from Allan Guelzo, *Redeeming the Great Emancipator* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016)

there was no shortage, either, of black-black suspicion. A racial hierarchy within African Americans of the South had long been in existence, with free blacks and "mulattoes" demanding higher seats at the banquet than freed slaves or dark-skinned

"Africans." Based on the evidence of fugitive slave advertisements in the decades before the Civil War, John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger estimated that at least 10 percent of the slave population were mixed-race by 1808, while the fugitive population was composed of as much as 43 percent mixed-race individuals, and after 1865, the divisions drawn by interracial difference became painfully apparent. "There is in the Southern States a great amount of prejudice in regards to color," William Wells Brown admitted in 1867, "even among the negroes themselves. The nearer the negro or mulatto approaches to the white, the more he seems to feel his superiority over those of a darker hue." The white South Carolina apologist, Edward Holland, praised "our Free Mulattoes" and was convinced that "in cases of insurrection," they were "more likely to enlist themselves under the banner of the whites" and "abhor the idea of association with blacks." It amazed the Illinois abolitionist Owen Lovejoy to find that, while it was no surprise that the free black population of Illinois was hostile to proposals for colonization, that hostility crumbled if "separate colonies" were to "be assigned to those of different shades of color," since the "objection" of the "colored people of the State" was that "blacks and mulattoes cannot live harmoniously together."[35]

Nor did this factionalism end with the war. Reconstruction Louisiana was disfigured by infighting among factions led by Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback (one-quarter black, and married to a white woman), Oscar James Dunn (born a slave, of a slave mother and a free black carpenter), and Caesar Carpentier Antoine (a onetime business partner of Pinchback's, whose father was a free *gens du couleur* and mother was West Indian). In postwar Mobile, free "mulatto" blacks, many of them Creole descendants of Mobile's onetime French and Spanish colonizers, quickly assumed dominance over newly freed slaves who flocked to the city from the fields. In postwar Savannah, the freedman Aaron Bradley mounted a political smear campaign against his rival for a seat in Congress, Richard White, a mixed-race Union Army veteran from Ohio. White, sneered Bradley, was a "hybrid" who did not deserve true African American votes. "What color will he represent himself?" asked Bradley. Answer: "The greasy color." Even Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany struck sparks, with Douglass (himself biracial) bitterly criticizing Delany's black racial purism for "going about the same length in favor of blacks, as the whites have done in favor of the doctrine of white superiority." Delany was right to assert African Americans' "need for dignity

and self-respect," but not to point where "he stands up so straight that he leans back a little." These interracial feuds lay at the base of the most singular failure of black Reconstruction in the South, and that was the absence of a single commanding leader who could sum up the aspirations for equality and new racial order in his own forward example and bind together the disparate shards of African American identity into a single movement.[36]