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Reconstructing Home: Abolition Democracy, the City, and Black Feminist Political Thought Revisited

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Political Science

by

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ABSTRACT

Reconstructing Home:

Abolition Democracy, the City, and Black Feminist Political Thought Revisited

by

Jasmine Noelle Yarish

This study extends W.E.B. Du Bois's theory of abolition democracy by exploring the political thought of Black women in and around the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania between 1850 and 1880. As the historical site of the nation's founding, the U.S. abolitionist movement, and the largest concentration of Blacks in the United States at the end of the 19th century, Philadelphia is central to the American democratic imaginary, yet Black women's contributions to the city, the nation, and that imaginary, even by those exploring black political thought, remain largely unexplored. By returning to how Sarah Mapps Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, Harriet Tubman, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Fanny Jackson Coppin, and Gertrude Bustill Mossell negotiated and transgressed the newly drawn boundaries of the expanding city, the "splendid failure of Reconstruction" that Du Bois documented in *Black Reconstruction* takes on gendered and urban dimensions. Attending to these Black women as they adapted to global trends of enclosure, industrialization, and urbanization, I find that the political concept of fugitivity that spurned the democratic movement for the abolition of slavery retains theoretical significance beyond the antebellum period. Having a history in

Black political thought, fugitivity is a paradigm through which people in their everyday practices escape the capitalist impulse to confine, detain, and commodify their existence as both capital and labor. Black women as political thinkers complicate the spatialized reality and romantic idea of "home" that underpinned both the hunting and freeing of fugitives in the years leading up to the U.S. Civil War. Their work raises the following question: what does democracy mean when the nation is built from and by those deemed "homeless"?

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction – Rethinking Reconstruction in the 21st Century

"We are right in the adolescent stage of a third reconstruction, … it's … about how do we address the extremism that's constitutionally inconsistent, morally indefensible and economically insane." Rev. Dr. William J. Barber II made this observation discussing "Democracy Awakening," a series of public demonstrations by more than 200 organizations which was held in Washington, D.C. following a 10-day march that began in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on 2 April 2016.[1] By using the phrase "third reconstruction," Barber acknowledges a profound historical consistency in the political landscape of the United States (hereafter simply U.S.). The same systemic extremes regarding race, class, and gender that brought about radical democratization during the long abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century and repeated in the middle of the twentieth during the Civil Rights Movement (i.e. second reconstruction)[2] seem to have become commonplace once again. People are moving into city streets, whether in the nation's capital or beyond, reclaiming them as central to democratic practice. Given the insistence in the demonstrations is on popular control of governance, the streets operate akin to the people's home where the positioning of struggles bridge the personal and the political.

In his book-length exploration entitled *Third Reconstruction*, Barber makes multiple references to the centrality of "home" in the collective fight for racial justice. He recalls Martin Luther King Jr.'s insistence at the 1963 "March on Washington" for the demonstrators to "go home" and take their concerns to their local representatives, organizations, and neighbors (x–xi).

[1] Barber made these insights during an interview with Amy Goodman on the *Democracy Now!* (Goodman & Barber 2016). For more information about "Democracy Awakening" and the organizations of which it consisted see their website, www.democracyawakening.org.

[2] Drawing on C. Vann Woodward's essay "The Political Legacy of Reconstruction" (1957), multiple scholars in and beyond political science have referred to the long Civil Rights era as a second reconstruction (Marable 1984; Singh 2005; Valelly 2004; Walton et al. 2011).

And though the figure of the fugitive slave bound in secret to the North stands out as the exemplar of political agency used by enslaved peoples to fight back against the structure of white supremacy in the nineteenth century, Barber makes a case for the political significance of those that stayed in their communities, at the apparent home front, during and after the Civil War.

> African American communities throughout the South remember how, whenever Sherman's troops established an encampment, that place became an island of freedom within the South. If you could get to one of those places, you didn't have to cross the Ohio River to gain your freedom. You were already free, right there at home. (1)

These examples, along with Barber's account of the regressive effects of the Republican supermajority in North Carolina turning back civil rights legislation to drastic lows that rival post-Reconstruction days of "home rule," suggest that mainstream democratic theory ought to be rethought. Put differently, the newest struggle for a more democratic America presses that home is not an apolitical vacuum and that the most pressing fault lines of the political are not solely situated in the public sphere.

Considering together Barber's cross-historical observations, the racial tensions sparked during and perhaps by Barack Obama's presidency (King & Smith 2011; Parham-Payne 2017), and the growing economic insecurity since the reverberations of the global financial crisis that began in 2008, the American public faces a serious question: where do we go from here? The discipline of political science, particularly the American school which has dedicated its existence to measuring and promoting democratization, is poised on the front lines to address such a question. Much of the research that has been replicated time and again is now being up-ended. Across the traditional subfields in political science, scholars are expressing swelling concerns over the effects of "echo chambers," in both the physical and digital worlds, on the predictability of political (voting) behavior (Blakely 2016; Shashkevich 2016). Others are questioning whether surveys have the ability to successfully capture public opinion as related to constitutional

questions like the protection of violent political ideologies and speech acts as they move from the far-flung corners of the internet to town streets, city squares, and campus quads (Newkirk 2016). Intersectional scholars have pointed out the lack of nuance when it comes to age-old statistical adages like the "gender gap" used to predict voting outcomes (Junn 2017; Malone 2016). Lastly, the circulation of decontextualized arguments have left many uncertain of "first amendment" claims associated with the dismantlement of symbols of white supremacy in public spaces across the spectrum of political ideologies (Gunter & Kizzire 2016; Levy 2017). From these combined concerns, political science as a discipline appears to be as fractured as the U.S. populous. Stepping back from the particularities, a cleavage emerges most clearly between scholars who emphasize empirical analysis over normative concerns and positivist objectivity over critical research.

For decades, political theorists have voiced concerns that the discipline was either in or heading for a crisis (Dahl 1961; Glynos & Howarth 2007; McClure 2014; Moran 2014; Robinson 2016; Strauss 1968; Wolin 1969). Exploring the assumptions underwriting claims to neutrality, objectivity, and scientific authority, their research agendas typically focus on the exploration of concepts and principles that describe, explain, or evaluate political events and institutions. These studies may be formal, normative, or critical. Conceptual analysis requires an assessment of the material context from which a political concept emerges, becomes embedded in structural practices (i.e. discourses, institutions, law, etc.), and from these structures ends up being redeployed to create political norms and values. Put simply, an exploration of a concept requires an assessment of the power relations from which language is articulated and becomes distributed, otherwise the analysis may overlook how knowledge itself becomes limited and limiting (Glynos & Howarth 2007; Rabinow & Sullivan 1979; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea 2014). Such insights

from the discourse school may be ever more important at our historical juncture. While politicians and media pundits openly declare that we live in a "post-factual" world dominated by "fake news" when thousands of people take to the streets to defend themselves and democratic ideals from neo-fascist, neo-confederate, and neo-colonial violence, many Americans are left to wonder why the past is not past, particularly when it comes to race and gender.

Calls for abolition have once again made it into the public sphere whether being shouted in the streets, debated on online forums, articulated in news headlines, or raised at city halls. In exposing widespread police brutality, housing insecurity, and border imperialism, activists within and without the U.S. draw attention to the ineffectiveness of the modern state as it has been defined up till this moment – all security state, welfare state, and nation-state. Lacking knowledge of its philosophic tradition, critics on both the left and right in the form of editorial writers, politicians, and policy wonks are quick to dismiss abolition as a fool's errand or a naïve dream. In response to their dismissals, a recent article in *Jacobin* provides clarity for understanding abolitionism as a living political philosophy. The authors focus on what those who hold this political consciousness call non-reformist reforms: "those measures that reduce the power of an oppressive system while illuminating the system's inability to solve the crises it creates" (Berger et al. 2017). Activists currently on the ground, like the Black queer women who created #BlackLivesMatter, have redeployed this political consciousness by harnessing new social media technologies combined with grassroots organizing and direct action tactics.[3]

[3] As my readers will note, I capitalize the word "Black" while not doing the same for "white" when referring to each racial signifier. Given my own subjective investment to center the marginalized narrative developed by Black people, particularly Black women, to re-assess American democratic theory, I do this to highlight the non-symmetrical nature of these terms in American historiography. To borrow from Joel Olson, who theorized the relationship between race as a political category and Black as a cultural signifier, "Black is a cultural identity as well as a political category, and as such merits capitalization like American Indian, Chicana, or Irish

Whether by pushing back against the social condition of disposability that feeds school-to-prison pipelines or joining the call by first nations to reclaim every inch of the earth as "our collective backyard," these activists build upon the everyday lived experiences of Black, brown, native, queer, trans, and other non-binary peoples as they contend with state violence. Their actions have a historical legacy that can be theorized by revisiting the archives of abolitionism. I want to suggest that returning to the moment of the first Reconstruction[4] at this time will not only provide insight into the philosophical tradition of abolitionist politics that has been largely absent from the discipline of political science, but will aid in our collective understanding of where we have been, where we are now, and where we can go from here.

Acknowledging the vast literature on Reconstruction in the discipline of history and its prevalence as a subject in the founding decades of political science as a discipline, this project takes as its theoretical entry the urban North as opposed to the rural South to rethink the era's importance for today. Some political theorists have returned to the political legacies of Reconstruction to dig deep into the myths created by the first scholars of the discipline. Much of this scholarship trends toward a combination of empirical and theoretical analysis. Among the most popular practical subjects examined is the prison-industrial-complex (Alexander 2012; Davis 1998, 2003; Dilts 2014; DuVernay 2016). As related to incarceration, others have focused on the genealogy of policing, the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878, and slave catchers (Brucato 2014; Gamal 2016; Schultz 2014). Turning toward the differences in the gendering of social control, scholars attentive to intersectionality provide critical analysis on the sexual economy of

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American. White, however, … is strictly a political category and thus, like 'proletarian,' 'citizen,' or 'feminist,' requires no capitalization" (2004, xix).

[4] In order to denote that I am referencing the "first" Reconstruction, this term will be capitalized throughout. All other iterations of reconstruction, whether second or third, will be presented in lower case.

slavery, reproductive rights, and Black women's political freedom (Adrienne Davis 2003, 2009; Roberts 1997; Threadcraft 2016). One thing that remains consistent across these diverse subjects is a singular scholar with whom they share an affinity, and who, as a result, is being recognized more and more alongside traditional canonical figures for political theory – W. E. B. Du Bois (Balfour 2011a; Cannavò & Lane 2014; Gooding-Williams 2009; Hancock 2005; Marable 2005; Olson 2004; Reed Jr. 1997; Robinson 2000). This project starts as a conversation with the impulse located in this set of literatures.

In building on the work by of W.E.B. Du Bois, particularly his theory of abolition-democracy developed in *Black Reconstruction* (1935/1998), my intention is not to simply rehash the importance of his scholarship on and emanating from the Reconstruction era. I acknowledge, along with those political theorists who precede me like Cedric J. Robinson (2000, 196), Joel Olson (2004, 10), and Laurie Balfour (2011a, 27), that Du Bois literally wrote the book, if not an entire library, dedicated to "rethinking Reconstruction." Rather, I ask the following questions. What role, if any, does Reconstruction play in the epistemological development of American political science? Would a reassessment of the political economy of Reconstruction by incorporating gender aid in our ability to negotiate current population trends and tensions as we move from a majority white to majority non-white nation that was once concentrated in rural spaces and is now largely located in urban ones? What effect does the erasure of Black women from the historiography of the first Reconstruction (1850-1880) used by American political scientists both at the discipline's founding in the late nineteenth century and in their more recent reassessment of racial tensions have on the ability to reanimate American democratic thought? What additional value might political theorists gleam from reading their experiences with the city as central to the abolitionist tradition in furtherance of its social critique of whiteness? Put

differently, what does democracy mean when the nation is built from and by those deemed fugitive and/or "homeless"? Even though this project gives insight into all these questions, it is the very last that will be the focus. While I will lay out the case selection, methods, chapter structure, and arguments used to assess of the thirty years preceding the institutionalization of the first political science department in the U.S. later, I dedicate the majority of the introduction to the question concerning the historical placement, epistemological weight, and methodological paradox posed by Reconstruction in the founding of American-style political science.

A. When History was Politics and Politics was History

The ongoing de-legitimation of race as a scholarly line of inquiry in the field of political science remains a common occurrence that both graduate students and junior faculty face. Recently Tony Affigne (2014), a leading scholar in the subfield of race, ethnicity, and politics (REP), revisited the Eurocentrism of early American political scientists to contextualize the marginalization of race scholarship in the overall discipline as compared to other social sciences. Appreciating the overwhelming but also tenuousness power of the "majority minority political coalition" that re-elected President Barack Obama to a second term in 2012, Affigne concerns himself with whether the discipline's practitioners, particularly in the subfield of American politics, are equipped to continue their scientific goals in light of changing U.S. demographics. Despite the rising success of REP as a subfield, a relatively new line of inquiry in political science, Affigne thinks that "more confusion lies ahead" for the discipline (482). He suggests that "the key challenge will be to integrate a new concept of *minority majority nation* into our scholarly lexicon, theoretical framings, and analytical methods" (483). In calling for this "more expansive and inclusive political framing" (ibid.), the insistence is that the discipline needs to change. To do so, those in the discipline "will need to face unpleasant truths about our profession, which has only recently

confronted its own racial, ethnic, and gender biases in its subfield organization, methodological norms, theoretical constructions, narrative traditions, and professional practices in recruitment, training, and advancement" (483).

Publishing in the same journal, *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (est. 2013), two years after Affigne raised his concerns, another group of scholars took up this challenge. Using a genealogical approach, Paula D. McClain, Gloria Y. A. Ayee, Taneisha N. Means, Alicia M. Reyes-Barriéntez, and Nura A. Sediqe examine "the complex relationship between racial ideologies and the development of the discipline of political science in the United States" (2016, 469). Pushing back against Michel Foucault's insistance that genealogy is not a "search for 'origins'" (1984, 77), this group of scholars begin their analysis with the founding of the discipline in the late nineteenth-century by John W. Burgess. Much like Affigne's own assessment of how racial power dynamics are written into the history of political science from its inception, both studies are loyal to the approach of genealogy as a rejection of "the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies" (Foucault 1984, 77). Put differently, I see these two projects less as explications on the origins of the discipline and more as critical examinations of the present. According to political theorist Andrew Dilts, Foucault's adaptation of genealogy as a method of social analysis has such an aim:

> tracing out a critical history of the present as a mode of intentionally *disruptive* critique, as capable of redescribing a dominant or hegemonic formation of power/knowledge, we must be attentive to an ethics of genealogical investigation (one that centers the voices and archives of those most marginalized by the objects of analysis) and the philosophical use of history and specific histories (directed toward liberatory ends beyond the currently given conditions. (Dilts 2017, 52)

Using this understanding of genealogy, what I want to underscore is how, common to both articles, Reconstruction appears to play a significant role in the epistemological development of political science by U.S. practitioners. The era that Eric Foner calls "America's unfinished revolution"

(1988) comes first into focus for both essays as the authors address Burgess's lasting legacy in the discipline.

Burgess has been called "the Godfather of the Dunning School" (McKinley 2013). This historiographical school of thought not only remained the dominate interpretation of Reconstruction for the social sciences throughout much of the twentieth century, it "provided the intellectual foundation for the system of segregation and black disenfranchisement that followed Reconstruction" (Foner 2015b). While Affigne focuses on how Burgess's "thoroughly *white*-centered view of the world" affected his scholarship (Affigne 2014, 484), McClain et al. explore how Burgess's adoption of "scientific" racial inferiority of non-whites popular in some of the late nineteenth century intellectual circles became institutionalized in the epistemological assumptions of the field. By asking, "how do the history of power and exclusion in the early days of political science and its legacy inform our understanding of the discipline today?", they insist that racism operates at the structural rather than the individual level (McClain et al. 2016, 477). No one knew this better than the discipline's founder. When Burgess developed the first research oriented political science department in the U.S. at Columbia in 1880, it also included the discipline of history. In his writings, Burgess saw history and the political project of the nation as intimately connected: "In all the convulsions of political history, described as advance and reaction, the scientific student of history is able to discover that the zigzags of progress are ever bearing in the general direction which the combined impulses toward nationalism and humanism compel" (1904, 243).

Unlike many academic institutions today that draw stark lines between interpretation and empirical methodologies along disciplinary lines by placing history into the category of the humanities and political science amongst the social sciences, Burgess did not define science as

contrasted from narrative. Rather he suggested that systematic, rigorous, and impartial assessment of historical facts will lead to scientific truth. Though preceding the adoption of positivism as the main epistemological paradigm by social scientists, Burgess assumed that a distance between the subject of a study and the object studied could be achieved. In holding this assumption, he failed to consider that a prescription of what counts as history, or relevant, can never be impartial and thus requires a "contextualized set of practices" (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea 2014, xiv). Furthermore, by comparing the various constitutions and political institutions of England, France, Germany, and the U.S. as if they were objects and not a set of human interactions, Burgess's attachment and affinity as an American influenced his aim of setting out to show that America was exceptional amongst the Western nations because it reached the highest stage of development, namely perfecting liberty and democracy, before the others. Being "the first" makes the U.S. special case for Burgess, placing its achievements beyond comparison with the development of later nation-states that end up adopting liberal democratic principles as their central organizing tenants for governance. This fledgling theory of American exceptionalism – one based on the political event that constitutional civil liberty originated in the U.S. (Burgess 1893, 265) – would not only become a pillar of American-style political science, it would also limit how Burgess and others would analyze, namely dismiss, the influence of Reconstruction on American democratization as faced with the global trends of industrialization and urbanization in the late nineteenth century.

In 1897, Burgess's student for which the Dunning School is named, William A. Dunning, would leave the relatively young field of political science to establish a separate department dedicated less to the pursuit of science and more committed to understanding the human condition through the subject of history. As a discipline, history extends back into the ancient world, but the

Dunning School pioneered a new methodological intervention by using primary documents. By doing so, they aimed to and set "forth basic facts" so that later scholars could investigate "aspects of Reconstruction ignored by previous polemicists and historians" (Smith 2013, 4). That same year, Dunning published his dissertation which Burgess oversaw back when the two disciplines were unified at Columbia: *The Constitution of the United States in Civil War and Reconstruction: 1860–1867*. It quickly became the foundational text on the period then utilized as a reference for Dunning's students, hence name the "Dunning School of Historiography" emerged (McClain et al. 2016, 472).

According to Howard K. Beale, the Dunning School, which would come to dominate scholarly and cultural depictions of the Reconstruction era well into the 1930s, emphasized "the harm done to the South by Radical Reconstruction and upon the sordid political and economic motives behind Radicalism" (1940, 807). The purpose of the Dunning School was to frame Reconstruction as merely a reconciliation between the North and the South (i.e. a national project). For them, Reconstruction was ideological (i.e. partial), but what they failed to consider was that the idea it promoted was democracy itself (i.e. universal). They contended that such a reconciliation may only become possibly when both sides agreed to the racial superiority of white Americans:

> the ultimate root of the trouble in the South had been, not the institution of slavery, but the coexistence in one society of two races so distinct in characteristics as to render coalescence impossible; that slavery had been a *modus vivendi* through which social life was possible; and that, after its disappearance, its place must be taken by some set of conditions which, if more human and beneficent in accidents, must in essence express the same fact of racial inequality. The progress in the acceptance of this idea in the North has measured the progress in the South of the undoing of reconstruction. (Dunning 1901, 449)

Since the repudiation of their scholarship by twentieth century historians, the racial assumptions underwriting the Dunning School has been exposed as providing sympathetic assessments of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, justifications for the restoration of Southern "Home Rule," effectively

using federalist arguments to reinvent the pre-war white supremacist notion of state's rights and end the "corrupt era" of Reconstruction (Diemer 2009, 30–31), and a derisive critique of Black "idleness" after the Civil War (Dunning 1907, 11). Furthermore, Dunning's approach to political economy helped to legitimate segregation and render invisible lynchings, both growing issues at the time that he published *Reconstruction: Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (1907).[5] As such, the Dunning School might be considered the first conservative think tank, predating the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which was founded in 1910.

Burgess's own contributions to this interpretive school, the discipline of history, and the goal of reconciliation through the reassertion of a nation dominated by white interests was his application of a scientific notion of race to explain why Reconstruction failed and that it should not be considered anything else than a great mistake. In *Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866–1876*, Burgess writes,

> From the point of view of a sound political science, the imposition of universal negro suffrage upon the Southern communities, in some of which the negroes were in large majority, was one of the "blunder-crimes" of the century. There is something natural in the

[5] W.E.B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter established the Niagara Movement in 1905. According to Angela Jones, this was a crucial period in the long Civil Rights movement, the fight against segregation, and social movements more generally, because it was the moment that established the "publics, or groups of concerned citizens that met publicly to challenge hegemonic discourses and shift public opinion" (2011, 1–2). In August 1906 soldiers "rioted" in Brownsville, Texas as a result of segregation tensions leading to the death of one white soldier and the wounding of another. These events lead President Theodore Roosevelt to dismiss three companies of Black soldiers for their involvement in "the riot." This event was mentioned multiple times in the *Political Science Quarterly (PSQ),* the discipline's first academic journal (Affigne 2014, 484; McClain et al. 2016, 472). The appearance of this event can be found in the subsection "Lynching and the Race Problem" of the section entitled "Record of Political Events" in those volumes of *PSQ* spanning from 1906 to 1910. Given that Dunning was responsible for editing this section for *PSQ* from 1890 to 1897 and was positioning himself amongst the leadership in the newly formed American Political Science Association (APSA) (est. 1903), to which he would ascend to the office of the organization's president in 1921, he likely read these accounts of the Brownsville affair. Finally, in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) would be formed. According to Chris Parker, "a principle organizational priority [of the NAACP] was the preservation of the lives of black Southerners whose welfare meant nothing to white supremacists" (2013, 1).

> subordination of an inferior race to a superior race, even to the point of the enslavement of the inferior race, but there is nothing natural in the opposite. (1902, 244–45)

By suggesting that enslaving people deemed "inferior" is natural, he conceptualizes race itself as natural. This resonates not only with Aristotle's claim that there are "slaves by nature" who have "no deliberative faculty at all" and are therefore justly excluded from political life (1996, 17; 29), but also stems from Hegel's philosophy of history that denotes superiority to those ethnic groups who have proven themselves as capable nation-builders and passed down those "germs" and "genes" to their ancestors (Loewenberg 1955). By evaluating Reconstruction's institutions, claiming them as failures, and demanding that the North acknowledge Reconstruction as a doomed project, Burgess academically authorized both scientific racism and white nationalism as the cornerstones of American exceptionalism.

Beyond their dismissal of Reconstruction, Burgess and his students set forth further restrictions that would continue to limit the discipline of political science. These limitations were drawn by narrowing who could be considered an agent of politics both in regards to their research and who got to be researchers. Their studies focused on Congress, the Presidency, and the Constitution. Today, political science remains dominated by the study of political institutions, the elite figures who lead them, and the decisions made by them. By delegitimizing Blacks as political actors all the while defending antebellum southern whites as noble and cultured, Burgess and the Dunning School ensured that Blacks would be deprived of elite status and thus considered not to be "political decision makers" (McClain et al. 2016, 479n.4). As an extension, Black scholars who too considered themselves political scientists and were practically contemporaries of Burgess and Dunning, but indeed ignored by them, would eventually have their works recognized as foundational for the sister disciplines of sociology (i.e. Du Bois' 1899 book, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*) and history (i.e. George Washington Williams' 1885 book, *History of the*

Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens).[6] The marginalization of these two texts from the trajectory of political science underscores its century-long epistemological loss in the pursuit of understanding race according to Affigne and McClain et al. but also to reconsidering the centrality of Reconstruction to the discipline's various cannon spanning the subfields from American politics to political theory an even international relations.

I agree with the conclusions that both Affigne and McClain et al. make: Burgess, Dunning, and many more like-minded figures, set-in motion a series of scholarly commitments and institutionalized assumptions that political science has yet to truly overcome such as the continued lack of scholarship that focuses on non-white political subjects and the lack of scholars of color as practitioners in the field (Affigne 2014, 486; McClain et al. 2016, 475). Perhaps the most damning legacy, however, is the paucity within the discipline to engage with race not as a stable naturalized category but a shifting one shot through and informed by other socially constructed categories such as gender, class, sexuality, and ability. Building on the work of Ange-Marie Hancock (2005, 2007), I want to suggest that political science will further its contributions to intersectionality by acknowledging Du Bois's contribution to the scientific progress of the discipline due to his de-mythologizing of race as a natural or biological concept and by re-centering Black women's intellectual and activist labor in the historiography of Reconstruction. Before turning to a reconsideration of Du Bois as the founding scholar of modern political science, let me turn to the marginalization of women and the subject of gender from the discipline by Burgess and how his rejection of Reconstruction's significance of U.S. democratization reasserts a gender bias both in

[6] Of course both Du Bois and Williams have had difficulties being recognized as foundational to both these fields. For an account of Du Bois's legacy in sociology see Aldon Morris's *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (2015). For an account of Williams's legacy in history see John Hope Franklin's "Stalking George Washington Williams" (2003).

commentary about American politics more broadly and in the discipline of political science in particular.

B. The Gender Gap in the Discipline of Political Science

Almost a quarter of a century before the scholars explored above turned to the origins of political science as a discipline to provide a structural explanation for the paucity of race scholarship, Barbara J. Nelson (1989) did the same for gender. Her analysis of core textbooks and journals shows that even though the "logically positivistic theory of knowing" instilled by the founders of the discipline has gone through various transitions, the discipline continues to fail to realize and install practices that acknowledge and attempt to overcome the fact that "interpretive, positivist, and postmodernist ways of knowing are each *gendered* ways of knowing" (1989, 10; 19). One of her measures for assessing the discipline across time was the adverse response by founders of the discipline to (white) women's attainment of suffrage in 1920. She specifically turns to a text written by Burgess three years after that historical expansion of the franchise to show that he "not only felt comfortable with the Victorian ideology and practice of separate spheres for men and women, but he also believed that having the vote might turn middle class women away from their charitable work in hospitals and art galleries, leaving a hole in the social fabric that only government could mend" (6). In using the term "Victorian ideology," Nelson alludes to the patriarchal response to women's growing presences in various public roles from Queen Victoria's more than sixty year rule of the United Kingdom (McKendry 1994) to working class women's relationship and adjustment to industrialization (Boris & Kleinberg 2003; Higgs & Wilkinson 2016) including Black women who toiled in fields, houses, and laundries (Jones 1986). Sometimes called the "Victorian feminist movement," "ladylike behavior" became highly valued to the point that it also was in need of protection (Digby 1992, 203). Due to the changes in the economy,

namely the production of goods by factory labor once made in the home, white women gained more free time in the nineteenth century. Repositioned as mothers of the nation, they would turn their new found leisure time towards the poor, the immigrant, and people of color with the aim of doing "civilization-work" (Newman 1999, 52–55). Charitable work as a national project enveloped the racial assumptions of the day.

Over a dozen years after Nelson's publication, Linda Faye Williams (2003), a Black women in the field of political science, would expose how the very institutionalization of charitable work, which begins in the north before the Civil War, finds its genealogy in the Reconstruction era with the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, whose efforts were largely localized in the former Confederate States of the south and which was displaced by the establishment of the Civil War veterans' pensions. Placing these two programs as significant for the development of the U.S. welfare state, Williams notes that even though "neither program was racially exclusive" a decidedly racial distinction emerged between them (2003, 65):

> What best explains the emergence of arguments in favor of veterans' pensions and in opposition to the Freedmen's Bureau is the meaning of race that kept the two in seemingly separate universes. Help through the Freedmen's Bureau was objected to and delimited primarily because its main beneficiaries were not white. Capitalism, republicanism, and racial formation combined to construct the Civil War veterans' program in a way that solidified whiteness and the Freedmen's Bureau in a way that delegitimized blacks and their claims to justice. (67)

Returning to Nelson (1989) who overlooks this trajectory by moving from the founding of the discipline to her contemporaneous moment, she turns her focus to the paucity of gender analysis in university classrooms (i.e. textbooks) and scholarly research agendas (i.e. journal articles). In doing so, she continues to overlook the class and racial components which, corresponding to Victorian ideology, were central to the efforts of Reconstruction. By not thinking about Burgess's rejection of Reconstruction as part and parcel of the founding of the discipline itself, Nelson places

an archival wedge between the struggle for women's rights and the co-activism of women for the abolition of slavery that preceded the Civil War and extended through Reconstruction (Brown 1978; E. DuBois 1987; E. DuBois 2006; Dudden 2011; Yellin & Horne 1994; Zaeske 2003).

Seventeen years after the publication of Nelson's assessment of the epistemological limitations of the discipline when it comes to women's interests and pursuits in the field of political science, Sue Tolleson-Rinehart and Susan J. Carroll (2006) found that the gender politics of the discipline were still "Far from Ideal." They too return to the founding of the discipline, paying specific attention to the fact that it "became institutionalized … during the Progressive Era, a period when women were very active in social reform movements ranging from settlement houses to temperance and child labor reform" (507). Choosing to give attention to the first women to achieve a Ph.D. in political science in the U.S., like Sophonisba Breckinridge, Merze Tate, and Louise Overacker, Tolleson-Rinehart and Carroll provide an assessment of the legacy of Burgess and the Dunning School. Like Nelson, Tolleson-Rinehart and Carroll focus on Burgess's anti-suffrage position, which they note was shared by others in the discipline. They also do not mention either the centrality of Reconstruction to the intellectual trajectory of the discipline or women's involvement in the abolitionist movement as a precursor to the struggle for suffrage. Rather, they focus on how the behavioralist turn failed to engage in critical reflection of "gender as a theoretical and analytic construct," which in turn "left the discipline unprepared to explain" the (inter-racial) women's movement emerging in the late sixties and extending through the 1970s (509).

Another reason why gender analysis remains marginalized in political science is that women are rarely, if not at all, seen as societal leaders (i.e. politicians) as opposed to societal caretakers. In her excavation of the canon of Western political thought, Carole Pateman finds that an institutionalization of the Victorian ideology of gendered "spheres of influence" into the social

contract emerged from "one natural ability that men lack: women, but not men, are able to give birth" (1989, 44). From this lack, Pateman argues that men came to view the female body as disorderly due to it being "subject to uncontrollable natural processes and passions" (ibid). Extending Pateman's analysis, a more recent political theorist suggests that since the intimate knowledge of giving birth cannot be accessed through the male body, the capacity to give birth becomes a marker of difference, one that is then subjugated to regulation which in turn underscores the concept of (patriarchal) political authority, "the law of the father," and the founding of the nation-state (Stevens 2010, 161). Clearly this logic underpins Burgess's own assessment that women have a role to play in societal development but one that is separate and distinct from leadership and the tasks of politics (Burgess 1923, 90). It is for this reason that he also refrained from allowing female students to join the ranks of graduate students in political science when he was dean of the program (Rosenberg 2004). Patriarchal authority, both enacting it and learning it, was reserved for those who were disposed to becoming patriarchs. This begs a question: are there other forms of leadership that would not only allow for women to engage in politics but would move politics beyond exclusions based on identity for the purpose of enacting a democratic polity?

Max Weber, the main theorist of leadership in the discipline of political science, outlines two other forms from which legitimate political authority can emerge. In "Politics as a Vocation," a short but influential essay published first in 1919 and translated into English after the Second World War (1946), rational-legal and charismatic authority are assessed alongside traditional authority (i.e. patriarchal authority) for the creation, founding, and maintenance of a political state. Weber considers these two types of leadership central to democratic regimes, but since charismatic leadership corresponds to the populist leanings of modern democratic actions, particularly as they are subject to the logics of capitalism (i.e. individual consumption), it remains the focus of much

of American-style political science and democratic theory. Weber, however, focuses his analysis of the connection between charisma and democracy by theorizing the emotional relationship between an individual leader and the masses or followers. What he finds is that the popular vote rewards those who are charismatic (1946, 113). Weber writes that the charismatic leader "is personally recognized as the innerly 'called' leader of men. Men do not obey him by virtue of tradition or statute, but because they believe in him" (79). One question that may arise from thinking about charisma is whether it is wholly gendered or if Weber's choice of masculine terminology is simply a reflection of his time. Some scholars who explore Weber's concept of charismatic leadership in the setting of religious institutions suggests that he did not conceive of "females as typical charismatic leaders" (Dickson 2012, 764n2; Wignall 2016). Another notes that since genuine charismatic leadership is rare and for much of human history "leaders have been men," so charismatic leadership is "arguably rarer still in women" (Kellerman 2009).

For sometime now, Black Studies scholars attentive to democratic questions have pushed back against Weber's figure of the charismatic leader as being either divinely inspired or as the director of the masses. Among its recent expressions, Erica Edwards argues that "[c]harisma is a political fiction or ideal, a set of assumptions about authority and identity that works to structure how political mobilization is conceived and enacted" (2012, 3). She suggests that by focusing on charisma limits how change may or may not be enacted. Cedric J. Robinson (1980/2016) suggests that this fixation, not simply on charismatic leadership but all aspects of top-down leadership, structures more than what kind of politics are possible. It determines who gets to be counted amongst the actors of the world and those who become subjected to the violence that makes possible and reinforces "the political" as order, authority, and leadership. As such, political science, for Robinson, remains "an arrested discipline" dedicated to ideological assertion rather

than developing along philosophical or scientific lines of paradigmatic transformation (2016, 22). For example, the majority of research that attends to "democratic theory" locates political power in the responsiveness of elected officials to their constituents as opposed to the inherent and everyday organizational practices enacted by the demos itself. Returning to a radical definition of democracy, one that assumes power to be located in the poor majority, one can begin to rethink politics, both in regards to structure and outcome. Robinson writes: "the mystification of the ruling class of industrial society became the mystification of the historical and political basis for the mystification of leadership in contemporary Western thought" (55).

Given that industrialization in the U.S. context reached almost full institutionalization during Reconstruction, Burgess's initial writings may again provide insight into how scholars may rethink the discipline's assumptions surrounding leadership. In volume one of *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law,* Burgess argues that only Teutonic (i.e. white) nations are imbued with "political genius" and thus are the assumed "leadership in the establishment and administration of states" (1890, 39). Since "being gifted" is a common synonym to genius, Burgess's "political genius" may be synonymous with Weber's notion of charism, or "gift of grace" (1946, 79). To borrow directly from Robinson, Burgess's social and political thought "is not merely ethnocentric, but epistemocentric as well" (2016, 199). Furthermore, non-Teutonic nations were largely conceived as feminine (Lugones 2010; E. F. White 2001) or "ungendered" (Curry 2017) in order to justify colonization and white supremacy. The linkages between ethnocentricity, patriarchy based in male charismatic leadership, and epistemological narrowness may indeed correspond to the rejection of Reconstruction as integral to the democratization of the U.S. by Burgess and the Dunning School. Deconstructing such linkages are the aim of contemporary democratic theorists, particularly those indebted to the insights made by Sheldon

Wolin when he writes that the state is "the surrogate of participation and the sublimate of self-interest" (1994, 13). I aim to do just that by expanding the analysis of Reconstruction for the field of political science, an era which I understand to have grasped that democracy, in Wolin's definition, is "a mode of being which is conditioned by bitter experience, doomed to succeed only temporarily, but is a recurrent possibility as long as the memory of the political [as opposed to leadership] survives" (23). This may yet require, one further line of deconstruction aimed at Burgess and the founding era of the discipline, particularly their rejection of abolition as part and parcel of their rejection of Reconstruction.

Rather than embrace the human relationships that launched abolition and necessarily exceeded order (i.e. the orders of slavery and patriarchy), Burgess posits the institution that aimed to implement the demands of abolitionism as a threat: "There is no doubt that the Freedmen's Bureau with its powers, jurisdictions and charities, was a greater irritation in the South than was the presence of the United States Army" (1902, 89). For Burgess, the operation of "charity" in the main institutional arm of Reconstruction emerges as an excess that challenges and disrupts the ordering principles of the political institutions as they understood them. Given the tensions between the surge in centralizing federal power and the constitutional commitments to limited government, Burgess sees this excess as creating uncertainty and continuing to disrupt "a real national brotherhood between the North and the South" (xii). It is from this position that Burgess both dismisses the Bureau and recasts the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as the heroes of the era.

Despite their outsider status from the central political institutions that were studied by the first doctoral class of political science at Columbia, namely Congress, the Presidency, and the Courts, the KKK appears to fulfill the right to revolt, or uncivil disobedience, at the basis of American constitutional thought as extending from the liberal but anti-democratic writings of John Locke

(Kirkpatrick 2008). By deeming the rise of the KKK during Reconstruction as a "natural" response to the placing of "the ignorant barbarians in political control of" southern whites (Burgess 1902, 252), Burgess gave validity to the Cult of the Lost Cause "wrapped in the prestige of erudite, objective science" (Affigne 2014, 484). Dunning too would come to see the KKK as emerging on equal footing with abolitionists projects, or "*pari passu* with the organization of freedmen in Union Leagues" (1907, 121). For Burgess and Dunning, the Cult of the Lost Cause emobided by the KKK fit Weber's criterion of charismatic leadership and thus made their political cause, in their estimation, a worthy one; whereas the freedmen and freedwomen were either viewed as "ignorant barbarians" or as instrumental but unfortunately dependent subjects of white women's volunteerism. As a result the founders of not only the discipline of political science but the original scholarly archive of Reconstruction institutionalized white democracy across the genders given that in their treatment of both women and Blacks conformed to a type of white democracy that continues to capture American democratic though: "white women stood outside the public sphere, but slaves and free Black persons stood outside civil society altogether" (Olson 2004, 56).

Though legitimizing the KKK as political actors even as their actions exceeded the boundaries of the established political order, these founders of political science dismissed other actors of Reconstruction who directly interacted with the formal institutions that they situated as the key subjects of analysis for their new discipline. For instance, while dealing with the issue of slavery's legal abolition as it went through Congress, Burgess in both *Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866–1876* (1902) and *The Middle Period, 1817-1858* (1904) eschewed considering the various contributions women made to the abolitionist movement, leading up to and throughout Reconstruction. Whether in the female abolitionists use of the petition to Congress, which "created a hunger for further participation in the political process and for more rights" (Zaeske 2003, 13),

the pulpit to raise public awareness against slavery, where "appeals to the spiritual and the soul" were made political (Zackodnik 2011, 20), and the campaign trail, when leaders like Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton stomped in Kansas, albeit unsuccessfully, for both Black and women's suffrage (Dudden 2011), women not only fought for a place in the public sphere, they created new publics through their activism. None of these actions, which democratic theorists would understand as practices of political participation, are mentioned by Burgess in either text. Furthermore, due to the transitions in capitalism from being largely defined as mercantilist before the Civil War to a bolstering industrial economy during Reconstruction, Burgess would have been aware of women transgressing the sharp boundaries between the home and the public sphere as they contributed to the urbanization that accompanied emancipation and the formal ending of slavocracy.

By insisting women's labor belongs to the realm of support, care, and charity, which is outside of the political realm, combined with his comments about Reconstruction as an extension of charitable work into the political, Burgess's rejection of Reconstruction was not only largely ideological rather than scientific but also laid the groundwork for thinking about politics as separate from service. In her article "The Service/Politics Split: Rethinking Service to Teach Political Engagement," Tobi Walker writes, "[f]or generations of women's activists, service galvanized them to engage in, not flee from, politics" (2000, 648). Though many of her examples begin after Reconstruction, citing the women's club movement and the settlement houses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Walker could just as easily have referenced the work done by abolitionist women. From this context, Burgess's aversion to (white) women's formal entry into the demos in the 1920s is an extension of his rejection of Reconstruction in the late 1800s. Put simply, the success of Reconstruction would not only mean that Black Americans

would be fully integrated, but that the realm that constitutes the political would have been redefined. Such a transition would see the turn away from the wielding of violence (i.e. the circulation and distribution of death) as the typical mode of expression by states to a societal organization aimed at the cultivation of life through the redistribution of labor and wealth, again distinctly democratic aims. Of course, Burgess only wrote the archive of Reconstruction for the discipline. It was anti-Reconstruction politicians who fought to have its institutional arm housed in the War Department. Locating the Freedmen's Bureau in this branch of the executive meant that it was conceived in two ways: (1) a means to quarantine growing concern about the centrality of masculine authority manifested by the economic and social transitions that accompanied industrialization and urbanization (i.e. misogyny and patriarchy), and (2) a temporary stopgap in the overarching goal to re-unite the nation and mend the social contract after the Civil War. Returning to the archive to reposition the abolitionist foot soldiers would therefore be necessary for thinking American democracy anew since it allows democratic thinkers to re-center the ordinary and everyday people in that political project as opposed to focusing on the elites who conform to Weber's charismatic formulation of political authority.

Rethinking who constitutes political agents, intellectual historians have produced a growing literature on the leadership of women in the abolitionist movement like Lucretia Mott (Faulkner 2011), Sojourner Truth (Painter 1996), Angelina Grimké Weld (Lerner 2009), Lucy Stone (Blackwell 2001), Mary Grew (Ira Vernon Brown 1991), Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (Field 2015), Harriet Tubman (Humez 2003; Clinton 2004), Abby Kelley (Sterling 1994), Harriet Jacobs (Yellin 2004), and Sarah Forten (Sumler-Lewis 2010). Given that political theory is intimately connected and indebted to this field of research, it is curious that they continue to leave largely unexplored the contributions made by radical female abolitionists to American democratic

institutions and democratic thought.[7] One explanation may be that abolitionism is not considered a legitimate tradition of political thought. With the growing research by practitioners of political theory which take up abolitionist figures as serious political thinkers including Martin Delany (Shelby 2003), Frederick Douglass (Buccola 2012; Roberts 2018; Sokoloff 2014), Henry David Thoreau (Turner 2014), William Lloyd Garrison (Olson 2004), Wendell Phillips (Olson 2009), Stephen Foster (Olson 2014), and David Walker (Rogers 2015), this seems an unlikely explanation.

Returning to the point made earlier about the wedge placed between (white) women's suffrage attainment of suffrage and abolition in the historiography of gender and the origins of the discipline, the female political scientists who are critiquing the discipline's gender gap appear to displace Black women's contributions to politics and the field of political science. In her assessment of Black feminist theory in the discipline, Evelyn M. Simien laments the limited success of the "efforts to transform the curriculum and integrate perspectives of African-American women" (2007, 419). Listing the names of Harriet Tubman, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Ella Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, Maxine Waters, Shelia Jackson-Lee, and others, Simien poses a question that should give us all pause: "How many political science majors and doctoral candidates would be aware of these women who have made vast contributions to American society, yet have gone

[7] Of course, there are exceptions. Gayle T. Tate (2003) has explored Black women's political consciousness in the lead up to the Civil War (1830-1860). She includes the figures of Sojourner Truth, Sarah Forten, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Harriet Tubman. In a quick title search of *Political Theory*, the top research journal for the subfield of political theory, only one article has centered on a recognized female abolitionist leader by intellectual historians. Lisa Pace Vetter (2015) takes seriously the political contributions of Lucretia Mott for abolitionism, feminist political thought, and pacifism. Another article in *Political Theory* turns to the writings of Harriet Jacobs, particularly her oft-read autobiography *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), though her name is not present in the paper title (Bromell 2013). A recent unpublished dissertation draws out a political theory of abolition developed by Jacobs in *Incidents* and other writings that thinks through her concept of loopholes as central to the project of freedom and emancipation (Syedullah 2014).

unnoticed?" (420). It is with this thought in mind that I turn to Du Bois and his foundational contributions to modern social science, of which political science is but one field.

C. W.E.B. Du Bois as Modern Political Scientist

By exploring the assumptions regarding race, particularly essential claims embedded in the archives, Du Bois set in motion a reconfiguration of political science that was never truly captured by the mainstream of the discipline because of the way that race was written into the core assumption of the study of politics. In his book *The Scholar Denied*, Aldon Morris (2015) focuses on his early works and insists that Du Bois and his colleges at Atlanta University were the true founders of "modern sociology" because they dedicated their scholarship to discrediting nonscientific beliefs about Black people based on the myths used to justify their former oppression under slavery as well as their continued discrimination during, and beyond, Jim and Jane Crow. Morris finds that underlining Du Bois's scholarship is a dedication to a political vision for the world over and against social deadlock and reactionary politics. Agreeing with Morris but connecting Du Bois's earlier works in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899/2007) to his later scholarship in *Black Reconstruction* (1935/1998), I want to suggest that the era of Reconstruction itself was central to that vision. In and through his scientific study of Reconstruction and the effect of race on individual and group behavior during this democratic moment, Du Bois attempted to move political science beyond the behavioral revolution and new institutionalism that swept over the discipline during a time of distinct political and economic turmoil (i.e. the Great Depression), laying foundations for the more recent development across the social sciences – social construction, specifically regarding the identity marker of race and its relationship to class (Balfour 2011b; Morris 2015).

The decade in which Du Bois published *Black Reconstruction*, political science took a turn

away from the methods associated with historical analysis and toward those found in economics. This transition was the shift known as the behavioral revolution. These methods aimed at measuring how people choose to engage in politics and the pressures they face by institutional arrangements to make predictions in elections and for social movements. The behavioral revolution in American political science can be traced to the 1920s, the University of Chicago, and Charles Merriam (Almond 2002, 70). Focusing on this turn, Gabriel Almond finds the discipline to be relatively new, despite its emergence in classical Greece with Aristotle's *Politics*. He sees its fundamental questions as aimed at "the properties of political institutions, and the criteria we use in evaluating them" (23). Democracy and democratization would thus become the central tenants of political science as a discipline, which is the new element that Almond underscores and was rejected by Aristotle. Unsurprisingly, nowhere in his *Ventures of Political Science* does Almond make mention of Du Bois, Reconstruction, or their importance for democratic theory or American-style political science. Furthermore, race as a question for democracy and democratization becomes an issue of "race relations" for Almond, a concern understood as playing out between individuals/groups based on their own "inherent" interests, rather than a structural phenomenon written into the institutions that are the core site of analysis for the discipline.

During these same decades, Du Bois was developing an analysis of how institutions perpetuate racial inequalities and facilitate the social injustices of lynching, segregation, and political disenfranchisement. In *Black Reconstruction* (1935/1998), he evaluated the inner workings of the military, federal and state legislatures, the federal and state courts, local and national political organizations aimed at aiding newly freed slaves, and local, national, and international trends regarding economic reorganization through lobbying efforts, taxation practices, tariffs, and transnational social movements. Most importantly, he took to task the tenants of American

exceptionalism. This critique begins with questioning the democratic legitimacy associated with the founding fathers who largely believed in Black inferiority. Their assumption perpetuated the myth of Black dependency that not only justified slavery but was repackaged to rationalize Blacks' further disenfranchisement during Jim and Jane Crow. As summarized by Joel Olson, American democracy was founded on a deceit which was "racial oppression and American democracy are mutually constitutive rather than antithetical" (2004, xv). Du Bois shows how after the Civil War, the racial constraints placed on Blacks also affected poor whites. The prospects for poor and working class whites were challenged not only by death and injury during the war but faced increasing economic strain with rising competition for jobs and inflation due to land and resource speculation as companies embraced the capitalist drive and looked West for resource extraction, including the emerging fossil fuels that facilitated the exponential growth of industrialism. After the collapse of Reconstruction, Blacks were heavily surveilled in, and at times outright denied entry to, the public and thus political life. They were subjected to psychological ridicule by not only the elite white leaders but also the common white poor whose interests outside of their racial identity were against the elite alliance between industrial capitalists, property/land/resource speculators, and (racist) political representatives. What the white poor received through their political allegiance along racial lines was twofold: they retained freedom of movement over and above Black bodies and the freedom to enact verbal, emotional, and even physical violence on those bodies. This is what Du Bois refers to as "a sort of public and psychological wage" (1998, 700). He finds that Reconstruction's foreclosure was made possible by a cross-class analysis among whites in which the poor tacitly accepted capitalist exploitation aimed at all lower classes, including themselves, but would be written directly on the bodies of, and thus felt most intimately by, people of color. By rethinking Reconstruction through Du Bois, the discipline of political

science has the potential to be reoriented towards understanding democracy not as a form of government but more as an ethic to strive toward. In the words of Wolin, "democracy is a project concerned with the political potentialities of ordinary citizens, that is with their possibilities for becoming political beings through the self-discovery of common concerns and of modes of action for realizing them" (1994, 11). It is with that effort in mind that I return to some of the more unexplored archives of Reconstruction for this project, namely the efforts made by Black women.

As noted early in the reconsideration of the legacies extending from its founding, the behavioral revolution did little to advancement of the discipline of political science around the analysis of race and gender. The turn away from history, perhaps to distance itself from those legacies, also meant the rise of positivist method-driven research. This shift corresponded to a change in what science meant, from value-laden to value-neutral observation. A reduction in what constituted "the political" coincided with this shift (Shapiro 2005, 24). By locating the foundation of political knowledge in statistical methods akin to those found in the field of economics, Kirstie McClure notes that behavioral social science poses rather than alleviates a growing problem for democratic practice and theorization. The assumed "responsibility by the state for assuring the production of 'well-established facts'" is unsettling because it serves as the "displacement of responsibility for the production of authoritative social and political knowledge from citizens to the state itself" (McClure 2014, 58). This results in a paradox: individuals who are targets of discriminating state sanctioned policies feel as if they cannot do anything to alleviate their conditions and at the same time individuals who are not targets do not think that those policies constitute a "democratic" problem. Furthermore, by not understanding how differences like race and gender, two of the main categories operationalized by such policies, are part and parcel of the political structure, much of the political analysis deployed by behavioralist approaches assume

identity categories as prepolitical (Ritter 2008; Smith 2004).

The discipline's recent embrace of a social constructionist approach to race and gender does bode well for practitioners of political science; however, its integration of intersectionality as a valid theory and method has been slow. Sociologist Evelyn Nakano Glenn suggests that the variable of gender has fared better than race in this process due to its linguistic articulation: "feminist scholars adopted the term *gender* precisely to free our thinking from the constrictions of naturalness and biological inevitability attached to the concept of sex" (Glenn 1999, 4). She shows that common to both is "a dialectical relation between material and structural conditions and cultural representation" which through struggle determines the relevance race, gender, or even class will play in the distribution of power and resources (12). This dialectic does not emerge in a vacuum, but "arise[s] at specific moments under particular circumstances and will change as these circumstances change" (14). Put simply, identity categories are historically determined and thus require a historical approach to best understand the width, breadth, and depth of the roles they play out in any given society or political event. More importantly, the analysis of race and gender, either separately or combined, cannot be understood solely from the imposition those with power place on the disempowered but only in conjunction with an assessment of "how subordinate groups contest dominant conceptions and construct alternative meanings" (14). Given that Burgess and the Dunning School fell short of this analysis and that Reconstruction was one such "specific moment" when many ordering principles were contested, rethinking that moment, paying particular attention to the intersection of race, gender, and class by centering the project on Black women's contributions to what Du Bois calls "abolition-democracy," the discipline's genealogy and evolution may loosen and allow for more scholarship on and by Black women.

D. Case Selection, Epistemological Intervention, Research Question, Thesis, Methodology, and Chapter Structure

This study explores the political thought of Black women in and around the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania between 1850 and 1880 to extend Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy. As the historical site of the nation's founding, the U.S. abolitionist movement, and the largest concentration of Blacks in the U.S. at the end of the nineteenth century, Philadelphia is central to the American democratic imaginary, yet Black women's contributions to the city, the nation, and that imaginary, even by those exploring black political thought, remain largely unexplored. I use the city of Philadelphia as an extended case study to show not that it was the only space in which abolitionist movements were localized, but by turning the unit of analysis away from the state (i.e. the representatives who govern) to the local level of a city (i.e. those who are governed) I aim to explore the contradictions, paradoxes, and negotiations taken by a traditionally marginalized group of democratic agents (i.e. Black women) at a decidedly democratic moment in the nation's larger history. By returning to Black women generally, and six in particular – Sarah Mapps Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, Harriet Tubman, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Fanny Jackson Coppin, and Gertrude Bustill Mossell – as they lived, negotiated, and transgressed both reinforced and newly drawn boundaries in the expanding city, the "splendid failure of Reconstruction" that Du Bois documents in *Black Reconstruction* takes on new dimensions – those decidedly gendered and urban. Attending to these Black women as they adapted to global trends of enclosure, industrialization, and urbanization an epistemological intervention frames the study – fugitivity.

As a critical conceptual category in Black political thought, fugitivity is a paradigm through which people in their everyday practices escape the capitalist impulses to confine, detain, and

commodify their existence as both capital and labor while at the same time operationalizing a democratic conception of freedom. By complicating the spatialized reality and romantic ideal of "home" that underpinned both the hunting and freeing of fugitives in the years leading up to the U.S. Civil War, a question emerges to which Black women provided initial insight: what does democracy mean when the nation is built from and by those deemed "homeless"? The argument presented here is that democracy is a political project animated by the very striving for a concept of home steeped in the abolitionist tradition generally and the figure of the fugitive specifically since too much is being lost in viewing the home as a pre-political space of confinement from the everyday work of negotiating the plurality of differences apparent in the masses. Put differently, without an appreciation of diversity and a building of solidarity across the structural divisions that formalized the marginalization of different and complex bodies from the polity, democracy ceases to be that which makes it distinct – the will of all.

Methodologically, the project is indebted to both the normative and empirical tools provided by the vast research done on intersectionality stemming from women of color feminism. To give a quick overview, intersectionality, a term coined by legal theorist and activist Kimberlé Crenshaw, acts as an optical device from which to view various social problems in order to suggest and ensure remedies as well as highlight opportunities for greater collaboration between and across social movements and research (Crenshaw 1989, 1991). The whole purpose of an intersectional analysis is to bring awareness to the compound relations of power that hinder social justice programs in order to expand and deepen their interventions. Intersectionality has been adopted as a paradigm in the social sciences to lend attention to the limitations of the present research methods that lead to the invisibility of the multiple contributions by those deemed otherwise irrelevant because they are deemed "outliers." In her article "Intersectionality

as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm," Ange-Marie Hancock (2007) argues that "categories of difference are conceptualized as dynamic productions of individual and institutional factors. Such categories are simultaneously contested and enforced at the individual and institutional levels of analysis. Intersectionality research demands attentiveness to these facts" (251). I like to think of the intersectional approach as similar to how Derrida conceives of deconstruction - a way of reading between the lines or a non-method (Beardsworth 1996). By adapting an intersectional approach through discourse and content analysis, I analyze a variety of archives and texts that were circulated in and beyond the city of Philadelphia from political cartoons and trade card advertisements to travel guides and sculptures/monuments to show how Black women's bodies were simultaneously rendered visible and invisible throughout the city during the Reconstruction era. Furthermore, I turn to the lives, political activism, and intellectual writings of six Black women deeply involved in the abolition-democratic movement known as Reconstruction. No matter if Du Bois himself was the "intellectual forefather of intersectionality" (Hancock 2005), exploring how Black women contributed to abolition-democracy during Reconstruction will help to not only fill out his place in the development of intersectionality, but to further understand the significance of intersectionality methodologically, and perhaps expose some of its own limitations.

