repeated song's lyrics from the SS-man's "the Jew, the Jew, the Jew..." and thus brought Marian into the project. Goebbels approved of Harlan's changes, writing, "The SS model becomes excellent...The first truly antisemitic film." Despite Harlan's postwar complaints of Goebbels' interference and Marian's claim that the actors were consciously giving bad performances in their screen tests, Terra was able to produce a good film in terms of performances, production values, and cinematic structure. Of its aesthetic merits Michelangelo Antonioni, speaking after the film's debut at the Venice International Film Festival in September of 1940, said: "if this is propaganda, then we welcome propaganda... it is a film of complete unity and balance... the episode in which Süß violates the young girl is done with astonishing skill." Germans agreed: it was the most popular film of 1940, with twenty million viewers by 1943, making *Jud Süß* the *Gone with the Wind* of the Ministry of Propaganda (MGM boss David Selznick personally interfered greatly with the latter production). This commercial and critical success is not due to Goebbels or the Gestapo forcing viewers into cinemas; *The Rothschilds*, despite critical acclaim for its historical accuracy and Ministry support, flopped. What was this film, then, that so enraptured the German public and the Italian auteur?⁶⁹¹

Jud Süß, claiming historical accuracy, tells the story of an unscrupulous racial inferior, who usurps the power of the legitimate though misled political authority by playing on his sexual desires. The racial intruder proceeds to oppress the population and introduce his biological compatriots into white society, where they outrage feminine virtue and social mores. Using his influence to degrade civic and political institutions, the inferior attempts to force a marriage to a virginal blonde. Meanwhile a shadow-government and resistance forms, led by those who show an understanding of racial difference, which is, however, too late to prevent the racial other from

⁶⁹¹ Goebbels quoted in Tegel, "Viet Harlan and the Origins..." Rentschler, 149, 153-154. "Gone with the Wind," *Turner Classic Movies*. Susan Tegel, "Review Essay: *Jud Süß*," *Historical Journal fo Film, Radio, and Television*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (March 2005), pp. 155-161, 155, 160.

committing a (suggested) rape and his victim drowning herself. Once her corpse is found, however, armed rebellion breaks out, the other is captured and executed, and power is reclaimed for the master race. These familiar elements of bourgeois tragedy and melodrama are arranged in precisely the same way as those of *The Birth of a Nation*: far too much similarity to be coincidence, the parallel plots of these films indicates a shared origin in European racist and colonial self-aggrandizement. So, the SS co-author, in a promotional magazine article, recites exactly the same characterization of racial difference as did racists in the US South: “We simply let history speak. And it does not tell us that ‘the Jew is also a human being’;[sic] no, it makes clear that the Jew is a different kind of human being altogether, and that he utterly lacks the moral control over his actions with which we were born.” Möller simply restates familiar white-supremacist characterization of non-whites: “Blacks were basically wild African savages lacking in morals,” as one historian paraphrases the views of Tom Watson; indigenous people in the colonies lack “the necessary judgement and self-control to govern themselves,” as another describes Dixon's early-twentieth-century American imperialist thought.⁶⁹²

These films produced similar effects in the real world as well. In Germany, teenagers exited *Jud Süß* and attacked Jewish passers-by; in Lafayette, Indiana, a spectator leaving *Birth of a Nation* and shot and killed the first black person he saw, a fifteen-year-old high-school student. Himmler ordered that the Goebbels/Harlan film be required viewing for all military and police personnel; a member of the Ohio Censorship Board, a southern woman, insisted that Griffith's epic “*must* be shown in Ohio,” as a “great education to the north” (emphasis in original). *Jud Süß* was shown to Auschwitz guards to instigate maltreatment of prisoners and Einsatzgruppen about to commence the Final Solution, while *Birth of a Nation* was frequently screened as a recruitment device by the Ku Klux Klan, and it sparked violent anti-black riots in, at least, Chicago, Washington D.C., Omaha, East Saint Louis, and Springfield, Missouri. Dixon's earlier stage adaptation of *The*

692 Viet Harlan dir. *Jud Süß*. Berlin: Terra FilmKunst, 1940 .avi. D.W. Griffith dir. *The Birth of a Nation*. Epoch Producing Corp., 1915 .avi. Möller quoted in Rentschler, 150, 157. Friedman, 86, 172.

Clansman had been called by a Chattanooga newspaper a “riot breeder... designed to excite rage and race hatred” and blamed by Walter White for helping provoke the 1906 white riot in Atlanta.⁶⁹³

Dixon's own southern racial obsession seems to have exploded in the period following the USA's subjugation of the Philippines, not coincidentally, and he makes the comparison himself in *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden*, whose hero Charles Gaston thus legitimates violent racial hegemony: “our flag has been raised over ten millions of semi-barbaric black men in the foulest slave-pen of the Orient. Shall we repeat the farce of '67, reverse the order of nature, and make these black people our rulers? If not, why should the African here, who is not their equal, be allowed to imperil our life?” One recognizes the logic of President Wilson when he refused to apply the Atlantic Charter to Europe's colonies and refused the future Ho Chi Minh a seat at the Paris peace negotiations in 1918: the typical indigenous/African-American synecdochal conflation, the zero-sum, exclusionist and exterminationist political economy of colonial imperialism.⁶⁹⁴

This political economy is breeched at the moment it is broached⁶⁹⁵ by sexual exploitation, producing the obsession with racial degradation through hybridity which is marked in the films not only by the crux of the plots and direct sexual references but also by the contrast between the pure racial grotesque of the underlings and the unstable, dual representation of the usurping other. Gus and Levy may threaten, but they can be controlled, or easily cornered and killed (Flora, by disobeying her elder brother, invites her fate just as Dorothea does when she brings Süß to town). However, “the plot is entirely controlled by the image of the mulatto,” as James Baldwin has observed regarding *Birth of a Nation*, and the same applies to *Jud Süß*, even more clearly, despite the lack of black make-up, as the latter also lacks the “labyrinthine and preposterous” plot of the

693 The Ohio censor, Maude Miller, claimed that if not for meddling northerners, “she would still be living on her plantation like a lady instead of working for a living.” Stokes, 9, 40, 51, 156, 250. David Weinberg, “Approaches to the Study of Film in the Third Reich: A Critical Appraisal,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 1

Historians and Movies: The State of the Art (Jan. 1984), pp. 105-126, pg. 116.

694 Harilaos Stecopoulos. *Reconstructing the World: Southern Fictions and US Imperialisms, 1898-1976*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 36-37. Stokes, 40.

695 This construction was a favorite of Derrida.

former. Süß incites all the action of the plot in his play for social equality. As the unsubtly blackfaced actors in *Birth of a Nation* are literally, Süß is figuratively masked, disguised, his racial danger initially perceived only by the righteous Faber, who refuses to take his hand in greeting, exactly like Ben Cameron's refusal to shake the "mulatto" Silas Lynch's hand. The texts identify the hero through this exclusion of the racialized other. A contemporary reviewer of *Birth* for *The New Republic* noted that "the audience invariably applauds the scene in which the white hero refuses to shake hands with a Negro," the use of the indefinite article and capital letter here being another indication of the synecdochal racial property of the villains.⁶⁹⁶

Faber and Cameron's gestures prefigure the exterminatory murders that avenge the breeching of exclusion. These films offer, as Baldwin says regarding *Birth of a Nation*, "an elaborate justification for mass murder," murder that can restore the "violated social order." Certain events, as described above, fully justify his interpretation regarding Griffith's magnum opus; one can add a fifty percent increase in reported lynchings in the year of its release – one southerner reportedly left the film declaring "I should like to kill every nigger I know." Since 1945 no one has dared to oppose such an interpretation of *Jud Süß*, although the film has been, following Mark Rentschler, "set aside and isolated by historians" from its context, "endur[ing] as a monstrous entity." Its critical status, ironically resembling the excluded position of its racialized protagonist, makes it an "anomaly" in the history of Third Reich cinema, a mere excess in the careers of its actors and director, who otherwise followed a morally and politically correct line of "aesthetic quality," one of the "other meanings" that Norbert Grob and other critics argue generally abound in Nazi movies, other than *Jud Süß*. Thus, "Goebbels' most scurrilous feature," argues Rentschler, "becomes a prime witness for the defense of the Third Reich as a golden age of German cinema." This legitimating function is a microcosm of postwar theories of "totalitarianism" and Cold Warrior anticommunism, in which the monstrous status of such regimes guarantees the freedom

⁶⁹⁶ Both northern and southern audiences applauded the climactic ride of the Klan, accompanied in the score by Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries." Stokes, 107, 126, 298n50. Rentschler, 157?. Baldwin, *The Devil Finds Work*, 513. Francis Hackett, "Brotherly Love," *The New Republic*, 7 March 20, 1915, Lang ed., pp. 161-163.

supposedly inherent in the social, political, and economic institutions of NATO member-states. In the texts, the trials and executions of Gus and Süss legitimate past violence and encourage future atrocities, in the real world.⁶⁹⁷

While Harlan suffered the brief indignity of a trial for crimes against humanity, Griffith gave his name to the Directors Guild of American Lifetime Achievement Award until 1999, when withdrawal of the award provoked a storm of protest. These protests invoked the Grob argument, defending aesthetic excellence and other meanings, but also tossed up a “totalitarianism” defense, suggesting Griffith was being persecuted (after his death) in McCarthyite fashion and that the unfair, “politically correct” and therefore totalitarian Guild should nominate a woman, specifically Leni Riefenstahl. Whether this sort of patriarchal racism is necessarily implicit in aestheticist interpretations like that of Grob or David Hull cannot be sufficiently determined. Nor does the German film indicate a decided scheme for implementing the Holocaust; whatever the various intentions of the perpetrators, the bureaucratic processes and necessary infrastructure of extermination were not concretized until mid-to-late 1941. However, the exterminationist argument of the films cannot be gainsaid, nor can the parallel characterization of Süss and Gus/Lynch, in which civil rights become rape. In the parlance of the 1960s Klan, Süss Oppenheimer is “a stiff-peckered, Freedom Now, black buck.”⁶⁹⁸

The model of the other as a political and sexual threat to racial dominance and hygiene that needs must be eliminated is the essence of the colonial imaginary that, as we have seen, has been applied to many populations, and this referential instability often explicitly highlights its derivation

697 Baldwin, *The Devil Finds Work*, 511. Stokes, 160. Rentschler, 150, 167. Tegel, “Review Essay...,” 156.

698 The Directors Guild argued that it would be difficult for a black director to accept an award named after Griffith, the idea apparently occurring to them only in 1999. Stokes, 10-11. Hernan Vera, “Review of *The Birth of Whiteness: Race and the Emergence of U.S. Cinema* by Daniel Bernardi ed.; *Black Film/White Money* by Jesse Rhines; *Hollywood's Indian: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film*, by Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Connor ed.” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 158-160. The “black buck” quote is from *The Klansman*, a novel by journalist William Huie, who interviewed the killers of Emmett Till, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John Cheney, and others, quoted in Riché Richardson, “‘The Birth of a Nation’hood: Lessons from Thomas Dixon and D.W. Griffith to William Bradford Huie and *The Klansman*, O.J. Simpson's First Movie,” *Mississippi Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Winter 2002/2003), pp. 3-31, pp. 4, 5n6. Since being popularized under the Bush (*père*) administration around 1990, “politically correct,” following the Republican Party's “southern strategy,” has been a code word for insufficiently white-supremacist attitudes and policy.

from a colonial experience marked by militarized exploitation and sexual coercion. Turks become Indians, and Germans dancing the shimmy becomes a sex-crazed *Verkanakerung* caused by Jews “negrifying” music. This process has been called “Turning Black,” referencing the relational aspects of the fear of racial degeneration, and this essentially colonial transformation shows much consistency as it is performed upon various representations of various subordinated polities. So one encounters, in the Third Reich, the “Black Jew,” a negrified grotesque, the details of which resemble the grotesques of the popular literature discussed above. The kinky hair and exaggerated lips of the saxophone player in the advertising poster for the Nazi Degenerate Music exhibition could have been copied straight from turn-of-the-century American sheet music, but in this case the iconography is to apply to Jews. Süß's hair and lips also receive attention, the latter highlighted by his fussy little moustache as he constantly twists and purses them throughout the film; Krauss too draws attention to these anatomical specificities in his characterizations, each of which has notably different hair and uses the mouth differently and actively. Not so the Germans: the duke is acted through the hands, Faber through the eyes. Süß is overdressed to extremes redolent of the Long Tail Blue minstrel character, while the rest of the Jews in the film wear rags or “caftans,” two sides of minstrel and colonial visual representations: Zip Coon as the contrast to Jim Crow.⁶⁹⁹ The viewer even sees Süß, or his hanged corpse, with bare feet and torn pant-legs, the latter a staple of prisoner and castaway representation as well, but here suggesting other meanings in the context of Süß's screen time as the racialized other.

These are staples of the representations in *The Birth of a Nation*, as well. Gus dressed in rags, with a visible length of rope as a belt despite ostensibly being a captain in the US Army, contrasting with Silas Lynch, dressed in fine fabrics. This extends to the lesser players: the dandified (and apparently really African-American) extra posed in the center of the opening shot of White-Arm Joe's saloon contrasts with the general raggedness – and ridiculous fake hair – of the other blackfaced extras; the simple clothes of Mammy and Sam contrast with the elaborate servant's

⁶⁹⁹ See “Jim Crow,” “Zip Coon,” and “Dandy Jim from Carolina,” in Bean, Hatch, McNamara ed., 114.

livery of “dem free-niggers f’um de N’of [who] am sho’ crazy,”[sic] as the title card has it (this character has the most obvious false blackface, and engages in grotesque facial gyrations).⁷⁰⁰ Both Griffith and Harlan used extras in a similar way, as with a small number of real Jews in the “Purim” scene of *Jüid Süss*, offering background authenticity while white actors represented the grotesques that their directors required and their audiences expected. Only white folks can Turn Black with sufficient verisimilitude to satisfy the demands of the white imaginary; that is why both films made a point of advertising their purely white and Aryan casts.⁷⁰¹

These semiotically consistent representations show their colonial derivation not only in the textual examples from popular novels, science, and literature, but in a mass of visual representations appearing on cultural ephemera in the second part of the nineteenth century. Advertisements, especially for colonial products like chocolate and tobacco, played heavily on visual themes like those above as these formerly luxury goods became mass commodities through the growth of industrial production in the European core. The racist imaginary of the colonial archive was deployed to conative effect with the message “buy me.” Not only advertisements but the packaging itself made commodities vectors of transmission of racist meaning, through images surviving today as Uncle Ben and Aunt Jemima, and many others. For example, a French coconut-milk ad shows a submissive, half-unshod black boy submissively holding up a can to a dominant white figure. American Valentine's Day cards often used a “pickaninny” scene, usually showing the children either with/as animals or acting animalistically, in order to humorously transmit the idea of affection between whites by means of racist caricature. “Honey, ah lubs yo more dan watermelon or chicken an dat sho am lovin' some”[sic] reads one relatively unoffensive exemplar in this medium, which leans on the pseudo-ungrammaticality as well as familiar visual codes of racialized representation. All the pieces are better represented in the greeting card “Who Said Watermelon?,” an image of a

700“The Continuity Script,” Lang ed., shots 710-711.

701 Tegel, “Viet Harlan and the Origins...” Stokes, 87.

barefoot black child with a distorted mouth and wide eyes sitting on the ground with a watermelon in his lap, illustrating the verse, “George Washington Watermelon Columbus Brown/ I’s black as any little coon in town/ At eating melon I can put a pig to shame/ For Watermelon am my middle name”[sic].⁷⁰² It should be emphasized that the primary use of most of this caricature, as with minstrelsy, is not to make black people feel bad, but to make white people feel good. The importance of white supremacy to white Americans is so great that its clichés can become the vehicle for social bonding not just in a racial context, as in Lovecraft’s letter above, but in any and every context. Such bonding reifies whiteness through racialized caricature that represents power.

Throughout the late-eighteenth and early-twentieth-century period (and to today), the visual field was full of examples of white racial obsession, from magazine covers and advertisements to the maps and globes that were both a result of and a tool in the political and economic subjugation of the non-white world. Abstract representations of the territorial boundaries either militarily imposed or grudgingly observed by European power are another example of the semiotics of white supremacy. Such primary sources display a racism that permeated everyday life and whose visible ubiquity is in a sense a measurable factor of social reality. White supremacy obtruded visually, at breakfast, in the newspaper, on the streetcar advertisement, in the candy aisle, at the ballpark, on the tobacco packet and coffee can, and especially in the postcard industry. In the USA, postcards featuring racist tableaux provide perhaps startling evidence of what white Americans found charming and amusing; not just animalized children eating watermelon, but animals eating children. “Free Lunch in the Jungle” features a young black male being eaten by an alligator as the image appropriate to accompany a few words of friendly remembrance. The alligator is a recurring trope, whose obvious exterminationist overtones may be even more insistently intoned, as in the image of black toddlers in a swamp captioned “Alligator Bait.” The image of a shirtless black man tied to a

⁷⁰² All racist cultural ephemera from the USA appears in: David Pilgrim. *Watermelons, Nooses, and Straight Razors: Stories from the Jim Crow Museum*. Oakland: PM Press, 2018. See also: <https://www.motherjones.com/media/2016/02/david-pilgrim-understanding-jim-crow-racist-collectibles/> accessed 17/06/17.

post about to be whipped in “The Whipping Post, Dover, Del.” sent a more legalistic, if that is word, message of power and white community from Delaware in 1924. These might be souvenirs, like “Greetings from the Sunny South, A Cotton Picker,” showing a mammy-figure holding a big basket full of cotton on her head in a cotton field, framed in alligators, but often there is no regional identity at stake. The same game involving throwing wooden balls at a black caricature might be called “Alabama Coon” or simply “The Jolly Darkie Target Game;” “Sambo Target” was manufactured in Michigan, while the Coon-Chicken Inn was a phenomenon represented “nationally coast-to-coast,” reaching Seattle, Washington, a long way from the sunny South. The features of the image on that restaurant's menu and glasses are virtually indistinguishable from those of the sambo type who assures one that white happiness is the reason *he* buys Victory Bonds. Mammy-shaped salt shakers were such a staple of the New Orleans tourist-schlock industry and such a widely-appreciated amusement that they are distributed in homes across the country; Ferris State University Jim Crow Museum curator David Pilgrim describes finding one as his first racist curio at an estate sale in the North.⁷⁰³ Just precisely how a card like “Nigger Milk,” showing a barefoot black baby sitting on the ground drinking ink, performs its phatic-emotive functions in social interaction, or exactly what conative signals are sent and recognized by the exaggerated racist caricature that can influence patrons to choose the Coon-Chicken Inn or buy government bonds, are questions that must be left in abeyance here. However, that such functions should be performed by such material, among such a broad swath of addressers and addressees, indicates the social relevance of these historically-conditioned representations of white supremacy.

