



The CRISIS



BLACK CITIZENSHIP

IN THE AGE OF

JIM CROW CLASSROOM MATERIALS

because history matters

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUM & LIBRARY

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BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN THE AGE OF JIM CROW CLASSROOM MATERIALS

DEVELOPER AND WRITER

Marjorie Waters

PROJECT COORDINATOR

Lee Boomer, Assistant Manager of
Special Projects

CONTRIBUTING WRITER

Dylan Yeats, New York University

CONTRIBUTING TEACHER DEVELOPER

John Carter, IS 109

PRODUCER

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY EDUCATION DIVISION

Mia Nagawiecki, Vice President for
Education

Leslie Hayes, Associate Director for
Professional Learning

Allyson Schettino, Associate Director
of School Programs

Rugan Lewis, Manager of Digital
Learning Programs

Emma Nordin, Manager of School
Programs

Samantha Rijkers, Citizenship Project
Manager

Lee Boomer, Assistant Manager of
Special Projects

Leah Charles-Edouard, Assistant
Manager of School Programs

Schuyler Schuler, Assistant Manager
of Professional Learning

Derek Mikell, Education Marketing &
Outreach Manager

Diane Tinsley, Education Bookkeeper

Kionah Tucker, Education Associate

Ania Upstill, Social Learning Programs
Coordinator

SCHOLAR REVIEWERS

Eric Foner, Columbia University

Marci Reaven, Vice President, History
Exhibits

Lily Wong, Assistant Curator

TEACHER REVIEWERS

Dunja Froman, **Nina Wohl**

DESIGNER

Pam Pollack, Pam Pollack Design

COPY EDITOR

Carol Barkin

TEACHER ADVISERS

John Carter, **Sarah Fischer**,
Dunja Froman, **Ira Glasser**,
Aaron Hull, **Rheanna Milardo**,
Andy Scopp, **Omawali Stewart**,
Eugene Resnick, **Constance
Vidor**, **Nina Wohl**

EXHIBITION TEAM

Louise Mirrer, President & CEO

Marci Reaven, Exhibition Co-Curator
and Vice President, History Exhibits

Lily Wong, Exhibition Co-Curator

Marjorie Waters, Writer

Amanda Bellows, Project Historian

Dominique Jean-Louis, Project
Historian

Dayna Bealy, Rights Clearance
Specialist

Eleanor Gillers, Supervisor of Rights &
Reproductions

Brianne Muscente-Solga, Exhibition
Design

Marcela Gonzalez, Graphic Design

SPECIAL THANKS

Benjamin Anderson

Ethan Bullard, Maggie L. Walker
National Historic Site

William C. Harris, Professor
Emeritus, North Carolina State University

Jim Moore, Marshall County Historical
Museum, Holly Springs, Mississippi

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New-York Historical Society
170 Central Park West at Richard Gilder Way
New York, NY 10024
212-873-3400
www.nyhistory.org

Pam B. Schafler, Chair
Andrew H. Tisch, Vice Chair
Richard Reiss, Executive Committee Chair
Louise Mirrer, President & CEO

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BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN THE AGE OF JIM CROW

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

DEAR EDUCATOR,

The New-York Historical Society is proud to present this collection of educational materials and resources to accompany *Black Citizenship in the Age of Jim Crow*, a thought-provoking exhibition about the contested efforts toward full citizenship and racial equality for African Americans that transpired in the fifty years after the Civil War. In the period between the end of slavery in 1865 and the end of World War I in 1919, African Americans championed their rights but were met with widespread opposition to black advancement. Attempts to create an interracial democracy were challenged, and the ensuing backlash gave rise to the “separate but equal” age of Jim Crow. The exhibition presents a chronological analysis of this era, considering the political, social, and cultural entrenchment of Jim Crow in tandem with efforts to secure the citizenship rights of African Americans.

The materials included here examine the activism for and opposition to black citizenship rights with breadth and depth. They are arranged chronologically in three units: Reconstruction, 1865-1877; The Rise of Jim Crow, 1877-1900; and Challenging Jim Crow, 1900-1919. Each unit includes primary and secondary resources intended for use by teachers and students, along with suggested classroom activities and discussion questions. These classroom materials include works of art, political cartoons, photographs, documents, primary accounts, and timelines that underscore how ideas of freedom and citizenship were questioned and challenged by discrimination and violence. The life stories in the materials profile the lives of both prominent and lesser-known individuals and highlight a range of attitudes and perspectives on the critical question of black citizenship.