The first chapter brings together two of Du Bois's texts typically under or unexplored by scholars in political theory - *Black Reconstruction* and *Philadelphia Negro* - to think about the tensions between his theory of abolition-democracy and the home life of urban Blacks as the U.S. transitioned from a slave to an industrial economy in the final years of the nineteenth century. By reading Du Bois against himself and through the lens of contemporary studies on the history of enclosure, the spatial element of urban organization commonly referred to as the

streets and Black women's proximity to them provides an alternative and embodied way to theorize the commons as central to the democratic ethos. This theorization rejects the liberal-capitalist tactic demarcating the home from the public for the simultaneous purpose of depoliticization and exploitation.

Chapter two turns to one set of archival documents circulated in and beyond the city of Philadelphia between 1850 and 1800. By providing a close reading of an anti-Reconstruction political cartoon corresponding to the 1866 Pennsylvania gubernatorial race, this chapter explores the deployment of the image of the romantic white rural home (i.e. farm) as a way to reinforce white supremacy and gendered social spheres (i.e. cult of domesticity). The chapter also explores the representation of Black women in the new advertising medium of trade cards. If political cartoons rendered Black women invisible, then Reconstruction era advertisements of home goods made Black women hyper-visible by using their image for the purpose of industrial economic growth and the rise of consumer culture. It is here that I argue that the cultural imaginary of whiteness deployed by both political cartoons and commercial advertisements laid the groundwork for a racial politics of poverty based on gendered, sexual, and racial stereotypes along the urban/rural divide.

Chapter three focuses on the writings and lives of the women mentioned above as they publicized those goods deemed outside the typical equations of capitalism (which operates around profit maximization) and liberalism (which assumes the individual as actor and agent). These goods include health, transportation, education, collective knowledge, environment, and kinship. Here I highlight the differences in how these women imagined the home in relation to the fugitive to show how some of their understanding of space fed into racial hierarchies, and thus contributed to the nascent rise in a politics of respectability, and others complicated the

underlying assumptions of settler-colonialism through a political recapturing of the undercommons.

Chapter four explores the tensions between the fugitive and the home as represented in Toni Morrison's Reconstruction era novel *Beloved.* I read *Beloved* as a narrative of those Black women's lives who, for structural reasons, were not captured by the archives explored in chapter three. This reading will show the importance of thinking about democratic theory beyond the either/or binary of the public/private distinction and moving towards a dialectical understanding that is generated between home and commons. It is not only white supremacy, anti-Blackness, and misogyny that are adapted by capital to continuously extract wealth from the many in order to satisfy the greed of a few, foreclosing on the democratic project, but a politics of extraction underpinning both slavery and settler-colonialism that renders environmental degradation along racial and gendered lines as either normal or of the doing of those most affected by such policies. From this conclusion, I reconsider the significance of the geologic epoch of the anthropocene's origin being traced to the nineteenth century.

Chapter five returns to Philadelphia and pays particular attention to the Centennial World's Fair of 1876 as a key event both in the timeline of Reconstruction's abandonment and for its reconsideration as a democratic theory and event. Thinking about the relationship between the gender performance of nineteenth century urban politics and the central materials on display at the Fair (i.e. the machines), I show how the discourses of gender central to this national event coincided with earlier anti-Reconstruction rhetoric. By re-casting the under-representation of Black life at the fair and a travel book marketed to visitors of the fair against the disembodied Statue of Liberty on display, I show how the post-emancipation transnational dedication to abolition continued to compete against an emerging alliance between the ideologies of nativism

and the capitalist global drive for profit which was dedicated to finding new avenues for primitive accumulation at a time when chattel slavery was presumed over. I find that even though nativism arose in the decades leading up to the emergence of Reconstruction, it ultimately informed the counter-revolutionary tactics of anti-Reconstruction factions. I conclude by returning to the present and the so-called "Third Reconstruction."

II. Chapter 1 – Abolition-Democracy in Philadelphia: Resisting Enclosures from *Philadelphia Negro* to *Black Reconstruction*

In *Dusk of Dawn* (1940/1986), Du Bois thinks back on his life in the academy. The second of three socio-historical autobiographies following *Darkwater* (1920) and preceding *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois* (published posthumously in 1968), here the reflection focuses on his movement from the academy to activism and back again. Du Bois situates this trajectory in the structural context of the day: "it was an era of empire and while I had some equipment to deal with a scientific approach to social studies, I did not have any clear conception or grasp of the meaning of that industrial imperialism which was beginning to grip the world. My only approach to meanings and helpful study there again was through my interest in race contact" (1986, 591). This chapter posits that a philosophical exploration of abolition became the mechanism through which his scholarship took shape.

The abolitionist movement is not only the archival lens through which Du Bois explores race contact. It also provides the philosophical basis for what he comes to call abolition-democracy. By bringing together two of his larger tomes – *The Philadelphia Negro* (hereafter *TPN*) (1899/2007) and *Black Reconstruction* (hereafter *BR*) (1935/1998), I argue that this theory of democracy becomes illuminated by a rethinking of Reconstruction as part and parcel of the longue durée of enclosure history. It is made possible by placing his deployment of the concept of home in the first text in conversation with the references made to feudalism in the second. A focus on enclosure as an idea and a process during Reconstruction allows for a further exploration of Black women's place in the city, their freedom of the streets, and access to means of making a living in the direct aftermath of slavery. Given that Du Bois's larger scholarly project aimed at deconstructing the legacy of that institution, he has some lacunae when it comes

to explicitly gendered components corresponding to the democratic project of Reconstruction which were explicitly attacked by the growing counter-revolution that became known as Jim and Jane Crow. As becomes apparent in the reconsideration of *TPN*, he idealizes home as a place of one's own, which was denied under the conditions of slavery in the south and the Fugitive Slave Act in the north; however, even after emancipation, the counter-revolution of white violence that accompanied the democratic experiment known as Reconstruction shattered any romantic conception of home for Blacks, and by extension for the entire demos.

In *BR*, Du Bois uses the conjunction abolition-democracy as a referent to trace the contributions made by the alliance between Black and white abolitionists leading up to, throughout, and following the Civil War. He first refers to it as a "liberal movement … who saw the danger of slavery to both capital and labor" (1998, 184). In this definition, Du Bois alludes to the alliance between anti-slavery activists, free Blacks, and former slaves (whether fugitive or manumitted). It is important to note that not all anti-slavery activists saw Blacks as politically or even socially equal to whites. Many anti-slavery activists were small capitalists who saw the institution of slavery as having created unfair conditions in the marketplace, making it hard for small farmers who sell crops using non-slave labor to not only compete but be sustainable. Some activists amongst their ranks wanted to get rid of slavery so that a free and open marketplace could be realized. This was their understanding of democracy. This is not exactly what Du Bois has in mind as he continues to trace abolition-democracy or in his deployment of the term "liberal" to describe the movement. The object of the movement was the abolition of slavery, but "it was convinced that this could be thoroughly accomplished only if the emancipated Negroes became free citizens and voters" (184). Du Bois pushes farther into the federal and state records to show that the desired citizenship envisioned by former slaves and their abolitionist

counterparts went beyond mere political rights towards a vision of an economic redistribution that would make realizable an understanding of freedom as movement.

Du Bois's attention to the rise of Black Codes immediately after emancipation underscores this very meaning of freedom as being foreclosed upon. A combination of vagrancy laws and a cooptation of Black labor at extremely low or debt wage labor, such codes emerged through state and local legislation. Throughout his analysis, he articulates them as a symptom of a political structure that wed capital interest to white supremacy. Ultimately, he shows that the criminalization of free movement replicated rather than undercut the prior conditions of slavery in and beyond the Reconstruction era. Du Bois recognizes this when he writes "Black Codes were deliberately designed to take advantage of every misfortune of the Negro" (167). Such misfortunes were exacerbated by the fact that former slaves were released from their bondage with no accumulated income from the very profitable labor they had done while enslaved, no access to homes or land to settle, and little to no education necessary to understand the labor contracts that they were coerced into signing.

From the paucity of these conditions, segments of the population whose aim was total Black liberation came to comprehend that such a realization required a reorganization of political influence as a democratic decree: "abolition-democracy was pushed towards the conception of a dictatorship of labor, although few of its advocates wholly grasped the fact that this necessarily involved dictatorship by labor over capital and industry" (185). Here Du Bois underscores how the philosophy of abolition, based in a conception of freedom as movement, came up against a classic paradox in democratic theory. Elsewhere he writes:

> In all ages, the vast majority of men have been ignorant and poor, and any attempt to arm such classes with political power brings the question: Can Ignorance and Poverty rule? If they try to rule their success in the nature of things must be halting and spasmodic, if not absolutely nil; and it must incur the criticism and raillery of the wise and the well-to-do. On

> the other hand, if the poor, unlettered toilers are given no political power, and are kept by exploitation in poverty, they will remain submerged unless rescued by revolution; and a philosophy will prevail, teaching that the submergence of the mass is inevitable and is on the whole best, not only for them, but for the ruling classes. (206)

To provide a summary across these iterations, abolition-democracy refers to a recreation of the political structure so that the collective experience of freedom becomes unfettered from the prioritization of profit over subsistence, exchange value over human life, and private gain over public necessity. For Du Bois, democratic subsistence would be achieved by the fulfillment of the three top demands that former slaves strove for in the immediate aftermath of emancipation – land, political rights (i.e. voting, representation, fair judiciary, etc.), and schools. Each of these institutions aimed at the elimination, hence abolition, of the categories of ignorance and poverty so that the promise of democratic participation could be realized. Put differently, mere inclusion of individual Blacks into the ranks of wage labor as dictated by the capitalist drive for profit over human life would leave the democratic promise of abolition unfulfilled.

In *BR*, Du Bois shows that in the foreclosure of Reconstruction and the centering of industrial interests at the heart of U.S. political institutions spelled the wholesale abandonment of democracy: "It murdered democracy in the United States so completely that the world does not recognize its corpse. It established as dominant in industry a monarchical system which killed the idea of democracy" (187). Left unaddressed by Du Bois is that both industrial capitalism and monarchical politics rests on the assumptions that emerged during stages of primitive accumulation spurned by the institutionalization of patriarchal forms of authority which inherently rested on the assumption of paternalism that was used to undermine both Black and female agency. In her archival investigation of the formal documentation made by the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (hereafter simply the Freedmen's Bureau), historian Mary Farmer-Kaiser finds many of the Bureau's agents "[f]alling back on paternalistic notions

that African Americans were a dependent race largely incapable of organizing their domestic relations in freedom without some kind of benevolent guidance" (2010, 127). Since paternalism acts to uphold patriarchal notions of who constitutes a rational agent, re-centering the material conditions of Black women in the late nineteenth century illuminates the depoliticalization of the concept of home as a contributing factor to the abandonment of the abolition-democratic project of Reconstruction.

In this chapter I aim to weave together three interrelated hypotheses that arise from reading *TPN* and *BR* together. By beginning with *TPN*, I suggest that in it scholars of Du Bois can find the preliminary foundations for his later theory of abolition-democracy. Turning the focus then to Du Bois's deployment of home in *TPN*, Du Bois's gendered lacunae mentioned earlier - Black women's place in the city, their freedom of the streets, and access to means of making a living – is explored. Here I find that his deployment of home mirrors the gendered discourse of the public/private divide that Silvia Federici uncovers in the history of European enclosures in her book *The Caliban and the Witch* (2004). Lastly, keeping Federici in mind while turning to *BR*, Du Bois's account of Reconstruction reads as an extension of the history of enclosure. Bringing these points together, the resurgence of the public/private divide in the late nineteenth century serves as a rhetorical device aimed at excluding women as a group from the realm of politics while at the same time many of those women were compelled to enter the workforce, especially Black women, since their access to the means of production (i.e. land) were either limited or non-existent. In summation, the argument presented in this chapter relates to the larger argument of this project: returning to the concept of home is instrumental to assessing the foreclosure of the Reconstruction efforts and reanimating, to borrow from a term Antonio Gramsci uses in his assessment of intellectualism, the organic American democratic tradition of abolition.

Since the home (i.e. household) serves as the economic site of reproductive labor in a capitalist economy, the (re)deployment of the public/private divide in the mid to late nineteenth century led to further entrenchments of gender divisions at precisely the moment activists, namely abolitionists, successfully disrupted the paternalist racial regime that maintained slavery.[8] As a result, the cult of domesticity more than likely compounded the white privilege made possible by a cross-class alliance that Du Bois shows led to the abandonment of an institutionalization of interracial democratic principles. According to Barbara Welter (1966), the cult of domesticity, which she refers to as "the culture of true womanhood," developed in the print culture of emerging women's magazines circulated in the decades leading up to the Civil War.[9] It corresponded to virtues that were understood as an extension of the combined biblical and biological differences encapsulated in the female body: piety, purity, and submissiveness.

[8] By abolitionists I mean women and men, Black and white, and slave and free. It is important to remember that this group of fanatics were subject to much ridicule, especially in the lead up to and throughout the Reconstruction Era: "They were shouted off podiums, spattered with rotten eggs and pelted with rocks, and sometimes barred from polite society. Mobs attacked their offices and interracial gatherings and, on occasion, destroyed their presses and burned down their meeting halls. But their scorn for convention – and their talent at articulating their views – challenged Americans to think hard about issues critical to America's future. Were they not citizens of a nation founded on the lofty ideals of liberty, self-government, and equality under God? Then how could they stand for politicians who routinely mouthed those principles while refusing to apply them to slavery and the unequal status of women and wage earners? Abolitionists, in particular, forced Americans to consider how to square those ideals with the existence of an institution so central to the nation's business and politics" (Kazin 2016, 11).

[9] It is worth noting that women's magazines would become very popular at the turn of the twentieth century, well after the foreclosure of Reconstruction. In 1891, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the first U.S. magazine to reach one million subscribers, was released by a Philadelphia publishing house ran by Cyrus Curtis (Scanlon 1995, 4). Given that the "golden age" of magazines would emerge during the "progressive era," it is important to note that the middle-class targets of the circulations explored by Welter would exponentially grow due to industrialization and urbanization that corresponded to the decades spanning 1850-1880. Put simply, the challenges made by female abolitionists and their allies during the height of Reconstruction, threatened the discursive blueprint of the culture of true womanhood at the very time when the growth of print culture enabled its development into a full-fledged public ideology (i.e. the cult of domesticity).

Articulated as women's just deserts and for the sake of their own protection, these virtues would become contained in one last overarching virtue – domesticity: "The best refuge for such a delicate creature was the warmth and safety of her home" (162). This chapter reexamines the naturalization of the home as women's proper sphere during the transition from slave to industrial economy to critique and expand Du Bois's own strategy for racial uplift as presented in *TPN.* In so doing, I lay groundwork for understanding why women's contributions to the abolitionist movement in both intellectual and practical terms were depoliticized and largely displaced from his own scholar-activist goal to recast Reconstruction's historiography by centering Black agency to the political movement for abolition. I conclude the chapter by turning to Black women's everyday practices as organized in and around a specific and uniquely urban spatial form – the streets. Reading Du Bois against himself by re-centering the streets in abolition-democratic thought, I argue that recapturing the significance of the commons for democratic theory becomes the mode by which Du Bois not only came to understand "industrial imperialism," but it was only partially successful given his lacunae surrounding gender. Before turning to *TPN* and *BR* respectfully, I begin by providing a short summary of Silvia Federici's *Caliban and the Witch* where she lays out the role that gendered difference played in the rise of capitalism as corresponding to the history of enclosure.

A. The Public/Private Divide as Part and Parcel of Enclosure

In *Caliban and the Witch,* political philosopher Silvia Federici (2004) surveys the relationship between capitalist accumulation and the various enclosures from roughly the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries throughout Europe. During this time, societies were embroiled in a multiplicity of struggles that ultimately resulted in the transformation away from feudalism. Taking a critical stance on the more classical Marxist analysis of this shift in the

political economy, Federici argues that the ordering of gender roles, particularly positioning women's labor outside the capitalist formulation of value production, allowed for capitalism to emerge as the new ordering principle at the level of civil society, the state, and the globe. Of course, this was not the only trajectory of the anti-feudalist movement which fought for more than simply a "free market":

> The struggle against the feudal power … produced the first organized attempts to challenge the dominant sexual norms and establish more egalitarian relations between women and men. Combined with the refusal of bonded labor and commercial relations, these conscious forms of social transgression constructed a powerful alternative not only to feudalism but to the capitalist order by which feudalism was replaced, demonstrating that another world was possible …. (22)

The struggle for gender equality as a struggle against feudalism saw some distinct changes in societal organization during these centuries. First, women moving to the cities became a response to enclosure. They did this largely to escape traditional forms of patriarchy that were prevalent in subsistence living conditions (30-31). As a result, women decidedly outnumbered men in urban spaces during key moments of the enclosure process. Though they gained new social autonomy, such as more socialization with their female peers where they would share knowledge, particularly in regards to sexuality and birth control, they faced misogynous backlash. Both formal laws and informal regulations emerged to limit women's movement and discipline their behavior and presence in public spaces. The practice of this discipline spanned from discursive reprimands and taunts to full out force and sexual violence. Before elaborating on the disciplinary aspects, Federici provides a genealogy of how they came into existence through an assessment of the rise of capitalism from feudalism.

In pursuit of profit, the capitalist classes aligned themselves with two institutional forces which aimed to maintain patriarchal control over the female population – the state and the church. With their backing, the capitalists turned difference in gender to their advantage. In

providing this genealogy, Federici exposes how gender was at the foundation of what Marx called primitive accumulation: "the historical process upon which the development of capitalist relations was premised" (12). This process, according to Federici, hinged on three reinforcing transitions spearheaded by the triumvirate of the state, the church, and the capitalist classes – a redefining of poverty, the criminalization of birth control, and the emergence of the "private" home as informed by the conceptualization of private property as a "political right" always for "some/few" but not for all.

Before enclosure, serfs would definitely be defined as poor in relation to the lords who oversaw the estate upon which they were bound. The majority of their laboring lives were spent toiling for the whims of the lords of the estate to provide them with necessities spanning from food to fuel. The life as a serf can only be described as drudgery, but they did have access to parcels of land from which they would be able to sustain themselves. This was a condition of their bondage. Through enclosure, a redefinition of property served to discipline serfs away from peasant life and a subsistence based economy towards one defined by industriousness and thrift. A consensus across the elites of the state, the church, and even scientific communities of the time institutionalized assumptions about individual and independent choice as part and parcel of this transition. Those amongst the laboring classes who were victims of happenstance came to be known as the "deserving poor" to which public assistance would be granted, whereas individuals and groups who choose a life of idleness or resisted work under the new economic-political structure were criminalized (82–85).

Squeezed by a labor shortage spurned by colonization and population decline due to mass disease, emerging capitalists sought to naturalize gender differences amongst the poor classes to maximize profits and ensure a supply of low-cost labor. Two key strategies emerged in pursuit of

this goal: criminalizing working-class women's "control over reproduction" (86) and excluding all women from "the wage" (98). These practices particularly curtailed the freedoms of poor women "to conduct economic activities alone" or live with other women (100). Also, along with "state-backed raping of poor women," marriage became their bastion for safety, but it was not a space marked by freedom (48). Their lives, and whatever monetary resources they had, would be managed by their husbands. Even if a woman was poor, she had one resource that men did not have – the ability to produce children. Since men, including former serfs, were caste as the managers of women, the contraceptive methods passed down by women's collective knowledge were also criminalized (92). Once married, the "taming" process continued: women were disciplined by "domestication" devices, such as "bridles" (101), or, if suspected of infanticide, tried as a witch (180).

From these changes, a new configuration of habitation came out of the acts of enclosure – the "private" home. As Federici notes, pre-capitalist Europe was characterized by subsistence economies which unified productive and reproductive labors since the goal of all labor was based on production-for-use. The demise of this form of economy lead to the separation of these forms of labor due to the separation of commoners from the spaces where they gained subsistence. The parcels of land and the forests were spaces from which they grew and hunted for food and fuel. Generally, these environmental sites, land, and natural resources open for their use were known as the commons. The erasure of the commons through enclosure meant the turn to an economy based in currency and consumption:

> In the new monetary regime, only production-for-market was defined as a value-creating activity, whereas the reproduction of the worker began to be considered as valueless from an economic viewpoint and even ceased to be considered work. Reproductive work continued to be paid - though at the lowest rates - when performed for the master class or outside the home. But the economic importance of the reproduction of labor-power carried out in the home, and its function in the accumulation of capital became invisible, being mystified as a

natural vocation and labelled 'women's labor.' (74-5)

Here Federici shows the deployment of the public/private division as integral to the economic transition from feudalism to industrial capitalism. This is a distinction that precedes this moment and dominates the history of political thought beyond it from Aristotle's *Politics* (4th century BCE) through John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1689). Displaced from this scholarly tradition, at least until Friedrich Engels published the *Origins of the Family* (1884), is the gendered economic materiality that underwrites both the social contract and informed the concept of the political.

As a theoretical mechanism, the public/private divide holds substantial and long-standing territory in feminist treatments of the canon of Western political thought. Engaging in mostly textual analysis, many such scholars focus on rendering visible the subjected role women occupy vis-à-vis the male rational political actor (Okin 1978; Pateman 1988, 1989; Phillips 1991; Saxonhouse 1985; Stauffer 2008). They pay attention to the theoretical assignment of independence as a precursor of political freedom. Since men were positioned beyond the material realities and duties of motherhood, they were naturally deemed as free whereas women, along with children and slaves, were categorized as dependent and thus incapable of independent thought and choice. Put simply, women were deemed not rational. Federici reaffirms how this political division was first and foremost an economic one. It accompanied the assumed natural process that lead from markets characterized by the trading of goods to markets where money became the sole object, read objective, of trade. The moment that former commoners, now differentiated as productive (i.e. men = wage) and reproductive (i.e. women = non-wage) laborers, entered into the workforce for the capitalist class, the public/private divide was reinforced by political and legal institutions.

Another process accompanying enclosure that Federici pays particular attention to is urbanization. As women became more visible in city life as a direct result of their move away from the traditional structure found in the feudal family, codes of conduct directed at their everyday practices emerged. With women gaining autonomy and some being employed, albeit at

low rates, by the growing capitalist class of merchants, this visibility was seen as a threat by those attempting to maintain their livelihoods and work traditions, namely craft workers or artisans. As a response, alliances between craft workers and urban authorities emerged to curtail female autonomy. As the social life of women became ever more recorded either through their own actions, like filing complaints with city officials about abuse, or by those of others, city ordinances against prostitution and priests scolding the looseness associated with women's living alone in the city, their lives became more regulated (Federici 2004, 31). This was aided by the hiding of women's status as workers since female work was defined as "housekeeping" and "marriage was now seen as a woman's true career" (94).

With their societal roles being solidified as mothers, wives, and daughters, men gained "free access to women's bodies, their labor, and the bodies and labor of their children" (97). Misogyny was codified into law. If women violated these roles, women could be subjected to a variety of punishments: banishment from the city, social torture through public shaming devices, sexual violence, and even death. The heaviest policing came at women's bodies and sexuality, namely informed by their "biologically" assigned roles as mothers. There was a decriminalization of rape when committed upon prostitutes or other proletarian women, and those women who aided other women in practicing autonomy over their own reproductive capacities (i.e. provided mechanisms of birth control) were deemed witches (47-48). With the declared war on heretics by the church, an open season was thus declared on women. Men were armed with the sanction of the church and thus of the state since "sorcery was declared a form of heresy and the highest crime against God, Nature, and the State" (165). All these practices made city life for women more difficult. Rather than move back to rural spaces where they would face even fewer options, women began to live their lives tied closely to the "private" home (i.e. they began to "self-isolate").

Turning away from the centuries spanning European enclosure to the decades spanning 1850 to 1880 in the U.S., similar practices became prominent. Leading up to the Civil War, some American men and women would begin to challenge the assumptions of the separation of public-life from the private-sphere that emerged as a result of enclosure and the alliance between

capitalism, the church, and the state as shown above. According to historian Michael D. Pierson (2003), abolitionists engaged in a broader culture war when they demanded "Free Hearts and Free Homes" alongside their denouncements of the Fugitive Slave Act, the prevalence of rape amongst enslaved women by their masters, and state's rights. With the failed Presidential bid by John C. Frémont in 1856, the first ever nominee for the Republican Party, deliberate decisions were made to shift to a more conservative gender ideology that "placed more emphasis on traditional gender roles for free northern families" (Pierson 2003, 166). This meant that the persona of Jessie Benton Frémont, the assertive feminist and abolitionist wife of John who became a central figure for his campaign, became a liability rather than an asset for future party success. This conservative trend would persist after the war: "northern men (including Republicans like Frederick Law Olmsted of the Sanitary Commission) tried to diminish the political significance of women's war work by claiming that it was a private, feminine act of charity for their men instead of a sign of conscious political support for the Union or abolition" (189). Placing a distance between the largely middle-class white women's political contributions by recasting them as national caretakers became their electoral strategy, but one that would ultimately undercut the democratic theory at the heart of abolition. Turning to the advocacy for enslaved women, some Radical Republicans like Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Owen Lovejoy of Illinois were very vocal about the sexual dynamics of plantation patriarchy before the emancipation (166). But their lack of attention to the embedded nature of misogyny into the entire economic system of capitalism, of which the plantation was an integral feature, would have consequences for the abolitionist project.

Returning to the slogan held up by female abolitionists in the early 1850s explored by Pierson, I posit a reading. It is a challenge to the nation's conception of home at the time through a reformulation of the meaning of freedom from one of sexual repression to one of sexual liberty. What if these women were asking: how does our conceptual understanding of "home" enable the rape of enslaved women on southern plantations, the rape of poor women who traversed the streets of the urban north, and the rape of wives by their husbands on working-class family farms

in the Midwest and in the middle-class "homes" throughout the nation? Given that middle-class white women associated with the abolitionist movement were targets of sexual ridicule, particularly for their associations with Black men, this reformulation is not a stretch (Dudden 2011, 54; Kazin 2012, 32; Robinson 2012, 56). By placing Reconstruction as a moment in the history of the struggle against enclosure and for the commons, I am suggesting that the failure of the political representatives, including those who institutionally pushed for what Du Bois came to call abolition-democracy, to deconstruct the concept of the home as a "civilizing" institution along the co-constitutive lines of race, gender, and class facilitated the conservative turn in the young party's gender ideology. What was to be conserved? Capitalist interests over and against those of the ordinary, the common, the demos. Now that I have shown that a specific conception of home based on a strict gender division solidified at the same time Du Bois finds the emergence of abolition-democracy, I now turn to Du Bois's own writings. Does Du Bois's conception of home inform or limit his theory of abolition-democracy? Though not a central element in *BR*, the text that Du Bois devotes to the Reconstruction era and the democratic thought that he finds enabled it, the concept of home is central to an earlier text – *TPN*. It is to that text that I now turn.

B. Du Bois & the Public/Private Divide in The Philadelphia Negro

After holding his first teaching position at Wilberforce University, which immediately preceded the completion of his Ph.D. at Harvard, Du Bois moved with his wife, Nina Gomer, to Philadelphia. Hired by the College Settlement Association in conjunction with the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, he was commissioned to compile a scientific investigation of the city's Black residents. The year of this move was 1896. Officially hired as an instructor, his relationship to the university was precarious at best. Holding no affiliation with an academic department, he never taught and only had contact with students during one instance when he "pilot[ed] a pack of idiots through the Negro slums" (Du Bois 1986, 596). Rather, the cosponsor of Du Bois's position became the central base from where he conducted his research,

the Philadelphia Settlement located in the city's Seventh Ward. His only assistant, Miss Isabel Eaton, who conducted the appended study on domestic service throughout the city, was a fellow of the College Settlements Association. Eaton was a white female sociologist, who largely due to her work with Du Bois and as a contributor to the *Hull-House Maps and Papers* edited by Jane Addams, earned a Master's Degree in Arts in Sociology from Columbia University in New York (Deegan 1988).

Over the course of approximately a year and a half, Du Bois went door to door gathering data on "the geographical distribution of this race, their occupations and daily life, their homes, their organizations, and, above all, their relation to their million white fellow-citizens" (Du Bois 2007, 1). His ethnographic collection was set against the backdrop of a larger city which, like other American cities in the recent past, saw a dramatic shift in its economic landscape. Cities were growing quickly and conditions of poverty and crime accompanied that growth. As Marcus Anthony Hunter notes on the legacy of *TPN*, Du Bois "charged that the problems of the Philadelphia Negro were mere symptoms of the years (centuries for that matter) of prejudice, enslavement, and discrimination under which black Americans had lived for so long" (Hunter 2013, 4). Du Bois's scholarship showed that the trends in urbanization appeared to exacerbate the conditions of Blacks living in the U.S. as opposed to them being the cause of those trends.

In *TPN*, the Reconstruction era of the mid-nineteenth century emerges neither as a focal point in Du Bois's brief historical overview of Black Philadelphia nor for the assessment of the data collected throughout the Seventh Ward. Perhaps this occlusion comes due to a structural choice, Du Bois chooses to not dedicate an independent section in the historical overview to the Reconstruction era. The two decades that he selects as the bookends of this period in *BR* (1860-1880) bridge two historical categories explored in chapter four of *TPN*: "The Guild of the Caterers, 1840-1870" (Du Bois 2007, 32–39) and "The Influx of the Freedmen, 1870-1896" (39-45). Another explanation may have to do with the fact that the Freedmen's Bureau, being a branch of the War Department, only had jurisdiction in states that were part of the Confederacy and Philadelphia remained decidedly beyond its geographical borders. Lastly, Du Bois's

dedication to an empirical method may have influenced his decision to distance this text from "the armchair conjectures and flashes of intuition customary at the time" (Morris 2015, 47). This was a practice that Du Bois charged Reconstruction historians with in 1909 when he presented the paper at the American Historical Association that would guide his later analysis in *BR* (McClain et al. 2016, 475).

Despite not dedicating a section to the Reconstruction era, similarities can be drawn between Du Bios's assessment of Philadelphia in the years when the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery of 1780 went into effect in Pennsylvania and Tera W. Hunter's analysis of the intense migration to Southern cities by ex-slaves during the Reconstruction era in *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (1997). In her assessment of Atlanta in the years following the Civil War, Hunter observes the following:

> Freedom meant the reestablishment of lost family connections, the achievement of literacy, the exercise of political rights, and the security of a decent livelihood without the sacrifice of human dignity or self-determination. Ex-slave women migrated to Atlanta, where they hoped they would have a better chance of fulfilling these expectations. They were faced with many challenges; uppermost among them were the white residents who were resentful of the abolition of slavery and persisted in thwarting the realization of the true meaning of freedom. (1997, 43)

In the section entitled "Fugitives and Foreigners 1820-1840," Du Bois makes a similar observation regarding the obstacles Black people faced during those important decades:

> If … the new freedmen had been given peace and quiet and abundant work to develop sensible and aspiring leaders, the end would have been different; but a mass of poverty-stricken, ignorant fugitives and ill-trained freedmen had rushed to the city, swarmed in the vile slums which the rapidly growing city furnished, and met in social and economic competition equally ignorant but more vigorous foreigners. These foreigners outbid them at work, beat them on the streets, and were enabled to do this by the prejudice which Negro crime and anti-slavery sentiment had aroused in the city. (2007, 30-31)

In both these quotations, anti-abolitionist and anti-Black violence was the norm in American cities across the border between the South and North after the moment of emancipation.

Du Bois also refers to the re-emergence of anti-abolitionist and anti-Black violence in post-Civil War Philadelphia when he recounts the history of a Reconstruction leader, Octavius Catto,

being shot and killed on election day in 1871 on South Street (39-42). As such, antebellum Philadelphia is more than "a northern version of what historian Willie Lee Rose called 'a rehearsal for Reconstruction'" (Dunbar 2008, 3).[10] It was a site where a counter-revolution to Reconstruction also emerged. Thinking about these moments together may just be the key to understanding the ending of Reconstruction itself. In no text is this more present that *TPN* which highlights the tensions met by urban residents as they experienced the shifting economic landscape in the U.S. from mercantilism to industrialization during and alongside the formal abolition of slavery.

At the end of the historical overview from the first arrival of Blacks to the region that would become Philadelphia in 1638 to the year in which he began to walk the streets of the Seventh Ward (1896), Du Bois asks his readers to keep in mind four characteristics that serve as context for the data he presents: "(1) The growth of Philadelphia; (2) the increase of the foreign population in the city; (3) the development of the large industry and increase of wealth, and (4) the coming in of the Southern Freedmen's sons and daughters" (2007, 44). The rush of peoples into the city, both Black and white, was a result of two simultaneous phenomena: the immigration that exploded from ever more overpopulating European cities and the movement of internal migrants, both Black and white, from rural spaces to the cities. Both groups were in search of jobs promised by the American Dream (what Du Bois refers to as the "American Assumption" in *BR*) and spurned by the arrival of the industrial revolution to the shores of the "new world."

The industrial revolution began in Great Britain, the former colonial protector of the

[10] Historian Willie Lee Rose (1964) provides an assessment of the Port Royal Experiment, land set aside by the U.S. Navy on the Sea Islands of South Carolina after the start of the Civil War for slaves that found themselves detached from their masters due to the war and a location for self-sustainability established by freedmen and freedwomen in the war's aftermath. In his introduction to Rose's book, C. Vann Woodward writes, "[t]he Port Royal Experiment became not only a proving ground for freedmen, but also a training and recruiting ground for personnel of the postwar Reconstruction" (xviii). One of the Black women explored in chapter three served as a scout, nurse, and soldier on the Sea Islands (i.e. Harriet Tubman). Whereas another educated some of the teachers who were deployed in the schools there (i.e. Fanny Jackson Coppin).

settlements during the late eighteenth extending into the early nineteenth century. Since industrialism reached maturity in the European context in advance of the U.S., it is not a historical stretch to claim that the surplus labor forces of Europe combined with the settler-colonial pull of the U.S. compelled them to look outside their own countries for employment.[11] As employers competed for the cheapest labor amongst the descendants of former peasants in European cities like London, Paris, Munich, etc., industrial conditions grew bleak and vacancies scarce. Given that the commons had all but been eradicated, these workers had to look beyond the domestic labor market to the global in order to survive. This is, as Marx noted, the global nature of the proletariat class under capitalism. In *TPN*, Du Bois gives some clues as to the ongoing ripple effect that the earlier periods of enclosure continued to have in Philadelphia as they extending into the nineteenth century and were exacerbated by industrialization.

Du Bois recounts two distinct times of Black immigrant influx to Philadelphia in the ninteenth century. The first was in the decades between 1820 and 1840. This period was marked historically by the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 and large scale immigration predominantly from Britain, Ireland, Germany, Central Europe and Scandinavia. A variety of the newcomers became targets of nativist bigotry, particularly the Irish and German (Benson 1970, 119). By the end of the period known as Jacksonian "democracy," however, a legal prescription of whiteness emerged at the state level to quell the violence that broke out between white ethnic

[11] By settler-colonial pull, I am referring to the "American Dream" (i.e. American exceptionalism) that was marketed to the poor of Europe to compel them to immigrate to the U.S. Such a marketing is explored by critical theorist Ali Behdad in his insightful readings of travel writings by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (2005, 33–47) and Alexis de Tocqueville (53-67). Furthermore, in the context of North America, the city itself plays a continuing role in the maintenance of settler-colonial forms of domination after the historical moment of independence, particularly over the racialized bodies deemed a threat to the exceptional status of the nation. In historicizing the settler-colonial state of Canada, political theorist Glen Sean Coulthard writes, "cities were originally conceived of in the colonial imagination as explicitly non-Native spaces – as *civilized* spaces – and urban planners and Indian policy makers went through great efforts to expunge urban centers of Native presence" (Coulthard 2014, 173–74). In conclusion, an attention to the commons during the era of Reconstruction, particularly across gender, race, and class, also aims to shed light onto the anti-democratic processes that maintain settler-colonial structures.

groups due to nativist demagoguery. In 1837, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court declared that a free "Negro" was not a freeman in the meaning of the Constitution. The justices inserted the word "white" into the list of qualifications for voting, and as a result deprived "free Negroes of the right of suffrage which they had enjoyed [for] nearly fifty years" in Philadelphia specifically (Du Bois 2007, 30).

The second influx occurred between 1870 and was still in effect when Du Bois was living, researching, and writing in Philadelphia. The migration of Blacks from former rural spaces of the North and the South to Philadelphia in the final three decades of the nineteenth century was also met with high rates of international immigration, namely from Italy, Greece, Hungary, Poland, and other Slavic countries. Given the post-war industrial push across U.S. cities as outlined above, this migration created fierce competition for the new industrial jobs. This competition was exacerbated by the anti-immigrant political movement that preceded the Civil War but morphed into a political ideology in its aftermath that exploited a political cleavage between poor European immigrants and Blacks along racial lines.[12] In *TPN* Du Bois does not directly address nativist sentiment broadly nor does he mention the anti-Catholic riots that destroyed large portions of Irish neighborhoods in the city in 1844; however, his focus on anti-abolitionism in the 1830s and anti-Black violence in the 1870s does suggest that the sentiments stoked by nativism extended to the Black community in the overall development of the color prejudice that he finds throughout the city. He also gestures towards the deployment of anti-Blackness as a corollary to the rise of nativism in a lengthy footnote dedicated to the "cold-blooded assassination" of the young civil rights leader, Octavius V. Catto, by one of "the city toughs [who] were largely Irish and hereditary enemies of the blacks" (39; 40-42n24.). Since I will turn

[12] The combination of nativism and white supremacy would persist through the 1850s with the rise of the Know-Nothing Party whose founder became a Philadelphian politician to the U.S. House of Representatives – Lewis Charles Levin. And although anti-Catholicism largely spurned Levin's ideas for the party, the Know-Nothings grew in the West, particularly in California, as a result of anti-Chinese sentiments. Of course, the legal frameworks of anti-Blackness would frame nativist arguments for the exclusion of all non-white from political institutions and rights (Aarim-Heriot 2003, 44).

to the role nativism played in the foreclosure of the Reconstruction efforts in chapter five, I reference these two periods of global and domestic migration as indicators of the macro-trends that accompany the cyclical patterns of enclosure and primitive accumulation. This brings me to micro-trends that Du Bois observed as a condition of the Black community in Philadelphia.

Given his ethnographic approach, Du Bois assesses expressions of color prejudice in the everyday experience of Black Philadelphians. In one such assessment, Du Bois finds that the stress of labor competition seemed to be felt overwhelmingly by Black workers: experiencing higher rates of unemployment; reporting lower wages on average; and, when having secured employment, living greater distances away from their job sites. To explain these anomalies, Du Bois explores "the environment in which a Negro finds himself - the world of custom and thought in which he must live and work, the physical surrounding of house and home and ward, the moral encouragements and discouragements which he encounters" (2007, 284). He continues by elaborating on the difficulties such a factor presents for scientific, sociological study. "We dimly seek to define this social environment partially when we talk of color prejudice - but this is but a vague characterization; what we want to study is not a vague thought or feeling but its concrete manifestations" (ibid.). By continuing to push on the contradictions, Du Bois shows how this prejudice manifests. The Blacks of Philadelphia are "a people receiving a little lower wages than usual for less desirable work, and compelled, in order to do that work, to live in a little less pleasant quarters than most people, and pay for them somewhat higher rents" (296). And it is in this material reality, complicated by persistent and sustained prejudice, that Du Bois locates the reasons for poverty and crime amongst the predominantly Black Seventh Ward.

Du Bois carefully lays out a line of argument from prejudice to poverty and crime starting with the reduction of individual Black actors to the lowest common denominator, i.e. all Blacks are either menials or criminals. Starting with the history of Black men's labor in the city, he continues to remind his reader of the fierce competition created by constant migration of Southern Blacks and rapid immigration from abroad into the city. When it comes to the professional sectors, clerking positions, and being business owners, Du Bois names insufficient

training as the likely contributing factor of the small numbers of Blacks amongst their ranks. All Black men who found a secure position in any of these sectors, of course fighting institutional racism throughout their training, tend to maintain a healthy life for himself and his family (111-126). Turning to the unskilled sectors, or the "commoners," Du Bois traces the effects of the environment (i.e. race prejudice) on the overall success of Black men. First, Black men were predominantly kept out of industrial jobs either by employers' explicit practice of not hiring them or the claim that their other employees, i.e. their white workers, would refuse to work alongside Blacks (126-131). Second, if Black men could find industrial work, they were paid less. This was namely because Blacks were not allowed into trade unions (128-129). Also, Blacks earned the disgust of fellow white works when employees would hire them as strike breakers: "then if the whites wish to regain their places, they must accept the lower wages. The white laborers then blame the Negroes for bringing down wages - a charge with just enough truth in it to intensify existing prejudices" (135). Third, when Black men were unable to find work in a trade, they sought employment in the only sector left available to them - domestic service (136-146).

Domestic labor has been long considered menial labor, particularly since historically in the U.S. this work was done by slaves. "Choosing" menial labor, then, meant a loss of social standing (136). Even those Blacks who have gained skills and education found themselves among the ranks of the servant class. Du Bois describes the demoralizing effect of this reality:

> In getting other work … they were not successful, partly on account of lack of ability, partly on account of the strong race prejudice against them. Consequently to-day the ranks of Negro servants, and that means largely the ranks of domestic service in general in Philadelphia, have received all those whom the harsh competition of a great city has pushed down, all whom a relentless color proscription has turned back from other chosen vocations; half-trained teachers and poorly equipped students who have not succeeded; carpenters and masons who may not work at their trades; girls with common school training, eager for the hard work but respectable standing of shop girls and factory hands, and proscribed by their color - in fact, all those young people who, by natural evolution in the case of the whites, would have stepped a grade higher than their fathers and mothers in the social scale, have in the case of the post-bellum generation of Negroes been largely forced back into the great mass of the listless and incompetent to earn bread and butter by menial service.

And they resent it…. (137-138).

As their resentment grows, behavior like being easily offended by those they are employed to serve and portraying disinterest while on the job was common. By combining these trends with the harsh competition within the city more broadly, dismissal from their employ would be more than likely. Du Bois also notes, "English trained servants, the more docile Swedes and better paid white servants were brought in to displace Negro servants" (139). Here Du Bois shows how the combined process of devaluation, that of Black labor and Black life, began during this early stage of classically liberal capitalism. Being now pushed out of the lowest sector with little to no other avenues for their employment, this meant that Blacks had to seek a wage in alternative economies through crime or find subsistence through benevolence societies (140). Du Bois declares that these narrow opportunities keep Blacks from earning a decent living in Philadelphia.[13] His conclusion is that white Philadelphians need to shift their overall approach: "Such discrimination is morally wrong, politically dangerous, industrially wasteful, and socially silly. It is the duty of the whites to stop it, and to do so primarily for their own sake" (394).

Recent feminist scholarship on domestic workers illuminates the struggles to make such labor not only visible but respected by lawmakers (Boris & Nadasen 2008; Davies 2008; Boris & Klein 2015). With this scholarship in mind, Du Bois's critique of the narrowing labor opportunities for all Blacks in Philadelphia to domestic service warrants reconsidering, particularly alongside his treatment of Black women in *TPN*. The first instances that Black women are mentioned in the text are relegated to the ethnographic section of the text as opposed to the historical overview of the city. His first observation is their sheer number. Du Bois notes

[13] The dual quality of such practice is echoed by Grace Hong (2012) when she finds the defining feature of the neoliberal capitalist order to be the marking of those previously slated as surplus labor by industrial capitalism - bodies marked by racial, gendered, and sexual difference - take on a new configuration under a speculative capitalist economy - they are "existentially surplus." Put simply, "certain populations are not necessary to capital as potential sources of labor, but are useful for their intrinsic lack of value" (92). An example that Hong makes is the place Blacks as inmates serve vis-à-vis the prison-industrial-complex: they "function not as *labor* but as raw material" (92).

that there is an "unusual excess of females" amongst Black Philadelphians (53). He quickly concludes that the cause of this is easy to explain: "From the beginning the industrial opportunities of Negro women in the cities have been far greater than those of men, through their large employment in domestic service" (54-55). Remember from the last section, Federici notes that larger numbers of women residing in cities during early stages of enclosure was not unusual because they found more relief from male dominance in urbanized spaces. This is not something Du Bois considers, but it is something that he ends up underscoring. He calls this disproportion "an unhealthy condition," because "its effects are seen in a large percent of illegitimate births, and an unhealthy tone in much of the social intercourse among the middle class of the Negro population" (Du Bois 2007, 55).

In a footnote, Du Bois gives a specific example of this "unhealthy tone" when he describes the scene of social gatherings: "men are always at a premium, and this very often leads to lowering the standard of admission to certain circles, and often gives one the impression that the social level of the women is higher than the level of the men" (55n.5). Here Du Bois shows exactly what Federici means when she writes that after enclosure to the lands, women's bodies became the commons for men (Federici 2004, 97). Put directly, men are given more access to women merely because there are more of them. Rather than drawing the detailed line from prejudice to crime as done when analyzing lack of employment among Blacks in Philadelphia more generally, from here Du Bois leaps to the conclusion that to solve this "unhealthy condition" that ultimately leads to poverty, and possibly crime, urban Blacks need to create "real home life" (Du Bois 2007, 192).

Du Bois denotes multiple times throughout *TPN* that Blacks in Philadelphia are lacking "real" or "true" home life, but he never defines what this means. In describing the overall conditions of domesticity in the Seventh Ward he notes, "there is, of course, little home life, rather a sort of neighborhood life, centering in the alleys and on the sidewalks, where the children are educated" (193). What he is describing looks like the behaviors associated with the commons as opposed to "the real home life" he champions. According to historian Peter

Linebaugh, commoning is a practice engaged by poor people along the lines of "mutual aid, neighborliness, fellowship, and family with their obligations of trust and expectations of security" (2008, 59). Throughout *TPN*, Du Bois criticizes the communal remnants on slavery, whether it is here when he disregards neighborhood life, or in his discussion of the Black churches (2007, 197). Given these dismissals, what kind of "home" is he suggesting? In the last chapter of the book, entitled "A Final Word," he gives us a clue in the section "Duty of the Negroes." There he writes:

> There is a vast amount of preventative and rescue work which the Negroes themselves might do: keeping little girls off the street at night, stopping the escorting of unchaperoned young ladies to church and elsewhere, showing the dangers of the lodging system, urging the buying of homes and removal from crowded and tainted neighborhoods, giving lectures on health and habits, exposing the dangers of gambling and policy-playing, and inculcating respect for women. (391)

Clearly Du Bois has a type of home-structure in mind, one that focuses around individual, nuclear, heterosexual, married life secured by private property. Also from the citation above, Black women's bodies, especially in their capacity as mothers, becomes the site of reform. Du Bois, even if this was not his attention, singles out Black women as largely responsible for the condition of Blacks in Philadelphia: "Efforts to stop ... crime must commence in the Negro homes; they must cease to be, as they often are, breeders of idleness and extravagance and complaint" (390). Perhaps Du Bois was aware of the sexual vulnerability two which young women were exposed in the city, but his response of cloistering them in a "true home" appears counter-intuitive to his calls for better all-around living conditions for Black Philadelphians.

Returning to the analysis provided by Federici, the creation of the public/private divide to maintain and perpetuate enclosure exposed poor women's bodies to the ravaging of capitalist accumulation in both the public and the private. The sexual violence authorized either directly or indirectly by municipalities forced women into private homes where their job became defined by the procreation of a new labor force (i.e. motherhood) and unpaid care labor. Having secure homes means the reproduction of the laboring classes in all aspects such as children, education,

and the maintenance of the male laborer. This becomes the job description of "housewives" - provide children with education and food and provide the productive laborer, namely the husband, with sustenance while at home (i.e. food and sex) so that he can be an effective and efficient laborer for his employer. If the home is "privately owned," this relationship between husband and wife can be concretized. House ownership means resources will not have to put out for exorbitant rents like those felt by Black working class families in Philadelphia in the nineteenth century.

The role of the housewife does underscore Du Bois's conception of home life that he sees lacking in Black community of late nineteenth century Philadelphia. Early in the book, he writes: "The result of this large number of homes without husbands is to increase the burden of charity and benevolence, and also on account of their poor home life to increase crime" (Du Bois 2007, 68). The overlap is on Black male absence, but once the text is explored more thoroughly, it is the occupation, or better put the non-occupation, of the "wife" or head female of the household that becomes the deciding parameter for Du Bois's coding of Black family households in the city. In the first grade of families, "the wife stays at home and the children at school" (365). These are the middle-class Black families who Du Bois believes should be the class that represents for the Black people "its possibilities rather than its exceptions, as is so often assumed in regard to the Negro" (316). As for the second grade, "the wife in some cases helps as a bread-winner" (ibid.). This group of families makes up most Black homes in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward at this time (56 percent of all the families). The third grade consists of "those who have suffered accident and misfortune; the maimed and defective classes, and the sick; many widows and orphans and deserted wives" (314-315). Finally, when it comes to the fourth grade "many of these are cases of permanent cohabitation and the women for the most part are or were prostitutes" (365). Put simply, those families afforded the top grading depended on how well the women adhere to public/private divide. To make explicit his reasoning for this grading, Du Bois posits the following: "In many respects it is right and proper to judge a people by its best classes rather than by its worst classes or middle ranks" (316). It becomes the duty of whites, according

to Du Bois, to stop ignoring the very existence of these "best classes"; whereas for the Black Philadelphians, Du Bois claims they should strive to attain a family and home life that conforms to the patriarchal standards facilitating the primitive accumulation of capital. As Federici observes, "primitive accumulation has been above all an accumulation of differences, inequalities, hierarchies, divisions, which have alienated workers from each other and even from themselves" (2004, 115).

Perhaps Du Bois was making a subtler point than the typical patriarchal academic. As has been noted, he regularly was writing to a Black and white audience at the same time, "with the overall goal of empowering the African American people" (Marable 2005, xi). To really assess Du Bois's claims one needs to look more closely at the data. First, there were more women in the city than men, which means many were single and thus needed to sustain themselves. Second, as Du Bois observes, "A Negro woman has but three careers open to her in this city: domestic service, sewing, or married life" (2007, 323). Third, since domestic service leads to lack in social standing, as seen earlier, women become doubly susceptible to race prejudice:

> At a time when women are engaged in bread-winning to a larger degree than ever before, the field open to Negro women is usually narrow. This is, or course, due largely to the more intense prejudices of females on all subjects, and especially to the fact that women who work dislike to be in any way mistaken for menials, and they regard Negro women as menials *par excellence*. (333-334)

Fourth, Black women could therefore not afford losing any more social standing because of this double bind:

> There can be no doubt but [t]hat sexual looseness is to-day the prevailing sin of the mass of the Negro population, and that its prevalence can be traced to bad home life in most cases. Children are allowed on the street night and day unattended; loose talk is often indulged in; the sin is seldom if ever denounced in churches. The same freedom is allowed the poorly trained colored girl as the white girl who has come from a strict home, and the result is that the colored girl more often falls. Nothing but strict home life can avail in such cases. Of course there is much to be said in palliation: the Negress is not respected by men as white girls are, and consequently has no such general social protection; as a servant, maid, etc., she has peculiar temptations. (72n.5)

Based on his assumption that there is tangible value to the public/private divide, logically Du

Bois is going to advocate that Black women choose the third out of the employment options open to them - housewives.

Given his tone of over protection, Du Bois probably thought that he was providing them with survival strategies; however, when he writes "as a servant, maid, etc., she has peculiar temptations," he forgets to take into consideration a very important historical fact. Under the institution of slavery, rape by their masters was frequently subjected on Black female bodies as a form of punishment and for economic profit. Angela Davis makes the connection between this "form of terrorism" and a practice held in the age leading up to enclosure:

> The integration of rape into the sparsely furnished legitimate social life of the slaves harks back to the feudal 'right of the first night,' the *jus primae noctis*. The feudal lord manifested and forced his domination over the serfs by asserting his authority to have sexual intercourse with all the females. The right itself referred specifically to all freshly married women. But while the right to the first night eventually evolved into the institutionalized 'virgin tax,' the American slaveholder's sexual domination never lost its openly terroristic character. (1972, 96-97)

It was this right of the feudal lords that was traded for enclosure. Commoners lost access to the land, but the common men gained full access to women's bodies. This is implied in Du Bois cautionary tone when he describes the party scene where Black women outnumber Black men, but his language tends to make young women "loose" rather than victims of the institutionalized violence against women more generally.

In the final chapter of *TPN*, Du Bois declares the ultimate failures in the city's race relations to be a combination of Black residents having "narrow opportunities afforded … [them] for earning a decent living" and the contributions made by their educated and cultured members being overlooked and dismissed as part and parcel of the city's overall development (394; 396). In the very last section of the book entitled "The Duty of the Whites," Du Bois suggests they take more seriously the beneficence bestowed upon the city by a people whose existence was overly determined by anti-democratic proportions just a generation prior. This marks a consistency between *TPN* and his later work *BR* - the centering of Black agency in the face of anti-Black structure. Throughout the text, he explores the contributions of elite Black

Philadelphians, like Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, James Forten, Robert Bogle, Thomas Dorsey, Henry Jones, Henry Milton, Stephen Smith, and Octavius V. Catto at length. The only Black woman mentioned at all in *TPN* is Sarah Mapps Douglass and only in passing: "Among men not already mentioned in this period [1870-1896] should be noted the Rev. C. W. Gardner, Dr. J. Bias, the dentist, James McCrummell, and Sarah M. Douglass. All these were prominent Negroes of the day and had much influence" (45).

