

Afterword:
Why Would Whites Work to Dismantle Whiteness?

People often ask me why white people would challenge whiteness, since it confers so many unearned advantages to those classified as or merely presumed to be white. There are a number of motivating factors. First, when white people become aware of their unearned advantages and understand that such advantages only exist by virtue of unearned harms meted out to those race-ed other than white, most are unnerved by the injustice. Additionally, as whites realize that the preferential meanings that have been assigned to the status white only exist by virtue of the degradation of those rendered not white or contingent white, for no other reason than their “racial” status, they are interested in correcting this social inequality.

It may seem counterintuitive for someone who enjoys the material and symbolic value of being labeled white to be invested in dismantling whiteness. However, material and symbolic value are not the only consequences of whiteness. Even if a person labeled white is not interested in the national project of taking steps in the direction of the country’s ideals, there are other reasons for white people to be invested in the project of dismantling whiteness.

I have lived in Chicago as an adult since the 1990s. During this decade and since, gang violence is regularly portrayed on the evening news. Hearing of a bystander, often a young child, shot by stray bullets at the hands of a gang member has been far too common. I recall hearing colleagues, friends and strangers comment on these members as somehow defective, suffering from a loss of humanity, having lost any sense of the value of life.

When learning about the atrocities inflicted upon Jewish people by Nazis during World War Two, I remember asking, "How could the German soldiers and the many others who participated do such things to another human being?" The presumption, of course, is that engaging in acts and omissions that exhibit such disregard for another human being reflects a defect. Specifically, this question points to a defect in one's humanity.

In my efforts to understand the ways in which whiteness has been enacted and imposed, historical records have proven vital. This history aids in understanding what whiteness is, from where it has come, and the purposes it serves. This history is no less important in identifying the harm of white supremacy than it is in examining the privilege that institutionalized white supremacy confers. There is a particularly disturbing area of U.S. history that provides the most dramatic and clear display of the harm to white people that is a direct result of white supremacy. That history is of lynching.

A lynching is an extra-judicial killing of a person, usually by a group of people often referred to as a mob. A small slice of the history of lynching in the U.S. is being drawn upon, not to promote guilt or agitate hatred. Rather, the history of lynching is important in order to help ensure that such atrocities are not repeated again, and for our purposes the history of lynching helps expose the harm to white people's humanity that white supremacy has inflicted. The images we will examine are important not only because they capture through the lens of a camera brutal violence inflicted without judge, jury, or any due process of law, but also because they expose a deeply deficient humanity.

An African American was vulnerable to a white lynch mob whenever he or she was accused, whether substantiated or not, of violating white supremacy. In the record of lynching that follows, these include being accused of striking a white police officer, being accused of stealing from a white person, being accused of assaulting a white woman, or simply being unfortunate enough to be in the company of an African American so accused when the mob arrived.

Photograph number one is from the day Rubin Stacy was lynched in July 1935, in Florida. Look at how the people who stand behind the

hanging body of Rubin Stacy are dressed. What does their dress suggest? Look at how they are standing. What do their gestures and positioning/posturing say about their thoughts or feelings in the moment? Look at the young girl on the left with a big smile on her face. Look at the other even younger girls to the right of Rubin's hanging corps. Pay attention to the faces of those who are witnessing this murder, or at least its aftermath. What do you see? What would you expect to see in the face of one who retained her or his full humanity? What do you think these young white girls are learning from the lynching exhibition?

Photograph number two that follows is from the murder of Lige Daniels in August 1920 in Texas. Unlike Florida, this image reveals only males within the frame of the image, both boys and men. There are both stern looks and smiles on the faces of the crowd of males who stand beneath the hanging corpse of Mr. Daniels. Again, young children appear in the image. The young man in the center of the image wearing a tie is also wearing a big smile. Look at how many men and boys gathered for the lynching or its aftermath. Those in the image appear to be posing for the photograph that includes the hanging corpse of Lige Daniels.

Photograph number three is striking because it captures a wide-angle view of a lynch scene from November 1909 in Cairo, Illinois. Look at the numbers of people who came to participate in the spectacle. What does it say about how white participants responded to lynching? Does this images suggest a celebration, mourning, disgust, joy, excitement?

