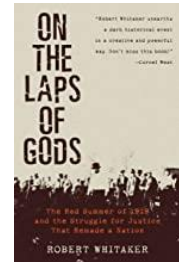


Chapter 9: “Self-Defense” Carol Anderson

- I. Stand your ground laws, designed by the NRA to protect violent gun owners from facing prosecution.
 - A In 2008 and 2010, Stand Your Ground laws were buttressed with the idea that the 2nd amendment carried an inherent right to self-defense.
 - B The natural right to control your body—John Locke
 - C The right has not been deemed as universal. (p. 251)
 - D Because enslaved people were not citizens, they were not able to keep and bear arms.
 - E An 1843 case in Maryland described free Black people as “a dangerous population” that could not have access to guns even to defend their religious gatherings from attack.
 - F The Travon Martin/Geo Zimmerman case is a good example of the balance of legal power favoring Whites.
 - G 2019 book, *Biased*, the Stanford University psychology professor Jennifer Eberhardt shows that African Americans are consistently perceived as a threat.
 - H Stand your ground laws are enforced differently depending on race.
 - I Blacks don’t enjoy the same level of a right to self-defense as do Whites.
- II Arming Blacks in the colonial and revolutionary war period (p. 253)
 - A During the Revolutionary War, northern states reluctantly offered Blacks freedom from slavery in exchange for military service, which entailed issuing guns. The South did not do this.
 - B In 1872, despite Geo Washington’s pleadings, south Carolina refused to draft and arm enslaved people even to fight a larger British military force. The southerners would rather lose and be captured than to arm Blacks.
- III The Constitutional Period
 - A The Carolinas and Georgia threatened to withdraw from the constitutional convention if Gouverneur Morris, who represented Pennsylvania, was to get his way and ban the trans-Atlantic slave trade.
 - B The formation of America was very fragile, with the South preferring to enslave people than to give them the right to self-defense or to have a united nation.
 - C The Southern position worked to secure twenty additional years of the Atlantic slave trade, the Three-fifths Clause, and the Fugitive Slave Clause.
 - D Small government federalists resisted placing militias under the central government to prevent a drift towards a standing army under centralized control.
 - E The South favored strong state militias that were available mostly for quashing Black uprisings and limiting Black literacy, free movement, etc.
 - 1 They didn’t want Northerners or Congress withholding support from the state militia.
 - F Northerners didn’t want for their state militias to be forced to travel to the South to put down slave rebellions.
 - G In 1788, Southern resistance to the constitution was emerging.

- 1 It's evident that the South was very anxious about being left defenseless against an uprising by its enslaved persons.
 - H Madison's push for a Bill of Rights arose to some degree to mollify the South.
 - I The 2nd Amendment was drawn up to address Southern concerns and to secure their votes to adopt the Constitution.
 - J James Monroe called out several regiments of the state's militia to thwart, before it could begin, a widespread revolt. The prospect of a slave rebellion awakened an urgent desire to double down on newly formed laws concerning guns and militias.
 - K David Waldstreicher book, [Slavery's Constitution](#)
- IV Fugitive Slave Laws
- A Before the constitution, John Adams speculated that the North and South were so different that they probably couldn't unite under a central government, a speculation that was refuted, but barely.
 - B Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 meant that even Black people who were born free, or had managed to buy their freedom or escape slavery, had no legal right to that freedom.
 - 1 A driver for the Fugitive Slave Act was the Southern threat to secede.
 - C Slave catchers were hired to travel to free states and zones and recover runaways. They sometimes could simply capture and sell free Blacks.
 - 1 In turn, militant abolitionists would avenge such captures by venturing across state lines into slave states.
- V The Civil War and Reconstruction
- A Ten percent, 176,000, of the Union Army were Black men
 - B Black Codes were attempts to reestablish a form of slavery.
 - C Black army veterans sometimes retained their weapons and used them to protect their rights.
 - D The south, however, worked to confiscate weapons from their Black owners.
 - E Federal officials and local authorities often refused to protect Blacks rights as new citizens to have guns.
 - 1 After the war, President Andrew Johnson had sent a former general, Carl Schurz, to tour the South and report back on conditions there.
 - 2 Genocidal levels of violence toward Blacks were happening throughout the South
 - 3 In the late 1860's the Ku Klux Klan emerged together with similar domestic terrorist organizations like the Knights of the White Camelia and the Red Shirts
 - F Legislation countering the violence: repeal of the Black Codes; the rise of Radical Reconstruction, the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; and the passage of the third Enforcement Act, a law that criminalized white domestic terrorism, the Klan and other vigilante groups were not sufficient to quell the oppression and the apparent right of Whites to murder Blacks.
- VI Violence against Blacks in the 20th Century (p. 261)
- A 1906 rampage against Blacks in Atlanta.
 - 1 The state militia seemed to blend in with the mob
 - 2 Guns belonging to Blacks were confiscated

