

Newspaper Ad for the Sale of Enslaved People at Ashley Ferry, ca. 1780

TO BE SOLD, on board the
Ship *Bance-Island*, on tuesday the 6th
of *May* next, at *Ashley-Ferry*; a choice
cargo of about 250 fine healthy

NEGROES,

just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.

—The utmost care has
already been taken, and

shall be continued, to keep them free from
the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
board, and all other communication with
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.

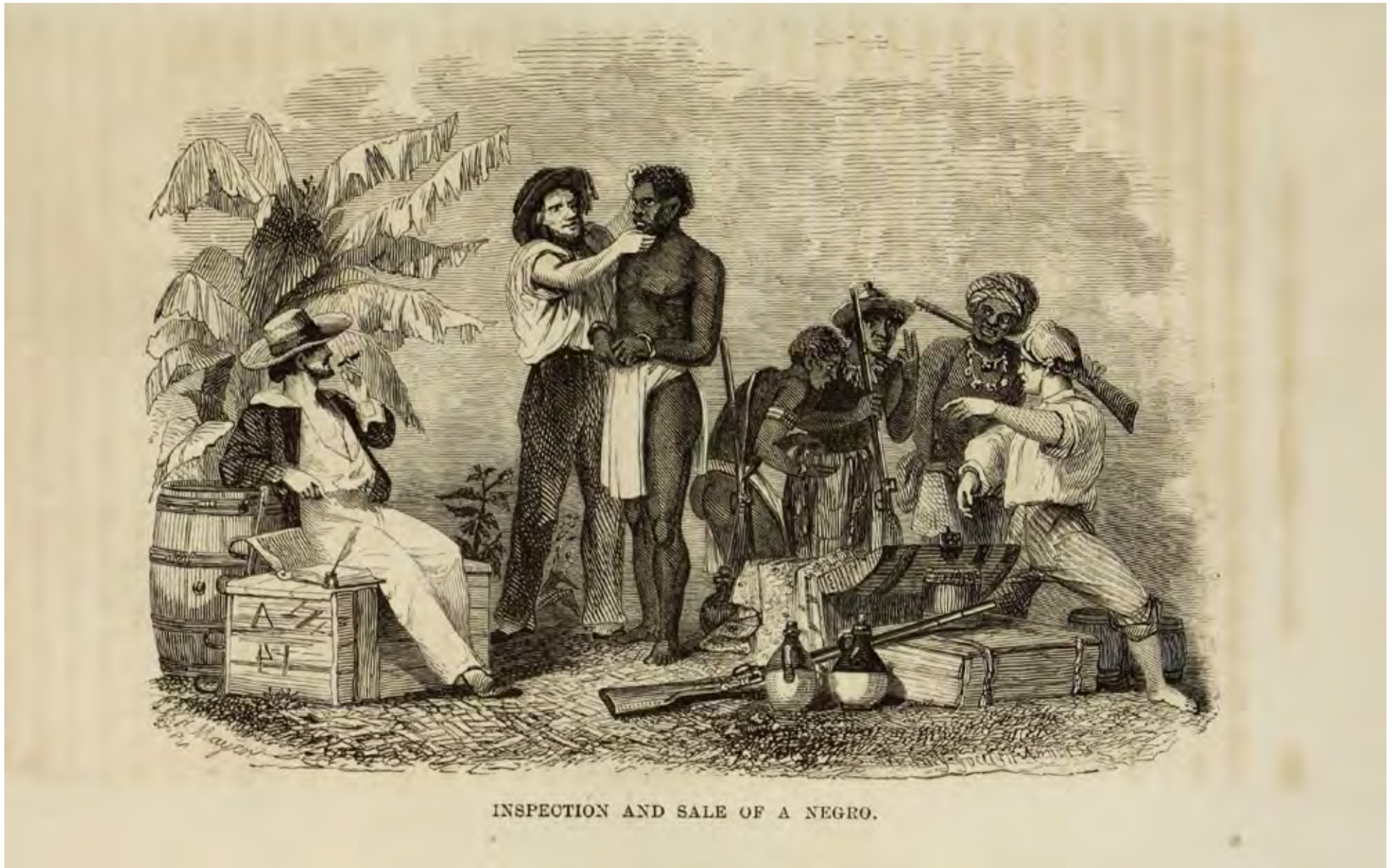
N. B. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the
SMALL-POX in their own Country.

“The Resurrection of Henry ‘Box’ Brown at Philadelphia” Illustration, 1850



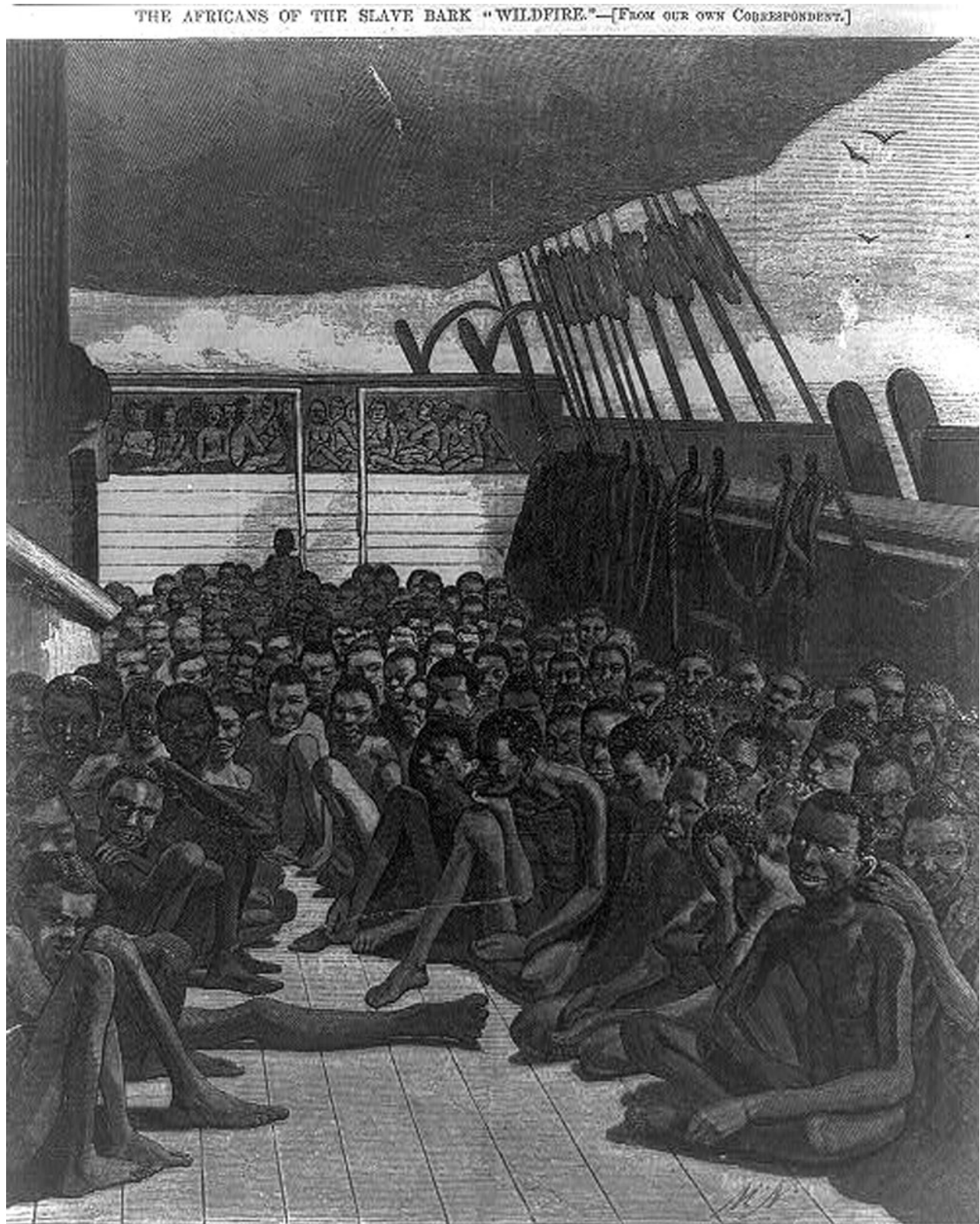
“The resurrection of Henry Box Brown at Philadelphia, who escaped from Richmond Va. in a bx 3 feet long 2 1/2 ft. deep and 2 ft wide,” 1850. Courtesy of Library of Congress

“Inspection and Sale of a Negro,” 1854



INSPECTION AND SALE OF A NEGRO.

