

V3103: Great Political Thinkers in the Black Intellectual Tradition

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MW 2:40 -3:55 Location: TBD

Office Hours: M 12:00 – 2:00 and by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In this course, we consider Black political thought as concerned with a concrete and particular instance of a universal problematic of domination and submission, inclusion and exclusion, power and powerlessness, and the question of how subaltern groups can find liberation from their sub-alternity. For the political theorist, understanding Black political thought requires that we grasp what its authors have to contribute both to the project of Black liberation and to modern western political theory. Modern western political theory's authors are the source of the most pernicious and violent theory and practice of human association/differentiation—"race." Nevertheless, political theory/theorists perennially refuse ownership of that concept, preferring instead (not surprisingly), to focus on the greatest hits of western political ideals—justice, democracy, freedom, equality and universalism. In contrast, great political thinkers of the Black intellectual tradition treat "race" as fundamentally shaping the modern polity and modern, western political theory, even as they (in many cases) remain committed to what are often called "western" ideals (e.g.: freedom, equality, democracy and justice). Thus, we treat these texts *both* as theorizing particular "Black experiences" of political subjugation, erasure, exclusion and discrimination *and* as theorizing subjugation and exclusion in general terms. Just as important, these texts demonstrate that what western political philosophers deem "political" must be expanded to include "social" and "aesthetic" concerns, if Black political theorizing is to be understood.

Though many of the texts offer pragmatic political action programs, we understand them to *theorize* (Black) political subjugation and (Black) political agency toward (Black) liberation. From the perspective of, what we imagine to be "the Black experience," it is easy to assume that Black activist intellectuals have always (and will continue to) agree (even across time and though addressing different forms of Black subjugation—slavery, Jim Crow, mass incarceration etc.) over how to theorize Black subjugation, on the one hand, and how to envision and achieve Black liberation on the other. But that assumption would be wrong. To that end, this course not only addresses each text in its particular political, socio-economic and intellectual contexts but also illuminates the robust debates and disagreements among Black activist intellectuals about how best to diagnose the problems confronting Black people in the United States and what to do about those problems. Focusing on 'historical' debates among Black activist intellectuals will not only better our understanding of Black activist intellectual history but will also facilitate critical engagement with contemporary Black and American politics.

To those ends, central to our consideration are the following debates: 1) David Walker vs. Maria Stewart over the salience of (im)morality/(im)moral reasoning—both Black and white—for explaining and defeating Black subjugation and securing what we now call “racial uplift;” 2) Martin Delany vs. Frederick Douglass over whether American ideals and laws, especially the Constitution with its built-in protections (rights) of individual liberties, can ever be sufficient to dismantle Black subjugation/white supremacy and secure full inclusion/participation/citizenship for Black people in the American polity; 3) Ida B. Wells-Barnett vs. Anna Julia Cooper over the (dis)utility of chivalry for securing Black political and socioeconomic standing post-Reconstruction; 4) W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and Alain Locke over the salience and best theorizations of “the social”/”race relations” as well as over how sociology and aesthetic practices might facilitate Black liberation and/or “racial uplift.” Alongside those debates, we read 19th century pro-slavery political theories, the moral arguments of white Abolitionists and contemporary theorizations of the rise of “whiteness” in the 19th century to better understand the ideology of slavery/white supremacy that Black activist intellectuals sought to counter.

BOOKS TO PURCHASE

Books are available for purchase at Book Culture, 536 West 112th Street, New York, NY 10025 (212) 865-1588 and as eBooks on CLIO. They are, of course, also available for purchase on Amazon.com. All other readings are available on Courseworks or via CLIO as noted.

W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 978-019955583

Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, 1-59102-159-6

Philip S. Foner and Yuval Taylor, eds., *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 978-1556523526

Peter Hinks, ed., *David Walker's Appeal*, 978-0271019949

Charles Lemert and Esme Bahn, ed., *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including A Voice from the South and other important essays papers and letters*, 0847684083

Robert S. Levine, ed., *Martin Delany a Documentary Reader*, 080785431x

Marilyn Richardson, ed., *Maria W. Stewart, America's First Black Woman Writer: Essays and Speeches*, 978-0253204462

Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *On Lynching*, 978-1591020080

COURSE MECHANICS AND REQUIREMENTS

It is commonplace to read all of the writings and speeches and to interpret all of the proposals and actions of Black activist-intellectuals from the perspective of Black “identity politics” or as though their writings, speeches and actions can be explained by reference to some “common, even autobiographical Black experience.” In this course, we recognize that such approaches are at the very least simplistic and quite possibly wrong-headed. Thus, this course is structured around several ‘disputes’ among Black activist intellectuals. The first two of these disputes feature activist intellectuals who confronted the injustice of slavery. The others focus on Black activists who

theorized the establishment/retrenchment of white supremacy post-bellum and post-Reconstruction. We begin each dispute by reading short selections from *each* author under consideration. In class, we consider the contours of the dispute. In the following reading assignments and lectures, we focus on each author separately.