The Education Division of the New-York Historical Society is committed to providing stimulating and useful materials and programming to enhance the teaching and learning of American history in the classroom. This collection of resources has been designed to complement and enhance school visits to the exhibition as well as to help teachers and students from across the nation address this critical chapter in American history.

To learn more about school and teacher programs designed for *Black Citizenship in the Age of Jim Crow* and about all Education programs at the New-York Historical Society, contact us at 212-485-9293 or visit the Education Division online at www.nyhistory.org/education.

Sincerely,



Louise Mirrer, Ph.D.
President & CEO

ABOUT THE EXHIBITION

September 7, 2018–March 3, 2019



On June 27, 2018, the New-York Historical Society announced a new initiative to dedicate renovated prime rotating gallery space to the topics of freedom, equality, and civil rights in America. The inaugural exhibition, *Black Citizenship in the Age of Jim Crow*, explores the struggle for full citizenship and racial equality that unfolded in the 50 years after the Civil War. When slavery ended in 1865, a period of Reconstruction began (1865–1877), leading to such achievements as the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. By 1868, all persons born in the United States were citizens and equal before the law. But efforts to create an interracial democracy were contested from the start. A harsh backlash ensued, ushering in the “separate but equal” age of Jim Crow.

Opening to mark the 150th anniversary of the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, the exhibition is organized chronologically from the end of the Civil War to the end of World War I and underscores the central role played by African Americans in advocating for their rights. It also examines the depth and breadth of opposition to black advancement, including how Jim Crow permeated the North as well as the South. Art, artifacts, photographs, and media illustrate these transformative decades in American history and their continuing relevance today.

Exhibition highlights include:

Portrait of Dred Scott (ca. 1857), an enslaved Missouri man who sued for his freedom and lost after the US Supreme Court ruled that no black person, free or enslaved, could ever be a US citizen.

Thirteenth Amendment (1865), signed by President Abraham Lincoln, which permanently abolished slavery in the US.

Slave shackles (1866) cut from the ankles of 17-year-old Mary Horn, who was held captive, even after slavery was abolished, until her fiancé asked for help from a Union soldier who removed the chains and married the couple.

Uncle Ned's School (1866), a plaster sculpture by artist John Rogers depicting an improvised classroom created by African Americans during Reconstruction.

Marriage certificate (1874) of Augustus Johnson and Malinda Murphy, who made their long-standing relationship legal during Reconstruction.

Ida B. Wells's pamphlet *Southern Horrors* (1892), which reported that 728 lynchings had taken place in just the previous eight years and was written to “arouse the conscience of the American people to a demand for justice to every citizen.”

Vegetable shampoo tin (ca. 1910–1920) by the Madam C.J. Walker Manufacturing Co., a cosmetics empire whose African American founder became a millionaire.

World War I toy soldier diorama featuring African American troops in the 369th Infantry Regiment known as the “Harlem Hellfighters.”

Maquette for artist Kara Walker's *Katastwóf Karavan* (2017), a public sculpture installed at Algiers Point, New Orleans, featuring provocative silhouettes that depict slavery and racial stereotypes.

The exhibition also examines how housing segregation in Manhattan eventually led to community building in Harlem. The focus is on the area around Harlem's important 135th Street nexus, including black churches.

Black Citizenship in the Age of Jim Crow concludes with an exploration of black military service during World War I and the struggle for equality in the decades that followed. The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act, the most significant civil rights bills since Reconstruction, signaled the end of legalized Jim Crow, though the struggle for full citizenship continued.

Image Credits Above: (Left to Right) *African American Family Picking Cotton Near Savannah, Georgia*, mid-19th century. New-York Historical Society Library, William Ludwell Shepperd; “Electioneering at the South,” *Harper's Weekly*, July, 25, 1868. New-York Historical Society Library; Underwood & Underwood, *On the Busy Levee of the Mississippi - St. Louis—N., to great Bridge*, 1903. New-York Historical Society Library; *Group of Neighborhood Union Workers*. Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library; *Madam C.J. Walker Salon*. Byron Company, (New York, NY) Museum of the City of New York, 93.1.1.110837

BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN THE AGE OF JIM CROW

Overview

Introduction

In 1846, Dred Scott sued for his freedom. He was an enslaved Missouri man who argued that he had lived with his owner in the state of Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory, both places where slavery was outlawed. Other slaves had been emancipated for this reason. His wife, Harriet Robinson Scott, used the same argument to petition separately for her own freedom and their children's. Their cases were later combined. The United States Supreme Court decided against them in 1857. *Dred Scott v. Sanford* held that Dred Scott had no right to sue because he was not a US citizen. Further, the justices ruled that no black person could *ever* be a US citizen.