The turn-of-the-century German postcard industry was the largest in Europe and demonstrated some similar obsessions and iconography. So for example, one might find political dominance advertising itself in “*Gruss aus Deutsche-Samoa*,” or “*Gruss von der Deutsche Ostafrikanischer-Austellung*,” which show bare-chested natives holding the flags of their Imperial bosses. The latter is marked “Leipzig, 1897,” indicating that this image of military occupation was

703 <https://www.collectorsweekly.com/articles/anita-pointer/> accessed 07/06/16

produced in Germany and sent to Southeast Africa, where it was purchased by a German and sent back to Germany as a souvenir declaring an authentic presence in Southeast Africa. The abstract idea of white supremacy engendered this commodity which both represents the idea and replicates the real world movement and economy of European imperialism, form and function perfectly united. This kind of image of power, despite the racist content, might not be essentially racist (although Frenchmen or Danes beneath the imperial flag would doubtless be represented as clothed), but the context of its use and physical reality as an object in the world do so mark it.⁷⁰⁴ However, there are more unequivocal semiotic stereotypes of animalistic inferiority, political submission, and sexual availability. The pickanninny trope, invoked by the figures playing with baboons, appears in "*Patriotisches Fest in unseren Kolonialen*," wherein the non-white mouths are bright-red and fat-lipped and their general postures and bodies rendered cartoonishly, while the drunken German sailors are rendered realistically. The sexually exploitive side of imperial racism shows up rather incongruously on the postcard "*Gruss von der 'Killy,' Kaiser-Wilhelmsburg, Bad-Kösen*," which shows an attractive, not caricatured, non-white young woman in bourgeois dress captioned, "I am black, but lovely" (*Ich bin schwarz, aber lieblich*). When even the middle-class German spa advertises itself through an image hinting at, if not exactly promising, "interracial" sex, and that image plays a role in the social interaction of individuals, one may conclude that colonial-imperialist racism was ubiquitous in the semiotics of mass-produced cultural ephemera in early twentieth-century Germany. However, a racy "*Gruss von der 'Killy'*" may have been appropriate to a nation of the colonialist European core that was penetrating Africa, but "black but lovely" was no longer the message after the Great War, when military failure, political subjection, economic dependence, and social conflict were signs of what institutional intellectual thought portrayed as racial inferiority. Those variables applied to the defeated Confederacy and border states, like

704 David Ciarlo, "Advertising and the Optics of Colonial Power at the Fin de Siècle;" Felix Aster, "... will try to send you the best views from here: Postcards from the Colonial War in Namibia (1904-1908);" Joachim Zeller, "Harmless 'Kolonialbiedermeier'? Colonial and Exotic Trading Cards;" *German Colonialism, Visual Culture and Modern Memory*, Volker Langbehn, ed. New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 37-86. German postcards at http://www.dortmund-postkolonial.de/?attachment_id=5134 and <http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/koloniale-bilderwelten-fotostrecke-106390-11.html> accessed 07/06/16

Delaware, where long term repercussions were legal and illegal, violent and customary, forcing part of their population into a state of poverty, ghettoization, and daily humiliation, subject to violent assault. So the visual clichés of white American representations of blackness were precisely those most appropriate to communicate to Germans the nature of a racialized other living in one's midst.

One is not surprised to find those clichés in the Black Jew of the Degenerate Music poster.⁷⁰⁵ That caricature shows the synecdochal transfer of the racist stereotype to Jews through a visual iconography that does not, one might think, visually apply to them. However, this is not a contradiction; the denatured features of the caricature do not visually apply to any real Africans or African-Americans either. Only the frequently institutionalized ubiquity of these representational tropes gives them validity as corresponding to real human features: the figure's blackness does not denote some degree of melanin content, but rather the status of non-white. The communicated meaning of the cartoon lips is not “full lips,” but “negro” – one part evokes the whole panoply of racist fantasy just as each human exemplar represents the vices or virtues of the “race;” one has heard what a white man calls a black man with a Ph.D.; it's what Céline calls “the Jew” above. One can follow this horizontal synecdochal transfer vertically again, down to the individual like Friedrich Gundorf, who as a conservative, bohemian, German-nationalist, intellectual Jew found himself quite at the epicenter of the accelerating German “negrification” of Jews in the Weimar period. His emotional relationship with and separation from Elisabeth Salomon produced affect-laden communication between the two which discussed precisely this identity construct. In one letter, echoing the “frizzy hair” aspect of the symbolic representation, he urged Salomon to wear her black hair high with pride and dignity as what may be called a virtue to her race. Far more telling of the individual psychic impact of this racist colonial imaginary, he recounts to her a sexually-charged dream in which she was “breaking in a Creole woman” – as if at a whipping post – “as is well known, there was no opposition... I saw you in front of me with the expression of an animal tamer and a black, pale, frightened female dancer.” One must invert Ann Goldberg's conclusion,

705 Birgit Haehnel, "The Black Jew': An Afterimage of German Colonialism," Langbehn, ed., pp. 239-259.

here: With its images of racial hybridity, colonial subjugation, and female power, the dream used the language of sex to articulate both attractions toward and fears about race.⁷⁰⁶ The language of race, in a dream straight from the diary of a dissipated Jamaican planter, becomes the vehicle for the expression of intense personal emotional turmoil.

If the affective content and social ubiquity of racist American cultural ephemera exceeded that of the pre-Nazi contributions to the colonial archive, the postulates it reifies were still those evinced in the private worlds of the general European intelligentsia in a highly affective way. It is not difficult to imagine postcards in a victorious Third Reich, showing caricatured Jews or Poles eaten by pigs, inscribed “Gruss von der Generalgouvernement!” The position of Jews in Nazi ideology was not the same as that of black Americans in the southern Democracy, but the arrangement of elements in a subject's own private semiotic world, as he struggled with an identity construct informed by colonial experience, connects the two on the ground of identity formation versus the other. The totality of white-supremacist ideological expression discussed above produces affect like that expressed by Gundorf, “situationally” both German and Jewish. Within this broader cultural range of colonialist phenomena, the biologized antisemitism that became Nazi dogma took shape, and equally the exterminationist industrialized murder of Jews became realized in the broader context of a consciously colonialist war. This seeming non-sequiter leads back to the most complex semiotic message in German appropriations of anti-black stereotypes for application to Jews. Gundorf's dream and the visual communication of the Black Jew, one occurring in the private arena and one deliberately designed and deployed for propaganda purposes, both invoke the deep and broad range of colonialist sentiment. Their message is: The Jew must Turn Black to make the

⁷⁰⁶ Goldberg's original words rephrased above are: “With its images of racial hybridity, colonial subjugation, and female power, the dream used the language of race to articulate both attractions toward and fears about sex and the New Woman.” These different interpretations are not really at odds, and Goldberg identifies many telling examples of this anxiety around women's changing roles. Still, female power seems to be ambiguously represented in a dream where one woman is being “broken in” by another woman for the pleasure of a man, but the image of racial domination is not ambiguous. It indicates the fears and attractions cluster around race, in this Gobineau-esque reference to non-white female sexual submission. Ann Goldberg, “The Black Jew with the Blond Heart: Friedrich Gundorf, Elisabeth Salomon, and Conservative Bohemianism in Weimar Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History*, pp. 306-334, 316, 330.

German race feel white enough for colonial domination.

Chapter 4: The Structural Continuity of Racialized Capitalism in National Socialist Theory and Practice

One of the outstanding characteristics of National Socialist race legislation was the progressive increase in repressive measures from boycotts and random attacks to being stripped of their property and murdered in great masses. This growing intensity of repression also showed a territorial spread not necessarily limited to areas occupied by Germany, although given the course of the war this is harder to measure; Romania and France were both, however, ready to exterminate people without the kind of coercion or takeover necessary in Hungary or Holland. Within the Reich itself anti-Jewish law passed through stages of repressive interference until finally reaching legally-enjoined human extermination in less than a decade, but not because of any German exceptionalism. This rapid evolution was not the result of a preconceived, guided process: the steps on the way to the Holocaust were taken in a rather ad-hoc manner, influenced by political considerations and responding to other actors, as seen in the timing of the Nuremberg laws and *Kristallnacht*. Yet the exterminationist spirit was visible in a general way even without fixed plans. Lothrop Stoddard perceived the active intention and social inertia toward the physical elimination of the Jews in Germany in 1940, before any plans for extermination as such existed.⁷⁰⁷

The quality of acceleration, of some kind of teleological dynamic, Hans Mommsen's "cumulative radicalization,"⁷⁰⁸ has been observed in the Nazi regime by many historians and by the historical actors themselves at the time. Exterminationist violence is inherent in the idea of "racial" superiority itself, because this superiority and the Great Power or core status it enables are always threatened by the breakdown of racialized purity, but also in all settler-colonial projects, because the availability of territory requires the elimination of the original inhabitants, whether through outright

⁷⁰⁷ Stoddard was referring to forced emigration, but noted the atmosphere of exterminationist discourse by describing a "May the Jews Die!" (*sterben Juden*) luncheon toast. Jonathon Peter Spiro. *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant*. Lebanon, NH: University of Vermont Press/UPNE, 2009, pg. 374.

⁷⁰⁸ Mommsen quoted in Longerich, *Holocaust*, 71.

murder, epidemic disease, or forced removal. In the context of a settler-colonial racial war, the dynamic of acceleration pushed extermination from general theory to institutionalized practice extraordinarily quickly. Since racialized superiority, especially as bio-political race-science, resulted from the New World settler-colonial experience, one would expect to find that the race legislation in that context resembles racist legislation under National Socialism. The vision of a future of racial hegemony in the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, as expressed in Herr Doktor Goebbels's diary as late as November 1938, was the reality of contemporary racial hegemony in the US South.⁷⁰⁹ The practical implementation of mass-murder would in time surpass anything unleashed by the United States or any other colonialist state, but the edifice of racist law in the period immediately preceding the Holocaust was like that of Jim Crow America. The teleology of modern civilization was the same: Nazi Germany simply progressed farther than the Progressive Age down the road of formal eugenic regulation.

Unregulated violence against the Jews was a feature of life in Nationalist Socialist Germany from the Nazis' accession to power onward, controlled in a sense by the Party but also existing independent of specific orders. Yet the examples of individual and group attacks, brutal as they are, and the social tolerance with which they were received, do not exceed in brutality those attacks made on African-Americans, nor were those attacks any less celebrated by society as a whole, in the immediate aftermath of the US Civil War and beyond. Even those unfortunate enough to disappear into the concentration camps cannot be said to have been more severely or sadistically tortured than American lynching victims (“only” 28 of whom the NAACP confirmed as such in 1933);⁷¹⁰ one should reflect that many of these African-Americans were killed not only in plain view but as a participatory public spectacle, while the Jews tortured to death in the SA's first impromptu cellars and later prison-camps were murdered in secrecy. All of which details are irrelevant from the point of view of the victim of racist abuse, but which do form a similar context of ubiquitous and extreme

709 Friedländer, 281-285.

710 If they wish, readers can compare the 1933 murder of Fritz Somlitz in the first systematically violent camp at Fühlbuttel with the 1918 murder of Mary Turner in Valdosta, Georgia. Dray, 246. Wachsmann, *KL*, 35-36.

violence in which racialized difference was formally legislated.⁷¹¹ Just as many Jews and Germans professed the belief that a legal regime of discrimination would settle things down, Southern racists also proclaimed that discriminatory laws were the basis of peaceful coexistence, as the only alternative to a violent race war, and African-Americans frequently complied with racist etiquette to avoid being assaulted, or killed.

The historical contingency that unites the cases under discussion in this dissertation is that of a semi-peripheralized or weakly core country, brutalized by defeat in an unprecedentedly bloody modern war, in which an inclusively democratic movement seeks wider political participation but is opposed, first by regressive authoritarian forces, then by forward-looking one-party regimes promoting modernization and development. Russia experienced this conjuncture in its civil war when the Whites attacked under the banner of authoritarian power, and then the Bolsheviks excluded non-Bolsheviks from political participation. In Germany there was a similar dual process, as the councilist, communist, and Spartacist movements were first defeated by the *Freikorps*, and then a one-party political movement claimed total power for itself. The same pattern occurred in the US South with the re-organization of political control under former confederates in 1865/1866, followed by the contests of Reconstruction and culminating in the Democratic Party retaking control after 1876. The very different unfolding of the process, with different timelines and locally distinct historical contingencies impinging in complex ways should not obscure this similarity in the larger framework of developing European or Euro-American modernity. Mississippi was not St. Petersburg and North Carolina was not Hamburg. A Russian Socialist Revolutionary or Menshevik would probably express their motivations and commitments in different terms from a Republican in the former Confederacy, or a councilist sailor in Kiel. Yet the various paths these countries took and the distinct arrangement of forces in each may also be seen as outlining a similar course of modern history as repressive authoritarian regimes established themselves in the aftermath of socio-political

711 Nikolaus Wachsmann disputes the colonial origins of the camp system but still acknowledges the history of masters whipping slaves as influencing the choice of this form of torture by the KL guards. Wachsmann, *KL*, 105, 635n16.

and economic crises provoked by losing wars.

The organization of paramilitary and military violence tend to shade together especially in the Nazi case. The original *Freikorps* units that murdered socialists and nurses in Munich and the Ruhr were state military forces, although the Social Democrats could only tenuously control them, enduring a brief seizure of power by the military forces they themselves had organized. The army and navy high commands ordered these units into existence, paid their soldiers, and supplied them with material. Service was counted as regular service time with regard to promotions and seniority. Even as late as 1930 the *Reichswehr* has been characterized as loosely in control of the general paramilitary movement; Ernst Röhm had been in the pivotal position providing military resources to the paramilitary organizations in both formal and informal guises and in that year was made the head of the SA. Without his provision of arms and cash the postwar paramilitaries might have died on the vine. Röhm was an very important nexus between different historical actors and social trends, between the marginal, declassé Hitler and influential elites but also between the military and the conservative bohemian subculture, especially the cult of violence as represented in the works of Ernst Jünger and the murders committed by *Freikorps* formations, notably in the Ruhr. The link between the war, postwar paramilitaries, and the Nazi regime might be symbolized by swastika itself: It was first adopted as a military standard by the Ehrhardt Division of the *Freikorps* in March 1919, when they marched into Berlin with it painted on their helmets in support of the Kapp putsch.⁷¹²

Franz von Pfeffer, leader of the SA from 1926 to 1930, is emblematic of such links. He had been both a staff and combat officer in the war, then led *Freikorps* troops in both the Ruhr and the Baltic, as well as serving in one the terrorist cells during the French and Belgian occupation in 1923. Pfeffer criticized the "dilettantism" of the Beer Hall Putsch, and another sign of the highly

712 Bruce Campbell. *The SA Generals and the Rise of Nazism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004 (1998), pp. 83, 90. Nigel Jones. *The Birth of the Nazis: How the Freikorps Blazed a Trail for Hitler*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2004 (1987), 155-158, 196-199, 176.

militarized quality of the SA is his appointment of former German general staff officer and later Reich Minister for Economics Generalmajor Otto Wagener, who was to develop the central administration along military lines. Three-quarters of the higher SA leadership group who joined the Nazi Party paramilitary between 1927 and 1930 were involved in military or political organizations during the 1919 *Nachkrieg*, and half of these had served in the *Freikorps*; 83 percent of them had served in the Great War.⁷¹³ The rank and file of the SA were men who had been too young for the First World War (*Freikorps* units were also originally filled out with those who had been on the verge of conscription), and this pattern also obtains in the white supremacist terror organizations of the US South: Confederate veterans led in an organizational sense, while they attracted as recruits activist men too young to have fought in the Civil War. Bedford Forrest probably had a hand in the minimal organization of the KKK as a national network, but there was no real control over individual cells.⁷¹⁴ More to the point here were local veterans like Charles H. Mouton in Lafayette Parish, Louisiana, who during Reconstruction was president of the local white-supremacist terror cells and during the Civil War a staff officer under his cousin Alfred. This sense of military professionalism can also be seen in the cavalry tactics, described by witnesses, of a mounted unit from Opelousas in the St. Landry massacre and the Alabama horsemen at the courthouse on election day 1875 in Monroe County, Mississippi.⁷¹⁵ In the 1866 attack on African-Americans in Memphis the most organized group of assailants had served in the same unit during the Civil War.