The success of the course depends upon the intensive participation of each student. For this reason, attendance at every session, as well as thoughtful contribution to our discussion based on thorough reading and analysis of each assignment, are crucial.

Students' understanding of the material will be reflected (and assessed) in three different written assignments.

A) *Short Essay*

This assignment (approximately 5 – 7 pages, 12 point standard font, double spaced) is intended to develop close reading, interpretive analysis and critical thinking. In this essay, you will respond to one of several questions/topics related to the debates we cover in the first weeks of the course that will be provided in advance. Your essay should closely engage with the relevant readings—both primary and secondary. You should critically assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of the secondary sources. This assignment counts for 25% of the final grade. It is due **Monday, October 7.**

B) *Comparative Contemporary Arguments Review*

The objectives of this course require that students become conversant about contemporary theoretical ('academic') interpretations and debates of the political/theoretical salience of the historical texts assigned. To that end, the second assignment requires that students engage critically with those contemporary interpretations. Students will defend one analytical approach over another in (approximately 5 - 7 pages, 12 point standard font, double spaced). The full assignment will be distributed on Monday, October 30. The comparative book review will count for 35% of the final grade. It is due **Monday, November 11.**

B) *Final Assignment*

The final exam for this course will be a 48 hour take home exam. It will consist of six questions about the debates we have covered of which students will answer two in no more than 15 pages. This will count for 40% of the final grade. The exam must be completed by the last day of finals period. **(Sign-up sheet for final examination schedule to be distributed the second week of November.)**

LEARNING OUTCOMES

Upon the completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of major Black political thinkers.
- Discuss the role of religion in Black political thought.
- Distinguish between two analytical frameworks—political theoretical and cultural/experiential—for theorizing, historicizing and making contemporary use of Black political thought.

- Assess the relationship(s) of Black political thought to western political ideals including freedom, democratic practice and/or republican government.
- Recognize different perspectives among Black political thinkers.
- Identify and analyze the disputes among contemporary scholars over the interpretation and continued political importance of historical texts.
- Assess the adequacy of the civil rights discourse to redress inequality through the critical race theory.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

Barnard Honor Code: Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources, in their writing. Students that do not comply with the Honor Code will face appropriate sanctions.

DISABILITY ACCOMMODATIONS

Students with disabilities who will be taking this course and may need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to make an appointment to see me as soon as possible. Disabled students who need test or classroom accommodations must be registered in advance with the Office of Disability Services (ODS) in 105 Hewitt.

Course Calendar

Wed. Sept. 4 **No Class Because Professor Smith Has Jury Duty !**

I. TRANSATLANTIC BEGINNINGS

Beginning in the 15th century, what had been egalitarian trade relations between city-states, kingdoms and nations of Africa with those of Europe—spices and raw materials including ivory and gold for cloth and metal ware—were transformed. European nations required a cheap supply of labor to make the vast reserves of raw materials available in its ‘New World’ colonies productive. Also called the “triangular trade,” the transatlantic slave trade connected the economies of Europe, Africa and the Americas. Ships loaded with goods from Europe sailed to Africa, where ship captains traded their wares for captive slaves. Then, the ship now full of human capital, crossed the Atlantic. In the Americas, the captive slaves were then sold to colonial subjects. The ship would return home carrying cotton, tobacco, coffee and rice that had been planted, cultivated and harvested by enslaved Africans. But the French and American revolutions of the 18th century, inspired by Enlightenment ideals like rationality, individual liberty and representative government, necessitated new justifications—legitimizations—for slavery. Over time, a new anti-Black ideology arose and its powerful advocates in public office established new laws that permanently racialized slavery. In the United States, enslaved Blacks fought both with and against the revolutionaries, expecting to be freed at the end of their service. (They often weren’t.) Freed Blacks in the U.S. became active in the abolitionist cause. But the real centers of abolitionism as well as autonomy and self-government for Blacks were in the U.K. and, of course, Haiti, where in the Haitian Revolution, self-liberated slaves successfully countered slavery and French colonial rule. In this section, we explore the writings of Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cuguano, former slaves who became abolitionists in the U.K., as well as speeches and texts in support of Black self-government.

Mon. Sept. 9 – Wed. Sept. 11 **Slave Narratives and Manifestos**

Narratives by fugitive slaves are important historical sources as documents of Black life in the ante-bellum era. Even after the Civil War, formerly enslaved persons continued to write autobiographies, in part, so that slavery would not be forgotten. These narratives are just as important as foundational sources of the Black literary tradition. Memoirs of the experiences of slavery were, of course, terribly important to the Abolition movement because they offered testimonials about the immorality of slavery. But slave narratives ALSO contained political and political-theoretical arguments in defense of what we now think of as “western” values, such as rights-based liberty, autonomy, representative government and self-rule.