Photograph number four is of the charred body of Jessie Washington from 1916 in Waco, Texas. Look at the faces of the white participants. Do these faces reveal disgust and horror? How would you expect a person who exemplifies the capacities of human dignity to respond to the burning of a human being? The charred body of Jessie Washington was photographed, made into souvenir postcards and sold for ten cents. Notice in the foreground the tops of the heads of small children right in front of Jesse Washington's corps.⁹¹

Photograph number five is from the murder of Abram Smith and Thomas Shipp in August 1930 at the hands of a white lynch mob in Marion, Indiana captures again the sheer numbers of whites who were drawn to a lynching. It also suggests how such violence asserted by whites was received by the larger community of whites who came out to participate. Look in the foreground on the left side of the image and



Photograph 1



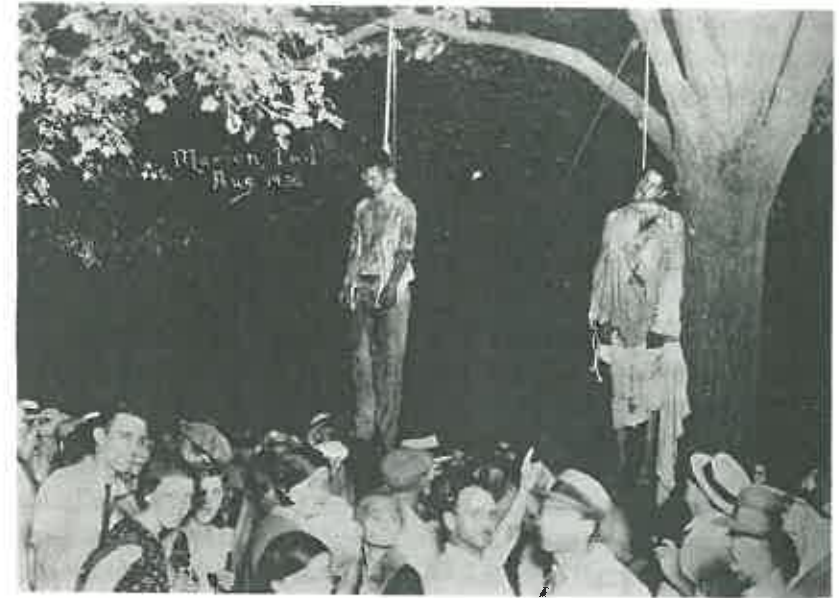
Photograph 2



Photograph 3



Photograph 4



Photograph 5

you will see a young couple who appear to be on a date. If the image were expanded you would see that they are holding hands. Just to the right of them is a woman with shoulder length dark hair. Again, if the image were expanded you would see that she appears to be in the last trimester of pregnancy. Look at the smiles and laughter that appear on many of the faces of those who stand near the bloodied hanging bodies of two men.

The harm from white supremacy that these lynching images capture is not only the blatant murderous harm to those communities who were the target of white lynch mobs. These images reveal a defective humanity within those communities that enacted and participated in lynching, and within a nation that condoned lynching by failing to prosecute those who murdered. The history of lynching reveals harm and the effects of brutal violence at multiple levels. It dramatically exposes the harm to black Americans whose bodies were tortured, hung, burned and dismembered. Just as there is general recognition that something was wrong with those German soldiers

who participated in the slaughter of other humans labeled Jews, gays, or disabled people, there is evidence of a similar defect in the white people who participated in and tolerated lynching in the United States.

While lynching is rare today in the United States, its legacy, like that of antimiscegenation, naturalization law, and immigration policy, continues to shape relationships, neighborhoods, schools, and communities. The symbolic power of a noose hanging from a tree remains strong, the message is clear, and the fear evoked and power asserted is palpable. What is less understood about the symbolism of the noose is its message regarding white Americans. Just as the swastika in light of the history of Nazis during WWII represents failed humanity for Christian Germans, the noose in light of U.S. history represents failed humanity on the part of white Americans.