Another morphological similarity between the extermination events of the *Freikorps* and southern United States are fake atrocity stories published previously in the local newspapers. Their role and the involvement of political elites in St. Mary Parish in 1868 and Atlanta in 1906 have been discussed, and similar fictions -- over a hundred executed soldiers and policemen executed by the

713 Campbell, 50, 57-58.

714 Craig Wade, 57-59.

715 *House Doc. Vol. 265*, 456. NARA II, *US Senate Report No. 527 Pt. 2, 44th Congress, 1st Session*, "Alleged frauds in the Recent Election in Mississippi," SSID 1670, pp. 1029-1030.

Spartacists -- have been directly linked to the SPD in the case of Berlin in 1919. These latter were promoted in direct phone calls to newspapers like the *Berlinischer Zeitung* by the head of the secret services of the Ministry of the Interior, Georg Doyé, who worked closely with Waldemar Pabst, bringing Freikorps units *en masse* into the secret police.⁷¹⁶ This triumvirate of forces, the media, the paramilitary, and the police, working together to combat the expansion of democratic inclusion, was prominent in the much less authoritarian, less hierarchal environment of postbellum New Orleans in the *Picayune*, the Democratic Party clubs, and former-military police commanders like Harry Hays and General Steedman. As with the Reconstruction narratives of imminent black insurrection that overlay more-or-less planned incidents of white mass murder in the US South, the para-state paramilitaries in 1919 Berlin were themselves the ones who murdered soldiers, individually capturing and imprisoning some 250 when they went to the pay office to get their pay. Thirty were executed, selected for appearing to be the most intelligent; when the commanding officer, Colonel Reinhard, told his Lieutenant von Marloh to "go ahead and shoot," the fake atrocity stories were cited as a justification.⁷¹⁷

The parallel use of these narratives fit into a larger discursive parallel with the way the Germans and the Southern whites characterized the consequences of their defeat in the anterior war, or rather the terms of the postwar settlement. For while Confederate, or formerly Confederate, elites believed themselves to be worthy of "courtesy" in defeat, the terms of Congressional Reconstruction moved them "to complain of want of good faith, and when terms were imposed they became sullen and defiant, looking upon the Government as having outraged them and deprived them of their rights."⁷¹⁸ Now, in the racialized settler-colonial context of the US South, these rights define themselves with clarity: "To elevate the negro to a political equality" is "to destroy the rights

716 Jones, 101. Ernst Tolsch. *Spectator-Briefe und Berliner Briefe (1919-1922)*, Gangolf Hübinger, ed. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, pg. 269n4.

717 Marloh later boasted of the murders as his "achievement," as part of his sales pitch as a cigarette salesman, an indication that support for this kind of mass murder was widespread, at least in mid-level business circles. Reinhard quoted (by Marloh) in Jones, *The Birth*, 103-104.

718 "Courtesy" is John B. Gordon quoted by Select Committee, the rest is quoted from report, *Sen. Rep. 41, 42nd Cong. 2nd Sess., Pt. 1*, SSID 1484, pg. 52.

of the South," as the early exponents of white supremacist terrorism characterized the situation.⁷¹⁹ "We feel a sense of wrong as honorable men," as John B. Gordon whined to Congress, because their racialized special privileges would no longer be recognized.⁷²⁰

The same sentiment was expressed by German elites and was eventually subsumed into one of the stations of the cross habitually visited in Hitler's harangues. Phrases like "the stab in back" or just "November 1918" evoked a panoply of resentments and myths, not all of which were directed at the "traitors" inside the nation: one of the fundamental elements of German indignation was the failure of the allies to respect their white privilege. The surrender terms were an "imposed peace," an "unheard of injustice," as the German diplomatic note to the allies had it; in the words of the historian Nigel Jones, the Treaty of Versailles was a "humiliation," and the Germans were treated like "lepers" and not "as equals."⁷²¹ Otto Bauer, Foreign Minister of Austria, who received worse terms of surrender, complained that "No less than two-fifths of our people are to be subjected to foreign domination, without any plebiscite and against their indisputable will, being thus deprived of their right of self-determination."⁷²² This right, as the treatment of the Vietnamese representatives ignored in Paris aptly demonstrates, was well understood to apply only to the handful of nations in Europe who could be defined as white (unless they went red) as a result of the colonial control of the globe. This was a zero-sum situation, always infused with the biopolitical essence of the colonial experience. Thus Goering, addressing officers in 1918, employs the sexualized metaphor of the Prostrate South in referring to "those animals who have outraged the German people." The right of the white nations of the world to control the rest of the world often remains unquestioned to this day; as Nigel Jones puts it in his criticism of the supposedly harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, "Germany was to be ruthlessly stripped of her African colonies,"⁷²³

⁷¹⁹ *Sen. Rep. 1, 42nd Cong. 1st Sess.*, SSID 1468, pg. 15.

⁷²⁰ Gordon himself is a good example of the leniency with which the South was treated. Although he was the general in charge of Lee's left flank at the time of Appomattox, he suffered under no political disabilities and ran for Governor after the war. *Sen. Rep. 41, 42nd Cong. 2nd Sess., Pt. 1*, SSID 1484, pg. 53.

⁷²¹ All quotes in Jones, *The Birth*, 160, 165-166.

⁷²² Coincidentally, two/fifths is close to the proportion of the South that was black, and denied the "right of self-determination" at the time Bauer quoted in Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*, 206.

⁷²³ Jones repeats the feminine-victim trope in his own phrase. Jones, *The Birth*, 161. Goering quoted in *ibid.*, 14.

as if "she" had had any claim to them -- except white supremacy.

In this sense both the white men of the US South and the German nationalists took the same path to vindicating their honor through legislative racial purification. The Nuremberg laws were in fact more limited in declaring a citizen to be Jewish than post-Civil War legislation was in defining one as black, since one needed at least two Jewish grandparents to be officially Jewish. Nevertheless, the terms of the formal definition used by the law, counting the number of ancestors, was the same as the US South, as with Virginia and its increasingly broad legal definition of black. As Peter Longerich sums up the "three core aims" of the Nuremberg legislation and the "second wave of anti-Semitism" of 1935, he could be describing the first wave of Black Code legislation after the US Civil War: a "ban on 'racial miscegenation,'" "separate citizenship law;" and "massive restrictions" on economic activity. As in the South, "racial defilement" anchored the discourse and the action: "Demands for penalties against 'racial miscegenation' were central to the NSDAP's racial policies."⁷²⁴ Despite the scientific vocabularies and high-culture homilies, the Nazi cult of race hygiene had the quality, as Burleigh and Wipperman put it, of "obsessional and prurient concern" with sexual contact -- Himmler in particular showed it⁷²⁵ -- that reminds one of the prominent witness from Homer, Louisiana testifying in 1869, or of the other prominent southerners, like Tillman or Vardaman, whose political speech veers so suddenly into prurient sexual imagery that describes racialized others "gratifying their lust." As Friedlander remarks of 1930s Germany, "'racial defilement' was the obsession of the day." Another indication of the centrality of "miscegenation" in that context was the fact that the reproductive history question received the most obsessional attention from the legal minds of the bureaucracy in 1935, while details of the citizenship law and, even more so, the economic restrictions on Jews decreed at Nuremberg, remained unenforced and undeveloped.⁷²⁶

⁷²⁴ Longerich, *Holocaust*, 52, 57.

⁷²⁵ Michael Burleigh & Wolfgang Wipperman. *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 37, 41. Longerich, *Himmler*, 50-51, 343-344, 462-464, 593-595

⁷²⁶ Longerich, *Holocaust*, 60-61.

Separate citizenship manifested in one way as the Jewish exclusion from the organizations allowing access to employment, much as African-Americans were banned from most occupations almost all worker unions (except the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World and a few segregated miners locals). Informal economic exploitation took the form of forced sales of businesses, assets greater than those held by most African-Americans, but it was common practice for black Americans to be stripped of assets like mules, or even land, through forced sales based on a combination of threats, predatory credit mechanisms, and outright terror. Nazi "Aryanization" may not have been as directly violent as the attacks on black businesses like the Peoples' Grocery in Memphis in 1892, but the results were the same. Individual cases will have been motivated by a mix of greed and racism, economy and ideology, chicken-and-egg questions to the extent that racism itself is a question of economic exploitation. The Party could tamp down or ramp up physical and economic terrorism by prohibiting or ignoring "individual action," but the activists did not need to receive orders from the center. An Austrian newspaper reported in December 1935 that up to fifty percent of Jewish businesses had been sold off in some areas of Germany,⁷²⁷ and this was before any co-ordinated expropriation policy had been formed. The higher level of organization in enacting the most directly repressive antisemitic policies and undertaking the most deadly action should not obscure the importance of everyday micro-pressures in establishing the racist context in which more organized violence thrived.

Racial exclusion from education was more complete in the US South up to 1954 (and after), than it was in Nazi Germany until well after 1939, when Jews were excluded from all German educational facilities: there were still Jewish schools until after the Wannsee Conference. Up to 1939 exclusion had been more ad-hoc and everyday, with discrimination varying as Jews were denied participation in a growing number of school activities. Assaults on Jewish students were a regular feature of school life. Scenes like that endured by Elizabeth Eckford in Little Rock in 1957 must have been common in nineteen-thirties Germany: groups of hostile white people screaming and

⁷²⁷ Austrian *Reichspost* quoted in Friedländer, 234.

spitting on the racialized boys and girls on their way to school. In the United States South before 1954, the post-1939 education policy of the Reich had effectively been in force, that is, total exclusion of the racialized minority had obtained, in a situation very like that in Germany from 1939 to 1941, as the minimally remaining Jewish schools were reduced still further, from five secondary schools to one, but while the Reich was still backing agricultural and technical training for Jews (to encourage emigration). The subsequent elimination of all Jewish educational facilities in every form by the Gestapo in 1942 did not have a parallel in the US, although one can see this radically racist position represented in discourse by Thomas Dixon's protagonist arguing against such vocational education for African-Americans in 1902 and in action by Ku Klux Klan's bombing of the Birmingham 16th St. Street Baptist Church in 1963, not to mention the more thoroughgoing violent opposition against schools and teachers during Reconstruction.⁷²⁸

A more sinister and concrete legislative connection to the United States is in the forced sterilization law that predated the Nuremberg Laws. In fact, a (voluntary) draft law had been drafted by the Prussian state government in July 1932, before Hitler was made chancellor. To be sure, there were enough lawyers in Germany to find the appropriate language, but the actual text they produced was based on the draft law produced by Harry Laughlin, expert eugenics advisor to the Immigration and Naturalization Committee of the US Congress, and which had been previously adopted by, among others, Virginia and Indiana, the latter state enacting its forced sterilization law as early as 1907.⁷²⁹ These state laws were cited as precedents by German proponents of forced sterilization like Eugen Fischer and Heinrich Boeters.⁷³⁰ The connection between the Eugenics Records Office at Cold Spring Harbor National Laboratory and the Nazi race-scientists had been close before 1934, with Fischer and Laughlin arranging for the translation and publication of one another's papers. Laughlin was invited to the 1934 International Federation of Eugenics

⁷²⁸ Longericht, *Holocaust*, 76, 88, 133-134.

⁷²⁹ Burleigh & Wiperman, 33.

⁷³⁰ Andreassi, 271-273.

Organizations conference in Zurich as "honorary vice-president," second to "honorary president" and Nazi Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick, but Laughlin sent a surrogate for diplomatic reasons, who did not fail to praise the Führer profusely. The International Federation of Eugenics Organizations, wherein Eugen Fischer chaired the Commission on Bastardization and Miscegenation, was founded by the director of the Cold Spring Harbor National Laboratory, Charles Davenport.⁷³¹ This modern biopolitical organization, like the ideas and laws previously mentioned, was founded in the United States and later passed to German control: a quite specific example of techne developed in the core being taken up by the semi-periphery, like the law mandating sterilization or the idea of "miscegenation."

Laughlin's associate Madison Grant was co-founder of the anthropological/eugenic Galton Society with, among others, Davenport and Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, of which Grant was treasurer. In 1921 the museum was the site of the Second International Congress of Eugenics -- Herbert Hoover sat on the advisory board -- where, in the words of historian Robert Rydell, there was an "atmosphere of crisis" over the problems of "race-suicide" and "race-degeneracy."⁷³² The concerns expressed by the speakers at this 1921 congress, "following a finely drawn line of imperialist reasoning," as Rydell points out, were identical to those later expressed by Nazi ideologues of racial hygiene. Osborn declared that "the selection, preservation, and multiplication of the best heredity is a patriotic duty," while keynote speaker Major Leonard Darwin, son of Charles, praised the "eugenic ideal... an ideal to be followed like a flag in battle." This militarized racism may be compared with a speech by one of what Hans-Walter Schmuhl calls the "propagandists of National Socialist genetic health and race policy," Oscar von Verschuer, who told students at the University of Frankfurt in 1936, "the sword of our science must therefore be sharpened and well-handled" in order to defend "the fostering of genes and race

731 Hans-Walter Schmuhl. *The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, 1927-1945: Crossing Boundaries*. New York: Springer, 2008, pp. 208-210. Andreassi, 173.

732 The phrases are quotes from the conference participants, in Robert W. Rydell. *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pg. 43. Rydell remarks that Grant and Osborn wanted to "mak[e] the museum a permanent monument to Anglo-Saxon supremacy," *op. cit.*

in National Socialist Germany." Vacher de LaPouge addressed the 1921 American congress with a warning that "the inferior races and classes" had "turned against the whites and the rich... turned against the superior intellectual element and against civilization itself... The war of classes is indeed the war of races."⁷³³ It is not only the highly militarized metaphors that link US elites like Osborn, French intellectuals like LaPouge, and Nazi scientists like Vershuer; the atmosphere of crisis due to an imaginary racial degeneration is familiar from Hitler's diatribes against "the Jew," linked to "Marxism," seeking the "racial decomposition" of the "body of the German Nation" and eventually the destruction of all life on earth.⁷³⁴ The discourse of social crisis and race war will also be familiar to readers from the period of American Reconstruction.

The sinister aspect of the forced sterilization of citizens whom doctors have declared "mentally deficient" or insane, the former judged according to a standardized exam in Germany, like the "Intelligence Quotient" test approved for the purpose in the USA Supreme Court test case in 1927, goes beyond the authoritarian invasion of isolated individuals' bodies. For compulsory sterilization was the first tangible bio-juridical step on the road to the Holocaust, that "medical matter," as Germans did not blush to call it into the nineteen-sixties, as there was continuity between this means to combat "racial degeneracy" and the overlapping T-4 extermination program targeting patients, both regarding bureaucratic competence under the Reich Ministry of Reich Commission for the Strengthening of German Nationhood, and specific bureaucratic personnel. One of these latter was Dr. Hebert Linden, physician and government official in Reich committees, who pushed for wider sterilization procedures; he would take part in the murder of handicapped and ill patients in 1939, and the murder of Jews and others as a Reich Commissioner for euthanasia during *Aktion Reinhardt*.⁷³⁵ As Aly and Heim have written, "the link between eugenic theories and eugenic practice, in the form of compulsory sterilization leading on eventually to the "euthanasia"

⁷³³ Rydell, Osborn, Darwin, and Lapouge quoted in *Rydell, World of Fairs*, 44-45. Schmuhl and Vershuer quoted in Schmuhl, 207-208.

⁷³⁴ Hitler (*Mein Kampf*) quoted in Burleigh & Wipperman, 40-41.

⁷³⁵ Andreassi, 337, 337n773.

killing programmes, is not disputed."⁷³⁶ The stepping stone between the two was the group of "Negro bastards [*Negerbastarde*]" born during the occupation of the Rhineland, whose French Colonial fathers are yet another link yoking European colonialism to Nazi genocide; these were also the first "healthy" victims of compulsory negative-eugenic intervention. These children were secretly arrested by the Gestapo and sterilized in 1937, after 38 of them had been scientifically examined and found to possess "defects in intellectual ability and behavior" in a study by an assistant of Eugen Fischer at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics.⁷³⁷

This language of scientific and anthropological superiority was generally shared by the European nations who used it to explain and extend their domination of colonized territory, but Germany diverged from the consensus in applying this language to its own native population, as Alejandro Andreassi Cieri has remarked. Andrew Zimmerman has discussed the role anthropology played in the reconstruction of German nationalism, no longer based on something like linguistic heritage, as with Fichte, but based on racist biology. As Andreassi goes on to discuss, the biometric cataloging of German schoolchildren from 1870 shows in a concrete way how contemporary anthropological conceits helped define "the German;" while craniological measurements were not used, due to a lack of trained personnel, the data on hair, eye, and skin color were understood to be indirect indices of "cranial characteristics," which were "the focus of anthropologists' activity at the time."⁷³⁸ This focus was not a methodological error, but as previously discussed, evolved from Samuel Morton's pioneering studies comparing the skulls of whites to first Native Americans and then Africans as an explicit demonstration of white supremacy both practically deriving from and meant to apply to the North American settler-colonial experience and the broader colonizing world. The physical reality of racial classification evolved historically from that process, which created the

⁷³⁶ Aly & Heim, 283-284. See also Andreassi, 338-339.

⁷³⁷ Friedländer, 207-208.

⁷³⁸ Original Spanish cited is "ser Aleman" and ""las características craneales... que constituían el centro de atención de la actividad de los antropólogos del periodo;" Zimmerman cited in Andreassi, 78-79.

German type against which others were measured as "inferior."

