

Bobby Lovett
Nashville, Tennessee

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My name is Bobby I love it PhD professor of history (retired) Tennessee State University.

Before the Civil War, Black educational opportunities for Negroes were almost non-existent. Free Negroes in Nashville did operate some classes and schools clandestinely, between 1833 and 1857, until they were shut down by vigilantes and January of 1857, because of recent race riots in the city of Nashville. Ninety percent of the slaves therefore were illiterate. Perhaps ten percent of them could read and write a little bit. Where masters often had to teach them some degree of literacy in those skilled trades, because about 10 percent of the slaves were urban and they ran errands for their masters. They worked in their shops in their offices and so on. So about 10 percent of the slaves, we estimate could read and write a little bit, but illiteracy was not unusual in Tennessee in antebellum times. More than half of the people in the state couldn't read and write, therefore it was forbidden for slaves to learn to read and write in their day and time.

However, at least two institutions in the state of Tennessee, in higher education, included some Black students. Maryville college as early as the 1830s and Franklin College outside of Nashville by 1855 to 1860, allowed a few free Negroes to attend classes here. It was mostly a manual labor College, however so it was not a liberal arts based college like Maryville and it was also religious instruction, just like Mayville College had mostly religious instruction. So there was very little elementary secondary high high school or college education available to African Americans before the Civil War. However African Americans comprised 26% of Tennesseans by 1860 and so, for one-fourth of the population education was almost forbidden to them until the Civil War.

The coming of the Civil War really was the opening chapter of Black education in Tennessee. As soon as the Union occupation began in Nashville in 1862, free Negroes reopened those schools that had been closed in 1857. Small classes, thirty, forty, fifty students. And one of the teachers of the first of those schools to be opened was a man by the name of Daniel Wadkins. Wadkins had been one of those teachers that ran the antebellum, free Negro classes clandestinely back in the 1850s. And when the Union came to town, the Union Army, they were able to restart some of those particular classes. They were private. You had to pay a few cents to go to those particular schools. But in 1863/64 northern missionaries began to come down into the occupied parts of the south and the first things they did were to establish schools for these freedmen who were now living in camps, contraband camps. For example, over in East Nashville which was called Edgefield out in South Nashville called Edgehill contraband camp and a big contraband camp out in the western section of Nashville, where incidentally this free school began in 1865 in that contraband camp. And so by 1864 65 with the establishment of contraband camps across Tennessee, northern missionaries are now coming with clothing.

They're coming with food and medicine. They're coming, of course, with Bibles, but they're also coming with books to teach the slaves, adult and children, how to do the alphabets, how to read and write. And so the period between 1862 to 1865 during the Civil War is the beginning of the spread of Education to all Black Tennesseans, at that time.

A contraband camp was a place that consisted of tents and log cabins, temporary structures, where slaves who had ran away from the farms and the plantations into the Union camps were housed. Because by 1862 so many slaves were escaping the plantations and the farms in the center of the battlefields Virginia and Tennessee especially. That the Union had to pass a act called the Confiscation Act in 1861, that justified the Union Army keeping those runaway slaves instead of returning them to their owners, as the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law provided. The Union is now saying these are weapons of war. Anything that is contraband, like today the war on drugs, they can confiscate the drugs. They can confiscate the cars bought with the drugs. They can confiscate the houses, today, and in the Civil War they could confiscate anything that was used to make war against the United States. And so they declare fugitive slaves contraband if their masters were in rebellion against the United States. So they asked the runaway slaves, "Is your master fighting against us?" and the slave of course said, "Yes he's fighting against you and he's in the Confederate Army." and that was all that was needed for them to stay within the Union camp. And so many thousands came, that in August 1862 in Grand Junction, Tennessee the general in charge, Ulysses S Grant, asked one of the chaplains to begin to establish a place to keep these people. Because winter was coming, fall was coming, winter was coming. They had no clothing on. They had no shoes. They had no houses to live in. They had no food. These were women and children and babies and Men, as well. And so they started the contraband camps in the fall of 1862. They spread out across Tennessee. They spread out across the Mississippi Valley. Anywhere that the Union Army was in occupation, they had to establish these camps in order to house all these runaway people.