1. **Olaudah Equiano**, *Equiano’s Travels*, ch. 1 “The author’s account of his country, their manners and customs, etc.,” ch. 2 “The author’s birth and parentage—his being kidnapped—horrors of a slave ship,” ch. 5 “The author’s reflections on his situation—Is deceived by a promise of being delivered...” ch. 7 “The author’s disgust at the West Indies—Forms schemes to obtain his freedom...” ch. 12 “Different transactions of the author’s life till the present time...” (Available via CLIO as E-book in Gale Cengage Learning “Eighteenth Century Collections Online)
2. **Ottobah Cuguano**, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of Slavery*, **all**.

3. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, selections and Declaration of Independence

II. SLAVERY AND THE CORRUPTION OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

In second section of the course, we explore the writings, speeches and actions of David Walker and Maria Stewart. Roughly speaking, the assigned texts were written between the mid to late 1820s and the mid 1930s. The Black activist-intellectuals are thus primarily concerned with diagnosing, theorizing and bringing an end to two ‘problems’: 1) the corruption of the American ideal, laws and practices by the practice of slavery (and its laws and ideals) 2) and the “degraded condition” of Black people, whether enslaved or ‘free’ in the United states caused by slavery and non-citizenship. Their diagnoses take shape in the midst of several national crises—and attempts to compromise—over the question of slavery—including the “Nullification Crisis,” the Missouri Compromise, and the formation of the American Colonization Society—and the rise of theories and ideologies both in defense of and against slavery, including new scriptural/ Biblical defenses of slavery, as well as rise of Abolitionism, an expressly moral movement against slavery. By the 1810s, southern slave states could be considered a distinct and fully-formed slave society within the US American republic. In several southern states, slaves constituted a near majority or majority of the population; slave labor accounted for much (and often most) of southern states’ economies; and the slave-holding or planter class occupied most state and local political offices. Slave states sought to defend “states’ rights” against what were seen as various federal encroachments on the slaveholding power. Moreover, the ruling planter class was increasingly worried about the very real possibility of slave revolt, potentially fomented by a growing class of free Black people. Pro-slavery forces thus articulated a “new brand of slave-based politics,” and ideological supports thereof, which uncovered in the Bible defenses of slavery based on Christian principles or defended slavery as a more just source of labor than the ‘wage labor’ of Northern cities. In response, Black abolitionists 1) distinguished the Black chattel slavery of the U.S. from that of ancient societies (including Greece, Rome, Egypt etc.), 2) revealed Black chattel slavery to constitute a remarkable violation of Christian principles and express American political ideals, law and government, 3) countered pro-slavery attempts to force ‘free’ Blacks to emigrate from the United States; 4) diagnosed and theorized the “wretched” status of Blacks—both enslaved and free—in the United States and 5) appealed to free Blacks to unite with those enslaved to end slavery, better the life-chances of Black people and counter slave power’s corruption of the American Republic.

Mon. Sept. 16: **Black Abolitionists Counter the American Colonization Society’s Plans to Force ‘Free’ Black Emigration and Scriptural Defenses of Slavery**

Primary Sources

1. **David Walker**, *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, Articles I, II and III.
2. **Whitemarsh B. Seabrook**, *An appeal to the people of the northern and eastern states, on the subject of negro slavery*, (Available via CLIO as e book)

Wed. Sept. 18: **Black Abolitionists Counter the American Colonization Society’s Plans to Force ‘Free’ Black Emigration and Scriptural Defenses of Slavery**

Primary Sources

1. **David Walker**, *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, Article IV.
2. **Ralph R. Gunley**, *Letter on the American Colonization Society, and remarks on the South Carolina opinions on that subject*. (Available via CLIO as e-book)

Mon. Sept. 23: **Black Abolitionists Counter the American Colonization Society's Plans to Force 'Free' Black Emigration and Scriptural Defenses of Slavery**

Primary Sources

1. **Maria Stewart**, *America's First Black Woman Political Writer*, "Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build," pp. 28 – 42, "Cause for Encouragement, Composed upon Hearing the Editor's Account of the Late Convention in Philadelphia," "Lecture Delivered at Franklin Hall," "An Address Delivered at the African Masonic Hall," pp. 43 – 44, 45 – 49, 56 – 64.
2. **Frederick Dalcho**, *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures, Relative to the Slave Population of South Carolina by a South-Carolinian*, p. 1 – 37.

Wed. Sept. 25: **Black Abolitionists Counter the American Colonization Society's Plans to Force 'Free' Black Emigration and Scriptural Defenses of Slavery**

Primary Sources

1. **Maria Stewart**, *America's First Black Woman Political Writer*, "An Address Delivered Before the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of America," "Mrs. Stewart's Farewell Address to Her Friends in the City of Boston," pp. 50 – 55, 65 – 76.