In the limited ambit of the Nazi sterilization drive itself, which unified the political rebirth of Germany and the scientific purification of the race in the form of a practical policy,⁷³⁹ colonial metaphors are an ever-present discourse convention. Blocking the reproduction of "asocials" was likened to a military "campaign of annihilation [*Vernichtungsfeldzug*]" -- one of which was part of Germany's own colonial experience -- while the possibility of undiagnosed neuropathology was imagined as "an unexplored darkness," a blank spot on the map. Verschuer, praising the compulsory sterilization law as a defense against hereditary "defects," suddenly veers off into racialized demographic paranoia, metaphorizing the excessively fecund yet defective Germans of lesser worth [*Minderwertigkeit*] as "blacks" who will out-reproduce the "whites." This singular rhetorical device demonstrates how the racist synecdoche is arbitrary and absolute, as well as grounding the first concrete step in Nazi exterminationist eugenics on the most basic vocabulary of colonial power relations. He does not fail to reach the same conclusion as the Reconstruction whites, that such biometaphorical Negro domination requires that the whites act in their own "legitimate self-defense."⁷⁴⁰ The racial purity resulting from compulsory sterilization would allow Germany to regain its Great Power status, overthrowing the state of "slavery" that resulted from the Treaty of Versailles: the same hyperbolic, zero-sum conceit as in the speech to the New Orleans White League lamenting the whites being forced into shackles and chains and praising their turn to violent repression, and in the speeches for the Democratic campaign in North Carolina in 1898.⁷⁴¹

With the co-ordinated attack on the Jews of November 9 and 10, 1938 and the legislative aftermath, German antisemitic policies came the closest overall to recreating the world of black Americans in the South, and to a lesser degree nationally, in a somewhat compressed manner. Most of the synagogues burned at once while black churches have burned regularly over time, and there

⁷³⁹ Andreassi, 336-337.

⁷⁴⁰ Dr. O. Rehm, Fr. Bremer, and Oscar von Verschuer quoted in Andreassi, 315, 322-324; original Spanish: "campaña de aniquilación;" "yacerá una oscuridad inexplorada;" defectos;" "negros;" "blancos;" and "legítima defesa."

⁷⁴¹ LLMVC, J.D. Bruns, *Address to the White League of New Orleans, Sept. 14, 1875*. New Orleans: A. W. Hyatt, 1875, pp. 4, 10-11.

have always been many more black churches in the United States than there were synagogues in Germany. Following the suggestion of Peter Longerich and attributing the murdered Jews who died in the concentration camps to the pogrom itself, one arrives at a death toll in the hundreds,⁷⁴² roughly comparable to the parish massacres in Louisiana in 1868. On the one hand, the legal measures deployed against the Jews exceeded anti-black laws in their completeness -- black Americans could legally own their own businesses and drive cars, even in the South, although both scenarios could incite white violence -- but on the other hand, the total segregation envisioned by Goebbels, a virtual pantomime of the Jim Crow regime, never quite came to pass in Germany. After the invasion of the Soviet Union this state of affairs would be surpassed by a new and historically unique program of extermination, but the highly conscious and concentrated racist oppression directed by the Party and acquiesced to by German society from late 1938 to 1941 is fairly analogous to conditions faced by African-Americans in US South, and to a lesser degree in the North, from emancipation to the Civil Rights movement. For black people in the United States, *Kristallnacht* unfolded over the course of a century.

The endpoint to which Nazi policy directed itself after the attacks on Jews of that night was very like then existing conditions of American society. Goebbels virtually describes the practices and preoccupations of the US South when he suggested that "it is impossible to have Jews seated next to Germans at variety shows, cinemas, or theaters," and park benches must be labeled "For Jews Only" (the real benches were marked "For Aryans Only," a change properly representing the logic of power and exclusion). As in Louisiana, admixtures may not be discernable -- "there are Jews who do not look so very Jewish" -- so legislative rigor must be applied. Even "Hangman" Heydrich suggested mostly segregationist exclusion and economic restrictions in 1938, like bans on car ownership and from holiday resorts, although befitting his nickname he did bring up barring Jews from medical treatment; "a Jew cannot in lie in a hospital with an Aryan *Volkgenosse*." Eventual legislation was weighted toward limiting Jewish mobility, a concern shared by

⁷⁴² Longerich, *Holocaust*, 112-113.

Communists and white supremacists for the uncontrolled movement of its object. Newly imposed discriminatory laws coming from Goering's ministry resembled anterior conditions that had evolved in the South, like exclusion from sleeping and dining cars on the railroads. From the point of view of a Jew in the street like Victor Klemperer, the streetcar to work became a racialized battleground, just as it had in the cities of Dixie.⁷⁴³ His physical deterioration as he was overworked and underfed is also a concentrated form of that which one observes in colonial and post-colonial racialized labor regimes, with their ten-year lifespans, chronic rheumatism at thirty years of age, and widespread hunger in black sharecroppers' family cabins.

German Jews were not a historical product of these kinds of racist conditions: as a group, the well-off had amassed capital just other Europeans had been doing since 1492. The relatively sudden, complete exclusion of Jews from the economic rights of European man meant their significant impoverishment, and an asset-stripping form of coerced emigration was introduced throughout the Reich in March 1939 to compliment the feeding frenzy of Germans looking for "a good Jewish property" or some Jewish furniture. Enterprising police forces, like those of Hamburg and Berlin, had pocketed millions from "special" immigration taxes before the state moved in to control the procedure and the proceeds. In February, Jews were ordered to turn over jewellery and similar valuables to the state. Party and police were thus authorized, effectively, to shake down Jews and steal their personal property, just like some 1860s Democratic Party activist group on the outskirts of New Orleans or in St. Bernard Parish. The dissimilarity between a Berlin apartment and a Louisiana tenant-farmer shack should not obscure the parallel between the Party/police/paramilitary who would rob their inhabitants.

A certain economic logic seems to apply to racially-legitimated economic exploitation, at least from the point of view of the individuals and institutions able to realize a profit from mass asset-stripping and labor control. It was not logic, however, that dominated the conversation

743 Burleigh & Wipperman, 94. Kenneth W. Goings and Gerald L. Smith, "Unhidden Transcripts: Memphis and African-American Agency, 1862-1920," *New African American Urban History*, Kenneth W. Goings & Raymond A. Mohl, ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996, pp. 142-167, 156-158.

between the principals at the *Judenpolitik* meeting of November 12, 1938 where the immediate future of the German Jews was discussed. Instead the discourse resembles what the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein in his later period called a language game. Rather than serious proposals, the speech is full of highly affected, phatic fantasies of Jewish humiliation, especially from Goebbels and Goering, describing slapping their ears repeatedly or forcing them to ride in the toilet on the train. Their utterances departed from reasonable representations of reality, working as apt representations of Arendt's "gruesome quiet of a completely imaginary world": Goebbels complained that "Nowadays, packs of Jews run around Grunewald... so annoying and provoking that there are brawls all the time" and Goering proposed opening certain areas of the forest to Jews, while gathering Jewish-looking animals in them as well ("the elk has a crooked nose like theirs").

Hitler once proposed something similar, reservation-zoos where Jews would be put to wander according to their nature while the Germans could look at them as if they were animals in a habitat. This type of racist-fantasy discourse is clearly of significance to the people engaged in it -- its omnipresence in North American private and public sources shows that -- to the point that it dominates this meeting, which was, as Goering announced, "of decisive importance," and wherein, "on instructions from the Führer... the Jewish question should now be dealt with in a centralized way and settled in one form or another."⁷⁴⁴ Yet, at this juncture, in the most centralized, charismatically authoritarian modern political system, the powerful individuals responsible for policy were not giving orders but trading master-race fantasies in performative hate speech. The colonial provenance of this imaginary remains clear -- Goering's in particular recalling both the animal-comparison and "hunting natives" tropes -- but the problems of Jewish train seating or possible confinement to Berlin safari areas were not settled at this meeting despite Goering's plenipotentiary powers. Decrees that increased the pressure and persecution were produced by the ministerial departments with broad participation rather than dictated by the responsible

⁷⁴⁴ Arendt, *Origins*, 353; all other quotes in Friedländer, 280-282. Goering uses a teleological construction that hints at future escalation: "I was once again instructed to centralize the decisive steps to be taken now."

personalities. While this should be taken as a sign of the general support for antisemitic policies on the part of the German population, it also a sign that the particulars of those policies reflect deeper and broader social processes than simply people hating Jews.

The first tendency to put Jews in some sort of separate camp dates from December 16, 1938, when Frick announced that all Jews without work or assets, vagrants in the language of the postbellum US Black Codes and later convict-labor systems, would be forced to work in "labor columns." These forced-labor camps, which in the case of war were to be militarized, were to undertake road-work and quarry digging. Early limited use as menials within the municipal system, in street cleaning and garbage collection, gave way to deployment of over twenty thousand on national infrastructure construction projects like dams and highways the following summer of 1939.⁷⁴⁵ The racialized other, further criminalized by economic and movement restrictions, forced to work on infrastructure projects: the structure of this exploitation resembles that of Georgia or Mississippi. The similarity stands out all the more because it was so ill-suited to the situation. Emigration of over 250,000 changed the Jewish population demographically in ways that made this kind of forced labor a doubtful proposition: by May 1939 more than half were women and more than half were over fifty years of age, with one fifth over sixty.⁷⁴⁶ This racialized other did not fit into the niche provided by the colonially-derived model of economic development that informed National Socialism. There was an inherent conflict between economic rationality and the racist teleology of modern white civilization that dictates total bio-political exclusion, and this conflict was to be resolved through the Holocaust.

Another sign of the way broader social process enacted colonial racialization was the fact that the result of centralizing decisive steps did not include marking Jews with badges (or Goering's idea, of course, of a uniform), nor did it mandate ghettoization. Hitler himself declared against these measures. The latter, particularly, was left to be stimulated by the social and economic

⁷⁴⁵ Longerich, *Holocaust*, 120-121.

⁷⁴⁶ Longerich, *Holocaust*, 127.

restrictions and smaller-scale residence prohibitions, as it in fact was, while the former seems to have only preceded acts of mass extermination that surpassed those of historical colonialism. This idea remained a threat that was clearly in the air -- a November, 1938 SS newspaper article threatened the "criminal subhumanity" of "hundreds of thousands" with "the actual and definitive end of Jewry in Germany, its total extermination," but this remained a threat, in the article against supposed criminality and bolshevism.⁷⁴⁷ The terms of the threat still use the discourse conventions of white Southerners during Reconstruction, and for that matter those of the the white-supremacist throng that attacked the concerts of black Communist Paul Robeson in Peekskill, New York in 1949, where the hills were festooned with burning crosses, signs read "Dirty Kikes" and "Dirty Commies," and Robeson was lynched in effigy.

The mass arrests of Jews that followed *Kristallnacht*, "Dirty Kikes and Dirty Commies," as the Germans would have had it, and the subsequent immense increase in mortality in the concentration camp system was not a prelude to extermination but a peak in the kind of repressive violence deployed against social and political criminals. Both of the 1938 arrest waves, one in June and one after the pogrom, targeted the criminalized categories of "asocial" and "work-shy," especially the former, which carried the highest risk of being killed. Within these categories Jews were exceptionally at risk of murder, but there were also two mass releases, so that while many were killed, most of those arrested were released. The SS police system formally operated, with exceptional cruelty, against criminality, defined in racist terms; 297 Jews were killed in Buchenwald in November and December of 1938. Although it would appear logical that casting Jews as criminals and criminality as Jewish would logically proceed to Jewishness itself becoming a crime, it was not through the concentration camp system that the final steps to extermination were taken. Himmler's requests to increase the size of the KL were not granted. Peter Longerich has also characterized Hitler's threat to annihilate the Jews, made before the *Reichstag* January 30, 1939, and the "extermination declarations" that proliferated at the time, as "tactical," aimed at getting an

⁷⁴⁷ Longerich, *Holocaust*, 115, 118. *Schwarze Korps* of Nov. 24, 1938 quoted in *ibid.*, 123.

international, export-funded, forced emigration agreement and at forestalling an allied anti-German military response in the event that Germany started a war.⁷⁴⁸ The moment, febrile as it was, was still one of negotiating racial exclusion; the language and the means, brutal as they were, were unexceptional for a Great Power of the early-twentieth-century Euro-American colonialist core.

The current consensus of leading historians on when, as a unique mass-extermiation event, the Holocaust began, has more or less settled on late 1941 or early 1942,⁷⁴⁹ with different historians favoring different moments, but usually after the invasion of the Soviet Union. This interpretation may unduly weight the Shoah by gas as a project separate from the Shoah by bullets, but the activity of the *Einsatzgruppen* in Poland is distinguishable from the activity in the USSR, not only by the numbers of people murdered but by ghettoization as a goal, as set by Heydrich in orders issued September 22, 1939, as oppose to total extermination, as practiced from almost the first days of Operation Barbarossa. A departure from the previous policy of "total segregation" was provoked by the unprecedented level of power assumed by Goering's Four Year Plan Authority: "The Wehrmacht has opened up new horizons for us, giving us freedom of movement and a free hand throughout the major portion of the European continent," as the planner Otto Donner put it on April 29, 1941. Donner's analysis was the "economic cornerstone of plans for war against the Soviet Union," as Aly and Heim put it, and that analysis was the logical extrapolation of Marxian and colonial principles of economic development that regard certain people and populations as "surplus" to the productive efficiency required by the industrialized capitalism or communism.⁷⁵⁰

Regarding Poland, various British, French, American, and Polish technocrats agreed that the economy had to be structurally altered to achieve modernization. Low productivity, subsistence-based agriculture with limited local markets had created "rural overpopulation." From the

748 Longerich, *Holocaust*, 125-126.

749 Kershaw, *Hitler, The Germans, and the Final Solution*, 255-256.

750 Longerich, *Holocaust*, 160, 180, 241-245. Donner addressing Berlin Academy of Administration, quoted in Aly & Heim, 3, 301n58, 301n66.

specifically German perspective, civilian consumption of agricultural production had to drop to the lowest possible level in order to produce a surplus for war. Surplus production would drop over time while imports would be blocked by the British; backward south-eastern and eastern Europe could not make up the deficit. I.G. Farben analyst Anton Reithinger had already determined in a 1934 report that Germany could not get "the intensive production of the agricultural products we lack" from other countries because of the "the rural overpopulation of the entire eastern half of Europe." The obvious conclusion was what Aly and Heim laconically describe as "the elimination of rural overpopulation."⁷⁵¹ It was in this way that the east, as Hitler said, would be their "Mississippi": by exterminating sufficient natives to get control of productive resources and establishing slave agriculture to get raw material.

Hitler may not have had a conception much more sophisticated than master-race war and domination -- he certainly knew next to nothing of Mississippi, except from wild-west novels -- but the interdepartmental undersecretaries of the Four-Year-Plan had a more informed and sophisticated vision of how to underdevelop the East. These included a small urban middle class in Poland, for example, to be a market for German manufacturing (in the General Government, Hamburg firms were dumping unsold stocks of manufactured knick-knacks from December of 1939). Hitler was not kept informed of this type of planning, which he might have forbidden in the name of absolute racialized superiority. The technocrats had a more nuanced view of the kind of economic structures in "the Outpost of Empire," as the planner Walter Emmerich called it, that would be needed to practically maintain continental hegemony. Hitler saw a "vast Polish work camp" for "low-grade manual work" like "brickworks" and "highway construction," while the head of the General Government, Hans Frank, as Aly and Heim put it, envisioned a "well-ordered, colonial-style state" that was "on a fast track to modernization." Just as black American convict labor at the Chatahootchie brickworks and on the streets of Selma existed in the context of New South boosterism, modernization was compatible with the brutal exercise of power. "The new policy," as

⁷⁵¹ Aly & Heim, 39-41.

they conclude, was "a development policy that discriminated against minorities, dispossessed them and drove them from their homes, in order to reshape the entire social and economic fabric of the country" -- the very definition of settler colonialism.⁷⁵²

The resulting economy of 1940 in conquered Poland took on the familiar elements of coerced agricultural labor in the post-emancipation US South and the nineteen-thirties USSR, including a context of extreme violence. Mass shootings were the background to every development. Private firms worked together to "squeeze" the farmers, in the historians' phrase, or as Emmerich said, "making available certain surpluses for the German economy." Collection points were set up, and draconian penalties established for failing to deliver. Farmers were paid in scrip that could be redeemed for manufactured goods, tobacco, and alcohol supplied by the company stores of the firms themselves. Farmers who did not give up enough produce could be judged as having acted "willfully and maliciously" and faced the death penalty, the very language of Stalinist denunciation of kulaks, and the same punishment informally faced by many black American farmers who tried to operate independently. The colonial provenance of these economic structures and practices is more than an abstraction: the most successful firms in the Government General were those who had previously operated plantations in overseas colonies. Furthermore, this success was described in developmentalist terms of racial superiority and cultural hierarchy. As one businessmen's memoir construes their work, the colonial experience gave them a "special aptitude... past activities had accustomed them to dealing with unusual situations in a foreign country with foreign people," hence their ability to "civilize the region" and aid "the development of its economic life."⁷⁵³

On the inner side of this frontier zone, in the Polish areas that were annexed to the Reich, Poles and Jews were to be expelled and German settlers brought in. This resettlement project

⁷⁵² All quotes in Aly & Heim, 142-146.