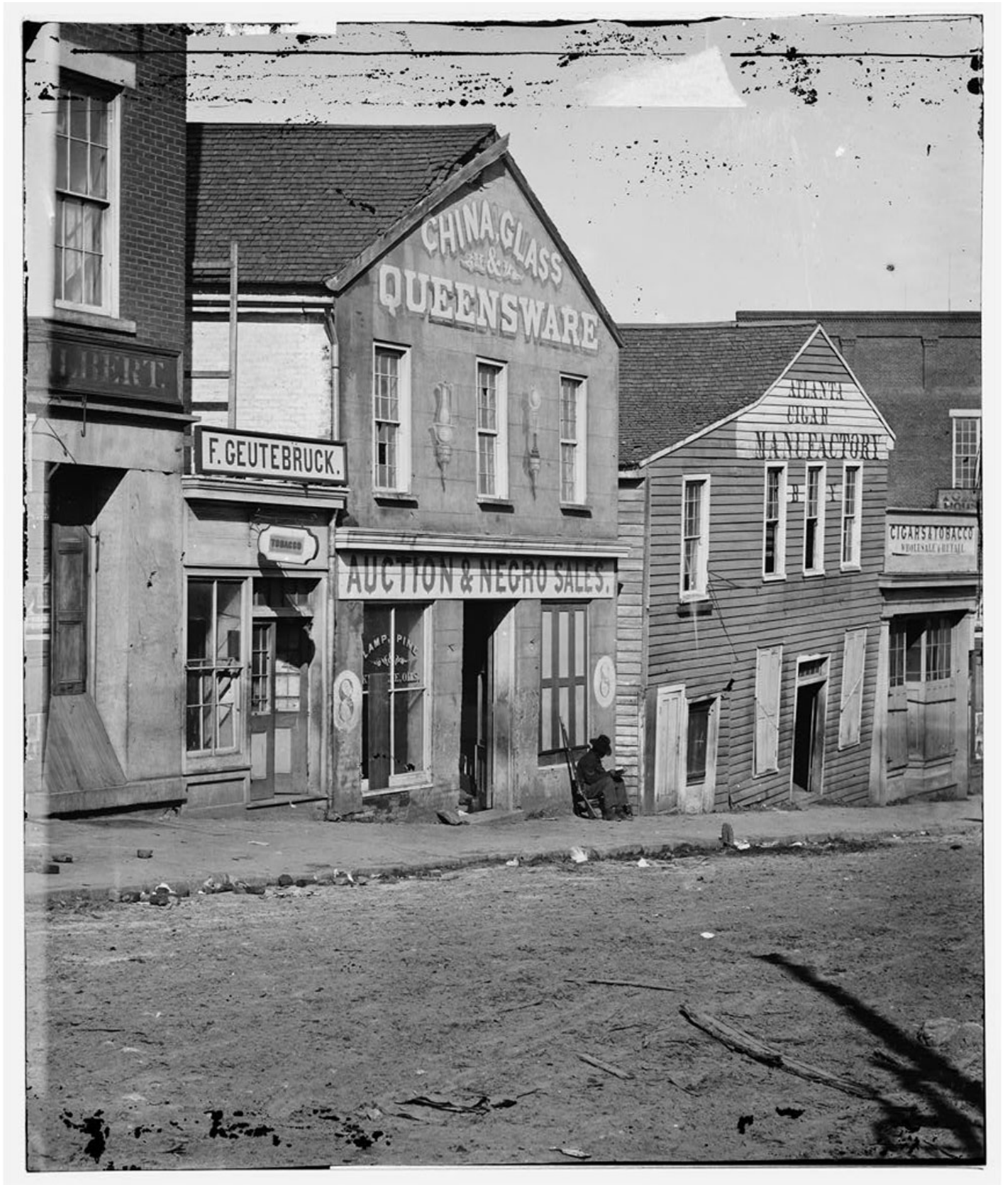
Africans Imprisoned on the Slave Ship “Wildfire,” 1860



THE SLAVE DECK OF THE BARK “WILDFIRE,” BROUGHT INTO KEY WEST ON APRIL 30, 1860.—[FROM A DAGUERROTYPE.]

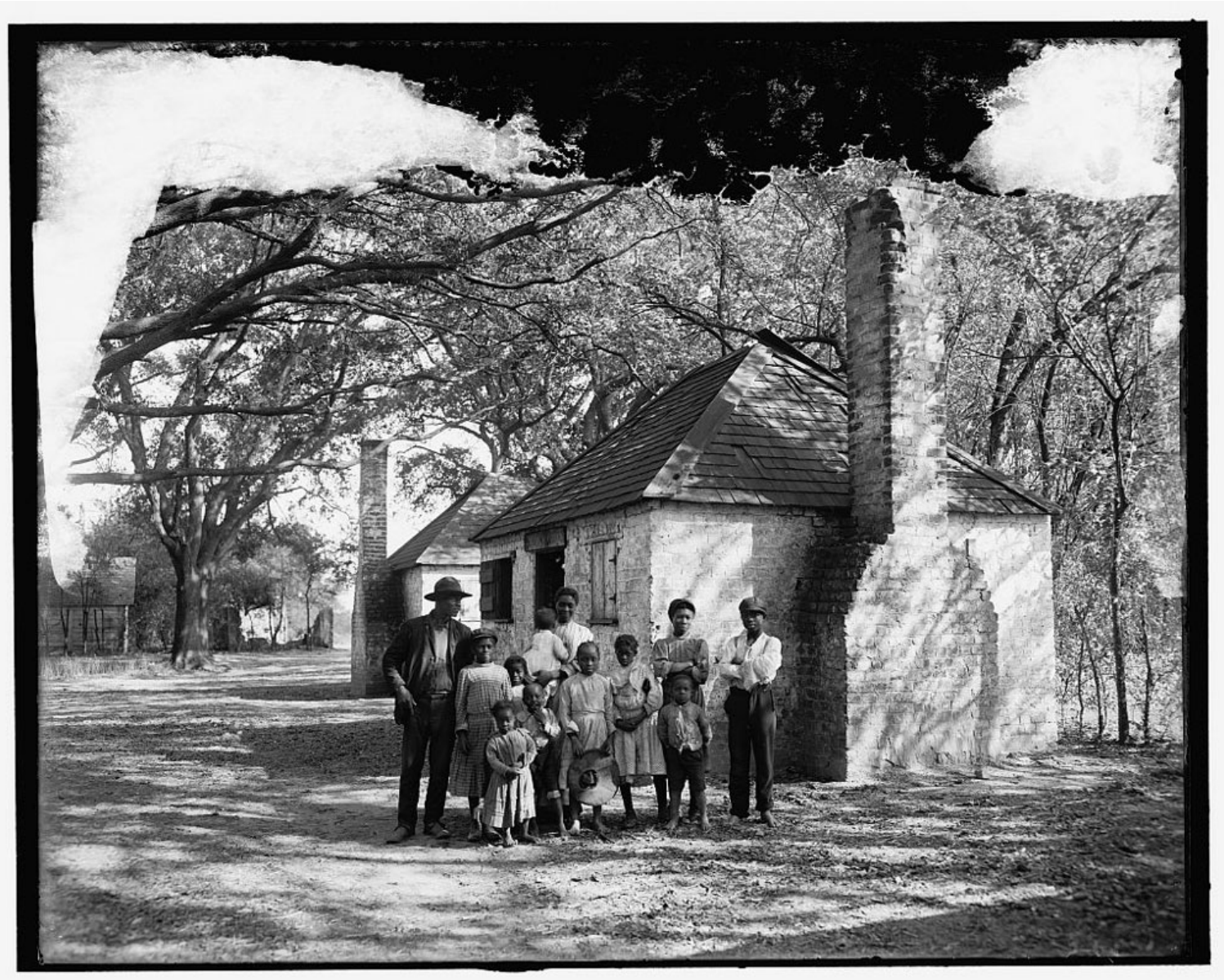
“The Africans of the slave bark ‘Wildfire’ -- The slave deck of the bark ‘Wildfire,’ brought into Key West on April 30, 1860,” 1860. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Slave Auction Location along Whitehall Street in Atlanta, Georgia, 1864