III. SLAVERY AND THE CORRUPT REPUBLIC

In second section of the course, we explore the writings, speeches and actions of Black activists Sojourner Truth, Henry Highland Garnett, Mary Ann Shad, Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany, as well as white abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Angelina Grimke and pro-slavery elites like John C. Calhoun. Roughly speaking, the assigned texts were written between the mid 1830s through the 1950s. During this period, Black activist-intellectuals joined with white Abolitionists to advance moral arguments against slavery. Their work took shape amidst a complex constellation of political maneuvers to expand and maintain the Union during a period when slavery was increasingly a source of severe disputes between slave and free states over the authority of the federal government to raise tariffs and determine whether American territories would be incorporated as slave or free states. Black abolitionists, both fugitive and 'free,' facilitated the escapes of enslaved persons from the South, established anti-slavery newspapers, expanded the new free Black civil society by organizing conventions for and against free Black emigration and in defense of Black education and 'racial uplift.' Over time, Black activists in interracial anti-slavery organizations were forced to confront the racism—or at the very least low opinions—of white anti-slavery activists, who either believed Blacks to be unequal to whites or doubted that Blacks would ever be fully regarded as citizens in the United States. Moreover, while most white abolitionists regarded "moral suasion" and complete withdrawal from politics as the best means for ending slavery, Black activists were increasingly skeptical about the potential and practicality of "moral suasion." In fact, Black activists engaged in fierce debate with each other over the best strategies and tactics in defense of abolition and the 'uplift' of free Blacks. Should free Black people remain in the United States? Or emigrate elsewhere—Canada, West Africa or South America—to establish new nations, wherein they could become fully self-governing. Attention to these debates among Black activists reveals political theoretical disagreements over the ideal philosophies—Lockean liberalism with its recognition of abstract, natural rights to life, liberty and property or classical republicanism, with its elevation of the "common good" over individual rights and public office holding— and practices of government and citizenship.

Mon. Sept. 30: Moral Abolitionism and Slave Power's Response I

The early 1830s saw a significant uptick in anti-slavery agitation, in the form of slave revolts and the establishment of several anti-slavery societies and newspapers. In 1830, the first National Negro Convention brought together forty Black activists who proposed means to protect the rights of freed Blacks in the United States. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison established The Liberator, among the best-known and most influential anti-slavery newspapers. That same year, Nat Turner's Rebellion took place in VA. Maria Stewart began speaking publicly about the means for racial uplift. Over the course of the next several years, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society were established. These organizations flooded Congress with anti-slavery petitions. At the same time and in response to slave revolts, abolitionist agitation, and various political events, pro-slavery forces further develop and articulate political and political theoretical defense of slavery not only as necessary to the continuation of American union but also as a "positive good" as such.

Primary Sources (Anti-Slavery)

1. **William Lloyd Garrison**, Vol 1, no. 1, (1831) *The Liberator*, all. And "Walker's Appeal," Vol 1, no. 6. (1831), "The Great Crisis!," Vol. 2, no. 52, Available on CourseWorks
2. **Angelina Emily Grimke**, "Appeal to Christian Women of the South," American Anti-Slavery Society, (1836), all. Available on CourseWorks.

Primary Sources (Pro-Slavery)

1. **John C. Calhoun**, "Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions," in *Union and Liberty*, pp. 461 – 476. Available via CLIO in ProQuest Ebook Central

Wed. Oct. 2: Moral Abolitionism and Slave Power's Response II

While most white abolitionists regarded "moral suasion" and complete withdrawal from politics as the best means for ending slavery, Black activists were increasingly skeptical about the potential and practicality of "moral suasion." Frederick Douglass' writings and collaboration with William Lloyd Garrison reveals the depth of his early commitment to "moral suasion." That said, as historian Eric Foner notes, "From the beginning of his career as a lecturer, Douglass moved beyond the narrow limits prescribed for him by the Garrisonians. He had been hired to tell the story of his slave experiences, and in his first public addresses he discussed nothing else. But within two months, he was discussing the 'progress of the cause.'"... Here was no mere copy of other Abolitionist lecturers. Here was a spokesman for his people who experienced their degradation every day of his life, and who could express in vivid burning language the pent-up indignation of the American Negro." On the other hand, very early on, minister, educator and activist Henry Highland Garnet demonstrated powerful skepticism about the utility of "moral suasion" and was among the first Black activists to emphasize political action—even open rebellion—against slavery and on behalf Black autonomy.

Primary Sources (Anti-Slavery)

1. **Frederick Douglass**, “The Church and Prejudice, speech delivered at the Plymouth Church Anti-Slavery Society, Dec. 23, 1841,” “To William Lloyd Garrison, Nov. 8, 1842,” “The Folly of Our Opponents, The Liberty Bell, 1845.” and “My Slave Experience in Maryland, speech before the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 6, 1845” in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, p. 1 – 13.
2. **Henry Highland Garnet**, “Call to Rebellion,” (1843), Available via CourseWorks.

Primary Sources (Pro-Slavery)

1. **South Carolina “Black Codes,” (1840)** Available via CourseWorks.
2. **John C. Calhoun**, “Slavery a Positive Good,” (1837) Available via CourseWorks.