Let's return to a consideration of gang violence today and your responses to Nazi Germany. How have you responded to killings that are a result of gang violence? What have you said about gang members who engage in these killings? I have heard many responses, including: "What is wrong with them?" "They have no values." "How could anyone treat life with such disregard?" When you learned about the atrocities of the Nazis during World War II did you wonder, "How could those SS officers and soldiers treat another human being like garbage to be disposed?" Have you wondered, "What happened to those soldiers?" These are not uncommon. Notice that there is a presumption in these comments: that full humanity implies a value of life and basic human dignity to be afforded all humanity. These comments also point to the recognition of a problem, a human defect, when one group of humans renders another group subhuman and proceeds to engage in activities and actions that kill.

The meanings that have been assigned to white people, along side those that have been assigned to nonwhites in the U.S., create the conditions for dehumanization and death. The meanings and consequence of whiteness explored in the preceding pages reveal that white people have been materially advantaged and nonwhites materially disadvantaged. In addition, they reveal a diminished humanity by virtue of whiteness. As a result, there is a very real, very tangible reason for white people to work to dismantle whiteness – reclaiming one's humanity.

The Legacy

How is the history of lynching relevant to this historical moment? It is relevant because it shows literally, in the faces of white people, the complete disregard for another human being. While it would be nice to shove that history aside and claim that such disregard is an artifact of the past, there is evidence to suggest otherwise. While the disregard of humanity might be less dramatic than a charred and mutilated body, it is nonetheless evident in the degree to which most white people are unaffected and complacent in the midst of severe harms that nonwhite communities endure. When significant harms become white people's harms, this country takes action. Again, evidence of defective humanity emerges.

If white men constituted 13.6 percent of the U.S. population while whites constituted 39.4 percent of the total prison population, there would be cries that something is foul. If white men were incarcerated at the rate of 4,347 inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents of the same race and gender there would be a public outcry. There would be claims that such figures reveal a social problem, a problem not with white men but with social structures and forces, with the organization of society, with opportunities and pay scales. In light of the fact that numerous prison populations are rendered free labor, there would be outcries that white men are being rendered slave labor to capitalists producing lingerie and sportswear. These numbers of white people behind bars would simply not be tolerated. Why are they tolerated when the numbers reflect black men in the U.S. today?²²

If white people had to walk around with papers to ensure their freedom in the event that they are suspected of being undocumented, white people would be enraged. There would be outcries that such practices are akin to the black codes in the south following the Civil War and the practices of apartheid South Africa. Why are white people not outraged by the proposal of such practices applied to Hispanic persons in the U.S. today?

If large numbers of white people were stripped of their title to land, harassed, and some lynched by a paramilitary group, white people would never tolerate a professional sports team being named after the group. Why is it okay when that was the experience of Mexicans at the

hands, guns and ropes of the Texas Rangers?⁹³ If the infant mortality rate of white babies were 2.5 times that of another segment of the American population, white people would claim there is a health care crisis. Why are white people not outraged that these numbers reflect the reality for members of native tribes in the U.S. today?⁹⁴

These practices, numbers, and situations are both a legacy and manifestation of white supremacy. Just as the history of lynching exposes human deficiency exhibited by white Americans, so too do these current facts. How can U.S. culture and society be altered when the roots of white supremacy are foundational as a matter of history and law? How can a group of people invented in part through the assertion that they are more deserving of rights and privileges than others be transformed? Is it possible to take something conceived out of superiority and deployed as a wedge between American laborers, and make it humane and fair?

There is no ready answer to these questions. What is clear is that whiteness must be examined and explored. Its impact must be brought into view and exposed as a specific place within the larger framework of racial constructs within the U.S. Ultimately, this project of transforming whiteness begins with you and me. Through the work of self-examination, historical awareness, and cultural critique with an eye toward identifying and unpacking the workings of whiteness, U.S. society will be transformed. Such a process is what I call *white awareness*. White awareness is necessary on the part of those labeled white and those labeled not white. Whether the transformation will be significant enough to shatter the link between whiteness and superiority remains to be seen. Because some of the primary functions of whiteness today are made possible through its invisibility, exposing and objectifying it to analysis reflects a dramatic break from current conceptualizations of race. Such an effort will also challenge at least one of the ways the racial hierarchy that most privileges whites becomes so easily embedded within institutions. What is certain is that white awareness is a critical component to movement in the direction of greater equality and less white supremacy in the U.S.