Barnard, George, "[Auction & Negro Sales,' Whitehall Street]," 1864. Courtesy of Library of Congress

African-American Family at the Hermitage in Savannah, Georgia, ca. 1907



"[The Whole black family at the Hermitage, Savannah, Ga.]," Detroit Publishing Co., ca. 1907. Courtesy of Library of Congress

“The Hermitage” Slave Quarters in Savannah, Georgia, ca. 1907

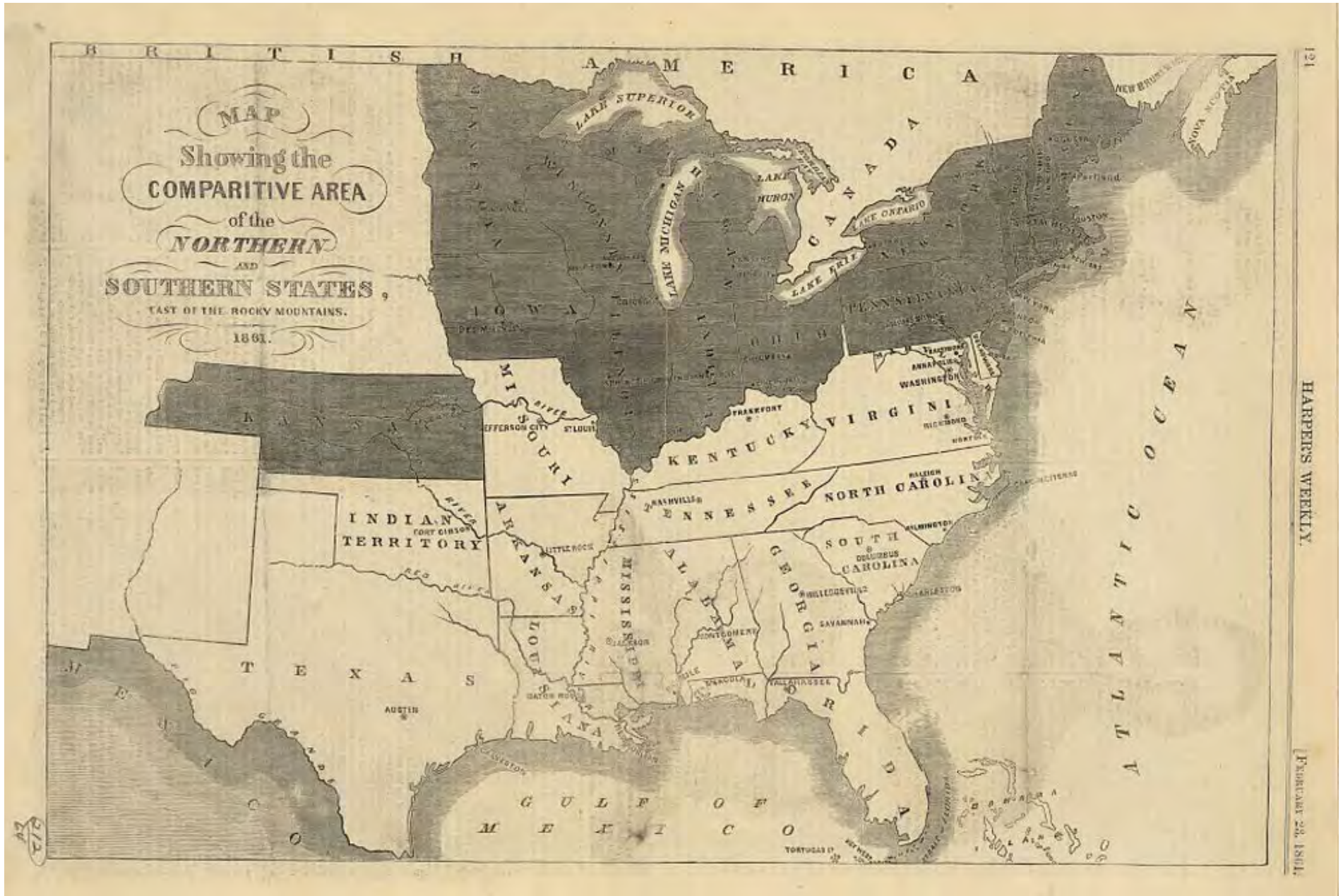


“[The Hermitage, slave quarters, Savannah, Ga.],” Detroit Publishing Co., ca. 1907. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, September 1787

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, ■ establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.


Northern and Southern States East of the Rocky Mountains, 1861



“Map showing the comparative area of the Northern and Southern states east of the Rocky Mountains,” 1861. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Iowan John Sivil Jr.'s Volunteer Enlistment Form during the Civil War, October 9, 1862

VOLUNTEER ENLISTMENT.

State of Iowa  Town of Farmington
I, John Sivil born in Leicester, Shire
in the State of England aged Fifty five years, and by
occupation a Boot & Shoemaker Do HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE to have
volunteered this Ninth day of October, 1862, to serve
as a SOLDIER in the ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, for the period of Three Years, unless sooner dis-
charged by proper authority: Do also agree to accept such bounty, pay, rati-
fied by law for volunteers. And I, John Sivil
do solemnly swear, that I will bear true and faithful allegiance to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and that
I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies or opposers whomsoever; and that I will observe
and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over me,
according to the Rules and Articles of War.

Sworn and subscribed to at Muscotins
this 21 day of October 1862
BEFORE Henry Swan
and mustering officer

John Sivil

I CERTIFY, ON HONOR, That I have carefully examined the above named Volunteer, agreeably to the General Regulations of the Army, and that in my opinion he is free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity; which would, in any way, disqualify him from performing the duties of a soldier.

C. A. ... Examining Surgeon.

I Certify, on Honor, That I have inspected the Volunteer, John Sivil
previously to his enlistment, and that he was entirely sober when enlisted; that, to the best of my judgment and belief,
he is of lawful age; and that, in accepting him as duly qualified to perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier, I
have strictly observed the Regulations which govern the recruiting service in this case.

This soldier has hazel eyes, mixed hair, flow complexion, is five feet 4 1/2 inches high.

5th Regiment of Iowa Co Volunteers.
Henry Swan
Second Lieutenant and Mustering Officer.