Mon. Oct.7: The Moral Force and Political Salience of Fugitive/Slave Narratives and Autobiographies

Anti-slavery writings were important means by which abolitionists advanced the case against slavery. There were several abolitionist newspapers, which featured journalism and commentary both about slavery and the burgeoning suffrage movement, among other things. Perhaps the most popular and thus influential was the slave narrative. Frederick Douglass’ first autobiography sold some 30,000 copies in the year after its publication. Slave narratives are personal accounts of what it was like to live in bondage. These would give northerners their closest look at slavery and provide an undeniable counter to the pro-slavery arguments and idyllic pictures of slavery described by slaveholders. Moreover, slave narratives also revealed much about Black life, especially about the strong familial bonds among slave communities and the practice of religion, the making of music and the retention of African tradition. Even more popular, however, was Harriet Beecher Snow’s novelization of slave narrative—Uncle Tom’s Cabin.

Primary Sources

1. **Frederick Douglass**, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, all.
2. **Harriet Jacobs**, selections from *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*,

Wed. Oct. 9: Black Liberation As Emigration I

Primary Sources

1. **Mary Ann Shadd Cary**, “A Plea for Emigration,” Available on CourseWorks.
2. **Alexander Crummel**, “The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa,” Available via CLIO.

Mon. Oct. 14: Black Liberation As Emigration II

Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*,” ch. 1 “Condition of Many Classes in Europe Considered,” ch. 2 “Comparative Condition of the Colored People of the United States,” ch. 7, “Claims of Colored Men as Citizens of the United States,” ch. 8 “Colored American Warriors,” ch. 9 ch. 9 “Capacity of Colored Men and Women as Citizen Members of Community,” ch. 10 “Practical Utility of Colored People of the Present Day as Members of Society,” ch. 11 “Literary and Professional Colored Men and Women,” available via CLIO in Project Gutenberg.

Recommended Readings

Henry Highland Garnet, “The Past and the Present, Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Race: a Discourse, delivered at the fifteenth anniversary of the Female Benevolent Society of Troy, NY, Feb. 14, 1848,” Available via CourseWorks.

Wed. Oct. 16: Delany v. Douglass

There had long been Black advocates of free Black emigration from the United States, who at the same time, were deeply critical of the American Colonization Society. In the late 1840s-early 1850s, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Henry H. Garnet advanced the pro-emigration cause. Formerly collaborators, Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany disagreed vehemently over the question of emigration. Initially, each believed that Blacks could not only defeat slavery/white supremacy in the United States but also eventually become full participants in the American polity, for a time they parted ways. Beginning in the early-mid 1850s, Delany began to publicly endorse and defend the idea that Black people should emigrate from the United States in order to establish a Black nation. Unfortunately, some contemporary scholars reduce this dispute to one rather anachronistic question: which is a better (moral) ‘good’-- racial assimilation or racial separatism? But Delany and Douglass not only disputed the utility of “moral” claims for ending Black subjugation, they also disagreed over the utility and promise for Black liberation of what we now consider “little L” liberal’ values, legal protections and expressions of political power—namely freedom, rights and suffrage. They disagreed over whether the Constitution could be considered anti-slavery and/or pro-Black citizenship; and moreover, over whether better interracial social relations could be achieved in the United States.

Primary Sources

1. **Frederick Douglass**, “To Harriet Beecher Stowe” in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writing*, pp. 248 – 250. **Martin Delany/Frederick Douglass**, “Delany and Douglass on Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” p. 224 – 237.
2. **Frederick Douglass**, “Colorphobia in New York,” “Lecture on Slavery” “The Free Negro’s Place is in America,” “The Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Negro People”

3. **Martin Delany**, ch. 16 “The National Disfranchisement of Coloured People,” ch 17 “Emigration of the Colored People of the United States,” ch. 23 “Things as They Are,” ch. 24 “A Glance at Ourselves—Conclusion,” in *The Condition, Elevation, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*.

Mon Oct. 21: The Republicanism of Delany v. the Liberalism of Douglass

Primary Sources

1. **Frederick Douglass**: “The Constitution and Slavery,” “The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro, speech at Rochester, NY,” “The Fugitive Slave Law,” “The End of All Compromises with Slavery—Now and Forever,” “The Dred Scott Decision,” “The Constitution of the United States: Is it Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?”
2. **Martin Delany**: “Call for a National Emigration Convention of Colored Men,” “The Political Destiny of the Colored Race,” “The Political Aspect of the Colored People of the United States,” pp. 240 – 242, 245 – 279, 280 – 290 in *Martin Delany: a Documentary Reader*. Available via CLIO as e-book.

Wed Oct. 23: The Republicanism of Delany v. the Liberalism of Douglass II

Primary Sources

1. **Frederick Douglass**: “The Slaveholder’s Rebellion,” “Emancipation Proclaimed,” “Why Should a Colored Man Enlist?,” “There Was a Right Side in the Late War, speech delivered at Union Square, New York City on Decoration Day, May 30, 1878,” “The Color Line,” “The United States Cannot Remain Half Slave and Half Free,” “I Denounce the So-Called Emancipation as a Stupendous Fraud,”
2. **Martin Delany**: “Triple Alliance—the Restoration of the South—Salvation of Its Political Economy,” “Letter to Andrew Johnson, 25 July 1866,” “Reflections on the War,” “University Pamphlets. A Series of Four Tracts on National Polity: To the Students of Wilberforce University; Being Adapted to the Capacity of the Newly Enfranchised Citizens the Freedmen,” pp. 401 – 403, 411 -415, 415 – 425 in *Martin Delany: A Documentary Reader*.