The Civil War, as far as African Americans are concerned, closed with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, December 18th, 1865. Which prohibits slavery now throughout the United States. African Americans are free everywhere in the United States as of December 18th 1865 at the same time, in Tennessee, that 26 percent of Blacks out of all Tennesseans. Blacks, they have been freed by the state of Tennessee. On February 22nd, 1865 the Tennessee Constitutional Convention recommends that slavery be abolished in Tennessee. Secondly that Constitutional Convention recommends the repeal of the 1835 constitutions section that protected slavery and thirdly it recommended that the Ordinance of Secession which had been passed by the Tennessee General Assembly in June, 1861 be repealed. On March 5th, 1865 the people went to the polls and they voted. All men at that time, they vote on those proposed changes and they approve all of them and consequently on the 5th of March, slavery is officially ended in the state of Tennessee. On April 5th, a month later they inaugurate the first civilian governor since 1861 and that is the man from East Tennessee, Parson Warren G Brownlow becomes governor and they and the legislature of Tennessee, the General Assembly, they approve on that day the ratification by Tennessee of the 13th amendment to the Constitution. Which will eradicate slavery throughout the country. Tennessee is one of the first states to ratify

that amendment. You're going to need 23 states to ratify it in 1865. And that number of states ratified the amendment on December 18th, 1865. Eventually all the other 33 states ratified except three or four. Kentucky didn't ratify until 1891. Kentucky was a tough state whole nother story as far as slavery and civil war secession was concerned. A whole another complex story but they do eventually ratified. Tennessee is one of the first. The last state to ratify was the state of Mississippi. And the state of Mississippi did not ratify the amendment that freed the slaves until January 2013, just recently. That Mississippi finally ratified the 13th amendment to the Constitution. It has been a national story. You know, because everybody thought that everybody agreed that slavery was over in the United States. There's one state that did not agree and that state finally with the help of the Black legislative caucus in Mississippi passed the ratification in 1996 but until 2013, it was not sent to Congress. You have to send the amendment to the two houses. You send the amendment to the Secretary of State and you send the amendment to the US register who records it and so on. And Mississippi said the secretary of state of Mississippi overlooked that in 1996 and somebody reminded them, a college professor at Southern Mississippi University that it was not in the US register. And then they looked and found sure enough the man didn't send it in and as a result, technically Mississippi did not ratify until January 2013.

Well Jim Crow laws, as one historian C Vann Woodward points out, had their origins at Antebellum times. There were no specific laws before the Civil War that said Blacks could not go eat here or they couldn't stay in this hotel, a lunchroom. But there were what we call Black Codes before the Civil War, for example, in Nashville. German immigrants had the City Council to pass a city code that said free Negroes and slaves could not engage in the butchering business that was dominated by German immigrants. Nashville was a big slaughterhouse and processed meat here until recent times off of the river. There were other laws that said a Negro free or slave could not own a freight wagon. Free Negroes could own hacks which today we call taxi cabs, but they couldn't engage the wealthy trade of heavy freight on the river, on the wagons. And so European immigrants had those kinds of laws pushed through. There were curfews for Blacks during the antebellum times in Tennessee, but not for whites. So laws that discriminated between the races, we call Jim Crow laws. And there were Jim Crow laws according to the way you look at it before the Civil War. But after the Civil War the whites have to decide what do we do with 26% of the population, most of them former slaves. They're all of African descent. Do we integrate them into society like when the Germans arrived in the thirties and the forties 1830s and 40s, when the Jews arrived in 1790s in Tennessee, when the Irish began to come in droves to Tennessee, especially Memphis in the 1850s? Do we just assimilate them into society? Or do we have to do something different?

Luckily they decided that they would not do to the Negro what they had done to the Native Americans. 1830 President Jackson and the Congress had removed these people from Tennessee. Removed them from Georgia, from Alabama, from Florida, from Louisiana from Mississippi, the Choctaw. And made them march all the way out to a reservation and what today is Oklahoma. So Native Americans had been not only segregated from the rest of society, they had been excluded from the rest of society.

And there were proposals during the Civil War, including coming through President Lincoln's office, to colonize the freed slaves somewhere else; Central America, West Indies, Latin America, Mexico, outside of the United States. But the final decision was made to free the slaves in the United States, December 18, 1865. But now what do you do? He's a freed man, he has no rights, can't vote, can't sue, he owns no land. What do you do with him? And so in 1866 Congress proposed a new amendment and that is the 14th amendment to the Constitution. Finally ratified took two years to get agreement in 1868 and that provided that anybody born in the United States is hereby a citizen of the United States. They didn't use race, but they're talking about the former slaves. All that four and a half million people are now citizens of the United States, just like that. With one sentence, all persons born in the United States are hereby citizens of the United States and they are to be given equal protection of the laws.