The tipping point on this matter requires the formulation of one last question before moving onto his later work. As an American intellectual, does Du Bois fall into the trap of assuming that women are but guests in an otherwise male city? In the final lines of the book, Du Bois writes:

> A polite and sympathetic attitude toward these striving thousands; a delicate avoidance of that which wounds and embitters them; a generous granting of opportunity to them; a seconding of their efforts, and a desire to reward honest success - all this, added to proper striving on their part, will go far even in our day toward making all *men*, white and black, realize what the great founder of the city meant when he named it the City of *Brotherly* Love. (Du Bois 2007, 397, *my emphasis*)

Even if this sentence is nothing more than cliché, the analysis above shows that Du Bois did little to make room for Black women in the open city that William Penn designed (Conn 2013, 32).

If the invisibilization of Black women's intellectual and activist contributions to the abolitionist movement in and around Philadelphia by Du Bois was not intentional, what other factors may elicit this tendency? In the first section of this chapter I suggested that Reconstruction was part and parcel of the history of enclosure, which institutionalized women's formal exclusion from public spaces both physically and intellectually. In the next section I turn to the text where Du Bois directly engages the era of Reconstruction*, BR*, to show that he did draw connections between the abolition of slavery, at least in the form of human "real estate" (1998, 20), and enclosure in Europe (i.e. the abolition of feudalism).

C. Tracing a History of Enclosure in Black Reconstruction

Philosopher Charles Lemert's characterizes *BR* as Du Bois's greatest work:

> It thinks race through in more enduringly substantial ways than does the famous essay at the beginning of *Souls*, which is oddly indefinite on the nature and upbeat on the prospects of the doubly conscious American Negro. In addition, *Black Reconstruction*'s evidence is global (hence, relatively timeless), whereas *Philadelphia Negro*'s is local (hence, considerably time bound). (Lemert 2000, 222)

By paying attention to the spatial elements of *TPN* - the city, public/private divide, the commons, and home as done above, I push back on Lemert's evaluation that this piece of scholarship from Du Bois's earlier years as "time bound" by putting it in conversation with his theory of abolition-democracy, which is a timeless assessment of what democracy means when one recontextualizes the differences by which primitive accumulation emerged. Put simply, a philosophical understanding of abolition as an anti-capitalist dialectic underscores Du Bois's theory of democracy, which means his attention to the material conditions are always twofold – global and local. Democracy for Du Bois is global in the sense that the economic conditions that mapped onto racial anxieties and lead to the foreclosure of Reconstruction were exacerbated by wholesale changes in the chains of capitalism: labor (i.e. industrialization), land use (i.e. urbanization), and energy production and consumption (i.e. fossil fuels). Democracy is also local for Du Bois in the sense that the effects of those changes come to inform the everyday realities of ordinary people from decreased wages due to a growing supply of labor (i.e. emancipation of slaves) and the rising costs of food, fuel, and housing (i.e. enclosure). These are not trivial concerns to democratic thought and praxis:

> Individuals who concert their powers for low income housing, worker ownership of factories, better schools, better health care, safer water, controls over toxic waste disposals, and a thousand other common concerns of ordinary lives are experiencing a democratic moment and contributing to the discovery, care, and tending of a commonality of shared concerns. (Wolin 1994, 24)

Put differently, the lack of material subsistence has detrimental effects on how or if ordinary people participate in the decision-making process inherent to democratic politics.

Returning to *Caliban and the Witch*, Federici provides insight into the connection between local struggles against feudalism and the larger global consequences of enclosure when she references enclosure in the Americas:

> The most massive process of land privatization and enclosure occurred in the Americas where, by the turn of the 17th century, one-third of the communal indigenous land had been appropriated by the Spaniards under the system of the *encomienda*. Loss of labor was also one of the consequences of slave-raiding in Africa, which deprived many communities of the best among their youth. (2004, 68)

By removing people from commonly cultivated or secured land throughout colonialism and the slave trade, the loss to indigenous peoples was twofold - social capital and territorial autonomy. Drawing together Federici's work introduced in the first section of this chapter and Linebaugh's scholarship introduced in the second section, I want to suggest that the history of Reconstruction as laid out by Du Bois shares three characteristics with enclosure movements: (1) capitalism as counter-revolution to democratization; (2) the sanctification of private property through the adoption of liberal ideology; and (3) the employment of social constructions like race and gender for the purpose of primitive accumulation necessary for the creation of a capitalist elite, the emergent category of the self-sufficient individual, and the material monopolization came from this allignment.

In order to understand the plural history of the movement against feudalism in medieval Europe, Federici places small peasants, artisans, and day laborers at the center of her analysis. By doing so, she notes that capitalism was not a natural development from feudalism. Rather, it was one possible outcome.

> Capitalism was the response of the feudal lords, the patrician merchants, the bishops and popes, to a centuries-long social conflict that, in the end, shook their power…. Capitalism

> was the counter-revolution that destroyed the possibilities that had emerged from the anti-feudal struggle - possibilities which, if realized, might have spared us the immense destruction of lives and the natural environment that has marked the advance of capitalist relations worldwide. (Federici 2004, 21-22)

Here, Federici shines a light towards the other possibilities covered over by the scientific and evolutionary narratives adopted by many scholars to explain the shift from feudalism to capitalism culminating in the industrial revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By pointing to the commoners as the originators of these historical turning points, peasants in the case of European enclosure and Black laborers (slave and non-slave) in the U.S. anti-slavery movement share a common thread. This becomes clear by the critical historiography done by Federici and Du Bois on these respective eras. Both see capitalism as central to the social movements under their analysis. Returning to the idealization of the home at this time period, these two scholars in concert provide a foundation to explore the combined effects of race, class, and gender on the foreclosure of Reconstruction.

The private home in liberal thought is attenuated by the naturalization of "right to property." As shown by Federici, the institutionalization of private property pre-existed the U.S., but during Reconstruction it became part and parcel of the national imaginary. Du Bois references how this process differed in the U.S. post-emancipation:

> To emancipate four million laborers whose labor had been owned … was an operation such no modern country had for a moment attempted or contemplated. The German and English and French serf, the Italian and Russian serf, were, on emancipation, given definite rights in the land. Only the American Negro slave was emancipated without such rights and in the end this spelled for him the continuation of slavery. (1998, 611)

In linking Reconstruction to the European serfs, Du Bois deliberately places this period on the timeline of the long durée of enclosure history. In doing so, more importantly, Du Bois makes it his aim to not only point out the unprecedented consequences of emancipation without means of subsistence, but to show how time and again how enclosure must reassert itself.

In the founding of America, the desire for the commons was to be stamped out through genocide (Native Americans), washed away in the Atlantic Ocean (former European peasants), or beaten out of their bodies (the chattel slavery of Africans). Given that Reconstruction was a moment where the founding itself was being renegotiated, it is no wonder that the spirit of the commons would re-emerge by those who, under slavery, lived beneath and betwixt any political guarantee of common rights. After emancipation, they took this knowledge with them into freedom as emphasized by the demands for reparations and the sharing of land abandoned by former Confederates to be distributed equitably across the population (604). For example, in June of 1866 Congress approved a law to release public lands in parts of the South – Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Florida – according to the stipulations of homestead law with no distinction for distribution along the lines of race or color. This recognition of the commons as central to the promise of emancipation was quickly undercut by the unaffordability of transportation costs, lack of farm supplies and tools, and the bitter opposition to Black land ownership by local whites. As a result, Du Bois notes that "only about 4,000 families out of nearly four million people acquired homes under this act" (602).

The will to make the transition from an America founded on private property to a common democracy was clearly present. The assumed noble nature of private property supplanted such desires, and its various iterations were used to secure the dictatorship of wealth and capital. Du Bois shows how discursive tactics to reinforce this position, like the privileging of hard work and thriftiness, even came from the ranks of the Radical Republicans themselves. Charles Sumner, one of the most popular official advocates of Reconstruction within the federal legislature, opposed reparations on these grounds. In order to secure the position of wealth and capital, various mechanisms emerged to control the public opinion of the laboring class like "the power

to give and withhold employment from people who were without capital, the power to fix wages within certain wide limits, the power to influence public opinion through the prestige and wealth, news and literature, and the power to dominate legislatures, courts, and offices of administration" (605). All these aspects point to what Du Bois calls "the counter-revolution of property" that contributed to American's lack of understanding or toleration for the securing of subsistence for the homeless and those lacking property or capital, namely former slaves. Furthermore, the popularity of the logic of private property based on land acquisition, namely its ability to grow or accumulate profit, made wanting to live life sustainably a moot project.

With the opening and various conquests of the Western part of the continent during the mid-nineteenth century, private property took on an even more powerful function by becoming synonymous with citizenship. Immigrants, supported by the Homestead Act of 1862, were offered new space, both physically and ideologically, in the wide project of (white) American democracy. According to Du Bois, support for abolition-democracy was abundant in the West: "The German and Scandinavians, who had settled in the Northwest, were naturally democratic. ...They disliked aristocracy and they disliked the South because the South was against foreigners and immigration. ...[T]he West followed the Abolitionists, until later they were seduced by the kulak psychology of land ownership" (215-216). As Du Bois shows, capital interests manipulated the population by making two likely allies into "common" enemies, thus poisoning the social soil of the West and the future of abolition-democracy. By "kulak psychology" Du Bois is referring to the wealthier peasantry of the Russian Civil War, who used the lower peasantry to gain capital and economic superiority. Throughout the history of enclosure, this process became a familiar means to secure privileged access to land or the market.

Decidedly absent from Du Bois's assessment of the contributions of Black folk in the

struggle for emancipation and Reconstruction is any assessment of women's contributions. Both Linebaugh and Federici recognize women as central figures in the history of the commons and commoning. For Linebaugh, the consistent "feminization of poverty" across the globe is embodied in "the humble figure of the old woman bent from carrying a burden of sticks that she has gathered from the woodlands" in continent after continent (2008, 40). Traditionally, women's labor has been associated with those practices defining commoning: agriculture, carrying water, foraging for fuel, food production, etc. For Federici, gender plays an even more central role in the analysis. She notes that the redefinition of gender and the institutionalization of distinct gender roles defined the enclosures of Europe. In this process, men were to become the embodiment of public life and productive work, whereas women would be defined by and confined to the home as instruments of reproductive servitude. This transition was offered up as compensation for male commoner's own loss of access to land in the form of the commons and became solidified in law when "women lost … the right to conduct economic activities alone, … [as well as] the right to make contracts or to represent themselves in court … [in some countries] women were also forbidden to live alone or with other women and, in the case of the poor, even with their own families, since it was expected that they would not be properly controlled" (Federici 2004, 100).

The material consequences for women because of the economic transformations in Europe during the loss of commons bears a striking similarity to that of Blacks during Reconstruction. Even though commoners merely lost access to the land, whereas slaves were transformed, at least temporarily, from real estate to persons, both groups were sacrificed in the interest of the status quo and the accumulation of capital for private control. Despite the overt racial violence that emerged in the wake of emancipation, Du Bois's analysis reminds us that "the overthrow of

Reconstruction was in essence a revolution inspired by property, and not a race war" (Du Bois 1998, 622). Federici makes a similar observation when she finds that the state by aligning itself with capital enacted a sex war, largely through state sanctioned rape, in order to cover over a class-based policy of wealth concentration. By co-opting "the youngest and most rebellious male workers, by means of a vicious sexual politics [the political authorities] gave them access to free sex, and tuned class antagonism into an antagonism against proletarian women" (Federici 2004, 47). During both these era, race and gender were articulated as "natural" justifications for such hierarchies. Today, we recognize that these are both social constructions. Nonetheless, studying enclosure shows the various political techniques used to socially construct such hierarchies. For example, the process of pitting one section of the population against the other is evident in who is given privileged access to the market and political authority. Connecting the European context to the American one along the lines of enclosure history, Federici, Linebaugh, and Du Bois emphasize how these ideas migrate over space and time despite having unique implications for each locale.

By re-centering Black women's figuration in the movement for abolition, their everyday struggles serve as an essential iteration of women's struggle for the commons. Whether by stealing themselves and their reproductive capacity away from slavery or refusing to conform to an ideal construction of home life, their collective actions may serve as an alternative starting point for a theoretical exploration of Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy. If the goal of Reconstruction was the restoration of the Union with a difference, the outcome would be a multiracial democracy of which women would play a central role. As Cedric J. Robinson so eloquently puts it in *Black Movements in America*, "American maroon communities frequently acquired the multicultural and multiracial character that liberal historians of the early twentieth

century had expected of the whole nation" (1997, 13). Along similar lines, Stefano Harney and Fred Moten (2013) provide a history of the underground railroad as a politics of aesthetics aimed at combatting the mechanisms of control highlighted by the neoliberal global economy in the form of governance through debt and the management of pedagogy. Though these projects are insightful for thinking the commons anew, the centrality of Black women's contributions to the Reconstruction efforts remain unexplored by political and social theorists alike. I conclude the chapter by returning to Du Bois treatment of Black women in *TPN*. By positing the "streets" and "sidewalks" as the common spaces by which Black women engaged in undercommoning, I posit them as agents of the struggle for abolition-democracy during Reconstruction.

D. Undercommoning in the Streets: Black Women and Abolition-Democracy

Two notable historians turn to Black women's contributions lacking in both *TPN* and *BR* – Tera Hunter (1998) and Thavolia Glymph (2013) respectively. Opening her comparative assessment of the everyday lives of working-class women in Philadelphia and Atlanta in the 1890s, Hunter cites an anonymous "colored woman" writing to the *Philadelphia Post* in 1871. The letter concerns the inability of Black women to find gainful employment in the dressmaking trade, an industry that dominated much of the Philadelphian industrial turn after the Civil War and was largely made up of female laborers. Hunter writes, "[t]his letter, though written during the era of Reconstruction, could have easily been written twenty-five years later as W.E.B. DuBois began his landmark social science study, *The Philadelphia Negro*" (1998, 127). Hunter then goes on to compare Black women's everyday conditions as domestic workers in both Philadelphia and Atlanta. She finds that in their wage labor and "nonremunerative consumption strategies" Black women "conducted much of this activity at the level of neighborhoods, creating informal social networks in communal laundry spots, on the streets, at lunch carts, and in dance

halls and saloons" (143). Focusing largely on the lead up to emancipation, historian Thavolia Glymph argues that in *BR* Du Bois "failed to see or address the specific ways the flight of enslaved women, as part and parcel of the 'great strike,' contributed to slavery's destruction" (2013, 489-490). These two scholars, along with others (Hartman 2016; Weinbaum 2013), expose that Du Bois falls into a similar trap along the lines of gender that he accused the mainstream Reconstruction historians of doing in regards to race. In the essay "The Propaganda of History" that concludes *BR*, Du Bois writes, "[o]ne fact and one alone explains the attitude of most recent writers toward Reconstruction; they cannot conceive Negroes as men" (1998, 726). By "men," is Du Bois using the universal formulation to conceive of Black Americans as self-directed agents of a potential democratic polity? Between *TPN* and *BR*, Du Bois's lack of engagement with the contributions by Black women to the abolitionist movement and the fight for civil rights in the aftermath of the Civil War does not bode well for interpreting this quote as gender neutral.[14]

Throughout the chapter I have suggested that Du Bois's conception of home leads him to disregard women's contributions to the abolitionist movement that preceded the Civil War and to the formation of the coalition pursuing what he calls abolition-democracy in its aftermath.

[14] It is worth noting that in the chapter entitled "Founding the Public School" Du Bois does emphasize a specific contribution of Reconstruction spearheaded by Blacks which was largely the result of the women's labor – education. Here he mentions the Port Royal experiment and its connections to northern urban centers: "Freedmen's Aid Societies were formed at Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and forty-one men and twelve women teachers went to Port Royal in March [1862]" (Du Bois 1998, 642). In her assessment of *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement*, Carol Faulkner (2004) argues that women participated in Reconstruction beyond the typical assignments as school teachers and fundraisers. She finds that they worked as agents for the Bureau insomuch as they bought land to sell and rent to freed peoples, they lobbied federal government, founded relief societies, and began both traditional and industrial schools. In so doing, "women in the freedmen's aid movement urged the federal government to include both women and African Americans in the national polity" (2).

Attentive to the critiques of Du Bois's gender politics (Griffin 2000; T. W. Hunter 1998; J. James 1997) and the current scholarly investments in taking Black women as theorists and intellectuals seriously (Bay et al. 2015; Cooper 2017), my aim in doing so is not to reduce Du Bois's understanding of home to a kind of gender over-determination. My intent is to lend a critical reading of Du Bois's concept of home despite his Victorian tone that may capture readers attention and draw them to accepting the merits of Victorian ideology. To complete this redirection, I focus on the emergence of the Black neighborhood and Black women's connection to the streets and sidewalks that Du Bois first dismissed in *TPN* and Hunter exposes as integral to understanding Black women's world view. Attention to these parts of the text supports my argument that Reconstruction was a democratic struggle set within the fractured timeline of the long history of enclosure and primitive accumulation. In subsequent chapters, particularly three and five, I turn to other archives from and around Reconstruction era Philadelphia to extend the observation Du Bois makes in *BR* to include Black women as key intellectual contributors to abolition-democracy.

At the end of the nineteenth and the turn of the twentieth century, the concept of the neighborhood emerged as the lives of urban dwellers spilled out of their "private" residences into the "streets" and "sidewalks." Working class people and women were particularly attracted to the streets to escape either cramped living spaces or domestic solitude. Linebaugh shows that women fought against the culture of domesticity by creating networks of urban commonage in and adjacent to the city streets: "the location of laundry, the place of commerce and street peddlers, the scene of courtship, children's playground, beauty salon, outdoor parlor for housewives" (Linebaugh 2008, 262). Their physical instalment in the streets was an organic sought-after norm in light of the living conditions of poor working class women residing in cities; it was where they

found and made safety. This is diametrically opposed to Du Bois's construction of the streets, particularly for young Black women. Let me return to one of his quotes:

> There can be no doubt but what sexual looseness is to-day the prevailing sin of the mass of the Negro population, and that its prevalence can be traced to bad home life in most cases. Children are allowed on the street night and day unattended; loose talk is often indulged in; the sin is seldom if ever denounced in the churches. The same freedom is allowed the poorly trained colored girl as the white girl who has come through a strict home, and the result is that the colored girl more often falls. Nothing but strict home life can avail in such cases. Of course there is much to be said in palliation: the Negress is not respected by men as white girls are, and consequently has no such general social protection; as a servant, maid, etc., she has peculiar temptations; especially the whole tendency of the situation of the Negro is to kill his self-respect which is the greatest safeguard of female chastity. (Du Bois 2007, 72n.5)

Here Du Bois suggests that in the streets Black women, particularly young Black women, face many dangers. He is most concerned with their sexual vulnerability. He posits that the cultivation of "strict home life" may inoculate them from such dangers as it will inform how they navigate a largely white city as they transverse the streets on their way to school or work. It may be worth noting that Du Bois places this quote in a footnote, which we may read as a minimization of the overall sentiment regarding Black women's sexuality; however, remembering points made earlier in the chapter, his insistence that Black Philadelphians establish a "real" or "true" home life suggests that Du Bois is reinforcing rather than undercutting the public/private divide.

By viewing women, particularly but not exclusively Black women, as having a proper place in the home where they care for children, isolates them in their present reality but also aids in the historic amnesia surrounding Reconstruction. The praises Du Bois sings of the female schoolteachers who were the main leaders to the one demand that slaves made real as a public success after emancipation – public education – is depoliticized. Furthermore, the rise of the public school was merely a "natural" stage in the success of capitalism over slavery because an educated workforce is a desirable workforce. In actually, this was not the case. Black and white women left the confines of their communities, struggled in transit, and even risked their lives in

their efforts to establish schools, elderly care facilities, and news outlets for Black political organization and representation alongside their male counterparts in the struggle to overcome the legacies of slavery. In chapter three I turn to six Black women who were instrumental in such efforts; however, the streets of the city of Philadelphia themselves remain a site for rethinking ordinary women's contributions to the overall project of abolition-democracy.

Drawing on the feminist urban theorist Jane Jacobs, Linebaugh names the sidewalk as an urban space that exemplifies expressions of belonging. In a city, the sidewalk serves as the place, the site, of self-activity and self-making. Linebaugh notes that as an "enclosed turf," a sidewalk "combines privacy and makes presence of strangers an asset. Here is where the grapevine of informal communication grows. The 'web of reputation, gossip, approval, disapproval and sanctions' filters out dullness and barbarism" (2008, 262). Here the sidewalk is not a space in direct conflict with the home, as seen above in the analysis of Du Bois's language in *TPN*. Sidewalks tie neighborhoods together in ways that bring people and their differences face-to-face. Using this understanding of the streets and neighborhoods, Du Bois's rejection of the streets and the neighborhood in *TPN* for their idleness seems to be at odds with his intellectual reframing of Black labor walking away from the plantations in *BR*: "when the slave entered upon a general strike against slavery by the same methods that he had used during the period of the fugitive slave. He ran away to the first place of safety and offered his services to the Federal Army" (Du Bois 1998, 57). Reading *BR* back onto *TPN*, while at the same time underscoring the attention to the abolitionist community that Du Bois gives in that earlier book, the decidedly gendered elements of fugitively can be reconsidered for the theory of abolition-democracy.

In the wake of emancipation and the close of the Civil War, "long-awaited freedom rendered slaves 'homeless' but at last enabled them to build their own lives" (Mitchell 2005, 141). In her

analysis of the politicization of racial destiny within the Black community, historian Michele Mitchell explores the relationship between the social construction of gender and class through the practices of home-making and racial uplift that emerged from Black social thinkers at the turn of the twentieth century. Her analysis, like many focusing on the legacies of slavery during the progressive era, skips over the years of Reconstruction. In this historiographic tendency, reform becomes the central operational aim for Black elites in a variety of scholarly disciplines, including political theory. The treatment of *TPN* by scholars in that field follows this tendency, relegating it to an arcane and historically bound analysis of a now forgone neighborhood after a century of political, economic, and social transitions.

Few political theorists engage Du Bois's urban sociological study. Adolph Reed, Jr. is perhaps the singular exception. In *W. E. B. Du Bois and American Political Thought,* Reed insists that Du Bois "was very much a man of his time" (Reed 1997, 26). Put differently, Du Bois was a social scientist whose lifelong work fit into a paradigm. Reed calls the paradigm Fabianism – a commitment to gradual and reformist efforts through scientific inquiry, elite leadership, and a utopian horizon. He locates this tendency beginning in *TPN*:

> Du Bois stood at the turn of the twentieth century, with a commitment to social-scientific progressivism and on the verge of being caught in the tug-of-war between the poles of his own epistemological orientation, the tension between the competing practical imperatives implied in his call for systematic study of the Afro-American community: advancement of 'scientific knowledge and social reform.' (40)

From a meticulous coupling of a representative selection of Du Bois's text with a thorough contextualization of the era in which each were written, Reed's conclusion is that Du Bois's lifelong work advanced the ideals of democracy through gradualist and reformist efforts.

By connecting *TPN* to his later text *BR*, I show that the era of Reconstruction is central to Du Bois's intellectual imaginary. Not only is this era absent from Reed's assessment of Du Bois's

political thought, so too is a substantial reading of *BR*. Perhaps Reed overlooks *BR* because he relegates it to the discipline of history, which is at times housed in the academy under the umbrella of the humanities as opposed to the social sciences. Regardless of his reasoning, Reed takes for granted Du Bois's political socialization when approaching his texts. Furthermore, he fails to ask a significant question: what effect did the radical implications of the time into which Du Bois was born effect his later work? Put differently, what would it mean to understand Du Bois's political thought through the lens and time of his boyhood rather than his intellectual maturation? With this in mind, let me conclude the chapter.

Du Bois developed some of his most profound theorization by invoking his childhood. In *Souls of Black Folk*, the notion of the veil and subsequently double consciousness emerges from the scene of a "wee wooden schoolhouse" where a young Du Bois experienced rejection on the basis of race for the first time (1997, 38). The opening lines of his proto-feminist text, "The Damnation of Women," also reanimates his childhood: "I remember four women of my boyhood: my mother, cousin Inez, Emma, and Ide Fuller" (1987, 952). In the fields of political psychology and socialization, one's ideas about politics and identity - whether regarding party identification, civic engagement, or racial identity and prejudice - all emerge during childhood and adolescence more so than in adulthood (Sears & Brown 2013). Abolitionist figures captivated Du Bois from a young age when he delivered an oration on Wendell Phillips during his high school graduation (Lewis 2009, 41) and extended into his intellectual maturation with the only full-length biography he would ever publish - *John Brown* (1909). He understood these figures as philosophical radicals as opposed to both the current consensus that they were mere reformers and their contemporaries who called them fanatics. Their ideas and lives interpolated a young Du Bois, which lead him to insist on the placement of Black agency as central to the development of Reconstruction.

Returning to *Dusk of Dawn* with which I opened the chapter, Du Bois provides a reflection on his past scholarship and in doing so brings together both *TPN* and *BR*. Worth noting is his insistence that political activism informed his development of the methodological tools that exposed a scientific truth across these two texts: "Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races" (1986, 788). In this chapter I insisted that that truth emerges from the streets and sidewalks of cities as a manifestation of the abolition-democracy that Du Bois locates in and beyond the Reconstruction era. They are the necessary yet transient spaces from which Black people began to develop a sense of belonging from the state of homelessness in which they find themselves after, and even before, the formal and legal abolition of slavery.

III. Chapter 2 -- Reconstructing Home: The Operationalization of the Urban/Rural and Reification of the Public/Private Divides

In both *The Abolition of White Democracy* (2004) and "Friends and Enemies, Slaves and Masters: Fanaticism, Wendell Phillips and the Limits of Agonism" (2009), Joel Olson deploys Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy to understand the limits of contemporary elements of democratic theory from multiculturalism to agonism. Turning to the writings of radical abolitionists as important figures in refiguring American democratic thought, two white men and their intellectual work take center stage in the analysis: William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. To fill out the historical importance of the abolitionist community, Olson references others. An abolitionist couple, white and married, is mentioned in passing: Abby Kelley and Stephen Foster (2004, 139). Another white couple, whose marriage itself is imbued with the radical implications of abolitionism, warrants a longer illustration: "Abolitionists even transformed the traditional Christian wedding ceremony, as when Theodore Weld and Angelina Grimké married without a minister and without Grimké promising to obey Weld" (139). John Brown and his abolitionist activism also plays a prominent role in Olson's work, including his unpublished manuscript *American Zealot* (Ciccariello-Maher 2014). Brown's legacy foreshadows *The Abolition of White Democracy* when Olson uses a Du Bois quote as the book's epigraph: "Today at last we know: John Brown was right" (Olson 2004, v). Four Black abolitionists also appear: Frederick Douglass (25; 188n.37); David Walker (26), Nat Turner (26), and Martin Delany (138). One quotation accompanies each of Douglass's and Delany's mentioning. Finally, only one woman's contribution to abolition is mentioned and attributed to only her, and she is the only Black woman named in the book – "the underground railroad led by Harriet Tubman" (26). Olson's work is the first in field of political theory to take seriously Du

Bois's place in it as the "master theorist" of Reconstruction; however, just like Du Bois, women are positioned as accompaniments to both the movements of abolition and abolition-democracy as opposed to contributors or leaders. Scholars have noted that the three women Olson mentions in passing were accomplished orators, in the case of Angelina Grimké who was the first woman to address the Massachusetts legislature (Kazin 2012, 32), astute political lobbyists, in the case of Abby Kelley who helped to secure the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (Sterling 1994, 352–56), and precursors of the environmental justice movement, in the case of Harriet Tubman (Taylor 2016, 134–42). Put simply, they were a significant intellectual force in the struggle for abolition-democracy.

As a reminder, abolition-democracy is the coalition between Blacks (all freedwomen, freedmen, and non-enslaved) and white activists within and without government positions dedicated to the total liberation of Black people through education, suffrage, and fair employment. This coalition dominated the Reconstruction era through a variety of mechanisms such as the Freedmen's Bureau, the Anti-Slavery societies, the Freedmen's Aid societies, and the Radical Republicans who held office. Presented in the last chapter, the move away from plantocracy towards an economy organized around industrial production corresponded to a spatial sedimentation mirroring that of earlier centuries under the conditions of enclosure. Black women and men faced newfound horizons as well as familiar barriers. Freedom came in many forms – movement, social interaction, and monetary compensation for labor. At the same time, institutional stopgaps placed corresponding restrictions upon Black bodies in the forms of segregated transit, intellectual and vigilante campaigns largely targeting interracial intimacy, as well as racialized underemployment. Furthermore, during Reconstruction gender and race were simultaneously repositioned due to political compromises made at each point of the transition

that favored the capitalist elite.

By reading Reconstruction as a stage in the long history of enclosure in the last chapter, I do not overturn Olson's main point: "American democracy is a white democracy, a polity ruled in the interests of a white citizenry and characterized by simultaneous relations of equality and privilege: equality among whites, who are privileged in relation to those who are not white" (2004, xv). Rather, I show that assumptions regarding gender that preceded emancipation were reinforced by racial assumptions to foreclose the radical efforts of Reconstruction. In the earlier periods of enclosure, Friedrich Engels (1884/2010) notes the rise of the single family as the new unit of society accompanied the shift away from an economy whose largest laboring body was one of peasantry. This was not an easy or egalitarian transition. Patriarchy superseded as the sole hierarchy of the home spelling the overthrow of "the matriarchal law of inheritance" and "the world historical defeat of the female sex" (Engels 2010, 86-87). By the time of Reconstruction, patriarchal family life was the widespread norm throughout the U.S.; however, given that a child's inherited status regarding enslavement was based on "*partus sequitur ventrem*, Latin for 'the child follows the mother,'" Black women through their very emancipation appear to complicate the ideological basis of patriarchy (Adrienne Davis 2009, 220). Furthermore, emancipation, including that of Black women, marked a high point in women's political activism in the U.S. since they constituted, according to one historian, the "great silent army of abolitionism" (Jeffrey 2000). How then does this army's contributions to abolition and Reconstruction become so lost that even the most conscious thinkers resort to passing mention of their names or are referenced merely as extensions of their husband's political leadership? This chapter explores the content of a relatively new medium emerging during the abolitionist period that grew exponentially in the post-Civil War years to interrogate the origins of such a trend.

That medium is advertising.

To understand how the masses of British society became integrated into the project of British imperialism, Anne McClintock (1995) argues that the scientific racism of the Victorian age became enveloped by the advertising industry. She refers to this process as "commodity racism":

> If, after the 1850s, scientific racism saturated anthropological, scientific and medical journals, travel writing and novels, these cultural forms were still relatively class-bound and inaccessible to most Victorians, who had neither the means nor the education to read such material. Imperial kitsch as consumer spectacle, by contrast, could package, market and distribute evolutionary racism on a hitherto unimaginable scale. (McClintock 1995, 209)

As an advent that accompanied the transition in capitalism from largely mercantile to industrial, advertisements using highly racialized images came to play a central role in this process. This chapter explores the lithographs circulated in and from Philadelphia to show that Black women were simultaneously rendered invisible to the political process of Reconstruction and central to the economic process of industrialism, particularly in regard to the shift in the concept of home as the site of all reproductive labor to a physical location for the consumption of goods made by the productive labor of the industrial market, which would lighten the reproductive workload for some women (i.e. white) but would position others as an exploitable reproductive workforce (i.e. women of color).

By the end of Reconstruction, advertising collided with a revolutionary development in the U.S. publishing market, namely the rise of the women's magazine. In 1876, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, an established publisher, moved from Boston to Philadelphia. He established the *Tribune and Farmer* in 1879. In 1883 his wife, Louisa Knapp Curtis, developed a lady's section to the *Tribune and Farmer* titled "Women at Home," which she grew into a full independent magazine one year later, which still exists to this day – *Ladies' Home Journal* (hereafter the *Journal*). The *Journal* was the first magazine to reach one million in circulation counts. Gender historian

Jennifer Scanlon gives the following observation about the content of the magazine when it reached that historic marker: "In an era in which many different groups of women experimented with definitions of democracy that would include rather than exclude them, the *Journal* suggested that democracy for women meant little more than the choice between one brand of soap and another, one flavor of soup and another" (Scanlon 1995, 5). Though this magazine's central hold over American women's imaginary comes in the decade after the close of Reconstruction, its emergence on the heels of that era and subsequent success suggests that the reassertion of distinct gender roles that conformed to Victorian ideology did accompany the foreclosure of abolition-democracy. Put more directly, democracy comes to be associated with practices of consumer capitalism, which centers those who have capital resources, the numerical minority, as opposed to the will of the poor and marginalized, the numerical majority.

In this chapter, I turn to three types of ephemeral media circulated in and emulating from Philadelphia print culture to draw out the discursive frame that shaped early ideological constructions of Black womanhood: pro-/neutral-abolitionist lithographs, anti-Reconstruction political cartoons, and home goods advertisements. The over-absence of Black women from the political cartoons attacking Reconstruction efforts is met with their over-presence in the marketing of consumer goods particularly aimed at white women. Together these images provide evidence that Cedric J. Robinson's (2012) assessment of amalgamation as a central operating theme for anti-abolitionist political cartoons circulating Philadelphia in the 1830s extended into the Reconstruction period. They also lay the groundwork for understanding the tendency amongst American politicians to deploy a political discourse that reinforces a cleavage between urban centers and rural outliers so that, according to Julie Anne White, "we begin to make sense of the complex prospects for 'anticolonial' struggle within the American context" (2007, 273).

The ephemeral circulation of political cartoons and pictorial advertisements for home goods serve as an archival capture of how both poor and elite Americans consumed the political tensions of the era, namely regarding gender norms, urban accommodation of racial difference, and the economic shifts that resulted in a reconfiguration of the home as a concept and site of (re)production.

A. A City Full of (Diverging and Overlapping) Abolitionists

Even before the Second Continental Congress meeting convened in Philadelphia and signed the Declaration of Independence, the city contained an established abolitionist community. By the time of Reconstruction, it saw old and new iterations of the social movement from the most prominent cleavage – the gradualists versus the immediatists – to colonization advocates and Black radical abolitionists. The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race, later reorganized and took the name Pennsylvania Abolitionist Society (hereafter PAS), was founded on April 14, 1775 at the Rising Sun Tavern situated on the intersection of Germantown and York Avenues by the French-born American abolitionist Anthony Benezet (1713-1784). It was "the first abolition society anywhere in the western world, … [which has] remained active ever since 1775," and "made Philadelphia the worldwide capital of the burgeoning abolitionist movement" (R. S. Newman 2005, 7). Its aim was the "gradual abolitionism and a lawyerly chipping away at slavery's margins" (8). Given these parameters, its main operating political strategy was stopping slavery's expansion.[15] Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) became president of the society when it reorganized

[15] The PAS still operates largely through a donor advised fund housed under the Philadelphia Foundation. Activities that they support, according to their website, are: "projects confronting racism, preserving African American monuments, fighting housing discrimination, promoting multicultural arts, exposing children to multicultural education, and improving the quality of race relations in Pennsylvania" (http://www.paabolition.org/).

in 1787, helping the society gain official status via the state of Pennsylvania.

Two notable faults of PAS, they did not have any Black members until the 1830s and did not engage in activism with women until three of Philadelphia's most outspoken female abolitionists were asked to speak at the 100th anniversary of the society's founding in 1875. These women were Abby Kelley Foster (1811-887), Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911), and Lucretia Mott (1793-1880). Foster was the first woman to hold an official position in the American Anti-Slavery Society when she was elected to the national business committee at the society's convention held in New York City in 1840 (Sterling 1994, 104–5). Harper and Mott were prominent members of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (hereafter PFASS), an auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Harper, of the three, was Black.

The American Anti-Slavery Society (hereafter AASS) was founded by William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879) and Arthur Tappan (1786-1865) at a three-day abolitionist convention held in Philadelphia. The congregation took place at the Adelphi Building, which sat on the corner of St. James Court and South 5th Street, a block below Independence Hall. Gathering in early December 1833, delegates came from anti-slavery and abolitionists societies throughout Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The cities that sent the most delegates were Boston with six (including Garrison), New York with seven (including Tappan), and Philadelphia with twelve. Amongst those present from the Black Philadelphia community were Robert Purvis (1810-1898) and James McCrummell (?-c1867). Purvis was a fixture in the free Black community in Philadelphia, the son of a white English cotton broker who immigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, where he met and fell in love with a Black women (Bacon 2012, 11). McCrummell was a prominent Black dentist who was elected the first president of the Vigilance Association of Philadelphia

(Boromé 1968, 323).

According to the convention's *Proceedings*, the gathering was intended "for the purpose of forming a National Anti-Slavery Society" (1833, 3). The principle guiding AASS was "that slave-holding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, requires its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation" (6). Recognizing the intellectual power and organization support that women were serving in the cause of abolition, the conveners also decided to encourage and support "the establishment of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as the harbinger of a brighter day" (17). With these resolutions, the activists gathering and extending out from the convention, namely in the form of the PFASS, would also become known as immediatists. The headquarters of the AASS would be established in New York City: "The city was a crucial way station in the metropolitan corridor through which fugitive slaves made their way from the Upper South through Philadelphia and on to upstate New York, New England, and Canada" (Foner 2015a, 7). The political trajectory of the AASS would not be seamless. In 1840, the society divided over Abby Kelley Foster's famed election as almost half of the society decried women's formal participation in the movement. The AASS formally dissolved in 1870 after the securing of the Black (male) vote in the form of the Fifteenth Amendment. Returning to the quote outlining the principles of the organization, the phrase "without expatriation" signaled their mission as separate from another more conservative faction of the abolition/anti-slavery movement. In tacking it on, members of AASS were referencing another organization that gained prominence in Pennsylvania during the 1830s – the American Colonization Society.

The American Society for the Colonizing of Free People of Colour, the full name of the American Colonization Society (hereafter ACS), emerged as an elaborate program to settle a

contradiction that slavery posed to the settler-colonial imaginary of the U.S. With advents in farming technology, slavery was quick becoming an outmoded economic model since maintaining an enslaved workforce was expensive, but the integration of free Blacks into the ranks of U.S. citizenship once the peculiar institution ran its course seemed implausible to ACS advocates. Setting up a colony in Africa, to which freed slaves would be sent, seemed to solve the issue of freeing slaves all the while maintaining the U.S. as a white nation. In 1816, ACS emerged from the ranks of white clergymen and white politicians in Washington, D.C. who sought, and won, some federal funding for the establishment of the African Colony of Liberia. Though the leadership would be white, the organization relied on free Blacks joining the society as potential emigres. Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania more broadly, became a recruiting ground for such emigres. Gender historian Bruce Dorsey points out that in direct opposition to the integration of women like those abolitionists who claim immediatism, "[c]olonization reform assumed a masculine character from its inception and framed its solution to the slavery problem in political terms. The movement never attracted a sizeable number of white women activists in the North, and its white spokesmen adopted a gendered discourse that simultaneously depicted colonizing as a masculine endeavor" (Dorsey 2006, 139). Though the promise of gaining manhood by moving away from a nation that denied that character to them enticed quite a number of Black men, others in the abolitionist community saw through the smoke and mirrors tactic of ACS. Amongst them were two progenitors of the Black radical abolitionist tradition – Richard Allen (1760-1831) and James Forten (1766-1842). Richard S. Newman counts these two men as part of "a chosen generation" of "black founders" in early America (2006, 61).

Given that "[f]ree persons of color already knew and mingled with enslaved people in Pennsylvania" (Newman 2006, 78), approximately 3,000 Black Philadelphian men came

together in "the first black mass protest meeting in the United States" to oppose the ACS (Katz 1968/2016). This reality of intra-racial co-mingling was a result of the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery passed by the Pennsylvania legislature on 1 March 1780. The Act was not just the first of its kind amongst the Northern states. It was also the first act of abolition in an assumed democracy. The 1817 gathering took place at Richard Allen's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church located on South 6th Street between Pine and Lombard Streets in the heart of the city's traditionally Black seventh ward.[16] At the meeting, the congregation pledged "never to separate from our enslaved brethren" (cited in Newman 2006, 78). Later Allen would embrace, albeit briefly, the idea of leaving the U.S. due to the pressures of anti-Black racism, but not under the directorship of the white men of ACS and not in Africa: "He served as president of the Haitian Emigration Society of Philadelphia and helped dozens of blacks to Haiti in 1825" (78). Haiti became a central inspiration for Black radical abolitionists as a nation to emerge from a successful mass slave uprising (C. L. R. James 1989).

Allen himself would not emigrate, but five years after that meeting protesting ACS he would find himself amongst Black men who supported leaving the U.S. at the first National Negro Convention held in Philadelphia and of which Allen was named president. An emerging organization of the convention was the "American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for Improving their Condition in the United States; for Purchasing Lands; and for the Establishment of a Settlement in Upper Canada" (B. Gross 1946, 435). Martin Delany (1812-1885), who has been called "the progenitor of black Atlantic patriarchy" (Gilroy 1993, 26), was also in

[16] It is worth noting here the observations made by Du Bois in *TPN*, which he gathered eighty years after the protest of 1817. Du Bois wrote that the Black Philadelphians who made up Bethel's congregation "may be the best of the great laboring class – steady, honest people, well dressed and well fed, with church and family traditions" (2007, 204).

attendance at the convention. Whether at these gatherings there existed a foregrounding of a masculinist Black cultural nationalism in which Black women would serve as mothers, cultural educators, figures for Black male protection, and the symbol of the nation par excellence (Collins 2009, 139–44), the fact that Black women were not present tells us that amongst certain ranks of the Black radical abolitionists Black women were not conceived of as having independent will of their own.

Recognition of enslaved peoples' will to be free also inspired other organizations founded in Philadelphia that subscribed to the Black radical abolitionist stance. Another worth mentioning here is the Vigilante Committee of Philadelphia organized by Robert Purvis in 1837 with the purpose of protecting "fugitives as well as free Negroes from slave catchers and kidnappers" (Boromé 1968, 320). The Vigilante Committee was the distinctly activist arm of the Vigilance Association of Philadelphia. In his book which centers New York City as a central site in the overall operation of the underground railroad, Reconstruction historian Eric Foner alludes to the significant role held by the city of Philadelphia as well: "Two of the most celebrated fugitive slaves in American history arrived in New York City in the 1840s (albeit in very different ways) from Philadelphia" (2015a, 102). These two fugitives were Harriet Jacobs (1813-1897), one of the only fugitive women of whom her direct account of slave life is self-documented in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), and Henry "Box" Brown (1816-1897), who devised an elaborate escape plan which resulted in mailing himself in a crate from Richmond, Virginia to Philadelphia. After a 27-hour journey, Brown's arrival on March 30, 1849 is famously depicted in a highly-circulated lithograph by Samuel Rouse entitled "The Resurrection of Henry Box Brown at Philadelphia" (see figure 1). The image shows Brown emerging from the box in the office of the Vigilante Committee in the presence of James M. McKim (1810-1874), William

Still (1821-1902), Passmore Williamson (1822-1895), and one additional member of the Committee. Still, the other Black male figured in the image, is the famed Underground Railroad conductor who documented the passing of so many fugitive slaves to and through Philadelphia in *The Underground Railroad Records* (1886).

Figure 1: Samuel Rowse, "The Resurrection of Henry Box Brown at Philadelphia," 1850. Library of Congress.

What this image does not show is that Black women, particularly the daughters of James Forten, one of which was Robert Purvis's wife, would actively support the Vigilante Committee by laboring to produce home goods that were sold at the profitable annual fairs and bazaars that they helped organize alongside the PFASS: "By one estimate between 1840 and the start of the Civil War, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society raised over $32,000" (Sumler-Lewis 2010, 172). Noting the absence alongside these figures, Black women's contributions to abolitionism in Philadelphia can be read as domesticated as opposed to political. Put simply, they are engaging in volunteer service, which even if done for a political cause, does not register as

political. One major exception was Sojourner Truth's use of photography to capture her "shadow," which she would then sell to fund her activism and sustain her (Painter 1996, 197). Of course, Truth engaged a photographer of her own will; whereas, the lithographs of the nineteenth century were either events captured by journalists as newsworthy or were early advertisements circulating for enticing mass consumption of papers, pamphlets, or, in the case of trade cards, industrial goods.

Another rescue facilitated by the Vigilante Committee may be less celebrated but, in its uniqueness, is worth considering here. The case made quite a legal stir of the federal Fugitive Slave Act and local municipal laws as the rescue was of a slave that happened to not be a fugitive. In 1855, Jane Johnson and her two sons were brought to Philadelphia by their master, Col. John H. Wheeler of North Carolina. Wheeler and his family were on their way to New York City bound for Central America. President Franklin Pierce had appointed Wheeler to the post of U.S. Minister to Nicaragua, and Wheeler intended to have Johnson and her sons see to his needs in his new position. Ordering her not to talk to the Black workers where they were staying, Wheeler locked Johnson and her sons in a hotel room. Johnson disregarded her master's wishes and expressed her desire to escape to a Black hotel worker. A note was quickly delivered to William Still, who dispatched his white college, Passmore Williamson, to the dock where the ferry they were set to take was due to depart. With the aid of five dock workers, Williamson intercepted Wheeler who had Johnson and her children in tow. Williamson informed Johnson that she and her children were free under Pennsylvania law. Wheeler of course protested. The dock workers employed physical force to block Wheeler and allow for the escape. Though she does not give an account of the Philadelphia Vigilante Committee nor of the Jane Johnson case, Jennet Kirkpatrick (2008) uses other rescues of fugitive slaves by militant abolitionists to

understand what she refers to as "uncivil disobedience" in American democratic thought. Williamson did, however, go to jail in recognition of his disobedience to the federal law (the Fugitive Slave Act) but maintained his innocence during his over three-month incarceration due to local ordinances. Since the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 did not apply to Johnson's case, the affair extended over three months. After multiple suits were brought forth by Wheeler with the help of Federal District Court Judge John Kintzing Kaine (a fellow proslavery Democrat), hundreds of petitions by local and national abolitionists spilled into the District Court. This was followed by multiple depictions of highway robbery by proslavery and archly Democratic press outlets in response to the trial, and eventually due largely to the testimony of Johnson herself, the freedom of her and her children was upheld, and Williamson was released as innocent.

In a satirical lithograph entitled "The Follies of the Age, Vive La Humbug!!" (1855), the social climate of the city is depicted as chaotic. The unknown creator of the piece sets the stage for Johnson's rescue amongst other happenings such as a train derailment, young men racing horse drawn carriages, bustling consumerism, flirtatious women in front of an assumed brothel, drunken men outside a public drinking house, military enlistment lines, and multiple allusions to immigration/emigration. In the bottom, right corner of the image, Passmore Williamson is portrayed giving aid and countenance to Jane Johnson. Above Williamson is a dialogue cloud which reads, "While I engage your Master in conversation you will have a fine chance to escape" (see figure 2). This vignette appears to be mirrored by another depicted in the bottom left corner of the image. There, two women clad in dresses that expose their shoulders, as opposed to the more modestly dressed women throughout the image, appear to be soliciting sexual attention from a married man in front of a store named "Miss Jones Gent's Furnishing." Just to their left, a figure that could be either a judge or lawyer asks a street cop if Miss Jones lives there as he is

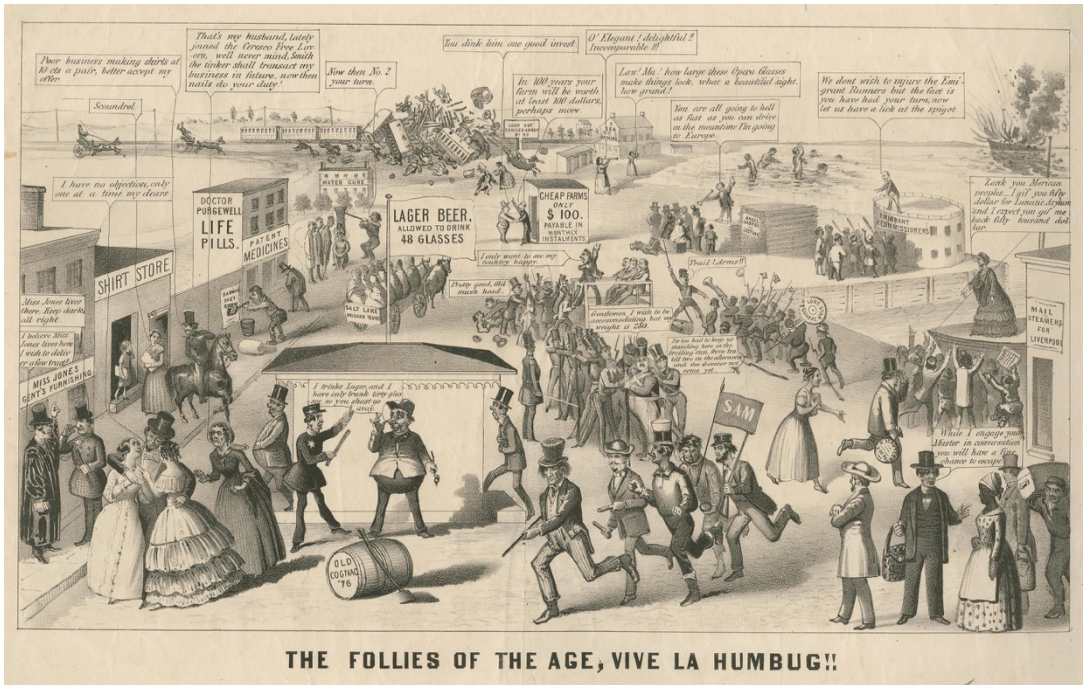

Figure 2: "The Follies of the Age, Vive La Humbug!!," 1855.
Library Company of Philadelphia.

intending to deliver some papers. The cop responds, "Miss Jones lives there. Keeps dark alright." As for the man who the two women have surrounded, he responds to their advances with "I have no objections, just one at a time my dears" as his wife looks on in disgust. In placing these two smaller scenes equidistance from each other on the bottom half of the image, the inference appears to be that Williamson concocted the escape along the same lines of a sexual ruse. City women and abolitionist men appear as sexually promiscuous who use their "wiles" for their intended purposes, whether it is in stealing assets in the form of a slave, in the case of Johnson, or in the form of money, in the case of the married man. The only difference is that the sexual overtone presented by the vignette in the bottom left is transferred to the white male abolitionist in the bottom right. Regardless of the creator's intended purpose, which may just have been capturing pluralism, industrialism, and the everyday hustle-bustle of a nineteenth-century city, there are nods to a distinct political discourse that began to be highly circulated as lithographs

emerged. Here I am referring to miscegenation, of which I turn to more directly in the next section.

In the printed records of PFASS exists a different account of the rescue. In their *Twenty-Second Annual Report*, Johnson's own agency is depicted as central to the escape and her children, who are absent from the above lithograph, are reintroduced: "the woman, Jane Johnson, took possession of her own person, and her own children" (1856, 7). In this short phrase, the members of PFASS assert Johnson's desire for freedom includes her children and that she assured their collective freedom through personal will. Taking these two interpretations of the event together, it is evident that the women of PFASS provide a different take on the urban landscape. In the city, the collective cooperation of abolitionists provides the means for freedom, in this case a network that not only informed Johnson of her legal avenues for release but provided her safe passage in enacting those legal avenues. Her case is remembered as one of the most infamous test cases of the application of *Commonwealth v. Aves* (1836), a Massachusetts Supreme Court decision that found any slaves temporarily brought into the commonwealth by their masters for either business or pleasure were entitled to freedom (Wong 2009, 104). Also, through their particularly gendered experiences, the members of PFASS offer an outlook of abolitionism itself that decenters the male abolitionist as the agent of social change. Our conception agency, much like our conception of power, is intimately tied to how history is written and politics is conceived. With this said, the PFASS is the last abolitionist organization connected to the city of Philadelphia that I want to profile before turning to the treatment of Black male and female bodies in the city's post-war print culture.

Approximately seven white Philadelphia women are documented as having attended the convention where the AASS was formed: Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), along with her mother

Anna Folger Coffin (1771-1844), sister Martha (Mott) Wright (1806-1875), and daughter Anna (Mott) Hopper (1812-1874); Esther Moore; and Sidney Ann Lewis, who ran a short-lived free produce store. Also, documented as present was Lydia White, who ran the longest operating free produce and goods store in Philadelphia that "lasted a record sixteen years" from 1830 to 1846 (Bacon 1994, 278). According to some historians, White was white (Dunbar 2008, 82; Faulkner 2011, 64). For other scholars, she is listed as "a black businesswoman" (Williams 2014, 209) and one of "[s]everal African Americans …[who] ran free produce stores" (Glickman 2009, 71). Violating "the period's gender and racial norms," Mott addressed the assembly, making editorial suggestions to the society's Declaration of Sentiments (Faulkner 2011, 64–65). Within the week preceding the convention, the women were joined by some additional female abolitionists from across the city in a local schoolroom. The gathering included two Black Philadelphians – Margaretta Forten (1806-1875) and Sarah McCrummell. Inviting James McCrummell, Sarah's husband, to chair the meeting, they formed the PFASS. Though not the oldest female abolitionist organization, PFASS holds three distinctions worth mentioning: "the longest-lived" (Brown 1978, 143); "most successful" (143); and, "demonstrated a belief in interracial membership practices that proved to be a rare feature among the early female antislavery societies" (Dunbar 2008, 77). Seven additional Black women signed the PFASS constitution and became founding members of the society: Grace (Bustill) Douglass (1782-1842), Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806-1882), Harriet Forten Purvis (1810-1875), Charlotte (Vandine) Forten (1785-1884), Sarah Louisa Forten Purvis (c1811-c1898), Hetty Burr, and Mary Wood (77).

From 1833 to 1870, the PFASS provided funding for Black schools, raised money for the Vigilante Committee, petitioned Congress, organized abolitionist conventions, campaigned against the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and discrimination on Philadelphia street and railway

cars, and assisted formerly enslaved freed peoples as they migrated to and through the city. Throughout their tenure as a key operating organization of the anti-slavery movement in the city, members of PFASS became targets of violence and sexual/gender harassment. On May 17, 1838, an all-white male mob burned down "Pennsylvania Hall, which was designed to be a center of anti-slavery agitation" (Du Bois 2007, 29). This was the first public meeting space built by and for abolitionists in the entirety of the U.S. The hall was dedicated a few days earlier during the Women's Anti-Slavery Conference convened by the members of the PFASS. The conference drew men and women, Black and white, together to share public space and discourse. Bruce Dorsey (2006) and Cedric J. Robinson (2012) cite anti-abolitionist lithographs as evidence of the a decidedly gendered racial ideology that fueled white mob violence against both Black Philadelphians and their abolitionist allies. Dorsey describes one such image depicting this very event: "The lithograph depicted Pennsylvania Hall with abolitionist women hanging out of the windows as if from a brothel, while black and white couples strolled around the building with their multicolored offspring" (2006, 154).