⁷⁵³ Aly & Heim, 147-148. "They will put people on starvation rations in the kolkhoz and the state will take all the surplus," predicted a wary peasant as collectivization loomed; in 1932 Stalin characterized resistance to grain requisition as "sabotage" and "a quiet war against Soviet power." Sheila Fitzpatrick. *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village After Collectivization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 47, 75.

would require the scientific evaluation of German racial stock, and the office of Konrad Meyer, which produced the "General Plan for the East," recommending the mass death of thirty million Russians over the long term, also produced the "Guidelines for the evaluation of genetically sound stock" for categorizing the German population of July 1940. Colonialist, developmentalist, racist, and exterminationist influences and activities intertwine at this juncture. Germans were being graded in the first place with an eye to their suitability as colonial settlers; the Third Reich's land of California was to be civilized by and for white men exclusively. In the end, the teleology of modernity provided the content while race-science represented it in the discourse, as the highest level of "genetically high-grade" people were those whose families showed "work achievement and social mobility." There was no reference to Germanic traits, inherited characteristics, or medical history, but race remained the universal sign, even without being connected to a biological or ethnic referent.⁷⁵⁴ Racism was the language that expressed the core-periphery relationship that the Nazis wished to establish in the east, a microcosm, or an example, of the general core-periphery relationships that have defined capitalist modernity. Historically speaking, racism has also been the common language of capitalist modernity itself, not as an archaic attitude but as the central rhetorical gesture and practical fact, and that is why the "genetically sound" can be defined in terms of "social mobility." In this way, the German dream of racial palingenesis recapitulated the colonial history that spawned it.

The German racial-worth "guidelines" were published by the public health and social welfare department at the Ministry of the Interior, which was at that moment also overseeing the compulsory sterilization program based on US law and the murders of psychiatric patients organized from *Tiergartenstrasse* number 4.⁷⁵⁵ The personnel from this latter program, like the very modes of killing used, would go on to perpetrate the Holocaust, which adds weight to Aly and Heim's argument that murder was considered a policy option for the "antisocial" category of

754 Aly & Heim, 100-101.

755 Note 45, *op. cit.*

insufficiently socially mobile Germans. In any case the bureaucratic racialization of German society, mass murder, and the colonization/peripheralization of the East were effectively the same goal, worked toward assiduously by the same people, on the ground and in the offices. The physical structures of extermination took their geographical place in colonial territory, their legitimation from colonial science, and their purpose from colonial economics. The necessities and purposes were those of all settler colonies. So one is not surprised that the first gas chamber to be used for state-mandated killing was in settler-colonial Nevada, USA, in February 1924, and that its victim was not white, and in the eventual Nazi parlance, an "asocial." Nor is one surprised to find that the Reichskommissar for the Ukraine, Erich Koch, called the slavs "niggers."⁷⁵⁶ The defining elements of modernity may not be interchangeable parts in a machinic process, but the consistency of representation does indicate that the parts play similar roles.

The Jews were not a part of the German plans for biopolitical hegemony in Poland and Russia. In the war for colonial mastery that they planned and carried out, the Jews would be the Indians of the New World schema, in terms of the invaders' analogous attitudes toward them (and their assumption that racial and cultural superiority gave them the right to control the lands they were invading). Very simple biological warfare techniques were used against the indigenous Americans by the British during the Seven Years War when infected textiles, popularly known as smallpox blankets, were intentionally sold to the "disaffected tribes" by a trader at Fort Pitt. "You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race," replied General Amherst to his subordinate, Colonel Bouquet, when informed that plans had been laid to that effect.⁷⁵⁷ This unsophisticated use of early-modern medical science for human extermination, even it did herald the future of European

⁷⁵⁶ Beevor, 504.

⁷⁵⁷ In fact, as Elizabeth Fenn points out, "Unbeknownst to Bouquet and his commander in chief, their subordinates at Fort Pitt had already conceived and executed the very plan proposed." Elizabeth A. Fenn, "Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century North America," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 4 (March 2000), pp. 1552-1580, 1556-1557. Amherst quoted in Fenn, *op.cit.* The trader wrote in his journal, "We gave them two blankets an[sic] hankerchief out of the Small Pox Hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect." A. T. Volwiler, "William Trent's Journal at Fort Pitt, 1763," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Dec. 1924), pp. 390-413, 400.

weapons development, did not establish itself as a policy through high-modern modern bureaucratic structures. There were no medical experiments, no card files, no overland transport systems, no cyanide gases. The clumsy exterminationist effort to intentionally spread disease with infected textiles was not a common one, as far as can be determined, but such products did operate as a disease vector as traders accompanied the military occupiers.

Nevertheless, there was no highly-detailed plan for the social and economic restructuring of the American continent in 1763, although William Pitt was certainly ahead of the curve; racism had not yet become scientific, and modernity had not yet produced the templates for modernization characteristic of the twentieth century. These templates are largely similar in their analyses, if not quite in their policy recommendations, be they Stalinist, Nazi, or Democratic. Mass death aside, the Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress in 1961 was promoting the same sort of socio-economic goals for Latin America as the Four-Year-Plan office was for the Ostreich: more efficient agriculture and the growth of an industrializing urban "middle-class" migrating from the overpopulated, "backward" farms, which would be making available certain surpluses for the United States economy. The Walt Rostow "take-off" theory, however, did not recommend authoritarian control and centralization of resources on the Stalinist model or the physical extermination of a racialized population on the Nazi model.⁷⁵⁸ The point is that the extermination of Jews was part of a teleological narrative that represented the history of European global hegemony as an inevitable effect of racial superiority. The extermination of Native Americans and their confinement to museums and reservations was represented this way in the United States, as "unblocking" the continent for white settlement, and the historical process that unfolded was based on basic economic relationships that were inherently and increasingly white-supremacist. African-Americans, as a practical reality for white elites like Rostow, occupied the role of *Untermensch* in

758 Foreign Relations of the United States, Summaries of FRUS Volumes, US Department of State, Office of the Historian, "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vol. XII, American Republics" at http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/frus/summaries/960726_FRUS_XII_1961-63.html accessed 02/06/18

the United States in 1961 that the Four-Year-Plan had projected for the Poles. The basic models of development are the same, despite the differences in historical experience, political ideology, and economic administration.

The fundamental difference posited by post-World War Two American development theory between the modern and the "backward" peoples of the globe was based on nineteenth-century racialized characterizations of cultural superiority. Although, as in the work of Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, authors could use the sophisticated language of the social sciences to present an apparently value-neutral heuristic of social types, the substance of such theories was that the people of the colonized world, *i.e.* non-whites, were possessed of a "traditional" psycho-pathology that made them resist modernity. In the 1961 work of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Lucian Pye, non-Europeans would always be "depressed" because "modernization... has always been the monopoly of their former masters," and so the infantile, immature former slaves' unhealthy mental characteristics led to them to communism. The link to communism is another historically-produced sign of the essentially racist orientation of these teleological assumptions, tellingly summed up in Shils's praise of the United States and Western Europe as socio-culturally superior to the rest of the world because "modernity is part of their very nature." The psychiatric treatment that such Cold War academics recommended for the global majority to rectify these natural shortcomings was not extermination, but to learn the habits of modernity, like preferring to be punctual. Communists, however, as events in Southeast Asia later proved, might be exterminated, perhaps because they were psychologically infirm according to the diagnosis of these modernizing intellectuals. The voices of scientific authority and racist superiority speak together in the idiom of medical treatment, and millions are killed by their so-called former masters. The post-World War II continuity of such language and activity helps situate the Holocaust in the history of European modernity as a variant of the colonialism that produced that modernity. All the elements of this discourse were also present in the Reconstruction period; for these modernization theorists, the

blueprint was America.⁷⁵⁹

In the General Plan for the East the extermination of the Jews through mass murder and the deaths of tens of millions more by starvation and disease was construed as necessary because of rural "overpopulation and other social issues." Jews were "blocking" the "indigenous" peasantry from developing into the petite bourgeoisie in the towns and they were highly over-represented in commerce, while the peasants of southeast Europe resisted factory work and produced small subsistence yields instead of a surplus for Germany. "Collective famine," in the words of a paper from Otto Donner's Four Year Plan war-economy research group, was inevitable if these countries were to modernize, or rather, to become the periphery to Germany's core. Root, hog, or die! The Jews had be eliminated so that Germans would dictate the financial arrangements and economic terms of the agricultural sector, and also so that some of the rural population would move to the cities, reducing the number who would have to be starved. One 1943 study claimed that there were still one and a half million "surplus" lives in the General Government, even after most of the Polish Jews had been murdered, or as the study puts it, "the Jews have now been eliminated." As a crony of Emmerich wrote, "the solution of the Jewish question" (and "expropriation of Jewish real estate") was the "starting point" for this broader process of colonial economic rationalization. Eichmann's office was in charge of all colonial resettlement; organizationally too, killing Jews was a subset of the settler-colonial project.⁷⁶⁰ As summarized by historian Elizabeth Harvey, "In Nazi planning, the genocidal drive against the Jewish and Gypsy minorities of eastern Europe represented not an end point of racial warfare, but a prelude to a further drives to displace and destroy the majority Slavic populations in the territories under Nazi control."⁷⁶¹ It is undeniable that the context in which the Holocaust was perpetrated was emphatically a colonial war, with colonial ends, emulating colonial

759 Hemant Shah, "Race, Mass Communication, and Modernization: Intellectual Networks and the Flow of Ideas," *Anti-Racism and Multiculturalism: Studies in International Communication*, Mark Alleyne, ed. New York: Routledge, 2017 (2011) at <https://books.google.es/books?id=3q00DwAAQBAJ> accessed 02/06/18

760 Aly & Heim, 214, 224-226, 228.

761 Elizabeth Harvey, "Management and Manipulation: Nazi Settlement Planners and Ethnic German Settlers in Occupied Poland," *Settler Colonialism in the 20th Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, Caroline Elkins & Susan Pedersen, ed. New York: Routledge, 2005, pp. 95-112, 99.

imperialist history in both ideological and practical aspects: these were its necessary conditions.

Because the framework for extermination was racialized difference, and because race as a concept is the product of colonial imperialism, the history of Western European global dominance and hegemony produced the Holocaust just as it had produced the four million deaths of the Atlantic slave trade and the extermination of Native Americans. Yet, this history of modernizing socio-economic development may not have been a sufficient condition for the Holocaust. German race-science had no intrinsic need to racialize Jews, *per se*, in the evolution of a rhetoric of continental dominance, even if representations of racialized authority have always been part of modern discourses legitimating core/periphery relationships. Christian attitudes had not been particularly tolerant, to say the least, since well before the modern era, and perhaps it is this longer history of vilification that decisively influenced the Germans to commit the exterminationist mass murder of a European population. Not every insufficiently Nordic ethnic group could simply be wiped out, after all: As Dr. Erhard Wetzel observed in a position paper criticizing the draft of the General Plan for the East, "It should be obvious that the Polish question cannot be solved by liquidating all the Poles in the same way as the Jews. Any such solution of the Polish question would blacken the reputation of the German people for many years to come, and we should forfeit sympathy on all sides..."⁷⁶²

Similarly, one must acknowledge the brutalizing effect of modern war, both in paving the way for the Nazi accession to power and creating a context in which people become inured to cruelty and death. One might ask whether the skewed moral compass flourished by Dr. Wetzel -- the murder of several tens of millions of people being conceived as nothing more than blow to one's reputation not to be overcome for some years, like a scandalous divorce -- would have been possible without the mechanized mass slaughter of human beings in the Great War. And, what of the influence of Prussian authoritarianism? Prussian Field Marshals do not mutiny, apparently, when committing crimes against humanity on a previously unthinkable scale. In short, the contributing causal factors are many and interact in various modalities, like the individual actors

762 Quoted in Aly & Heim, 269-270.

producing the Holocaust themselves.

Even operating in a very similar cultural and historical context, including rampant anti-semitism, Stalinism committed mass murder without quite resorting to racism and extermination as state policy and administrative tool in the name of industrialization; despite the reliance on colonial models of development, the repressive discourse of legitimation and planning was always about political control, and never reached the levels of moral collapse in the death camps. Burleigh and Wippermann's dismissal of the comparison between the great crimes of the two big "totalitarian" states as intrinsically morally illegitimate goes too far, however, inasmuch as the goal of developing and maintaining a level of industrialized modernity was the first condition for the brutal violence of these states. Their victims can share that particular feature while still being differentiated, and the crimes of their killers, individual and collective, can be judged as more or less inhuman, if that is the direction one wishes to go. In fact, failing to identify this common goal ends up endorsing the teleology of modernity, tacitly justifying murder in one context, like efficiently working slaves and prisoners to death to produce sugar or grade railroads, and condemning it in another, like wastefully killing prisoners at a quarry or starving peasants for their produce.

Conversely, once a common theme is recognized, its variations gain in significance. The progressive, or progressive-ist, goals of any Great Power by definition were historically determined by colonial resource exploitation and discursively legitimated by racialized difference, and this explains why the socio-economic restrictions and legal regime of the US South were appropriated by the imaginations of the Nazi leaders and the legislation of their bureaucracy, and the artificiality of race is highlighted by application to Jews in Germany. This contextual artificiality reflects back on racial distinction and eliminates the possibility of normalizing racism as an "idea of its time." Instead, one observes how race functions as a basic means of exclusion from the benefits of the increased social complexity enjoyed by the full citizens of core areas.

This dissertation has examined how race functioned as the dominant discourse during

certain historical processes of socio-economic peripheralization: In the Reconstruction/Redemption period, excluding black Americans from legal and political equality as the minimum condition of white civilization; and under the Nazi regime, defining the German as racially superior as a claim to Great Power status. The everyday racist violence and occasional exterminationist attacks in the US South were the practical tools of social and economic control for the Democratic Party. The same could be said of the Party in National Socialist Germany. One can also see in both historical contexts an elite status group threatened by increased democracy, whose fundamental political strategy was threatening, attacking, and killing political opponents and a racialized other, creating a politically unified one-party state on the basis of the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

These two racialized communities spoke the same language that the Euro-American core was speaking more generally, not only in the scientific and academic communities but also in the high-culture literature and low-culture ephemera of high modernity. Reinforcement of white/black status was an everyday feature of individual historical experience under *Judenpolitik* and white supremacy. Nevertheless, African-Americans have not suffered a Holocaust-like extermination event. In the time period roughly under consideration here, from the Civil War to World War I, black Americans did experience conditions of violence like those obtaining under National Socialism, up to the invasion of Poland, and social and economic restrictions like those of the Nuremberg laws. The violence of American racialized lynching exceeds anything but the most arcane and dedicated tortures, and participation in such events was much more popular in Dixie, or southern Indiana, than open antisemitic violence was in Nazi Germany, but these events were still in a certain way exceptional; they were institutionally defended but not institutionally normalized. Like the violence of *Kristallnacht*, lynching and the larger white riots established a status quo of incipient threat, but that threat did not go beyond individual events, never realized itself in the systematic extermination of every single racialized other, despite the exterminationist discourse manifesting during those events. The German case is not necessarily normative, in the sense that

the precursors to the Holocaust will always develop into modern mass extermination, but there is also no German exceptionalism necessary to explain the Holocaust. The racialized threat of "the Jew," the threat of "negrification," as Céline put it, was the conceptual legacy of colonial racism, and this legacy belongs to all the modern, pluralistic, democratic states as the necessary condition of their modernity.

In comparing the US and Germany in the 1890s, the former would appear much more likely to experience racist mass murder of Holocaust proportions: a society deeply riven by race, whose racialized inferiors were kept in a state of material destitution and political powerlessness, with hundreds of confirmed public lynchings per year and a complicated racial etiquette meant to demonstrate white supremacy. The fact that a shift to outright black extermination has not yet occurred, happy as that fact is, should not obscure that the dire conditions of the Jim Crow era came about after a brief period of democratized inclusion was attempted and that it was defeated by biopolitical terrorism from within a democratic system. Democratic inclusion is neither inevitable nor irreversible; it is not a defining feature of global modernity; and it is certainly not the defining feature of United States history. When armed men from the Party paramilitary break into your home, attack you, and steal your valuables, because of your "race," are you a black farmer in Louisiana 1868, or a Jewish clerk in Berlin in 1938? Political ideology in itself is not the most important factor stimulating these men with guns: a history of democratic-republican individualism had less influence than the history of white supremacy on the decisions of the American historical actors.

Germany may not have had as much in the way of democratic individualist traditions, but Germans did vote, in a modern multiparty democratic state, and that state was the point of departure for the greatest act of mass murder in human history. National Socialism rejected democratic forms and procedures in theory, and in practice once attaining power, but the movement was built using those very forms and procedures, most importantly the concept of the political party. Himmler's

political beliefs and personal motivations might be best encapsulated by his flag-bearing during the Beer Hall Putsch, but his journey to real power began by working to build the party as a participant in modern republican democracy.⁷⁶³ Historically speaking, Nazi Germany grew out of the structural realities of European democracy. Kings and Emperors do not hold referendums, not even staged ones.

The content of Nazi racial ideology was the product of a colonialism practiced most successfully by the democratic states of the developing modern core, as this discussion has argued. The historical course followed by racist discourse is marked as well by practical developments in racialized exploitation. Thus one finds planter elites threatening extermination if colonial exclusion is not maintained, and Nazi planners insisting that extermination is the condition of establishing colonial mastery. Never intended for use against white people, The Maxim gun, turned on white Europeans, is a real object representing the larger colonial relationships that National Socialist Germany brought to bear on the European continent. These relationships consist of the imposition of a certain kind of power, power that developed to reinforce white supremacy. Killing Europeans very quickly, as opposed to killing non-Europeans less quickly, is not the only distinction that can be made between National Socialism and Euro-American democratic tradition, but it is the most relevant. Sadly, that is not much of a distinction.

⁷⁶³ Longerich, *Himmler*, 91-99.

Conclusions

In order to properly contextualize the totalitarianisms, however one wishes to interpret the term, it is necessary to historicize them as part of the history of modernity. Their practices and discourses are less the result of individual nationalisms or internationalisms than the product of the broader growth of the modern world-system, or global capitalism. The centralized and authoritarian political regimes identified as totalitarian did not shape their stated purposes because they were centralized and authoritarian, even if that governance played a powerful role in manipulating society; their goals and practices were not exceptions to the general goals and practices of Euro-American core nations. This is why there are parallels with the United States, especially at a historical moment of crisis, after an unprecedented modern war. The world-view driving the historical and institutional actors, the shape they imposed on the world, derives from the history of modern core/periphery relations imposed by European powers after the discovery of the New World.