The third part of the amendment, due process of the law. You can't do anything to him unless you put him in jail or whatever, unless you do it according to the due process of law. Says that particular amendment. And so by 1868 he is a citizen and Tennessee has already agreed to this in 1866. He's now not just freed; he's a citizen of the state of Tennessee, by 1866. But now legislators are debating how do we treat him. The Fourteenth Amendment says, "You got to treat him equal." But they develop "separate but equal". They develop laws in the General Assembly of Tennessee that are Jim Crow laws. The first one says a person of African descent, and I'm paraphrasing, a person of African descent even a mixed-race, because 10% of the slaves are mulatto half of the free Negroes are mulatto. Mulatto means, one of the parents is white and one of the parents is Black. They are of mixed parentage. Even those persons cannot marry a white person as they described it in that 1866 legislation. They also develop laws about whether they can vote or not. And in Nashville and cities that have horse-drawn streetcars, they provide that they must ride on the back of the streetcar, which are drawn by horses.

So the first Jim Crow laws are really passed as a reaction to the emancipation of these four and a half million people that are living, many percent of them, in the fifteen southern former slave states and former Confederate States. And this is a way to govern the races as people argue at that time. In 1870, the Congress decides to deal with another problem. They propose the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, that all persons who are citizens of the United States are guaranteed the right to vote. So the vote is protected and they are not mentioning race/color in any of these national amendments, just as the founding fathers wisely and cleverly did not mention white Black race, anything of color in the original Constitution. They simply say all citizens in the United States have the right to protection, of the right to vote. And that solves one of the Jim Crow laws where they are trying to cut out former slaves from voting. For example: Alabama, Mississippi, some others, passed the Jim Crow law that said you can vote but you must take a test, a literacy test. You must prove you are intelligent, you can read and write so when you came to register to vote they said read this and if you couldn't read it you were ineligible to vote. So Congress was responding to things like that. However remember half of Tennessee who are white, can't read and write. So they have a grandfather clause in Alabama and Mississippi in these states, that says if your grandfather was a voter during the election of

1860, that's when Lincoln was elected, then you are exempt from taking the literacy test. And of course no Blacks in Tennessee were eligible to vote in 1860 because of the 1835 constitution of Tennessee. It disenfranchised all of the free Negroes who had the right to vote. When Tennessee became a state in 1795, they voted right up until 1835. So by 1860 none of them were voting. No Blacks were voting. Certainly the slaves could not vote and therefore they will be cut out from voting. So the Fifteenth Amendment of the National Constitution protected the right to vote. That's the one that's under debate today because out of that amendment came the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Because the Fifteenth Amendment says Congress has the power to detail, you know, right in the details Fifteenth Amendment is only three or four paragraphs. Congress has the right to follow with legislation to effect this amendment. And of course, the most comprehensive piece of legislation was in 1965 Voting Rights Act, which in 2014 is now being debated and the Supreme Court is chipping away at that 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Whereas as I say, the Civil War as one great historian said in his recent book, "we're still fighting the Civil War. We're still fighting the Civil War". So in 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment protected the right to vote and, specifically, is referring to the former slaves. These are all men now because the women don't do not have the right to vote yet and they still are excluded, you know, from the right to vote. But in 1870, Tennessee was redeemed. That is, the Democratic Party was the pro secessionist party. The Democratic Party was the party of Andrew Jackson born in the 1830s. The Democratic Party was the pro-slavery party. The Democratic Party is the party that will fight Lincoln tooth and nail every step of the way and the federal government through the time that he was president of the United States. And will oppose the Emancipation. But in 1870 they recaptured the state government from Warren G (Brownlow) from the governor and the Republicans. And Tennessee became all Democratic and one of the first things the Democrats did, they revised the constitution again and that is the 1870 Constitution which we now use in the state of Tennessee. It was revised. It included a poll tax. It included that anti-miscegenation law. They now put this into, not into legislative law, but into constitutional law and the Democrats who control the state refuse to ratify the 15th amendment to the Constitution. Tennessee, as I say to people in other places, don't laugh at Mississippi. Tennessee did not ratify the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States until June 1992. Until June 1992. The only thing that protected Blacks' right to vote in the state of Tennessee was the National law and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. As far as Tennessee was concerned, they had no protection for the right to vote, until Tennessee decided to ratify that amendment. Until in 1965 Right to Vote Act and of course Tennessee ratified the amendment in 1990, in 1992. So Jim Crow laws were racially discriminating laws that meant to keep the whites and Blacks separate. But also to keep the Black Tennesseans subordinate. That they really were according to Jim Crow laws not full-fledged citizens.

Well the 1901 law was meant to segregate Blacks and whites in higher education. Tennessee had a law in 1867, that forbid the teaching and learning of students of white and Black race in the same school. So school segregation was a state law in Tennessee 1867. But there was no segregation of higher education and one of the reasons there was no segregation of higher education, Tennessee had no state colleges. Northern states had them. There was Michigan.

