

Chapter 1 : Bread and Roses Cultural Project | Art for Social Change Toolkit

Bread, Roses and the Flood The only bright spot in this man-made disaster has been the wave of public outrage at the Administration's failure to provide aid to the most vulnerable. By Eric Foner.

The erudition, the level of detailed evidence that Eric Foner marshals, the clear, inescapable logic of his narrative left me in awe. With nearly every page I felt another layer of preconception peeling away. And with nearly every page I found myself understanding more about the society that the war and its aftermath shaped. Reconstruction was a time in American history that was so formative, so complex--and yet so understudied--that it fully deserves the level of detail that Foner brings to the story. The Reconstruction was not a single period, but rather occurred in fairly distinct phases--each in part a reaction to what had gone before, but also to external developments such as industrialization and the railroad boom. As the Civil War started, sharp divisions began to arise between plantation owners, who could dodge the draft by sending slaves, and up-country subsistence farmers who were forced to go to war themselves and leave the farming to their women and children. One Alabama small farmer had no illusions about the planter-dominated Confederacy: Nor were fight and flight the only responses: The Quest for Land and Learning With Emancipation came an extraordinary collective drive for self-improvement on the part of freedmen, most notable perhaps was their seemingly unquenchable thirst for education. For many adults, "a craving to read the word of God" provided the immediate spur to learning, but so too was a longing for a more secular freedom. One member of a North Carolina education society said in "a school-house would be the first proof of independence. The freedmen also longed for their own land. The host of Northern whites arriving over the next years had other and varied ideas altogether and most hoped to see blacks working the plantations for wages. The story of Davis Bend, an island plantation in the Mississippi south of Vicksburg, is one of the few bright spots: Reversals during the Johnson Era Chapter Resistance to Land Re-Distribution As the war drew to a close, what was left of the planter class faced massive challenges trying to rebuild--and without low-cost labor the task was nearly impossible. Viewed through the lens of plantation agriculture, other cases of emancipation, for example in the West Indies, taught an unmistakable lesson. Freedom had come to Haiti in the 1790s and to the British Caribbean in the 1830s and in both settings former slaves had abandoned the sugar plantations in large numbers to establish themselves as subsistence-oriented small farmers. Only on smaller islands like Barbados where whites owned all of the land had plantation agriculture continued to thrive. Then in July, President Johnson rescinded these orders returning most of the land to pardoned Confederates owners. Historical experience and modern scholarship suggest that small landholdings would not have solved the plight of black families, but the reversal of Civil War-era promises left a devastating sense of betrayal and distrust. Frederick Douglas proposed to Johnson a different political scenario uniting non-slaveholding poor upland white yeomen and black freedmen in a grand new Republican coalition, but the President was uninterested. The chapter on the failure of presidential reconstruction is so rich in insights that I want to quote every other page. Radical Republicanism, Black Suffrage and the Constitutional Legacy Chapters Thanks in no small measure to black suffrage the Republicans gained ascendancy in the South and blacks threw themselves into politics with enthusiasm. Sixteen were seated in Congress; Louisiana elected a mixed race governor; free born blacks served as state Lt. The social and political revolution of black suffrage was short-lived, but one of the most lasting triumphs of Radical Reconstruction was to enshrine in the Constitution a legal framework for equality. The slaves were--at least in theory--set free with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. Then, as relations with the President moved toward a rupture, Republicans grappled with the task of fixing in the Constitution--beyond the reach of Presidential vetoes and shifting political majorities--their understanding of the fruits of the Civil War. The 14th Amendment, passed in 1868 and ratified in 1869, took a great deal of political wrangling to reach approval, but in the end it endowed "with constitutional authority the principle for which Radicals had fought a long and lonely battle: For decades these ideals would seem to have died an early death, but the seed was there, waiting for the right moment in time to sprout and take root. And as Foner notes, even the attempt was revolutionary: Industrialism in the North and