Final Draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863 (pg.1)

By the President of the United States of America:
A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twentysecond day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixtytwo, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to-wit:

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixtythree, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixtythree, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, ^{publicly} proclaim for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate

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Lincoln, Abraham, "Abraham Lincoln papers: Series 1. General Correspondence. 1833-1916: Abraham Lincoln, Thursday, January 01, 1863 (Final Emancipation Proclamation--Final Draft [Lithograph Copy])," 1 January 1863. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Final Draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863 (pg.2)

as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Arceneus, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the fortyeight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the Cities of Norfolk & Portsmouth; and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states, and parts of states, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

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Final Draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863 (pg.3)

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

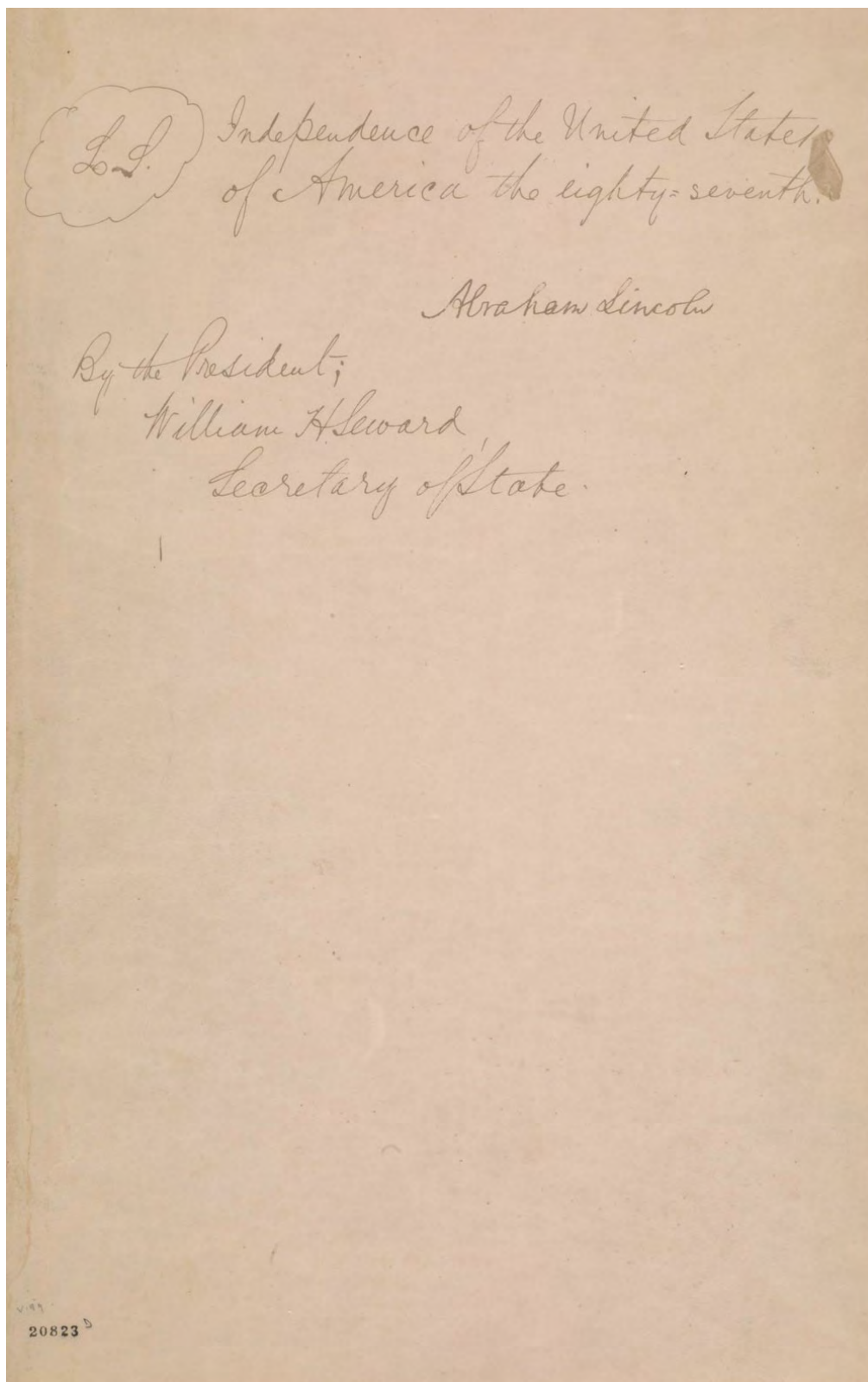
And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the

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Final Draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863 (pg.4)



Lincoln, Abraham, "Abraham Lincoln papers: Series 1. General Correspondence. 1833-1916: Abraham Lincoln, Thursday, January 01, 1863 (Final Emancipation Proclamation--Final Draft [Lithograph Copy])," 1 January 1863. Courtesy of Library of Congress

African-American Union Soldier, His Wife and Two Daughters, between 1863 to 1865



“[Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters],” between 1863 to 1865. Courtesy of Library of Congress

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, January 31, 1865 (pg.1)



SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

SECTIONS 1 AND 2. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

Origin and Purpose

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation¹ declaring, based on his war powers, that within named states and parts of states in rebellion against the United States “all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free” The Proclamation did not allude to slaves held in the loyal states, and, moreover, there were questions about the Proclamation’s validity. Not only was there doubt concerning the President’s power to issue his order at all, but also there was a general conviction that its effect would not last beyond the restoration of the seceded states to the Union.² Because the power of Congress was similarly deemed not to run to legislative extirpation of the “peculiar institution,”³ a constitutional amendment was then sought. After first failing to muster a two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives, the amend-

¹ 12 Stat. 1267. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln had issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which announced his intention to issue the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863.

² The legal issues were surveyed in Welling, *The Emancipation Proclamation*, 130 No. AMER. REV. 163 (1880). See also J. RANDALL, CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS UNDER LINCOLN 371–404 (rev. ed. 1951); ALLEN C. GUELZO, LINCOLN’S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION: THE END OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA (2004); and Frank J. Williams, “Doing Less” and “Doing More”: The President and the Proclamation—Legally, Militarily, and Politically, in HAROLD HOLZER, EDNA GREENE MEDFORD, AND FRANK J. WILLIAMS, THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION: THREE VIEWS (2006).

³ K. STAMPP, THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION: SLAVERY IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH (1956).

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, January 31, 1865 (pg.2)



1816 AMDT. 13—SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

ment was forwarded to the states on February 1, 1865, and ratified by the following December 18.⁴

In selecting the text of the Amendment, Congress “reproduced the historic words of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, and gave them unrestricted application within the United States.”⁵ By its adoption, Congress intended, said Senator Trumbull, one of its sponsors, to “take this question [of emancipation] entirely away from the politics of the country. We relieve Congress of sectional strifes”⁶ An early Supreme Court decision, rejecting a contention that the Amendment reached servitudes on property as it did on persons, observed in dicta that the “word servitude is of larger meaning than slavery, . . . and the obvious purpose was to forbid all shades and conditions of African slavery.”

Although the Court was initially in doubt whether persons other than African-Americans could share in the protection afforded by the Amendment, it did continue to say that, although “[N]egro slavery alone was in the mind of the Congress which proposed the thirteenth article, it forbids any other kind of slavery, now or hereafter. If Mexican peonage or the Chinese coolie labor system shall develop slavery of the Mexican or Chinese race within our territory, this amendment may safely be trusted to make it void.”⁷

“This Amendment . . . is undoubtedly self-executing without any ancillary legislation, so far as its terms are applicable to any existing state of circumstances. By its own unaided force and effect it abolished slavery, and established universal freedom.”⁸ These words of the Court in 1883 have generally been noncontroversial and have evoked little disagreement in the intervening years. The “force and effect” of the Amendment itself has been invoked only a few times by the Court to strike down state legislation which it considered to have reintroduced servitude of persons, and the Court has not used

⁴ The congressional debate on adoption of the Amendment is conveniently collected in 1 B. SCHWARTZ, *STATUTORY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES: CIVIL RIGHTS* 25–96 (1970).

⁵ *Bailey v. Alabama*, 219 U.S. 219, 240 (1911). During the debate, Senator Howard noted that the language was “the good old Anglo-Saxon language employed by our fathers in the ordinance of 1787, an expression which has been adjudicated upon repeatedly, which is perfectly well understood both by the public and by judicial tribunals. . . .” *CONG. GLOBE*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess. 1489 (1864).

⁶ *CONG. GLOBE* at 1313–14.

⁷ *Slaughter-House Cases*, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 36, 69, 71–72 (1873). This general applicability was again stated in *Hodges v. United States*, 203 U.S. 1, 16–17 (1906), and confirmed by the result of the peonage cases, discussed under the next topic.

⁸ *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 20 (1883).

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, January 31, 1865 (pg.3)



AMDT. 13—SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE 1817

section 1 of the Amendment against private parties.⁹ In 1968, however, the Court overturned almost century-old precedent and held that Congress may regulate private activity in exercise of its section 2 power to enforce section 1 of the Amendment.