- B Red Summer 1919, nationwide 25 riots, 52 lynchings
 - C Arkansas sharecroppers' union organizing meeting
 - 1 Ended in mass violence with the machine gunning of hundreds of Black residents
 - 2 Book: Whitaker: [On the Laps of Gods](#)
 - D Knoxville, Tennessee: Riot after sheriff-thwarted lynching. Violence culminates with 4th Tennessee Infantry Regiment machine-gunning Black residences.
 - 1 The point here was that when Blacks defend themselves Whites retaliate with massive violence
 - E Ocoee, Florida 1920: Blacks attempting to vote in national election were told they needed voter cards notarized. Incident culminated with White mob storming home of Black community leader and massive exchange of gunfire.
 - 1 At length, Whites murdered or ran out of town 500 Black residents.
 - F Lena Baker story: Black woman hired by White family in Georgia was repeatedly raped and eventually executed following her conviction for murder. She was acting in self defense. (p. 263)
- VII Violence Against Disarmed Blacks more recently and outside the South
- A Oakland, CA was notorious for police violence against Blacks
 - B In 1966, Oaklanders Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP).
 - C The BPP monitored Oakland police activity while openly carrying guns—a tactic that unnerved Whites
 - 1 David Mulford was enlisted to change the state's gun laws to make the open carry of firearms illegal and, thus, undermine the Panthers' community self-defense strategy.
 - 2 The NRA helped draft new gun-control legislation, denying that there were racial overtones to this measure.
 - D Many white people in America, in fact, saw the Panthers and the uprisings in Watts, Detroit, and Newark not as protests against police, but as indications of Black pathology.
 - 1 Eventually, fear of Blacks became a Republican staple to appeal to Whites
 - E Book: Susan D. Greenbaum, [Blaming the Poor](#)
 - 1 The perceived threat from Blacks left them more defenseless against police and mob violence.
- VIII Conclusion
- A Stand Your Ground laws have caused the criminal justice system to be ten times more likely to rule a homicide justifiable if the shooter is white and victim is Black than the other way around.
 - B The criminal justice system is ten times more likely to rule a homicide justifiable if the shooter is white and victim is Black than the other way around.



Summary: Chapter 9: “Self-Defense” Carol Anderson

This chapter traces how America has stripped Blacks of guns and left them relatively defenseless. This history begins with the pervasive American anxiety over the potential of slave revolts. The Haiti Revolution was a wake-up signal for all slave-keeping people in the New World that when populations of enslaved people became large enough, there was a potential for there to be violence. During the constitutional period, Southern enslavers were reluctant to sign on to the ratification of the Constitution if it didn't provide for a state-level militia system—enough fire-power to put down slave revolts. Enslavers didn't want to rely on northern abolitionist state militias to travel to the south to calm slave rebellions. The Second Amendment and Fugitive Slave laws were enacted to mollify the reluctant south. During the aftermath of the Civil War, Blacks had some firearms, but these were often confiscated by aggrieved, defeated southerners who were willing to perpetrate egregious acts of violence in order to block Blacks from gaining or keeping community influence. One of the benefits of citizenship, the right to defend oneself, was only minimally accorded to former slaves. Throughout the 20th century violence against Blacks, often perpetrated by police or armed mobs continued. At present, the political right in America gains votes by perpetrating the myth of Black criminality. The Stand Your Ground laws are good examples of how violence against Blacks can continue.