The day prior to the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, PFASS member Angelina Grimké Weld (1805-1879) spoke in front of a mixed audience of Black and white men and women. After the violence of that day, she "never spoke in public again" (Kazin 2012, 32); however, abolitionist women would not be entirely deterred. They turned to the medium of petitioning Congress to make their political opinions known, a practice that "alarmed those who jealously guarded male dominance of the public sphere, as well as those who feared that by descending into politics, woman would lose her claim to moral purity" (Zaeske 2003, 125). Even the closest allies of these female abolitionist, their fellow male counterparts in the AASS, made this mistake. In a letter to Mary Grew (1813-1896), the longtime corresponding secretary of the society, marking the

occasion of the formal disbanding of PFASS, Samuel J. May (1797-1871) recalls not only that in not including women in the founding of AASS that the men were "blind," but "that the anti-slavery women of our country have done more than we men have done - more in disseminating those sentiments and rousing our nation to the accomplishment of those purposes" (cited in PFASS 1870, 39). Looking back on their contributions, it becomes clear that these women transgressed the boundaries associated with gender, race, and politics against the Victorian structures and minds of a nation which was undergoing radical shifts in urban layout, political organizations, and economic structures.

Keeping in mind the legacy of the transgressions forged by female abolitionists in and around the city of Philadelphia, combined the lithographs provided above appear to render invisible women's actively political contributions to the lead up to the U.S. Civil War. Thinking about this point with the observations made in the last chapter regarding the occlusion of Black women's contributions to Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy, a series of critical questions emerge. When Black women are not represented in print media, especially political cartoons, what does that absence as compared to the reality that Black women outnumber Black men in urban spaces tell us about (1) their perceived political agency during Reconstruction, and (2) the operation of urban/rural distinctions in the Reconstruction narrative? Also, when Black women's bodies are present, particularly in trade advertisements, (1) how are they portrayed in relation to the goods or services offered in an urban setting, and (2) what do those representations tell us about their relationship to the public/private divide? I will turn to the first two question in the next section.

B. Anti-Reconstruction Political Cartoons, Anti-Miscegenation, & the Urban/Rural Divide

According to Cedric J. Robinson, the representation of the free Black middle-class residents of antebellum cities like Boston and Philadelphia in the early decades of nineteenth century print

culture forged the way for graphic ridicule of Blacks for the generations to follow (2012, 45). Frivolity and excess, in the dress, language, and activities of free Blacks such as "drinking, gambling, and mimicry of betters" (46), became central to the anti-abolitionist lithographers like those of James Thackera (1767-1848), Edward W. Clay (1789-1857), and David Claypoole Johnson (1799-1865). Robinson finds longevity in particularly Clay's characterizations of Blacks as "he employed an invented Black dialect for his subjects, distorted their faces in a manner which anticipates minstrelsy, and etched their bodies to approach simian proportions" (Robison 2012, 47). In the late 1860s, political cartoons re-employ these three strategies to advance anti-Reconstruction candidates for public office. Also, given the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, fears of miscegenation also became central to the figuration of Black men, a tactic that Robinson shows underscoring the anti-abolitionist lithographs of the 1830s. Lastly, though the "majority of blacks were still rural" during the antebellum era and extending through Reconstruction (Williams 2003, 39), large groups of Black people were starting to migrate to urban centers after the Civil War. Print media circulated in the large urban centers of the North promoting an anti-Reconstruction message, whose population was primed by the preceding decades of the public sparing over anti-slavery campaigns, predicates that the rural imaginary is one welcoming to white patriarchal norms. Put differently, the racial binary that underpins the dual American welfare state extending from policies forged during Reconstruction (Williams 2003) also laid the groundwork for the spatial dynamics of what urban studies scholars call white flight (Crowder & South 2008; Denton & Massey 1991; Molotch 1972) and subsequent political cleavages along the urban/rural divide (Gimpel & Karnes 2006; Lieberman 2009; McKee 2008; Scala & Johnson 2017).

One such example is an 1866 political advertisement for the Pennsylvania gubernatorial

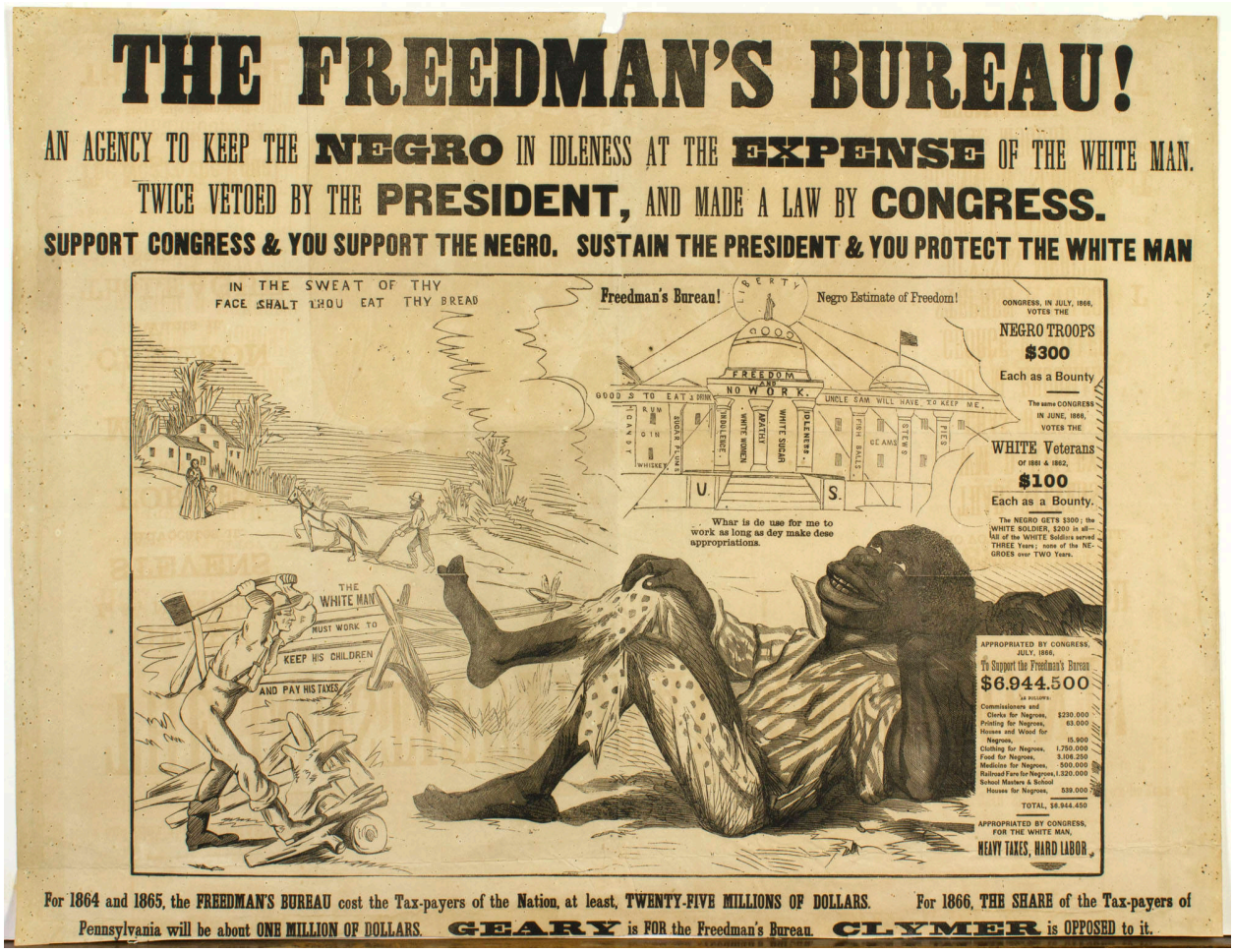

Figure 3: "The Freedmen's Bureau! An Agency to keep the Negro in Idleness at the Expense of the White Man," 1866. Library Company of Philadelphia.

election between Republican candidate John W. Geary and Democrat Hiester Clymer (see figure 3). By associating the Freedmen's Bureau with the Republican party, it reads in support of Clymer through the deployment of three fears: the decline of white supremacy, massive government expenditures directed toward Blacks, and the subtle damaging consequences of the combination of "the Negro in idleness" and the myth of the hyper-sexual Black male. The political advertisement features an oversized Black male dominating the image surrounded by bold words like "Negro," "Expense," "President," and "Congress" as well as multiple budgetary figures that portray excessive support for Freedmen by those holding national office. He is

reclining with one leg propped upon the other and his head resting in his hand. Idleness is directly attached to Blacks both in the grammatical structure of the piece – "The Freedmen's Bureau! An Agency to keep the Negro in Idleness at the Expense of the White Man" – and the depiction of him lounging. The expense of Reconstruction is then represented as being shouldered by white men who perform hard work and family responsibility in two smaller scenes that descend into the background on the left side of the image. The overarching message to be gained from the advertisement is clearly racial. The political (color-)line is being drawn between those who support the Freedmen's Bureau and those attacking it as a wasteful and nationally debilitating enterprise. Given the arguments presented in the last chapter underscore that gender too played a part in Reconstruction's foreclosure, it is worth exploring whether a gendered message portrayed in the image also informs the racial ideology that aided the attack against Reconstruction and thus abolition-democracy.

In the image, white women appear both in word and figure. In the top left scene of the image, she appears as the wife of a traditional yeoman farmer and, as figured with a child by her side, the caretaker of children. This image includes a caption above it which reads: "In the sweat of thy face shalt though eat thy bread." This is a biblical reference from the book Genesis, chapter three verse nineteen. It refers to the punishment Adam would face after him and Eve were cast out of Eden. It is in this myth of original sin, according to Kate Millett, from which "the connection of woman, sex, and sin constitutes the fundamental pattern of western patriarchal thought" (2000, 54). The woman and child are placed in front of a rural nuclear family home from which they look on as the husband/father plows a field. Below them is another scene reinforcing rural white masculinity as hard working, but it also reinforces the place for women is in the home. A larger white male is figured as chopping wood for the purpose of mending a

fence, of which the home, wife, and child are securely located behind. Accompanying this figure is the following declaration: "The white man must work to keep his children and pay his taxes."

It is important to place the political cartoon, of which its dimensions would also suggest that it served as a political poster (18.25 x 24 inches), in the historical timeline of the legal and political transformations of the late abolitionist surge leading into and after the Civil War. The 1866 Pennsylvania elections came ten years after John Frémont (1813-1890) made a run for the White House as the first presidential candidate for the newly formed Republican Party. As a compliment to the Party's main slogan "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men, and Free Speech," a popular saying amongst female supporters emerged – "Free Hearts and Free Homes" (Pierson 2003, 3–4). The Seneca Falls Convention which preceded the 1856 election by eight years clearly informed an albeit marginalized portion of the antislavery community, which more broadly became a significant contingent of the Republican Party.

In 1866, leaders of the women's suffrage and abolitionist movements met in New York City to decide what to do next after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment a year prior. The meeting took place during the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention, convened by Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906). Those in attendance voted to create the American Equal Rights Association (hereafter AERA), "a new organization devoted to the simultaneous agitation of black and women's rights" (Dudden 2011, 62). Amongst the organization's first officers were Lucretia Mott as president and three vice presidents – Stanton, Robert Purvis, and Frederick Douglass (c1818-1895), Anthony and Lucy Stone (1818-1893) as members of the executive committee, and Stone's husband, Henry Browne Blackwell (1825-1909) as recording secretary. Women in the organization, including Stanton, Anthony, and Stone, would become actively engaged in political campaigns for not only the

ratification for the Fifteenth Amendment, but the inclusion of "women" as a protected political category for both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Given the traditional depiction of women in the home, under the direction of their husbands, is a central tenant in the poster, its anti-Reconstruction message also presents an anti-women's rights message.

The poster also foreshadows the later division within AERA that resulted in an earlier political split in the abolitionist movement, specifically within the AASS. In 1840, the fight over women's formal participation in the leadership of that organization resulted in an organizational fracture where William Lloyd Garrison and his supporters, including Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), supported the election of Abby Kelley as an officer in the organization; whereas Arthur Tappan and his supporters withdrew from the AASS to form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in protest of her election (Mayer 2008, 280–82). Twenty-six years later Wendell Phillips was president of AASS and as such addressed the convention from which the AERA emerged. In the speech, a similar sentiment regarding women's participation in the earlier abolitionist movement was applied to their contributions to the Reconstruction efforts. He painted an image of the women in the room as too poor, both in terms of monetary power and in political wherewithal, to be affective in the post-war efforts to secure the democratic promise of emancipation. He concluded his speech with a command to them: "Go home and reform yourself" (cited in Dudden 2011, 84). Frances Ellen Watkins Harper followed Phillips and gave her now famous speech "We Are All Bound Up Together," which at the time was impromptu (84-86).[17] A poignant line reads as almost an indictment of Phillips, the middle-class white women of AERA, and the streets of Philadelphia where Harper was residing at the time: "To-day

[17] In their recent book *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women* (2015), Mia E. Bay, Farah J. Griffin, Martha S. Jones, and Barbara D. Savage cite this moment as one of the progenitor events of the contemporary theory of intersectionality developed by legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989, 1991) and is now a central tenant of Black feminist scholarship.

I am puzzled where to make my home" (1866/1990b, 218). A few years later, Black women would also not find a home in the future of the suffragist movement, particularly aft their failed lobbying efforts to secure women the right to vote alongside Blacks in the Fifteenth Amendment.

After a debilitating failure of their lobbying efforts in Kansas for the ratification of both Black and women's suffrage in 1867, a contingent of white women, including Stanton and Anthony, took a hard line opposing "the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on the grounds that these amendments provided no constitutional protections for women, white or black" (Newman 1999, 63). In 1869, they set out to lead a new organization, the National Women Suffrage Association (hereafter NWSA). As a response, Stone and others founded the American Women Suffrage Association (hereafter AWSA), which "supported the Republican party's effort to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments out of a conviction that a partial extension of the franchise was better than no extension at all" (63). Since these two new and competing factions emanated from the abolitionist community of which they were previous members, Black suffragists would have to choose where to place their allegiance. Quickly the discourse turned into a myth sustained by the political discourse of the time and would become a central tenant of the critique raised by Black feminist scholars in the late twentieth century regarding American political and social thought: "All the women are white, all the Blacks are men" (Hull et al. 1982). Since the preceding poster figures Black men, white men, and white women, this myth can be linked to anti-Reconstruction political discourse. The second appearance of white women as an inscription in the poster may further reinforce this argument.

The words "white women" appear on the inner walls of the sketch of the state house located in the top right of the overall image (see figure 3). The state house, complete with white columns, dome, and U.S. flag, is a clear reference to the Capital Building in Washington, D.C. It

appears figured within a dream-like cloud located just directly above the Black male figure. Words appear alongside other columns like "white sugar," "rum – gin – whiskey," and "clams." An invented Black dialect, like the one Robinson finds as a device of anti-abolitionist lithography, also accompanies the Black figure in the campaign poster. They read: "Whar is de use for me to work as long as dey make dese appropriations." This line not only reinforces the claim of Black male "idleness" stated in the title of the image, it suggests that Black men have a sexual appetite for white women. This interpretation is further supported with an analysis of position of the Black male body in the poster. With the gaze of his eyes streaming towards the state house coupled with the alignment of the words "white women" with his groin, the Black male figure is a representative embodiment of the sexually aggressive "Zip Coon" that Robinson argues were "invented or revived during the Civil War" to shore up Copperhead angst (2012, 56). The alignment appears to represent a deployment of the myth of the Black rapist of innocent white women that was central to the anxiety of anti-Reconstruction devotees. Robinson further argues that this myth "had been employed to patrol Black men for generations and more importantly, of course, to mask the reality of white rapists. Black men accused of white rape or even suspected to be thinking of white rape were lynched or beaten to death" (111). Some may be skeptical of this reading of the poster as psychoanalytical overreach; however, I would like to suggest that if in 1866 the racial tensions that lead to the Civil War were truly of the past, such anti-Reconstruction sentiment presents a stream of symbolism and hyperbole from the anti-abolitionism of the antebellum years. Furthermore, historian Faye E. Dudden shows that an interracial sex hoax (i.e. miscegenation), namely between white women and Black men, played a significant role in both the discursive landscape of the fight for the Kansas ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment – the only state ratification process that included both Black and women's

suffrage - and the overall lobbying efforts of white suffragist women (2011, 54).

One last element of the cartoon/poster worth highlighting is the fence that appears to be separating the white homestead from the body and imaginary depicted by and associated with the Black male. Behind the fence are images of rural life defined as white, while in front of the fence is a white man working hard to maintain the border between rural life and the encroaching "expenditures" of the Capital, which exists in a distinctly urban space. Since the Black male figure is seen dreaming of the Capital, which can be read as him dreaming of the city, the city, like in the earlier image capturing the rescue/escape of Jane Johnson, is portrayed as a safe-haven for Black life. Here is an early instance of the simultaneous embrace of industrial wealth creation, a phenomenon tied intimately to cities in the late nineteenth century, and the rejection of urbanism at the same time. Not only can the urban/rural divide with which U.S. political scientists explore questions of voting behavior (McKee 2008; Scala & Johnson 2017) and poverty (White 2007) can be traced to the nineteenth century, in attaching whiteness to rurality and Blackness to the urban in anti-Reconstruction messaging the division overlaps with other reinforcements like the public/private divide.

The figuration of gender and sexuality in this political cartoon can be read as a conjuring of a certain formation of national identity out or away from Reconstruction. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois describes the Freedmen's Bureau as "one of the most singular and interesting of the attempts made by a great nation to grapple with vast problems of race and social condition" (1903/1997, 10). In recasting the excesses attributed to Blacks by anti-abolitionist propaganda prior to the war as idleness in its aftermath, such print representations foreclosed upon Blacks a home in the post-Civil War nation. Furthermore, the presence of white women but absence of Black women gestures towards the institutionalization of a national body politics. As Saidiya V.

Hartman puts it, "[t]he body was pivotal in representing the transformation of the nation-state and citizenship instituted by the Civil War and Reconstruction and manifested the fears of defilement by the civil equality of Blacks" (1997, 165). Though the Black male figure is presented as the sexual threat of "defilement," and in his very depiction that "defilement" is represented as present, the miscegenation practices that would lead to an amalgamated U.S. demographics which were largely the outcome of white men's sexual domination of Black women under slavery would become, in the words of Robinson (2012), "a forgery of memory and meaning." Of course, white women are present in the cartoon/poster, but are only represented in association with a patriarchal construction of home and nation in which the white male is figured as protector of both. In this image, we are reminded that at the moment of Reconstruction white "women are both of and not of the nation," whereas Black women in their absence are cast as neither (Alarcón et al. 1999a, 12).

C. Commercial Trade Cards, Domesticity, & Black Female Representation in Reconstruction Era Philadelphia

In *Advertising and a Democratic Press*, C. Edwin Baker argues that "advertising often distorts facts. It promotes contested consumerist values and contested visions of social life, of women, and of men" (2014, 5). Thinking about the depiction of Reconstruction up to this point, the era emerges as a site of contest over different, and often opposing, trajectories of American democratic and economic life. Advertisements were circulated as a modern invention aimed at conditioning consumer behaviors in order to conform to or diverge from structural economic shifts. Philadelphia holds a very important place in the history of advertising in the U.S. It is here that Volney P. Palmer opened the first U.S. advertising agency in the 1840s (Vos 2013). Exploring advertisements for commercial goods circulated by local businesses may shed light

into the political landscape that Black Philadelphians were caste against in their everyday interactions in the city.

One example of early advertising in and concerning Philadelphia, highlights the "consumerist values" of abolitionists explored in the first section of this chapter. Many abolitionists attempted to divest from the slave economy by buying "free produce" for personal use, for stocking their groceries, and as feature offerings during their annual fairs where they would sell them as part of their fundraising efforts. Amongst the consumers of these goods, those in high demand were goods textiles made from cotton, of which the raw material would be sourced from suppliers who used non-slave labor during the harvesting stage. A small but industrious factory in Philadelphia established by a member of the Free Produce movement manufactured "heavy shirting and sheeting," "ginghams," "hosiery," and "umbrellas," just to name a few (Wilkinson 1942, 305). These goods were advertised through the vast print cultural apparatus famously developed by abolitionists (306). In their day abolitionists were considered radicals, and "the influence of radicals was limited to their publications and petitions and the crowds who attended their lectures" (Kazin 2012, 11). From this point, these advertisements did not reach the circulation threshold to have political bearing on the public sphere; however, they sit in a larger constellation of an emerging consumerist culture.

Following the Civil War, a new advertising tool rose quickly in popularity – commercial trade cards. Visual Materials Archivist at the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School Margaret Hale (2000) gives the following description: "Brightly colored, with eye-catching illustrations on the front and promotional text on the back, these trade cards were produced by the hundreds of thousands and inserted into packages at the factory, handed out by retailers with every sale, or mailed to prospective customers." Trade cards are considered ephemera, meaning

that they were not only easily and cheaply circulated, they were more than likely discarded opposed to conserved. Since the Baker Library's holdings include thousands of trade cards dated from the 1870s through the late 1890s, the generational height of this particular medium spans the late-Reconstruction into the Gilded Age. Furthermore, Hale makes a connection between trade cards as the chosen advertisement medium of Reconstruction-era Philadelphia when she notes that "[t]he 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia provided the first large-scale opportunity for commercial lithographers to display their products, as well as for a wide variety of businesses to hand out advertising cards promoting their goods and services." Another scholar finds five themes spanning the visual representations on trade cards: political imagery, contrasts between city and country, racial stereotypes, womanhood and the home, and children (Jay 1987). Focusing on the representation of Black women, I turn to three trade cards dated from the late 1870s held in the Ephemera Collection at the Library Company of Philadelphia. Two are advertisements for specific merchants in Philadelphia and one is from an industry that was introduced into American homes in the 1850s, which "was heralded as a mechanical wonder that would transform the lives of women" (Connolly 1999, 31) – the home sewing machine. Combined these images portray Black women as both promoting domesticity and as, in and of themselves, domestic laborers. Since domesticity was shifting alongside the larger economic transition from largely agricultural sustainability to one of industrial production and consumption, I begin with the advertisement featuring a sewing machine because it, as a product, appears as a means to stabilize gender assumptions and labor.

Much like the history of advertising in the U.S., the history of the sewing machine also has its origins in Philadelphia: "A report of the first American attempt at a sewing device was mentioned in a trade account which related that a patent for a 'leather-sewing device' had been

granted on March 10, 1826, to Henry Lye of Philadelphia" (Cook 1922, 10). Also during the 1876 Centennial World's Fair held in Philadelphia, the Singer Sewing Machine Company would have its own building (Rydell 1984, 11). As a consumer product, the domestic sewing machine emerges in the U.S. context at the middle of the nineteenth century. It was "hailed as a great labor saver … because at that time sewing was a never-ending, time-consuming task for virtually every woman: farm and city dweller, young and old, rich and poor" (Connolly 1999, 31). Before the machine's emergence as a central feature of the U.S. home, sewing was well established as women's labor. Trade cards for sewing machines circulated in the 1870s would reinforce this assumption. One company who used this form of advertisement in this manner was the Domestic Sewing Machine Company (hereafter simply Domestic). The company emerged in 1864, and, according to an antique sewing machine expert, "[b]y 1872 they were manufacturing nearly 50,000 machines a year" (Askaroff n.d.). Their business continued to expand, in the U.S. market and across the Atlantic in Great Britain. In 1899, a new Domestic model won an award at the National Export Exposition that was granted by the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia.

In exploring the trade cards produced by Domestic, scholars of sewing machine history highlight evidence for the reinforcement of the public/private divide in the late nineteenth century corresponding roughly to the ending of the Reconstruction era. Historian Paula A. De La Cruz-Fernández notes a benign reinforcement of the public/private divide in Domestic's sale strategy: "The Domestic Sewing Machine Company … advertised its device as the perfect wedding present a groom could give to his bride" (2014, 453). Former Winterthur librarian, Marguerite Connolly, however, highlights their trend to use highly gendered humor which reinforces a patriarchal and heteronormative household:

> A humorous Domestic Sewing Machine Company trade card dating from around 1880 equates the possession of a sewing machine with future domestic happiness. A young man

> has just proposed, and the coy young woman acquiesces – if he will give her a Domestic sewing machine. Meanwhile, Cupid, poised on tiptoe, is telephoning the powers that be to send a Domestic right over. (Connolly 1999, 33-34)

In a Domestic trade card from the Ephemera Collection at the Library Company of Philadelphia, this tendency to use humor collides with the racial attitudes that Robinson saw of earlier lithographers.

Figure 4: "Wes don got de 'DOMESTIC,' we has!," Domestic Sewing Company Trade Card. Ca. 1880. Library Company of Philadelphia.

The circa 1880 card is a representation of a Black family in a single-horse drawn wagon hauling a Domestic sewing machine (see figure 4). Mimicking the fictitious dialect created by anti-abolitionist lithographer Edward W. Clay, the Black woman is depicted as saying, "Wes don got de 'DOMESTIC,' we has!" as the male figure vigorously drives the horse and a child runs to catch up to the wagon. One question that this scene evokes is whether the Black family purchased or stole the sewing machine. Since the sewing machine was "the first consumer

appliance, the first product to be sold under a consumer installment plan, and the first product to be sold through a fully developed franchised agency system" (Jack 1957, 113), it is conceivable that the advertisement is attempting to capture a Black consumer audience. Combining the fact that the Black figures have other distortions accompanying the dialect, namely thick lips and ape-like craniums much like those attributed to the Black male figure in the 1866 political campaign poster, and that "the sewing machine's presence in the home proclaimed the family's ability to afford its price tag" (Connolly 1999, 33), it is more than likely that this advertisement was selling the machine to white households. Perhaps, even more specifically, it was directed at white households who had Black women serving as domestic servants who would be tasked with sewing, which at the time was still very much "a household chore" (Cruz-Fernádez 2014, 453). Both in possessing a sewing machine, which made it possible for the user to complete more household tasks, coupled with a domestic servant would combine and further elevate a white urban family's status. Given that the image appears to be set in a more remote space, the Black figures inside the image are presented as antithetical to the city. Though this point appears to confound the idea presented in the last section on the urban/rural divide, it is important to note that early housing policies, which have a continuing legacy amongst urban development, tended to direct Black residents to the edges of the city limits. This is captured in Du Bois's *TPN* given that the location of the Seventh Ward corresponded to the city limits of Philadelphia until the Act of Consolidation in 1854 which extended its borders beyond South and North Streets and past the Schuylkill River to the Philadelphia County line.

With all the similarities between this image and the preceding campaign poster – from the manipulated dialect to the distorted racial features – there is a decided difference: a representation of Black women and the absence of white people. Extending from emancipation

forward, the representation of Black women, especially depicted anywhere near white men, spelled chaos for an anti-Reconstruction political discourse. Since this political discourse deemed the Black population as a threat to white existence, as presented in the 1866 political poster, the sexual mixing of the population was presented as a taboo at best and a violent crime at worse. Of course, results of the racial mixing of the sexes was already well established in the U.S. Starting with the 1850 Census, the first census to record statistics directly from interviews with slaves (of which there was only one other in 1860), and extending to the 1930 Census, a third racial category was recorded amongst the population beyond simply Black or white – mulatto. Mulatto refers to someone with a mixed-race ancestry, especially a person who had one white and one Black parent. More than likely, the largest contributing factor to this population was the sexual exploitation of Black enslaved women by their white masters. After emancipation, the origins of this statistically significant population needed to remain hidden. Multiple stereotypical icons emerged to do this work. In the last section with the help of Robinson's work on Blackface minstrelsy, I covered one of those icons, the Zip Coon, but another also can be traced to the print culture of Reconstruction era Philadelphia – the mammy.

According to Robinson, the mammy icon emerged at the turn of the twentieth century and was more powerful in the cultural war that caste Reconstruction as a failure and the Old South as a benign feature of American history: "The icon – middle-aged or older, over-weight, de-eroticized Black woman – negated the rape of Black women by white men, transferring the responsibility for hundreds of thousands of mixed-race individuals to the Black rapist" (Robinson 2012, 60). Robinson traces the mammy's origin to the commercial advertising figure known as Aunt Jemima who was debuted at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 (61). The image above does share some features of the mammy icon, a "middle-aged or older,

over-weight, de-eroticized Black woman" (60); however, the second image to be explored adopts perhaps two of the most enduring features associated with the mammy – her toothy smile directed at a predominately white audience and headscarf (Wallace-Sanders 2008, 58).

Figure 5: "Smith Brothers Chemically Pure Borax," Githens & Rexsamer (Front and Back), Ca. 1880. Library Company of Philadelphia.

The second card is from a local business that distributed Borax produced by the Smith Brothers Borax Company.[18] The scene is of a kitchen in a middle-class white urban home (see figure 5). Included are four female figures. Two women capture the central focal point of the image. One is older, dressed in a burgundy gown with perfectly coiffed hair. The other is younger and wearing an apron covering up a less former, but clearly expensive, outfit equipped with a bustle. They are positioned in front of an ironing table. Given that the young woman shares the same color and texture hair as the woman in the gown, the viewer is made to believe them to be mother and daughter. The mother, since she is formally dressed and is instructing her

[18] In 1872, an independent miner named Francis Marion Smith "chanced upon a large borax deposit in Nevada, [and]… by 1890 established himself as the nation's foremost producer of this mineral" (Tiffany 1983, 535).

daughter how to use the borax as starch, appears to be the female head of the household. To their left, directly behind the formally dressed woman and looking away from them both, is another white woman who is using borax to remove cockroaches. From her red hair and thick pale arms, she more than likely represents an Irish house maid. To the right of the mother and daughter, placed farther into the background, is a Black woman whose ample buttocks, without the aid of a bustle, protrudes outwards as she leans over a wash bucket. Wearing a headscarf, she fixes her eyes on the mother and daughter with a corresponding toothy smile.

The Black washerwoman, or laundress, became a distinct feature of urban Reconstruction life with the expansion of people's closets (Hunter 1997, 56–57). Given that the Black woman in this image is portrayed as doing laundry in the white household, the observations made by Tera Hunter in the southern city of Atlanta were not necessarily reflected in the imaginary of white female employers in Philadelphia. Hunter writes, "one important advantage of laundry work was that whites were not employers of laundresses as much as they were clients" (58). Furthermore, the trajectory of the Black woman's gaze as compared to the supposed Irish housemaid's exemplifies the "consistent and repeated misrecognition" that political scientist Melissa Harris-Perry finds in the stereotype of the mammy: "Rather than seeing black female domestic workers accurately as laborers, the Mammy myth portrays them as unwavering in their commitment to the white domestic sphere" (2011, 77). Taking these points together, this card is clearly an example of the mammy stereotype being used by a local business in Philadelphia thirteen years prior to the debut of Aunt Jemima.

Turning to the back side of the card, the significance of the card for the city becomes more apparent since it is not necessarily an advertisement for borax but rather for the distributor, Githens & Rexsamer. Probably a general store, Githens & Rexsamer was located on Front Street

just over half a block below Market Street. It may be of interest to some readers to know that the original slave market located in Philadelphia sat on this very block. The first slave ship arrived in 1684 at the dock across the street from this site, just under two years after Penn founded the city. In response to fears of a slave result, a high duty was placed on imported slaves to the area in 1773, which in turn spelled the closing of the market. Returning to the late nineteenth century, the area in which the distributor was located more than likely remained an area defined by shipping, but with the industrial turn of the city the business would have included both the sale of imported goods from other parts of the U.S. and the globe and was well positioned for small-scale exportation of Philadelphian made goods. The neighborhood to its east would have consisted mostly of white households. Thinking together the geographic location of the business with the representation of Black women on the front side of the card, the target clientele for Githens & Rexsamer would more than likely be white households. Working-class whites perhaps would envision the laundry list of the product's usages located on the back of the card as akin to having "the domestic help" portrayed by the front side of the card that some upper-class urban white families enjoyed.

The last trade card could possibly be advertising goods and services provided by a Black woman for the sale to the middle classes of the city, both white and Black. The image is of a single Black woman with a heavy round face and a gentle smile (see figure 6). She is wearing a plaid headscarf and smiling, this time without exposing her teeth. Sitting in a window of a brick home trimmed with ivy, she is resting her chin on her elbows which point downward to a piece of clean cloth pinned to a clothing line. The words describing the services and location of the business appear to have been stamped onto the blank space represented by the clean cloth since the black ink appears green opposed to the blackish brown with which the image has been

printed. Combined the layout and lack of color provide the first reason supporting the claim that this may be an advertisement for a Black woman's services and made goods. Unlike the past two trade cards, this card appears to be mass produced and then stamped with the business's details. Put simply, it is a stock image. Such an image is produced from an already pre-made etching and would be cheaper than commissioning a new etching. Colored lithograph cards, particularly those with multiple colors like the previous ones explored, more than likely would have had a higher price point than an image printed in one color on white or beige cardstock.

The second point that supports the claim that this trade card is for a Black owned business advertising services and goods to the Black and white middle classes is location. The advertisement announces the sale of "high art and elegant clothing" from what appears to be a seamstress working out of a "Private House" sitting on "South Eight St." just below ("bel.") Pine Street. For those not familiar with the city's layout, streets with numerical names run north and south, progressively increasing as one travels west from the Delaware River to the Schuylkill. Streets whose nomenclature comes from arbor varietals run east and west. Pine is located a block south of Spruce and two blocks above South. This location is decidedly within the boundaries of the Seventh Ward as Du Bois describes them in *TPN*: "The Seventh Ward starts from the historic center of Negro settlement in

Figure 6: "High Art and Elegant Clothing," Ca. 1880. Library Company of Philadelphia.

the city, South Seventh street and Lombard, and includes the long narrow strip, beginning at South Seventh and extending west, with South and Spruce streets as boundaries, as far as the Schuylkill River" (Du Bois 2007, 58). Du Bois does note that there are white households in the Seventh Ward, and he designates the location printed on the card as either a white residence, store, or public building from his canvasing of the neighborhood in the late 1890s (60-61). Of course, Du Bois canvassed the area seventeen years after the publication date of the advertisement. Additionally, the services and goods advertised are performed and produced in a "private house" as opposed to a factory. Lastly the inclusion of "tailor misfits" leads me to conclude the proprietor of the business to be a Black woman who is offering services to the middle classes.

The fact that the image resembles some attributes of the mammy stereotype portrayed in the last two trade cards might place doubt on the claim that this trade card is not only an advertisement for a Black owned business but whose intended clientele for the announced services is the white and Black middle-classes. Citing his assistant, Isabel Eaton, in *TPN*, Du Bois paints a picture of the effects of color prejudice that Black seamstresses faced in Philadelphia at the turn of the twentieth century: "One woman, who was a seamstress and dressmaker, stated that she had on several occasions gotten work from a certain church home when she wore a heavy veil, on making her application at the office, but that on the first occasion she wore no veil her application was refused and had been every time since" (cited in 1899/2007, 337n.6). Eaton and Du Bois provide the landscape of race relations and their effects on job capacity throughout the Black Philadelphian community. Bringing this landscape to the assessment of the trade card, early blackface iconography may have been a marketing strategy deployed by a Black woman since the "Mammy is the figure of acceptable black womanhood"

(Harris-Perry 2011, 77). Remember, women engaging in activities beyond the home were deemed unacceptable by the Victorian norms of the nineteenth century, hence the closure of women's participation in the abolitionist movement as shown in the last chapter and earlier sections of this chapter. Since the card includes a stock image likely produced by a white printer, the choice of that image by the seamstress could stem from a desire to present her services in a less threatening manner to white customers. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the white middle class was larger than the Black middle class, therefore the seamstress would have a rational reason for appealing to that audience. As for Black middle-class clients, they would not be entirely deterred by the stereotypical image. They would be familiar with more exaggerated representations of Black womanhood like the one displayed in the borax advertisement. Finally, given that there is no other figure to mediate her gaze, no Black male husband or white female mistress, the viewer of the advertisement will read into the figured woman's eyes, and smile, what they want to see. Regardless, placed in the constellation of the other trade cards, the representation of Black women in Philadelphia at the time reinforced domesticity as both their "chosen" profession and social place.

D. Towards a Recapture of Black Female Abolitionism

Between the lithographs representing abolitionist efforts in the 1850s through the representation of Black women as part and parcel of the myth of domesticity in the commercial trade cards of 1880s, the political discourse in and around Philadelphia attempts to settle the tensions that weighed on the U.S. population through the multiplicity of changes that spanned the decades of Reconstruction. Women's participation in abolition disrupted the very definitions and understanding of politics, masculinity, and home. Liberation of Black men and their newfound political representation in the form of the Freedmen's Bureau stoked fears about miscegenation

and white men's control over land and family. Black women, marginalized from both the political ranks of abolition and Reconstruction, found themselves struggling in an economic structure that wanted to extract as much labor from them with minimal compensation, while at the same time relegating their economic worth to domestic service and household drudgery.

As shown in the first section of the chapter, the women of PFASS transformed, or at least attempted to transform, the political priorities of the abolition movement. During and after the Civil War, their priorities would change from raising consciousness and funds in the efforts to support fugitives and end slavery, to installing concrete laws that "banish Slavery from the Republic forever" (PFASS 1864, 26), including the full integration of freedmen and freedwomen into the political process. But what about the free Black community that fought amongst them? According to historian Erica Armstrong Dunbar, "the optimism experienced by African American women on the antislavery stage would quickly dim by the 1840s. By the eve of the Civil War, interracial political cooperation would prove difficult to sustain, and black and white women were left to distance themselves from one another" (2008, 74). She also notes that after 1842 no new Black members joined the membership ranks of PFASS. It is important to remember that participation in anti-slavery and abolitionist societies before the Civil War was only occurring amongst the elite Black Philadelphians, but by the war's end and with the growing migration of Blacks into urban centers the entire Black community's priorities likely shifted.

Perhaps Black women in the North would be compelled to follow the tactics of their Southern counterparts. After the Civil War, Black "women throughout the Reconstruction-era South continued to participate actively in public political gatherings alongside their husbands" (Jones 2009, 142). For the Black elite women of Philadelphia, their participation in the longest

run interracial abolition society may also have effected their post-war strategy:

> Through the personal testimony of black members regarding oppression and discrimination, white women were able to solidify their own crusade for equality. At the same time, African American women created valuable contacts, locating themselves within the political debate of the century. They were painfully aware of all the work that was still undone, but they looked toward a future of autonomy and equality in which they would use their political activism, expand their education, and discover the power of the printed word. (Dunbar 2008, 95)

In the next chapter, I turn to six Black women who were either engaged in or on the peripheries of the PFASS. Exploring their printed work and political deeds, the subjugated knowledge of these Black women provides additional leverage to Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy, particularly as they extend the concept of home beyond the confines of the private residence to the streets and public services throughout the city and extending up to and through the federal government. These women are Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806-1882), Harriet Jacobs (1813-1897), Harriet Tubman (c1822-1913), Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911), Fanny Jackson Coppin (1837-1913), and Gertrude Bustill Mossell (1855-1948).

IV. Chapter 3 – Black Female Abolitionists, the Making of a Reconstruction City, and the Negotiating of a Nascent Politics of Respectability[19]

In his review of a 1973 edited volume entitled *Black Politics in Philadelphia* for the discipline's flagship journal, the *American Political Science Review*, Fred J. Foley writes that the book "presents the first broad-based analysis of the role of black participation in American urban politics" (1975, 270). Focusing largely on the success of the chapters that focus on Black electoral participation in the city, the review overlooks the almost imperceptible gesture made by the editors to the central placement of fugitivity to Philadelphia's political development: "Just as the medieval city provided liberty and opportunity for runaway peasants, Philadelphia drew escaped slaves" (Ershowitz & Zikmund 1973, 7). This quote nicely pulls together previously explored themes in this project: (1) U.S. urbanization in the lead up to and duration of Reconstruction emerges as a critical point on the long timeline of enclosure, and (2) Philadelphia's Black abolitionist community embraced fugitive slaves as constitutive members of a democratic horizon in a nation positioned to move beyond slavery. This chapter turns to four institutions of Reconstruction that Du Bois recognizes, either directly or indirectly, as emerging from that city and the lives, thoughts, and work of six Black women connected to Philadelphia who were key contributors of those institutions. This chapter argues that re-centering these women's contributions to the Reconstruction efforts, both as political leaders in such Reconstruction institutions and as thinkers, furthers our understanding of the relationship among the ideas of fugitivity, abolition-democracy, and the concept of home in so much as their efforts to Reconstruction transgressed the Victorian boundary of the public/private divide as it was

[19] Some portions of this chapter have been adopted for a recent publication (Yarish 2018).

being redrawn through a nascent articulation of what Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham came to call the politics of respectability.

According to Tina Campt (2014), "the concept of fugitivity highlights the tension between the acts or flights of escape and creative practices of refusal, nimble and strategic practices that undermine the category of the dominant." Notice that Campt's definition of fugitivity extends beyond the moment of emancipation when the legal definition of fugitive slave, found in the Compromise of 1850, was abolished. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which federalized slave-catchers and made those escaping domination criminal, came into existence at the very same moment that California entered the Union and territorial governments were established in Utah and New Mexico. These historical collisions, the settlement of further territory and the criminalization of fugitivity, share the same, to use Campt's language, "category of the dominant." Or, in the language of another set of scholars exploring the concept of fugitivity, the Compromise of 1850 embodied "the civil union of settlement and enclosure" (Harney & Moten 2013, 18). Given that the Reconstruction efforts can be traced to this compromise, the ideals of settlement likely informed the growing political discourse on the home in the middle of the nineteenth century which then spread throughout the nation.

As discussed in chapter one, the Homestead Act emerged to create a release valve amongst the laboring peoples – all immigrant, fugitive/migrant Blacks, and pro-capital business elites – who were crowding into cities as a response to the practices of enclosure that accompanied industrialization. Towards the end of the Reconstruction era, the leaders of the contingent supporting abolition-democracy facilitated the nation in correcting "the democratic contradiction of making human labor real estate" (Du Bois 1998, 237) yet were unable to support "the redistribution of property in land and tools" that the freedmen needed in order to make homes for

themselves (595). This seems to contradict the passage of the Homestead Acts in both 1862 and 1866, which made land in the West available to those who could reasonably afford to make the journey and stake out their claims. With his conceptualization of the "public and psychological" wages of whiteness, Du Bois shows that this contradiction was transposed into a structural rationality as whiteness was repositioned as the nation's political and social hierarchy which facilitated the ending of the radical project of Reconstruction. What I show in chapters one and two is that despite Du Bois's important observations, his inability to theorize the concept of home as part and parcel of the wages of whiteness renders invisible the overlapping and constitutive elements of race, gender, sexuality, and class.

Recently, critical theorists have (re)turned to the site of home to think about democratic politics in the U.S. Though she does not discuss these legislations in her exploration of *How Americans Make Race*, political scientist Clarissa Rile Hayward describes Americans, beginning in the nineteenth century, as becoming a home-owning people:

> Home ownership … is the "dream" not of some, but of all Americans. It is not simply a good that many Americans happen to like: a relatively widely shared consumer preference. Instead, it is an important part of the American national identity: a long-standing tradition that reaches back to the Jeffersonian ideal of propertied citizenship. Home ownership is an important source of well-being for the families that comprise the American people. It is an important source of civic vitality for the American nation as a whole. Home ownership is patriotic. Home ownership fosters healthy (traditional, nuclear) families and encourages (Christian) moral rectitude. It thus contributes to the well-being of the American polity and to the good of the American people. (Hayward 2013, 119–20)

Here Hayward shows that the centering of home-ownership in the national identity of the U.S. is always already precluded by a set of disciplinary measures: nuclear family, Christian morality, and individualist self-sufficiency. By reasserting these measures, many Americans and others remain outside, or at least at the fringes, of citizenship status.

Cultural theorist, Lee Quinby (1994), also centers the site of home as a discursive strategy for understanding both contemporary U.S. politics and industrial modernity. She shows how apocalyptic discourse attempts to render the site of home as vacant. This happens throughout history when the home has been portrayed as a space of renewal, regeneration, and refuge to escape outside influence and danger. Quinby traces that since the adoption of the nuclear patriarchal family as the legitimate organization of home life three power relations became particularly invested in the home site: (1) the deployment of alliance through kinship systems and marriage; (2) the deployment of sexuality through codes of health, hygiene, and respectability; and, (3) the deployment of technoppression through the circuitry of electronic communication systems between homes (Quinby 1994, 136).[20]

As shown in the last chapter, Black women's relationship to the dominant narrative of home emerging during the Reconstruction efforts were precarious at best and directly undermined at worst. Of course, Black feminist scholars have turned to Black women's everyday practices to rethink this very concept. In her book *Belonging*, bell hooks provides a narrative of rural Black women's relationship to their communities, their labor, and their environment as a practice of place making where their homes and the activities that sustained them became "the symbol of self-determination and survival" (hooks 2009, 43). In chapter one, my critique of Du Bois's treatment of the concept of home in *TPN* in chapter deployed this very idea by emphasizing how sidewalks and alleys became the political and social landscape of Black women between 1850 and 1880. By engaging the streets, Black women, their partners, and their children reclaim the spaces denied by the industrial marketing of home in pursuit of self-determination and to ensure

[20] Though not as intrusive as the technology of television, which is what Quinby explores, chapter two shows how the home became a target for creating domestic norms through the emergence of market advertising in the mid to late nineteenth century.

their survival. It is with these understandings of home that I turn to the Reconstruction efforts emanating from Philadelphia and six Black women's creative labor in and toward them. Two of the women were born amongst the antebellum free Black elite in the city of Philadelphia and remained long-term residents of the city – Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806-1882) and Gertrude Bustill Mossell (1855-1948). Two others, one born to free Black parents and the other to enslaved, both left the slave state of Maryland and came to call Philadelphia their home – Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911) and Fanny Jackson Coppin (1837-1913) respectively. Given their fugitive status brought them to and beyond Philadelphia, the relationships the last two held vis-à-vis the city were temporary – Harriet Jacobs (1813-1897) and Harriet Tubman (c1822-1913).

The first section returns to the two texts by Du Bois explored in chapter one to provide a genealogical trace of four Reconstruction institutions to the city of Philadelphia. Section two turns to the work and lives of two of the six women who did not experience slavery first hand – Douglass and Harper – and their relationship to the discourse of respectability as they fought for a collective consideration of health and transit as democratic projects. The third section focuses on the experiences and thoughts of two different women, one who was born into slavery outside of Philadelphia and one who was born into one of Philadelphia's elite Black families –Coppin and Mossell. Here two respective democratic projects highly related to the politics of respectability, education in the case of Coppin and the press in the case of Mossell, will be considered. By reading these two figures against each other through a Black epistemological lens that holds knowledge to be a collective endeavor, a challenge to the politics of respectability also emerges in their work which emphasizes the importance of informing the common elements that are captured when human beings in their plurality are brought together through common space.

In the fourth section, I turn to the last but certainly not least pair – Jacobs and Tubman – to explore both their contributions to a fledgling understanding of democratic welfare as informed by their theoretical insights on the relationship between fugitivity and the concept home. I conclude by returning to Quinby's suggestion, along with many other Black female thinkers (Cooper 2017; Cohen 2009; Griffin 2000; White 2001), that respectability failed to democratize the power relations associated with the concept of home in the wake of slavery's abolition and the nation's democratization during Reconstruction. By re-centering Blackness to fugitivity, I suggest that theorists may glean more democratic features from this era and especially from women's interactions in urban spaces than otherwise acknowledged.[21] What I mean by this is that home for Black women is best understood as a political activity, a practice, a will, as opposed to a site where one goes to escape politics and public life. Throughout the chapter, I draw out this distinction by attending to how each of these democratic thinkers' understanding of home informed their political activism which in turn provided a sustained critique of the industrial marketing of the domestic sphere that helped to inform the emerging theoretical wedding of democracy to capitalism. Put simply, the coalescence of the hegemonic

[21] It is worth noting here Sheldon Wolin's opening essay for the first volume of the contemporary democratic theory journal *Constellations*, "Fugitive Democracy" (1994). In it Wolin explores the difference between politics – the endless, ceaseless, and continual business of a constitutional society or nation-state, and the political – the rare capture of the will of the people that makes democracy not a form of governance but a project of collective self-actualization. Though Wolin mentions slaves and slavery twice in the essay (19; 23), he does not think about the theoretical time and space that actual fugitives evoke by enacting fugitivity. Rather he focuses on the notion of boundaries to think about the fleeting moment of democracy. In his comparison of ancient, modern, and contemporary theorists on the question of governance, Wolin concludes that "while boundaries signified to the early modern the limits of the political, to the postmodern they are a sign of its limitations" (15). By reorienting democratic theory towards the practice of movement as opposed to the sedimentation of the boundary, I aim to think through fugitivity as part of the epistemological tradition developed by those who refused enslavement, catapulted the movement of the Underground Railroad, overthrew slave-power in the U.S., and envisioned a different world for not only themselves but the entire nation (Robinson 1997, 31).

understanding of women's activism, and especially Black women's activism, as service (i.e. civil care) instead of politics (i.e. will of the people) continues to foreclose the democratic promise that abolition articulated as a simultaneously political, personal, and economic project. These Black women in and around Philadelphia, while at times falling trap to the discourse of respectability, deployed Black fugitivity as an epistemological tool for their thinking through, writing about, and building public institutions grounded in an abolitionist conception of home that refused to divorce the public from the private and vice versa.

A. A Reconstruction City & the Emergence of a Nascent Politics of Respectability

In *BR,* Du Bois mentions three different institutions and alludes to one other that became crucial during Reconstruction and were still prominent in Philadelphian history by the time he wrote *TPN*: the U.S. Colored Troops (hereafter USCT), the Institute for Colored Youth (hereafter ICY), the Women's Aid Association of Philadelphia (hereafter WAAP), and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People (hereafter HAICP). Active from late May 1863 through October 1865, the UCST were regiments of the Union Army comprised largely from Black male soldiers and only came into existence to settle a debate that emerged regarding what to do with enslaved Blacks who engaged in fugitivity during the height of the Civil War – what Du Bois calls "the General Strike" (1998, 55). The first training grounds dedicated to these troops were established just to the North of Philadelphia in Montgomery County on land owned by the abolitionists James and Lucretia Mott (D. Scott 2015). The site saw an influx not only of soldiers, of which there were nearly 11,000 trained there, but also "was honored with visits from such prominent abolitionists as [Frederick] Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Lucretia Mott, whose residence in Roadside sat directly beside the camp" (McKivigan 2018, 411n.5). Christened Camp William Penn, Du Bois mentions it in both *BR* and *TPN* when discussing the process of emancipation

being tied to former slaves being armed (1998, 97) and as part of the history of "the Negro in Philadelphia" (2007, 25; 38).

The second institution, ICY, is related to the freedmen's and freedwomen's demand for education after the legal dismantlement of slavery. ICY was a private school established in 1837 by Philadelphian Quakers. It was run entirely by Black teachers with a mission of providing "the instruction of the next generation of black teachers" (Giesberg et al. 2014). In regard to the role it played during Reconstruction, Du Bois makes note of this institution twice in the chapter dedicated to "Founding the Public School" (1998, 637; 649). Since the ICY would become Cheyney University in 1902,[22] Du Bois lists it amongst "the chief Negro institutions in the city" in *TPN* (2007, 230).

In *BR*, the WAAP is mentioned directly and appears in Du Bois's analysis of the Reconstruction efforts much like the UCST, in discussing the General Strike. It is listed as a precursor, amongst many others, to the official establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau. The mission of WAAP was to raise funds, supply teachers, and send nurses and health workers to various parts of the South during and beyond the war (1998, 78). This outpouring of support became known as the freedmen's aid movement, which historian Carol Faulkner notes "began in November 1861, when the Union army took control of the Sea Islands and the area around Beaufort, South Carolina" (2004, 9).

Though WAAP goes unmentioned in *TPN*, Du Bois does list amongst "the chief Negro institutions in the city" the last Reconstruction institution that I see extending out from Philadelphia and accompanied the freedmen's aid movement – HAICP: "the Home for the Aged,

[22] Cheyney University is the oldest institution amongst the Historically Black College and Universities. For a thorough history of the school, see Charline Howard Conyers's *A Living Legend: The History of Cheyney University, 1837-1951* (1990).

situated at the corner of Girard and Belmont avenues, was founded by a Negro lumber merchant, Steven Smith, and is conducted by whites and Negroes. … It has sheltered 558 old people since its foundation in 1864" (2007, 230). In *BR*, Du Bois notes that in response to the General Strike "homes for the youth and the aged were to be established" as part of "a bureau established by the government" for the aid of the freedmen and freedwomen (1998, 79). And though the HAICP goes unmentioned by Du Bois in *BR,* it is from this point that I call it a Reconstruction institution.

By re-centering these institutions as projects of democratization, I emphasize that they aimed to provide an alternative trajectory for the concept of home that deconstructs the power relations associated with the American investment in the home as a site of private refuge as assessed by Quinby. Just to reiterate, the three elements that Quinby articulates can be traced back to the pressures placed on Black women during the Reconstruction era to adapt to the nuclear family, the Victorian politics of respectability, and the figuration of their bodies in the marketing of domestic service emphasized by the emergent print media. Given that previous chapters touch on the nuclear family and print media respectively, this chapter aims to understand how the politics of respectability emerged in a nascent form in and around Reconstruction era Philadelphia all the while Black women struggled to support and sometimes directly established the above institutions.