III. WHITE SUPREMACY/THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE

In the third section of the class, we explore the writings/ speeches/ actions of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Anna Julia Cooper, Booker T. Washington. However, we begin with two contemporary academic studies about the rise and consolidation of ‘whiteness’ post-slavery/ Reconstruction and as a result of early modern/ modern theories of race/ racial superiority that precede the end of slavery in the United States but are One might argue that “white supremacy” had already arisen in the form of Black chattel slavery. A just as (if not more) defensible argument would say that “white supremacy” began to seek and achieve its true, (most recognizable today) forms after slavery had been ended by the Civil War and the concomitant passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, as well as the failure of the Reconstruction (the new American federal state) intended to execute those laws. But during the post-Civil War/ Reconstruction period, the United States saw not only the retrenchment of master-slave economic relations between Black and white in the South but also the establishment of new and total forms of white supremacist domination not only in the political and economic spheres but also, and just as importantly, in the familial, social, cultural and aesthetic realms, not to mention the ‘new’ intellectual spheres of the social sciences. That is, in all spheres

of human relations and understanding in the United States, white supremacist forces sought and very often achieved complete political, legal, economic, social and cultural domination of Black people in the United States. Black 'liberation,' post-slavery/post-Civil War in effect **demanded** these new forms of Black subjugation. If during the Slave Era in the United States, 'free' Blacks might mistakenly (as Walker, Stewart, Douglass and Delany explicitly and implicitly argue) distinguish themselves from enslaved Blacks, during the post/ Reconstruction era, no such contrast—between enslaved and free Blacks—could easily be drawn. The expansion of the category/ concept/ practice of 'whiteness' in the late 19th and early 20th century encouraged and influenced Black (and white) thinkers to articulate new and creative analyses of the status/ meaning(s) of Blackness in the United States.

Mon Oct. 28 W.E.B. Du Bois' Souls of Black Folk

Primary Sources

1. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, *Souls of Black Folk*, ch. 1 – 6, p. 1 – 76.

Wed. Oct. 30 W.E.B. Du Bois' Souls of Black Folk

Primary Sources

1. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, *Souls of Black Folks*, ch. 7 - 14, afterthought.

Mon. Nov. 4 NO CLASS ACADEMIC HOLIDAY

Wed. Nov. 6 Ida B. Wells-Barnett's Anti-Lynching Activism

Primary Sources

1. **Ida B. Wells-Barnett**, "Lynch Law," Available via CourseWorks and *On Lynching*, ch. 2 "The Black and White of It," ch. 3 "The New Cry," ch. 6 "History of Some Cases of Rape," ch. 8 "Miss Willard's Attitude," pp. 32 – 38, 108 – 120, 129 – 138.

Mon Nov. 11 Race and Education

Primary Sources

1. **Alexander Crummell**, "Civilization: the Primal Need of the Race" "The Attitude of the American Mind toward Negro Intellect," Available via CLIO in Project Gutenberg.
2. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, "The Conservation of Races," "The Talented Tenth," Available via CourseWorks.

Wed Nov. 13 Race and Education

Primary Sources

1. **Booker T. Washington**, *My Larger Education*, Ch. 1 – 3, Ch. 6, Ch. 9, Ch. 12, pp. 3 – 80, 128 – 157, 287 – end and
2. **Anna Julia Cooper**, "The Higher Education of Women" and in *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*, p. 72 – 87.

Mon. Nov. 18 **Race and Gender Problems**

Primary Sources

1. **Anna Julia Cooper**, ch3 “Womanhood: a Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of a Race,” ch. 6 “The Status of Woman in America,” ch. 7 “Has America a Race Problem? If So, How Can It Be Solved?,” ch. 12 “The Ethics of the Negro Question” in *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*
2. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, “The Damnation of Women,” Available via CourseWorks.

Wed. Nov. 20 **NO CLASS FOR THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

IV. WHITE SUPREMACY AND THE (BLACK) IMAGINATION

Contemporary debates over the salience and utility of “respectability politics” for all matter of problems confronting 21st century Black Americans reveal a late 19th and early 20th century heritage—how might/ should Black people in the United States, post-slavery/ Reconstruction envision, direct and shape their behaviors (especially in the ‘public sphere’), education, culture and aesthetic productions in light of the rise, and seemingly inexhaustible power of white supremacist black domination? Could/ should Black people establish, work toward or even just imagine spheres of living (in the arts and culture, for example) free of white supremacist domination? Were all Blacks duty-bound to direct their thinking, learning, work, and action toward ending the multi-faceted power and practices of white supremacy? Could/ can the ‘Black imagination’ ever concern itself—simply—with black lives? Who gets to decide and how? How should we analyze the fact that it is often Black elites who achieve the standing to raise and answer such questions? How should we articulate and analyze the ‘politics’ of such questions when those questions are so often directed at Blacks who produce and participate in the (Black and not so very Black) public sphere(s)? In this fourth and final section of the course, we turn to the early (teens to late 20s) writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, Alain Locke and Booker T. Washington.