Certain early cases suggested broad congressional powers,¹⁰ but the *Civil Rights Cases*¹¹ of 1883 began a process, culminating in *Hodges v. United States*,¹² that substantially curtailed these powers. In the former decision, the Court held unconstitutional an 1875 law¹³ guaranteeing equality of access to public accommodations. Referring to the Thirteenth Amendment, the Court conceded that “legislation may be necessary and proper to meet all the various cases and circumstances to be affected by it, and to prescribe proper modes of redress for its violation in letter or spirit. And such legislation may be primary and direct in its character; for the amendment is not a mere prohibition of State laws establishing or upholding slavery, but an absolute declaration that slavery or involuntary servitude shall not exist in any part of the United States.” Appropriate legislation under the Amendment, the Court continued, could go beyond nullifying state laws establishing or upholding slavery, because the Amendment “has a reflex character also, establishing and decreeing universal civil and political freedom throughout the United States,” and thereby empowering Congress “to pass all laws necessary and proper for abolishing all badges and incidents of slavery in the United States.”¹⁴

These badges and incidents as perceived by the Court, however, were those that Congress in its 1866 legislation¹⁵ had sought “to secure to all citizens of every race and color, and without regard to previous servitude, those fundamental rights which are the essence of civil freedom, namely the same right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to inherit, pur-

⁹ In *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409, 439 (1968), the Court left open the question whether the Amendment itself, unaided by legislation, would reach the “badges and incidents” of slavery not directly associated with involuntary servitude, and it continued to reserve the question in *City of Memphis v. Greene*, 451 U.S. 100, 125–26 (1981). See *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, 552 (1896) (Justice Harlan dissenting). The Court drew back from the possibility in *Palmer v. Thompson*, 403 U.S. 217, 226–27 (1971).

¹⁰ *United States v. Rhodes*, 27 F. Cas. 785 (No. 16,151) (C.C. Ky. 1866) (Justice Swayne on circuit); *United States v. Cruikshank*, 25 Fed. Cas. 707, (No. 14,897) (C.C.D. La. 1874) (Justice Bradley on circuit), aff’d on other grounds, 92 U.S. 542 (1876); *United States v. Harris*, 106 U.S. 629, 640 (1883); *Blyew v. United States*, 80 U.S. 581, 601 (1871) (dissenting opinion, majority not addressing the issue).

¹¹ 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

¹² 203 U.S. 1 (1906). See also *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, 542–43 (1896); *Corrigan v. Buckley*, 271 U.S. 323, 331 (1926); *Hurd v. Hodge*, 334 U.S. 24, 31 (1948).

¹³ Ch. 114, 18 Stat. 335.

¹⁴ *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 20 (1883).

¹⁵ Ch. 31, 14 Stat. 27 (1886), now 42 U.S.C. §§ 1981–82.

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, January 31, 1865 (pg.4)



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chase, lease, sell and convey property, as is enjoyed by white citizens.”¹⁶ But the Court could not see that the refusal of accommodations at an inn or a place of public amusement, without any sanction or support from any state law, could inflict upon such person any manner of servitude or form of slavery, as those terms were commonly understood. “It would be running the slavery argument into the ground to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make. . . .”¹⁷

Then, in *Hodges v. United States*,¹⁸ the Court set aside the convictions of three men for conspiring to drive several African-Americans from their employment in a lumber mill. The Thirteenth Amendment operated to abolish, and to authorize Congress to legislate to enforce abolition of, conditions of enforced compulsory service of one to another, and no attempt to analogize a private impairment of freedom to a disability of slavery would suffice to give the Federal Government jurisdiction over what was constitutionally a matter of state remedial law.

Hodges was overruled by the Court in a far-reaching decision that concluded that the 1866 congressional enactment,¹⁹ far from simply conferring on all persons the *capacity* to buy and sell property, also prohibited private denials of the right through refusals to deal,²⁰ and that this statute was fully supportable by the Thirteenth Amendment. “Surely Congress has the power under the Thirteenth Amendment rationally to determine what are the badges and the incidents of slavery, and the authority to translate that determination into effective legislation. Nor can we say that the determination Congress has made is an irrational one. . . . Just as the Black Codes, enacted after the Civil War to restrict the free exercise of those rights, were substitutes for the slave system, so the exclusion of Negroes from white communities became a substitute for the Black Codes. And when racial discrimination herds men into ghettos and makes their ability to buy property turn on the color of their skin, then it too is a relic of slavery. . . . At the very least, the freedom that Congress is empowered to secure under the Thirteenth Amendment includes the freedom to buy whatever a white

¹⁶ *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 22 (1883).

¹⁷ 109 U.S. at 24.

¹⁸ 203 U.S. 1 (1906), *overruled by* *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409, 441 n.78 (1968).

¹⁹ Ch. 31, 14 Stat. 27 (1866). The portion at issue is now 42 U.S.C. § 1982.

²⁰ *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409, 420–37 (1968). Justices Harlan and White dissented from the Court’s interpretation of the statute. *Id.* at 449. Chief Justice Burger joined their dissent in *Sullivan v. Little Hunting Park*, 396 U.S. 229, 241 (1969). The 1968 Civil Rights Act forbidding discrimination in housing on the basis of race was enacted a brief time before the Court’s decision. Pub. L. No. 90–284, 82 Stat. 81, 42 U.S.C. § 3601–31.

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, January 31, 1865 (pg.5)



AMDT. 13—SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE 1819

man can buy, the right to live wherever a white man can live. If Congress cannot say that being a free man means at least this much, then the Thirteenth Amendment made a promise the Nation cannot keep.”²¹

The Thirteenth Amendment, then, could provide the constitutional support for the various congressional enactments against private racial discrimination that Congress had previously based on the Commerce Clause.²² Because the 1866 Act contains none of the limitations written into the modern laws, it has a vastly extensive application.²³

Peonage

Notwithstanding its early acknowledgment in the *Slaughter-House Cases* that peonage was comprehended within the slavery and involuntary servitude proscribed by the Thirteenth Amendment,²⁴ the Court has had frequent occasion to determine whether state legislation or the conduct of individuals has contributed to re-establishment of that prohibited status. Defined as a condition of enforced servitude by which the servitor is compelled to labor against his will in liquidation of some debt or obligation, either real or pretended, peonage was found to have been unconstitutionally sanctioned by an Alabama statute, directed at defaulting sharecroppers, which imposed a criminal liability and subjected to imprisonment

²¹ *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409, 440–43 (1968). See also *City of Memphis v. Greene*, 451 U.S. 100, 124–26 (1981).

²² *E.g.*, federal prohibition of racial discrimination in public accommodations, found lacking in constitutional basis under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments in the *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883), was upheld as an exercise of the commerce power in *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States*, 379 U.S. 241 (1965), and *Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 U.S. 294 (1965).

²³ The 1968 statute on housing and the 1866 act are compared in *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409, 413–17 (1968). The expansiveness of the 1866 statute and of congressional power is shown by *Sullivan v. Little Hunting Park*, 396 U.S. 229 (1969) (1866 law protects share in a neighborhood recreational club which ordinarily went with the lease or ownership of house in area); *Runyon v. McCrary*, 427 U.S. 160 (1976) (guarantee that all persons shall have the same right to make and enforce contracts as is enjoyed by white persons protects the right of black children to gain admission to private, commercially operated, nonsectarian schools); *Johnson v. Railway Express Agency*, 421 U.S. 454, 459–60 (1975) (statute affords a federal remedy against discrimination in private employment on the basis of race); *McDonald v. Santa Fe Trail Transp. Co.*, 427 U.S. 273, 285–96 (1976) (statute protects against racial discrimination in private employment against whites as well as nonwhites). See also *Tillman v. Wheaton-Haven Recreation Ass'n*, 410 U.S. 431 (1973). The Court has also concluded that pursuant to its Thirteenth Amendment powers Congress could provide remedial legislation for African-Americans deprived of their rights because of their race. *Griffin v. Breckenridge*, 403 U.S. 88, 104–05 (1971). Conceivably, the reach of the 1866 law could extend to all areas in which Congress has so far legislated and to other areas as well, justifying legislative or judicial enforcement of the Amendment itself in such areas as school segregation.