Southern White Resistance Chapters The staggering social and labor changes ushered in under Radical Reconstruction threatened what was left of plantation agriculture. The program of state-sponsored economic development that had promised to bring railroads, factories and prosperity to the devastated South fell well short of its potential for a host of reasons including widespread but hardly unusual corruption, but also because more attractive opportunities beckoned capital and immigrants to the North and to the newly opened Western regions. The kind of distortions typical of planned economies devastated upcountry small farmers who turned from growing food crops to cotton for shipment on the new rail lines at the expense of their long-cherished economic independence. But between and , a wave of counterrevolutionary terror began to sweep the South. Despite sporadic Federal efforts at suppression, the Ku Klux Klan and kindred organizations like the Knights of the White Camellia and the White Brotherhood became entrenched in many parts of the South and were ultimately successful in restricting local black enfranchisement and upward economic mobility. I really struggled with these last few chapters. Endless discussions of shifting electoral trends, party infighting, Congressional committees creating sausage legislation made for very dull reading. I found myself longing for a CNN-style map showing electoral district returns and lo and behold I found this brilliant presentation showing election results from that clearly demonstrates both the effect of the powerful surge of black enfranchisement and its ultimate suppression. By concerns over the economy, which had barely weathered a major depression, labor strife especially rail shut-downs, and troubles with Indians and imported Chinese labor in the West had completely shifted the focus of national attention away from the South and the issues that animated the Civil War and Reconstruction. The South was largely left to its own devices to resurrect a new version of its old feudal class and racial system. But the lockdown was never again as total as it had been under slavery; thousands of blacks would head west for new opportunities and later migrate en masse to the North to find new jobs in the industrial heartland. Black churches, in particular the Southern Baptist and AME Zion Protestant denominations, would provide both solace and political leadership. Black colleges and collective organizations such as the United Negro College Fund would educate a new elite. And in many black families the memories would be preserved of a time when grandfathers and uncles fought in the Union Army or served in high government office. As Peter Randolph, a former slave and Baptist minister would write in a sentence that Foner uses at the close of his book: I read a lot of history and non-fiction, but there were times when I struggled under the sheer weight of information. I would encourage non-historians to check the abridged version, *A Short History of Reconstruction*

Chapter 2 : Eric Foner: American Historian

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However, this film does more than chronicle a particularly dramatic episode in American labor history. Through music, regional accents, and numerous local characters, Sayles successfully creates a sense of the Matewan community. With its accented dialogue often difficult to follow and its slow-moving pace, it demands concentration on the part of the viewer, but partly because of this, it succeeds admirably in creating a sense of time and place. Buy now at Amazon. Rather, it formed part of a prolonged struggle for unionization that lasted for decades. Unionism in was hardly new to the miners of southern West Virginia, and it did not require someone coming from outside the community [Joe Kenehan] to bring its message to Matewan. The region-wide strike had inaugurated a period of intensely violent struggle between the union and mine owners. In the years that followed, moreover, the mine workers union, perhaps the most racially integrated labor organization in the nation, succeeded in uniting black and white miners, as well as natives and immigrants. It is sobering to reflect that these ideals seem as utopian to contemporary viewers as when they were propounded by the I. History According to the Movies. Wellstone was born in Washington, D. After over 20 years as a Political Science professor at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, Wellstone score an upset victory in , defeating the Republican incumbent to become the Democratic Senator from Minnesota. Reclaiming the Compassionate Agenda in Wellstone was killed in a plane crash on October 25th, one week before the elections. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do. History has become a matter of public controversy, as Americans clash over such things as museum presentations, the flying of the Confederate flag, or reparations for slavery. So whose history is being written? He reconsiders his own earlier ideas and those of the path-breaking Richard Hofstadter. He concludes with considerations of the enduring, but often misunderstood, legacies of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. For more films about the American labor movement, see:

Chapter 3 : Not for Bread Alone by Moe Foner

Bread, Roses and the Flood The only bright spot in this man-made disaster has been the wave of public outrage at the Administration's failure to provide aid to the most vulnerable. Eric Foner.