The most basic aspect of this relationship is the use of violent coercion to extract surplus value. It is not best understood through econometrics, but by its presence at key nodes in the chain of production. The unfree agricultural laborer producing sugar or cotton not only produced wealth but raw materials whose processing requirements drove industrialization. American lumber was not only board-feet but boats that developed commercial networks, which in turn trafficked in raw materials and plantation production from the New World. The gold from Kolyma purchased industrial plant, and the Vorkuta complex was the only source for coal at the start of World War Two. However, as this fundamental power relationship developed historically after 1492, the use of African slaves for forced labor led to racialization; "race" became a structural reality in the core/periphery economy and in the legitimating discourses of developmentalist modernity. The

elaboration of "race" as scientific concept also depended on the physical reality of colonial intrusion, as measured by craniology and the American skulls that were the subject of the most influential early study in that field. Racism can be seen in this way as quite literally produced by the power relationships of modernity.

Racialization as the basis for early capitalist growth had two intertwined characteristics that marked future discursive conventions: extermination and sexual exploitation. The labor the slaves performed before slavery developed on the mainland had an inherently exterminatory dynamic, in that slaves died faster than they could reproduce, and furthermore took place on the site of a genocide that was itself understood as racial, and while the former would change in North America, the latter tendency only became more marked and deliberate. Sexual exploitation of slaves had new implications given the greater stability of the modern peripheralizing power relationship, not only undermining the master's narrative of moral superiority but threatening to undermine the master's basis of economic control as racialized differences visibly disappeared over time. By the first half of the nineteenth century the racist economic structures became increasingly important to modern development, the racist discourse spread, and the exclusionary principle became entrenched; an example of how this power relation shows so clearly in the case of the US South is that an unprecedentedly bloody modern war was fought to maintain it. Over time, the disquiet produced by "hybridity" and the exterminatory consciousness produced by historical events blended, producing a discourse of power that enforced racialized exclusion while it feared racialized degeneration, shifting synecdochally and projecting racialized properties on different populations. This shift moved degenerative and depraved qualities onto the urban poor, immigrants, and agricultural producers, as well -- labor compulsion often turned to the militarized models of colonial invasion and the military hardware developed to accomplish it, especially in moments of systemic crisis where the laborers claimed political rights from which they were excluded.

Just as the colonial economic peripheralization contributed to increasing social complexity

in the core across national boundaries, so the distinction of "race" was imposed by all European authorities. The Nazi expression of this racialized world-view was distinctive only in its final phase of thorough and deliberate mass murder by the trainload. Even in November 1938 the Aryan paradise as imagined by Goebbels was still exclusionary arrangements resembling the Jim Crow South. The fear of physical and cultural degeneration through sexual contact, on the one hand, and the right to exterminate peoples as an expression of racial and cultural superiority, on the other, are the discourse conventions marking modern German antisemitism as a variant of colonial racism. The racist intellectual consensus was an international product as well, as a broad cultural historiography of apocalyptic race-based paranoia reveals. The aggregation of intellectual capital in the core was directly related to the imposition of power on racialized subjects, especially in the medical field, as were other forms of directly economic capital accumulation. The imaginary of the colonial archive was so intensely felt that it became the metaphor for personal sexual relationships in elite subjects undergoing racialization, while it was extended throughout political and intellectual circles as the basis of historical legitimacy. When Germany fought her way to collapse in the Great War, there was a crisis of political inclusion (whose most revolutionary expression in soldier councilism, however, in one case delegated Adolf Hitler): this was interpreted as a crisis of racialized exclusion. This exclusionary principle was implicitly exterminationist, but also tended toward exterminationism whenever it was threatened, or whenever it was deemed necessary to reassert white power to maintain a superior status. This is the same pattern that occurred in the US South after the Civil War.

The Russian Revolution and the USSR did not openly endorse this racist discourse, but the structural reality of the economy Stalinism imposed replicated the shape of colonial capitalism: forced labor in key areas of extraction, production, and infrastructure construction and a repressive agricultural economy based on denying land-ownership and economic independence to farmers. The Party, as in the US South, was the instigator and most important corporate protagonist in this

process, which excluded the better part of the internal population from newly-won political representation. Although Lenin and Stalin oversaw increasing centralization and control over cadres, organized terror first arose autonomously, and every good Bolshevik was also a good Chekist, just as in the US South every good Democrat kept his pistols loaded and his powder dry. Such forms of modern political organization first arose in direct conflict with monarchy on the site of colonial occupation in the US, and decentralized terror networks enforcing a specific economic model arose after the Civil War -- the basic form of the Bolshevik means and claim to power had a settler-colonial pedigree. In a sense, political systems based on mass participation offer their citizens another product of coercive production, another formerly royal luxury like sugar and tobacco turned into an item of mass consumption, based on a racialized model of colonial power, a kind of "Aryan *von*." In the USSR, the discourse of legitimization turned on the re-socialization of primitive or backward elements and the development of productive forces, projecting atavism on and threatening the extermination of coerced cohorts, while industrial modernity was the emergently true legitimization of the violence that created it. This teleology of modern development is the model of racialized capitalism.

The development of racialized capitalism in the United States shows aspects of this model in high relief due to the unique features of exploitation, which was no longer exterminatory, but did spread to lands taken from eliminated native peoples. In any case, exterminatory discourse continued to surround points of conflict when the total power of whites to extract wealth from racialized populations was threatened. After the Civil War, this latent exterminationism coalesced into events of mass murder and highly stylized, public torture-executions, the former first occurring in the South and spreading north and west, and the latter becoming secret or semi-secret affairs, over time. The long-term effects of sexual exploitation in this context were linked to the imposition of economic and political power through the sexual paranoia evident in exterminationist discourse and in extermination events themselves. Eventually the codification of a racist scientific consensus

reflected this paranoia, a result of the real problem of racialization destabilizing itself as an exclusionary principle, and eugenics became an important concern for political actors in a moment of direct juridical crossover between the Nazi regime and the United States. Germany was searching for a colonial model that had been organically developed in the United States; forced-sterilization legislation in the Third Reich was the first step in the realization of the model's exterminationist implications while these implications were actual historical events culminating in the same legislation in the US. In this sense the Holocaust is less the product of specific German realities than the general colonial ones that offered a certain kind of power to the agents of development, a power defined in the last case by its mooting of and resort to the physical extermination of peoples.

In short, the history of imposing core/periphery relations and creating the modern world does not constitute a pretty picture. Although the discursive conventions in fields that are judged to have more direct influence on historical events, like political tracts or speeches to party cadres, may be favored sources for historical interpretation, the structural influence of racialized capitalism can be seen across a broad field of cultural production, and this is especially evident in the history of the United States. Cultural ephemera formed, and forms, a ubiquitous background of discursive representations of white supremacy, from shot glasses to salt shakers, from engravings to sheet music covers, from magazine advertisements to commodity packaging. The way that this affective content functions as emotive and conative communication illustrates its importance to the modern social imaginary, and not only in America: sugar packets are offered by a ceramic "Mammy" figurine in the café on the southeast corner of Piazza Sabotino in Turin, Italy (the power relation here replayed not just representationally, but interactively, as the "black" offers a (free) commodity to the "white" who takes it). In Germany too, stylized colonial representations of white power were evident in the postcard industry, to say nothing of the later covers of the ubiquitous *Der Stürmer*, following discursive conventions common in the United States, and were used as vehicles for social

bonding. In American and Nazi cinema, major cultural commodities, seen by their creators as both truly representing and possibly influencing history, and sponsored or promoted by powerful political actors, used similar story conventions, even the same plot points, to tell a violent tale of racialized white empowerment, of regeneration through violence. The racialized imaginary imposed on the Jews was that which was most starkly rampant in white representations of African-Americans. These signature texts are not only related in their discursive attributes but by their social function in stimulating violent assertions of white and Aryan supremacy. That one context was an authoritarian state and one a more authentically participatory *Herrenvolk* democracy is less significant in terms of historical causality than the structural influence of racialized capitalism revealed in the function and content of these examples of high-modern cultural production.

This modernity is evident in the way that the power relations of colonial slavery reconstituted themselves after the US Civil War. They quickly found new channels through which to operate, like financial debt-structures and legal restrictions, but also decentralized terror networks operating through political parties and widespread forced prisoner-labor working in resource extraction, infrastructure construction, and staple-crop production. While the South was a colonial region, its presence within the core politically, and within the most effectively democratic republic in that core, illustrates that the violently exclusive power to coerce population groups is compatible with politically dominant democratic institutions. The Soviet Union adopted a para-colonial model to develop industrially, with the feature of forced labor particularly prominent, not because of the authoritarianism or bloody-mindedness of the Bolsheviks, although that didn't hurt the cause, but because of the exigencies of modern development which had to met without, as was said, colonies to draw on. Furthermore, that very authoritarianism and bloody-mindedness was legitimated by a presumed scientific approach to development that was the result of observing industrialization dependent on racialized capitalism; their iron laws of history were based on that experience.

These laws, with their surplus people and extracted surplus, were the same that the Nazi

planners applied to the East, the site of an openly colonial and racializing conquest. In the case of Poland there was consensus with the Reich undersecretaries on the exigencies of modernity, among American analysts and the Poles themselves, if not consensus on the means to be used to meet them. The Nazis solved these problems with techniques inspired by and with technologies developed by the core during the directly colonial phase of modernity; the structural reality they wished to impose on the East was that most clearly represented by the US South and the legal restrictions they imposed on Jewish life were nearly identical to those developed to enforce American white supremacy. These latter did not require an Enabling Decree or a charismatic dictator to establish themselves. Racialized law was only one aspect that codified the essential power relation of core and periphery, which could be realized down to the level of personal interaction, like forcing shows of obedience, directly torturing someone to make them produce, or just shooting someone for no particular reason. The level of social complexity in the modernity of the nineteen-thirties allowed power to become more bureaucratic and institutionally centralized, but the model to which it was working was that established through settler-colonialism and racialized agricultural production -- the history, genocide included, of the United States.

What conclusions can be drawn from the preceding argument, aside from, like Heraclitus, weeping over the world? The purpose of the discussion cannot be to moralize about this or that road to modernity, as satisfying as it might be to assume that oneself would not act in such and such a manner in similar historical circumstances. There has been no road to industrialized modernity that has not been marked by the violent imposition of power and mass death. Enzo Traverso's suggestion that the word "totalitarian" be used to mark the mid-century victims in Europe, to mark the unprecedented scale of killing, may be morally appropriate, but it is insufficient to the extent that "totalitarian" becomes a figure opposed to a "free world." When the Holocaust is replayed as a drama of European virtue and redemption in the style of *Schindler's List*, affecting as it may be, it

disrespects the victims of European modernity. Mass murder, in which one is implicated but not directly responsible, becomes a story of one's own moral superiority, a capitalist *Aufhebung* on the backs of the dead themselves. At the same time, exceptionalism isolates the victims from the world. Death is deprived of meaning by being cut off from history; understanding tragedy requires a moral and narrative context.

The victims of totalitarianism and those of colonization and the Atlantic slave trade were victims of modernity, sacrificed to its exigencies in the name of power and progress. The hubris of power was built on forced labor and exterminatory racism, and the vultures came home to roost. We cannot escape history, and the structural legacy of racialized capitalism that showed the Euro-American core its own face in the Soviet Union and the Nazi East will continue to influence the present and future. Global capitalism has its own process of cumulative radicalization in escalating resource consumption and continuing concentration of capital, even as the limits of resource availability are being reached. It is highly likely that other polities attempting to increase their status in or accede to the core, or that those being peripheralized, will find themselves in moments of crisis that lead to violent social convulsions. The racist legacy means that violence in these contexts is always ready to become exterminatory.

These crises will revolve around questions of development and underdevelopment, and they will be resolved by using power to extract a surplus from a group of producers that are excluded from the benefits of that development. In these cases power is likely to speak in the discursive conventions of white supremacy or its Marxian equivalent of re-socialization, projecting a categorical immorality and insufficiency on targeted groups. It may use a new specific vocabulary of exclusion, but it will follow the old logic of teleological progress and modernization. In these contexts one should expect to see a discourse of dysgenic or cultural degeneration deployed against the excluded, who obstruct "progress." The most revealing or influential texts may not be strictly political, and exclusionary or exterminatory discursive conventions will be followed across genres.

Any identifiable cohort is subject to racialization, even one that is not "rationally" exploited. As the Holocaust and the Rwandan example show, the least rational exclusion may become the most exterminatory.

The question of outbreaks of mass violence will not be determined by whether traditions and political systems are authoritarian or democratic. Ideological diffusion of exterminatory discourse does not require a centralized Ministry of Propaganda, and actors engaging in violent compulsion and murder do not depend on a centralized terror apparatus, as long as modern systems of information and weapons distribution exist. The machetes used for mass murder in Rwanda are not indicators of the primitive, but of the modern: they were mass produced and mass distributed. Legal systems will act against the excluded directly or indirectly, and the agents of power will not be legally restricted should they act "excessively" outside the law but rather empowered to act outside the law, formally or informally. In fact, as the complexities of modernity have ramified there has grown a global subculture of para-militarized criminality that exists in varying degrees of co-operation and conflict with state police and military institutions, probably increasing the likelihood of extermination events.

In the United States, over a thousand people are summarily executed by law-enforcement personnel every year, the majority of them non-white; even if one does not judge this urbane exterminationism to be incipiently genocidal, the potential for escalation in periods of crisis can be seen in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. White riots like those in Tulsa or Wilmington remain a standing possibility. The decline from the position of economic hegemony enjoyed by the USA after World War Two will continue. Should the US find itself facing peripheralizing pressures, it could well turn down the exterminationist path, seeking paleogenetic redemption or settler-colonial domination.

As capitalism racialized the world, the white-supremacist social imaginary is available everywhere, capable of shifting into new contexts and onto new subjects, but carrying with it the

exterminationist assumptions of modern power. The post-colonial world may also be a site for new expressions of totalitarian violence as core/periphery relations shift. However, for the United States and Europe the possibility may be greater. There is a truism of the entertainment business that one encounters everyone that one met on the way up a second time, on the way down. The violent power that manifested in the United States, the USSR, and Nazi Germany imposed itself while industrialization and resource use was increasing, as life was getting better, so to speak, according to the teleology of modernity. It seems doubtful that social and economic pressures will be weaker on the way down, as resource availability declines. Increasingly sophisticated military technology allows killing on vast scales, as long as the fuel holds out, while population growth ensures that there will be "useless mouths" to be found somewhere. The specific historical circumstances of each case discussed in the preceding pages are unlikely to appear again in the same form, but those circumstances were determined by structural practices and legitimating discourses of a certain kind of power, a power that excludes, impoverishes, and exterminates whole populations. That power will appear again, in the same form.

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Appendix I: Timeline of Reconstruction, to the Interwar Period

Dec. 8, 1863 President Lincoln issues a proclamation establishing the "ten-percent plan" for occupied Confederate states, allowing ten percent of citizens taking a loyalty oath to the United States to form state governments, excluding Confederate office-holders and military officers above the rank of colonel. Radical Republicans in the Congress oppose the measure as too lenient.⁷⁶⁴

April 6, 1864 Louisiana convenes a constitutional convention under the ten-percent plan. The resulting constitution abolishes slavery and mandates state-wide public education, although legislators will only provide facilities for whites. African-Americans are denied voting rights.⁷⁶⁵

May 4, 1864 Congress passes the Wade-Davis Bill ("A bill to guarantee to certain States whose Governments have been usurped or overthrown a Republican Form of Government"). It asserts congressional authority over the occupied Confederacy and demands a majority of a state's residence take a stringent ("iron-clad") loyalty oath, while abolishing slavery and disfranchising all Confederate officeholders and veterans. Lincoln pocket-vetoes it.⁷⁶⁶

Oct. 4, 1864 The National Convention of Colored Men assembles in Syracuse, New York. Frederick Douglass opens the gathering by saying, "We are here to promote the freedom, progress, elevation, and perfect enfranchisement, of the entire colored people of the United States... we are resolved to advance in the scale of knowledge, worth, and civilization, and to claim our rights as men among men."⁷⁶⁷

Jan. 16, 1865 General William Tecumseh Sherman issues Field Order No. 15, reserving the abandoned coastal and island plantations of Georgia for assignment to black refugees and veterans, with a title to the land formalized by possessory writ.⁷⁶⁸

Jan. 31, 1865 The 13th Amendment to the US Constitution, abolishing slavery or forced labor except as punishment for crime, is sent to the states for ratification. The state constitutions of 1868 will also employ such language, permitting involuntary servitude as punishment for crime.

Feb. 22, 1865 Under Military Governor and vice-president-elect Andrew Johnson, a Tennessean and native southerner, Tennessee ratifies a state constitution abolishing slavery.