The good news here is that this is the one place I have some control in the world – me, my interpretations, my perceptions, my compassion, my humanity. The challenge of course is that I am a

product of the culture and society within which I have grown up and live, and this culture and society promotes the supremacy of white people over racial others. Even in the face of such monumental forces, the potential and capacities of a person can be great. Personal transformation is first and foremost.

I am not a widget stamped out by a culturally fabricated sheet of metal that produces an identical product with each press of the stamp. Humans have agency. In other words, each person makes choices. Granted, those choices are made within a historical and cultural context that makes it appear as if only a relatively small range of choices are possible. Similarly, while my perceptions are shaped by life experience, I am not a prisoner to them. The fact that I can identify, examine, analyze and critique them and the life experience that has significantly shaped them renders them changeable. I have the power to reject cultural messages that dehumanize by overvaluation and undervaluation. While my personal choices may not transform systems and institutions in any immediate way, they can radically transform relationships and ways of being by disclosing and disrupting white supremacy.

Throughout this book I have named the roots and effects of the invention of white people as “white supremacy.” I have done this despite knowing that the current political environment much prefers the terminology of “white privilege.” While the terminology of white privilege is useful by helping to diminish resistance and defensiveness, it is critical to remember that but for white supremacy, white privilege does not exist. While it may be difficult to face white supremacy within our institutions, history, and ourselves, it is a necessary for that truth to be named if it is to be confronted and dismantled.

I have learned quite a bit about race and whiteness, and this helps me to put a check on my enactments of white supremacy. Still, I inflict harm often. Every time I enact white supremacy I shore it up and simultaneously degrade those excluded from its boundaries. Despite this truth, I wake up each day and choose to engage my whiteness and that of the institutions and communities in which I work and live. I am very much on the journey of white awareness. I try not to beat myself up, even while I try to repair where I have inflicted harm. I try to find areas of life that are manageable, to make a change that

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reaches beyond interpersonal interactions. This book is such an effort. Though, truth be told, there is nothing more powerful than those moments when I have been able to release my hold on supremacy and really let myself experience the humanity of my neighbor. It is in those moments that I have a glimpse of a fuller humanity to which I aspire. I wish you many.

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NOTES

- 1 Kimberle Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color, *Stanford L. Rev.*, Vol. 43, No. 6., pp. 1241-1299.
- 2 Prior to graduate studies, I had no formal training in sociology except for that provided through a friend, sociologist and political scientist, Pamela Brandwein. Brandwein introduced me to the sociology of science through her use of it in her research exploring the Fairman-Croskey debate over the incorporation of the Fourteenth Amendment. I am indebted to her for making the introduction and for revealing its value through her own research and writing. Any error or limitation in the application of tools from the sociology of science is solely my own. See, Brandwein, Pamela (1999). *Reconstructing Reconstruction: The Supreme Court and the Production of Historical Truth*. Chapel Hill: Duke University Press.
- 3 The status of Middle Eastern people in the U.S. today who are officially classified as white but who are not treated as such in and through daily interactions constitute a contemporary example.
- 4 There is dispute about the time period wherein the "white race" was created. Barbara Fields (1982) locates the origin of the modern concept of race in the nineteenth century and David Goldberg (2002) locates it in the fifteenth century, while Theodore Allen (1997) locates it at the conclusion of the seventeenth and start of the eighteenth century. I find Allen most persuasive and firmly backed by legal enactments.
- 5 The company was created by a charter from King James I to Richard Hakluyt and others in 1606 (Morgan 1975: 84; 44-45).
- 6 A raid by a native tribe in 1622 killed 347 settlers, while 3,000 were killed by other means (Morgan 1975: 101). An investigation