Hurricane Katrina did not begin with a natural disaster. It began with the hatred that flared among white people in response to a civil rights movement that challenged white supremacy in US society. It began with a racist backlash that erupted with the killing of Emmett Till and continues to this day. Moreover, it made visible the predatory nature of disaster capitalism and its willingness to turn a disastrous event into a petri dish for the forces of neoliberalism. Katrina launched a new era in the politics of disposability. Below is an excerpt from my book, *Stormy Weather: Giroux and other authors in the Public Intellectual Project*, [click here](#). In the long aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, people in the United States and globally are still struggling to draw the correct conclusions and learn the right lessons from that horrific catastrophe. Initially, we were led to believe that Katrina was the result of a fateful combination of a natural disaster and government incompetence. The perfect storm of bad luck provided one more example of the general inability of the Bush administration to actually govern, let alone protect its citizenry. Yet, with some distance and sober reflection, such assessment seems a bit shortsighted, and a little too localized. As Katrina made perfectly clear, the challenges of a global world are collective and not simply private. In truth, Katrina offers a number of relevant lessons not only for US citizens, but also for Canadians and citizens all over the world who must grapple with the global advance of what I call a politics of disposability. First, Katrina is symptomatic of a form of negative globalization that is as evident in Ottawa, Paris and London, as it is in Washington, DC, or New Orleans, or any other city throughout the world. As safety nets and social services are being hollowed out and communities crumble and give way to individualized, one-person archipelagos, it is increasingly difficult to address as a collectivity, to act in concert, to meet the basic needs of citizens or maintain the social investments needed to provide life-sustaining services. Second, as Katrina made perfectly clear, the challenges of a global world, especially its growing ecological challenges, are collective and not simply private. This suggests that citizens in New Orleans as well as in Vancouver, Halifax and Toronto “coastal and inland” must protect those principles of the social contract that offer collective solutions to foster and maintain both ecological sustainability and human survival. Certainly, Canadians have done much to ensure environmental protections, especially in comparison with their neighbors to the south, but there is much, much more that has to be done to curtail the threat of global warming and numerous ecological disasters. Third, as Hurricane Katrina vividly illustrated, the decline of the social state along with the rise of massive inequality increasingly bar whole populations from the rights and guarantees accorded to fully fledged citizens of the republic, who are increasingly rendered disposable, and left to fend for themselves in the face of natural or human-made disasters. In earlier eras, imagery of racist brutality and war atrocities moved nations to act and to change domestic and foreign policy in the interests of global justice. These contemporary images moved all of us, but only it seems for a time. Hurricane Katrina may have reversed the self-imposed silence of the media and public numbness in the face of terrible suffering. White racists in Mississippi had tortured, mutilated and killed the year-old Black boy for whistling at a white woman. Inhuman is more like it: The photo not only made visible the violent effects of the racial state; it also fueled massive public anger, especially among Black people, and helped to launch the civil rights movement. From the beginning of the civil rights movement to the war in Vietnam, images of human suffering and violence provided the grounds for a charged political indignation and collective sense of moral outrage inflamed by the horrors of poverty, militarism, war and racism “eventually mobilizing widespread opposition to these antidemocratic forces. Building on the reactionary rhetoric of Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan took office in with a trickle-down theory that would transform corporate America and a corresponding visual economy. The propaganda campaign was so successful that George H. Bush could launch his presidential bid with the image of Willie Horton, a Black man convicted of rape and granted early release, and succeed in trouncing his opponent with little public outcry over the overtly racist nature of the campaign. By the beginning of the s, global media consolidation, coupled with the outbreak of a