²⁴ 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 36 (1873).

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farm workers or tenants who abandoned their employment, breached their contracts, and exercised their legal right to enter into employment of a similar nature with another person. The clear purpose of such a statute was declared to be the coercion of payment, by means of criminal proceedings, of a purely civil liability arising from breach of contract.²⁵

Several years later, in *Bailey v. Alabama*,²⁶ the Court voided another Alabama statute that made the refusal without just cause to perform the labor called for in a written contract of employment, or to refund the money or pay for the property advanced thereunder, *prima facie* evidence of an intent to defraud, and punishable as a criminal offense, and that was enforced subject to a local rule of evidence that prevented the accused, for the purpose of rebutting the statutory presumption, from testifying as to his “uncommunicated motives, purpose, or intention.” Because a state “may not compel one man to labor for another in payment of a debt by punishing him as a criminal if he does not perform the service or pay the debt,” the Court refused to permit it “to accomplish the same result [indirectly] by creating a statutory presumption which, upon proof of no other fact, exposes him to conviction.”²⁷

In 1914, in *United States v. Reynolds*,²⁸ a third Alabama enactment was condemned as conducive to peonage through the permission it accorded to persons, fined upon conviction for a misdemeanor, to confess judgment with a surety in the amount of the fine and costs, and then to agree with said surety, in consideration of the latter’s payment of the confessed judgment, to reimburse him by working for him upon terms approved by the court, which, the Court pointed out, might prove more onerous than if the convict had been sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor in the first place. Fulfillment of such a contract with the surety was viewed as being virtually coerced by the constant fear it induced of rearrest, a new prosecution, and a new fine for breach of contract, which new penalty the convicted person might undertake to liquidate in a similar manner attended by similar consequences.

²⁵ *Peonage Cases*, 123 F. 671 (M.D. Ala. 1903).

²⁶ 219 U.S. 219 (1911). Justice Holmes, joined by Justice Lurton, dissented on the ground that a state was not forbidden by this Amendment from punishing a breach of contract as a crime. “Compulsory work for no private master in a jail is not peonage.” *Id.* at 247.

²⁷ 219 U.S. at 244.

²⁸ 235 U.S. 133 (1914).

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Bailey v. Alabama was followed in *Taylor v. Georgia*²⁹ and *Pollock v. Williams*,³⁰ in which statutes of Georgia and Florida, not materially different from the one voided in *Bailey*, were held unconstitutional. Although the Georgia statute prohibited the defendant from testifying under oath, it did not prevent him from entering an unsworn denial both of the contract and of the receipt of any cash advancement thereunder, a factor that, the Court emphasized, was no more controlling than the customary rule of evidence in *Bailey*. In the Florida case, notwithstanding the fact that the defendant pleaded guilty and accordingly obviated the necessity of applying the *prima facie* presumption provision, the Court reached an identical result, chiefly on the ground that the presumption provision, despite its nonapplication, “had a coercive effect in producing the plea of guilty.”

Pursuant to its section 2 enforcement powers, Congress enacted a statute by which it abolished peonage and prohibited anyone from holding, arresting, or returning, or causing or aiding in the arresting or returning, of a person to peonage.³¹

The Court looked to the meaning of the Thirteenth Amendment in interpreting two enforcement statutes, one prohibiting conspiracy to interfere with exercise or enjoyment of constitutional rights,³² the other prohibiting the holding of a person in a condition of involuntary servitude.³³ For purposes of prosecution under these authorities, the Court held, “the term ‘involuntary servitude’ necessarily means a condition of servitude in which the victim is forced to work for the defendant by the use or threat of physical restraint or physical injury, or by the use or threat of coercion through law or the legal process.”³⁴

Situations in Which the Amendment Is Inapplicable

The Thirteenth Amendment has been held inapplicable in a wide range of situations. Thus, under a rubric of “services which have from time immemorial been treated as exceptional,” the Court held

²⁹ 315 U.S. 25 (1942).

³⁰ 322 U.S. 4 (1944). Justice Reed, with Chief Justice Stone concurring, contended in a dissenting opinion that a state is not prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment from “punishing the fraudulent procurement of an advance in wages.” *Id.* at 27.

³¹ Ch. 187, § 1, 14 Stat. 546, now in 42 U.S.C. § 1994 and 18 U.S.C. § 1581. Upheld in *Clyatt v. United States*, 197 U.S. 207 (1905); *see also* *United States v. Gaskin*, 320 U.S. 527 (1944). *See also* 18 U.S.C. § 1584, which is a merger of 3 Stat. 452 (1818), and 18 Stat. 251 (1874), dealing with involuntary servitude. *Cf.* *United States v. Shackney*, 333 F.2d 475, 481–83 (2d Cir. 1964).

³² 18 U.S.C. § 241.

³³ 18 U.S.C. § 1584.

³⁴ *United States v. Kozminski*, 487 U.S. 931 (1988). Compulsion of servitude through “psychological coercion,” the Court ruled, is not prohibited by these statutes.

13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, January 31, 1865 (pg.8)



1822 AMDT. 13—SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

that contracts of seamen, involving to a certain extent the surrender of personal liberty, may be enforced without regard to the Amendment.³⁵ Similarly, enforcement of those duties that individuals owe the government, “such as services in the army, militia, on the jury, etc.,” is not covered.³⁶ A state law requiring every able-bodied man within its jurisdiction to labor for a reasonable time on public roads near his residence without direct compensation was sustained.³⁷ A Thirteenth Amendment challenge to conscription for military service was summarily rejected.³⁸ A state law making it a misdemeanor for a lessor, or his agent or janitor, intentionally to fail to furnish such water, heat, light, elevator, telephone, or other services as may be required by the terms of the lease and necessary to the proper and customary use of the building was held not to create an involuntary servitude.³⁹ A federal statute making it unlawful to coerce, compel, or constrain a communications licensee to employ persons in excess of the number of the employees needed to conduct his business was held not to implicate the Amendment.⁴⁰ Injunctions and cease and desist orders in labor disputes requiring return to work do not violate the Amendment.⁴¹

³⁵ *Robertson v. Baldwin*, 165 U.S. 275, 282 (1897).

³⁶ *Butler v. Perry*, 240 U.S. 328, 333 (1916) (“the term involuntary servitude was intended to cover those forms of compulsory labor akin to African slavery which in practical operation would tend to produce like undesirable results,” *id.* at 332).

³⁷ *Butler v. Perry*, 240 U.S. 328 (1916).

³⁸ *Selective Draft Law Cases*, 245 U.S. 366 (1918). The Court’s analysis, in full, of the Thirteenth Amendment issue raised by a compulsory military draft was the following: “as we are unable to conceive upon what theory the exaction by government from the citizen of the performance of his supreme and noble duty of contributing to the defense of the rights and honor of the nation, as the result of a war declared by the great representative body of the people, can be said to be the imposition of involuntary servitude in violation of the prohibitions of the Thirteenth Amendment, we are constrained to the conclusion that the contention to that effect is refuted by its mere statement.” *Id.* at 390.

Although the Supreme Court has never squarely held that conscription need not be premised on a declaration of war, indications are that the power is not constrained by the need for a formal declaration of war by “the great representative body of the people.” During the Vietnam War (an undeclared war) the Court, upholding a conviction for burning a draft card, declared that the power to classify and conscript manpower for military service was “beyond question.” *United States v. O’Brien*, 391 U.S. 367, 377 (1968). *See also* *United States v. Holmes*, 387 F.2d 781, 784 (7th Cir. 1968) (“the power of Congress to raise armies and to take effective measures to preserve their efficiency, is not limited by either the Thirteenth Amendment or the absence of a military emergency”), *cert. denied*, 391 U.S. 936 (1968) (Justice Stewart concurring and Justice Douglas dissenting).