The politic of respectability became a strategy adopted mainly by middle-class Blacks and emerged from the intersection of various social movements as they vied to steer the U.S. polity towards political and social equality for Blacks as well as women. Coined by historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, it "equated public behavior with individual self-respect and with the advancement of African Americans as a group" (1994, 14). Analyzing the revitalization of the

Black church and its relationship to the women's club movement in the decades spanning 1880 to 1920, Higginbotham located its emergence as a social strategy for the promotion of the Black community at the turn of the twentieth century. In her recent book *Beyond Respectability*, Brittany Cooper updates the history of this strategy by saying that Black women used it in the following manner:

> to navigate a hostile public sphere and to minimize the threat of sexual assault and other forms of bodily harm routinely inflicted upon Black women. …[It] attempted to make Black women's bodies as inconspicuous and as sexually innocuous as possible. …. [But it was not the only strategy] Black women used to navigate the public sphere, in part because they were acutely aware of the limitations of making themselves invisible in a world predicated in the surveillance of Black bodies. (Cooper 2017, 3)

Both Higginbotham and Cooper trace the emergence of the politics of respectability to the post-Reconstruction period; however, historical scholarship attending to the overlapping social reconfigurations of race, gender, and sexuality as a result of the abolitionist movement and the counter-revolution against its partial institutionalization during Reconstruction suggests the politics of respectability as appearing earlier in the nineteenth century (Dudden 2011; Farmer-Kaiser 2010; White 2001).

As seen in the quote by Copper, respectability, as a politics, works through a two-tiered logic. First, it attempts to deflect sexual stereotypes of black women as promiscuous by rewarding those who embody asexual lives or conform to hetero-patriarchal marital desire. A call for sexual repression works to cover-over the long history of white men's rape of black female slaves (Davis 1972; Adrienne Davis 2003); while at the same time, it ends up reducing sexual propriety to racial uplift, protecting certain black women at the expense and sometimes public shunning of others (Brown 1995; Harris-Perry 2011). Second, the politics of respectability narrowly defines feminine behavior as domesticity. Effectively, black women's contributions to

social and political movements are seen as secondary or merely supportive, leaving them out of the cadre of political and intellectual leadership (James 1997). It is particularly this second charge that appears to hold sway over Du Bois's theory of Black agency and by extension abolition-democracy. Given that Du Bois scholars may suggest that connecting one of his earliest works – *TPN* – with one of his later works – *BR* – flattens the intellectual trajectory of this thinker's intellectual development, let me briefly engage his most analyzed text – *The Souls of Black Folk* – on this very concern, especially given that it sits historically between the publication of the two works analyzed in chapter one.

In his theory of double-consciousness, Du Bois engages both the negative consequences of black people's invisibility, or presumed invisibility, in political and social movements as well as their positive contributions as agents directly combating discrimination. Double-consciousness is "a peculiar sensation ... of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body" (1903/1997, 38). For Du Bois, this "two-ness" acts as both gift and burden. Put simply, the experience cultivates in Blacks the foresight necessary for political engagement, yet it requires their interaction in a hostile environment. He advocates for the "thinking classes" (70) or "Talented Tenth" (100) of the black community to be the primary interlocutors with(in) the dominant (white) world. This theorization, however, requires a splitting of the black community in addition to the dialectical division envisioned by Du Bois: a private sphere for recuperation and a public sphere of contestation. Jasmine Farrah Griffin highlights this tension when describing Du Bois's project as "a sincere attempt to address the conditions of black people both internally and externally" (2000, 34). What Griffin and other black feminists

find in double-consciousness when read alongside his proto-feminist text "The Damnation of Women" (1920/1987) is a philosophical argument that not only upholds but might entrench the pragmatic political strategy of respectability (Griffin 2000; James 1997; King 1988). Given that Du Bois creates his theory of abolition-democracy from an understanding of Black agency, is this tendency present in the text where he develops that very theory?

In *BR* Du Bois acknowledges Black women's contributions only twice in the entire text. First, he mentions that during the "General Strike," Black women served as workers "in the camp kitchens and as nurses in the hospitals" (Du Bois 1998, 69). By camps, he is referring to those makeshift tent towns that sprung up around Union Army encampments and outside of Washington, D.C. during the early stages and extending beyond the end of the Civil War. Citing Ulysses S. Grant's observations of the work willfully done by Blacks in the camps of the Union Army, Du Bois draws a connection between these kinds of labor and the origins of the Freedmen's Bureau: "It was at this point where the first idea of the Freedmen's Bureau took its origin" (cited on 69). The second, and perhaps more prominent, acknowledgement of Black women's contributions is in Du Bois's salute to "Founding the Public School." He finds not only that a mulatto woman, Mrs. Mary Peake, established the first day school for all children regardless of race in the south on September 17, 1861 and that most of such schools were ran by women, but that the public school was the most successful of the Reconstruction efforts (642). Whether in the figure of the nurse to Union soldiers or schoolmarm to the poor children of the south, both Black and white alike, Du Bois gives relatively no acknowledgement for how Black women attempted to influence, and at times directly challenge, the rising Victorian morality that greatly influenced the agents and policies of the Freedmen's Bureau (Farmer-Kaiser 2010, 12). By limiting his assessment to women's involvement in the reproductive labor necessary for the

Reconstruction efforts such as food preparation, nursing, and teaching, Du Bois indirectly reinforces the gendered roles overtly described by a politics of recognition.

Black women are caught in the cross-section of Du Bois's theory since their labor as activists, family care-givers, and community organizers requires the transgression of the public and private divide advocated by nineteenth century racial science, Victorianism, and industrial capitalism. Knowing that Black women were deeply engaged in the abolitionist movement in the lead up to the Civil War and throughout Reconstruction in Philadelphia, returning to the organizational contributions to the four institutions outlined above and the intellectual contributions to the concept of home by six Black women in and around the city may be illuminate how a nascent politics of respectability contributed to the failure of abolition-democracy.

B. Struggling for Collective Health and Collective Transit

Amongst the six women that I consider in this chapter, Sarah Mapps Douglass holds a special honor in the intellectual history of abolition-democracy. As noted in chapter one, she is the only Black woman mentioned at all by Du Bois in *TPN* (2007, 45). Born on September 9, 1806, Douglass's parents were amongst Philadelphia's Black elite. Her mother, Grace Bustill Douglass, was the daughter of Cyrus Bustill – a culinary entrepreneur who baked bread for George Washington's Revolutionary Army (Bacon 2001, 28). As a young woman, Grace Bustill operated a millinery store alongside her family's bakery. After marrying Robert Douglass and having three children, she became a charter member of PFASS. Sarah, her youngest (hereafter simply Douglass), would also become involved in PFASS. Throughout her life, Douglass would become a writer, teacher, and public health advocate for Black people in general and Black women in particular.

In 1831, Douglass helped to form the Female Literary Association. It was one of the three Black female literary societies present in Philadelphia in the 1830s. The collective motto across them was "You have talents – Only cultivate them" (Winch 1994). Weekly, the group would congregate to read essays published in newspapers and other venues but also their own works in progress. In her writings produced for these meetings, Douglass would formulate her abolitionist position: "The goal of the Female Literary Association was self-improvement: education to disprove prejudice and to challenge white belief in the intellectual inferiority of African Americans" (Lindhorst 1998, 269). It was here where Douglass started connecting to the larger abolitionist circles. She would go on to publish a variety of stories and letters circulated at these gatherings to abolitionist newspapers like the *Liberator* and *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, albeit largely under pseudonyms of which the most frequent was Zillah (272). In them she dealt with topics ranging from interpersonal racist acts she experienced and witnessed, particularly amongst the Quaker community in Philadelphia (Bacon 2001, 31–32), to her rejection of colonization as a response to the issue of slavery as well as Pennsylvania's legislative "attempt to prohibit the migration of blacks to the state" (Dunbar 2008, 106).

It was in these early years involved in the semi-private profession of writing that Douglass began to think about the concept of home. In an address to the *Female Literary Society of Philadelphia* on June 1832, Douglass said the following:

> One short year ago, how different were my feelings on the subject of slavery! It is true, the wail of the captive sometimes came to my ear in the midst of my happiness, and caused my heart to bleed for his wrongs; but alas! the impression was as evanescent as the early cloud and morning dew. I had formed a little world of my own, and cared not to move beyond its precincts. But how was the scene changed when I behold the oppressor lurking on the border of my own peaceful home! I saw his iron hand stretched forth to seize me as his prey, and the cause of the slave became my own. I started up, and with one mighty effort threw from me the lethargy which had covered me as a mantle for years; and determined … to use every exertion in my power to elevate the character of my wronged and neglected race. (cited in Lindhorst 1998, 274–75)

In this quote, Douglass's realizations on the issue of slavery, something that she did not deal with in her private home life, invaded her "peaceful home" – all metaphorical and physical. The city of Philadelphia was becoming a site for fugitive slaves and recently emancipated peoples. Learning of their lives, Douglass began to re-assess her own thoughts on slavery and her relationship to the peculiar institution. She did so by expanding her conception of home, but the organizational site of literary society did not afford her to rethink her strategy for combatting the violence of slavery: "As the black elite began their social and political networking among white Philadelphians through the politics of abolition, the literary society prepared and reinforced 'the promotion of the polite'" (Dunbar 2008, 101–2). Her resolve is "to elevate the character of my wronged and neglected race," but did her trajectory maintain the politics of recognition as outlined in the previous section? Continuing with her biography, it is clear that she negotiated rather than rejected this very strategy.

The relationship she made with William Lloyd Garrison from both her published works and fundraising for his newspaper launched Douglass into the official ranks of the abolitionist movement. From 1837-1839, she joined official delegations for the annual women's anti-slavery conventions. She would also deepen her connections to other members of PFASS during this time, including the famous white abolitionist Angelina Gimké. In May of 1838, "Douglass and her mother were among the Negro guests at the wedding" of Grimké to Theodore Weld (Smith 1992, 289). Though in this early stage of her intellectual development and activism Douglass would concern herself with strategies associated with racial uplift, her position would pivot towards self-love and racial justice. Like other Black female activists at the time who centered themselves "in the ecopolitics of black communities" (Tate 2003, 188), Douglass's priorities would shift in the 1850s away from formal participation with PFASS to a life dedicated to educating the Black community on issues spanning writing, language, art, and health.

Douglass joined the faculty of ICY in 1852, becoming the school's first female teacher. Initially she taught subjects spanning from the classical languages (Greek and Latin) to art and mathematics. In that same year, Douglass also "became the first African American woman to attend the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania" (Lindhorst 1998, 264). From this training, she would go on to develop coursework designed to combat both the scientific racism of phrenology and craniology – the pseudoscientific practice of deducing individual traits or characters from the shape and size of the skull – and to promote sexual wellbeing amongst the Black youth. From this training and curriculum development, Douglass became "the first recognized African American sex educator":

> Douglass offered a delicate, yet surprisingly explicit, sex education to her teenage students in the girls' department at Philadelphia's Institute for Colored Youth. These anatomy and physiology lessons never focused exclusively on sex; they also directly challenged the new racial science of craniology. While warning African American women not to allow false delicacy to prevent them from learning the laws of "womanly health," Douglass modeled for students an affirming and holistic counterdiscourse on black female embodiment. At the same time, she warned women and girls to beware of the solitary vice, putting its cultural associations with virtue and scientific rationalism to her own use. In this way, Douglass participated in and extended the spread of antimasturbation discourse in ways that resonated with young black women for generations. (Haynes 2015, 14)

Douglass also established a reputation for being a sex educator amongst an adult population as well. She began "to lecture in her home to black women only" (140). Notice, she initiated this process in a space that was considered private, but soon she would notice the need to share her research beyond such a space because she was unsatisfied "by the moral guidance and regimen advice offered by popular lecturers" (140). Hayes shows that in the early to mid-nineteenth century a few medical practitioners began to offer guidance for sexual pleasure and contraceptive advice for heterosexual married life in the form of public lectures and writings which were attended by and circulated amongst abolitionists in cities like Philadelphia. Since these lectures and writings were promptly attacked by the same people who attacked the political power of female

abolitionists by deeming their activities indecent, women associated with the PFASS defended the public distribution of this knowledge, thus positioning themselves as sexual citizens and consumers (117). Although these lectures would come to argue that women have the right to sexual desire and pleasure, Douglass noted a distinction being made along racial lines. White women were presented as "subjects whose sexual virtue [based on moderation] proved their civic abilities" but argued Black women "embodied excess" and thus their sexual practices were to be subjected to abjection (130). With this in mind, Douglass decided to lecture on the issues of sexuality, hygiene, and physiology in evening classes and at meetings of the Banneker Institute – a Black male organization that aimed for its members to discipline and develop their minds, take a public stand on their principles, and contribute to international intellectual discourse (Lapsansky 1994, 94). By taking these issues to the public herself, albeit into a limited public, she can also be considered one of the first public health advocates regardless of race or gender.

Her health educational repertoire and strong advocating for collective health would also inform Douglass's contributions to the Civil War and Reconstruction efforts: "During and after the Civil War, she served as vice president to the Women's Freedmen's Relief Association, and solicited funds to send clothes, books, tools, and teachers South to help the newly freed slaves. In 1864, she was a founder of the Stephen Smith Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons, and remained on the Board for two years" (Bacon 2001, 30). Both these institutions aimed to help former slaves as well as elderly and infirm Black people find dignity in a city and country where profits would quickly surpass people as the priorities of both the populace and the government. Specifically, her role as a founder of the HAICP also speaks to her expansion of the concept of home and greatly inspired by her career in health education. Combining these efforts together, Douglass's democratic theory can be understood as one that centers a healthy home as essential to the

commonwealth of the people writ large. More specifically, it is the responsibility of the collective to ensure that all members of the demos have a secured home which then promotes a healthy life physically which in turn enables them to participate in the political demands of civic life. In 1877, Douglass would retire from her position as principle of the girl's department at ICY, a position she held for 25 years. Rebecca Cole, who was Douglass's student and the first Black woman to graduate from the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, would take over her position, including her courses on "physiology, preventive medicine, and hygiene" (Haynes 2015, 158). On September 8, 1882, she passed away in the company of her two brothers in Philadelphia, the city she called home throughout her life.

The second Black woman whom I consider, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, was "one of the first black women to become a professional antislavery speaker" (Guy-Sheftall 1995, 39). In chapter two, I noted that she was the only Black woman invited to speak at the centennial anniversary celebration of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in Philadelphia on April 14, 1875. There she insisted the following:

> The great problem to be solved by the American people, if I understand it, is this - whether or not there is strength enough in democracy, virtue enough in our civilization, and power enough in our religion to have mercy and deal justly with four millions of people but lately translated from the old oligarchy of slavery to the new commonwealth of freedom: and upon the right solution of this question depends in a large measure the future strength, progress, and durability of our nation. (Harper 1990b, 219)

Much like her other public addresses, Harper stressed the need for a coalitional politics, but one that was deeply invested in stamping out anti-Blackness and patriarchal overtones. Born a free Black in Baltimore, Maryland in 1825, she was orphaned by the age of three. Her introduction into the abolitionist community began at a very young age as she was raised by her aunt and uncle, Henrietta and William Watkins. According to Margaret Hope Bacon, William Watkins was "an outstanding abolitionist and a foe of the American Colonization Society …. While

William Lloyd Garrison lived in Baltimore … he came to know Watkins and was converted by him to oppose colonization" (Bacon 1989, 23). From this trajectory, Harper would become a writer, teacher, and ultimately a public speaker.

Harper[23] attended her uncle's school, the Watkins Academy, till the age of thirteen, when she was expected to learn a trade and begin supporting herself. After becoming quite astute in writing, philosophy, and mathematics and thus positioning her squarely within the Black middle-class, her racial status in a Southern city still entrenched in slavery did not afford her many employment opportunities. She found a position in a white family's home as a domestic servant, seamstress, and nursemaid. Her employers owned a bookshop and "allowed her to use whatever spare time she had in reading books from the shop, and … encouraged Frances to write" (23). From these endeavors, she published her first volume of poetry entitled *Forest Leaves* at the age of twenty-one. With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the Watkins and Harper chose to leave the slave state of Maryland for Ohio. While her aunt and uncle would continue onto Canada for fear of being captured and sold into slavery by those emboldened by the new law, Harper became the first woman instructor at the Union Seminary outside of Columbus in 1851.[24] She was hired to teach domestic science, while at the same time she was yearning to engage literature. A year after holding this position, she moved to York, Pennsylvania to teach a broad range of subjects from reading, writing, and mathematics to fifty-three Black children. There she quickly realized that though she felt an obligation for educating Black youth, she reasoned that she should find a career

[23] Though it is customary in historical writing to use a woman's maiden name until the moment that she is married and then make the shift in the writing, in this chapter I follow the custom put forth by political theorists in using the surname most associated with their overall intellectual contributions to the field. Put simply, I use Harper throughout the bibliographic section dedicated to her life instead of changing from Watkins to Harper. I will do the same for the others that follow.

[24] Union Seminary was "the precursors to what is now Wilberforce University" (Foster 1993, 533), where Du Bois held his first teaching position from 1894 to 1896.

where “it should be a work of love, not duty alone” (24). Also in this part of Pennsylvania, she met and became involved with men and women who operated the underground railroad. Through those interactions, Harper found her calling – abolition. This calling coincided with a legal enactment from Maryland in 1853 which forbade free blacks from entering the state otherwise they would be subjected to possible enslavement (Bacon 1989, 24). Being exiled from her own home state, she wrote a friend of her uncle in Philadelphia – William Still – who promptly invited her to stay with him and his wife. Given that the Stills operated a key stop on the underground railroad out of their home, Harper would soon come face to face in the first time of her life with fugitive victims of slavery. Those interactions combined with her own vulnerability as a free born but homeless Black woman would come to animate her lectures, poems, and publications in the following years.

Harper quickly cultivated an oratory personality that appeared lucrative for the anti-slavery circuit in the years leading up to the Civil War. She was hired by both the Maine and Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery societies, and between 1854 and 1860 she traveled throughout New England, Ohio, and New York working diligently to educate the mass public about racial prejudice. Since the PFASS was an auxiliary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, it was this formal invitation that made her a prominent member of PFASS as mentioned in chapter two. She would take a slight hiatus from her career when she married Fenton Harper, a free black widower of three children living in Ohio. They were married in 1860 and bought a home near Columbus with the money she had saved from her time as a lecturer. Together, they had one daughter – Mary – who would later join Harper when she returned to the abolitionist circuit after her husband died in 1864. While she was married, she published a poem honoring the first regular unit of the USCT in the New York *Weekly Anglo-African* entitled “The Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth.” According to historian Donald Yacovone, this poem, when read alongside other of her more famous works like “Bury Me in a

Free Land," "document[s] the struggle against slavery and immortalize[s] the black role in national regeneration, a force so potent that to Harper it appeared to transform and sanctify the land" (Yacovone 1995, 92). Never truly leaving her career as a public speaker or published writer, the debts accrued by her late husband compelled Harper to return to lecturing. This time, she joined the ranks as a senior lecturer compelled to convince the nation of the importance of Reconstruction efforts covering topics such as "The Mission of War," "The Claims of the Negro," and "The Demands of the Colored Race in Reconstruction" (32). First delivering such commentary to Northern audiences, she traveled throughout the South to observe the freedmen's aid movement and offer her insights specifically to freedwomen (Faulkner 2004, 70–71). Though I have yet to encounter direct documentation linking these travels to the WAAP, it is more than likely that Harper continued correspondence with Freedmen's aid workers in the city of Philadelphia due to her well established connection to that city.

A common theme amongst her speeches in the post war era became the condition of Black people while engaging public transportation. She specifically addressed this topic during her speech to the Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention of 1866 held in New York City: "To-day I am puzzled where to make my home. I would like to make it in Philadelphia, near my own friends and relations. But if I want to ride in the streets of Philadelphia, they send me to ride on the platform with the driver. … One day I took my seat in a car, and the conductor came to me and told me to take another seat. I just screamed 'murder.' The man said if I was black I ought to behave myself. I knew that if he was white he was not behaving himself" (1990b, 218). Some recent scholars consider this speech as an exemplar of proto-intersectionality (Gines 2015; Jones 2015). This is clear by her attention to gender, race, and class throughout the speech as she covers topics ranging from widowhood to economic redistribution. Perhaps the most significant and

overarching concern referenced by Harper were the growing cleavages between the long-time co-critical mass against white (male) domination. Put specifically, a convergence of the abolitionist and feminist movements emerged prior to the Civil War demanding equal political rights and citizenship. In this very speech, she reminded the country, and perhaps the world, of an enduring tension that emerged from the collective demands across differences: "We Are All Bound Together." Her response to the driver also embodies what Corinne T. Field has called Harper's "politics of intellectual maturity." According to Field, "Harper responded by warning Americans not to mistake formal education or public influence for intellectual capacity but instead to measure minds by a Christian standard of humility and faith" (Field 2015, 112). Rather than the pejorative argument used by slave owners and liberal philosophers of the eighteenth century that justified the practice of bondage on the grounds that Blacks were intellectually no more than children, Harper's frank responses, in this instance to the segregation on streetcars, is in fact a celebration "of the childlike dependence of all people" (122).

Her travels throughout the Southern states would reinforce this position, especially when thinking about how former slaves were building homes for themselves. Paula J. Giddings contextualizes Harper's observations as follows:

> she reported that the former slaves 'were beginning to get homes for themselves…and depositing money in the bank…. They have hundreds of homes in Kentucky.' The Freedmen's Bureau was redistributing land and providing low-interest loans for former slaves. It was overseeing labor contracts between Blacks and White employers. For a moment—and it was just a moment—it seemed that former slaves would be able to lead their lives like other Americans. But in the end such a life would not be possible. (Giddings 2009, 58)

What is apparent here is that Harper saw the freedpeople in the rural South, despite their humble living circumstances, as intellectual leaders of their day. It is with these stories that she continued to travel throughout the South and the North to educate the public about triumphs and struggles alike in hope of advancing the public opinion towards the passage of the Reconstruction

amendments. A recent rediscovered lecture by Harper on Reconstruction given in Philadelphia in 1867 shows how Harper powerfully lent her voice to these key tenants of the project of U.S. democratization after the Civil War (Gardner 2017).

In the end, Harper did make Philadelphia her home. She continued to use her poetry to honor the works of Black people in that city, including a poem dedicated to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the HAICP (Harper 1990a, 262–64). Both her and her daughter joined the ranks of the suffragist and temperance movements as well as the burgeoning peace movement. Her one and only full length novel, *Iola Leroy* was published in 1892: "Weaving her story from threads of fact and fiction, Harper wrote to correct the record on slavery and Reconstruction, to inspire African-Americans to be proud of their past and diligent in their work toward a greater future, and to persuade all Americans that a stronger sense of justice and a more Christlike humanity was essential to the peace and prosperity of the United States" (Foster 1993, 536). She is buried in Eden Cemetery just outside Philadelphia in Delaware County along with other prominent Black abolitionists and early civil rights activists including William Still, James Forten, and Octavius Cato.

Naming the streetcar platforms as "theaters of war," historian Judith Giesberg connects the forcible ejection of Black women from Philadelphia's streetcars, of which there were at least ten recorded in the *Christian Recorder* between 1862 to 1867, and their work "at relief societies or on their way to visit soldiers at city hospitals" (Giesberg 2009, 107). By bringing together the groundwork laid by Douglass in the arena of public health with Harper's defense of Black women's right to ride, I aim to underscore how the combination of their policy concerns with seemingly private affairs (i.e. health and physical mobility) were caste as essentially political issues during the early years of abolition-democracy beyond the narrative constraint of the Civil

War. Put differently, these women cultivated their political agency during the Reconstruction era beyond what Farrah Jasmine Griffin calls the "promise of protection" (2000, 34). Black men's political rhetoric against streetcar segregation collided with the nascent stages of the politics of respectability that constrained how Black women responded to the oppressive sexual ideology of the mid to late nineteenth century since the aim of such a strategy was the vindication of Black manhood (Giesberg 2009, 105–7). Rather than allow Black women to assert their own sexual agency, Black men's compliance with Victorian gender norms based on patriarchy and paternalism rewarded them with sole access to the dominant political sphere all the while relegating Black women's actions to perceived apolitical spheres—the home and community.

By centering public health concerns in the form of sexual education and defending access to public transit, Douglass and Harper took advantage of new technological advances that opened an alternative democratic horizon during the Reconstruction era. Thinking of them in the fashion of Jürgen Habermas's theory of the bourgeois public sphere (1991), streetcars are sites of democratic possibility - a space where people come together to bargain over the rules of government, vie for political power, and improve the quality of their lives. Of course, the physical contact of bodies is also a reality in public transit. As seen in the last chapter, both of these struggles emerged during a context where political propaganda against "amalgamation" (i.e. miscegenation) fanned the fears of sexual contact between Blacks and whites (Robinson 2012, 45–60). By emphasizing women's gender identity through reductionist lines like their sexual capacity for motherhood, Black women's vulnerability in transit and in the emerging healthcare system was heightened by these racial politics rather than neutralized them. By rethinking the Victorian sexual morality as opposed to conforming to the nascent politics of respectability, Harper, Douglass, and many others ruminated on the democratic potential of contact between classes, races, genders, and even

sexualities extending from the home into the public sphere and back again.

C. Prioritizing Education and Collective Knowledge

The third Black woman under consideration in this chapter took to heart the inscription by Du Bois at the outset of his discussion on "Founding of the Public School" in *BR*: "How the freedman yearned to learn and know, and with the guiding hand of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Northern schoolmarm, helped to establish the Public School in the South and taught his own teachers in the New England college transplanted to the black South" (Du Bois 1998, 637). Though Fanny Jackson Coppin would never teach in the South, she became the first Black woman to head one such school, ICY, which educated several Black teachers who would. Born a slave in Washington, D.C. in 1837, she was the daughter of Lucy Orr. Coppin's maternal grandfather, John Orr, purchased his freedom and many of his children's after establishing a wide clientele as a caterer and waiter in the city. In her autobiography, Coppin writes "for on account of my birth, my grandfather refused to buy my mother; and so I was left a slave in the District of Columbia, where I was born" (1913/1995, 10). According to one scholar, the rejection of that one child is put into stark relief: "she was the daughter of a slave woman and 'a Carolina Senator'" (Perkins 1993, 224). Between the ages of ten and twelve, Coppin's maternal aunt purchased her freedom. Due to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, she moved with another aunt to New Bedford, Massachusetts and later to Newport, Rhode Island. Clearly the women in her family were driven by a want to provide opportunities for Coppin, who was from the early ages blessed with intellectual talents. While living in the New England, she would secure employment as a domestic servant, but she was eager for education. From that desire, she would not only cultivate an appreciation for knowledge for herself but would come to understand the importance of teaching for the service of others like herself.

While in Newport, she worked in the home of aristocratic author George Henry Calvert, the great-grandson of Lord Baltimore who settled Maryland during the colonial era. In the spare moments allotted by her position, Coppin sought private tutorship, which she paid for out of her wages. Her aim was to attend the Rhode Island State Normal School. It was there that Coppin declared "my eyes were first opened on the subject of teaching" (1995, 11). Though she concluded her studies, became a certified teacher, and had a comfortable position in the Calvert house, "my life there was most happy," she yearned "to get an education and become a teacher to my people" (17). After learning that Oberlin College admitted both Black people and women alike while also providing the same curriculum as that of Harvard, she set her goal at being admitted first to the Ladies Department, a preparatory institution that "embraced 'ornamental' and 'female' education," with the eventual aim of completing a collegiate degree known as the "gentleman's course" (Perkins 1982, 181). She was admitted into the first in 1861, but within one year matriculated into the program for a bachelor of arts. Put simply, Coppin did not settle for an education in domestic sciences and ladylike mannerisms but rather pursued a liberal arts degree that focused on classical languages, mathematics, and persuasive writing.

While at Oberlin she began her lifelong commitment to teaching in what she came to understand as two schools – one being her institution of hire and the other being in the Black community (Collins 2000, 212). Her skills as a teacher were quickly put to the test when she was chosen as a student teacher of the preparatory department, "the first African-American to achieve such an honor" (Perkins 1993, 282). In 1863, she followed her own credo to "heed life's demands" by opening "an evening school for freedpeople who were migrating into Oberlin" as a result of the Civil War (282). It was this activity that gained her national attention as abolitionist and local papers alike chronicled her courses: "By the time Fanny Jackson graduated from the

College in 1865, … she was considered one of the most competent teachers and learned women of her time" (Perkins 1982, 182). That year, Coppin took a position at ICY in Philadelphia as the principal of the female department. Four years later she would become principle of the entire school. Teaching and administrating ICY from 1865 to 1902, Coppin would spearhead many initiatives from abolishing tuition so that poor Black students could enroll (184) to opening an industrial department after being inspired by the Centennial Exhibition in 1876 (Coppin 1995, 23). The second initiative, which she dubbed "an Industrial Crusade," was facilitated by two years of private study with "Dr. William Elder, who was a disciple of Mr. Henry C. Carey, the eminent writer on the doctrine of Protective Tariff" (27). Combining this study with astute observations of both the larger shifts in the political economy and the race relations in the city, Coppin once declared at a public meeting of city-wide educators that "in Philadelphia, the only place at the time where a colored boy could learn a trade, was in the House of Refuge, or the Penitentiary!" (23). The industrial department at ICY was ultimately realized in 1889 after a decade of fundraising, public advocacy, and journalistic campaigns by Coppin. Though limited in scope, it became one of the first vocational schools for Blacks in the U.S. In the early twentieth century, male leaders of the Black community would become politically entrenched over pedagogical preferences between a classical education in the form of liberal arts, as advocated by Du Bois, and a more vocational training, as advocated by Booker T. Washington. As a leading advocate of vocation training at the close of the Reconstruction era, "Coppin believed that Blacks should be prepared to meet the industrial challenges as the nation grew, [while] she remained committed to classical education" (Perkins 1982, 187).

Compassion, relinquishment of egoism, and self-help were among her pedagogical tools. Whether reminding graduates at ICY's 1877 commencement "that despite their education they

should respect those who had not been educated by books, but by the experience of life" or establishing a housing cooperative by renting a house next door to her own home "to accommodate [female] students from the South" (Perkins 1982, 186), Coppin emphasized individual growth as a result of communal support and collective empowerment. Amongst her other accomplishments in the Philadelphia Black community were helping to financially secure the *Christian Recorder*, one of the first Black periodicals in the country established by the A.M.E. Church, and serving on the Board of Managers of the HAICP for over thirty years. Late in her life she travelled with her husband, Levi Coppin, to South Africa as an A.M.E. missionary, but due to her illness they returned within one year. She died on January 21st of 1913. Her funeral at Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church was attended by thousands. After her burial in Merion Memorial Park located in Montgomery County just outside of Philadelphia, various memorial services were conducted in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Philadelphia. As an activist educator, Coppin sought to make a home of Philadelphia, not just for herself, but for newly freedpeoples migrating from the South to the city.

In her autobiography *Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching*, Coppin stressed how moral instruction in the home translated to public life: "Love to father and mother, sister and brother; love to home and country; love to animals" (1995, 59). She also emphasized good manners since they "will often take people where neither money nor education will take them" (64). Combining these quotes with her commitment to learning, Coppin clearly understood the democratic value of education, particularly public education, as something that is cultivated between the home and the public as a collective experience. Though education and morality are clearly central to the politics of respectability, I read Coppin's emphasis on breaking down barriers, particularly along the intersections of race, gender, and class, as part of the abolitionist

tradition and Black fugitivity. According to anthropologist Damien Sojoyner, the history of Black education is "rooted in a liberal tradition of social progress … [and] mired in a brutal system of punitive containment and curricular evisceration" (2017, 516). By championing that "black students should have a choice in the educational curricula they pursue" (Haley 1995, xvi), Coppin's life work and writings offer a different trajectory for thinking about the relationship between home, education, and democracy.

Unlike Harper and Coppin who were migrants, Gertrude Bustle Mossell always called Philadelphia her home. She was a member of one of the city's most prominent free Black families. Born on July 3, 1855 to Charles and Emily (Robinson) Bustill, her mother died when she was very young. Due to this loss, Grace Bustill Douglass, mother to Sarah Mapps Douglass and Mossell's great-aunt, would become important figures in her life. Though there is no written record of Mossell's participation in PFASS, the early feminist organization seems to have played an important role in her later life. She was educated in the city's Black public schools as well as ICY. At the age of sixteen she was directed towards journalism by Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, the editor of the *Christian Recorder*, after hearing her deliver an oration she wrote for her grammar school graduation ceremonies (Streitmatter 1993, 318–19). After graduating from ICY, she became a local teacher while writing part-time for two Black newspapers – the *Philadelphia Echo* and *Philadelphia Independent*. In 1883, she would give up her position as a teacher when she married Dr. Nathan F. Mossell, the first Black person to graduate from the University of Medical School. Over the course of their marriage, they had four children, two of which died in infancy. Throughout her marriage, however, she would increase her contributions to the growing print culture of the late nineteenth century, breaking boundaries along both gendered and race lines. Alongside her husband, they founded the Frederick Douglass Memorial

Hospital, "the first Northern hospital staffed entirely by blacks" (Streitmatter 1993, 320). She died there on January 21, 1948.

In his assessment of Mosell's life for the history of the discipline of communications, Rodger Streitmatter writes, "[s]ome 50 of her extant newspaper columns and articles … illuminate a journalist who served her newly emancipated readers not only as a chronicler of the issues and events of the day but also as a family advice columnist, a voice of morality, a civil rights activist, and a supporter of the expansion of women's rights" (1993, 318). Drawing together three separate pieces, one chapter from her first book *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* (1894) which documents the contributions of Black women to the social and political landscape of nineteenth-century U.S. and a sketch published in her column "Our Woman's Department" which appeared in the *New York Freeman* on March 6, 1886, Mossell develops a concept of home that simultaneously deviates from white conceptions of womanhood in so much that it troubles the strict public/private divide while also laying the groundwork for the politics of respectability.

In the chapter entitled "The Opposite Point of View" in *The Work of the Afro-American Woman*, Mossell critiques the centrality of domesticity not only to the construction of gender, but to political organization and the concept of the nation: "Home is undoubtedly the cornerstone of our beloved Republic. Deep-planted in the heart of civilized humanity is the desire for a resting place that may be called by this name, around which may cluster life-long memories" (Mossell 1908, 115). By emphasizing equal partnership in marriage, the development of women's minds, the simultaneous impacts of race and gender discrimination, and the civic life for both men and women, Mossell reframes home as not solely a resting place but a site to cultivate the kinds of reflective solidarity that "builds from ties created by dissent" that are necessarily embedded

interracial and multicultural societies as they aim to deepen democracy (Dean 1996, 29). Beyond this element, Mossell's book can be read as a contribution to a longer feminist tradition in Western political thought that ties back to Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies* in so much that it provides "readers with a reassuring message of divine justice … [by] refut[ing] the black women's reputed deficiency in personal character and moral values" (Wallinger 2009, 197).

The sketch published in the *Freeman* is entitled "A Boy's Estimate of His Mother's Work" (reprinted in Sterling 1997, 435). It is set up like a dialogue between a teacher and her young male student. The boy begins by describing his mother's everyday morning tasks: waking him up, building a fire, making breakfast, waking up the rest of the children and their father, and sending the children off to school. The teacher then asks about the wages that he and his father receive at their jobs: "I get $2 a week and father gets $2 a day." She then asks what her mother makes. Bewildered the boy responds: "Mother, why, she don't work for anybody." To which the teacher responds: "I thought you said she worked for all of you." He concludes: "Oh, yes, for us she does, but there aint no money in it." Given that in her column Mossell advocates for the women's suffrage, employment, and fair pay, it is apparent that this sketch is a social commentary on waged and non-waged labor. While at other times her column was dedicated to giving advice to Black women on how to keep a well-ordered home. Either way, in this vignette Mossell is clearly responding "to the industrial period's imagination and engineering of the gendered relationship between waged work and household labor" (Weeks 2011, 65).

By placing together Coppin and Mossell, I have brought together two venues which were prioritized in the efforts for racial uplift in the Reconstruction era and reinforced the heteronormative and middle-class aspirations underscoring the politics of respectability – education and journalism. We do not have to look farther than the subtitle of Mossell's column,

"promote true womanhood," or Coppin's emphasis on "good manners" to note that these women were concerned with the public perceptions of Black people across the nation. Recent scholars have stressed "we cannot only see respectability politics as a problematic mode of articulating class identity, though it certainly is that. It is also a complicated, contingent, and (rightfully) contested mode of articulating Black gender identity vis-à-vis the social resuscitation of Black women's sexual morality" (Cooper 2017, 22). By focusing on how both Coppin and Mossell presented a concept of home, my aim was to complicate and underscore the contingent elements of respectability in its nascent stages of development during Reconstruction.

D. Forging Democratic Welfare from the Undercommons

Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl (1861) is considered the most popular slave narrative written from the point of view of enslaved women in the U.S.; however, the contributions of its author, Harriet Brent Jacobs, to the Reconstruction efforts are often overlooked. As noted in chapter two, she is considered one "of the most celebrated fugitive slaves in American history" (Foner 2015a, 102). Born a slave in Edenton, Chowan County, North Carolina in 1813, Jacobs's upbringing diverts dramatically from the women previously explored. Both of her parents were "a light shade of brownish yellow, and were termed mulattoes" (Jacobs 1861, 11). Her mother, Delilah, and father, Daniel, died when Jacobs was six and fourteen years old respectively. As a result, her maternal grandmother, Molly Horniblow, would become a source of refuge, support, and nourishment throughout Jacobs's life. Molly was a former slave, but as a result of combined circumstances, local allies, and her own hard work, she emancipated herself, bought a house in Edenton, and built a small but sustaining business as a baker (Yellin 2004, 21–22). It is in that house where Jacobs hid for seven years starting in 1835. She hid there to not only escape the sexual violence of her master, Dr. James Norcom, but to keep near to her two children that she bore from

trying to free herself from Norcom's desire by having a sexual relationship with another white man, Samuel Tredwell Sawyer. She confined herself to a crawlspace above her grandmother's storeroom before heading north in 1842: first to Philadelphia; then to New York City to reunite with her daughter (Louisa Matilda Jacobs); next to Boston where she was ultimately reunited with her brother (John S. Jacobs) and son (Joseph Jacobs); temporarily to Rochester where she formally joined the abolitionist efforts alongside her brother; and ultimately ventured to Alexandria, Virginia at the height of the Civil War accompanied by her daughter after their had finally achieved legal emancipation. They choose to work amongst the Black poor whose transitions out of slavery mirrored their own and included fugitivity, contraband status, freedpeople, or a combination of these signifiers. Jacobs spent the Civil War years recruiting members for the USCT, redistributing aid in refugee camps, and building educational, medical, and convalescent homes for Black people. Though Jacobs's singular path out of slavery took her to Philadelphia only temporarily, the connections she made there, including the Black women connected to PFASS (Yellin 2004, 67), were never entirely broken. According to Hazel Carby, "Jacobs gained her public voice and access to a sympathetic audience through the production of a slave narrative, a cultural form of expression supported and encouraged by the abolitionist movement" (1987, 61). Yet it was the ground-level connections that she built in and through the greater abolitionist community that allows readers to appreciate her contributions to the Reconstruction efforts as a fundraiser, institution builder, and public speaker.

The first people connected to the abolitionist movement that Jacobs met were in Philadelphia. By landing first into the largest free black population in the country, she instantly encountered members of the Vigilante Committee. After spending time discussing their activities, Jacobs got her first education of the monetary hurdles associated with helping Black people out of slavery:

"It cost the committee about $3.00 to move each refugee through Philadelphia, and its members were constantly raising money – from sympathizers, from special collections at churches like Bethel and the First Presbyterian below Shippen, from public celebrations commemorating the August First abolition of slavery in the West Indies, even from a 'soiree'" (Yellin 2004, 66). This information did not leave her in 1862 when she was compelled by the reports of the living conditions of fugitive slaves in and around Washington, D.C. After raising funds from her white and Black abolitionist networks, she "travelled to Alexandria, Virginia, in 1863 to bring this aid to the freedpeople. She distributed food and clothing, dispensed medical care, and advocated on the freedpeople's behalf among Northern white abolitionists who exercised power in the freedmen's aid societies" (Harper 2004, 224). Though there is no documented connection between Jacobs's activism and the WAAP, however, historian Carol Faulkner notes that in her capacity as an agent in the freedmen's relief efforts in Alexandria, Jacobs "distribute[d] clothing and other items" sent by anti-slavery societies throughout the north, including items sent from Philadelphia (Faulkner 2004, 23–25). Throughout this work, Jacobs would continue to write her northern contacts to solicit funds, including her ties to the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Quakers in New York City, friends in Philadelphia (Perry 2008, 599), and abolitionists in London (Yellin 2004, 212–17).

The funds that she raised were, to use the language developed by Jean Fagan Yellin, integral to Jacobs's "public demands for freedom and homes" (Yellin 2004, 155). By homes, Jacobs included the public spaces of schools, hospitals, orphanages, and elderly residencies as well as family domiciles largely associated with private life. One of the first homes that she established, with the help of her daughter Louisa, was the Jacobs Free School in Alexandria. The intention of the school was to serve the poor refugee Black children in the camps surrounding the capital "under

black leadership" (176). Given that there was a history of Black schools in the area that were disrupted by the retrocession of Alexandria from the District of Columbia to Virginia, the soil appeared ripe for Black desire for education at the hands of Black educators who have, in Jacobs's words,

> sympathies … closely linked with our oppressed race. These people, born and bred in slavery, had always been so accustomed to look upon the white race as their natural superiors and masters, that we had some doubts whether they could easily throw off the habit; and the fact of their giving preference to colored teachers, as managers of the establishment, seemed to us to indicate that even their brief possession of freedom had begun to inspire them with respect for their race. (cited in Yellin 2004, 177)

After a successful struggle to get the school built and managed by Black educators, praise from abolitionist circles soon followed its opening in January 1864, whether from Samuel J. May Jr.'s published report of his visit in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (183) to announcements of the student's eagerness to learn captured in a photograph described in *The Freedman's Record* (185). Though Jacobs was invested in helping Black people build institutions for themselves, like this school, her everyday abolitionism took her "beyond the battlefield of institutions" (Syedullah 2012, 119).

After the war, Jacobs and Louisa moved to Savannah, Georgia with a mission from the Friends of New York City to help with and report on the building of educational and medical facilities for freedpeople as part of the Reconstruction efforts overseen by the Freedmen's Bureau. Before landing in the city, the tensions between the aims of the Bureau to redistribute land to those formally enslaved and President Andrew Johnson's sights to restore land to the southern planters that abandoned them during the war resulted in an influx of Black farmers into the city (Yellin 2004, 193). With Jacobs's experience as a nurse in the camps and at the L'Ouverture Hospital in Alexandria and Louisa's experience as a teacher, they quickly became interested in "the erection of an Orphan Asylum and Old Folks' Home" (194). Jacobs reached out again to her abolitionist

networks to raise funds for the project, she even went so far to take a trip with her daughter to London, England to secure funds. In an appeal published in that city's newspaper, *The Anti-Slavery Record*, Jacobs writes,

> My object in visiting England is to solicit aid in the erection of an Orphan Asylum in connection with a home for the destitute among the aged freedmen of Savannah, Georgia. … As the spirit of Slavery is not exorcised yet, the child, in many instances, is cruelly treated. It is our earnest desire to do something for this class of children; to give them a shelter surrounded by some home influences, and instruction that shall fit them for usefulness, and, when apprenticed, the right of an oversight. … The old freed man and the old freed woman have obtained their's after a long weary march through a desolate way. If some peace and light can be shed on the steps so near the grave, it were but human kindness and Christian love. (Jacobs 1868)

Though they raised funds for the project amongst the British supporters of Garrisonian abolitionism, the building was forestalled due to the increasing violence of the Ku Klux Klan in the South combined with the lack of local support who were more interested in former slaves cultivating an industrious work ethic as opposed to the young receiving education or the old living out their lives in convalescence after the extreme labor conditions they faced under slavery (Yellin 2004, 194).

Eventually, Jacobs and Louisa retreated to the north. Louisa would join the efforts of the American Equal Rights Association as a public speaker, sharing the platform with "the black activist-poet Frances Ellen Watkins Harper" (202). Jacobs would take one final trip to the south, to Edenton, "to see whether she could still live in her old home, but this visit convinced her that she could not" (211). Jacobs would settle for a time in Cambridge, Massachusetts, running a boardinghouse for Harvard students and faculty and joining the burgeoning women's club movement (217). She would be compelled to move again, closer to a Black community that she felt lacking in Boston, when she became dismayed by the political events culminating in 1876: "the closing of the Freedmen's Bureau, the bankruptcy of the Freedmen's Bank, and the

withdrawal of federal troops from the South" (227). In 1877, she and Louisa would move to Washington, D.C. to continue working with poor and destitute freedpeople in and around the capital. It is in that city where she died in 1897.

Entering and exiting various states of confinement at each stage of her life, whether in the "Anne Frank-like" hideaway at her grandmother's home in Edenton (Yellin 2004, xvi), as a domestic servant in New York City questioning "the material limits of modern liberal freedom" (Syedullah 2014, 34), as a bookshop assistant in Rochester where she made her first connections with what she refers to as "antislavery people" (Sterling 1997, 75), and as an advocate of freedmen and freedwomen as they came face to face with the Union's army in the camps surrounding D.C. (Faulkner 2004, 25), Jacobs negotiated her transitions not out of slavery and into capitalism as some scholars have suggested (Cope 2004). Her concept of home from the rejection of the "home" offered her by her master, as part of his desire to make her his concubine (Jacobs 1861, 127–28), while she was a slave to her criticisms of the spirit of slavery that accompanied the Reconstruction efforts in the camps where "the child, in many instances, is surely treated... penniless, homeless, they wander about dependent on charity for bread and shelter" (214-215), is perhaps one of the most powerful contributions to abolition-democracy. It pointed towards a yearning for a social security net beyond the trajectory of white skin privilege (Williams 2003) and a politics of disgust (Hancock 2013) which became inscribed into the official U.S. welfare state. Her attention to motherhood, both her own and the desire of other Black women to maintain proximity or reunite with their children, highlighted how Black women "gave up their freedom for the sake of their children" (Collins 2000, 197–98), employed the "rhetorical trope of sass in order to survive" (Pough 2015, 49), and used "the material circumstances of her life to critique conventional standards of female behavior and to question their relevance and applicability to the experience of

black women" (Carby 1987, 47). Jacobs's contributions to Black American thought in the form of a politics of dignity finds her intellectual and political legacy as providing a roadmap from slavery, through capitalism in the form of a critique of the public/private divide, and towards democracy.

As for her contributions to the concept of home, Lee Quinby sums up Jacobs thinking on this subject well:

> In *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) Jacobs exposes the hidden interior of Southern plantation homes, which despite their courtly and gracious facades were sites of physical and verbal abuse and hypocrisy. Her discussion of the plantation mistress illustrates the ways that wealthy white Southern femininity began to incorporate the deployment of sexuality through the hysterization of white women's bodies. As Jacobs indicates, black women, whether slave or free, were prohibited to participate in that process but were judged by its standards. By representing the attic imprisonment of her persona Linda Brent within the space of her grandmother's house – the home of a free woman – she dramatizes how the system of slavery violated the ostensibly free homes of Southern blacks as well. (Quinby 1994, 145–46)

Quinby captures in her synopsis of Jacobs's narrative the very truth that the conceptualization of home leading up to the Civil War and dominating its aftermath was one marked by white conceptions of freedom in the form of dominating non-whites, reinforcing proper gender roles in the pursuit of maintaining white purity of which white women needed protecting from Black freemen, and objectifying Black people's bodies whether as objects for white sexual gratification or white greed in the form of the emerging prison-industrial-complex. Put simply, the targeting of Black homes through the various mechanisms from the Fugitive Slave Act to sexual harassment and state sanctioned violence meant that the concept of home itself was where "white democracy," to use Joel Olson's term (2004), cultivated its political capital.

The last Black woman that I aim to recover for her contributions to the Reconstruction efforts and the relationship the concept of home has to U.S. democratic theory is mentioned only once by Du Bois in *BR* and merely as a speculation when he reconsiders "the propaganda of history" (1998, 715) but is perhaps the most publically known Black female abolitionist in U.S. history. I am

referring to the iconic figure named "Moses" for her efforts in freeing and comforting the formerly enslaved, Harriet Tubman. Born around 1821 in Dorchester County, Maryland as Araminta Ross to enslaved parents, Benjamin and Harriet Ross, Tubman spent her early life on a plantation where she performed a variety of domestic chores and engaged in field labor. At a young age, probably in her early teens, Tubman "was partially disabled by a head injury … when an overseer threw a heavy weight at another slave. The disability was described by her biographers as 'somnolence,' or the tendency to fall briefly into a deep sleep in the midst of daily activities" (Humez 2003, 14). She would marry a free Black man named John Tubman in 1844, but when she escaped from slavery in 1849 compelled by a mounting anxiety that she, like some of her siblings, would be sold into the Deep South he would not follow her North. Her escape took her to Philadelphia, where she found work doing domestic and service labor in houses and hotels to sustain herself and to contribute to the early emancipation efforts. While in Philadelphia, she joined the efforts of the Philadelphia Vigilante Committee under the guidance of William Still, but eager to free her family she extended the operation of the Underground Railroad along an offensive strategy. Instead of waiting for fugitives to come to her as she resided with Still, she chose to return to the South at least fifteen times between 1851 and 1860 to personally rescue more than two hundred slaves, including her aged parents for whom she established a home for in Auburn, New York. Operating between Canada, Philadelphia, and various parts of the South, her activities in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 resulted in a bounty of $40,000 publicized by Maryland planters for her capture (Hine 1993, 1177). For these efforts, she is remembered as the most famous "conductor" of the Underground Railroad (Okur 1995, 546). Her extensive knowledge of Southern terrain (Tate 2003, 211) and compassion for the enslaved (Crewe 2007) would later be used in various positions as a vocational educator of newly freed Black women in the South, soldier in the

Union Army, and caretaker for aged freedpeoples in the North.

Sponsored by the New England Freedman's Aid Society, a corollary of the WAAP, Tubman travelled to South Carolina in 1862 as part of a relief campaign spurned by the Union Army's occupation of the Sea Islands where she was employed as a teacher of "domestic arts" (Clinton 2004, 152). Noting her activities as "a hallmark of her role as a peacemaker and servant leader," social work scholars have noted that Tubman invested her wages from this position "to build a wash house to assist the [freed] women in supporting themselves" as skilled laundresses (Crewe 2007, 231). Just like the money she earned working as a cook and maid in the hotels of Philadelphia which she used in her efforts to liberate her family members and other slaves (Humez 2003, 22), Tubman redirected her wages in an atypically anti-capitalist fashion to ameliorate the lives of those who transitioned from the feudalistic institution of slavery to freedom in an era that would become overly defined by industrialized labor. As part of her understanding of "domestic science," she encouraged them to cultivate self-sufficiency, which she exemplified by relying on money she earned by selling homemade pies and root beer to the soldiers encamped nearby Port Royal in lieu of continuing to take a wage from the Freedman's Aid Society (Harper 2004, 380).

As already mentioned, Tubman cultivated a relationship with the USCT while in the city of Philadelphia; however, it was during her time aiding the Port Royal Experiment that she would earn another distinction "as the only woman in American military history to plan and execute an armed expedition against enemy forces" (Hine 1993, 1179). In early June of 1863, she was asked by Major General David Hunter to accompany several gunboats up the Combahee River with a mission "to destroy railroads and bridges and cut off supplies to the Confederate soldiers in the area" (Eggleston 2003, 123). After being appointed commander of the mission, per her request, Tubman joined the effort, setting sail with Colonel James Montgomery who lead the USCT 2nd

South Carolina Volunteers which consisted of one hundred and fifty Black soldiers. During this mission, Tubman and the soldiers liberated almost eight hundred slaves who were left along the banks of the river as their owners fled with the Confederate troops. Though Tubman clearly served as a soldier, she would never succeed in obtaining a pension for her efforts; rather "after decades of effort, several women's organizations finally managed to secure her a federal pension as the widow of the Civil War veteran Nelson Davis, her second husband who died in 1888" (Harper 2004, 382). Given that Tubman stepped outside the assigned gender roles, more than likely the nascent politics of respectability contributed to this denial as her service to the Union Army were reported as "informal" (Crewe 2007, 231).

After the war, Tubman returned to Auburn, New York to care for her elderly parents, a concern she regularly voiced in her correspondence (Sterling 1997, 260). It was here where she would dedicate the rest of her life to helping the many formerly enslaved elderly with greatly subsidized housing where they could live out their years after decades devoted to hard and payless labor. Historian Paula J. Giddings connects all her previous experiences as leading up to this goal: "The woman who personally led three hundred slaves to freedom, who was a spy and 'general' for the Union, spent her final years trying to establish the John Brown Home for the Aged. When the government refused to give her a full veteran's pension, the former general sold fruit and had a biography published to raise money for the institution" (2009, 73). In 1886, she also used her organizing skills to secure funding to purchase a 25-acre farm adjacent to the home in Auburn in order to extend the reach of project and make it self-sustaining. Sandra Edmonds Crewe describes Tubman's drive to realize this home, like the self-help housing project of the HAICP which proceeded it and the unrealized home imagined by Jacobs, came from the Black fugitivity that inspired her liberation philosophy: "Tubman wanted to make meaningful the promise of freedom

by caring for those unable to care for themselves" (Crewe 2007, 237). Two years prior to her death in March of 1913, Tubman herself became a resident of the home she built.

Though written by Frederick Douglass in 1868, the following letter that he sent to Tubman could be said to sum up her entire relationship to Reconstruction and her intellectual contributions to the theory of abolition-democracy according to the official record:

> Most that I [Douglass] have done and suffered in the service of our cause [abolition] has been in public, and I have received much encouragement at every step of the way. You [Tubman], on the other hand, have labored in a private way. I have wrought in the day - you in the night. I have had the applause of the crowd and the satisfaction that comes of being approved by the multitude, while the most that you have done has been witnessed by a few trembling, scared, and foot-sore bondmen and women, whom you have led out of the house of bondage, and whose heartfelt 'God bless you' has been your only reward. The midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witness of your devotion to freedom" (cited in Hine 1993, 1180).

Here Douglass denotes the gender difference that subscribes his efforts as public and thus political, while Tubman's are relegated to the shadows of the private sphere. His efforts are "applauded" by the "multitude," while hers are "witnessed" by a "few." Over the course of her time as a conductor on the Underground Railroad, as a soldier in the Union Army, and as a caretaker establishing a home for the elderly amongst the former slave population, Tubman personally delivered to freedom over one thousand people. By reinforcing the public/private distinction in his writing, Douglass only reinforces the false binary that corresponds to their gender difference. His contributions to abolition have found their way into the cannon of political theory, whereas hers are barely mentioned.