new war that encouraged hyper-patriotism and a rigid nationalism, resulted in a tightly controlled visual landscape “ managed both by the Pentagon and by corporate-owned networks “ that delivered a paucity of images representative of the widespread systemic violence. Fifty years after the body of Emmett Till was plucked out of the mud-filled waters of the Tallahatchie River, another set of troubling visual representations emerged that both shocked and shamed the nation. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, grotesque images of bloated corpses floating in the rotting waters that flooded the streets of New Orleans circulated throughout the mainstream media. Weeks passed as the floodwater gradually receded and the military gained control of the city, and more images of dead bodies surfaced in the national and global media. TV cameras rolled as bodies emerged from the floodwaters while people stood by indifferently, eating their lunch or occasionally snapping a photograph. Even the dominant media for a short time rose to the occasion of posing tough questions about accountability to those in power in light of such egregious acts of incompetence and indifference. The images of dead bodies kept reappearing in New Orleans, refusing to go away. The bodies of the Katrina victims laid bare the racial and class fault lines that mark an increasingly damaged and withering democracy. For many, the bodies of the poor, Black, Brown, elderly and sick came to signify what the battered body of Emmett Till once unavoidably revealed, and the United States was forced to confront these disturbing images and the damning reality behind the images. The body of Emmett Till symbolized overt white supremacy and state terrorism organized against the supposed threat that Black men apparently of all sizes and ages posed against white women. But the Black bodies of the dead and walking wounded in New Orleans in revealed a different image of the racial state, a different modality of state terrorism, marked less by an overt form of white racism than by a highly mediated displacement of race as a central concept for understanding both Katrina and its place in the broader history of US racism. The bodies of the Katrina victims could not speak with the same directness to the state of US racist violence, but they did reveal and shatter the conservative fiction of living in a color-blind society. The bodies of the Katrina victims laid bare the racial and class fault lines that mark an increasingly damaged and withering democracy and revealed the emergence of a new kind of politics, one in which entire populations are now considered disposable, an unnecessary burden on state coffers, and consigned to fend for themselves. The names of Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner and Freddie Gray, among others, stand as signposts to a society that after Katrina entered into the fog of what was called a postracial society. With the current rise of the new extremism, particularly the ongoing killing of Black people and the attack on immigrants in the United States, Katrina reminds us of the impending threat of totalitarianism, marked not only by an upsurge in racist violence, but also by the assault on every public sphere that provides the foundation for critical thinking, dissent and collective action. What is different is that young people all over the United States and other parts of the globe are remembering Katrina not as simply a tragic historical event but as a rallying cry to movements, such as Black Lives Matter, for which public memory is a call to action to build a society in which events such as Katrina never happen again. The memory of Katrina speaks not just to the past, but also to a future in which Black lives matter, justice matters and democracy matters. This piece is partly excerpted from my book *Stormy Weather: Katrina and the Politics of Disposability* Boulder: Also available online at: Cited in Derrick Z. Angela Davis, *Abolition Democracy*: Seven Stories Press, , pp. Reclaiming a Democratic Future Paradigm His web site is www.ericfoner.com.

Chapter 4 : SEIU Bread and Roses Cultural Project | Sing Your Song

The view from Lott's porch / by Patricia J. Williams --The Big Easy dies hard / by Christian Parenti --FEMA: confederacy of dunces / by John Elliston --Global storm warning / by Mark Hertsgaard --Looting the Black poor / by Earl Ofari Hutchinson --Class-ifying the Hurricane / by Adolph Reed, Jr. --Bread, roses, and the flood / by Eric Foner.