³⁹ *Marcus Brown Co. v. Feldman*, 265 U.S. 170, 199 (1921).

⁴⁰ *United States v. Petrillo*, 332 U.S. 1, 12–13 (1947).

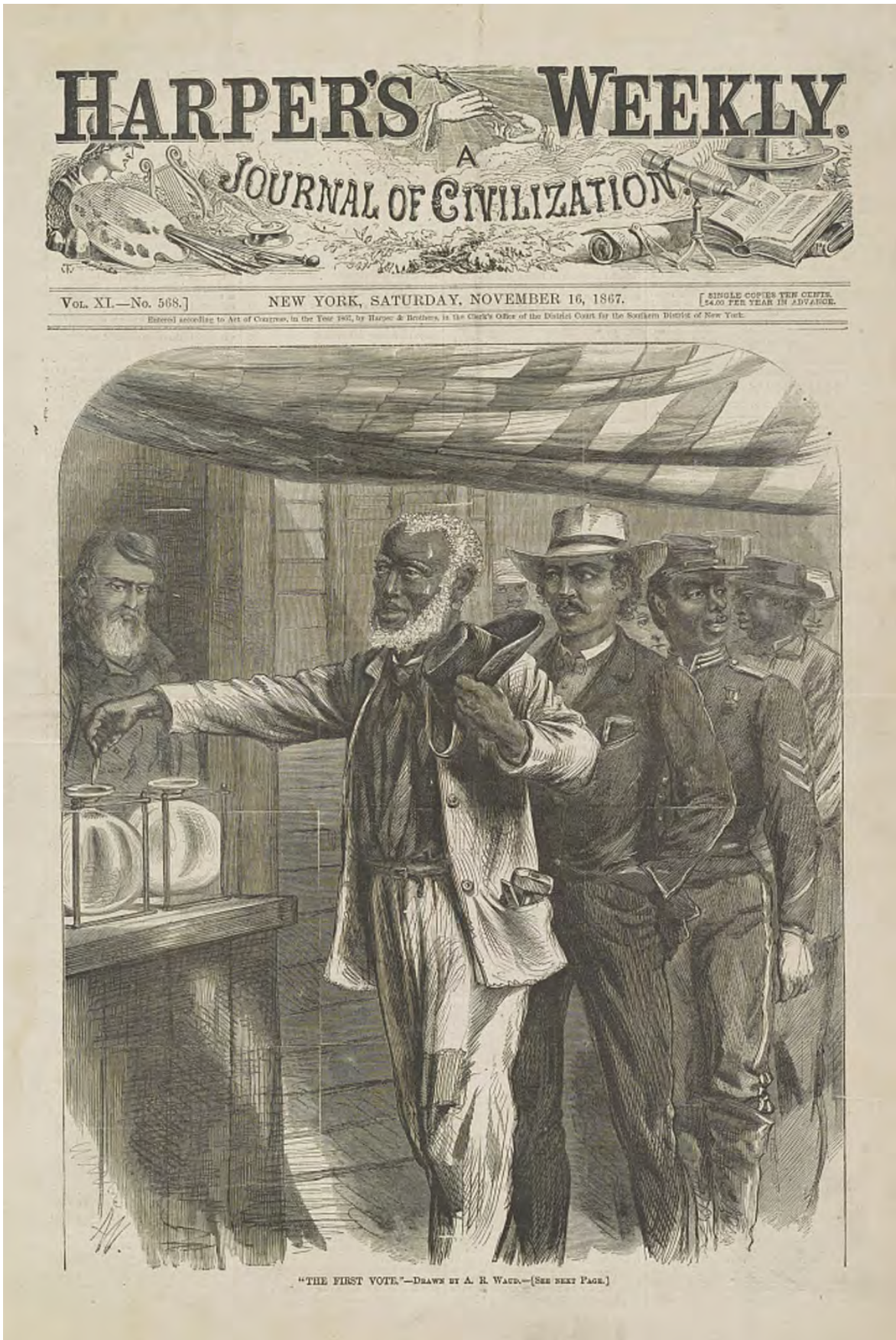
⁴¹ *UAW v. WERB*, 336 U.S. 245 (1949).

“The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet,” 1866



Carpenter, F.B., “The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet,” 1866. Courtesy of Library of Congress

"The First Vote," November 16, 1867



"The Segregation Question" Letter to the Editor, February 22, 1915

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1915.

The Washington Times
PUBLISHED EVERY BUSINESS DAY
By The Washington Times Company
FRANK A. MURPHY, President
R. H. TYRRELL, Secretary
G. E. POPE, Treasurer

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1915.

THE STATE SOCIETIES

State societies in Washington are not far from the Washington State Society. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere.

LOSS OF THE EVELYN

While perhaps twenty-five hours of the opening of the Venetian program of revenge on the high seas are not far from the Washington State Society. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere.

CAMPAIGN OF M. A. C.

Washington takes her interest in Maryland Agricultural College and that institution, only three miles beyond the District boundary. Optimistic plans for the future of the college were made, and its creditable history reviewed, on Saturday night at the New Elmside.

RENO "COMING BACK"

Here is a letter to "come back." The Nevada legislature has passed the new divorce bill, revising the present law, which makes it possible to break the tie in the State, and it is just possible that divorce will be a great success of the year.

PRICE OF BREAD—AT PANAMA

This is a letter from the Government of Panama. The Government of Panama has announced a reduction in the price of bread, which is a great relief to the people of Panama.

GERMANY'S BURDEN

Hangar, like water, will seek its level. When we speak of the British policy of starving Germany, we are prone to think of Germany alone, when Austria is not less concerned. It is doubtful if the British government would have ordered the exportation of foodstuffs when it had its eyes on the situation in Austria-Hungary, which is no less isolated than Germany, and which has a far less efficient transportation for any purpose of war.

PRICED, Stenographer Sues Three Railroads

The Panama Pacific Railroad Company has sued three railroads for pricing. The Panama Pacific Railroad Company has sued three railroads for pricing. The Panama Pacific Railroad Company has sued three railroads for pricing.

News Items and Notes of Club Activities

The William F. Hunt Trust, No. 10, 11 and 12, is a valuable trust for the benefit of the Hunt family. The Hunt family has a long and distinguished history in the United States. The Hunt family has a long and distinguished history in the United States.

THE CRISIS AT HAND

Germany's war aims are not far from the Washington State Society. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere.

SETON IS DEPRIVED OF CHIEF SCOUTSHIP

National Council's Action Caused by His Failure to Become American Citizen. The National Council of the Boy Scouts of America has decided to deprive Seton of his position as Chief Scout. The National Council of the Boy Scouts of America has decided to deprive Seton of his position as Chief Scout.

The Silver Lining

Edited by ARTHUR BAER. The silver lining is a metaphor for a positive aspect of a difficult situation. The silver lining is a metaphor for a positive aspect of a difficult situation.

THE OLD CATH

War isn't a religion. It's a business. The Old Catholic Church has a long and distinguished history. The Old Catholic Church has a long and distinguished history.

Insane Man, 70, and Worth \$150,000, Made 30 Wills

WILLIAM W. WILSON, 70, of 1000 14th St. N.W., has made 30 wills. The wills are for various purposes, including the care of his family and the support of his friends. The wills are for various purposes, including the care of his family and the support of his friends.

PROGRAM (For Today and Tomorrow)

Monday, February 22, 1915. The program for today and tomorrow includes various events and activities. The program for today and tomorrow includes various events and activities.

THE SEGREGATION QUESTION

Members of the Washington State Society. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere. The National Capital, District of Columbia, and the various societies of the political sphere.

Baumgardner Gives Talks On Rome and Petrograd

The speaker, the author of the book "The Roman Empire," has given a series of talks on Rome and Petrograd. The speaker, the author of the book "The Roman Empire," has given a series of talks on Rome and Petrograd.

Teams at the Y. W. C. A. Bring in 24 New Members

The Y. W. C. A. has a record of success in bringing in new members. The Y. W. C. A. has a record of success in bringing in new members.

