

History 925

Slavery, Politics, and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America

Stephen Kantrowitz
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Spring 2007
Wednesday, 9 - 11 a.m.

Access to Readings

Books for purchase (Rainbow Bookstore Cooperative, 426 W. Gilman):

Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom*
Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*
Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*
Walter Johnson, *Soul By Soul* [e-book available]
Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship* [e-book available]
Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* [e-book available]
Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction*
Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract* [e-book available]
Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery*

Other readings available as marked:

- = via online databases (JSTOR, History Cooperative, Project Muse, etc.)
- § = via e-reserves (MyUW or Learn@UW)
- e = e-book linked via Madcat (ACLS, Documenting the American South, etc.)
- 3 = 3-hour reserve at WHS (see last page of syllabus for call numbers)

Note: Books for individual reports have not been placed on reserve.

Writing Requirements

1) Six responses to readings - submit to course page at Learn@UW by 8 p.m. Tuesday

Weeks 2 - 4 and three additional weeks during the semester (your choice)

2) Essay on *My Bondage and My Freedom* [due March 21 in class]

An essay of no more than 1000 words (excluding notes) exploring how Douglass's text challenges, complicates, or illuminates some aspect of the historiography of slavery and/or antislavery.

3) Critical Introductory Essay [due May 22 by 5 p.m. in box 5017]

A short (<2000 words) critical introduction to a primary text from the period of the course, explaining how the text reflects key themes, debates, and issues in the history and historiography. Imagine that this essay is a short version or preview, designed to persuade an editor that this text demands republication and that you are the one to do it.

As the course unfolds, you should be shelf-reading and "auditioning" texts referenced in our readings as possible candidates. When you turn in the introduction, include a copy of the book or a hyperlink to the online version. I promise to return any personal or library copies!

Other Requirements

1) regular participation in discussion

2) one in-class presentation of a book from the "reports" list

- an oral presentation of no more than 10 minutes
- a one-page handout that summarizes the book's main arguments, themes, contributions, and evidence (with copies for everyone in the class)

Schedule of Meetings and Assignments**Week 1 – January 24: Introductions and Assignments****Week 2 – January 31: What was Antebellum American Citizenship?****Readings**

- § Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, 26-77
- § James Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1780*, 231-286
- § William J. Novak, "The Legal Transformation of Citizenship in 19th-Century America," in *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*, 85-119
- § Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America*, 15-39
- § Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and 'Race' in New England, 1780-1860*, 84-122

Questions: How do Novak, Isenberg, and Melish complicate Kettner's and Keyssar's narratives? How do they challenge or call into question one another's arguments? What is the relationship of suffrage to citizenship?

Week 3 – February 7: Resistance, Revolt and the Politics of American Slaves**Readings**

- 3§ Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 3-49, 587-660
- 3 Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 1-116
- 3 Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*, 1-61
- Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37 (Fall 2003), 113-124
- § Nell Irvin Painter, "Soul Murder and Slavery: Toward a Fully-Loaded Cost Accounting," in *Southern History Across the Color Line*

reports

- James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia*
- "Forum: The Making of a Slave Conspiracy," pt. I (*WMQ* 58:4, Oct. 2001) and pt. 2 (*WMQ* 59:1, Jan. 2002)

Week 4 – February 14: The National Politics of the Antebellum Era**Reading**

- 3 Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*, entire book

n.b.: This book is 796 pages long. We will discuss strategies for reading it effectively in a reasonable amount of time.

reports

- Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South*

Week 5 – February 21: Households, Property and Citizenship in Slave Society**Readings**

- 3e Walter Johnson, *Soul By Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*
- 3§ Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South*, 45-109
- § Stephanie McCurry, "The Politics of Yeoman Households," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the American Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber

reports

- Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*
- Robin Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*

Week 6 – February 28: The Limits of Political Citizenship

Readings

- 3e Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity*, entire book
- Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, "Limits of Political Engagement in Antebellum America: A New Look at the Golden Age of Participatory Democracy," *JAH* 84 (Dec. 1997), and responses by Watson, et al., 855-909

reports

- John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*
- Richard F. Bense, *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*

Week 7 – March 7: Whiteness and Citizenship

Readings

- Walter Johnson, "The Slave Trader, The White Slave, and the Politics of Racial Determination in the 1850s" *JAH* 87:1 (June 2000)
- 3 David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, 43-163
- e Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, 15-90

note: this week's reading load is light, so you may want to get started on reading and thinking about Douglass's narrative for the assignment due on March 21.