Between Jacobs and Tubman, two Black female fugitive slaves who made their way to and then beyond Philadelphia to establish themselves as organizers in a variety of the political institutions at the heart of Reconstruction, a conception of home emerges that re-animates the history of the U.S. welfare state from the position of the undercommons as opposed to the assumptions embedded in individualism and couched in paternalism. Undercommons is a term

developed by Stephano Harney and Fred Moten to capture Black, queer, poor, and indigenous people's relationship to and rejection of neoliberal institutionalization typically articulated along the lines of "debt." In their introduction to *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*, Jack Halberstam describes the undercommons, and those that inhabit it, as a collective refusal: "we cannot be satisfied with the recognition and acknowledgement generated by the very system that denies a) that anything was ever broken and b) that we deserved to be the broken part; so we refuse to ask for recognition and instead we want to take apart, dismantle, tear down the structure that, right now, limits our ability to find each other, to see beyond it and to access the places that we know lie outside its walls" (Halberstam 2013, 6). Taking this refusal, I deploy the term undercommons as an epistemological frame from which to relocate and reassemble the trajectory of abolition-democracy. Since democracy "seems destined to be a moment rather than a form" (Wolin 1969, 19), the concept of the undercommons makes it possible to bring those moments together in order to theorize what it means separate from the trappings of (neo)liberalism, which undercuts the democratic goal of collectivity with its insistence on individual choice and responsibility, and capitalism, which undermines the democratic goal of political equality by insisting on prioritizing wealth accumulation over the sustainability of and for human lives.

Political scientist Linda Faye Williams traces the origins of U.S. welfare policy to two provisions that came out of the Civil War: the Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil War veterans pension program. She notes that while neither "were fully consonant with the individualism at the heart of the American ethos" that ideology made possible the wholesale abandonment of the one and universal adoption of the other (Williams 2003, 65). Put simply, the pensions were made available to widows of the Union Army as a population of "deserving" poor, since their husbands died in service to the state, whereas "the practice of providing food, clothing, and other necessities

to the destitute served as a key point of contention among Bureau officials and supporters and critics alike. Some feared the 'pauperizing' effects of these handouts" (38). The fear of cultivating fiscal dependency ran counter to the tenants of industrial thrift and economic speculation which drove the political, economic, and social agenda of the late nineteenth century. According to Williams, "as whites prospered disproportionately through the Civil War veterans' pensions, blacks were forced back into an economic position in many ways like slavery in the aftermath of the Bureau's demise" (67). Political theorist Ange-Marie Hancock further explains how the vilification of Black women on welfare corresponded to two organizing dimensions – hyperfertility and laziness. Both corresponded to transgressions of Victorian womanhood, which became applied to Black women almost immediately after emancipation (Hancock 2004, 25–29). By returning to and combining the contributions made by Jacobs and Tubman as they centered women, children, and the elderly in their efforts to the national project of Reconstruction, I read their contributions to the history of the struggle for democratic welfare as a replication of the kind of world fought for by the proletariat women against the feudal system and capital enclosure. Acts of fugitivity from institutionalized enslavement and beyond the trappings of respectability are realized through the use of their own bodies (ex. Jacobs as unmarried mother) and the natural environment around them (ex. Tubman as underground conductor and USCT soldier), which ultimately informed their conception of home as one extending from the undercommons. They rejected the Victorian cult of domesticity through their political activities of rescuing slaves and redirecting resources like food and shelter to non-biological kin, both of which meant the expropriation of capital from its tendency towards accumulation by two distinct but also similar patriarchal institutions whose roots can be found in institutionalization of capitalism – the plantation and the nuclear household.

E. Toward a Black Feminist Political Theory of Reconstruction

By re-introducing these Black women's voices (and silences) to the field of political theory, I aim to intimate the significance of the concept of home for democratic theory that emerges from their interactions throughout the urban landscape against the figuration of Black women in the city during the late nineteenth century. As stated in the introduction of this project, political theory is intimately connected and indebted to the field of intellectual history. Beyond two recent edited collections (Bay et al. 2015; Waters and Conaway 2007), four monographs stand out in the field of Black women's intellectual history – Paula J. Giddings' *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (1984/2009), Hazel V. Carby's *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (1987), Patricia Hill Collins' *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990/2000), and Brittney C. Cooper's *Beyond Respectability: The Intellectual Thought of Race Women* (2017). I rely on their insights throughout this chapter since all four explore how Black women in the U.S. developed their own social and political thought informed by their embodied positions vis-à-vis race, class, sexuality, and gender.

I also aim to extend the analysis present in each through the re-centering of Reconstruction as a key political moment in the movement for abolition-democracy. Three of these texts begin their analysis in the 1890s to trace the development of such a distinct epistemology. Cooper critically reassesses Black women's intellectual investment in the politics of respectability by treating the National Association of Colored Women, established in 1896, as "a school of social thought" (Cooper 2017, 17). Giddings starts with a traumatic event shared by two Black female leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – Ida B. Wells and Mary Church Terrell – that occurred in Memphis in 1892 to frame her assessment of how singular Black women with different

life trajectories not only share the social conditions of a society built on the stereotyping of Black women informed by colonial patriarchy and white supremacy, but that in their collective struggle against those conditions they developed effective strategies for social and political reform (Giddings 2009, 31). Carby frames an analysis of the late nineteenth century idea of womanhood by exploring the literary contributions produced by members of the Black female cohort who attended the World's Congress of Representative Women in 1893, which was assembled as part of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Carby 1987, 3).

Both Giddings and Carby start in the 1890s and then go back in time. Giddings returns to slavery and settler-colonialism and traces through the abolition and Reconstruction eras. Carby returns specifically to texts published by Black women in the 1850s leading up to emancipation in order to explore "how an ideology that excluded black women from the category 'women' affected the ways in which they wrote and addressed an audience" (Carby 1987, 40). Out of the four monographs, Collins diverts from the pattern of starting her analysis in the post-Reconstruction period by opening with the words of Black female abolitionist Maria Stewart from the 1830s (Collins 2000, 1); however, unlike Giddings and Carby, she seems to skip over Reconstruction as a site of exploration in the genealogy of Black women's intellectual contributions to the interlocking mechanisms of race, gender, sexuality, and class. In this section, I provided short biographies for six women connected to the city of Philadelphia, who all relate, in some way, to PFASS. Collectively, their lifespans traversed over 140 years, but by highlighting their activities and intellectual contributions made between 1850 and 1880 resituates their contributions not only to the city of Philadelphia, but also the national democratic project known as Reconstruction.

As stated in the introduction, returning to the Reconstruction era is important because of its intellectual centrality to the emergence of American-style political science as a discipline;

however, the argument that I have been making is that the archives of Reconstruction, particularly those that have been overlooked like the contributions of Black women, provides abolition-democratic thinkers with a historical trajectory of another American. As Angela Davis reminds us: "What many of us used to call the 'Other America,' the America defended from Harriet Tubman and John Brown, from Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, and Cesar Chavez, and Joe Hill, and the Haymarket martyrs, the America that historically experienced slavery and colonization and economic exploitation, that Invisible America is finally the America that can potentially provide the leadership we need during these difficult times" (Davis 2012, 181). This is the decolonial tradition that can be tapped by abolitionist and decolonial scholars alike. By engaging in a decolonial reading of the U.S., not only can democratic theorists move beyond the trappings of U.S. exceptionalism, which is a concern laid out by Tony Affigne in his assessment of the history of discipline of U.S. political science, but will come to understand "the agents of decolonization as the commoners, and decolonization as the gaining of global commons, [and] we will gain a clearer sense of when we were colonized, who colonized us, and how to decolonize ourselves and our relations" (Sharma & Wright 2008, 133). With this in mind, the last chapter turns to an event in Philadelphia at the end of the Reconstruction period that historian Robert Rydell (1984) reads as a site from which the U.S. "visions for empire" began – the Centennial World's Fair of 1876. Before I enter that site, however, I first engage a close reading of Toni Morrison's novel, *Beloved.* Drawing from insights made by cultural theorist Roderick Ferguson, situating a novel set in the Reconstruction era alongside the political history and theory of Reconstruction as offered by Du Bois and complicated by my own recovery of Black feminist political contributions to that era illuminates the epistemological depth of Reconstruction for political science as a whole since it "produced dialogical relations that both

exceeded the formal parameters of its interlocutors and confused the distinction between factual and fictive enterprises" (Ferguson 2004, 27).

V. Chapter 4 -- Home/Commons: (Re)Constructing the American Democratic Imaginary through Narrative and Literature

In her short essay entitled "Home," Toni Morrison uses the title word to think critically about the desire for a "post-racial" America:

> I prefer to think of a-world-in-which-race-does-not-matter as something other than a theme park, or a failed and always-failing dream, or as the father's house of many rooms. I am thinking of it as home. 'Home' seems a suitable term because, first, it lets me make a radical distinction between the metaphor of house and the metaphor of home and helps me clarify my thoughts on racial construction. Second, the term domesticates the racial project, moves the job of unmattering race away from pathetic yearning and futile desire; away from an impossible future or an irretrievable and probably nonexistent Eden to a manageable, doable, modern human activity. Third, because eliminating the potency of racist constructs in language is the work I can do. I can't wait for the ultimate liberation theory to imagine its practice and do its work. (1998, 3–4)

Commonly understood as a space where the heart resides or where a person is most understood, the home is rarely posited as a site for the extension of anti-racist policy. In a liberal democracy where multiculturalism is typically praised, the attempts to diminish inequality and discrimination are under the purview of public policy. By public policy, I am referring to regulations that can be aimed at public actions and public spaces. The home is typically sanctioned as outside this realm of influence since it has its own regulatory unit within it – the family. Given that both the family and race permeate and then expand the home, Morrison suggests that the home has a political function.

According to political theorist Kennen Ferguson, the family has a dichotomous political function: it provides a "conceptual anchoring of our interpersonal connections" and an "emotional locus of our affective intensities" (2012, 7). Race and other social constructs like gender and sexuality inform both sides of this political function and as a result become constitutive elements, if though at times invisible, elements of home life. As such, the home, in a

liberal democracy, functions as a space where racism, sexism, and homomisia[25] are tolerated by the state and sometimes promoted by its occupants (i.e. the family). In liberal interpretations of democratic theory, the family provides key necessities for society such as reproductive labor in the form of caretaking and human development, but given the idea of the state is seen to be "neutral on citizens' conceptions of the good life" (Eichner 2010, 25), the family, and thus the home, remains largely outside the realm of regulation along with other voluntary organizations like churches or private schools. Radical democratic theorists differ from liberal ones on this point. They understand that the family is not wholly voluntary. Put simply, you do not get to choose which family you are born into. Radical interpretations of democratic theory "emphasize the numerous social relations in which situations of domination exist that must be challenged if the principles of liberty and equality are to apply" (Mouffe 1993, 84). Returning to liberal thought, the family remains voluntary only in a negative sense. One may choose to disassociate from one's family, or certain family members, under conditions such as damage to one's health, all mental and physical. Such an action would fulfill the liberal side of the equation, but what are the ramifications for our understanding of democracy? Of course, in quitting one's home, other risks are likely to occur especially regarding socio-economic and even emotional wellbeing. I want to suggest that in Morrison's conception of home as she deploys it to serve the purpose of an anti-racist agenda, rather than a-racial one (i.e. color-blind), lies an alternative horizon for American democratic theory.

For anti-racist activists, the home can serve as a site of resistance to a larger culture of racism that dominates the world outside its walls. In the quote above, Morrison is seemingly drawing on

[25] Homomisia is the noun formation of the term homomisic – hatred of gays or homosexuals. This is a term that psychologist Robert Epstein (2003) develops as a corrective to the misnomer of "homophobic" – fear of gays or homosexuals.

anti-racist practice of home-building, but in suggesting that we think of the state (i.e. "a-world-in-which-race-does-not-matter") through the concept of home, she moves beyond the public/private distinction at the heart of liberal democratic thought. Home-building and state-building are already part and parcel for the history of political thought given that many authors within that literature "posit the family as the central model for political order and disorder" (Ferguson 2012, 13). This may be the starting point for which democratic theorists who are stepping away from the individualist centricity of liberal thought to begin understanding the state and the home as intrinsically intertwined. Nationalist theories that refer to a country as a citizen's "homeland" already posit such a connection. Assuming there is a political relationship between the home as residence and the home as nation, given that the nation is a political entity par excellence and the above delineation that suggests that one's home serves a political function, does a certain conception of home translate into a certain conception of nationhood?

Let me return to Morrison's conception of home laid out in the preceding quote. Distinct from building a structure, which can be done by a singular person – not accounting for the labor expelled to produce construction materials (i.e. lumber, nails, etc.) – Morrison suggests that a home cannot emerge from the efforts of only one person. It is collective as opposed to individual. Furthermore, Morrison evokes an ontological shift in our understanding of race when she distinguishes home from house. A house is a walled structure and if used as the foundation for imagining a civil society may lead to developing other structures, like a city or a nation, with walls in either their physical or legal form. Such walled structures evoke mentalities of isolation and fortification, which reinforce rather than undo racial hierarchies both in the mind and then in practice. The metaphor of home seeks to evoke a decidedly different configuration, one that is domesticated. She wants us to think about a society beyond the trappings of racial subordination

by attending to how people discuss and engage in the here and now as opposed to a grandiose mythical narrative most commonly associated with the nation and nationalism.

This chapter aims to consider a democratic imaginary extending from the everyday struggles of Black women during the radical efforts of Reconstruction before the nation turned to a largely post-slavery, and perhaps post-racial, narrative entrenched in the settler colonial ideology of nativism that was embodied in the expositions of the Centennial World's Fair held in Philadelphia in 1876, which is the subject of analysis in the next chapter. Morrison's celebrated novel, *Beloved* (1987/2004), provides its readers with a sense of Black women's attempts to find, build, and maintain a home, and homes, in the U.S. in the years spanning the height of the movement for the abolition of slavery and the foreclosure of the Reconstruction efforts that Du Bois dubbed "abolition democracy." Here, it will serve as the main text for analysis. Though it sits outside the historical archive of Reconstruction, being published in the late twentieth century, the contents of the novel were inspired by those very archives and the true-life stories of Black women who lived during the nation's transition out of slavery. *Beloved* is a fictitious account inspired by the real-life story of a fugitive slave woman named Margaret Garner (Goulimari 2012, 81). Garner killed her own child as slave catchers supported by the U.S. Marshals under the auspices of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act attempted their recapture. By recasting the true story of Garner, Morrison accounts for the "lived experience of contradiction in a way that preserves and aestheticizes the dislocation without resolving it" (Bosteels et al. 1995, 112). Du Bois characterizes the emergence of the U.S. Civil War as a result of "the democratic contradiction of making human labor real estate" (Du Bois 1998, 237). Reconstruction appears as a setting filled by the embodied experience of the attempt to right that contradiction by those who were directly affected by it (i.e. slaves) and those who benefited from

an alliance "with those who would restore slavery under another name" (322). Du Bois names these people as white masses who "received a low wage, [but] were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white" (700). As a work of political science, *BR* shows that the history of emancipation is not necessarily a history of democratic freedom for both Blacks and the poor white majority, but largely absent from this analysis is the everyday experience of Reconstruction's transition out of slavery as experienced by Black women. Given that Black women are absent from the political history due to their status as women and thus apolitical agents, historically informed literary narrative serve as a site to explore to fill said absence.

Using the genre of magical realism, Morrison refuses to depict a history out of captivity, which itself is the history of the U.S. during and beyond Reconstruction, as an uncomplicated, escapist fiction. When applied to settings defined by histories of violence or political "scars," "magical realism is a tender suture that enables the wounded to look forward to a different future while remembering the painful distress of the past" (Bosteels et al. 1995, 129). Though commonly serving as the central theme of the genre, the larger sociopolitical context is not the principle manifestation of *Beloved*. With this said, I agree with George Shulman (1996) that the book serves as a medium through which to recast American political culture and democratic theory. The argument presented here proceeds from the position that the concept of home becomes the linguistic landscape for such an undertaking since it serves as a central analytic for how a nation is imagined (Anderson 2006) as well as the initial political site that compelled both the women's rights and abolitionist movements (Pierson 2003).

Keeping in step with former chapters where the political economy remains a central analytic to rethinking Reconstruction, Morrison's novel has also been instrumental to understanding the

U.S. economy, particularly its reliance on slavery, as a sexual economy. Legal theorist and Marxist feminist Adrienne Davis coined this term. She calls *Beloved* "a story about a black woman who is thoroughly brutalized and haunted by the sexual economy of slavery" (Adrienne Davis 2009, 233). In her understanding of sexual economy, Adrienne Davis alludes to the often-neglected facts and legacies of the organization of the economy under slavery: that it "drew distinctions on the basis of sex as well as race"; that "'masculine' and 'feminine' mean different things in different races, classes, and ethnicities"; and, that by understanding the economy of slavery, and perhaps one built on its extensions, as sexual "challenges the way we divide the intimate from the economic" (231). Shifts in the economy from house made goods to mass market consumption of such goods, a shift that saw a stark turning point during Reconstruction, created the material conditions for such a challenge; however, as seen in chapter two, the political discourse of the era tended to reinforce overlapping gendered and racial hierarchies in the marketing of goods and services as they appeared to lose their material potency in an industrial landscape. The establishment of *de jure* racial and the continuation of *de facto* gender discrimination across public (i.e. exclusion from political rights) and private (i.e. exclusion from market and job opportunities) reinforced a democracy in American that is not only white (Olson 2004), but also masculinist and patriarchal, so that capital interests could maintain gross wealth disparities along racial and gendered cleavages.

Beloved has captured many whose scholarly efforts are aimed at understanding the concepts of freedom, sacrifice, and guilt as well as the effect that sexual violence plays out in political psychology. The trend in this literature is to center Sethe's gendered experience as a mother (Murphy & Anderson 2005; O'Reilly 2004; Žižek 2009); however, in doing so, a reading of her as a mother may provide little leverage for the theorization of democracy away from its

associations with capitalism and liberalism. Capitalism and liberalism both rely on overtly essential conceptions of identity for justifying the extraction of profit from laboring bodies or for the legitimation of inequality as the status quo (Mohanty 1993). A focus on motherhood, albeit an important category of labor in the Marxist feminist literature (Hartsock 1983; MacKinnon 1982; Rich 1995), trends toward an essential definition of femininity which can then be deployed along hierarchies of sexuality, ability, nationality, race, etc. These lines of difference can be captured by capitalist logics and deployed to fracture the political resolve of workers vis-à-vis the capitalist class. Rather, Sethe's experience as a rape survivor allows for a more nuanced exploration of belonging, freedom, equality, labor, and cultural identity beyond the binary of public/private through which the accumulation of wealth becomes realized under "racial capitalism" (Robinson 1983/2000) and towards a restoration of abolition as the root of democratic theory.

Racial capitalism, as developed by Cedric J. Robinson, refers to the racialism that permeated Western feudal society and was adapted into the formation of capitalism as it emerged out of the anti-feudal movement as opposed to the more classical Marxist interpretation of race as "some conspiracy to divide workers or justify slavery and dispossession" (Kelley 2017). *Beloved* provides a narrative of how Black women navigated their everyday lives in relation to the transitions in the larger U.S. economy from slavery, which Du Bois time and again refers to as "feudal agrarianism" (Du Bois 1998, 29, 216, 219, 240), to industrialism. By focusing on Sethe's struggle to reclaim her sexual as well as maternal integrity denied her when she was a slave, I combine Robinson's notion of racial capitalism with Adrienne Davis's assessment of the sexual economy of slavery to show how the oscillation between the silence around sexual abuse within the Black community and the public imaginary of Black women as poor mothers largely

constructed by white political agents, such as those within the Freedmen's Bureau (Farmer-Kaiser 2010), conformed to the Victorian norms of respectability that crystalized during the era of Reconstruction itself (Williams 2003; Hancock 2004).

In re-reading *Beloved*, Morrison's narrative of Reconstruction moves from reclaiming the voice of Sethe as a rape survivor to a reassessment of the sexual component integral to racial capitalism more broadly, namely that the logic of rape underpins the white settler colonialism that provided the landscape of the rise of the Anthropocene (Crutzen 2002; Dalby 2014; Haraway 2015; Vergès 2017) , which saw its own turning point during the decades of Reconstruction. This chapter extends Adrienne Davis's characterization of *Beloved* beyond the individual experience of one black woman – Sethe – by exploring how Morrison weaves together the figure of the fugitive, the perpetuation of slavery's captive hold over Black women post-emancipation as a component of spatial organization, and Black women's experience of sexual assault as a symptom of racial capitalocene. I conclude by highlighting the binary of home/commons that emerges from each of these themes in the novel as a useful device for radical democratic theorists attentive to abolition in rethinking the relationship between the personal and the political.

A. The Figure of the Fugitive in **Beloved***: Sethe, Baby Suggs, and Denver*

Early in the book, Sethe is reunited with a person from her enslaved past - Paul D. After stumbling upon the house where Sethe settled after her escape from enslavement by reuniting with her now deceased mother-in-law, Baby Suggs, the two quickly start reminiscing. It is Denver, Sethe's youngest daughter born while Sethe took flight as a fugitive slave, who sets up a question that serves as the entry for the first expression of home to be explored: an ideal of belonging and placeholder for associations. Denver asks audaciously, "How come everybody run

off from Sweet Home can't stop talking about it? Looks like if it was so sweet you would have stayed" (Morrison 2004, 16). Sethe is quick to check Denver's ignorance and youth by snapping back "Girl, who you talking to?", but Paul D's response is ever more telling. "True. True. She's right Sethe. It wasn't sweet and it sure wasn't home." The contradiction embedded in the name of the site where they were, as Sethe says, "all together" (16) appears to mirror the contradiction embodied by the figure of the fugitive that Du Bois writes fueled the abolitionist movement (Du Bois 1998, 20). Seeing these connections, *Beloved* can be understood as a story of abolitionist belonging.

According to Cedric J. Robinson in *Black Movements in America*, the anti-slavery movement leading up to the Civil War "took many and conflicting forms" (1997, 45). By distilling that tradition to any singular narrative may well be a fool's errand given that "slavery was profoundly interwoven with the popular and public perception of the new country" (46). However, since Reconstruction was a deliberate project with the intent of breaking the nation free of that identity, democratic practices began to grow in the U.S. for the first time in the wake of the Civil War. Morrison's novel can be said to be a text aimed at understanding the nuance of the many transitions that collided at that time. The author herself alludes to such a reading. Reflecting on how the novel came to be, Morrison gives the following observation in an interview: "Sometimes you hear things or see things or write things, and you don't know where they came from but they're very important and they don't disappear. The writing is discovery of what that really means" (R. Gross 2015). With this blessing from the author, I read *Beloved* as a theoretical resource for exploring the tensions between the figure of the fugitive and the concept of home as they played out in and around urban spaces during the Reconstruction era paying particular

attention to the experiences of Sethe, Baby Suggs, and Denver. I begin with Sethe's choice to become fugitive as the political act at the heart of the novel.

Sethe, her husband Halle, and the remaining "Sweet Home men" (Paul D, Paul A, and Sixo) decide to take the children and leave their place of captivity after their long-time and largely benevolent master, Mr. Garner, dies. Under him, their objectification seemed mild. For the men, the experience of being enslaved manifested subtly as they had many leniencies:

> Allowed, even encouraged to correct Mr. Garner, even defy him. To invent new ways of doing things; to see what was needed and attack it without permission. To buy a mother, choose a horse or a wife, handle guns, even learn reading if they wanted to…. (Morrison 2004, 147).

Such actions brought much criticism to Garner from neighbors, but by giving them space to express themselves, as well as sharing with them the fruits of their labor, their existence within the boundaries of his property lulled them into a false sense of belonging. Morrison writes, "they were only Sweet Home men at Sweet Home. One step off that ground and they were trespassers among the human race" (147-148). All this would change when the widower of Mr. Garner's sister, schoolteacher, comes to control the estate. From that point on, "everything they touched was looked on as stealing" (225). Simply known as "schoolteacher," the new master dealt out more aggressive forms of punishment when they attempted any action without permission. For example, they use to take surplus food without permission, an action that would now bring sanction even if they attempted to justify their actions to schoolteacher as "[i]mproving your property, sir" (224). His need to dominate reaches the highest form of control when he kills one of the Sweet Home men for engaging in unauthorized activities.

For Sethe, the violence that accompanied the shift in patriarchal authority took on another level of dispossession. She was the only female slave on Sweet Home. She arrived at the age of fourteen to replace Baby Suggs, Halle's mother. Halle had purchased Baby Suggs's freedom

from earnings he gained “with five years of Sundays” as a hired hand on other farms away from Sweet Home (13). Before schoolteacher came, the relationship between Sethe and Mrs. Garner, the mistress of Sweet Home, manifested as a closeness. When Sethe married Halle, Mrs. Garner bestowed a set of crystal earrings on Sethe, as if she were passing down a family heirloom (71). Whatever feminine sensibilities Mrs. Garner would direct at Sethe were immediately overshadowed by schoolteacher’s race science, which he taught to the two boys accompanying him – “sons or nephews” (44). For the rest of the novel, Morrison refers to them as simply the nephews. He instructed them to scrutinize the attributes and behaviors of each of them, emphasizing their bestial factors: “I told you to put her human characteristics on the left; her animal ones on the right. And don’t forget to line them up” (228). Portraying her as between human and animal and being entitled to treat her like they treated other chattel, as their property, prompts the nephews’ later assault on Sethe. They rape her and steal the sustenance that she produced for her children, her milk. Seeking consolation or safety or retribution, Sethe goes to Mrs. Garner as an assumed compassionate ear. Even though “her eyes rolled out tears” upon hearing what transpired (19), Mrs. Garner’s calling out of the nephews in disapproval did not transpire. In fact, Sethe’s attempt to confide in Mrs. Garner led to one of them beating her to the point where he would “open up my back, and when it closed it made a tree” (20). By going to Mrs. Garner and speaking of what happened to seek the sympathy of another woman, Sethe expressed a human trait. The reaction of the nephews, in line with the instruction they received from schoolteacher, was to beat her back into submission like the animal they assume to be. Sethe is punished, whipped while pregnant, because she stepped out of her assumed and scrutinized category.

Though schoolteacher permitted such punishment, the nephews would be chastised for taking the beating too far. When Sethe killed "crawling-already? girl"/Beloved as a response to the slave-catchers coming for her and the children, schoolteacher exclaimed that "she'd gone wild" as a result of the beating she received at the hand of one of her rapists, likening her transformation to what happens when one administers a brutal beating to a prized horse (176). This conclusion by schoolteacher again reinforces his understanding of Sethe as property akin to a domesticated animal. Property does not speak or have interests, it is merely the possession of the owner to do with what he wants, and under the system of racial capitalism what he wants is to assert his domination over said property. Also note that the rape of Sethe by the nephews was not criticized by schoolteacher, only the excessiveness of the beating. Perhaps schoolteacher was unaware of the sexual component of the event as Morrison gives no clue in the text to his knowledge of their pinning her down and sucking on her breasts. Another explanation may simply be that amongst "southern gentleman" discussions of their sexual conquests over their enslaved victims were kept to a minimum. Regardless, we know from firsthand accounts, like that the one given by Harriet Jacobs in her *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), that sexual assault by white masters and their kin were not just done but known by their peers.

The violence done to Sethe extended beyond her body and psyche. Later, Sethe would find out from Paul D that Halle witnessed the rape (Morrison 2004, 81-82). Due to his own position as a Black slave and not quite a man at Sweet Home, Halle did not have the power to protect her as his wife or defend her humanity through any other intimate relationship like friendship. In seeing Sethe raped with his own eyes, Halle's mind and spirit broke upon the strain of the contradictions exposed at the arrival of schoolteacher and his active deployment of race science. This devolution led to him never showing up for, or during any point of, their planned escape

(81). In his recounting of Halle's devolution and in hearing Sethe's own account of the rape, Paul D realizes that Black women were a highly-valued commodity under slavery. She was akin to breeding stock, having the ability produce more slave labor. Before Paul D wondered why schoolteacher would spend time and money to re-capture Sethe, and her children, as opposed to hunting him down. His conclusion after returning to this event was that "her price was greater than his; property that reproduced itself without cost" (269). Her fugitive status created a greater capital loss than his.

Baby Suggs's departure from Sweet Home in the form of Halle paying for her manumission is not like Sethe's or Paul D's, but that does not mean her life after slavery was untouched by fugitivity. The Fugitive Slave Act was a federal law and followed Black people wherever they went. When Baby Suggs leaves, she crosses out of the slave-state of Kentucky with emancipation papers "folded between her breast" (162). These papers legitimized her freedom, but if lost would justify her re-enslavement. Located just to the North of the Mason-Dixon line, across the Ohio river, she forges a new life among a free black community.[26] She rents a house, 124 Bluestone Road (referred to throughout the book as simply 124), from two white abolitionists, the Bodwins, a brother and a sister. Her rent stipulations are merely to keep the place clean and maintain its current state. Under these conditions, she is given free reign without the burden of a cash expense to do with the house what she will. She takes the opportunity to

[26] Though nowhere near the size of the urban Black community in Philadelphia by the late nineteenth century, Cincinnati was in a similar position as an industrial city on the borderlands between the North and South that attracted both fugitives and abolitionists (Duncan 2011). Kentucky, like Maryland, ended up as part of the Union, but as border states the issue of slavery within those two states would not be challenged until the heights of the war. It is with this in mind that I read Morrison's *Beloved* as having the potential to inform political theorists exploring the relationship between race, gender, and space in urban spaces as they attempted to democratize U.S. political instutions during the period of Reconstruction.

remake the space in an effort to disrupt the everyday practices that made her overtly aware of her lower status when she was a slave.

One of the first changes Baby Suggs makes is relocating the kitchen into the main house, as opposed to an external and separate structure, with the intent of getting rid of the back entrance. As Denver, recalls,

> Grandma Baby … boarded up the back door … because she said she didn't want to make that journey no more. … if you want to get in 124 you have to come by her. Said she didn't care what folks said about her fixing a two-story house up like a cabin where you cook inside. She said they told her visitors with nice dresses don't want to sit in the same room with the cook stove and the peelings and the grease and the smoke. She wouldn't pay them no mind, she said. (244)

In reworking the physical structure of the house, Baby Suggs makes it hers - a place suitable for a woman in her later years that does not have to make the trek to and from an outdoor kitchen. The transformation also aims to establish dignity that she and her fellow Black neighbors so often were denied when forced to the back door, the servants entrance, when they made a call. This was a custom stemming from slavery and white supremacy, but in Baby Suggs's house this would not do, that is, until schoolteacher and the slave-catchers came that day when Sethe kills one and attempts to dispose of her other children as opposed to having them recaptured: "I'm saying they came in my yard" (211). Though Baby Suggs had her grandchildren with her at 124, held community gatherings for the free Black community of Cincinnati and "the Colored Ladies of Delaware, Ohio" (204), and preached in the clearing to hundreds whose lives were touched by the anti-Black violence underpinning the Fugitive Slave act, her home was not fully in her possession as seen by the ability of those white people saw fit to trespass into her most sacred space and whose act of trespass was encoded by law.

Denver was not yet born when Sethe embraced fugitivity, but she was born while Sethe was in flight making her a child of and through fugitivity. As a character, Denver is a narrative

representation of those children born out, in, and by the "intelligent humanity" that Du Bois's calls the figure of the fugitive slave (1998, 20). Even before the moment in the boat where a white girl, Amy, coached Sethe through child labor, the not yet named Denver found a way to temporarily escape the violence of slavery by surviving Sethe's rape and brutal beating. Taking into consideration the archives deployed by Dorothy Roberts in *Killing the Black Body* (1997), which detailed the techniques of breeding and beating Black women's bodies in pursuit of protecting their property in the form of the baby, Denver's survival may have been by design. Like Baby Suggs, Denver's life is forever tainted by the return of schoolteacher. She spends most of her childhood in captivity – she goes with Sethe to jail because she is still nursing (Morrison 2004, 208) and when she returns home she becomes another hostage of 124. By the time of Beloved's return, when she takes complete hold of Sethe, Denver's escape from 124 Bluestone Road exemplifies a new iteration of fugitivity specifically and abolitionism more broadly.

When she realizes that her life is threatened by Beloved's hold over Sethe, because Sethe loses her job and becomes malnourished, Denver decides to leave 124. Fearful of what would happen if she ventures out and wanders into the path of white people all alone, she recalls her grandmother Baby Suggs: "Grandma Baby said there was no defense - they could prowl at will, change from one mind to another, and even when they thought they were behaving, it was a far cry from what real humans did. … But you said there was no defense. / 'There ain't.' / Then what do I do? / 'Know it, and go on out the yard. Go on'" (288). Denver acts with the full knowledge that there are no guarantees in taking the chance of leaving the only "home" she has ever known. She may not find allies, help, or even survive.

Denver first seeks help from her former schoolteacher, Lady Jones, who is a mixed-race woman with "gray eyes and yellow woolly hair" (291). Denver inquired whether she would hire

her as a cleaner so that she could buy food for herself and Sethe. Lady Jones, having no extra funds to pay for someone to do the cleaning that she could manage herself, said she would reach out to the community with inquiries on Denver's behalf. As a result, food started showing up on the front steps of 124 Bluestone Road. Though Denver was grateful, going to lengths to return the dishes and baskets that the food came in to their rightful owners, she pressed on to find employment. She turned to the white people who had helped Baby Suggs in the past - the Bodwins. Janey Wagon, a servant and Black woman working in the Bodwins' house, helps convince them to take on Denver so that she no longer has to stay at their house at night (300). In all, Denver is embraced by the colored women of Cincinnati. In coming to her aid, they enact a form of loving of which she rarely felt in her "home" at 124 Bluestone, especially since the death of Baby Suggs. Whether in the form of gifts of food (293), helping her secure a job (in the case of Janey, 298) or simply affirmations of her own self-worth (292), their aid helps Denver heal herself so that as a community they can ultimately save Sethe and bring peace to Beloved. By leaving the house in order to save herself, Denver transgresses multiple lines of so-called attachment, loyalty, and societal place: daughter, sister, and child. In doing so, she moves away from being captivated, and therefore captive, of the house and the ghostly company within it.

The figure of the fugitive is integral to Morrison's retelling of Black women's experience negotiating the transitions of Reconstruction. Whether in the form of steeling herself and her children away from slavery (in the case of Sethe), configuring a home to emphasize its communal function (in the case of Baby Suggs), or reactivating an economy of sharing (in the case of Denver), these Black women in their everyday practices reject the capitalist impulse to confine, detain, and commodify their existence as both capital and labor. Unfortunately, 124 does not translate seamlessly into a home for any of the three women. It does, however, serve as

a physical site that provides shelter and respite for so many throughout the novel. It is a space. Twentieth-century French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebrve argues that the past leaves its mark on and through the constructions of space (Lefebvre 2009, 186). Morrison's novel humanizes how the legal compromise entrenched in the demarcation of space that spurned the U.S. Civil War played out in the everyday lives of fugitive (i.e. Sethe), formerly enslaved (i.e. Baby Suggs), and even non-/never-enslaved (i.e. Denver) bodies. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 compromised what little freedom all Black communities might have had in states that had previously abolished slavery from its borders. The house serves as a material manifestation of this process. Put simply, though 124 Bluestone Road was in a state determined by law as "free" (i.e. Ohio), the past of slavery is written all over its walls. The very first sentences of each section of the book start with "124 was…" (Morrison 2004, 3, 199, 281). With this structural element, Morrison establishes the house as a central character in and of itself. I now turn to that site as a literary device used by Morrison to complicate the spatialized reality and romantic idea of "home" that underpinned both the hunting and freeing of fugitives in the years leading up to the U.S. Civil War.

B. 124 Bluestone Road: Home/Commons

The first section of the book begins, "124 was spiteful. Full of a baby's venom. The women in the house know it and so did the children. For years, each [of Sethe's sons] put up with the spite in his own way, but by 1873 Sethe and her daughter Denver were its only victims" (3). For Shulman, this passage aids his reading of *Beloved* as a captivity narrative; however, his focus is on Sethe as the captive par excellence (Shulman 1996, 303). This is a legitimate analysis, but in Shulman's narrowing its scope to Sethe's psyche, particularly her forms of forgetting and rememory, the physical manifestation of her imprisonment taken by the form of the house

remains under-analyzed. In *Ghostly Matters*, Avery Gordon makes a slight alteration to this formulation: “first the ghost that haunts 124 Bluestone Road in 1873 will have to be evicted so that home can finally be moved from Sweet Home to 124” (A. Gordon 2008, 168). Gordon’s assessment centering on the concept of home seems valid; however, also seen above, the notion of home itself changes with every migration and every migrant to quits Sweet Home and makes their way to 124. Also, readers are quickly made aware that the house is possessed, but Morrison style of shifting back and forth in time suggests to readers that the ghostly matter is more than just the spirit of a dead baby. The openings of sections two and three of the novel again re-center the house as a central component of the story. Respectively they read “124 was loud” (Morrison 2004, 199) and “124 was quiet” (281). Both refer to the effect Beloved’s return in the flesh has had on the house. Part two finds the house filled with the voices, laughter, and cries of the three women who inhabit it - Sethe, Denver, and Beloved. But their happiness turned inward on themselves finds them trapped in a vicious circle: apology and justification expressed by Sethe (to Beloved); resentment and spiteful redress demanded by Beloved (from Sethe); and, furthered loneliness felt by Denver as she found herself “cut … out of the games” played by Sethe and Beloved (282). Part three finds the house filled with despair as all of them become “locked in a love that wore everybody out” (286). Reading the house itself as an entity embodied with tropes that readers tend to only associate with main characters may inform not only what captivity means for different people, but also provide insight into how certain acts of perceived liberation open to and taken by certain individuals may not aid the liberation of the collective whole, especially when taking into consideration their gendered expression. Thinking along these lines in this section, I focus on those characters who left 124, namely Sethe’s sons, Paul D, and finally Denver.

Sethe's sons, Howard and Buglar, leave within two months of each other and just before Baby Suggs' death. Morrison writes that the decision to quit 124 for each of them came at "the moment the house committed what was for him the one insult not to be borne or witnessed a second time" (3). Given that the book is set in the years leading up the Civil War and continues well through the initial years of Reconstruction, leaving was a viable option for the male inhabitants. From the creation of the USCT, growth in jobs due to industrializing cities, and dreams of the western frontier due to sale of cheap lands,[27] opportunities were seemingly wide-open to them. Rarely were these options available to women, regardless of race. This meant that Black women, particularly those newly freed, found themselves gravitating to urban metropoles where their gender expression either began to tie them to a home life filled with destitution, haunting, and oppression, like in the case of Sethe, or find work as domestics in the homes of white families. The second trend has been well documented by Black historians like W.E.B. Du Bois and Isabel Eaton (1899/2007), Jacqueline Jones (1986), and Tera Hunter (1997). Most likely, for Howard and Buglar, the plausibility of creating a new life freed from the trappings of the past, of which the ghost embodies, more than likely compelled them to leave just as much if not more than the fits of the baby's ghost.

When Paul D arrives at 124, the house had been only occupied by women for over a decade. He finds it to be a reluctant sort of place even at his first step into the door: "'Good God.' He backed out the door onto the porch. 'What kind of evil you got in here?'" (Morrison 2004, 10). This reluctance he first interprets as Sethe's own to his flirtatious advances. When Sethe first invites Paul D into the house, he notices a little hesitation in the offer and asks, "You got

[27] Just a reminder, the land was cheap because of the displacement of indigenous peoples when their territories were enclosed by various laws from the Homestead Act of 1862 to the Dawes Act of 1887.

company?", to which Sethe replies "off and on" (10). What Paul D does not yet know, but Sethe is almost outright acknowledging, is the presence of a ghost. In her response is a sense that she had become habituated to its presence. Paul D is not at 124 long before the house reacts in a way that even shocks Sethe. At their first embrace, the house shakes so violently it almost comes apart at the seams (21). The potential installment of a male figure within the house, as might be the result of a romantic relationship emerging between Sethe and Paul D, seems to affront the ghost and trespass on its territory. Beating the house back into submission by "whipping the table around until everything was rock quiet" (22), Paul D seems to establish order. Denver is upset by this because he had "gotten rid of the only other company" Denver had after the death of Baby Suggs (23). But there seems to be some glimpses of hope for more than a coupling with Sethe and loneliness for Denver. As a consequence of dispelling the ghost and Paul D establishing himself as the new presence at 124, the community starts to respond favorably towards Sethe and Denver for the first time since that tragic day when schoolteacher came to retrieve them. Examples of their warming include open greetings to Denver and favorable looks caste upon Sethe that Denver notices while the three of them travel to the carnival in the city (58-59). In this expression, the belonging associated with home seems to be fulfilled simply by a male presence.

During this transition from haunted to normal nuclear household, Paul D offers himself to Sethe as support and safety net: "We can make a life, girl. A life" (55). The patriarchal heteronormative family is presented as a cure-all to the trauma they experienced together at Sweet Home. It brings order to chaos, quelling the ghost and providing a bridge to the public outside of 124. The order that patriarchal constructions of family life is perceived to grant, however, does not last. With Paul D's return, so do the traumas of the past. They begin to play havoc on Sethe's psyche. Her lingering guilt for killing crawling-already? girl, takes the physical

form of a childlike female passerby who appears as Sethe, Denver, and Paul D "rounded the curve in the road" as they traveled back from the carnival (61). She calls herself Beloved (62). And like the ghost of the baby, she seems to be offended by all male beings who take up residence at 124, including the family dog who is nowhere to be found after her arrival (Marks 2002, 76). Sethe and Denver quickly take to Beloved - Sethe as a nursemaid and Denver as a playmate. Paul D, of course, quickly becomes threatened by her presence: "'Something funny 'bout that gal' … 'Acts sick, sounds sick, but she don't look sick. Good skin, bright eyes and strong as a bull'" (Morrison 2004, 67). Sethe extending hospitality to Beloved is the first element that comes to dislodge Paul D from 124. Finding out the truth that Sethe murdered her own child when the slave-catchers came from one of her male neighbors, Stamp Paid, cracks his romantic ideation of Sethe that extended well back into the past, to the fields and structures of Sweet Home. Though Paul D finds her actions disturbing, it is in his chastising of Sethe for the "too-thick" love that she gives to her children that seems to ultimately place Sethe beyond his reach (193-194). Between spending much of her energy seeing to the needs of Beloved and Paul D telling her how to love, these strains break whatever romantic attachment Sethe has left for him.

Perhaps as a result of Sethe pulling away coupled with his suspicion of being "fixed" by Beloved (149), Paul D starts to feel restless. This restlessness manifests in what he calls "house-fits, the glassy anger men sometimes feel when a woman's house begins to bind them, when they want to yell and break something or at least run off" (135). Initially he attributes these fits to staying put in one place after having a life away from Sweet Home as being a "walking man" (55). He chose where to go and what to do; but since Beloved's arrival he felt as if he "was being moved, played where she wanted him, and there was nothing he was able to do about it" (148). He sees this lack of control as an affront to his manhood. He looks to Sethe to regain it. Defining

his love for Sethe as gradual, growing "a little bit more every day" (136), Paul D starts to think deeply about committing to her to stave off his nerves. He begins to consider the fits as a manifestation of his lack of institutionalized attachment to 124: him and Sethe are not married; he does not own the house; and, his name is not attributed to the rental agreement. Since he is unable to rectify any of these lacks, he concludes that having a baby with Sethe may mitigate the fits: "And suddenly it was a solution: a way to hold on to her, document his manhood and break out of the girl's [Beloved's] spell - all in one" (151). This of course does not actually squelch his "house-fits," the thought of having a child with Sethe only temporarily relieves them. Paul D ultimately leaves since he cannot reconcile Sethe's embrace of Beloved with his sense of patriarchal duty, masculinity, and ideal of a heteronormative family life. He will return, but only after Beloved is dispelled, Sethe is brought back into the community of Black women from whom she was dislodged after the return of schoolteacher, and he himself comes to terms with his "anxious assertions of his masculinity" (Barnett 1997, 424).

While the Black men of the novel – particularly Sethe's sons and even Paul D - were enticed to vacate spaces haunted by the violence of slavery, Morrison provides an assessment of Black women in their negotiations of spaces filled with such violence, making homes despite pressures both internal and external to them. Their logic, there was no place to escape to: "'We could move,' she [Sethe] suggested once to her mother-in-law. / 'What'd be the point?' asked Baby Suggs. 'Not a house in the country ain't packed to its rafters with some dead Negro's grief'" (Morrison 2004, 6). As seen in the last section, their experiences and traumas of slavery follow Baby Suggs and Sethe from the sites of that enslavement to 124. They "choose" to stop moving; however, their resolve to make a home where they find themselves does not seamlessly dispatch the wounds of their past lives. Denver, having no conscious experience of enslavement and

having been born on the road of fugitivity, may discover the answer to making a life not only for herself, but also for Sethe, beyond the porch of 124. Though Denver operates as a reference point for much of section of the book, coming close to the age of twenty, she becomes a pivotal character in both sections two and three - her voice narrates chapter twenty-one, the middle chapter of part two, and her actions lead to the resolution of the entire story in part three. It becomes apparent that the processes of building anew a home requires her to leave 124 but not entirely abandon it.

For Denver, 124 was the only home she knew, arriving as a newborn bundled in Sethe's arms, but it was lonely for her. When Paul D first shows up, she complains that no one comes to visit. Sethe is quick to blame the haunted house, but ends up dismissing Denver's own longing for connections with others. "It's the house. People don't - / It's not! It's not the house. It's us! And it's you!" (17). Denver's retort to Sethe serves as an early foreshadowing of her choice to look beyond 124 in order to secure her future and perhaps save her mother's life. Close to the end of the book after Beloved and Sethe become locked in a perpetual circle of guilt, Denver decides to "step off the edge of the world" to seek help (281; 286). At that moment, she had only left the house a few times before, and even more rarely alone (242). She draws on her memories of the stories and wisdom she gained from Grandma Baby Suggs to decide from whom she would seek help. Though she knows "*about* several people" from conversations she overheard as a child and the former gatherings at 124 (286), she decides to first approach one of the three people she knows personally - her former teacher Lady Jones. Denver is in search of a job since Sethe had been fired from her position as cook in a nearby restaurant, Sawyer's, for lateness. Sethe's employment not only provided the family with a modest wage, but also food as Sethe

engaged in pan-toting, a practice deployed by many domestic and service workers of this era (Hunter 1997, 60-61).

As Lady Jones spreads the word that Sethe is sick, which is what Denver told her, offerings to help in the form of food start to show up at the edge of the lawn at 124 (Morrison 2004, 292). Though none of them "could pay anybody anything for work they did themselves," which doing "chores in the morning" (292) that Denver first suggests to Lady Jones would have amounted to, their willingness to share what they had sets up a relationship built on mutuality and "the actualities of nurturance" (Linebaugh 2008, 276). This example of mutual assistance provides an everyday example of the impulse for the expansion of common rights amongst Black Americans at the time of Reconstruction. Historian Peter Linebaugh traces commoners' desires of subsistence, community, and cooperation from the enactment of the Magna Carta in 1215 between the English monarch and rebel barons, through their expansion in the U.S. during the Reconstruction era (251), and to the schism of social policy at the height of the Great Depression that culminated in the popular tensions between fascism and social democracy (219). At each of these historical junctures, laws were put into place that defied liberal jurisprudence that focused solely on expanding individual rights in the realm of civil and political freedoms by curtailing sovereign absolutism. Common rights laws, however, combine the "restricting autocratic behavior" with "restoring subsistence usufructs (goods or usages required for well-being" (8).

By providing Denver, and by extension Sethe, with food, a community emerges from practices of commoning in opposition to, as opposed to as a consequence of a restriction from, commerce and industrial capitalism. Some of the food bundles that arrive include notes attached that give the name of the benefactor: "Obviously for the return of the pan or plate or basket; but also to let the girl know, if she cared to, who the donor was" (Morrison 2004, 293). Lady Jones

helps Denver identify the owner of those containers that were either marked with an "X" or came with no note attached. In returning "the pan or plate or basket" (293), Denver becomes a regular feature in the neighborhood. A simple "thank you" serves as the only payment, since it was the only form she could afford. Of course, this appears to be the only payment necessary. And in search of the owners of those empty dishes that were unidentified, Sethe proceeds to doors and by trial and error finds herself enthralled in conversations about the special relationship members in the community had with 124 Bluestone Road (293-294). Denver learns for the first time about the house's role in the community extending back before her conscious memory and even farther back before her birth. It served as home – a residence - for some, but also a commons – a space of sustenance and congregation – for many more.

Success in these endeavors has various consequences for Denver's relationship with her mother and sister. Morrison writes, "[a]s Denver's outside life improved, her home life deteriorated. … Strengthened by the gifts of food, the source of which neither Sethe nor Beloved questioned, the women had arrived at a doomsday truce designed by the devil" (294). Denver stops being a captive to her desire to be included, initially in the games that Beloved and Sethe would play and "cut Denver out of" (282), and later when Sethe realizes that Beloved is her slain daughter. This realization leads to an intractable spiral of blame, on the part of Beloved, and attempts to justify, on the part of Sethe. In her realization of not wanting to be included in the "doomsday truce" (294), Denver's home life expands as a result of her stepping out of 124. She learns about herself and beings to notice that other people regard her as distinct from 124 and Sethe: "It was a new thought, having a self to look out for and preserve. And it might not have occurred to her if she hadn't met Nelson Lord leaving his grandmother's house as Denver entered it to pay a thank you for half a pie. All he did was smile and say, 'Take care of yourself,

Denver,' but she heard it as though it were what language was made for" (297). Her stepping off the porch of 124 lead her into the world and a belonging which she lacked within its walls.

As mentioned above, the women that Denver meets in the process of returning the baskets, plates, and dishes share with her their connections to 124.

> All of them knew her grandmother and some had even danced with her in the Clearing. Others remembered the days when 124 was a way station, the place they assembled to catch news, taste oxtail soup, leave their children, cut out a skirt. One remembered the tonic mixed there that cured a relative. One showed her the border of a pillowslip, the stamens of its pale blue flowers French-knotted in Baby Suggs' kitchen by the light of an oil lamp while arguing the Settlement Free. They remembered the party with twelve turkeys and tubs of strawberry smash. One said she wrapped Denver when she was a single day old and cut shoes to fit her mother's blasted feet. (293)

It was a place of common purpose that also supplied so many with emotional, and sometimes material, nutrition. It was a hub of urban living amongst the Black community in Cincinnati. Put simply, it operates along the dichotomy of home/commons much more than serving as a private residence tucked away from the public sphere. It was a place where Black women found community, shared knowledge, and built social movements to combat the onslaught of transgressions they experienced in the interlocking form of racial and sexual domination.

Through Denver seeking help, 124 emerges again as a center for Black women's political struggle. From the stories that pivoted around its yard to the slow and deliberate march they made to its doorsteps, these women bring back into alignment a community vis-à-vis the space that is occupied by "the gray and white house on Bluestone Road" (3). It is ultimately this alignment that frees Sethe from Beloved's intent on retribution. This transition, however, requires a return to the features of Sethe's life that prompted the separation. Drawing on Adrienne Davis assessment that the haunting Sethe experiences is not necessarily the ghost of her dead child, but the trace of the sexual economy of slavery, I explore Sethe's "choice" to cloister herself in 124 and the ways that other Black women who share similar experiences with

sexual assault create distance between other survivors in the next section. Exploring the stories of two survivors of sexual violence in the section – Ella and Sethe, I use Morrison's text as a means to assess a larger structural element for which sexual assault serves as a symptom – the Anthropocene.

C. "Dirty you so bad you forgot who you were": An Abolitionist Imaginary of the Anthropocene as Racial Capitalocene

Just after her escape from Sweet Home when she arrived at 124, Sethe finds a sense of belonging most commonly associated with the concept of home. With Baby Suggs, she finds herself amongst people of like experience, particularly Black women, practically for the first time in her life. Unfortunately, Sethe participation in that community was very short-lived:

> Sethe had had twenty-eight days … of unslaved life. … Days of healing, ease, and real-talk. Days of company: knowing the names of forty, fifty other Negroes, their views, habits; where they had been and what done; of feeling their fun and sorrow along with her own, which made it better. One taught her the alphabet; another a stick. All taught her how it felt to wake up at dawn and *decide what* to do with the day. … Bit by bit, at 124 and in the Clearing, along with the others, she had claimed herself. Freeing oneself was one thing; claiming ownership of that freed self was another. (111-112)

Time and again in the novel Sethe remembers this point in her history and the place of 124 coupled with its direct surroundings with fondness, but this re-memory does not aid her in the pursuit of claiming ownership of herself. For Sethe, a key part to this process is coming to terms with the sexual assault that she experienced at Sweet Home.

In alluding to other stories of sexual violence throughout the book, Morrison brings the sexual economy of slavery and its aftermath to the open air. Interestingly enough, the airing of this often silenced history plays against the backdrop of the natural environment, namely the Clearing where Baby Suggs' preached to the community to love their flesh (103). Literary scholar Jonquil Bailey argues that the "romantic language of the Clearing" often conjured up by

Baby Suggs does not exercise Beloved's hold over Sethe nor reunite the community around 124 (Bailey 2017, 33). Rather, "it becomes clear that Ella's ruthlessly anti-white supremacist and unromantic spirituality – which succeeds in exorcizing Beloved – is much better suited to empower blacks and combat internalized white theology" (29). Ella is the woman who after hearing the tale of Beloved's capture over Sethe from Janey decides to convince "the others [i.e. Black women] that rescue was in order" (Morrison 2004, 301). Exploring the elements of sound and voice, Bailey attends to the common experience of sexual assault shared by Ella and Sethe through the lens of spiritual healing as opposed to that of political economy, which is more the focus of this chapter and larger project. Her exploration of the clearing, however, suggests a connection between the environment and the economy. She refers to it an "abandoned expanse" (Bailey 2017, 30) and complicates its positioning in the book as a "safe space" (31) - first by Baby Suggs during her gatherings and then again by Sethe when she returns there with Beloved and Denver after Paul D leaves (Morrison 2004, 115-116). Another space appears in the novel as the Clearing's polar opposite and is filled with people and marked by violence. I am referring to the slaughterhouse. By connecting Adrienne Davis's assessment of the sexual economy of slavery to political theorist Françoise Vergès's adaptation of Cedric J. Robinson's work on racial capitalism, a material reading of the slaughterhouse confirms that the circulation of the sexual economy extends from slavery into Reconstruction. Before turning to the stories of sexual violence as Morrison represents them in the characters of Ella and Sethe followed by a material reading of the slaughterhouse, let me first provide some definitions of the Anthropocene and Vergès's term racial capitalocene.

