

Joe Wilbur Johnson WEBP  
Claude H. Kelly

THE PROGRESSIVE \*Dec. '62--A Century of Struggle

"Civil Rights in Am. His." by John Hope Franklin (Chmn His Dept, Bklyn Coll)

1st draft of DI which John Adams called "vehement philippic against N slavery" opposed by So. delegation at Continental Congress & therefore "offensive" par. withdrawn; this div. of "SECTIONALISM" father of states' rights & present in all US.

Aug. 1862 Lincoln told Horace Greeley that his primary purpose was union & to do it without a single slave being freed, were that possible, he would.

Personal opinions notwithstanding (such as for ex in 1842 in Cincinnati, "Slavery & oppression must cease, or Am. liberty must perish." Same is true of statement "We feel... that all legal distinctions bet. individuals of the same community, founded in any such circumstances as color, origin & the like, are hostile to the genius of our institutions, & incompatible with the true his. of Am. liberty."

"Lincoln & the Proclamation" by Richard N. Current, (one of nation's foremost authorities on CW & Lincoln) EP extremely cautious & restrictive in wording

In '59's Lincoln opposed slavery's extension into Wes., territories, but did not oppose it in Sp.

In '60 he was still only for slavery being contained; as Pres. candidate he ran on platform that called for free soil in the West, but not for freedom in the So. '60-61 13th Amendment prohibiting involuntary servitude.

Very cautious at beginning of CW as (1) in summer of 1861 when Gen. John C. Fremont issued his own EP for state of Mo., Lincoln vetoed it. (2) Ditto the next spring when Gen. David Hunter did same for Ga., Fla. & So. Car. Lincoln overruled by. When, in 1862, Radical Republicans passed 2nd Confiscation act providing for emancipation of slaves belonging to those in Rebellion, Lincoln was half hearted in enforcing. When Horace Greeley published "Prayer of 20 Millions", Lincoln replied, "MY PARAMOUNT OBJ. IS TO SAVE THE UNION, & IS NOT EITHER TO SAVE OR DESTROY SLAVERY." \*\*\*\*\*

EP no ringing call to freedom; "it was about as emotion as a bill of sale."

Military expediency; by 1862, for ex. slaves/into the lines of General U.S. Grant, in Tenn & Grant who previously had been anti-abolition now decided to use the fugitives. 13th Amendment ratified 1865.

THE SOUTH IN PERSPECTIVE by C. Vann Woodward (now at Yale U/)

This is a horrible piece in which CVW tries to "prove" that only the s. since South is so benighted; and less than that when you consider No. too repp. with its imp; so that actually supposed-ly it is only since end of war or even as late as '50s. To do this he has to pretend "white supremacy" was not same as "Jim Crow", not "black codes" at end of CW, or even Reconstruction's end, etc. The one good thing is that he exposes the No.'s prejudices, the liberal's or progressiveness in with So. Bourbon & beat of all IMP. "race conflict & violence, brutality & exploitation" in 1875's but Jim Crow not ushered in with end of Recon., but at end of 19th c. (UNTIL 1901) except for 1 term, there was always at least one Ne. Congressman from the So. Populists in '90's best of all race relations. "Liberal acquiescence in the Compromise of 1877" when Carl Schurz & Frederick Douglass joined Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes's Administration.... "In the pages of Harper's, Scribner's Century, the No. Am. Review & the Atlantic Monthly in the closing decades of 19th c. can be found all the shibboleths of white supremacy. (NOT TO MENTION PRESS--Q esp. NYT)" Also Court drastically reduced Federal govt. power to intervene in states & to all extents & purposes nullified 14th & 15th Amendments as they affect freedmen.

1896, Plessy v. Ferguson US Supreme Ct. on spurious ground that "legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts" & laid down "separate but equal" doctrine; in 1898 in Williams v. Miss. Supreme Court completed opening rd. to disfranchisement by approving Miss. plan to deprive Ns of votes.

\*\*\*THE HIS. DEV. THAT COMPLETED THE MERGING OF SO. NAT. RACIAL OUTLOOK, HOWEVER WAS AMERICA'S PLUNGE INTO IMP. IN 1898. Adv. in the Pacific & Ca.ibbean brought under US jurisdiction 8 mln. colored people. N.Y. May 1900 editorial "No, men no longer de ounce the suppression of the N vote (in So) as it used to be denounced in Reconstruction days. The necess.."

"THE SORMARCHED INTO THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT UNDER BANNER OF WH. SUPREMACY. THE RISE OF PROGRESSIVISM COINCIDED WITH THE CREST OF WAVE OF RACISM & merged with it in the So. .... Not only So. reformer but WOODROW WILSON DID SO. Pres. Wilson defended segregation in Federal gov as "distinctly to the advantage of the colored people themselves."

"The Unfinished Rev." by A. Philip Randolph

"The mania for textile mills & tobacco factories that gripped the So. in the last decades of the 19th c. took on the character of a religious campaign as plant managers promised poor whites ind. salvation in the new white-only enterprise."

In (1887) there were as many as 90,000 Negroes out of a total membership of 1 mln in K of L; after Haymarket Riot of 1886 K of L declined. 1886 A. F. L. is founded & its craft locals & decentralization allows for reintrod. at least after 1893 off but by 1901 approved org. of racially separate locals.

CHARACTER OF AGE DETERMINED INITIALLY MORE BY POWER & INFLUENCE OF CAP. THAN BY RELATIVELY WEAK FLEDGLING LABOR MOVEMENTS. DESPITE MARCH OF NATION FROM AGRARIANISM TO INDUSTRIALISM IN 2nd 1/2 of 19th c. 88% of all Negroes in 1890 remained in agric. & domestic service. By 1900 it had dropped only to 86.7% ECO. ALIENATION OF N

ONLY WITH WWI DID NEGROES, IN MIGRATING NO. ENTER MOD. IND. As late as 1920, 1/4th of Negro work force unemployed, hence NOW spearheaded by Bro. of Sleeping Car Porters, mobilized for 100,000 strong convergence in Wash. D.C. whereupon Executive Order 6/41 establishing FEPC Commission to investigate violation in defense ind. CIO--for 1st time since K of L; not surprisingly in lead

were UMW which in 1900 could claim 1/3rd of total N labor force; N played imp. role in org'd. steel works. By 1940 CIO had 210,000 members. It was also the per. Negroes became predominantly urbanized;

Congress killed FEPC 1946, 1 1/2 mln. Negroes are members of labor unions. have rep. in governing councils even in So. In '59 NEGALC org'd. as late as 1955 only 12% of N work force, as compared with 42% whites had risen into professional, technical, managerial & wh. collar clerical & sales jobs. 47% of wkg. Ns were in service & other unskilled non-farm jobs. Another 15% in agric..

SKILLED FALLEN DOWN WITH AUTOMATIC. In Aug. 1962, Bur. of Labor Statistics revealed 11.4% of Negro work-force unempl. as compared with 4.6% whites.

James McBride Dabbs, pres. of So. Regional Council & author of "So. Heritage" write about "A New Southerner" in which he boldly states "It is fairly clear that the N has assumed the true leadership of the So. ...." "Black Muslims" by C. Eric Lincoln--"best org.'d & most articulate of protest movements."