All of them had land-grant institutions, which were public colleges. Tennessee was still a half-century behind. She had not a single higher education institution sponsored by the state itself, so there was no public college in Tennessee. So they had never paid attention to that and Tennessee will not have a public institution of higher education until the General Assembly adopts a private school over in East Tennessee. East Tennessee University, which changed its name to the University of Tennessee. And in 1907, Tennessee assumed control and finance of that institution. That was the first state College for the state of Tennessee. Other than that, Tennessee had not and then in 1909, two years later, the General Assembly passed a law to create four public teachers colleges. Today they are: East Tennessee State University, Middle Tennessee State University, University of Memphis and one for Blacks Tennessee State University. Four of them were created, so by 1912 Tennessee had its first five public institutions of higher education for its particular citizens.

So after the Civil War Maryville College which had always admitted a few Black students. Franklin College in Nashville, which went out of business right after the Civil War in 1865, they of course continued to admit Black students to their student bodies just as they had before. But a case came before the United States Supreme Court in 1901 that had nothing to do with Tennessee, it was Kentucky. And Kentucky's Berea College had admitted Blacks from the very beginning of his founding in 1855. In fact Berea College grew to be more Black students and white students by the 1880s. Anti-slavery people had established it. And its Charter said it must always be a biracial institution, so segregation was forbidden in the original charter a Berea. However, Jim Crow is spreading across the south and Jim Crow advocates in Kentucky, they put a bill through the General Assembly of Kentucky that you cannot have Blacks and whites attending the same classes. And that was called the Day Law in Kentucky. So Berea has to expel all the Black students. And Berea decides, Berea College sets up a separate school in Louisville with some money to educate those students who, Lincoln Institute is what they called it, named after President Lincoln. They called it Lincoln Institute over near Louisville, where the Black students would be admitted and they can continue their education. Tennessee copies that and in 1901, Tennessee has a Day Law that says students cannot attend class and schools in the same place of opposite races and that includes private schools. This case, the Berea case, the Maryville College case, similar cases, go all the way to the Supreme Court. Because Berea College sues the state of Kentucky, that this is unconstitutional. These are private institutions, these are not public institutions, these are private institutions. And the state does not have the right or the power to come in and tell a store owner or to tell a college owner they have to segregate their facility. But the United States Supreme Court in 1905 agreed. And in 1905 they agreed that a state has the right to segregate its citizens even in private institutions. And consequently after 1905, segregation of higher education institutions in Tennessee, it is legal it is the practice during that particular time. At the same time remember Harvard and Yale and Cornell and northern institutions are admitting Black students. The northern land-grant institutions, since they were created in 1862 never excluded Blacks. They segregated them on campus, but they did not exclude them from attending the institutions. Southern higher education is going to segregate them from the institution period and they cannot, you know, come on campus, live on the campus, attend classes or whatever. So the Jim Crow law of 1901

was very harsh. Maryville College provides about \$25,000 of its endowment money to establish a school as Berea College did for the Blacks and that is Swift Memorial College which is a private institution, but also supported by the Presbyterians just as Maryville College was established. And with the segregation of Maryville College in 1905, the precedent is set in Tennessee that there will be no colleges and universities that Blacks can attend other than schools that are set up for Blacks. And by that time, there are about 10 or 12 private Black institutions of higher education including Swift Memorial College, LeMoyne-Owen College in Memphis, Fisk University in Nashville, Meharry Medical College in Nashville and several others at that time. So you can go to a Black school, private, because the state of Tennessee has no public institution for whites or Blacks by 1905. But Tennessee is given money to George Peabody College for teachers in Nashville. Appropriations for the East Tennessee University the University of Tennessee by that time and Black legislators argue that this is discrimination that is against the Constitution of the United States. And so the General Assembly of Tennessee in 1880s, around 1880 to 83, they began to give scholarships to students who are Black in each County, who want to go to a higher education institution and they can take that scholarship and go to Fisk University or one of the other Black schools at the time. So there is some support for Black higher education but the total number of students who were financed under that plan was about less than 20 so there's no real access to higher education for Black Tennessee who still make up, now, nearly 25% of the whole state's population by that particular time. And they will make up nearly 21% of the population as late as World War I.