Anthropocene, a term formalized and popularized by the Dutch atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen, refers to our current geological epoch "in which humans and our societies have become

a global geophysical force" (Steffen et al. 2007, 614). Amongst the scientific community, a general consensus on the timeline gives this period a starting date of "the onset of industrialization, the central feature of which was the enormous expansion in the use of fossil fuels" (614). Recently scholars exploring the language used in the scholarship on the Anthropocene find a masking of the effects capitalist extraction:

> The Anthropocene discourse veers away from environmentalism's dark idiom of destruction, depredation, rape, loss, devastation, deterioration, and so forth of the natural world into the tame vocabulary that humans are changing, shaping, transforming, or altering the biosphere, and, in the process, creating novel ecosystems and anthropogenic biomes. (Crist 2016, 18)

Since the history of colonialism was also "a search for new forms of energy" (Mavhunga 2014, 5), more recently scientists have retraced the beginning of the Anthropocene to the expansion of European colonialism and the slave trade (Lewis & Maslin 2018). The language of "rape" associated with environmental destruction is also a language associated with settler colonialism, the form of colonialism practiced in the U.S. (Glenn 2015; Morgensen 2011; Smith 2010). Within this interdisciplinary overlapping of scholarship, the concerns raised by political theorist Françoise Vergès when she finds a lack of analysis on race in the making of this epoch in the literature on the Anthropocene are worth heading. Drawing on Cedric J. Robinson's work on racial capitalism, Vergès insists that "[g]lobal warming and its consequences for the peoples of the [global] South is a political question and must be understood outside of the limits of 'climate change' and in the context of the inequalities produced by racial capital" (2007, 74). From here, Vergès concludes that the term "racial capitalocene" provides a more robust analytical framework than Anthropocene.

In citing the fact that people of color in countries located in the global North are far more likely to feel the impacts of environmental degradation than their white regional counterparts, Vergès extends the political question of environmental degradation to the Black community in

the U.S. This bridge brings us back to Adrienne Davis's work summarized in the introduction to this chapter. In the U.S., a large portion of profit accumulated by the deployment of racial capital came from the sexual labor extracted from enslaved Black women in the forms of reproduction (i.e. replenishing the slave labor force through childbirth), domination (i.e. rape as a form of control), and profit production (i.e. prostitution in the form of the "Fancy Trade") (Adrienne Davis 2009, 228). Returning to *Beloved*, Sethe experience the racial capitalocene in each of the forms that Adrienne Davis describes. In Morrison's account of the disregard of her body, first by schoolteacher's nephews and later by her economic circumstances, Sethe's rape exposes two related sides racial capitalocene – resource extraction and pollution.

Time and again Sethe describes the assault she endured by schoolteacher's nephews with the phrase "they took my milk." At the time of this very intimate form of violence, Sethe was not only pregnant but producing milk from a previous but relatively recent birth and her "breasts [we]re full" (Morrison 2004, 19). She sent her nursing baby ahead to Baby Suggs and freedom. The rape, of which included the sucking of her breasts as if she were a sow, reads akin to other forms of capital extraction - "they took my milk" (19-20) – that were part and parcel of colonial practices. Western powers entered lands in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and they violently took gold, silver, people, and all manners of resources. These actions were justified by an inversion of history. As put by global literature scholar, Ester Lezra, "[t]hrough countless representations of the colonized as monstrous, subhuman, and innately violent, Europeans attempted to blame the bloodshed in the colonies on the character of the colonized rather than the cruelty of the conquerors" (2014, 1). Sethe continues to fight back against a similarly applied logic whether at Sweet Home when the nephews were taught to see her as a domesticated animal (Morrison 2004, 228), in the shed were schoolteacher concluded that the action taken by Sethe to

kill her own child was her reverting to her animalistic character (176), and in 124 when Paul D learns about the killing from Stamp Paid and exclaims "[y]ou got two feet, Sethe, not four" (194). When her classmates ask Denver if her mother went to jail murder, Denver has "monstrous and unmanageable dreams about Sethe" (121).

In Sethe's pleas to Beloved, Denver learns of the horror that Sethe wanted to protect not only Beloved but all her children from when she committed filicide. Though she does not provide a scene of Denver overhearing such a conversation, Morrison gives her readers a hint when she wedges the following lines between Denver's visit to Lady Jones and her conversation with Janey about a job at the Bodwins house.

> Denver thought she understood the connection between her mother and Beloved …. Yet she knew Sethe's greatest fear was the same one Denver had in the beginning – that Beloved might leave. … Leave before Sethe could make her realize … [t]hat anybody white could take your whole self for anything that came to mind. Not just work, kill, or maim you, but dirty you. Dirty you so bad you couldn't like yourself anymore. Dirty you so bad you forgot who you were and couldn't think it up. And though she and others lived through and got over it, she could never let it happen to her own. The best thing she was, was her children. Whites might dirty *her* all right, but not her best thing, her beautiful, magical best thing – the part of her that was clean. (295-296)

Morrison's use of the word "dirty" as a verb is a reference to both the sexual assault she experienced at Sweet Home and prostitution, like the form she engaged in to buy Beloved's engraved headstone (5). Remember, these are two forms of the sexual economy that Adrienne Davis finds as extending from slavery. Though Morrison is referencing the sexual economy of slavery and its extension into Reconstruction, connecting her figurative language to the assessment of the literature on the Anthropocene, it is not entirely a leap to suggest Morrison may be providing commentary on the growing environmental degradation and the pollution that follows from industrialization and the abandonment of laws protecting the commons in favor of privatization and a politics of extraction.

Of course, a counter-logic persists in the arguments presented by those who favor enclosure. In his infamous essay "Tragedy of the Commons," Garrett Hardin claims that "individuals locked into the logic of the commons are free only to bring on universal ruin" (Hardin 1968, 1248). Using economic epistemology and suggesting that we decrease the number of "responsible" agents to solve the issue of ruin, Hardin's premise ignores countless historical accounts of cooperative and mutually dependent communities. Taking Hardin's claim as truth, some policymakers have pushed for the privatization of community resources and the investment in private property both at the individual and corporate levels. Recently environmentalists note that necessary common goods for our collective survival are being destroyed at an alarming rate, for example "planetary woodlands are being destroyed in favor of commercial profit" (Linebaugh 2008, 5). Clearly there is something wrong with Hardin's theory when the policy prescriptions drawn from it lead to, rather than elevate, destruction of resources needed for collective subsistence. Ironically, people, at least people with power (i.e. property), are acting in their own self-interest as Hardin suggests. Concerns over the exhausting of the commons are a mask to justify prohibitions against certain people's access in favor of a select few. Historian Peter Linebaugh finds Hardin's claims to rest on an "absolute egoism" (2008, 9-10). Put differently, the generalizations made by Hardin are only possible by ignoring the vast historical experiences of those marked different not only from those that benefit from enclosure practices, but also marked as different from each other. As seen in chapter one, Reconstruction was an attempt to rid the American democratic imaginary of this process but the abolitionist movement became coopted by the interest of private property. Since Southern property owners lost property, i.e. the slaves, many of the Northern politicians could not get behind "a democratic movement which would confiscate and redistribute property" in the form of "land and tools" (Du Bois 1998,

595). The outcome mirrored European enclosures with an emergence of "a peasantry polarized not only by the deepening economic inequalities, but by a web of hatred and resentments" (Federici 2004, 72). These resentments followed them to urban cities where they went to find work and housing.

After the Civil War, industrial capitalism was just reaching maturity in American cities, well before the arguments that infantilize the commons, and commoners, gained predominance. The grounds for their practical influence, however, emerged most urgently in urban spaces. In *TPN,* Du Bois (2007) provides ample description of the living situations that Blacks faced in rapidly industrializing cities from overcrowding that lead to both public health dilemmas and poor housing conditions. Though distance between the dirty elements of industrialism is often cited as a provision of the Anthropocene, like the high consumption of steak being made possible from the distance between the consumer and the slaughterhouse (Denny 2017, 114), Blacks in America historically have experienced the opposite. They are the ones either working inside the slaughterhouses or, due to the practices of redlining, they live nearest to such industrial sites that contribute high proportions of pollution. Given that 124 Bluestone Road is situated beyond the boundaries of Cincinnati, the effects of industrialization in *Beloved* are represented in conversations about the slaughterhouse where Paul D finds work.

Though seemingly unimportant and perhaps overlooked in a first reading of the book is the mention of the work taking place just outside the slaughterhouse in the yard. When referencing the ways that white people "dirty" Black people in last referenced quote from the book above, Morrison continues: "*She* [Sethe] might have to work the slaughterhouse yard, but not her daughter" (Morrison 2004, 296). In this summation of Sethe's internal monologue externalized during her pleas to Beloved, Morrison references the "Saturday girls" who work as prostitutes

and find patrons amongst the men who work there that she tries hard to not think of after Beloved's return (217). Sethe tries to forget about their perpetual presence because she almost found herself amongst them, after she traded sex for the engraving of Beloved's gravestone (5) and when she first got out of prison and had little options for earning a living (240-241). For Pamela E. Barnett, Morrison's description of these as "acts of desperate prostitution … are akin to rape" (Barnett 1997, 419).

Combining the point made in the first section of this chapter that Sethe's fugitive status created a larger capital loss than any of the Sweet Home men – she was "property that reproduced itself without cost" (Morrison 2004, 269), with Sethe's rape and prostitution, Morrison provides a material narrative of the dispossession under the conditions of sexual racial capitalism that inform what Deborah K. King (1988) calls the "multiple jeopardy" of Black women in the U.S. Put differently, the reduced conditions of dispossession that lead to Sethe's fugitivity combined with the fear that her daughters will undoubtedly be reduced to those same conditions if they took them back into enslavement left a lingering soiled mark on her psyche. To survive, Sethe repressed these memories to the point where her "mind was homeless" (Morrison 2004, 241). This homelessness was compounded by the withdrawal enacted by other Black women with similar experiences, like Ella. In the tension that Morrison narratives between home and commons, *Beloved* serves as a text that brings these tensions together so that we as both readers and democrats can work through rather than foreclose upon the complexities that inform political life.

D. Returning to Reconstruction & the Timeline of Racial Capitalocene

The setting of *Beloved* opens in the year of 1873, though much of the story is written as a series of flashbacks to Sethe's time as a slave and fugitive prior to the Civil War. It was a pivotal

year in the Reconstruction timeline. P. B. S. Pinchback, the first Black man to serve as an acting state governor (in Louisiana), was deposed due to white violence in January of that year only one month after taking office. The Panic of 1873, perhaps the first global financial crisis attributed to the instability inherent in industrial capitalism and the insecurity caused by national economies experimenting with alternative forms of currencies, spread throughout the U.S. and Europe. It not only triggered the Long Depression that lasted until 1879, it "altered the face of society" as well as the trajectory of abolition democracy (Du Bois 1998, 595). The U.S. Supreme Court issued its first interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment in this year. Known as the Slaughterhouse Cases, butchers at various local establishments sued as citizen-laborers in response to the City of New Orleans shutting their establishments, giving a monopoly control to a singular corporation, and moving the industrial meat processing center farther south on the Mississippi River to curtail contamination of the city's water supply. It would be the first, but surely not the last, argument by an anti-Reconstruction advocate, former Supreme Court justice John Archibald Campbell, that applied the amendment that was ratified to provide Black Americans citizenship standing, to non-Black and even non-racial identity categories. Lastly, there is another historical point contributed to 1873 worth mentioning. Paul Crutzen (2002), the scientist who popularized the term Anthropocene, traces the first recognition that human activities are responsible for altering the environment to the year of 1873 and the work of Antonio Stoppani.

Stoppani, an Italian catholic priest and geologist, was introduced to George Perkins Marsh's *Man and Nature* (1864) probably due to the fact that Marsh served as the first minister to Italy during the U.S. Civil War and as a consequence the book was translated into Italian in 1872. In this book, according to David Lowenthal, Marsh presents the first observational evidence that

"ongoing terrestrial transformations with historically based analyses of cumulative impacts" (Lowenthal 2015, 52). It is also important to note that Marsh served as a U.S. Congressman from Vermont before receiving the European post from President Abraham Lincoln in 1861. Marsh holds a famous role in American political development especially in the field of public education. The first collection acquired by the Smithsonian Institute was a print collection purchased from Marsh (Wright 2015). Less remembered is Marsh's anti-slavery advocacy, especially calling for the restriction of slavery's expansion by opposing the war with Mexico (Lowenthal 2009, 100–101). From this historic connection alone, a genealogical connection between the epistemological foundations of abolitionism and environmentalism attentive to degradation through industrial capitalist activities emerges during the Reconstruction era.

Thinking back to the introduction of this project and initial trends to dismiss Reconstruction by the originators of political science as the key to democratization in the U.S., the Dunning School perpetuated a myth with a similar underlying logic. Since freed slaves were incapable of self-government due to infirmity of body, mind, and/or will (Downs 2012, 181), William A. Dunning and his students would write the history of Reconstruction, particularly turning over political agency to Blacks, as a foregone failure. In *Belonging: a culture of place*, bell hooks provides a diagnosis of American cultural that brings these seemingly divergent points together: "Throughout our nation the dehumanization of poor people, the destruction of nature for capitalist development, the disenfranchisement of people of color, especially, African-Americans, the resurgence of white supremacy and with plantation culture has become an accepted way of life" (hooks 2009, 23). Another way to think about the corresponding elements presented above is through the Vergès' notion of racial capitalocene. The logic of racial capitalocene, "understand[s] that climate change is not about human hubris, but the result of the long history of

colonialism and racial capitalism and its Promethean thinking - the idea that 'Man' can invent a mechanical, technical solution to any problem" (Vergès 2017, 80).

Returning to the essay from which the quote used to open this chapter is found, there Morrison outlines the necessary conditions for dismantling the house that race built and thus houses racism. First she suggests that counter-racism is not an option, because as Audre Lorde affirms, "[t]he master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 2007, 110). Second Morrison suggests that we should be weary of those things we call diversity and therefore count as equal partners of multiculturalism. Third that the "yearnings for social space that is psychically and physically safe" are significant wants and deserve our collective attention (Morrison 1998, 10). Fourth we need to start to scale up our imaginary and think of world-as-home. Finally, "[i]n this new space one can imagine safety without walls, can iterate difference that is prized but unprivileged, and can conceive of a third, if you will pardon the expression, world 'already made for me, both snug and wide open, with a doorway never needing to be closed.' Home" (12). After presenting a reading of *Beloved* that combines a narrative of the sexual economy of slavery and a critique of the politics of extraction, this text offers its readers a conception of home that emerges beyond the isolation of the private sphere.

By providing a close reading of *Beloved*, I explored how Morrison reframing of home through the figure of the fugitive plays out regarding two of its common expressions: (1) an ideal of belonging and placeholder for one's personal associations (i.e. "homeland" or nation or community); and (2) a domicile, physical structure or shelter (i.e. domestic residence). *Beloved* also serves as a bridge between the work done by Black abolitionist women explored in the last chapter and the contemporary Black feminist conception of "homeplace." Coined by bell hooks (2009), this concept of home understands the site of social reproduction and healing to be a place

of resistance. Part of that healing is Black women's reclamation of their sexuality which had been overdetermined, expropriated, and possessed by the "sexual economy of American slavery" (Adrienne Davis 2009). Black women's bodies became a targeted population for capital accumulation in a post-slavery economy that desired the continuation of antebellum level profits in both the agricultural sector and the newly growing service sector (i.e. domestic, hotel, restaurant, etc.). The emerging public imaginary of Black women as poor mothers (Hancock 2004), which developed as a result of Reconstruction era policies like the pressuring of Black women to adopt Victorian gender roles by Freedmen's Bureau agents (Farmer-Kaiser 2010) and the economic contingency of widowed Black women with children who were compelled to return to the workforce not only for their survival but as a requirement for receiving the veteran benefit that Black men who served in the Union Army and died were entitled to (Williams 2004), can therefore be read as informing Du Bois's assessment of radical Reconstruction's foreclosure explored in chapter one. Turning to her deployment of narrative as a medium to undo racism, Morrison extends the historiography of the home in abolitionist thought beyond Du Bois's deployment of the concept as the economic site of reproductive labor (i.e. the household) in both *TPN* and *BR* as explored in chapter one.

In this project, like many feminist theorists who have come before me, I am calling for the dismantlement of the public/private divide from the genealogical registers of democratic theory as part and parcel of this process. In using the abolitionist movement as an empirical entry point and attending to space as a social construct, I know that simply destroying the divide will not ensure the destruction of the power relations that erected it and the material forms that perpetuate the disparities housed there. Morrison offers a narrative that gives an account of the "sixty million and more" dirtied by the colonial and later industrial drives. In doing so, she provides

further context for Du Bois's explanation of wealth accumulation in the U.S. At the outcome of Reconstruction, it becomes tied not to national or communal (read democratic) well being, but rather "the individual gain of the associated and corporate monarchs through the power of vast profit on enormous capital investment …. Profit, income, uncontrolled power in My Business for My Property and for Me - this was the aim and method of the new monarchial dictatorship that displaced democracy in the United States in 1876" (Du Bois 1998, 586). This is what Du Bois found to be the defining feature of the new American industrial empire extending beyond its borders (630).

Shifting from the public/private to home/commons as a framework for democratic thought may serve as a theoretical device to render visible the racial and gendered violence made invisible by liberal and capitalist logics. Using this dichotomy, the theoretical framework of democracy moves beyond the confines of a state's domestic black box. In his vast library, Du Bois critiques U.S. investments in white supremacy (and extending from this, patriarchy) both internally and externally. He shows how a government's alliance with colonial imperialism and class dictatorship aimed at denying freedom to the masses, namely the colored peoples of the world, is not one that can claim to be democratic (Du Bois 1945). Put simply, democracy, as understood from the abolitionist's stance, does not find its ultimate expression at the national level. Democracy is a promise and an ethos, not merely a set of institutions that guarantee freedoms within by denying freedoms without. Besides, racism, sexism, and classism are embedded in collaborative transnational structures; therefore, they must be addressed transnationally all the while understanding the local iterations of such expressions of power. With this said, Du Bois's assessment of the "American Assumption" in *BR* traverses the local confines of the U.S. and captures a larger global configuration (Vitalis 2017). Despite and in spite of the

central position held by the U.S. in the transnational world order, Du Bois and Morrison alike draw from alternative versions of even the U.S. to de-center that world order with the possibility of releasing debt and violence in the places where profit and peace were stolen by the slave trade, colonialism, and continued global exploitation. Their work, both empirical and narrative, remembers the lands which were ravaged, the labor that was transfigured into real estate, and the intellectual and creative powers ensnared by the primitive accumulation that characterizes colonialism, slavery, and industrial capitalism.

VI. Chapter 5 -- From Nativism to Abolitionism: Decolonizing American Nationalism[28]

The Centennial World's Fair of 1876, formally known as the International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Products of the Soil and Mine (hereafter simply the Fair), was the second of its kind to be held in the U.S. Given its scale and success, it is largely remembered as the first U.S World's Fair since the Crystal Palace Exhibition held in New York City in 1853 was "overwhelmed by the growing sectional crisis that, within a decade, would result in the American Civil War" (Rydell et al. 2000, 1). As an international exhibition, the mission of the Fair sought to project U.S. technological progress and national unity to the world.

The selection of Philadelphia as the site for the global event, the nation's founding appeared to be amongst the central themes given that the Declaration of Independence was signed there and the city served as the capital of the new nation three separate times between 1776 and 1800; however, the city's bygone political legacy combined with the future oriented mission of the Fair put the event in jeopardy. Coming from larger U.S. cities and growing industrial sites, vocal criticism lead to a lack of press and public support for the Fair (Gross & Snyder 2005, 7). One explanation for the choice, nonetheless reluctant in the face of opposition, may have come from a desire to quell growing concerns around race relations and continued sectionalism. Philadelphia's strong abolitionist legacy, as set out in chapter two, could have served to inoculate against the violence of the Ku Klux Klan and to appease the resentment amongst the ranks of the Radical Republicans who lost critical legislative battles in their pursuit to make the Freedmen's Bureau a permanent feature of federal bureaucracy. Though the Great Recession of the 1870s is a

[28] Some portions of this chapter have been adopted for a recent publication (Yarish 2019).

clear factor in the anxieties surrounding the Fair (Gross & Snyder 2005, 7; Rydell et al. 2000, 19), the direction of race relations as played out in this post-Civil War moment mirrored an earlier weariness regarding Philadelphia's historical positioning vis-à-vis the nation as a whole.

After the establishment of Congress and the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, Philadelphia was well positioned to become the nation's permanent capital. Geographically it sat almost in the middle of the original thirteen colonies. In 1775, people living in the colonies were largely localized between Boston and Alexandria, Virginia.[29] Out of that geographical span, the year before the Declaration of Independence was signed there, Philadelphia was the largest city. In 1790, New York City out populated Philadelphia, prompting some to argue that it should be the new nation's capital. Amongst the Founding Fathers and other political elites an apprehension emerged over placing the capital securely in the northern half of the young country. They wanted to find a permanent site for the nation's capital in a politically neutral territory, specifically about slavery, since so many of them either owned slaves or had business ties to the peculiar institution. A decade prior in 1780, the Pennsylvania legislature passed the Gradual Abolition Act, the first of its kind in the young nation. Aware of this fact, a compromise was made during the first session of Congress. Philadelphia would serve as the nation's capital for one decade while Washington, D.C. was to be built. With this history in mind and the city's abolitionist legacy, holding the Fair in the City of Brotherly Love may have appeared to solidify abolitionism as the national imaginary. Of course, this did not become the case, and the exhibition of 1876 remains an opportune political event to rethink Reconstruction's foreclosure.

[29] The tidal estuary cities of Charleston, SC and Savannah, GA claimed the largest population concentrations in the deeper parts of the South at the nation's founding. With 14-40 inhabitants per square mile, however, they did not have as significant of a population density as did the areas with over 40 inhabitants per square mile in the area we now understand to be the Boston-Washington, D.C. corridor (see map, courtesy of the U.S. Military Academy, at https://brilliantmaps.com/population-density-1775/).

The Fair ran a successful six-month run from May 10 to November 10, but three days before the close of the exhibition's six-month run the last nail in Reconstruction's coffin was placed.

On November 7, the U.S. citizenry went to the polls to elect a new president. The candidates were Rutherford B. Hayes (nominee for the Republican Party) and Samuel J. Tilden (nominee for the Democratic Party). Hayes lost the popular vote and for all extensive purposes tied with Tilden in the Electoral College. The all white delegates from Louisiana held up the electoral results with the "threat of a civil war," and a protracted filibuster lasted until March of the next year (Du Bois 1998, 483). They capitulated for the restoration of "home rule." Known as the Compromise of 1877, the Republican party would maintain control of the executive branch if President Grant and presumed President-Elect Hayes would promise to remove Federal troops from the South, specifically from three states which had strong Republican state governments during the Reconstruction era – Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Since the Freedmen's Bureau was first defunded in 1869 and then completely abandoned by Congress in 1872, the Federal Army's presence in the South was perhaps the only remaining institution actively charged to protect the political rights of Black Americans guaranteed by the Thirteenth (ratified in 1865), Fourteenth (ratified in 1868), and Fifteenth (ratified in 1870) Amendments. The Army, however, was seen by many white Southerners as an occupying force. Its continued presence directly contradicted their understanding of democracy, namely that local residents set the conditions for governance. Put differently, they insisted that the "native" population should decide how their resources should be delegated and how law should be enforced.

Since the phrase "home rule" operates at the level of national discourse as a repackaging of the political movement that lead to succession that boasted "state's rights," the establishment of the Confederate States of America, and the outbreak of the Civil War, returning to the

operationalization of the concept of home during the Fair, a decidedly national event, would provide insight into the form of nationalism that defeated abolitionism and reasserted settler-colonial priorities in the wake of U.S. industrialization. Since its founding, displaced peoples (i.e. the masses) have looked to the U.S. as a beacon of hospitality even as the American national project historically rested upon the further displacement of Indigenous peoples, enslaved Africans, and other migratory laborers (e.g. Chinese and Mexican) for its own material interests. As a result, the imaginary of a liberal and "welcoming America" became wrapped up in a national culture forged out of a triad of assumptions. The first assumption is a continent depicted as *geographic void* – a projected abundant yet vacant geographic mass ripe for a "sentimental attachment to rural living" (Hofstadter 1955, 24). *Independent choice* frames the second assumption which conceives of a populous consisting entirely of immigrants who willfully come to the U.S. and distance themselves from their former national home (Behdad 2005). Once new immigrants arrive to the shores of this "empty land," the third assumption comes into play – *rugged white masculinity*. For ethnic groups to acculturate, they must compete for space and resources amongst each other by articulating distinct and separate gendered and sexual roles as part and parcel of the civilizing project. In doing so, these newcomers only aim to change their place in a presumed racial structure through distancing themselves from those marked as inhuman by the founding institution of slavery (Treitler 2013). Taken together, all three provide the parameters of nativism as a political ideology that attaches to nationalism, shores up white supremacy, and depicts women as vessels to be simultaneously admired, controlled, and held responsible for the safe delivery of the nation's "native" offspring. Applying these parameters to the subject of the Centennial Fair, three questions arise. First, how did the gendered aspects of the political ideology of nativism that rose to national significance with the Know Nothing in the

1850s find refuge in the cultural performances of nationalism in the exhibitions at the Centennial Fair? Second, how did the marketing of the Fair to visitors perpetuate the deracination of the U.S. imaginary specifically when it came to the legacy of indigenous and Black people in and around the city of Philadelphia? Third, by excavating Black contributions to the public works in Philadelphia during the Centennial Fair, how did they express an alternative formulation of nationalism akin to the principles of what Du Bois calls abolition-democracy? Lastly, in re-centering Black women's bodies in the historiography of the Statue of Liberty, of which the arm and torch were on display at the Fair, does a nationalism founded on principles of abolition push democratic thought beyond the trappings of nativism? The sections that follow take each of these questions in turn, but before turning to them, let me lay out some key definitions.

According to Benedict Anderson, nationalism is more a cultural artefact than an ideology (1983/2006, 4–5). In practice, nationalism is the promotion of the political, social, and economic interests of a singular country or nation. Anderson defines nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). Heeding gender scholars dealing with the question of nation and nationalism (Kaplan et al. 1999), I insist that nationalism in the U.S. tends to ossify around essentialized assumptions about race and gender and thus becomes largely expressed through the ideology of nativism. Nativism is broadly understood as an "intense opposition to an internal minority based on its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connections" (Higham 2002, 4). Though they were not a traditional target of nineteenth-century nativist discourse because they were not considered immigrants, Blacks were demoted from the ranks of U.S. citizens when the assumptions surrounding nativism, specifically in regards to gender, combined with anti-Reconstruction efforts. A politics of gender sits at the heart of nativist assumptions because racial inheritance is tied to reproduction. For those races

and religious ethnicities in which women receive an elevated status in the nation as figures of motherhood and excellently perform that duty in its everyday space – the home, those groups are deemed having reached racial and religious progress (Newman 1999, 61–62; Casanova 2009, 21). Scholars investigating international exhibitions as a cultural institution of the Victorian era note the very political role they played from promoting "national imperial policies" (Rydell et al. 2000, 8) to solidifying "the idea of democracy as the voyeuristic consumption of commodity spectacle" (McClintock 1995, 59) and, ultimately, promising "social progress for the masses without revolution" (Buck-Morss 1991, 86). Social progress as opposed to "the complete guarantee of freedom" is what Du Bois describes when, as a result of the foreclosure of Reconstruction, slavery was abolished "only in name" (Du Bois 1998, 239).

Just like in the previous chapters, abolition-democracy here refers to "a politics committed to expanding freedom through the dissolution of whiteness" (Olson 2004, 126). It is this definition to which I am referring when I use the term abolitionism as well. This chapter uses the site of the Centennial Fair and a nineteenth-century travel book – *The Official Guide Book to Philadelphia: A New Handbook for Strangers and Citizens* (1875) written by Thompson Westcott and published by Porter and Coates in Philadelphia – as archives for exploring how nativism became embedded in the national political discourse up to this historical point in U.S. history. I then turn to specific monuments and sculptures on display or intended to be on display at the Fair/in the public venues of the city as related to Black Americans' contributions to the Fair and U.S. nationalism – the bust of Richard Allen, Edmonia Lewis's "Death of Cleopatra," and the torch of the Statue of Liberty. Like Anderson's treatment of the "tombs of Unknown Soldiers" (Anderson 2006, 9), I understand public monuments as expressions of the cultural roots of the nation. They can be read as part and parcel of a nation's political discourse. Since the Fair coincided, almost

to the year, with the formal dismantling of the Freedmen's Bureau – the institutional arm of Reconstruction – an assessment of the political discourse in the form of public monuments at and surrounding the Fair provides insight into the relationship between race, class, gender, and nation as the U.S. political and economic elites sanctified the abandonment of the radical democratic movement that Du Bois called abolition-democracy.[30] I begin by giving an overview of the rise of the Know Nothing Party, the short lived party from the mid-nineteenth century that most directly subscribed to nativism as an ideology, its relationship to a late-nineteenth century U.S. political party phenomenon known as machine style politics, and how the metaphor of the machine as a political organism of the urban environment played out in the gendered materiality of the very machines presented at the Fair.

A. Machines in the Streets and on Exhibition: Between Political Manhood and Female Consumption

According to Tyler Anbinder (1992), the Know Nothing Party came to prominence largely in urban spaces between May of 1853 and May of 1854 when organizers from the Order of the Star Spangled Banner (OSSB) began running for political office. Unlike "semi-secret" nativist groups preceding the Order, "OSSB members pledged to use their votes and personal influence to reduce the political power of both immigrants and the politicians who purportedly pandered to them" (Anbinder 1992, 20). Their pledge was directed at a popular practice that accompanied organized politics in the nineteenth century. Political patronage is the practice of elected officials appointing persons of their choosing to governmental positions. Of course, for patronage to occur, a political candidate needed to be elected first. Since elections were determined by

[30] Some may not be convinced that the Fair is a worthy subject for expanding Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy. With this said, it is worth noting that Du Bois mentions the exposition held in Philadelphia once in *BR* (1998, 629) and twice in *TPN* (2007, 79; 243).

winning a majority of the vote and universal white male suffrage was installed under the Jacksonian Revolution of the 1830s, currying favor amongst adult white male immigrants became a widespread party tactic by the 1850s. It is this set of circumstances combined with anti-immigrant sentiments being flamed by nativist groups that lead to the first real success of the Know Nothing Party.

In the Philadelphia mayoral race of 1854, Robert T. Conrad, nominated by the Whigs, ran against the Democratic nominee, Richard Vaux (53). Perhaps unknown to the declining party at the time of his nomination, Conrad was a Know Nothing. This fact became apparent during his campaign when he ran on the promise "to appoint only native-born Americans to office" and reduce the crime rate "which most native-born Philadelphians attributed to immigrants" (53-54). Other elements of his platform included temperance and anti-slavery, both of which were advocated for through an anti-immigrant, particularly anti-Catholic/anti-Irish, rationality (43-46). Given that areas in the hinterlands of the county of Philadelphia were consolidated into the city boundaries that year, the Democrats believed they had a solid lock on the outcome. Yet Conrad won the election, making the victory of the maiden party a surprise both locally and nationally. During the next fall election cycle, Know Nothing candidates would be on ballots across the North. Cashing in on anti-immigrant sentiment accompanied by "[a]ntipathy for political parties and professional politicians" became core facets of the Know Nothing platform (105). Put differently, they decried the emergence of machine style politics in U.S. cities and the corruption they attributed to it. Of course, the new party would soon be faced with a co-challenger to the Democratic Party that would find broader appeal because of its reach beyond urban centers – the Republicans (194-95). Furthermore, the Know Nothings became plagued by internal factions particularly over the issue of slavery. After a failed presidential run in 1856 by Millard Fillmore,

who was the last Whig to serve as President when he succeeded Zachary Tyler after dying in office in 1850, the Know Nothing Party declined and all but disappeared by 1859. Anbinder notes that scholars have assessed the simultaneous decline of the Know Nothings and the ascendancy of the Republicans by assessing the extent to which the new party endorsed nativism. He finds that the Republicans "did make a more concerted attempt to woo nativists than some historians have admitted … [but] [t]he moderation of their position on slavery and the endorsement of a more stringent protective tariff won Republicans the support of most Fillmore voters, and transformed the Republicans into the nation's dominant political organization" (Anbinder 1992, 247). It is important to recall that by the time that the Know Nothings reached national prominence as a political party the American Colonization Society solidified for in the U.S. public mind that Blacks, "even those born in the United States, maintained some deeper connection to Africa – they were 'aliens in the land of their birth'" (Diemer 2016, 7). Furthermore, the one element that relates most clearly to the analysis at hand in this chapter is the decidedly urban character of the Know Nothing Party and their rejection of machine style politics as corrupt because they opposed how successful political machines were in their ability to integrate newcomers from Europe into the ranks of U.S. citizens.

For those who study party politics and corruption, the historical origin of the term machine politics refers to a form of urban politics "that flourished in the United States around the turn of the [twentieth] century" (J. C. Scott 1969, 1143). This form refers to how a party is run as opposed to its ideology, class ties, leadership styles, or common programs. "The machine is rather a non-ideological organization interested less in political principle than in securing and holding office for its leaders and distributing income to those who run it and work for it" (1144).

Political historians focusing on the leadership element of machine politics known as "bosses" have modified this definition by using gender as a lens of analysis.

According to James J. Connolly, "[r]epresentations of bosses as workmen reinforced the argument that politics was a manly enterprise. A favorite counter to activist reformers among party politicians was to depict good-government advocates as effeminate and conventional party politics as masculine" (Connolly 2010, 68). Given machine style politics arose almost immediately after the Civil War, Kevin P. Murphy observes that this collision of the traditional ideology of separate spheres collided with organized politics compelled a "generation of reformers [to] recast themselves in the working-class masculine mold … to insulate themselves from charges of effeminacy leveled by party politicians, who had long ridiculed men who took up reform causes such as abolitionism and temperance" (Murphy 2008, 4). Though Murphy does not reference the Know Nothing Party directly, he does trace the emergence of the "mugwumps" – a set of "elite political reformers of in the latter half of the nineteenth century … who criticized the American party politics as thoroughly corrupted by the spoils system of patronage distribution and advocated for the disavowal of strict party loyalty" (14) – to those who used nativist claims and racist sentiments to critique the kinds of patronage associated with the rise of Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall in the 1870s (20-21; 39). Since the Reconstruction years sit between the rise and fall of the Know Nothing Party and the emergence of full-fledged machine style politics of the progressive era (1890s-1920s), the material reality of industrial machinery that informed the national imaginary on display at the Fair offers a discursive terrain to explore the relationship between class, gender, and race during this often-overlooked era.[31]

[31] It is worth mentioning that in his summation of the context out of which the machine became a metaphor for political organization, Connolly references the Fair: "The massive Corliss Engine, displayed at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, embodied the scale and power of industrial machinery, as did huge factories and powerful locomotives. … Labeling party

Though it included a variety of exhibits across seven departments including mining and metallurgy, manufactures, education and science, art, machinery, agriculture, and horticulture, machines are positioned as the most significant elements by many secondary accounts of the Fair, both aimed at general and academic audiences. In the volume dedicated to the Fair as part of a popular local history series entitled *Images of America*, authors Linda P. Gross and Theresa R. Snyder describe the Fair as "a convergence of technology and the emerging international marketplace into one major consumer spectacle of a magnitude unseen before on American shores" (Gross & Snyder 2005, 7). By a perusal of the many pictures featuring machines in the book, it becomes clear that the spectacle was a celebration of industry and patriotism. Given that the wounds of the Civil War were still relatively fresh, the commissioners of the Fair saw fit to bring together machines from across the U.S. and around the world "as a means for bridging the gaps between the North and South" (7-8). As mentioned above, those gaps appeared largely along the issues of race and gender. The rest of this section pays attention to the placement of two specific machines – the Corliss Engine as "the exhibition's centerpiece" (Rydell 1984, 15) and the domestic sewing machine as exemplified in the Singer Sewing Machine Company's "marketing the hearth" campaign launched at the Fair (Cruz-Fernández 2014, 455). Their placement reinforced rather than undercut Victorian gender roles and by extension reaffirmed political power to be attributed to a specific conception of manhood while the maintenance of economic comfort would be captured by female consumption. These are the very elements that in past chapters have been shown to contribute to Reconstruction's failure.

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organizing as machines ensured that they would be seen as a force to be reckoned with, one fully capable of undermining American democracy and corrupting the American people" (Connolly 2010, 60–61).

In his description of the opening ceremony, urban historian Gary B. Nash shows how the Corliss Engine became the centerpiece of the Fair on the very first day.:

> When the Exposition opened on May 10, 1876, President Ulysses Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro of Brazil … threw the switch on the gigantic seven-hundred-ton Corliss steam engine, equipped with a thirty-foot flywheel that supplied power to some 800 other machines at the fair, connected by an elaborate system of shafts, wheels, and belts. The crowd cheered and threw their hats in the air as thirteen acres of machinery began to spin cotton, print newspapers, saw logs, make shoes, lithograph wallpaper, and pump water. (Nash 2013, 263–64)

With this description of the Corliss engine as "gigantic" and "connected" to the "thirteen acres of machinery," it is no wonder that visitors to the Fair marveled at its vastness. Once visitors moved from the machinery hall to other sites throughout the fair, the may forget that the rest of the "thirteen acres of machinery" were realized only by being feed power from its two cylinders, which combined total over a mile in length. Once they had reached the Women's Exhibition Building or the Singer Sewing Company's building, however, they would be reminded of its patriarchal position to the fair already signified by the show of international corroboration in the movement for industrial progress by President Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro.

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, women had a distinct role to play in the organization and execution of the Fair. Since they served as caregivers to soldiers on all sides of the war and the wounds of that bloody struggle were still fresh, women were quickly positioned as essential for healing the nation. Aware of this gender dynamic, the all-male U.S. Centennial Board of Finance appointed a Women's Centennial Executive Committee in 1873 to serve as "domestic conciliator … in the task of American reconciliation" (Cordato 1983, 116). They were conscripted as the best marketers of the Fair's idea, but not necessarily as authors of that idea. Having sold subscriptions to Centennial stock, petitioned Congress for federal funding, and built a coalition of female contributors across the city and the country, space was reserved in the Main

Building for a special exhibit of women's work. Less than a year before the planned opening, the space was revoked by the male organizers of the Fair to accommodate the excess of requests from foreign exhibitors: "If women hoped to pay tribute to their work, the would have to erect a separate building for its display and bear the entire cost themselves" (117). Given that these women were already successful in fundraising, they returned to the networks they built and quickly raised the funds for a building of their own.

Inside that building at the time of the Fair, the displays spanned a variety of sectors in the modern age in which women were growing contributors: industrial inventions and fine arts; philanthropy and philosophy; fancy sewn articles and wood carvings; science and medicine; and, education and literature. Despite the emphasis on women's contributions to fields extending beyond the home, "[a] sizeable portion of the pavilion was devoted to what might be classified as women's domestic production" (124). Whether in the form of flower arrangements or embroidery, the positioning of these items of domestic production alongside patented inventions made by women intended for the easing of household labor reinforced the want to escape the drudgery of certain elements of reproductive labor – namely the labor intensities of cooking, cleaning, and producing/maintaining the family's wardrobe. Caste against the political struggle for women's suffrage that played out in the public parlors and streets across the city of Philadelphia during the Fair (129-131), the women organizers pushed to make other aspects of reproductive labor more of a public, rather than a private, concern. These elements could have been found in displays emphasizing education (i.e. the kindergarten) and public health (i.e. the sanitary board). The Women's Building was a success regarding its organization and execution, but by not serving as a site for any one of the seven classified departments of the Fair – "Mining and Metallurgy," "Manufactures," "Education and Science," "Art," "Machinery," "Agriculture,"

and Horticulture" (Westcott 1875, 374), it remained as auxiliary to the Fair's overall message. The building mirrored the treatment of the Women's Centennial Executive Committee in the Fair's intellectual development.

Since it was an international trade fair, smaller special trade buildings were also a significant draw for the crowds. Many of these buildings demonstrated a key element of the reorganization of the economy due to the industrial turn – that the home was a site for the consumption, as opposed to the production, of formally handmade goods now produced on mass, by machines, in factories. According to historian Paula A. De La Cruz-Fernández, the Singer Sewing Machine Company orchestrated perhaps the most cutting edge display presenting this transition to the attendees at the Fair:

> Here, the company selectively and cleverly included women and welcomed their participation as consumers, as well as producers. … Responding to critics who emphasized the health consequences of women's factory sewing, Singer incorporated domesticity in its marketing. At the Fair, Singer's building was largely dedicated to home sewing and decorative embroidery. Although the company displayed its latest specialized industrial sewing machines for leather or carpets, the display chiefly focused on family sewing machine models for potential consumers to both admire and try. Singer's goal was to capture the interest of women and their families by exhibiting quality samples of work completed on a sewing machine designed for home use. (Cruz-Fernández 2014, 454-455)

Cruz-Fernández calls the Singer company strategy a "marketing the hearth" campaign. The discourse circulated specifically around embroidery was one of feminine industriousness, intergenerational attentiveness, and the creation of "a safe space to avoid the perils of rapid urbanization and industrialization" (449). As such, Singer's building provided commentary on the U.S. national imaginary by positing the home, and the woman inside of it attending to her family by the aid of her individual domestic machine, as the site of refuge from industrial and urban growth.

The contributions to the edited volume *Between Woman and Nation* (Alarcón et al. 1999) explore the importance of gendered figures for the constructions of nationalism, homeland,

country, region, and locality, issues clearly connected to nativism. The volume extends prior scholarship which exposed in the mainstream literature a trend to replicate "the essential woman" as the iconic signifier of the nation. In the introduction, the editors insist that such an essentialization is always already faulty. By deploying female figures as national icons in the imaginary, the reality of women's labor, all economic, political, and culture, opens up space beyond and between these very constructions: "women are both of and not of the nation" (12). At the Fair, the Singer Building and the displays within it set the stage for the acceptance of an essentialized female figure as an icon in the American national imaginary – the patriotic seamstress. In the nineteenth-century, "[s]ocial reformers and home economists believed that the mechanization and rationalization of female labor would corrupt not only women, but also the home" (Cruz-Fernádez 2014, 443-444). Focusing on the private space of the home for their marketing, Singer positioned the new domestic sewing machine as a healthy alternative for both the middle-class family and the working-class women who must endure the grit and grime of the factory floor. The logic suggested is that every purchase of a domestic sewing machine may curb rapid industrialization all the while reminding women that their value in the home is tied to their ability to make that space comfortable by means of their own decorative touch. By being effective and productive homemakers, women can serve the national agenda of progress and civilization at the heart of the Fair discourse.

By equating domesticity with femininity, the representation of progress at the Fair mirrored the gender assumptions at the base of the era's race science. E. Frances White shows that for Charles Darwin, "the preeminent scientist of the nineteenth century, discussions about race and gender were inseparable" (E. F. White 2001, 97). Those ethnicities that performed more distinct gender roles within their ranks – with women of a specific ethnic background conforming to

domesticity while men of the same background positioning themselves as the agents of public life – were figured as civilized, while those members of ethnicities that did not perform gender differentiation along the lines of the domestic versus public spheres were deemed uncivilized. The organizers of the Women's Building seemed to conform to this standard by both excluding Black women from exhibition space, despite their serving as fundraisers for the Building (Rydell 1984, 28), and obscuring from public view the exhibit entered by the American Woman Suffrage Association featuring the subject of "Protests of Women Against Taxation Without Representation" (Cordato 1983, 129). By conforming to domesticity, white women's involvement at this fair would set the stage for one of their own being instilled into the symbolic fabric of the national imaginary at the next World's Fair to be held in the U.S. – the Columbian Exhibition of 1893.

At the Columbian Exhibition, the patriotic seamstress was debuted in Charles H. Weisgerber's painting *The Birth of Our Nation's Flag* (1893). The piece was a featured in the Pennsylvania House, a building at the 1893 fair where one visitor commented that "Pennsylvania again seeks to identify herself with the beginning of the Nation, in the present case with the origin of the national emblem itself" (cited in Menezes 1997, 74). The image features the white Philadelphian seamstress Betsy Ross displaying for the first time the flag to George Washington, George Ross, and Robert Morris. According to art and political historian JoAnn Menezes, this image elevates Betsy Ross "to her position of national prominence as an historic figure – the mother of the new nation because this picture not only constructs an historic moment, it also creates an icon" (77). Though the marketing strategy of the Singer building at the Centennial World's Fair which positioned women sewing as a feature of both U.S. progress and patriotism precedes the national embrace of Betsy Ross, these two narratives were already alive in well in

the city of Philadelphia in the lead up to the 1876 Fair. In 1870, Betsy Ross's grandson, William J. Canby, presented a paper entitled "The Origin of the American Flag" to the Pennsylvania Historical Society which set the scene of Weisgerber's painting (77).

While the male political leaders of the late nineteenth century are figured alongside the massive machines that would not only power the Fair but the factories and economies that would see their respective countries in the Americas embrace of industrialism, women's representation at the fair relegated their role to the position of homemakers of the nation. Their patriotic responsibility would be positioned largely as consumers of the products manufactured. Confining them to the domestic sphere would also protect them from the fears of racial mixing that accompanied the antebellum abolitionist movement and spanned through Reconstruction. Returning to Cedric J. Robinson's analysis of miscegenation in anti-abolitionist cartoons explored in chapter two may be useful in thinking about the overlapping of race and gender at the Fair. Robinson shows how the term "amalgamation" was deployed in anti-abolitionist political cartoons of the 1820s and 1830s to stoke fears of race mixing (Robinson 2012, 45–50). One such cartoonist was Edward W. Clay, whose 1939 series *Practical Amalgamation* depicted the Black middle-class of Northern antebellum cities socializing with their white abolitionists counterparts in saloons, opera houses, and ballrooms. The term amalgamation, which meant merely to mix, was used favorably in the early nineteenth century to refer to the civil coming together necessary for republican politics (Mercieca 2010, 180). In 1863, corresponding to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, it was abandoned for "a much more precise word and one without any possible favorable overtones" – miscegenation (Wood 1968, 54). State-level anti-miscegenation laws spread across the country to criminalize Black and white racial intercourse (Browning 1951), but also emerged as a strategy to restrict the sexuality of various immigrant

populations, namely men of color, in order to maintain the racial hierarchy of a white-majority America. During the Reconstruction era, the first Congressional proposal for a constitutional amendment to make interracial marriage illegal was proposed by Andrew King, a Democratic lawmaker from Missouri, in 1871 (Stein 2004, 629).

Though Rydell notes that the racial hostility displayed towards the international visitors "revealed that white Americans brought their accumulated racial attitudes with them to the fair and that fairgoers found nothing in the opening ceremonies to negate their assumptions" (1987, 14), it is only by looking at the symbolic importance placed by the centering of the Corliss engine in those opening ceremonies that we start to see how nativism operated at the Fair. The Corliss engine, which burned 1.47 million pounds of coal from May 10 to November 10, 1876 (E. S. Ferguson 1984, 426), ran the sewing machines in the Singer Company Building. The male politicians who opened the Fair by turning on the massive machine located in Machinery Hall were positioned as running their perspective nations and the geopolitical strategy of the settler-colonial countries located in the western hemisphere. Between the Women's Building and the Singer Company Building at the Centennial Fair, the groundwork was laid for the embrace of Ross – a white woman – as a mothering figure for the nation at the Columbian Exhibition. She is remembered as "sewing the seed that is the idea (or design) implanted by Washington" (Menezes 1997, 82).[32] I have argued in this section that women's familial role as seamstresses became an

[32] Just a reminder, Weisgerber's painting depicts the revolutionary era which decidedly precedes the introduction of the domestic sewing machine by three-quarters of a century. According to Marguerite Connolly, "[b]y 1890 the sewing machine had lost its novelty and had become an accepted part of domestic life" (Connolly 1999, 36). The absence of such a machine in the depiction of the flag's origins does not entirely displace the significance of the machine in U.S. domestic life and economy between 1876 and 1893, nor for the metaphorical positioning of the sewing machine vis-à-vis the Corliss engine at the Fair in the national political imaginary. Furthermore, given that the "ready-made garments became widely available" by 1820 (45), the displacement of the U.S. woman as seamstress material coincided with the winning of women's suffrage. This material history of the domestic sewing machine puts into further context why

accepted part of the national political horizon from the Centennial Fair forward. Put simply, the positioning of a seamstress as a national icon does not displace the patriarchal elements underwriting settler-colonialism and nativism. Rather, they reinforce it.

To conclude this section, let me return to the opening ceremony and the political figures that oversaw it – President Grant and Dom Pedro of Brazil. At the time, Grant was regarded as the Reconstruction President (Waugh 2009), whereas Dom Pedro was the leader of a country that would not abolish slavery until 1888 (Horne 2007). In this juxtaposition of international embrace, the opening ceremony itself appears to speak volumes about the foreclosure of abolition-democracy, the installment of the Gilded Age on the heels of what Du Bois describes in *BR* as a Black proletarian revolution, and the positioning of women as consumers as opposed to producers of "democracy." Furthermore, the Corliss engine acts as a national fetish, absorbing the assumptions of nativism and projecting a sense of connectedness. It is presented as bringing order and rhythm to a nation that was recently wrecked by division, all the while covering over the fact that slavery, the division exposed by abolitionist as a global phenomenon, made possible the industrial revolution reaching the Americas.[33] Grant and Dom Pedro lock hands to usher in a new era for the nations of the western hemisphere as legitimate competitors in the global marketplace vis-à-vis their colonial inheritors of Europe by covering over the fact that slavery

political theorist Judith Shklar names this victory "the biggest non-event in electoral history" (1991, 60).

[33] It is worth noting here that the George Henry Corliss (1817-1888), the man who created the Corliss steam engine on display at the Fair, developed his first steam engine with the intention of powering the kinds of textile mills he worked in as a young man in New England. He received his first patent in 1849 and in the 1850s "many Corliss engines replaced conventional steam engines already at work in textile mills and other industrial plants" (Ferguson 1984, 232). These mills were largely fed by cotton harvested by slaves in the South that was shipped to these New England industrial sites. For all extensive purposes, the success of the Corliss Engine which lead to its featuring at the Fair was a result of its intimate connection to slavery.

continues on their shared shore of the Atlantic, although localized to Brazilian borders. The Corliss engine's mass and location as the central nervous system of the Fair does more than symbolize the rise of machine politics. It displaces abolitionist and Reconstruction efforts and relegates women's contribution to the nation separate from the grit and drive of politics.

B. The Deracination of the City in the Official Guidebook of Philadelphia

In the chapter dedicated to the Centennial World's fair in *All the World's a Fair*, historian Robert W. Rydell (1984) gives three distinct points of measurement for the success of the exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876: it constituted a renaissance for the Smithsonian Institution (36); "The Board of Finance was left with a two million dollar surplus before repaying the government loan" (36); and it welcomed almost ten million attendees (10). In this section, I provide an analysis of *The Official Guide Book to Philadelphia: A New Handbook for Strangers and Citizens* (1875) written by Thomas Westcott (hereafter simply *Official Guidebook*) and published by Philadelphia publishers Porter and Coates. Adopting political theorist Margaret Kohn's (2003) approach to space in her critique of the "bourgeois public sphere", I show that the lack of depictions of indigenous and Black life in and around the city of Philadelphia constitutes a deracination of the U.S. national imaginary through the two-pronged approach whereby rural spaces are depicted as devoid of indigenous Americans and urban spaces are depicted as devoid of Black Americans. Given that this project centers on the contributions of Black people to the city of Philadelphia during the Reconstruction era and to Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy, I then return to Du Bois and *TPN* to think about the decided absence of Blacks in the *Official Guidebook* as a result a willful desire for a post-racial nation in the wake of Reconstruction.

Anticipating the many visitors who would occupy the streets of Philadelphia in the next year, the editors of the *Official Guidebook* notes the purpose of its contents in the following way in the preface:

> This work has been arranged to facilitate the visitor in his inquiries, to point out to him the most notable places, and to furnish information as fully as the space that can be devoted to each subject in a book intended to be portable to permit. It is believed that this hand-book will enable the stranger to spend his leisure in the city with the best advantage and with judicious employment of time. (Westcott 1875, 4)

What I find most interesting about the language here is that though the subtitle of the guidebook states that the text is for "citizens" as well as "strangers," it is clearly being marketed to those who would consider themselves the later. Turning to the contents of the book perhaps the handbook still addresses the citizens, albeit indirectly, by serving as a presentation of who constitutes the citizens of Philadelphia to those visitors.

After the table of contents in which chapters are dedicated to topics like hotels, public buildings, and the "International Exhibition of 1876," Westcott provides a "Sketch of the History of Philadelphia." He begins that sketch with "the first European who trod the soil which now belongs to the city of Philadelphia was probably a certain Captain Hendrickson … in the year 1609" (13). From this initial sentence throughout the rest of the provided history of the city, the conflicts engaged by or over European settlement will be prioritized. Hendrickson is a key player in the first conflict which would determine the European presence on the land that would become Philadelphia – the claims made by the Dutch, the Swedish, and the British who each had physically landed and set up various degrees of market operations in the region. The outcome of a war that broke out between the two who boasted stronger navies in 1762 – the Dutch and the British – determined the colonial charter. Given that Great Britain won that war, the contested Dutch settlements in the Americas, including those in New York and Pennsylvania, came under

their control as established by a treaty with Holland in 1764 (15). It is here that William Penn, the man who was granted the charter of Pennsylvania and designed Philadelphia, comes into the narrative. An illustration of his house, which is the second out of the ninety-two images listed in the official guidebook, is the only image to be embedded in the historical sketch (17). Penn's placement here, in both print and illustration, tells the reader that he is the most important figure in Philadelphian history. If there is any doubt of this, one need only to look to the first official illustration of the guidebook of the yet to be completed City Hall where a monument of William Penn is figured as being destined for the top of the building's central dome. This image, which has no page number, stands opposite of the title page.