March 3, 1865 The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands is established, for one year only, with authorization to distribute food, fuel, and clothing to those in need, and to settle freedmen and refugees on up to forty acres of abandoned or confiscated land, with settlers granted an unvoidable three-year lease.⁷⁶⁹

April 9, 1865 Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrenders his Army of Northern Virginia to

⁷⁶⁴<http://legisworks.org/sal/13/stats/STATUTE-13-Pg737.pdf> accessed 11/12/17

⁷⁶⁵<https://www.crt.state.la.us/louisiana-state-museum/online-exhibits/the-cabildo/reconstruction-a-state-divided/> accessed 11/12/17

⁷⁶⁶<http://history.house.gov/HistoricalHighlight/Detail/35103> Text of the bill at <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=37&page=transcript> accessed 11/12/17

⁷⁶⁷*Proceedings of the National Convention of Colored Men, held in the City of Suracuse, New York, October 4, 5, 6, and 7; with the Bill of Wrongs and Rights, and the Adress to the American People.* Boston: J.S. Rock and Geo. L. Ruffin, 1864 .pdf

⁷⁶⁸http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/after_slavery_educator/unit_three_documents/document_five accessed 11/12/17

⁷⁶⁹Text of statute at <http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/fbact.htm> accessed 11/12/17

Union General Ulysses S. Grant. Confederates are allowed to keep their horses and are given 25,000 rations to avert starvation. The date marks the symbolic end of the Civil War, but other armies surrender through the summer; when President Johnson announces the insurrection at an end in April, 1966, he omits Texas, which remained formally unpacified until August.⁷⁷⁰

April 14, 1865 Lincoln is shot by John Wilkes Booth and dies the next day; in a separate attack planned by the conspirators, Secretary of State William Seward and his son and daughter are attacked and violently stabbed, but all survive.

April 15, 1865 Andrew Johnson is sworn in as President.

May 29, 1865 Johnson proclaims an amnesty for all Confederates who can take a mild loyalty oath, excluding government officeholders and military men above the rank of colonel. He also recognizes William Holden as the provisional governor of North Carolina and enjoins him to hold a state constitutional convention, in which the amnestied may serve and for which they may vote. African-Americans are not allowed to vote or serve, under a clause limiting participation to those who were eligible under state law before secession. Johnson amnesties all former Confederates with less than 20,000 dollars in property, and will go on to issue over 13,000 individual pardons to the wealthy planter elite. He also rescinds Sherman's Special Order and orders the land returned to its absentee former owners.

Aug. 14, 1865 Mississippi inaugurates the first constitutional convention under Presidential Reconstruction, followed by Alabama on Sept. 12, South Carolina on Sept. 13, North Carolina on Oct. 2, Florida on Oct. 25, Georgia in late October, and Texas in January, 1866 (occupied Virginia, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee had held conventions in 1864).

September, 1865 Johnson revokes a Freedmen's Bureau provision that gave abandoned land to former slaves who were cultivating it and returns the land to its absentee former owners. The military begins forcing freedmen off of the property ceded them under Sherman's Special Order.

Sept. 29, 1865 North Carolina freedmen hold a Freedmen's Convention in Raleigh, which sends an address to the state's constitutional convention from which they are excluded. A similar Colored People's Convention is held in Charleston, South Carolina in November.

Oct. 3, 1865 The Louisiana Democratic Party Convention declares that "we hold this to be a Government of White People, made and to be perpetuated for the exclusive benefit of the White race, and... people of African descent cannot be considered as citizens of the United States."⁷⁷¹

Nov. 22 - Dec. 2, 1865 Mississippi leads the former Confederacy in establishing legal restrictions on "freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes." All must sign yearlong labor contracts by the second Monday of January and are not permitted to quit without forfeiting all pay. Any black Americans without a contract or dismissal papers signed by a white man are subject to arrest for "vagrancy;" they can then be sold back to their previous employer at a cost of five dollars to the arresting white, the money to be taken from the "vagrant's" wages. Anyone "enticing" or hiring an already-contracted laborer, or giving them any food, clothing, or "any other thing," is subject to substantial fines, or jail time, as well as being "liable" to the contractor. Black Americans cannot marry a "white person" nor can they rent or lease land outside towns and cities. A law is included that

⁷⁷⁰<https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2015/spring/cw-surrenders.html> accessed 11/12/17

⁷⁷¹Louisiana Constitution quoted in *The American Annual Encyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1865, Vol 5*. New York: D. Appleton, 1869, pg. 512.

allows black minors to be "apprenticed" or "indentured" to masters, even against the wishes of their parents. Black Americans are forbidden to possess any sort of firearm or hunting knife; "insulting gestures [or] language" and unlicensed preaching are punishable by fines and jail time. Other southern states followed suit with more or less severity. Later versions of such "Black Codes" passed by other states will sometimes avoid specific racial references, but the euphemisms are transparent.⁷⁷²

Dec. 4, 1865 The 39th Congress meets in Washington, with a congressional delegation from the southern states that was elected by the all-white electorate following the provisions of Presidential Reconstruction. The largely ex-Confederate group, which features former Vice-President of the CSA, Alexander Stevens, as a senator-elect from Georgia, is not seated by the Republican majority. Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens opens the session of the House of Representatives by creating the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, which will take control of the postbellum political settlement.

Dec., 1865 Freedmen across the South resist signing labor contracts. A rumor spreads that they are to be granted homesteads. Whites evince fears of insurrection.

Dec. 5, 1865 Mississippi refuses to ratify the 13th Amendment, although this is merely a gesture; enough states ratify that it becomes part of the US Constitution (in Feb., 1866 Texas will similarly refuse to formally ratify the amendment, after the fact of its constitutional adoption).

Dec. 18, 1865 Secretary of State William Seward signs the 13th Amendment into law.

Dec. 24, 1865 The original Ku Klux Klan is organized in a Pulaski, Tennessee law office. Its few members engage in unknown acts against black Americans that they consider to be "hilarious."

Feb. 7, 1866 Frederick Douglass leads a delegation from the National Convention of Colored Men to meet with President Johnson, arguing for black enfranchisement. Johnson claims extending the franchise must "end in a contest between the races, which if persisted in will result in the extermination of one or the other."⁷⁷³

Feb. 19, 1866 President Johnson vetoes legislation to extend and expand the Freedmen's Bureau. The bill would have expanded the powers of military governors to protect African-Americans from violence and fraud and would have set up the form of interim post-confederate state governments. It will fail to get the two-thirds majority necessary to override the veto by one vote. On July 16, 1866, a watered-down version without military authority passes over Johnson's second veto.⁷⁷⁴

March 27, 1866 Johnson vetoes the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The act grants citizenship rights to everyone born in the United States and gives citizens equal legal status to make contracts, file suit, and hold property, "without regard to race, color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude." Individuals denying these civil rights are guilty of a misdemeanor and can be fined up to one thousand dollars and are liable for one year of jail time. The act does not confer suffrage or jury rights on anyone. The enumerated civil rights can be denied to those found guilty of a crime. Congress passes the act over Johnson's veto on April 9.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷²All quotes in DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 128-181.

⁷⁷³Paul H. Bergeron, ed. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Vol. 10, Feb.-July 1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992, pg. 43.

⁷⁷⁴<https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/FreedmensBureau.htm> accessed 11/12/17

⁷⁷⁵Text of act at <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/johnson/civrights1866.htm> accessed 12/12/17

May 1-3, 1866 Whites in Memphis, led by police and city officials, attack, murder, rape, and burn black Americans and their neighborhoods. At least 46 are killed and many more injured. The Union garrison commander, Philip Stoneman, does little to deter the assaults.

June 13, 1866 Congress sends the 14th Amendment to the states for ratification. The amendment is based on the Civil Rights Act, with enhanced provisions establishing the primacy of United States law over the individual states and providing the equal protection of the law to all citizens. It contains an enforcement clause empowering the national government. The section repudiating the Confederate debt wipes out all southerners' capital invested in CSA bonds, the purchase of which was not always entirely voluntary.

July 26, 1866 Tennessee is re-admitted to the Union after adopting the 14th Amendment, despite Johnson's opposition to its provisions. The 1st Session of the 39th Congress closes on July 28, 1866.

July 30, 1866 The New Orleans Massacre takes place in and around the Mechanics' Institute. Governor James Madison Wells, a Unionist planter from Alexandria, used a dubious legal loophole to recall the all-white 1864 constitutional convention; it possibly would have enfranchised black Americans, but in the event is unable to assemble a quorum as many of the all-white delegates stay away. A parade led by black Union veterans reaches the Institute when armed local white irregulars, veterans, firemen, and police, led by former Confederate General Harry Hays, attack in unison. Anywhere from dozens to over two hundred are killed, many murdered in cold blood while attempting to surrender. Cyrus Hamlin, son of former Vice-President Hanibal Hamlin, will describe a "wholesale slaughter" worse than anything he saw on the battlefield.⁷⁷⁶

Summer/Fall 1866 The KKK spreads in Tennessee, and then to Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. The pretense of practical jokes gives way to endemic kidnapping, whipping, sexual assault, and murder by masked vigilantes without much central organization. The name of former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest begins to be invoked as a leader; former Confederate General John B. Gordon promotes the secret society in Georgia. Assaults are committed against African-Americans, white Republicans, and insufficiently militant white Democrats.

Aug. 18- Sept. 15, 1866 President Johnson and other members of his administration embark on a speaking tour, the "Swing around the Circle," to drum up support for the National Union and Democratic candidates in the state and congressional elections. Johnson was reported to speak poorly and gives the press ammunition to use against him, appearing to be drunk and sarcastically suggesting his Republican opponents be executed; the latter remark inspires Thomas Nast's "King Andy I" cartoon. The Radical Republicans will be elected to the 40th Congress in sufficient numbers to override presidential vetoes.⁷⁷⁷

Dec. 13, 1866 In Greenville, South Carolina, one David Alison, white, assaults a freedwoman, Sally Charles, on the property of Robert Scott. He ties her up, beats her, striking thirty blows with a hickory stick, and forces her to leave the area. Reported to local authorities by the Freedmen's Bureau, but no action is taken. Over a dozen murders and assaults against black Americans are recorded for the month by the Bureau in the vicinity of five towns in the state, including a pregnant

⁷⁷⁶Hamlin quoted at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/122/carr/riotttext.html> accessed 12/12/17

⁷⁷⁷For the view that Johnson spoke effectively to his listeners but that negative partisan press coverage misrepresented his appearances, costing him votes, see Gregg Phifer, "'Not for the Purpose of Making a Speech': Andrew Johnson's Swing around the Circle," *Speech Monographs*, Vol 21, No. 4 (Nov. 1954), pp. 285-294. "King Andy " at <https://www.mfah.org/art/detail/13059> accessed 06/05/18

woman being beaten in the abdomen with a hoe; civil authorities rarely act.⁷⁷⁸

March 2, 1867 On its second to last day, the lame-duck Second Session of the 39th Congress overrides the president's veto of the First or Military Reconstruction Act, technically named "an Act to provide for the more efficient Governing of the Rebel States." It breaks the former Confederacy, Tennessee excluded, into five military districts, each with a military governor granted extensive powers. Former Confederates, including all veterans, are barred from holding office, but all are not disfranchised. Ratification of the fourteenth amendment is made a requirement for re-entry into the Union. Section five specifically grants voting rights to "the male citizens of the State, twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition."⁷⁷⁹

March 23, 1867 Over the president's veto, the 40th Congress enacts the first supplement to the Reconstruction Act, known as the Second Reconstruction act, providing for voter registration and voting for new constitutional conventions. Registration was contingent upon an oath that one had never held Confederate office, or held United States office and then fought against the USA, providing the mechanism for these individuals' temporary disfranchisement; the mass of veterans and southern whites were not thus disfranchised. Passage of the state constitutions resulting from the new conventions was made a condition for re-entry into the Union.

Spring, 1867 The Union Leagues, or Loyal Leagues, originally organized in northern states in order to fight pro-Confederate sentiment, especially border states like Illinois, spread into the South. Their wartime activities included some self-defense from and attacks on Copperheads in some places, but in the South the loosely-organized chapters work on voter registration and recruitment for the Republican Party, especially among the newly enfranchised freedmen. Local chapters were often led by local African-Americans, frequently veterans, and quickly became centers of political discussion where issues of interest to the freedmen predominated. Given the weak US military presence, the ongoing dangers of plantation-belt organizing forces the chapters to meet secretly, although the Leagues' actions are limited to grass-roots civic activities.⁷⁸⁰

Summer, 1867 Various organizations all over the South promote defense of completely white rule through the Democratic Party. Nathan Bedford Forrest will refer to stopping Union League activity in his testimony about Klan organizing before Congress.

July 19, 1867 Over the president's veto, Congress passes the second supplement to the Reconstruction Act, known as the Third Reconstruction Act. It details and assigns various executive powers to military governors that had been in question. It specifically invalidates all the pardons granted by President Johnson and allows the military authority to strike anyone off the voter registration lists. Section three also names the General of the Army as the official with the power to appoint or dismiss military governors, sidelining the President in the role of Commander-in-Chief.

Nov. 5, 1867 Alabama becomes the first state to hold a constitutional convention under the terms

⁷⁷⁸Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870. National Archives Microfilm Publication M869 Roll 34 "Reports of Murders and Outrages" at <http://www.freedmensbureau.com/southcarolina/scarolinaoutrages1.htm> accessed 21/12/17

⁷⁷⁹The act is frequently attributed to the 40th Congress, but was in fact passed without the Republican super-majority enjoyed by that body. Passage detailed in *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America*, Vol. 59, pg. 424 and along with Johnson's veto message, in *Journal of The House of Representatives of the United States of America*, Vol. 64, pp. 563-575; text of statute in *Statutes at Large*, 39th Congress, Second Session, pp. 423-424; all at the Library of Congress online: <https://memory.loc.gov/> accessed 12/12/17

⁷⁸⁰Foner, *Reconstruction*, 283-285.

of Congressional Reconstruction. Eighteen out of one hundred delegates are black, a sizeable under-representation in terms of population. Widespread disfranchisement of former Confederates is defeated, and no effort is made to integrate public facilities; freedmen and Republican representatives focus on legal equality and public education. In Feb. 1868 the constitution fails to be ratified by a majority of eligible voters, prompting a change in rules from Congress, who pass the third supplement to the Military Reconstruction Act, known as the Fourth Reconstruction Act; the failure is the result of a boycott by the white population. When the state General Assembly ratifies the Fourteenth Amendment in July, 1868, Alabama is re-admitted to the Union.⁷⁸¹

Nov. 23, 1867 Louisiana assembles a constitutional convention with substantial African-American political representation. The resulting state constitution stipulates African-American enfranchisement, legal equality, funding for public education, and equal access to public accommodations; the latter provision will never be enforced. Subsequently the remaining states of the former Confederacy assemble their conventions: Virginia on Dec. 3, 1867; Georgia on Dec. 9, 1867; Arkansas on Jan. 7, 1868; Mississippi on Jan. 9, 1868, North Carolina on Jan. 14, 1868; South Carolina on Jan. 14, 1868; Florida on Jan. 20, 1868; Texas on June 1, 1868. Texas excepted, the new constitutions are in force by summer of 1868. Only South Carolina's convention has a majority of African-American delegates, which is proportionate to that state's demographics. North Carolina returns the vote to its free black citizens after only thirty-three years, having disfranchised them in 1835. Access to public education, whether or not segregated, voting rights, and legal equality characterize the constitutions; former Confederate veterans are not generally disfranchised.

Feb. 24, 1868 The House of Representatives votes to impeach President Johnson for violating the tenure of office act; the same political maneuver was tried unsuccessfully on Dec. 7, 1867. After a three-month trial, the Senate declines to convict him by only one vote.⁷⁸²

March 18, 1868 Louisiana signs its state convict-lease program over to private management; after political and financial maneuvering the lease ends in hands of Samuel L. James, who will control it for the next twenty years.

May 11, 1868 Georgia begins its state convict-leasing program.

June 22, 1868 Arkansas re-admitted to the United States. Other re-admissions: Florida on June 25, North Carolina on July 4, South Carolina and Louisiana on July 9, Georgia on July 21, and Alabama on July 13.

July 28, 1868 Secretary of State William Seward officially certifies the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution.

Summer and Fall, 1868 In Louisiana, in the wake of the April election of Republican Governor Henry Clay Warmoth, paramilitary organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, the Seymour Knights, the Crescent City Democratic Club, and many other "clubs" increase their violent activities with the aim of defeating Grant and the Republicans in the presidential election. In six weeks from mid-June to August, armed white-supremacist bands murder a minimum of three hundred people, including the sheriff and a judge of St. Landry Parish, and George Meadows, a black delegate to the state constitutional convention.⁷⁸³

⁷⁸¹<http://www.legislature.state.al.us/aliswww/history/constitutions/1868/1868rat.html> accessed 16/12/17

⁷⁸²<http://history.house.gov/HouseRecord/Detail/15032449725> accessed 05/05/18

⁷⁸³Mark L. Bradley. *The Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877*. Washington, D.C.: The Center of Military History, United States Army, 2017, pg. 54.

Sept. 09, 1868 The Georgia General Assembly votes 80 to 23 to remove African-American representatives on the grounds that the newly-adopted state constitution does not grant black Americans the right to hold office. Twenty-five "black" members are removed, while four "mulatto" members are allowed to remain. Six days later, the Georgia Senate expels its three African-American members. Various bills are introduced in the United States Senate in order to force Georgia to rescind its action but none pass. On September 19, Philip Joiner, one of the black Americans removed from the Georgia legislature, leads a march of hundreds of Black citizens to a political rally in Camilla. Whites ambush the marchers, firing from concealed positions in town and pursuing those who fled; at least a dozen are murdered. U.S. Representative Benjamin Boyer, Democrat from Pennsylvania, declares on the House floor, "In Georgia, white men still hold out against the attempt to degrade them to the level of an inferior race."⁷⁸⁴

Oct.-Nov. 1868 In the weeks preceding the November election in New Orleans, white-supremacist mobs demonstrate repeatedly, at one point surrounding the main police station; African-American Lieutenant Governor Oscar J. Dunn cannot safely leave his home at night, and threats to kill him are shouted at him in the streets during the day. In the parishes, armed men and night riders appear everywhere to intimidate black voters, and armed whites surround the polls on election day.⁷⁸⁵

Oct. 16, 1868 In South Carolina, State Senator B.F. Randolph is murdered by three undisguised Klansmen on a train platform. Two other state representatives, John Martin and Solomon Dill, are murdered around the same time, Martin being shot down in front of the Abbeville courthouse.