So one fourth of the population of Tennessee are excluded from higher education, financed by the public, according to the Jim Crow laws of the state of Tennessee, but in 1909 the state created four teacher colleges. And through some pressure they include a Black one for the Blacks and that was Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School. These were two-year teacher training institutions in East Tennessee, Middle Tennessee, West Tennessee for whites and one which was situated in Nashville for Blacks. And so Blacks get access but that school is going to be discriminated against in terms of resources, in terms of curriculum. What it can offer and what it can not offer in that school, so by 1941, 42 Blacks sue the state of Tennessee. They sued in 1937 because they could go to Tennessee A&I State College, but they couldn't go to graduate school at University of Tennessee. The only public graduate school in the state of Tennessee, who was getting almost a million dollars a year now from the state of Tennessee, they've got pharmacy, they've got engineering, they've got law, they've got medicine. They've got all these graduate and professional programs, but Black Tennesseans cannot attend the University of Tennessee. So in 1937, Tennessee A&I graduate, William B Redmond, William B Redmond sued, with the help of the NAACP, in the state court. And the state turned him down. Instead, what they did was they created an out-of-state scholarship program for the state of Tennessee for any Black who wanted to go to University of Tennessee for any subject that was not offered at Tennessee A&I. And so, in 1937 Tennessee began out of state fellowships, where Blacks had to choose to go out of the state in order to attend another school anywhere. He could go to the University of Michigan, and he could go to Howard University. He could go anywhere he wanted, but he couldn't go to the University of Tennessee. Those scholarships lasted until 1962. Tennessee was still passing out Jim Crow scholarships to

those people. And Tennessee, in 1946-47, Tennessee under the leadership of the governor at the time started appropriations to Meharry Medical College. Now they would give Meharry in Nashville, the Black Medical College, money for students to attend who otherwise said they wanted to go to UT Medical School, because Mr. Redmond sued to go to the pharmacy school at UT, which was over in Memphis and he was turned down. Now you can go to Meharry and the state of Tennessee gives them a scholarship. An appropriation, that they can handle those particular students.

That saved Jim Crow for another, what, 14 years or so until Brown versus the Board of Education in 1954, decreed that separate but equal, no matter how you put it, was unconstitutional. That it was unconstitutional, whereas the court had said in the case of Plessy versus Ferguson, a case out of Louisiana, that states could separate the races and it wasn't unconstitutional. It was not a violation of the fourteenth amendment, as long as the state could prove that they treated the races equal. In other words, if you gave whites a public school you had to give Blacks a public school. If Whites had a water fountain where they could stop and for the convenience of drinking water in public, you had to have one for Blacks. If whites could ride on a railroad train, then you had to provide a place where Blacks could ride. As long as you treated them equally, then you could discriminate said the Supreme Court in 1896. But in 1954, the US Supreme Court unanimously 9-0 said that is unconstitutional, because separate but equal is inherently unequal. Because the people who are making the laws are not Blacks they're whites. They are always going to make the law in their favor. They're always going to build a better school for themselves. They're always going to have a better train car for themselves, then for the Blacks or others. It's just inherently unequal.

And it's damaging to the child because they did psychological studies on little four and five six year old kids, Black kids, and they asked them to take tests, you know. They asked Black kids in the psychological test "which of these two pictures here is the prettiest person?" they always picked out the white person. Which of these trees is a prettiest tree? Which tree looks like a Black tree? They picked out a tree with dead leaves you know. They had been damaged by the time they were 5 years old to believe that they were inferior and that the other side was superior. That was the damaging effects of separate but equal. And as a result, in 1954, the Supreme Court said we got to get rid of this and there's no halfway you know between it, where you can say we're gonna give them the back of the bus and whites take the front of the bus and so on. It was damaging only to them physically, but it was damaging to these young people mentally. Generations of Black people were literally their, self-confidence, their image of themselves was destroyed by Jim Crow. They still suffer from that legacy of slavery and Jim Crow today. And you can look at that through the performance of Black students in the classroom. Of the punitive nature of trying to govern them in the classroom. Of the differences in the ACT and SAT score between Blacks and whites, and the differences of the percentage of Blacks who have college degrees today, compared to the percentage of whites who have college degrees all across the board. Today Jim Crow's legacy and the legacy of slavery, as far as education is concerned, still rings. We're still dealing with those particular legacies that affect all of us whether they are Blacks or whites or Asians or whatever, because Jim Crow is

embedded in the racism of the society and the only way you can get it out said one civil rights leader in the 1960s and Nashville