Mon. Nov. 25 **The Annexation of Sociology for the Study of Race**

Primary Sources

1. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, “Sociology Hesitant,” “The Atlanta Conferences,” “The Study of the Negro Problems” available via CourseWorks
2. **Alain Locke**, “Enter the New Negro,” ch. 1 “Scientific Study of Race” in *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations*, available via CLIO in Black Thought and Culture.

Wed. Nov. 27 **THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

Mon. Dec. 2 **The Annexation of Sociology for the Study of Race**

Primary Sources

1. **Kelly Miller**, “The Ultimate Race Problem” and “Review of Hoffman’s Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro,” Available via CLIO in Black Thought and Culture.

2. **Alain Locke**, ch. 2 – 5 *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations*, Available via CLIO in Black Thought and Culture.

Wed. Dec. 4 **The Great Debate Over Black Art**

1. **Anna Julia Cooper**, “The Negro as Presented in American Literature,” in *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*,” p.
2. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, “Criteria of Negro Art,” available via CourseWorks.
3. **Reviews of The Birth of a Nation**

Mon. Dec. 9 **Conclusions**

V3103 Great Political Thinkers in the Black Intellectual Tradition FINAL EXAM

Hello! And **welcome to your final, take-home exam!**

Answer **ONE QUESTION FROM EACH SECTION** below. Your essays should be written...er...typed... (and should read) rather like the answers you'd write in response to an in-class exam essay question (except the 'handwriting' will be much, much more legible for trained-in-penmanship-by-Catholic-nuns-and-thus-very-snobby-about-handwriting Prof. Smith AND you can refer to the actual texts instead of trying to remember what Delany sort of said that one time you read him six weeks ago). That is, though your answers to each should be written in essay format, your writing need not meet the high organizational and stylistic standards expected in a paper which you've had several weeks to write and revise multiple times.

To perform well on this exam: 1) be sure to FULLY answer the question asked; 2) be sure to define your terms when necessary AND/OR to infer and carefully paraphrase the terms of the thinkers you select 3) do not waste any time providing biographical information; 4) be sure to identify your sources by including parenthetical references and/or citations; 5) write as many pages as you think you need to respond to the questions you select. That said, your exam should be no shorter than 12 and (if possible) no longer than 16 double-spaced, typed pages. 6) PLEASE do NOT refer to Wikipedia, Plato Stanford or other obvious web-sources. 7) Please DO NOT discuss the exam with other students, whether signed up in the same exam period as you or signed up for later exam dates than you.

Post your exam in an editable format (MS Word or Text AND NOT AS A PDF) to the CourseWorks "Final Exam" assignment section in the folder dated with your start time. I.e.: If you signed up to begin the exam on Tuesday, Dec. 11 ay 9:30 am, post your exam in the Dec. 11 folder.

SECTION I (Answer ONE of four questions in this section.)

[References: Gustavas Vassa (Olaudah Equiano), Ottobah Cugoano, David Walker, Maria Stewart, Harriet Jacobs, Martin Delany, Henry Highland Garnett, Mary Ann Shadd-Cary, Alexander Crummell, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Alain Locke and Kelly Miller]

1. Pols V3103 Great Political Thinkers in the Black Intellectual Tradition features several disagreements among Black intellectuals/activists working to end racial subjugation (in its many forms) and to ameliorate its effects. Those debates include (1)Stewart v. Walker over the salience of religion for originating, securing and/or eliminating slavery and racial subjugation and/or securing 'racial uplift;' (2)Martin Delany v. Frederick Douglass over Black emigration; (3) Martin Delany and Mary Ann Shadd-Cary over the destination (South America/Africa or Canada) best suited for Blacks emigration from the United States; (4) W.E.B. Du Bois v Booker T. Washington over the purpose, pedagogy and potential effects of Black education/scholarship,