report

- Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*
- Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*

Week 8 – March 14: Black Citizenship

Readings

- 3e Robert S. Levine, *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representative Identity*, 1-98
- Austin Allen, "The Political Economy of Blackness: Citizenship, Corporations, and Race in *Dred Scott*," *Civil War History* 50 (Sept. 2004), 229-260
 - W. Caleb McDaniel, "The Fourth and the First: Abolitionist Holidays, Respectability, and Radical Interracial Reform," *American Quarterly* 57:1 (March 2005), 129-151

reports

- John Ernest, *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861*
- Don Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics*

Question: What is the relationship between "respectability" and citizenship?

Week 9- March 21: Freedom

Readings

- 3e Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*
- 3e Robert S. Levine, *Martin Delany*, 99-143

1000-word paper on Douglass and antebellum historiography due in class

Week 10 – March 28: Wartime and Alternate Citizenships**Readings**

- 3 Steven Hahn, *Nation*, 62-115
- § Stephen Kantrowitz, "Fighting Like Men: Civil War Dilemmas of Abolitionist Manhood," in *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber
- Stephanie McCurry, "The Two Faces of Republicanism: Gender and Proslavery Politics in Antebellum South Carolina," *JAH* 78 (March 1992), 1245-1264
- 3§ Richard F. Bense, *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, 217-285

report

- Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*
- Richard F. Bense, *Yankee Leviathan*

Week 11 – April 11: Reconstruction as an Unfinished Revolution**Reading**

- 3 Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction*
- § Michael Vorenberg, "Reconstruction as a Constitutional Crisis," in Thomas J. Brown, ed., *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*, 141-171

reports

- Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland in the Nineteenth Century*
- W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*

Week 12 – April 18: Reconstruction as Slaves' Politics in New Circumstances**Readings**

- 3 Steven Hahn, *Nation*, 116-363
- § Scott Nelson, "Livestock, Boundaries, and Public Space in Spartanburg: African American Men, Elite White Women, and the Spectacle of Conjugal Relations," in Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, 313-327

reports

- Michael Fitzgerald, *Urban Emancipation: Popular Politics in Reconstruction Mobile, 1860-1890*

Question: What are the important differences between Foner's and Hahn's depictions and analyses of Reconstruction?

Week 13 – April 25: Women's Rights, Contract, and National Citizenship**Readings**

- 3e Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation*
- § Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom"
- § Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*, 81-123

reports

- Hendrik Hartog, *Man and Wife in America: A History*
- Michael Goldberg, *An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas*

Week 14 – May 2: White Supremacist Citizenship**Reading**

- 3§ Barbara Young Welke, *Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law, and the Railroad Revolution, 1865-1920*, 249-375
- 3 Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*, 110-286

reports

- Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*
- Heather Cox Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901*

Week 15 – May 9: Looking Outward and Forward

Readings

- 3 Frederick Cooper, Thomas Holt, and Rebecca Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies*
- Alice Kessler-Harris, "The Wages of Patriarchy: Some Thoughts about the Continuing Relevance of Class and Gender," *Labor: Studies in the Working-Class History of the Americas* 3:3 (2006), 7-21.

report

- Rebecca Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery*

Works requested for 3-hour reserve at Wisconsin Historical Society

Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom*
E443 C36 2004

Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*
E185.2 H15 2003

Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*
E302.1 W55 2005

Walter Johnson, *Soul By Soul*
F379 N59 N4 1999 - also available as an e-book via Madcat

Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship*
HQ1236.5 U6 Z34 2003 - also available as an e-book via Madcat

Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*
E449 D744 1962 - also available via docsouth.unc.edu and in other e-versions

Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction*
E668 F662 1990 (may not be available at WHS)

Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*
HD4903.5.U6 S7 1998 - also available as an e-book via Madcat

Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*
E443 G46 1976

Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*
E185.8 P39 2003

David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*
HD4903.5 U58 R64 1991

Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*
E184 E95 J33 1998 - also available as an e-book via Madcat

Robert S. Levine, *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representative Identity*
PS366 A35 L48 1997 - also available as an e-book via Madcat

Richard Benschel, *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*
JK1967 B46 2004

Barbara Welke, *Recasting American Liberty*
HE2757 W45 2001

Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*
E667 T57 K36 2000

Frederick Cooper et al., *Beyond Slavery*
HT731 C66 2000 (may not be available at WHS)