You're gonna have to wash it and wash it and wash it and wash it some more before you can cleanse the society. And that is still going on today. We're still washing and washing and washing and it'll probably, in my opinion, be at least another hundred years before our American society is cleansed. It's been a hundred and fifty years ago since slavery. As you can see it took that long just to get beyond that particular legacy in the state of Tennessee and across the United States. Finally, I'll say Jim Crow laws were laws, in other words, Jim Crow was what we call in Latin "de jure". In other words, it was legal racism. It can also be "de facto" and that is in Latin, translating from Latin to English "de facto" means "in fact". In other words, it's not by law but in fact, it does exist. In fact, people do practice it. So de jure segregation, it was practiced as the norm. Now in the South they are practicing de jure racial segregation. This is a law that says you got to sit on the back of the streetcar. You know you can't sit on the front of the streetcar. Well in the North, it was de facto. You could not, in New York City, go and stay in this hotel if you were Black. You could not go into this restaurant in New York City and eat if you were Black. And there were certain schools in the North, in Pennsylvania, you could not go to and New York. So in the north it was de facto which the Supreme Court in '54 couldn't deal with. They can only deal with de jure, the legal segregation is unconstitutional. How do you deal with the the segregation that's de facto. So since 1954, we have still been washing and washing to get rid of that. That's what the Supreme Court of 2014 is dealing with, that, in fact, these things still exist in voting and so on and so on. They are not law now. Alabama doesn't have the literacy test anymore and all of that, but it has disenfranchised half of all adult Negro men in the state of Alabama. And it's done that through criminal injustice laws. If you have a record, you can't vote. And there's no way for you to, what, to redeem your right to vote in Tennessee. You can, what, redeem it. You can go and apply and petition and, what, regain your citizenship after you have been, you know, a convicted criminal (acts) so on so on. If you want to, many of them don't. So many people are still disenfranchised, which the Black Caucus is dealing with in the state of Tennessee. Simply because they had a criminal record and Tennessee has adopted the same Jim Crow laws as Alabama, as Mississippi and so on. Or you can do it in other ways. You know you can, you know, move the voting places around. Tennessee does that. You can say you are not allowed to vote anymore because your registration is expired. You've moved to another place, you know, you have to re-register. If you move to another district and so on and so on. I mean there are all kinds of de facto discrimination segregation laws. Or you have to you have to show me ID. And so that is prolific across the country because many Black persons don't have a permanent ID or driver's license cause they're moving around. They're the most mobile population moving from one rental place to another rental place and so on and so on so. We got them, they can't you know they can't vote, but the Supreme Court and they have agreed they can't bother us because this is not legal, this is not a law. You know this is something we do de facto.

What is important about education? Education is a liberating force. It liberates an individual, who's nothing but an animal species. That's all we human beings are, but education transforms

us into what it is to be human. That's what education does. So out of all other species on this planet, have the same things we have, but what lifts us as human beings above other species is a form of education that we receive. And that's why we call it, in many places, liberal arts education, because it's a liberating experience. If the person is really educated, then the person is a changed person. That many people will go to school and go to colleges, universities and they have diplomas and degrees that doesn't mean that they're an educated person. Because education must transform the person, holistically. The whole person's got to be transformed. In education. He knows and can do, in other words, what he knows is sacred knowledge, what he can do; new skills, that other human beings and other species on this planet do not know and cannot do. So a person who really wants to be educated hungers for that education. That's why the slaves wanted to know how to read and write. Why is it that the master can read that piece of paper, something on that piece of paper and he's saying something to another person and I can't do that? So slaves just hungered, you know, to learn to read and write. How do you do that? Because the most difficult thing for a human being, in my opinion, is to take a pen or a pencil and put something on a piece of paper, out of their mind, and have another human being look at the piece of paper and interpret it and understand exactly what they mean. It is the most difficult form of human communication. So education is a liberating force. That's why today, many conservatives and others are attacking the colleges, taking money from them. They are turning them into for-profit institutions to make money, not to teach people anything but to make money and so on. Because just like the slave master, it's dangerous to have a population that is really educated. That's dangerous. If you have a population that's really educated you advance democracy. You cannot have a democracy with an ignorant population. The more educated the population is, the more advanced democracy becomes in that particular society. It's not to the advantage of the 1% of this population, which owns 85% of the wealth in this country, to have people as smart as they are, as knowledgeable as they are, as skilled as they are, any more than the slave master wanted his slaves walking around with a college degree. He would have no slaves. Yes. All the slaves had a high school education. You know he couldn't. It was impossible and so education is a liberating force. It's a necessity for a democratic institution or a democratic country. It must have an educated population. The cradle of democracy, the Greek. They were not ignorant people. There was a form of education, in that particular culture, and so education is also for those who don't like it and those who want to control the others. It's a dangerous thing to have people educated. When you're educated, you're just not the same anymore.