- (5) Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Anna Julia Cooper over the meaning/salience of femininity AND/OR gender relations for addressing racial subjugation; and (6) W.E.B. Du Bois v. Alain Locke over the meaning and salience of “race” and the sociological methods best equipped to theorize it. Which of these disagreements would you defend as the best exemplar (i.e.: typical example or excellent model) of disagreements among Black American intellectuals? Why? Be sure to BOTH carefully characterize the disagreement you select and, in defending it as exemplary, to (briefly) contrast it from at least ONE other possibility. Be sure to (briefly) sketch what exemplary means to you in this case.
2. “To truly understand the Black political thought, it is more important to consider how Black thinkers theorize/conceptualize ‘race’ and the various forms of Black subjugation for which ‘race’-thinking is ideologically useful than it is to consider their proposals about the cultivation and/or restoration of Black (cultural AND/OR political) identity.” Agree or disagree. Be sure to cite at least THREE but no more than FOUR texts assigned during the semester, with at least ONE of those selected, written prior to abolition/Reconstruction.
 3. Drawing on at least THREE but no more than FOUR texts assigned this term, describe how Abolition, Reconstruction and the failure of Reconstruction affects how Black intellectuals envision Black liberation/progress and the best means to achieve it. Be sure to address how the thinkers you select theorize the origins of Black peoples’ comparatively degraded (political, economic or social) status. Consider addressing how Black unity AND/OR collective action AND/OR consciousness feature in the visions of the thinkers you suggest. For the purposes of contrast, at least ONE of your references should be a pre-abolition/Reconstruction text.
 4. “Professor Smith over-emphasizes disagreements among Black political thinkers since ALL can be said to pursue Black liberation AND the end of racial subjugation.” Agree or disagree. Be sure to cite at least THREE but no more than FOUR texts assigned during the semester, with at least ONE of those selected written prior to abolition/Reconstruction.

SECTION II (Answer ONE of the five questions in this section)

[References: Martin Delany, Henry Highland Garnett, Mary Ann Shadd-Cary, Alexander Crummell, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Alain Locke and Kelly Miller]

1. “Frederick Douglass can be said to agree MORE with Martin Delany over the origins of Black chattel slavery/subjugation, the best means to end it and to ameliorate its effects than he does with William Lloyd Garrison. Agree or Disagree. Be sure to carefully characterize (what you believe to be most significant from) the claims of Delany, Douglass and Garrison in your answer.
2. Both W.E.B. Du Bois and Alain Locke treat sociology/social theory as the appropriate discipline for addressing the “problem of the color line” AND/OR “Negro problems.” However, they disagree BOTH over what constitutes the principles and methods of sociological study AND over how to define and characterize the salience of “race” (hint is “race” significant because of “Negro problems” or “race problems/problems of the color line?”) Drawing on Alain Locke’s *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations* and no more than TWO of the assigned Du Bois texts (*Souls of Black Folk*, “The Conservation of Races,” “The Talented Tenth,” “The Study of Negro Problems,” “The Atlanta Conferences,” “Descriptive Sociology” and “The Damnation of Women”) to characterize their disagreement. Some things to consider: the effect each thinker’s

vision for sociology/social theory has on 1) what each believes “race” to mean and 2) the expected/best “solutions” to race problems/Negro problems.

3. Post-Reconstruction, Black intellectuals identified “education” as an important (indeed, perhaps the MOST important) means for ‘racial uplift’ or Black progress. Which thinker’s vision for Black education do you find most compelling/defensible? Why? To answer, distinguish among the visions for education of at least TWO but no more than THREE of the following thinkers: W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, Alexander Crummell, and Booker T. Washington. Be sure to relate each thinker’s vision for education to the “race problems”/“Negro problems” education might address as well as the meaning, if any, each ascribed to “Blackness” (i.e.: being Black/Black culture/Black consciousness). Be sure to consider the following: “education” may refer to teaching AND/OR scholarship (i.e.: academic research). “Civilization” may mean different things to different thinkers.
4. Contemporary feminist scholars are justified in identifying late 19th/early 20th century Black woman thinkers as proto-feminists engaged in intersectional analysis.¹ Agree or Disagree. Be sure to cite AT LEAST TWO of the following: Mary Ann Shadd-Cary, Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Anna Julia Cooper.
5. Because *Souls of Black Folk* is considered an—perhaps the—exemplar of Black political thought and because Du Bois was such a prolific scholar and committed activist, some consider Du Bois to be the founding father of Black political thought. As such, his writings—especially his characterization of the “problem of the color line” and how it shapes “Black consciousness”—continue to influence both Black scholarship and Black peoples’ visions for Black leadership and Black progress. Should W.E.B. Du Bois be considered a Black (American) founding father? Why or why not? Be sure to sketch what “Black (American) founding father” might mean. (i.e.: founding father of what, precisely?) Be sure to address the possibilities and limits of his claims about Black consciousness, “classical education” for Blacks and his defense of Black elite leadership. In your answer, be sure to cite at least TWO of the assigned Du Bois texts (*Souls of Black Folk*, “The Talented Tenth,” “Conservation of Races,” “Sociology Hesitant,” “The Study of Negro Problems,” “The Criterion of Negro Art” and the “Damnation of Women.” For contrast, cite the writing of no more than TWO other potential “founders” of the Black intellectual tradition of political theory.

¹ Kimberle Crenshaw, who first defined “intersectionality” “asks us to conceptualize discrimination in an analogy to traffic. “Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination.” Intersectionality as an analytical tool is used to help understand multiple forms of oppression and encourages examination of how different systems of oppression intersect and affect groups of women in different ways. In addition, feminists argue that an understanding of intersectionality is a vital element to gaining political and social equality and improving our democratic system.” From: <https://www.wikigender.org/wiki/intersectionality/>