Fire in East St. Louis Destroys Four Blocks

A fire in East St. Louis destroyed four blocks of property. The fire in East St. Louis destroyed four blocks of property.

First Militia Company of Marines Is Organized

The first militia company of Marines has been organized. The first militia company of Marines has been organized.

THE TIMES MAIL BAG

Contributions to the Mail Bag should be sent to the Editor of The Washington Times. The Mail Bag is a section of the newspaper where readers can ask questions and get answers. The Mail Bag is a section of the newspaper where readers can ask questions and get answers.

Desires to Be Candidate for Recorder of Deeds

Mr. J. M. [Name] desires to be a candidate for Recorder of Deeds. Mr. J. M. [Name] desires to be a candidate for Recorder of Deeds.

Asks Mothers of United States to Aid German Children

A plea for aid for German children in the United States. A plea for aid for German children in the United States.

Wants "Zin Coon" Law All Over the United States

A plea for the "Zin Coon" law to be passed in all states. A plea for the "Zin Coon" law to be passed in all states.

Wants Firemen in Here More Time

A plea for more firemen in the city. A plea for more firemen in the city.

Entertainment Planned by Pre-Midnight Class

The Pre-Midnight Class has planned an entertainment. The Pre-Midnight Class has planned an entertainment.

G. W. U. Girls' Glee Club Will Stage Opera

The G. W. U. Girls' Glee Club will stage an opera. The G. W. U. Girls' Glee Club will stage an opera.

Centenarian Remembers Cincinnati as Village

An old man remembers Cincinnati as a village. An old man remembers Cincinnati as a village.

Surgeon John Long Is Sent to Philippines

Surgeon John Long has been sent to the Philippines. Surgeon John Long has been sent to the Philippines.

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Capitol Hill Club to Hold Exercises Tonight

The Capitol Hill Club will hold exercises tonight. The Capitol Hill Club will hold exercises tonight.

Surgeon John Long Is Sent to Philippines

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Young African American Picking Cotton, October 1935



Shahn, Ben, "Young cotton picker, Pulaski County, Arkansas. Schools for colored children do not open until January 1st so as not to interfere with cotton picking," October 1935. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Family of Evicted Sharecroppers Resettled in Mississippi, July 1936



Lange, Dorothea, "Family of one of the evicted sharecroppers from Arkansas who has been resettled at Hill House, Mississippi," July 1936. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Sharecropper's Wife and Cabin near Jackson, Mississippi, June 1937



Lange, Dorothea, "Sharecropper's cabin and sharecropper's wife. Ten miles south of Jackson, Mississippi," June 1937. Courtesy of Library of Congress

African-American Man Entering Movie House Through “Colored” Entrance, October 1939



Wolcott, Marion P., "Negro going in colored entrance of movie house on Saturday afternoon, Belzoni, Mississippi Delta, Mississippi," ca. October 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Segregated Bus Station in Durham, North Carolina, May 1940



Delano, Jack, "At the bus station in Durham, North Carolina," May 1940. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Segregated Cafe Near the Tobacco Market in Durham, North Carolina, May 1940



Delano, Jack, "A cafe near the tobacco market, Durham, North Carolina," May 1940. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Rosa Parks Meeting Poster, between 1956 and 1959

FIRST TIME IN BALTIMORE!

HEAR!— **MRS. ROSA PARKS**

Whose arrest, because she
refused to be segregated,
led to the Bus Boycott in
Montgomery, Alabama.



BALTIMORE BRANCH N.A.A.C.P.

**KICK-OFF
MASS MEETING**

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1956 - 3 P.M.

SHARP STREET METHODIST CHURCH

Dolphin and Etting Streets

— Music by Famous BALTIMORE CHORALE —

under direction of Gerald Burkes Wilson

RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP TODAY!
And Get One More!

Good Music

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, President

Admission Free

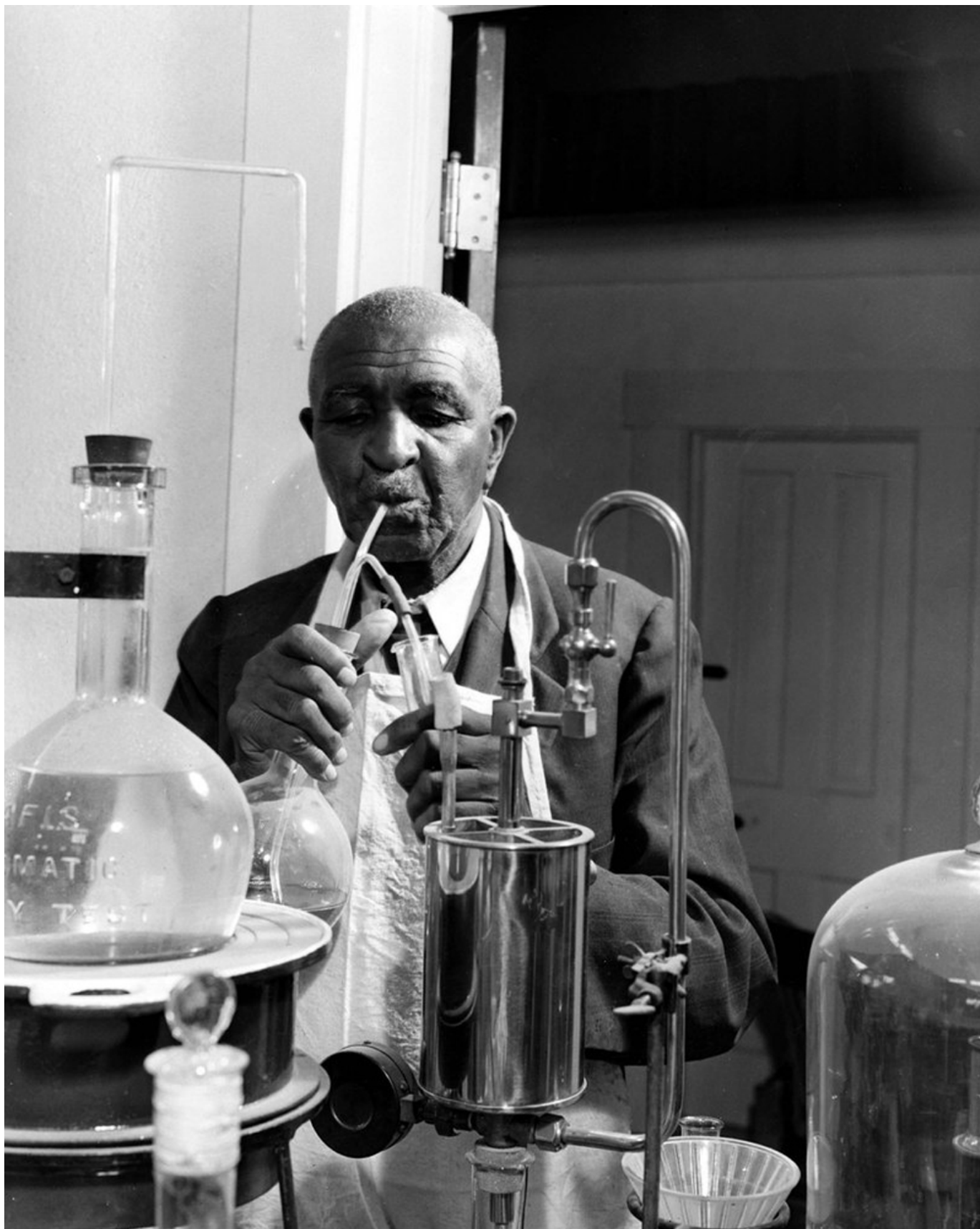
Dr. Charles Watts, Treasurer

Demonstrators during the March on Washington, D.C., August 28, 1963



Trikosko, Marion S., "[Demonstrators marching in the street holding signs during the March on Washington, 1963]," 28 August 1963. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Dr. George Washington Carver, Date Unknown



"George Washington Carver," Special Collections, USDA National Agricultural Library, Unknown. Courtesy of USDA