The rest of the historical sketch is organized by other conflicts with which the city is embedded. It is in the very next conflict, the French and Indian Wars, where there is any substantial reference to the indigenous peoples who occupied the land where Philadelphia stands in the late nineteenth century. There is a brief mention of them earlier in the section when Penn received the charter and sent Captain William Markham, his cousin, "to assemble the Indians and inform them that his [Penn's] intended policy toward them was peace and honesty" (16). When he discusses the French and Indian Wars, Westcott presents the city as a refuge for indigenous peoples: "In 1763 the massacre of Indians at Paxton, Lancaster county, led to the removal of many of the Moravian Indians to Philadelphia for protection" (22). The historical sketch then turns to the conflicts amongst those living in the area with the British, such as the Stamp Act and the lead up to the Revolutionary War. He also describes the moment of the Declaration of Independence and the moving of the state and national capitals out of Philadelphia to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. respectively. His choice to discuss the development of canals and railroads throughout the region right after this point suggests that local leadership in

these technological advancements helped to ultimately distance the city from the state and federal political architecture. There is no mention of the further displacement of the indigenous peoples of the Philadelphia area, nor the Susquehanna River valley where Harrisburg would be built, nor the swamps surrounding the Chesapeake Bay which became the site of Washington.

The historical sketch then turns to the various political riots that have emerged in the city of Philadelphia since its founding. It is in this section where Westcott first mentions Blacks and slavery: "A spirit of riot and disorder which passed over the United States in 1834 reached Philadelphia in August of that year, and lead to disturbance between whites and blacks on the 12th or the 13th. Colored people were assaulted, their houses broken into, a meeting-house town down near the Wharton market, and other outrages occurred" (38-39). There is no mention of the Gradual Abolition Act of 1780, which I discuss in chapter two. There is no mention that the first slave ship to arrive in Philadelphia landed in 1684, the very year that Philadelphia was built, or that "slave labor was integral to the region even before William Penn founded Pennsylvania" (Gigantino 2012). In a later chapter dedicated to "Buildings of a Public Character of Historic Note," there is a mention of the public sale of "negro slaves" in a short section dedicated to "The Old London Coffee-House" (Westcott 1875, 326). Furthermore, the rest of the paragraph in which the above quote resides discusses the Catholic riots instigated by "the Native American party," which is one of the names that referred to the "Know Nothing Party" (39–40).

Directly after his discussion of the riots, Westcott mentions that Act of Consolidation of 1854, which is when the city limits were extended to the county borders. He finds this decision to be a structural response to a political "evil":

> In the course of time suburbs outside of the city of Philadelphia adjoining were created Districts having separate municipal powers. Under this system grew up a heterogeneous aggregation of municipalities, independent of each other, frequently discordant in policy, by

> which the interests of the people of the city and county of Philadelphia, which were identical, were made by course of legislation hostile to each other. (41)

What Westcott fails to clarify here is that one of the most "hostile" legislations passed in the lead up to the act of consolidation was the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Once outside the jurisdiction of the Philadelphia police force, which came into formal existence locally in 1751 (Elkins 2012), major stations on the Underground Railroad (Okur 1995) were now targets of police enforcement. According to the Fugitive Slave Act, both the fugitives themselves and those who harbored them were criminals, making them prime subjects for the Philadelphia police department which was entrusted by decree of state law in that very year "to maintain public order, prevent riots, and apprehend criminals" (Elkins 2012). In the section set aside to discuss the police (Westcott 1875, 56–57), again the guidebook makes no mention to this history.

The very next paragraph is also the last paragraph in the historical sketch. It is full of references to public spaces: churches, hospitals, asylums, "houses for the friendless and helpless," benevolent associations, schools, academies, colleges, public buildings, and "parks and enclosures thrown open to general use" (41). There are many illustrations of these spaces also presented in the book from Central High School to the hospital of the University of Pennsylvania to Old Swedes' Church to Carpenters' Hall to Memorial Hall at the Fair site. It is to these very spaces to which the rest of the guidebook attends, but these spaces connote more than just public places of note for visitors. In *Radical Space: Building the House of the People*, Margaret Kohn writes,

> Particular places orchestrate social behavior by providing scripts for encounters and assembly. The built environment shapes individuals' actions and identities by reinforcing relatively stable cues about social behavior. … Buildings, architectural plans, sacred space, boundaries, public/private domains, and ruins can be read as texts that communicate important elements of culture and patterns of power. They are also ways of enacting and thereby reproducing power relations. (2003, 3)

The *Official Guidebook* only mentions three public spaces that were designed for or by Black Philadelphians: the Colored Orphan's Shelter (221), the Home for Destitute Colored Children (223), and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Men and Women (228). All three are mentioned in the chapter dedicated to "Asylums and Homes." Even though the Institute for Colored Youth (ICY) was still in operation in Philadelphia on Bainbridge Street when Westcott's book was published, it is not mentioned in the section dedicated to schools, academies, and colleges. There is also no mention of Camp William Penn, which trained the first regiments of USCT during the Civil War and closed only ten years prior in 1865, when discussing military institutions in and around the city. In the chapter dedicated to churches, the publisher notes that there are "six Methodist African, one African and one Free Methodist" (270), but there is no mention the first African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) which was founded in Philadelphia. There is no illustration of Mother Bethel. In *TPN*, Du Bois notes, "The growth of Bethel Church, founded by Richard Allen, on South Sixth Street, has been so phenomenal that it belongs to the history of the nation rather than to any one city" (2007, 199).

Also, throughout the *Official Guidebook* there are only two mentions to the indigenous peoples. One is in the chapter dedicated to the "Relief Societies" in the city when there is a mention of the "Indian Aid Association" and the "Indian Hope Association," which are coupled with the "Pennsylvania Colonization Society" and the "Friends' Association for the Relief of Colored Freedmen" (Westcott 1875, 236). The second reference appears in the description of "The Treaty Ground" as part of the chapter devoted to "Places of Historical Interest." The description reads as follows: "According to the tradition which was long considered to be of undoubted verity, William Penn, after he arrived in Pennsylvania, assembled the Indians by their head chiefs, and made with them a treaty of peace and friendship which, it is assumed, was never

broken, although the Penn family during the last century authorized war against the Indians of the interior of Pennsylvania by actual proclamation" (315). It is important to recognize that both associations dedicated to "Indians" were established and directed by non-indigenous peoples, Hicksite Quakers (Jaquette 1957) and Protestant Episcopal missionaries (Donovan 1982). Combining this information with the quote above which centers Penn's benevolence as opposed to the agency of the indigenous peoples, there is little provided by the pages in the *Official Guidebook* to understand how Native Americans in the city of Philadelphia would develop "the Women's National Indian Association and the Indian Rights Association, both founded in Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century, [and] led the way in setting a national agenda concerning the plight of Native Americans" (Houting 2012).

Returning to Kohn's assessment of the relationship between place and space, what do these absences tell us about the social behavior of Philadelphia at the time of the Fair, both on the ground and projected to visitors? First, that their contributions are not part of the "official" narrative of the city. And second, that the visitors are not meant to engage or associate with the organically grown civil society built from and by Black and indigenous culture. In conclusion, the illustrations presented within the *Official Guidebook* prioritize the bourgeois public houses within the city. As Kohn summarizes Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere, "it provided a link between the established channels of political authority and purely private economic and domestic interests" (Kohn 2003, 29). Of course, churches and civil organizations are not what Habermas had in mind since "the public sphere was not a physical place. It was an analytic construct that could not be reduced to a particular location such as a café or club" (29). The *Official Guidebook* does make mention to secular spaces more akin to Habermas's cafés or clubs, but they include sites like the Old London Coffee House, the original site of Philadelphia's

slave auction, or the "minstrelsy" opera houses which are described as "audiences of the highest respectability, the performances being chaste and amusing, free from any offensive feature" (Westcott 1875, 260). Since we know that the minstrelsy on display in the theaters and at the Fair emphasized former enslaved Blacks as having been "happy" under slavery (Robinson 2012; Rydell 1984, 29). What I am suggesting here is that by not including any mention to the public houses built or occupied by Black Philadelphians, the radical democratic potential of abolition along with those very residents become displaced from the national imaginary.

As explored in chapter one, Du Bois in *TPN* provides a corrective to the invisibilization of Black Philadelphians from the *Official Guidebook*. Attentive to the conditions of pauperization, racial conflict, and the escalation of crime as common fixtures amongst Black Philadelphians merely a generation after the Civil War, Du Bois also attends to the psychological occlusions in the way Philadelphia refashioned itself as a post-emancipation beacon for the rest of the country.

> Presumably the first impulse of the average Philadelphian would be emphatically to deny any such marked and blighting discrimination … against a group of citizens in this metropolis. Every one knows that in the past color prejudice in the city was deep and passionate; living men can remember when a Negro could not sit in a street car or walk many streets in peace. These times have passed, however, and many imagine that active discrimination against the Negro has passed with them. … To be sure a colored man to-day can walk the streets of Philadelphia without personal insult; he can go to theatres, parks and some places of amusement without meeting more than stares and discourtesy; he can be accommodated at most hotels and restaurants, although his treatment in some would not be pleasant. … And yet all that has been said of the remaining discrimination is but too true. (Du Bois 2007, 325–26)

Here Du Bois offers a description of a post-racial American locality before the turn of the twentieth century. This is not a truth statement, as the last sentence insists, but rather a willful belief of what the city could be. As mentioned earlier, it was the municipality that housed the largest radical free Black community in the North prior to the War. It also profoundly influenced the socialization of abolitionists for decades. As such, Du Bois suggests it should be faring better

than it was within a generation of the ending of the Civil War. It is why he takes on the social scientific question: what are the conditions holding back these trends?

Du Bois's study presents various specific structural factors effecting the social mobility of Blacks in Philadelphia: not being able to find work, having difficulty maintaining employment when found, frequently if not always being recognized as disqualified for their work, paying higher rents, and having limited education opportunities. The sheer number of cases where Du Bois corroborates such discrimination casts doubts on this late nineteenth century's version of "post-racialism." White Philadelphians continued to engage in prejudice, whether directly or indirectly, and displayed subsequent impatience toward those long considered "anticitizens" (Roediger 1999, 57). As Du Bois sees it, this race prejudice continued "to hinder and retard the efforts of an earnest people to rise, simply because [whites] lack faith in the ability of that people" (Du Bois 2007, 388–89). Even if Blacks wanted to labor for a home at any or all levels, the structural nodes of "color prejudice" made this difficult: "the environment in which a Negro finds himself - the world of custom and thought in which he must live and work, the physical surrounding of house and home and ward, the moral encouragements and discouragements which he encounters" (284). He notes that color prejudice is a vague characterization, so he focuses not on the feelings of those who experience this prejudice but rather on "its concrete manifestations" (ibid.). By continuing to push on the contradictions, both to capitalist logics and white American interests, Du Bois shows how this prejudice manifests. The Blacks of Philadelphia are "a people receiving a little lower wages than usual for less desirable work, and compelled, in order to do that work, to live in a little less pleasant quarters than most people, and pay for them somewhat higher rents" (296). And it is in this material reality, complicated by

persistent and sustained prejudice, that Du Bois locates the reasons for poverty and crime amongst the predominantly Black Seventh Ward.

Du Bois also notes a global trend that contributed to the practice of not hiring Blacks for service positions. By the end of the nineteenth century, it became fashionable to hire "English trained servants, [and] the more docile Swedes," meaning "better paid white servants were brought in to displace Negro servants" (139). Whether it was their better training or white Philadelphians attempting to perform anti-racism for a global audience and feeding the "beyond race prejudice" line held by many in the city, not hiring Blacks as servants exacerbated the already concentrated poverty within their community. Here Du Bois shows how the combined process of devaluation, that of Black labor and Black life, began during this early stage of classically liberal capitalism. Being now pushed out of the lowest sector with little to no other avenues for their employment, this meant that Blacks had to seek a wage in alternative economies through crime or find subsistence through benevolence societies (140). Du Bois declares that these narrow opportunities keep Blacks from earning a decent living in Philadelphia. His conclusion is that white Philadelphians need to shift their overall approach: "Such discrimination is morally wrong, politically dangerous, industrially wasteful, and socially silly. It is the duty of the whites to stop it, and to do so primarily for their own sake" (394).

In *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770*-1870, Trish Loughran pushes back on Benedict Anderson's analysis of print culture for understanding the concept of the nation by showing that the intellectual history of federalism created a multiplicity of local and regional publics rather than an overarching public imaginary until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. Only then, "the United States finally did away constitutionally with the last remnant of the Confederation and of the local, regional, and state-based identities

for which the Revolution had been fought. The United States thus emerged as an actual nation" (Loughran 2007, 443–44). By returning to a case of print culture circulated around and for the Fair, this section shows that even though this may have been the case, the national imaginary was clearly not intended for all peoples but rather for nativists who aimed to exclude non-whites as well as new arrivals whose religious, ethnic, racial, and even political ties threatened the framers' inherent stress on white supremacy. In the next section, I turn to the contributions of abolitionists to fair culture. After discussing abolitionist women's contribution, I spend the majority of the section on the struggle by Black leaders and artists to create monuments representing different racial and gendered bodies and to place them in the public spaces that constituted the national home of the U.S. imaginary on display at the Fair.

C. The Contributions of Women and Black Peoples at and Around the Fair

U.S. fair culture, like other fair cultures in other countries, began in the nineteenth century. Philadelphia holds a very significant place in its development because it is here where the anti-slavery fairs that preceded the Civil War and the wartime Sanitary Fair movement got its start. Both were emerged as fundraising events. The first was to support anti-slavery activities and the second to promote the Union Army. According to one World's Fair historian, the organization skills developed during the Sanitary Fairs held in Philadelphia during the Civil War provided ample experience to the organizers of the Centennial Fair (Rydell 1984, 10). Sanitary Fairs were established in 1863 to raise funds for Union troops in the form of medical, hygiene, and uniform supplies, becoming "perhaps the most enduring symbol of home-front mobilization" (Newman 2013, 57). Philadelphia's contributions to those efforts culminated in the Great Central Fair of 1864: "Nearly every Philadelphian, it seemed, was involved one way or another. The fair drew

on and strengthened patriotic fervor. In the process, the line between the public and private lives of women became thoroughly blurred" (Nash 2013, 246).

Of course, abolitionist women were blurring the lines of domesticity in Philadelphia well before the start of the Civil War. The PFASS put on an annual Antislavery Fair from 1835 to 1861 where they would sell various items including antislavery publications, free labor produce, and hand sewn objects. Historian Jean R. Soderlund describes their involvement as follows:

> The society began as a team of energetic young women seeking new members and knocking on doors to obtain signatures for petitions; it eventually became a narrow, introspective circle of antislavery veterans who spent much of their time preparing for the annual fair. This transformation was complex, for the society did not abandon all of its early priorities. For example, although it ceased active efforts to recruit members, its leadership consistently included women of varied backgrounds. The African American women who helped to establish the organization remained among its core of leaders. And though the shift of emphasis from arranging antislavery lectures and circulating petitions to organizing the annual fair initially appears to be a retreat from the political arena to the private, in fact the society achieved significant political ends through the sale of sewn articles and other goods. Concentrating on the fair required less disregard of accepted gender roles than obtaining signatures on petitions; still, the Philadelphia society used the impressive proceeds of its fair to gain power within the abolitionist movement, especially the state society, which included women and men. (1994, 68)

Unlike the description of how women were sought by the all-male U.C. Centennial Board of Finance to act as political leverage for American reconciliation in the lead up to the Fair, abolitionist women built fair culture from the ground up through acts of love for strangers suffering under the conditions of slavery.

According to cultural historian Beverly Gordon, "[t]hrough the fair, women both played upon … domesticity (i.e., by selling domestic products and using domestically based enterprise and dramatizing their own piety and charitableness) and played against it (i.e., by acting flirtatious and aggressively pursuing the saleswoman role)" (1998, 57). In their Twenty-Eighth Annual Report, the PFASS documented the success of their last fair held. Though there is no clearly acknowledged reason as to why the society decided that the 1861 annual fair was to be their last,

the report notes that many prior contributors to the annual fairs "have been devoting their time and energies to the clothing and comfort of the soldiers in the armies of the country" (PFASS 1862, 22). Secondary sources conclude from this and other society documents that the Civil War contributed to the discontinuation of the anti-slavery fairs: "The outbreak of hostilities in 1861 put an end to these fairs which had enabled the Anti-Slavery Society to carry on so successfully" (Rush 1946, 75). When situating these fairs into the historical trajectory of fair culture, the female anti-slavery activities overlapped with the growing Sanitary movement at the outbreak of the Civil War and thus enabled the organization of the Centennial Fair.

From the historical trace given above, it is not an ahistorical leap to say that the Centennial World's Fair grew out of the abolitionist praxis of Philadelphian women, both white and Black, so the solidification of abolitionism in the nation imaginary at this global event seemed poised for success. Looking back at the trajectory of U.S. fair culture, this does not bear out. According to one historian attending the sanitary fair movement, "the Great Central Fair marginalized abolitionists, extending nary an invitation to racial reformers who might have spoken about the great emancipation war—certainly a strange thing in the birthplace of the American anti-slavery movement" (Newman 2013, 58). By 1876, many of the formal abolition societies had been disbanded and their members took up other causes like Freedmen's aid and woman's suffrage. Many of the abolitionist leaders, like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, had become significant figures at the national stage because they continued their efforts in these causes.

At the opening day of the Fair, Douglass was invited to be seated on the main platform with President Ulysses S. Grant and other national and global dignitaries, an honor he almost missed since the police of Philadelphia refused him admittance to the platform. He persisted, and once gaining access to the platform the crowd broke out in a loud cheer (Foner 1978, 283–84).

Though there is no documentation that Tubman visited the Fair, her commitment to the ending of slavery and her connections to Philadelphia were on display in William Still's widely circulated firsthand account of the actions took by fugitive slaves, *The Underground Railroad Records* (Gara 1961, 43–44; Hall 2003, 58). As for the leaders and the more common residents from the well-established community of Black Philadelphians, the Fair was initially embraced as "occasion to eliminate whatever remained of color prejudice" in the nation (Foner 1978, 284). Eager to find themselves among the ranks of fundraisers, organizers, and laborers, their contributions to the Fair were largely stifled by direct exclusion when it came to employment opportunities, under or no representation in the exhibition halls, and social marginalization from the organizational sectors of the Fair (Rydell 1984, 27–29).

According to another historian of the Centennial Fair, there was a mission of national progress and national unity at the Fair, but "[r]eferences to African Americans' rights as citizens with a legitimate place in the nation were few and far between in this racially exclusive discourse of unity" (Kachun 1998, 306). Between Douglass being able to be seen and not heard at the opening ceremony and Tubman's presence in a book that documented Blacks largely vacating the U.S. to escape slavery, the nationalism on display at the Fair appears to reassert rather than move beyond the white settler-colonial legacy that underscored the nation's founding at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet there were two sculptures either on display at the Fair or intended to be installed permanently on the fairgrounds produced for and by people of color worth noting: Edmonia Lewis's *The Death of Cleopatra* (1876) and the A.M.E. efforts to raise a statue to Richard Allen (1876). I will take both these pieces of art in turn.

Mary Edmonia "Wildfire" Lewis was a sculptress of mixed African-American and Native American descent.[34] Though her specific birthdate is officially unknown, scholars largely concur that her birth year lies between 1843 and 1845. Her father was a Black gentleman's servant. Her mother was a Chippewa Indian. Being orphaned young, she was raised amongst the Chippewas, who called her by the name her mother bestowed on her – Wildfire. At the age of twelve, her brother, a California gold miner, arranged for her to enter a preparatory school known as the New York Central College outside of Albany. In 1859, she entered Oberlin College, again supported financially by her brother. It was in Ohio that she assumed the name Mary Edmonia Lewis; however, she later would drop the first name from her artistic signature. Lewis actively began to pursue art while studying at Oberlin, but due to a variety of scandals revolving around her racial presentation she would be forced to leave before completing her degree. In 1863, she left Ohio for Boston where she was embraced by white abolitionist leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison and Lydia Maria Child. It was Garrison who noticed Lewis's artistic talent and introduced her to the noted Bostonian sculptor, Edward Brackett. For the next two years, she would study with Brackett. Inspired by the sight of the 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment, the first all-black regiment to be raised in the North, marching through the streets of Boston in May of 1863, Lewis produced a bust of their lead officer and son of prominent Boston abolitionists – Union Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. After creating and selling one hundred plaster copies of the bust, she sold them and smaller medallions depicting anti-slavery icons to raise funds to boost the wages of black soldiers and to finance her plan to study in Europe. In 1865, she settled in Rome where she was inspired by neoclassical sculpture but her work would feature subjects of Black activism and Native American culture. Joining "a sisterhood of sculptors," to borrow the

[34] The bibliographic history of Lewis can be found in encyclopedia entries written by Judith E. Harper (2004) and Lynda Roscoe Hartigan (1993).

words of historian Melissa Dabakis, Lewis became one of many women who traveled or expatriated to Rome and "composed the first truly professional class of women artists and, as such, participated in a modern egalitarian women in American history" (Dabakis 2014, 10). Though she made friends amongst them, it was Lydia Maria Child who "lent emotional and financial support to the young artist" (156), much like she did when for Harriet Jacobs when it came to the publication of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Though Lewis would travel back to the U.S. multiple times, she lived out the rest of her lifetime in Rome. Her studio was well received by traveling Americans and Europeans alike, but after her last major commission in 1883 the "demand for her work declined, as it did for neoclassical sculpture in general" (719). Like her birthdate and place, her death date and place of interment are equally unknown.

It was in 1876 that Lewis's career reached its highest point in the U.S. when her marble sculpture entitled *The Death of Cleopatra* was exhibited and awarded a medal at the Fair. According to Robert Rydell, this piece was one of only two pieces on display created by Black artists (1984, 27). The following is the description of the piece provided by the Smithsonian American Art Museum where the sculpture currently is displayed:

> Cleopatra (69 - 30 BCE), the legendary queen of Egypt from 51 to 30 BCE, is often best known for her dramatic suicide, allegedly from the fatal bite of a poisonous snake. Here, Edmonia Lewis portrayed Cleopatra in the moment after her death, wearing her royal attire, in majestic repose on a throne. The identical sphinx heads flanking the throne represent the twins she bore with Roman general Marc Antony, while the hieroglyphics on the side have no meaning. Lewis was working at a time when Neoclassicism was a popular artistic style that favored classical, Biblical, or literary themes—thus Cleopatra was a common subject. Unlike her contemporaries who often depicted an idealized Cleopatra merely contemplating suicide, Lewis showed the queen's death more realistically, after the asp's venom had taken hold—an attribute viewed as 'ghastly' and 'absolutely repellant' in its day (William J. Clark, Great American Sculpture, 1878). Despite this, the piece was first exhibited to great acclaim at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 and critics raved that it was the most impressive American sculpture in the show. Not long after its debut, however, Death of Cleopatra was presumed lost for almost a century—appearing at a Chicago saloon, marking a horse's grave at a suburban racetrack, and eventually reappearing at a salvage yard in the 1980s. (Lewis 1876)

What is lacking in this description is the reason as to why Cleopatra chose to commit suicide. She fought alongside Mark Antony for the direction of Egypt's rule as related to the Roman drive for empire, but it was a battle they ultimately lost. She chose suicide rather than submit to Roman rule or ridicule. Given the exploration of infanticide in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* in the last chapter combined with the fact that Lewis's broader work "brought attention to the contemporary freedwoman" (Dabakis 2014, 169), I cannot help but read Lewis's celebration of Cleopatra's agency, an African woman's agency, as a deliberate statement on race, gender, and politics during the Reconstruction era. Put differently, as an artist-activist she produced a piece that highlights the psychological, if not sometimes physical, conditions that many Black women faced in the U.S. at the time. As a political piece, the sculpture captures emotional anguish while at the same time deliberately featuring a Black woman as a political agent in her own right. Being the only piece on display at the Fair by a Black woman tells us more about the selection committee – largely white and male – than on how Black women who visited the Fair saw themselves, of course a more thorough investigation of this suggestion will require more time and space than this project allows.

Black leaders in and around the city of Philadelphia were also highly interested in the fate of the depiction of Black people's contributions to the city and nation at the Fair. According to historian Mitch Kachun, "the African American Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church spearheaded a movement to raise a statue of the denomination's Founder and first Bishop, Richard Allen, on the Centennial grounds in Philadelphia's Fairmont Park" (Kachun 1998, 300). The idea for a bronze statue of Allen to be placed as a permanent monument on the fairgrounds was first proposed by Benjamin Tucker Tanner in 1874, when he was the editor of the *Christian Recorder*. The *Christian Recorder* was published by the A.M.E. church, circulated throughout

the nationwide congregations, and, as noted in chapter three, featured many early orations, poetry, and essays by Gertrude Bustill (Mossell) throughout the 1870s. By circulating his idea through both the *Recorder* and the *A.M.E. Church Review*, a consensus grew throughout the community that the Black contributions to the nation need to be acknowledged at the Fair for "commemorative and educational purposes" (313). The choice of Allen made sense not only because he was a Philadelphian, given that the Fair was being held in that city, his antislavery appeal was the first instance of Black resistance to slavery made directly to the American founder, Thomas Jefferson, in print (Newman 2006, 59). Locally, however, there was resistance. The Fair organizers accepted their proposal for a monument, but rejected them a permanent installation despite making no such conditions for other religious or ethnic contributions from German, Anglican, Catholic, and Jewish institutions (314). In the press, one article "attempted to discredit the A.M.E. project by quoting two African Americans who saw themselves and the race as native Americans who needed no separate representation at the Exposition as did 'Jews and others who found asylum here'" (315). Though the community resolved the issue when Mother Bethel agreed to provide a permanent home for the monument on the grounds of the church that Allen founded, this public controversy made it "the most highly publicized African-American presence at the Centennial Exposition and kept before the public the idea of the essential American-ness of the nation's black population" (320).

The struggle to have the monument completed was just as arduous. Alfred White, a Black artist from Cincinnati, Ohio, was commissioned to sculpt the bust out of marble, and a Black sculptor in Rome, probably Edmonia Lewis, was to create the pedestal, also out of marble (315-16). Though the pedestal made it to White in due time, the marble he was to use was delayed. Once they were both finished, they were shipped from Ohio to Philadelphia where the pedestal

was destroyed in a train accident. Luckily the bust was not damaged, but its arrival coincided with the creation of a new base meant that the piece was unveiled "on Thursday, November 2, 1876, barely a week before the Exposition closed its gates" (318). With financial contributions from both whites and Blacks, the project was clearly a national undertaking. In the end, "the Allen Monument was the first ever erected by black Americans to honor a black American" (319). A reality that was later that year celebrated at the Mother Bethel Church in Philadelphia, accompanied by the intellectual and artistic breadth of Black Americans including a reading of a poem written explicitly for the event by Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (319).

In this section I have shown that the treatment of Black people at the Fair's ceremonies combined with the paucity of recognition of Black intellectual, artistic, and technological contributions to the building of the U.S. nation throughout the exhibition begins the genealogical trajectory for what Desmond King and Rogers Smith analyze as competing political agendas in American racial politics: colorblind versus color conscious political visions (2011). Through monuments and works of art, Black Americans fought to make space for themselves both at and beyond the Fair by struggling for the installation of a permanent representation of a Black leader in public space. Sculpture, an art form engaged by both women and Black people at this time, became integral in positioning marginalized figures into the national imaginary as residents of the nation as home. To conclude the chapter, I turn to a rethinking of the racial presentation of the Statue of Liberty to insist that the political imaginary of Reconstruction that was both wildly apparent while simultaneously rendered invisible at the Fair rests on reclaiming the abolitionist history of what is probably America's most recognizable political and national symbol.

D. Abolitionism & Public Monuments: Rethinking the Statue of Liberty

Though genealogically emerging after the end of the nineteenth century, nationalism as a practice saw a boost in this one-hundred-year period due to the exponential growth in the building of public representations dedicated to the nation's leaders and creative ingenuity. Grand monuments dedicated to historic figures and elaborate public buildings are traditional examples, but so too are other public works such as boulevards, art installations, and parks. Since cities are where public representations are concentrated (Rybczynski 1996, 27) and that nations started "as urban phenomena" (López-Alves 2015, 172), the city itself becomes a site of interest for understanding nationalism. As explored in this chapter, the nation, as represented in a city, can be read as the interstitial site between public memorials and public buildings.

Starting roughly in 1860, industrial logics overtook the prior mercantilist characteristics of American cities (McKelvey 1973). When North America was colonized by the British, cities grew around outposts that "supplied commercial and cultural as well as administrative links between the scattered settlers and the home country" (5). Philadelphia, the first planned city in the Western hemisphere, emerged first as "a community of entrepreneurs" (5), then by the mid nineteenth century as an industrial powerhouse (Warner 1968), which would land it in both population and industrial power as the nation's "first city" (Nash 2013). Though by the eve of the Civil War Philadelphia had lost the position as the key hub of "global communication and international finance" to its neighbor, New York City (Hodos 2013, 22), I have shown how U.S. industrial power and Philadelphia's role in that power was memorialized in the Centennial World's Fair of 1876 held in the city's borders.

Besides the exposition's centerpiece, the Corliss engine in Machinery Hall, the "Torch of Liberty from the as yet unfinished Statue of Liberty" was a featured exhibit at the grounds in

Philadelphia (Rydell 1984, 13). Perhaps lost on many of the visitors due to its disembodied state was the statue's intended race. Constructed by French sculptor Frédéric Bartholdi, the intellectual vision of the statue came from the chairman of the French Anti-Slavery Society, Édouard Laboulaye. In 1865, Laboulaye set forth to create a monument as a gift to the U.S. which intended to represent that year's crowning achievement by the young nation – the ending of slavery. According to Juan Perea, "Liberty and equality were firmly linked in the mind of Laboulaye … who celebrated the abolition of slavery as testament to the maturation of American liberty" (1997, 46). Remembering Laboulaye's dedication to abolition alone gives us a trajectory to reimagine the US nation, merge it with the abolitionist politics extending from Reconstruction, and develop an alternative to nativism.

Such a move is greatly strengthened by archival images that not only depict Lady Liberty as a Black woman, but center those women's contributions to the national imaginary. In 1884, Thomas Worth figured a Black woman with torch in hand atop a pedestal in New York City's harbor in his political cartoon "Frightenin De World" (Treitler 2013, 16–17). Research done at the Smithsonian suggests Bartholdi, the artist of the Statue of Liberty, intended to depict "a gigantic female *fellah*, or Arab peasant" as the New Colossus (Blakemore 2015). Like Edmonia Lewis, Bartholdi's neoclassical inspiration also referenced the classical world beyond the European continent. Rethinking these popular images in the time they were installed as opposed to the classical subjects through which such artistic work is normally framed gives political theorists the opportunity to decolonize not only them, but through their extension decolonize American nationalism.

National monuments are meant to not only signify a particular historical moment, but to also transcend time itself. For public buildings, city parks, and even some art installations the process

of transcendence is largely unencumbered by those elements that may make it particular despite being built or designed during a specific time period. For national figures, their definitive identity markers such as age, race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, etc. plays into the very imagining of the nation itself. According to intersectional scholars, the nation itself emerges "through racialization, sexualization, and genderization … to become a timeless and homogenized entity" (Alarcón et al. 1999, 7). The national project aims to be orderly, so those identity markers that have been deemed disorderly tend to be left out of the national monuments. Since the U.S. as a settler-colonial nation based on a combination of the epistemological assumptions found in the protestant work ethic and patriarchal white supremacy, it is no wonder why the national leaders represented in public monuments tend to be elite white men of U.S. birth. Here I have aimed to provide a Black epistemological read of this national and international event as a means to contextualize how nativism reasserted itself in its performance while at the same time attempting to reimagine the national narrative through what Angela Davis, and others, have come to call "the other America" (2012, 181). By re-centering the abolitionist history of the city of Philadelphia in that reading of the Fair, I have staked out fertile ground in the national imaginary for an abolitionist horizon.

VII. Conclusion -- Returning to the "Third Reconstruction"

I began my introduction with a quote by Rev. Dr. William J. Barber the second. In it he declares that the U.S. is currently "in the adolescent stage of a third reconstruction." Barber names the conditions faced by the people "extremism," which he sees threatening the very fabric of democracy since it positions political representatives against the interests of the people resulting in a push for policies that are "constitutionally inconsistent, morally indefensible and economically insane." In chapter one, I cite W.E.B. Du Bois who, in his early examination of the home city of the U.S. democratic project, makes almost the exact same point when discussing the discrimination faced by Black residents and its unreflexive support by white Philadelphians: "Such discrimination is morally wrong, politically dangerous, industrially wasteful, and socially silly. It is the duty of the whites to stop it, and to do so primarily for their own sake" (Du Bois 2007, 394). In his later examination of the Reconstruction era, Du Bois extends this plea by writing the following in the same decade that saw the rise of another style of popular government:

> The current theory of democracy is that dictatorship is a stopgap pending the work of universal education, equitable income, and strong character. But always the temptation is to use the stopgap for narrower ends, because intelligence, thrift and goodness seem so impossibly distant for most men. We rule by junta; we turn Fascist, because we do not believe in men. (Du Bois 1998, 382)

By underscoring the philosophical contributions abolitionism holds for Du Bois's democratic theory while revisiting Black feminist political thought, this dissertation aimed to reconsider the concept of home developed by Black women during the era of Reconstruction for American political thought during our current time when the tensions and paradoxes inherent in democracy are most certainly being felt.

Some may wonder what relevance is there of thinking about this current moment as a "third

reconstruction" especially eight years after Michelle Alexander (2010/2012) announced in her awarding book that the U.S. state is one constitutive of "the New Jim Crow." Did not Reconstruction precede that era? Also, why focus on "the home" when neo-abolitionists are positing that the problem is the prisons? Let me consider three separate points related to this second question as a means of answering the first. Democratic theorist Sheldon Wolin gives us our first clue as to why prioritize a reconsideration of the political aspects inherent in the concept of home when he troubles the metaphor that made possible the rise of the modern nation-state: "in the metaphor of boundaries is the containment of democracy" (Wolin 1994, 13). When home, like prison, is understood as a boundary to be maintained and protected against unwelcome intrusions of differences in the form of opinions, peoples, and experiences, one's participation in democratic politics as a project of renew constituted by the constant demographic flux enabled by every birth and every death is greatly diminished. Therefore Wolin insists that "[i]ndividuals who concert their powers for low income housing, worker ownership of factories, better schools, better health care, safer water, controls over toxic waste disposals, and a thousand other common concerns of ordinary lives are experiencing a democratic moment and contributing to the discovery, care, and tending of a commonality of shared concerns" (24).

The second indication is made by a historian who, like Barber, reconsiders the second reconstruction to think about the rise of the movement surrounding #BlackLivesMatter (hearafter BLM). Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor notes that the practice of housing segregation that resulted from the movement of Black peoples from largely rural spaces to urban ones at the turn of the twentieth century concentrated and exacerbated Black poverty which in turn informed "a constant pretext for police incursions, arrests, and violence" in Black neighborhoods (2016, 113). Highlighting the rise in "broken windows" policing, Taylor notes how police serve as

"stormtroopers for gentrification, as cities compete to attract businesses and young white professionals with disposable incomes" (124). Put simply, Black homes and neighborhoods become the battleground between the capital drive for accumulation and the ordinary lives of the poor. BLM emerges as a democratic response to the warfare waged on poor neighborhoods of color in urban centers.

One last point comes from critical geographer and prison-abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore when she shows how when private prison entrepreneurs align with political representatives in an attempt to win electoral support of the families of the incarcerated by promising to build facilities closer to their neighborhoods which would not only make it possible for them to visit more easily but bring jobs to the area (Gilmore 2007, 227–28). The very practice of incarceration, and its growth, hinges on a multi-leveled denial of home. The individual punishment of removing people from their homes is compounded into a collective punishment of the other members who constitute that very individual's home life – family, friends, kin as well as neighborhood, city, and ultimately nation. No one new this better than the members of Mothers Reclaiming Our Children (Mothers ROC) in Southern California who insisted such a project "would not remedy the disappearance of jobs at GM, Firestone, and Kaiser by putting half the population into prisons so the other half could make money watching them" (228).

From these three interdisciplinary observations emerges a scholarly consensus that homespaces are designated as political sites by which some people aim to gain advantage over others through the deployment of mechanisms of confinement. At the same time others have attempted at alternative understandings of the term for the purpose of cultivating democratic belonging. It is this very paradox in the definition and deployment of the concept of home as a political category that this dissertation aimed to explore through the question: what does

democracy mean when the nation is built from and by those deemed "homeless"? If democracy as a political project is always just out of reach since it is a process of becoming, a will of and by the people, then any political deployment of the concept or site of home as a stable object is an attempt to foreclose that process. As was apparent in the rise of the various counter-revolutionary practices during the first Reconstruction, the formalization of Jim and Jane Crow was a compromise that abandoned democracy in favor of racial apartheid and gender subjugation. This was underscored in the introduction by revisiting the "founding fathers" of the discipline of political science. By attending to the simultaneous agendas that aid in democratic foreclosure (i.e. white supremacy and patriarchy) from a materialist historical approach centered on a variety of spatial demarcations – public/private, urban/rural, home/commons – this project suggests that a temporal ordering of "third reconstruction" after "New Jim Crow" may suggest, to borrow from Taylor, that Reconstruction is a movement not a moment. Let me return to the component parts of this project to show how they aided that endeavor while underscoring strengths and weaknesses of the methodological tools deployed. Before ending the conclusion, I provide a consideration of avenues left unexplored that may require further evaluation as a means to lay the foundation for where the research will go from here.

In chapter one I begin with a consideration of two texts by Du Bois which are often read in opposition because they emerge in different phases of his intellectual development – *TPN* is typically relegated to his "social scientific" phase whereas *BR* is separated into his distinctly "Marxist" phase (Gregg 1998, 79). By placing his romantic conception of home apparent in *TPN* alongside his positioning of Reconstruction in the longer project of enclosure history in *BR*, I emphasize that his limited inclusion of Black women's political agency and intellectual contributions in both projects, and perhaps his larger library, rested upon the historical reality

that conformed to the capitalist-liberal project of the public/private divide. Using close textual analysis, I show that Du Bois's own use of the term "feudalism" throughout *BR* permits an opening for a reconsideration of the capital process of primitive accumulation in a way that disrupts the traditionally linear formulation of the developments and evolutions of wealth extraction as first developed by Karl Marx and allows for a recasting of the site of anti-capitalist, and therefore democratic, struggle beyond the metaphorical pull of "the factory" by a reconsideration of "the home" as site of proletarianization. With the aid of Federici, I position the streets as the undercommons where Black women rethought and redeployed democratic praxis. In so doing, I show that the consistency in Du Bois's attention to a philosophical understanding of abolition in *TPN* extends to *BR*, which allows contemporary democratic theorists to use the first text as a deep historical ethnographic archive for rethinking the failure of his later theory of abolition-democracy to take hold in U.S. political institutions as a result of the ending of Reconstruction and formal establishment of Jim and Jane Crow. My choice to place these two seemingly isolated historical eras side by side may warrant cause for concern methodologically; however, critical historiographers suggest that by placing eras that appear to be ruptures side by side allows for common resonances to come more clearly into focus: "painful continuities between the present and the past … remind us that, in some cases, the past is not yet past" (K.Y. Taylor 2016, 2). The subsequent chapters then attempt to expand the limits of that archive by focusing on Black women's erasure from being considered as contributors to abolition as a deeply political and philosophical project in the specific locality of Philadelphia.

In chapter two, I engage in an archival exploration of the annual reports of the PFASS and the deep print culture published and circulated in Philadelphia between 1850 and 1880. Even though the official political institution of Reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau, was

established by Congress in 1865, my historical timeline for reconsidering Reconstruction as a democratic movement starts fifteen years prior. There are three reasons for an earlier start. First, the site of my analysis is Philadelphia, which as a city in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania had been practicing the philosophical underpinnings of abolition since 1780 when the state legislature passed the Gradual Abolition Act, the first of its kind at the state. Second, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act by Congress in 1850 made the already abolitionist city, which was the site of the original Mason-Dixon line drawn during the colonial period in 1763, a site of ongoing fugitivity and hunting ground for slave catchers. Third, the focus of this project is Black women's contributions to Reconstruction through Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy, which he does by extending his exploration of "Black Reconstruction" five years prior to the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau. Combined, these three points make Philadelphia, beyond the archive established by Du Bois himself in *TPN*, an exemplary site for thinking about the concept of home, Black women, and Reconstruction. I end the timeline under consideration in the same year as Du Bois, since it is his theory of abolition-democracy that is main subject of analysis.

The choice of a local organizations archive and print culture, specifically political lithographs and advertisements for home goods, is also to extend Du Bois's methodological approach in *BR*. In his introduction, David Levering Lewis writes,

> [Du Bois] chose … to confine himself to government reports, proceedings of state constitutional conventions, unpublished dissertations, and virtually every relevant published monograph. His surprising decision to make only occasional use of newspapers for the period must have been dictated by a determination to complete the manuscript within the projected timeframe. (1998, x)

Reconsidering the more permanent writings of PFASS with the ephemeral anti-Reconstruction political cartoons and trade cards, specifically allows me to reconsider the representations of

Black women circulated in the city. Building on Robinson's engagement of anti-abolitionist lithographs by Philadelphian artists circulated during the presidency of Andrew Jackson, my choice of analysing images of gendered and racial bodies is informed by the understanding that these representations would then reinforce who readers would imagine when they read the disembodied terms "men," "women," "Negro," etc. in other forms of print culture from the official (i.e. public documents, textbooks) to the ephemeral (i.e. news, magazines). Exploring this archive, which sits both physically and socially on the margins of the official archive of Reconstruction located in the Freedmen's Bureau papers, shows how the concept of home was deployed as a pre-political space of confinement wherein actuality it was always already enveloped into the political discourse that positioned Black women as outside the intellectual development of abolition while simultaneously positing them as objects of consumption for middle-class white urban homes. Combined these representations figure Black women as a marginal part of the urban economic landscape while their male counterparts loom as a threat to the common rural white farmer and his family. This figuration repositions white men as the protectors of both the political and economic landscape of the post-slavery U.S.

Chapter three turns to the lives, political work, and intellectual contributions of six Black women to four Reconstruction institutions that emerged from the city of Philadelphia. These institutions are the first regiments of Black soldiers (USCT), the first historically Black college and university (ICY), a home for Black elderly (HAICP) which was one of the first old people's homes, and one of the most centrally located and early non-profit associations whose work became a blueprint for the Freedmen's Bureau (WAAP). Though they are referenced to various degrees by Du Bois in both *BR* and *TPN*, he spends little time exploring how Black women contributed to them. The chapter then turns to the contributions of six Black women to these

institutions, all of which were either permanent residents of Philadelphia (Sarah Mapps Douglass and Gertrude Bustill Mossell), came to call Philadelphia home (Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and Fanny Jackson Coppin), or found liberation through their fugitive status vis-à-vis the city (Harriet Tubman and Harriet Jacobs). With a close read of their conceptualization of home, either in writing or in deed, I show how these Black women built a tradition for an alternative interpretation of the emergence of the welfare state.

According to political scientist and sociologist Theda Skocpol, "the United States has never come close to having a 'modern welfare state' in the British, the Swedish, or any other positive Western sense of the phrase" (1995, 5). She shows, however, that a system of social benefits emerged from federal legislation as an entitlement for namely soldiers and their dependents (i.e. wives and children) – the Dependent Pension Act of 1890 (hereafter Civil War pensions). The tying of social welfare benefits to a notion of entitlement with the additional adage of "dependency" written into the act not only meant unsuccessful attempts at developing robust pension programs for workers into the early twentieth century, it also meant a re-assertion of the Victorian conceptions of home into the legislative legacy of social welfare (i.e. mothers pensions): "payments for needy widowed mothers (and occasionally others) in order to let them care for children at home" (10). Since the majority of the beneficiaries would become white women during the early stages of the growth of the welfare state and through the second reconstruction, it begs the questions: did Black women in mid to late nineteenth century conceive of a social safety net differently? This is the question that guides the revisiting of Black women's contributions to Du Bois's theory of abolition-democracy in and beyond the city of Philadelphia between 1850 and 1880 in chapter three.

By considering the work and ideas of three Black women born free (Douglass, Harper, and

Mossell) and three born slaves (Tubman, Coppin, and Jackson) who found homes in or made homes through Philadelphia, I consider a different archive that intimates a development of a social safety net designed from the bottom up through a conception of kinship and public enlightenment as opposed to one that comes from the top down vis-à-vis the state for doing the state's work (i.e. as soldiers, police officers, mothers/wives of "productive laborers") or conforming to industrial efficiency (i.e. speculation and accumulation of capital). By paying attention to the tensions between a nascent politics of respectability operating in the city of Philadelphia and the struggle for a social safety net from the undercommons, the conception of home articulated by Black women from this era pushed beyond a notion of citizenship that remained exclusionary along the intersectional lines of race/gender/class – "citizenship as standing" (Shklar 1991, 3). In this way, I extend the historical trajectory of the demonization of the welfare system, and those who rely on it, provided by Black women political scientists Linda Faye Williams (2003) and Ange-Marie Hancock (2004).

In chapter four I provide a literary analysis of Toni Morrison's *Beloved*. This popular book is typically understood as a fictional narrative of life in relation life under slavery and its aftermath, but I assert the importance of understanding that its actual setting is during Reconstruction (i.e. the institutionalization of abolition-democracy). Reframing the book as a "Reconstruction novel" also means that its physical location, a northern city on the border of the south, can provide new insights for "reading *Beloved* as a literary work of political thought" (Shulman 1996, 296). By highlighting the physical space of "124 Bluestone road" and the clearing, I read *Beloved* as a prism through which contemporary scholars attentive to the Reconstruction era in our current moment can reanimate the political understanding of home provided by the Black women explored in chapter three coupled with the notion of the commons explored in chapter one to

move beyond the Victorian discursive frame of the public/private divide that tends to divide the U.S. demos into "deserving" and "undeserving" categories.

The initial exploration of the geological epoch marked by the decided shift to the use of fossil fuels known as the Anthropocene in chapter four attempts to capture two things. First, it aims to reevaluate the jurisdiction of "land" in the original title of the Freedmen's Bureau (i.e. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands) to underscore the evolution from the redistribution of land to the rise of resource speculation as part and parcel of the foreclosure of abolition-democracy. Du Bois does some of this already in *BR*: "All of the national treasure of coal, oil, cooper, gold and iron had been given away for a song to be made the monopolized basis of private fortunes with perpetual power to tax labor for the right to live and work" (1998, 581). Second, with the help of scholars exploring the legacy of the sexual economy of slavery, I reposition Black women's bodies as part of the landscape of environmental degradation. Echoing the separation of peasants from their fuel sources explored by Federici in *Caliban and the Witch*, connection the logic of speculation in Du Bois shows the crux and potential of placing era Reconstruction squarely within the longue durée of enclosure history. It is in this double move that I show how abolition-democracy pushes democratic theory beyond merely considering the obligations between people towards an inclusion of non-human elements that inform democratic practices and ethics.

Chapter five returns to Philadelphia to reconsider the relationship between the one hundredth anniversary of the nation's founding as celebrated in and around the Centennial World's Fair of 1876 and the formal ending of Reconstruction as an outcome of the contentious U.S. presidential election held that same year. As an assessment of secondary writings attentive to race and gender on display at the exhibition and in city politics, an *Official Guidebook of Philadelphia* marketed

to fairgoers published in 1875, and the singular submission by a Black woman artist on display at the fair, it thinks through the juxtaposition of the metaphors of machine and home. Using discourse analysis, I show how a deployment of these two metaphors at the fair link with two seemingly contradictory political ideologies operating in and beyond the city of Philadelphia – post-racialism and nativism. By placing Du Bois's assessment of a rising "post-racial" ideology in *TPN* alongside the nativism accompanying the rise of machine-style urban politics, I rearticulate these two ideologies as central to the foreclosure of not only the domestic democratic project of Reconstruction but the global potential of abolition as a decolonial movement.

In the chapter I also highlight the abolition references at and around the fair not referenced in the official record or the travel book to reconsider the contradictions between the founding document of the nation (i.e. the Declaration of Independence) and the one that formalized the state (i.e. the Constitution), both of which were signed in Philadelphia. In doing so, I provide a reading of how the abolition-democratic concept of home crosses, and has the potential to disrupt, the formal divisions in levels of analysis typically deployed in international relations – individual, state/society, and international – and rethink abolition-democracy as a global political project of becoming. I conclude with repositioning the original intention of the giving of the Statue of Liberty as a celebration of emancipation by Édouard Laboulaye, the chairman of the French Anti-Slavery Society, who commissioned the piece for completion by the 1876 fair. By the time the exhibition opened, the statue was still incomplete. Fairgoers, however, got to view the disembodied arm and torch. As a national spectacle, this disembodiment serves as a symbol for the severing of the abolitionist city of Philadelphia from the official narrative of the fair itself. When the statue is reunited on top the pedestal raised with funds made possible by Emma Lazarus's sonnet, "The New Colossas" (1883), the figure of the "homeless" is no longer the

Black female slave who inspired both the commissioner and the artist.

Focusing on the home city of the American democratic imaginary – Philadelphia, Pennsylvania – in the decades spanning 1850 to 1880, this project aimed to re-center Black women abolitionists and their intimate understanding of the connections between the streets and home. Whether by working with fugitive slaves, being fugitives themselves, or feeling the effects of fugitivity after emancipation while attempting to access public space and goods from the position of two politically disadvantaged identities – both Black and female, reconsidering these women's everyday lives provides insight into the ongoing deployment of whiteness by American constitutional democracy. With this in mind, parts of this project are in agreement with political theorist Joel Olson's assessment that "there is no necessary contradiction" between "democratic ideals and the privileged status of whites" in the U.S. case (2004, xvi); however, there is a contradiction between democratic practice and the constant marginalization of difference since, to borrow from Rousseau, the general will is formulated as a universal beyond the aggregation of individual or corporate wills.

As some may have already gathered, this project was once organized, like many scholarship in political theory at various initial stages, around a single theoretical author – W. E. B. Du Bois. My interest in Du Bois's overall scholarship initially informed my decision to engage his early text *TPN* alongside his theory of abolition-democracy developed in his later text *BR.* As the first urban ethnography set in a U.S. city, once I came to *TPN* I found the text opened doors for approaching political theory in a reorientation and rethinking of archives. I am very grateful for the observations made specifically by political theorist Kathy E. Ferguson when working with archives: "[t]he weight of particulars in archival wealth is countered by the need to generalize, to make arguments and tell a story. The excess of material produces a scarcity of time – there is

always more work to do, not enough time to do it" (2011, 11). I approch *TPN* as a rich archive for exploring questions about everyday Black life in the late nineteenth century. Though the research was conducted and the text was published almost a generation after the end of Reconstruction, the technological changes within and between the homes of the Black community that Du Bois studied would have been minimal.

With a different approach to Du Bois's scholarship from such a reading of *TPN*, I made the choice to provide an extended case study on the city of Philadelphia itself. That city's intimate connection to the concept of home, which is explored as an analytical concept in this project aimed at extending the political philosophy of abolition, became well established during the Reconstruction era. In an article written for the *St. Nicholas*, a popular monthly children's magazine that first emerged in November 1873 and circulated in the American public till 1943, Talcott Williams writes "Philadelphia is not a city of palaces for the few, but a city of homes for the many" (1893, 335). Given the economic, social, and political transitions during the decades spanning 1850 to 1880 (i.e. industrialization, urbanization, and, to some extent, globalization), rethinking the concept of home as women presence in factories, streets, and national representations increased becomes a necessary part of understanding the fractured archival fabric of Reconstruction itself.

Lastly, the city is spatially significant for the notion of fugitivity: "Philadelphia was the natural gateway between the North and the South, and for a long time there passed through it a stream of free Negroes and fugitives slaves toward the North and of recaptured Negroes and kidnapped colored persons to the South" (Du Bois 2007, 25). Of course, this urban site was not the only gateway for fugitive slaves or for the battlegrounds over the political direction of Reconstruction in the wake of emancipation. One chapter breaks out of the historical spatial and temporal frame

of the archive explored in the rest of the project (i.e. Philadelphia 1850-1880) by reconsidering a popular American novel set during Reconstruction in another urban gateway – Cincinnati, Ohio. Providing a close reading of Toni Morrison's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Beloved* complicates the traditional archive of Reconstruction that may provoke concerns by disciplinary, but conforms to a norm in my own field: "Political theory does its work by putting an event or an idea into a different language, conceptualizing it outside the given dimensions in which the idea or event initially appeared so as to highlight new possibilities for thinking its significance" (K. E. Ferguson 2011, 7).

There is still a lot of ground left either un- or under-developed throughout this project. The structuring of a dissertation will not always be the final product of the overall research agenda. I foresee a return to some of the texts and archives under exploration here to deepen the connections. Regardless, I have attempted to focus on a singular space – Philadelphia – and one economic historical arc – enclosure – as consistently as possible so as not to lose sight of that one category in intersectional analysis that always appears to be pushed aside – class. By recasting the concept of home against the lost commons, I attempt to push intersectional analysis and methods beyond the reduction of identity politics. Much has been writing on this as of late. I would like to explore some of more resent engagements on this issue, particularly explored by my field of political theory, specifically to strengthen the analysis above.

Drawing together the post-structural roots of discourse analysis and the history of abolitionist political thought, I recast abolitionism not a past project but rather, to borrow a few phrases from some of my fellow contemporaries, an "untimely political theory" in which resides a "radical future past" (Coles et al. 2014). Put differently, in rethinking the late nineteenth century as part and parcel of the unfinished social movement of abolitionism for democracy, I intended to shift

Reconstruction's epistemological position within the field of political science. In doing so I insisted that with a further understanding of how Reconstruction was studied in the early developments of the discipline of political science accompanied with a reconsideration of unexplored aspects of that era, political scientists will be better equipped for future studies, particularly as related to race, gender, class, and their intersection.

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