When I left Memphis, Tennessee to go to college, down at Arkansas State College, 165 miles away across the river in Arkansas, I left and went away to school out of state because I realized I could never be different from the people in my neighborhood if I had the same skills and the same education as they had. And most of them had very little in my neighborhood. And when I came back, there were people saying well you talk different, you're acting different, you dress different, you don't act like us. And I said that's because I'm educated now. You know, I want a way to get better educated, so that I could be different. So educated people are supposed to be different. They're supposed to speak different, write different, think different, dress different, act different. That's an educated person. We all can act in common, but that you know the genius of

human society are its most educated persons. And if you look for revolving and evolving human society, there's nobody who has been uneducated in modern history who's led a revolution. So you know Mr. Castro down in Cuba, had a PhD and a law degree. Lenin and you know all those guys that led the revolutions in Russia, they were doctorates and law degrees. Mao Zedong college educated person in China. And so we go all over the world and it is that segment of society that helps to promote a more rapid progression of human society that bring about the changes. Yes some people invent things, but most people who are inventors are pretty educated people. Look at all of them going back in industrial America, you know, history they were pretty educated people. We know things that other people don't know and if we don't know, we know how to learn and that's what an educated person for most is. He is a person who knows how to learn and a good teacher is a teacher who knows how to teach his students how to learn. And once a person learns something they can learn to do anything because they know how to study, they know how to research stuff or read stuff and so on. That's the key, is the gaining of the skill of how do you learn and so education it's uplifting.

If it had not been for those schools, the freedmen schools, 800 of them after emancipation cropped up to teach the former slave how to read and write. Once he can read and write he can learn for himself, he can go get books, you know, we teach them how to learn and that has been the most liberating force for that 4.5 million slaves former slaves. And now, today, they're 43 million descendants that live in the United States. Education has been the liberating force of that. And so it's very important in our human society. But even if you look at other species, and I was looking at a show the other day, all species have an education system, you know, they teach their young how to, what, survive. They teach them the necessary skills they need to get to the next generation and that's what we do, you know. So even the other species, they can't survive without educating their young, you know, they just can't do it. It can't happen, you know. They have to teach them, even if it's a whale, you know, she's got to teach that baby, well what are the skills that he or she needs to survive in that broad big ocean. And so education is simply a liberating force. It is a necessary force. You know, for us, species on this earth but more so importantly for the human species, us.

They put these guys with New England nests and New Englanders reservoir were foremost for starting education in the United States they started the first college. Harvard in 1630. And in the South it was the opposite because slaveholders didn't promote schools. First they didn't want the slaves to read and write. They didn't want the white workers who were the managers of their plantations to be too educated. And they of course didn't want the white masses to have access to education. They could afford and they did send their children to military academies. They sent them to you know have private classes for them, they had tutors for them, they even sent them north to go to school. They sent them to European universities to go to school. One of the problems with the Confederacy is that you have some officers who were put into the Confederate Army in 1861 because they were volunteers and like Nathan Bedford Forrest they could afford to raise a regiment or company, but they couldn't read and write. These other uppity Confederate officers with their fancy uniforms could read and write they had been to school, some of them had been to college. If you noticed the top generals back then they had been to

the Academy, you know, to be trained as military officers and that's why they treated Nathan before Florence and those guys the way they did. You know, they gave them assignments that didn't make no sense that kept them out of the way, you know, raiding places, tearing up railroads and raiding contraband camps and stuff like that. As one new book says, if Jefferson Davis, who was just as snobbish as his set of generals, had used a Confederate cavalry effectively he may have been able to negotiate his way out of the Civil War. Because they had a hundred thousand cavalry men, you know, people on horses and so on, and the Confederate force. But they never used them as an effective force. They never used them at Shiloh, they never used them at Fort Donelson and never use them at Fredericksburg. And so they never used those guys, so as a result education made a difference because the Democrats were on this side, Republicans were on this side, they were the ones who passed the public school they call it a common school law in 1867. That was a Republican legislature that passed a common school law that started public schools in Tennessee in 1867. So yeah it made a difference you know. Between the Democrats coming into power, they intended on even if they have to hold all Tennesseans down, not getting education, you know, to Black's just as they had been doing during that time.