- revealed that ship captains interested in collecting the transportation fee “overloaded ships with passengers and dumped the survivors ashore in Virginia half dead with scurvy” (Ibid). There was some shortage of food between 1618 and 1624 but Morgan concludes that the problem was not whether there were adequate supplies, but rather who held them and could afford them (Ibid. at 105).
- 7 Allen here cites Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: the Seventeenth-century Virginian* (Charlottesville, 1971; New York, 1977), p. 5, 14-16, 85-86.
 - 8 Historians who have argued that the British arrived upon the shores of North America with antipathy toward black Africans firmly entrenched include Winthrop Jordan 1968, Carl Degler 1959-1960, and Arnold Sio 1964-1965.
 - 9 Virginia passed a fornication law in 1662 that doubled the fine when one party was British and the other African. See, *supra* p. 35.
 - 10 For a detailed explanation of the patriarchal ideals in pre-modern England see, Lawrence Stone (1977). *The Family Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
 - 11 In 1664, a child’s status in Maryland was dependent upon the status of the child’s father, consistent with British law. In 1692 in “An Act concerning Negro Slaves” a child’s status as free required that both parents be free. It provided that “all children ... born of any Negroes or other Slaves within this Province shall be Slaves to all intents and purposes as their parents were for the Terme of their naturall Liues.” (*Arch. Md.* 1692, 13:546-549).
 - 12 The word “miscegenation” was coined by David Goodman Croly in an anonymous pamphlet published in New York by H. Dexter, Hamilton, and Co., 1863. The pamphlet was an attempt by Democrats David Croly and George Wakeman to attribute favorable views on “racial mixing” to Republicans, thereby promoting support for the Democratic candidate for president (Sickels 1972).
 - 13 Academics most often refer to antimiscegenation law as laws that imposed racial restrictions upon marriage. Such a description is misleading because it presents a level racial playing field, as if

- all groups understood as racially distinct, faced restrictions. This was not the case. Antimiscegenation law only restricted those understood prior to 1681 as “British and other freeborns” and after 1681 as “whites” from marrying a variety of “others,” including blacks, Asians, Indians and others, depending upon the population within the region. Even though a person referenced in the law as an “Indian” was understood as racially distinct from a person from China, such a marriage was not prohibited. It was only where a party was understood to be white that restrictions were imposed under antimiscegenation law.
- 14 The excavation of the sunken slave ship called the *Henrietta Marie* is particularly illuminating. The web site www.melfisher.org/exhibitions/henriettamarie/research.htm offers detailed information about the grueling conditions faced by Africans transported across the Atlantic.
 - 15 Jordan, citing “Decisions of the General Court,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 5 (1898), 236-37.
 - 16 Some historians have suggested that antimiscegenation laws, specifically those concerning native tribal members, may have had motivations other than antipathy toward those with physical differences from the English (Frederickson 1981; Nash 1992).
 - 17 Ian Haney Lopez’ study of naturalization law prerequisite cases reveals that prior to 1923, there were competing approaches utilized by courts to determine who is white, one relying on science and the other on common knowledge (1996). Determining who was white was critical to those born outside the U.S. who sought citizenship, because U.S. naturalization law required that one be white in order to naturalize as a citizen (Act of March 26, 1790, ch.3, Stat. 103). The conflict was settled by the U.S. Supreme Court in, *U.S. v. Thind*, in favor of “common knowledge” (261 U.S. 204 (1923)).
 - 18 This is reflected in legislation passed by the Maryland Assembly, but vetoed by the proprietor, that would have required a woman to marry within seven years of her arrival in the colony or else lose her land or the ability to pass it on to her heirs upon her death. While this legislation was never enacted, it reveals the pressures the men in control of community law were willing to place upon