Oct. 22, 1868 In Monroe County, Arkansas, US Representative James Hinds is murdered by local Democratic Committee secretary George A. Clark and becomes the first US Congressman to be assassinated. Despite Clark's identity being known, he is never arrested; the sheriff obfuscates details of the event and newspapers claim the killing was the work of a Republican conspiracy. Over 200 murders occur in the three months preceding the election.⁷⁸⁶

Oct. 25, 1868 In St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana, Democratic clubs gather and assault freedmen near the courthouse. As a large group of freedmen retreat to the plantation of a Republican planter, Thomas Ong, they are fired upon from a private home and one of their number is killed and several wounded. They storm the house and the owner is killed. The following two days, armed parties of whites-- according to a Metropolitan Police corporal, "squads of five, ten, fifteen, or twenty," -- roam the parish committing murder, robbery, and various acts of intense violence against black Americans and local Republican sympathizers; dozens, possibly over a hundred, are murdered. The Sheriff leads a band of rioters, and orders from the white Republican judge are ignored. In the 1868 election, the former Republican-stronghold parish will record only one vote for Grant.⁷⁸⁷

Early Nov., 1868 Ulysses S. Grant is elected eighteenth president of the United States.

⁷⁸⁴Boyer quoted in *Congressional Globe*, House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 1329; Bills and Resolutions, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, S. 716; both at <https://memory.loc.gov> accessed 17/12/17 Lee W.

Formwalt, "The Camilla Massacre of 1868: Racial Violence as Political Propaganda," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 71, No. 3 (Fall 1987), pp. 399-426.

⁷⁸⁵"Testimony Taken by the House Sub-Committee of Elections in Louisiana," Part 1, *House Documents*, Vol. 265, 41st Congress, Second Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870, pp. 178-179, 219, 231, 238-239.

⁷⁸⁶William B. Darrow, "The Killing of Congressman James Hinds," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (Spring 2015), pp. 42-46, n103, n109. <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2293> accessed 24/12/17

⁷⁸⁷Policeman quoted in *House Doc.*, Vol 265, 175.

Nov. 13, 1868 Called by Governor Clayton Powell to suppress the KKK, state militia assemble in Murfreesboro, Arkansas. Powell's deployment of the militia, which includes freedmen, is the only successful use of such organizations during Reconstruction. It is disbanded in March, 1869.⁷⁸⁸

Feb. 26, 1869 The 15th Amendment to the US Constitution passes the Senate and is sent to the states for ratification. It declares that "the right of citizens... to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of, race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and contains an enforcement provision. It only passes after a joint committee eliminates the phrase "and to hold office."⁷⁸⁹

Feb. 27, 1869 Elected from New Orleans with disputed returns, John Willis Menard becomes the first African-American to address the House of Representatives from the floor, protesting the chamber's refusal to seat him. Representative Samuel Cary, Independent Republican, the faction opposed to African-American civil rights, claims there was no violence and intimidation at the polls and supports the Democratic challenger; Representative Samuel Shellabarger, member of the Committee on Elections (and later author of anti-Ku Klux Klan legislation) states that although Menard "has been deprived by murder, assassination, intimidation, and outrage of an election that he ought to have had, yet that fact does not elect him."⁷⁹⁰

March 3, 1869 Congress reduces the size of the Union Army. By October less than 12,000 troops remain in the South.

Aug. 14, 1869 General Alfred Terry informs Secretary of War John Rawlins that, in Georgia, "There can be no doubt of the existence of numerous insurrectionary movements known as 'Ku Klux Klans,' who, shielded by their disguise, by the secrecy of their movements, and by the terror they inspire, perpetrate crime with impunity." In December, Congress demands re-affirmation of Georgian legislators' credentials and ratification of the 15th Amendment before Georgia's re-admission will be recognized.⁷⁹¹

Fall, 1869 High cotton yields and a high cotton price, combined with the oversight of the Freedmen's Bureau agents, induce most freedmen to prefer sharecropping and tenancy arrangements to any other contract option offered by whites, although in many respects these contracts reproduced the material relationships of slavery. Declining prices, denial of access to capital, increasing terrorism, and the end of federal protection will consign most black farmers to debt peonage for the following century.

788Otis A. Singletary, *Negro militia and Reconstruction*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2014, pp. 13, 35.

789*Congressional Globe*, House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, pg. 1563. *Congressional Globe*, Senate, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 157-158, 1640-1641. Text of Amendment in *Statutes at Large*, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, pg. 346. all at <https://memory.loc.gov> accessed 16/12/17

790Radical Republican John A. Garfield is widely reported to have said that "It was too early to admit a Negro" and to have moved to send Menard's petition to committee. This attribution is false: neither motion nor statement appear in the record. In fact, Garfield argues that Menard should be seated, votes for an amendment that would have seated him, and votes to pay him. Garfield falsely quoted in, among many books not listed: *The Washington Post* 21/09/17; *The New York Times* 8/01/13; and (by a twenty-first century Congressperson) the *Congressional Record* 29/02/16; at, respectively, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/09/21/he-was-the-first-black-man-elected-to-congress-but-white-lawmakers-refused-to-seat-him/?utm_term=.d0e5faf84901; <https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/01/08/a-separate-peace-2/>; <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-resolution/628/text>; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1868-1869*, pp. 473-474, and *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 151, 1684-1696 at <https://memory.loc.gov>; Shellabarger and Cary quoted in the latter. All accessed 16/12/17

791Bradley, 56-57.

Jan. 26, 1870 Virginia is readmitted to the Union, followed by Mississippi on Feb. 23, Texas on March 30, and Georgia, for a second time, on July 15.

Feb. 26, 1870 In North Carolina, one hundred members of the Ku Klux Klan lynch local African-American political organizer Wyatt Outlaw, hanging his body from a tree in front of the Alamance County courthouse. A note affixed to the corpse reads "Beware you guilty both white and black."⁷⁹²

March 30, 1870 Secretary of State Hamilton Fish certifies the 15th Amendment.

May 22, 1870 The body of local white Republican state senator John W. Stephens is found in a storeroom of the courthouse in Caswell County, North Carolina. He was tied up and stabbed to death by the local Ku Klux Klan and led into the attack by a former Democratic sheriff whom Stephens had approached to run on a "fusion" ticket.⁷⁹³

May 31, 1870 Congress passes the first Enforcement Act. The statute authorizes and details procedures and penalties for denial of the voting rights as stipulated in the 15th Amendment, enlarging the scope of action of the federal government in the individual states, including acting against individuals. It also states that elective office cannot be denied due to impediments in citizens' exercising the right to vote, with the exceptions of Presidential electors, Congressional representatives, and State legislators.⁷⁹⁴

June 27, 1870 President Grant declares North Carolina a temporary military district and General Meade sends seven hundred troops to the most violent Piedmont counties. Nevertheless, in August Conservatives sweep the state elections and the state shows a drop-off of 13,000 Republican votes from the 1868 elections. Klan activity was prominent in two-thirds of the counties gained. In December the legislature will impeach Governor Holden for suspending *habeas corpus* and using the state militia to suppress the Klan. The impeachment resolution will be introduced by the newly-elected Frederick N. Strudwick, Klan boss in his county.⁷⁹⁵

Feb. 28, 1871 Congress passes an amendment to the Enforcement Act, known as the second Force Act, further expanding the federal role in elections through marshalls and deputies. It expands their powers of arrest, mandates criminal penalties for state officials who fail to discharge their duties according to the law, and allows complainants to petition for removal of their cases from state to federal court. The statute criminalizes obstruction from any individual, not only state actors.⁷⁹⁶

April 30, 1871 The third Force Act, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, is passed. The second section criminalizes violent conspiracy; section three allows the President to send in the army and section four allows the President to suspend the Act of *Habeas Corpus* in places where conspiratorial violence makes "the conviction of such offenders and the preservation of the public safety in such district impracticable." The provisions of section four are to expire at the end of the next session of Congress.⁷⁹⁷

Oct. 17, 1871 Grant suspends *habeas corpus* in South Carolina and sends Federal troops and marshals to arrest the members of the Klan, who are subsequently indicted and prosecuted by the

⁷⁹²<https://cwnc.omeka.chass.ncsu.edu/exhibits/show/republicans-kkk/wyatt-outlaw> accessed 21/12/17

⁷⁹³The Democrats at that time were "Conservatives." The murder confession of the (not prosecuted) head of the local Klan chapter, from 1915: <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nccaswel/misc/confession.htm> accessed 20/12/17

⁷⁹⁴Act at https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/EnforcementAct_1870.pdf accessed 17/12/17

⁷⁹⁵Bradley, 58-60.

⁷⁹⁶Act at https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/EnforcementAct_Feb1871.pdf accessed 17/12/17

⁷⁹⁷Act at https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/EnforcementAct_Apr1871.pdf accessed 17/12/17

Justice Department, although few are convicted.

May 23, 1872 Grant signs the Amnesty Act, pardoning all but 500 former Confederates; all but they may now vote and hold elective office.⁷⁹⁸

Nov. 4, 1872 Both William Kellogg and John McEnery claim victory as the elected governor of Louisiana. The following January each is sworn in and assembles their own legislature. McEnery's paramilitary force, the White League, only disperses when Federal troops arrive in New Orleans on March 4, 1873.

Nov. 12, 1872 Although David Lewis wins the gubernatorial election in Alabama, two sets of legislative returns are reported, and dual legislatures are formed under Democratic and Republican control; Lewis requests Federal assistance. Grant's Attorney General rules for a "fusion" legislature: a lower house with a two-vote Republican majority and a senate with a one-vote Democratic majority. Deadlock ensues, and whites repudiate black Republican civil-rights initiatives.⁷⁹⁹

March 25, 1873 Louisiana Governor Kellogg's appointed judge and sheriff take their offices in Colfax, Louisiana, seat of Grant Parish, where the courthouse is defended by lightly armed African-American militia. On April 13, White League militia attack with canon; they murder fifty captives who surrendered.

Sept. 14, 1874 White League and Democratic militias storm the legislature in New Orleans in the name of claimant John McEnery, but Governor William Kellogg escapes. Surrounded by superior numbers, former Confederate General James Longstreet's force of mostly African-American Metropolitan Police is routed; many are murdered trying to escape or surrender. Grant sends no aid until three days later, when Federal troops restore Kellogg's government.

Nov. 3, 1874 Operating openly, the paramilitary White League attacks the polling station at Eufaula, Alabama, killing and injuring scores of black American voters, despite the presence of Federal soldiers. The same body then attacks Spring Hill, where votes are being counted, killing the sixteen-year-old son of the Eufaula City Court judge, Elias Kiels, among others. Ballot boxes are burned, and Democrats are declared victorious in all elections. Surviving black witnesses are held captive and auctioned off as slaves. Only 10 African-Americans will vote in Eufaula in 1876.⁸⁰⁰

March 27, 1876 The Supreme Court delivers the ruling in *US v. Cruikshank*, the latter a militia leader who led the attack on the courthouse in the Colfax massacre. The 9-0 decision rules that the Federal government cannot arrest or imprison anyone for violating the 14th or 15th Amendment, but that only the states have this right, and only the states may take legal action against individuals thus violating other individuals' civil rights.⁸⁰¹

Nov. 3, 1876 Wade Hampton is elected Governor by only a thousand-vote margin despite widespread violence and fraud. Many polling places are attacked, ballot boxes are destroyed, false ballots are given to black voters, and multiple tickets are voted by Democrats. Edgefield and Laurens counties poll more Democratic votes than the number of registered voters. On November

⁷⁹⁸Foner, *Reconstruction*, 504-505.

⁷⁹⁹Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, "David. P. Lewis, 1872-1874," in Samuel L. Webb & Margret E. Ambrester, ed. *Alabama Governors: A Political History of the State*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 113-114.

⁸⁰⁰Curtin, 55-56. Dan T. Carter. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000, pp. 36-37.

⁸⁰¹Text of ruling at <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/92/542/> accessed 02/01/18

28, dual lower houses of the legislature convene in two places; Republican gubernatorial candidate Daniel Chamberlain holds the State House only through Federal military protection.⁸⁰²

Feb. 27, 1877 The House of Representatives resolves that Congress recognize the Nicholls and Hampton governments, part of the deal for Louisiana and South Carolina delivering their state electoral votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, who will remove the last Federal troops from the South.⁸⁰³

Jan. 14, 1878 The Supreme Court delivers the ruling in *Hall v. De Cuir*, a suit brought by a "black" woman denied passage in the white cabin of a steamboat. The Court rules 9-0 that the State of Louisiana cannot forbid segregation on steamboats that pass outside the state without violating the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, on the grounds that the former can only be regulated by Congress. In 1890 the Court will rule that states can require segregation on interstate transport without violating the interstate commerce clause.⁸⁰⁴

Oct. 16, 1883 The Supreme Court delivers the ruling in the Civil Rights Cases, five separate suits by African-Americans denied access to public accommodations. The Court rules 8-1 that the Federal government cannot intervene when equal access to such facilities is denied by private individuals, as opposed to states; the ruling effectively voids the 1875 Civil Rights Act and the enforcement clause of the 14th Amendment. Justice Harlan's dissent asserts that "the substance and spirit of the recent amendments of the Constitution have been sacrificed by a subtle and ingenious verbal criticism."⁸⁰⁵

May 18, 1896 The Supreme Court delivers the ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, that Louisiana may enforce segregation on railway cars, providing "separate but equal" facilities. "A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races." Homer Plessy claimed he was not "of the colored race" because he was of seven-eighths white parentage and "the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him." The dissent by the former slaveowner Justice Harlan stated: "The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the constitution[...] The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done."⁸⁰⁶

Nov. 10, 1898 The Wilmington Massacre takes place in North Carolina: "Whites Kill Negroes and Seize City of Wilmington," reported the New York Herald of November 11, 1898.⁸⁰⁷

March 4, 1901 The last black congressman, George White of North Carolina, leaves Congress.

802Richard Zuczek, "'The Last Campaign of the Civil War: South Carolina and the Revolution of 1876,'" *Civil War History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1996), pp. 18-31, 20-21, 27-31.

803C. Vann Woodward, "Communication: Yes, There Was a Compromise of 1877," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (June, 1973), pp. 215-223, 222.

804Text of rulings at <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/95/485> and <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/133/587> accessed 02/01/18

805Text of ruling and dissent at <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/109/3> accessed 02/01/18 The Court has recently re-affirmed that individuals have a private right to deny services on racial grounds in *US v. Morisson*, 2000.

806The ruling added, "If he be a white man, and assigned to a colored coach, he may have his action for damages against the company for being deprived of his so-called 'property.' Upon the other hand, if he be a colored man, and be so assigned, he has been deprived of no property, since he is not lawfully entitled to the reputation of being a white man." *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling and dissent at <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537> accessed 05/05/18

807NY Herald at <https://zinnedproject.org/2014/11/wilmington-massacre-2/> accessed 05/05/18

May 21, 1901 Alabama convenes a Constitutional Convention. John Knox, its president, opened by comparing the moment to the 1860 vote on succession: "Then, as now, the Negro was the prominent factor in the issue... if we would have white supremacy, we must establish it by law -- not force or fraud." Section 102 of the constitution declared that "the legislature shall never pass any law to authorize or legalize any marriage between any white person and a negro, or a descendant of a negro," and Article VIII contained voting-rights restrictions, like poll taxes, literacy tests, and proof of employment, which were aimed at black Americans; whites were exempted to a degree through a "grandfather clause." The constitution passed a state vote after massive fraud in black-belt counties. In 1900 the registered African-American voters in Alabama numbered some 181,000, but in 1903 there were less than 5,000.⁸⁰⁸

April 11, 1913 One month after entering office, the Woodrow Wilson administration begins segregating Federal government facilities, the practice extending to screens blocking non-whites from view; measures affect state workers but also citizens using the offices.⁸⁰⁹

1926 The State of Georgia defines as "Negro" anyone with one-quarter "Negro" blood.

1927 Georgia declares anyone with any ascertainable trace of "Negro" blood is a "Negro." Whites are forbidden from marrying non-whites, both parties subject to a two-year prison term.

1928 Georgia requires citizens to fill out voter registration cards indicating their "race." Anyone with any admixture of "Negro" blood must register as "Negro." Whites are specifically forbidden from marrying Asians or Malays.

1935 Georgia requires racialized segregation on all public transportation.⁸¹⁰

808Alabama's populist agrarian movement was defeated through similar fraud in the 1892 and 1894 elections. Wayne Flynt, "'Alabama's Shame': The Historical Origins of the 1901 Constitution," *Alabama Law Review*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Oct. 2001), pp. 67-76, 69n17, 75. Constitution quoted at <https://glc.yale.edu/jim-crow-laws> Knox quoted at http://www.legislature.state.al.us/aliswww/history/constitutions/1901/proceedings/1901_proceedings_vol1/day2.htm 1 all accessed 06/05/18

809Wolgemuth, "Woodrow Wilson...," 158.

810Georgia statutes and state codes at <http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/insidesouth> and <https://ia801608.us.archive.org/3/items/georgiacode1926a00unde/georgiacode1926a00unde.pdf> accessed 05/05/18 The National Park Service quotes another Georgia law: "It shall be unlawful for any amateur white baseball team to play baseball on any vacant lot or baseball diamond within two blocks of a playground devoted to the Negro race, and it shall be unlawful for any amateur colored baseball team to play baseball in any vacant lot or baseball diamond within two blocks of any playground devoted to the white race." https://www.nps.gov/malu/learn/education/jim_crow_laws.htm accessed 05/06/18