But you know remember now, the parties we are talking about today are the flip-flop, you know. Let's call the Democrats of today, the Republicans of a hundred and fifty years ago. And the Republicans of today are the Democrats, you know of Jim Crow times. You know they're two different profiles of those parties, you know, today. And the Republicans today are more anti educational, anti intellectual than the Democrats because the Democrats today, the only way they survive is by the inclusion of minorities, women, Blacks, brown, yellow people and so on and working-class people and middle class people were trying to move up and so they've been pretty Pro education since they flip-flop, since 1948. And so if you look at the federal Higher Education Act it was passed under Democrats. Lyndon Johnson you know, in 1965. You look at all of those the early ones in the 40s, under Harry S Truman, Democrats you know. So they're a flip-flop today. But they were pretty, if you had to divide them between the intellectual party in the anti intellectual party in 1870 it would be that it would be the Democrats as the anti intellectual party. As historian Richard Hofstadter says in his book the "History of Anti-intellectualism in American Life", not just Tennessee but in many places across the states, there's a grain of intellectualism where people don't want to be intellectualized. And the wealthy certainly don't want the general population to be intellectualized, because if you intellectualize then you value learning, you hunger for learning, you get smarter than the boss, you know and the boss doesn't want you getting smarter. Instead of him owning eighty percent of all the wealth, you'll own 80 percent of all the wealth. It'll be the other way around. And slave owners only made up fifteen percent of the families in the state of Tennessee owned slaves. Eighty-five percent of the people in Tennessee did not and could not afford to own a single slave. But that fifteen percent of the families in the book I'm writing now, I called them the "Slavetocracy", the slaveholding class, that fifteen percent of Tennesseans own 57 percent of the best land in the state of Tennessee. If we overlay that up today 2014, say what percentage of the families in Tennessee own the construction companies especially, highway construction comes it's only five six percent, if we overlaid Antebellum times with 21st century Tennessee, it would look

about the same. It would look about the same, in terms of the malproportion of wealth. Because it's still malproportioned, between those who have and most of us.

I have not, although we think we got a lot. We got a car, we got a house and so on, but our country is still, since 1607 filthy rich. The resources of this country are unbelievable. Everybody outside understands that, but us. It is unbelievable but the way that we divided up then and now is kind of shameful you know and history proves that so you know it's a very complex story you know, when you get in talking about education and economics and so on. Because that's the key, you know. I mean, studies show the higher your education the more the income. The Republicans were more Pro education than the Democratic party. Again keep in mind the Democratic Party was born as a result of Andrew Jackson becoming president in 1828. And the Democratic Party is the party of the masses, you know. All these people are being left out of the prosperity of the country. The common man as Jacksonians called it. They want to be included. We want land, we want, well, we want slaves, you know. We want the same things, you know, as the wealthy people. And so the Democratic Party became very powerful party but necessarily also a pro-slavery party and anti-education, you know. People thought and still think, you know, these boneheads that are educated are good-for-nothing, you know. That education ain't good for nothing. We need to put them out there and let them grow some crops, you know, and pick some cotton or something. But education ruins a man and that's what many people said back in that day and time. That education really was the ruination of many people.

So the Republicans, what did they do in 1862 when the Democrats were out of power and the Confederates were in control of the southern states? one of the most important acts they passed that still affects us today was the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act. And that act set aside land, public land, federal land that would be turned over to the states and the states can sell that land to set up their first public college. That's why there's a University of Michigan, that's why there's Ohio State, that's why there is the University of Kansas. Every state has a land-grant institution today. Auburn is a land grant in Alabama, Auburn University is a land-grant. University of Mississippi is the land-grant. And in the southern states, because of segregation beginning in 1891, they put an amendment on the Morrill Land Grant Act, you cannot cut out people from those land-grant institutions, you either mustn't let them come to you know Michigan State or Illinois State or you can create a separate institution for, and all of the southern states they created separate institutions. So there you find two land-grant colleges; Auburn University, Alabama State University, the Black one. In Tennessee its University of Tennessee. Tennessee A&I is a Black land-grant. Mississippi University of Mississippi, Jackson State University is the Black one. Go through every one of them. And every southern state that has a land-grant Institute, has two land grant institutions. But that was because of the Republicans and why?

The Republican Party when it was formed in 1854 out of anger against the Kansas-Nebraska Act ,which said you can now bring slaves into Nebraska or Kansas or any new territory as long as the people in that area, popular sovereignty, voted in their state constitution to allow slavery. They are angry. So all these guys came together and formed a new party the Republican Party

in 1854. 1854, Lincoln is so angry he comes back into politics in Illinois where he was so disgusted with Congress as a congressman he left politics and went back into law. But they passed this God forbidden Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Free Soil Party, they joined the Republican Party. And the Free Soilers are mostly New Englanders. They don't want any slave masters coming into the new territory, because they think they are retrogressive. They kept them out of Ohio, the Northwest Territory. They didn't want southerners moving into Illinois they didn't want them moving into Wisconsin or Michigan, because they thought they were educationally retrogressive when they passed the northwest order.