- women to marry. It also reveals the correlation between gender and control over the creation of community standards and relational behavior in the colonial North American context (Guttentag & Secord 1983: 116 (citing Spruill, op. cit., 1938)).
- 19 It has been shown across time and cultures that when women are scarce relative to men, a protective morality is created by men with structural power “that favors monogamy for women, limits their interactions with men, and shapes female roles in traditional domestic relations” (Guttentag & Secord 1983: 231). Constraints upon women’s interactions are imposed by men who possess structural power within the culture. In other words, they are imposed by men who control the creation and enforcement of law, the economy, and most other powerful cultural institutions.
 - 20 Allen cites at length from the a letter of objection issued by Richard West, the Attorney General in England who was charged with reviewing enactments from the British colonies to determine whether they should be approved or rejected as prejudicial or contradictory to the laws of England. In opposing a Virginia colony enactment that prohibited a free Negro, mulatto or Indian from voting at an election of burgesses, West stated, in part, “I cannot see why one freeman should be used worse than another, merely upon account his complexion...” (241 citing George Chalmers, comp. and ed., *Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on Various Points of English Jurisprudence chiefly concerning the Colonies, Fisheries, and Commerce*, 2 vols. (London, 1814; Burt Franklin Reprint, 1971, from the original edition in the Brooklyn Public Library) 2:113-14.
 - 21 I encourage instructors or group facilitators to implement this exercise prior to assigning Chapter 2. I always inform my department chair and the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences about the exercise in which I am engaging my students. In the event that students exercise a voice of concern regarding injustice to the “authorities,” this communication helps foster support and understanding within the department and school. I also let these university authority figures know the date at which students will know that they were participating in an exercise and that the grades given in the unequal grading scheme will be discarded, counting instead as “complete” or “incomplete” course work.
 - 22 Most generally, interactionism is concerned with individuals and how they act within society. James Parker and George Herbert Mead were significant to the development of this theoretical tradition.
 - 23 An exception was carved out for free persons of African descent who were “householders” or who lived on a “frontier plantation” and could secure a license from the justice of the peace. If these conditions were met, the law allowed for possession of one gun and the powder and shot it required (Henning 1723, 4:130).
 - 24 “Whiteness” reflects more than those understood to fall within the category “white.” It is meant to capture the ideological and social structural components that have been built along side and in conjunction with the invention of “white” people. This will be discussed further in this chapter.
 - 25 By far the greatest burden of violating the Maryland law fell upon free black men and the children of a prohibited couple. A free black man who married a white woman was prescribed the harshest punishment – service to the parish for life, the loss of his freedom. Any child born to a white woman in violation of the law was required to serve the parish until the age of twenty-one (*Arch. Md.* 13: 546-549).
 - 26 In the 1660s, women and children who were native tribal members were specified as the “booty” for the militiamen who attacked specific northern tribes (Allen 1997: 207).
 - 27 I derive “moral entrepreneur” from Howard Becker (1963: 149-50).
 - 28 Delaware did not pass an antimiscegenation law that punished “white” and “nonwhite” persons who married. Delaware did pass numerous laws addressing non-marital liaisons between “white” people and African or mulatto persons. New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Connecticut never passed antimiscegenation laws. This is not to say that the laws of these colonies were free of white supremacism and its accompanying racial hierarchy. The enforcement of the meanings of “white” and “nonwhite” came through numerous laws. A New Jersey law described free people of African descent as “idle” and “slothful” (Hurd 1713, 1:284). New Hampshire relied upon derogatory stereotypes of the American Indian servant or slave (Hurd 1714, 1:266).

- 29 There are many important scholars who have examined ideology and sharpened and differentiated the ideological concept. Some examples include: Karl Marx' conceptualization of superstructure within his model of society. In this model, the base reflects relations of production and the superstructure reflects dominant ideology. George Walford and Harold Walsby explore the relationship between ideology and social systems under the heading *systematic ideology*.
- 30 Lynching is an extrajudicial execution of a person(s) carried out by a number of people usually a large group or a mob. In other words, it is an execution conducted outside of any judicial or criminal justice process.
- 31 Cheryl Harris argues that whiteness has become a form of property with material value that those who hold the label can utilize and deploy for their benefit (1993).
- 32 Emphasis in original.
- 33 Ian F. Haney Lopez' study of Naturalization law prerequisite cases reveals that, prior to 1923, there were competing approaches utilized by courts to determine who is "white," one relying on science and the other on common knowledge (1996: 79-80). Determining who was "white" was critical to these cases because U.S. naturalization law required that one be *white* in order to Naturalize as a citizen (Act of March 26, 1790, ch.3, Stat. 103). The conflict was settled by the U.S. Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Thind*, in favor of "common knowledge" (261 U.S. 204 (1923)).
- 34 Race, until the early twentieth century, denoted genetically distinct human populations marked by common phenotypic traits (Gordon 1964).
- 35 For a good review of contemporary biological and genetic claims about the human genome in relation to the concept of "race," see Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and evolution of a worldview*, 3rd Ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2007), 22-35 and Chapter 13.
- 36 Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, § 311, ch. 2, 66 Stat. 239 (codified as amendment at 8 U.S.C. § 1422 [1988]).
- 37 Theodore T. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*. Vol. 2. (New York: Verso, 1997); Barbara Fields, 'Ideology and Race in