Proclamation of the Striking Textile Workers of Lawrence On January 1, , a new labor law took effect in Massachusetts reducing the working week of 56 hours to 54 hours for women and children. Workers opposed the reduction if it reduced their weekly home pay. The first two weeks of , the unions tried to learn how the owners of the mills would deal with the new law. On January 12, workers in the Washington Mill of the American Woolen Company also found that their wages had been cut. Prepared for the events by weeks of discussion, they walked out, calling "short pay, all out. When mill owners turned fire hoses on the picketers gathered in front of the mills, [19] they responded by throwing ice at the plants, breaking a number of windows. The court sentenced 24 workers to a year in jail for throwing ice; as the judge stated, "The only way we can teach them is to deal out the severest sentences. Ettor did not consider intimidating operatives who were trying to enter the mills as breaking the peace. The IWW was successful, even with AFL-affiliated operatives, as it defended the grievances of all operatives from all the mills. Conversely, the AFL and the mill owners preferred to keep negotiations between separate mills and their own operatives. Wood, the president of the American Woolen Company , was shown to have made an unexplained large payment to the defendant shortly before the dynamite was found. The authorities later charged Ettor and Giovannitti as accomplices to murder for the death of striker Anna LoPizzo , [27] who was likely shot by the police. They and a third defendant, who had not even heard of either Ettor or Giovannitti at the time of his arrest, were held in jail for the duration of the strike and several months thereafter. Haywood participated little in the daily affairs of the strike. Instead, he set out for other New England textile towns in an effort to raise funds for the strikers in Lawrence, which proved very successful. Other tactics established were an efficient system of relief committees, soup kitchens, and food distribution stations, and volunteer doctors provided medical care. When city authorities tried to prevent another children from going to Philadelphia on February 24 by sending police and the militia to the station to detain the children and arrest their parents, the police began clubbing both the children and their mothers and dragged them off to be taken away by truck; one pregnant mother miscarried. The press, there to photograph the event, reported extensively on the attack. Moreover, when the women and children were taken to the Police Court, most of them refused to pay the fines levied and opted for a jail cell, some with babies in arms. Soon, both the House and the Senate set out to investigate the strike. In the end, both houses published reports detailing the conditions at Lawrence. The strikers had demanded an end to the Premium System in which a portion of their earnings were subject to month-long production and attendance standards. The rest of the manufacturers followed by the end of the month; other textile companies throughout New England , anxious to avoid a similar confrontation, then followed suit. The children who had been taken in by supporters in New York City came home on March Aftermath[edit] Flyer distributed in Lawrence, September Ettor and Giovannitti, both members of IWW, remained in prison for months after the strike was over. Then, 15, Lawrence workers went on strike for one day on September 30 to demand the release of Ettor and Giovannitti. Swedish and French workers proposed a boycott of woolen goods from the US and a refusal to load ships going there, and Italian supporters of the Giovannitti men rallied in front of the US consulate in Rome. Pitman committed suicide shortly thereafter when he was subpoenaed to testify. Wood, the American Woolen Company owner, was formally exonerated. Quinn , the three defendants were kept in steel cages in the courtroom. All witnesses testified that Ettor and Giovannitti were miles away and that Caruso, the third defendant, was at home and eating supper at the time of the killing. Ateill believe for a moment that If an idea can live, it lives because history adjudges it right. And what has been considered an idea constituting a social crime in one age has in the next age become the religion of humanity. Whatever my social views are, they are what they are. They cannot be tried in this courtroom. The IWW, disdaining written contracts as encouraging workers to abandon the daily class struggle, thus left the mill owners to chisel away at the improvements in

wages and working conditions, to fire union activists, and to install labor spies to keep an eye on workers. The more persistent owners laid off further employees during a depression in the industry.

Chapter 5 : Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution by Eric Foner

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Chapter 6 : Unnatural disaster (edition) | Open Library

The Bread and Roses Cultural Project was founded in by Moe Foner, Vice President of the New York Health and Human Service Union, Local (now SEIU Local).

Chapter 7 : Lawrence textile strike - Wikipedia

Foner started out as a leader in Department Store Local , then moved on to Union , where he became the director of education and culture. While there, he founded Bread and Roses, a cultural program for union members funded by the NEA.

Chapter 8 : Eric Foner: The Power of Outrage | History News Network

The settlement houses have been called 'spearheads for reform.' "(Foner &) How & why was Progressivism an international movement? "In the early twentieth century, cities throughout the world experienced similar social strains arising from rapid industrialization and urban growth.

Chapter 9 : Moe Foner - Wikipedia

â€œBread and Roses, Too" by Katherine Paterson. Clarion Books, â€œGranite City Tales: Writings on the history of Barre, Vermont" by Paul Heller, , includes chapters on the Old.