- American History,' J. Morgan Kousser and James N. McPherson, eds. *Region, Race and Reconstruction*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- 38 David R. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London:Verso, 1991, 1992, 1993), 54.
- 39 Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 57.
- 40 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1963-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988) provides a rich description of this extraordinary period in U.S. history.
- 41 In *Plessy*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. Constitution allowed the "separate but equal" treatment of black and white people, providing the legal support for American apartheid. David Delaney, *Race, Place, and the Law, 1836-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998) 125-178; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993) 30-35.
- 42 Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002) 193, 203-205; 203. Parenthetical added for clarification.
- 43 Smedley, *Race in North America*, 276.
- 44 Abraham Lincoln, 'Third Annual Message,' 8 December 1863, quoted in Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1990) 250.
- 45 Hiroshi Motomura. *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) 19.
- 46 John Higham. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press, 1955) 10-15; Saxton, *White Republic*, 229; Matthew Fry Jacobson. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).
- 47 Christine E. Bose. *Dual Spheres*. In *Analysing Gender*, B. Hess and M. Ferree, eds., 267-85. (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1987),

- 267-85; Robert L. Griswold. *Fatherhood in America: A History*. (New York: Basic, 1993).
- 48 Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 36-39; 82-84.
- 49 Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 154, 196-197.
- 50 In response to complaints that American gold was being filtered to such places as China, Mexico, South America, and Australia, the California legislature passed the Foreign Miner's Tax of 1850 that required those who were not native or naturalized citizens to pay \$20 a month for a license to mine. This incredible fee quickly gave rise to protest and violence. Within one year the tax was repealed and then reinstated in 1852, at the rate of \$4.00 a month.
- 51 Saxton, *White Republic*, 297.
- 52 Immigration Act of 1924, ch. 190 §13(c), 43 Stat. 162.
- 53 Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991).
- 54 Smedley, *Race in North America*, 278; Immigration Act of 1924, ch. 190 §13(c), 43 Stat. 162.
- 55 Erika Lee. At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 35-36.
- 56 John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York, 1974), 169; Robert Ortis, "The Religious Boundaries of an Inbetween People: Street Feste and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned 'Other' in Italian Harlem, 1920-1990," *American Quarterly* 44 (September 1992); David Roediger. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 12.
- 57 Rodolfo F. Acuna. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 6th ed. (New York: Pearson, 2007), 36-37.
- 58 Richard Griswold del Castillo. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 3-4. Acuna. *Occupied America*, 44.
- 59 Acuna. *Occupied America*, 36-37; Castillo. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*. 62-63.
- 60 Charles I. Bevans, ed., *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, vol. 9 (Washington D.C.: Department of State, 1972), 798.

- 61 Ibid. at 797-98.
- 62 Acuna. *Occupied America*, 49-50, citing Antonio de la Pena y Reyes, *Algunos Documentos Sobre el Tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo* (Mexico, D.F.: Sec de Rel. Ext., 1930), 159. quoted in Richard Gonzales, "Commentary on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," in Feliciano Rivera, *A Mexican American Source Book* (Menlo Park, Cal.: Educational Consulting Associates, 1970), 185.
- 63 Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) 114-16; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 20.
- 64 Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*, 68-80; Alfredo Mirande, *The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective* (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985) 16-23; William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 To 1928," *Journal of Social History* 37.2 (Winter 2003): 415.
- 65 Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigration Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), 136.
- 66 Section 394 of the Civil Practice Act of the State of California provided, "No Indian or Negro shall be allowed to testify as a witness in any action in which a White person is a party." Section 14 of that state's Criminal Code provided, "No Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a White man." The result of these statutes were drawn upon by the California Supreme Court in the 1854 case, *People v. Hall*, held that the words, Indian, Negro, Black and White, are generic terms, designating race and therefore Chinese and all other people not white, are prohibited from testifying against whites (4 Cal. 399 (1854)).
- 67 Ibid. at 52, 147, 160-61.
- 68 Martha Menchaca, *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 15.

- 69 Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 154, 196-197; Reisler, *Sweat of Their Brow*, 80-81.
- 70 Paul R. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 374-375; Reisler, *Sweat of their Brow*, 135; Acuna, *Occupied America*, 69; Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 52.
- 71 Horace Bell, *On the Old West Coast* (New York: Morrow, 1930), 255-257. Jane Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 7 (October 1976): 370-71.
- 72 Today people from the Middle East are, as a matter of official classification, white or Caucasian but receive few of the everyday benefits of whiteness, including the presumption of being American or loyal to the U.S.
- 73 T.H. Marshall (1964). "Citizenship and Social Class," in *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. New York: Doubleday, 78.
- 74 Miller, Kirby (1985). *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 193, 198, 318; David Montgomery, "The Irish and the American Labor Movement," in David Doyle, Owen Dudley Edwards, and Cumann Merriman, eds, *America and Ireland, 1776-1976*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980, 205.
- 75 Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 40-41, citing from a report by a Philadelphia grand jury on living conditions in the Moyamensing district; the report, according to Ignatiev, had attached to it an article entitled "the Mysteries and Miseries of Philadelphia," appearing originally in the *Evening Bulletin*.
- 76 Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic* 59. The economic diversity included slave-based agriculture in the south, manufacturing in the mid-Atlantic and northern states that "tended toward separate constituencies and regional differentiation of class interests. North of the Patomac the process intensified upper-class adhesion to the National Republican thesis; southward it tended to split the upper class into Whig and regionalist (state's rights) factions." 71.
- 77 *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic*, 60-63, 66
- 78 Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 68; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 140, 144. The claim that the U.S. was perhaps the most

- democratic during this time is based upon the lack of restrictions on the franchise for citizens and upon the relative weakness of the state (i.e., police or armed enforcers of "the peace.")
- 79 Kirby, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 318; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 109.
- 80 Cited by Kerby Miller, unpub. ms., 41.
- 81 Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 75; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 148-49.
- 82 Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 148. Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 132. Roediger explains, "Even the wholesale wartime atrocities against Blacks in the 1863 draft riots did not draw any opposition for assembled crowds nor vigorous prosecutions by municipal authorities." 148.
- 83 Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 99.
- 84 *How the Irish Became White*, 112; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 144-49.
- 85 For a detailed description of Irish history as a result of British invasion and then rule as a precursor to and model for racial exploitation that grew in the U.S. see, Theodore Allen, *The Invention of the White Race: Racial Oppression and Social Control*, vol. I, (London: Verso, 1994); Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 13; 30; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness* 137.
- 86 Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness* 136; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* 13-14.
- 87 *How the Irish Became White*, 12, citing Hugh's statement published in *The Liberator* of March 25, 1842.
- 88 *How the Irish Became White*, 30.
- 89 Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic*, 71.
- 90 Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 30.
- 91 James Allen, ed. (2010). *Without Sanctuary*, San Francisco: Twin Palms, 2010.
- 92 Prison inmates for 2010 Statistical Tables, U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics: June 2010; Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010 Census Briefs. U.S. Census Bureau. According to the US Bureau of Justice Statistics, non-Hispanic blacks made up 39.4% of the total prison and jail population in 2009. According to the 2010 census of the U.S. Census Bureau, Hispanic and non-

Hispanic blacks constitute 13.6% of the total U.S. population. In 2010 Non-Hispanic black males were incarcerated at the rate of 4,347 inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents of the same race and gender. White males were incarcerated at the rate of 678 inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents of the same race and gender. Hispanic males were incarcerated at the rate of 1,755 inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents of the same race and gender.

- 93 Rodolfo F. Acuna. *Occupied America: A History of Chicagoans*. 6th ed. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007) 59-61 and 65-66.
- 94 MF MacDorman, and TJ Mathews. "Understanding racial and ethnic disparities in U.S. infant mortality rates." NCHS Data Brief no. 74. Hayattsville, MD: US Department of Health and Human Services, CDC, National Center for Health Statistics; 2011. The infant mortality rate for American Indian or Alaskan Native Women was 4.59 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. The infant mortality rate for non-Hispanic white women was 2.29 infant deaths per 1,000 live births.