When Dred and Harriet Scott began their legal cases, the minstrel character known as Jim Crow was already some two decades old. It was created by a white New Yorker, Thomas Rice, in the 1820s as a laughable figure—foolish, dim-witted, and shabby ([Resource 2](#)). White audiences saw Jim Crow as an accurate representation of an inferior race. In many of the skits, Jim Crow sang about riding in a fashionable train car. The possibility of blacks intruding in their world appalled many whites and prompted a number of cities, North and South, to require black passengers to occupy separate sections of streetcars, trains, and other public vehicles. In the 1840s, Massachusetts became the first state in the US to call these segregated facilities Jim Crow cars.



When the Civil War began in 1861, African Americans saw it as the long-awaited battle to end slavery. It was also an opportunity to fight back against the legal and cultural environment that oppressed all black people in America, whether enslaved or free. African Americans soon volunteered to join the Union's fight against the breakaway Confederacy. But they were not accepted into the military until midway through the war. The change came after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Lincoln declared that most persons held as slaves within the rebellious states "are, and henceforward shall be free." His military order made ending slavery a goal of the war, and it cleared the way for black men to join the Union Army.

In the North, black men enlisted by the thousands. In the Confederate South and West, they joined wherever Union troops were present. In slave states like Kentucky that remained in the Union, special rules allowed for black recruitment even while slavery remained

intact. By the end of the war, African Americans made up 10 percent of Union forces. A third of those who served lost their lives ([Resource 1](#)).

The Confederate surrender at Appomattox in April 1865 heralded slavery's impending abolition, but before Lincoln could fully implement his postwar vision, Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth—outraged at the prospect of "nigger citizenship"—assassinated him less than a week later. Many Americans mourned the loss of the Great Emancipator and wondered how the nation would rebuild without him. For African Americans, the future was filled with uncertainty, promise, and risk.

Reconstruction, 1865–1877

When Andrew Johnson ([Life Story](#)) assumed the presidency in 1865, he enacted his own plans for the postwar South. Johnson did not believe black Americans deserved or required equal rights. He also feared that such policies would embitter white Southerners and prevent the Confederacy from fully rejoining the Union. Consequently, Johnson permitted the readmission of rebel states on lenient terms and allowed them to pass laws that discriminated against freedpeople.

BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN THE AGE OF JIM CROW *Overview continued*

African Americans and their allies were outraged. “We cannot understand the justice of denying the elective franchise to men who have been fighting for the country, while it is freely given to men who have just returned from four years fighting against it,” wrote a committee of North Carolina freedmen in a petition to the president. They demanded the lands and rights they believed they deserved ([Resource 7](#)). In the meantime, African Americans exercised their newfound freedoms. Former slaves founded churches, attended new schools ([Life Story of Laura Towne](#)), learned to read ([Resource 5](#)), and worked to reunite their families ([Resource 6](#)).

A historic tug-of-war took place in the highest reaches of the federal government. Andrew Johnson, a Democrat, was lenient toward the white South. The largely Republican US Congress supported black rights. Republicans in Congress fought back against Johnson by passing the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 ([Resource 4](#)) and, two months later, the crucial Fourteenth Amendment. In granting birthright citizenship to all, this amendment, ratified in 1868, redefined what it meant to be an American. It also granted equal protection before the law for all and established many of the protections that Americans rely upon to this day. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, secured the franchise for African American men. It affirmed that no state could deny citizens the right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” (For the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, see [Resource 3](#)).

In 1867, the Republican Congress also passed the first of a series of Reconstruction Acts, which placed the South under military rule and required former Confederate states to pass new constitutions that granted suffrage to black men ([Resource 8](#)). This led to the nation’s first experiment in interracial democracy. More than one thousand African Americans were elected to political office in the South, largely as Republicans.

Black politicians like Hiram Revels ([Life Story](#)) of Mississippi, the first African American to serve in the US Senate, fought to ensure that their constituents were treated equally. “The Negro will never rest until he gets his rights,” stated Representative Joseph Rainey of South Carolina, a former slave, “because they are granted to us by the law of the land.” Black Americans also protested unequal treatment in public spaces, including hotels and trains.

Discrimination was especially fierce in the South. Former Confederates resisted the idea that people they had once enslaved now deserved rights equal to theirs. Many refused to recognize the legitimacy of the interracial Reconstruction state governments and pledged to “redeem” the South from what they claimed was disastrous “Negro rule.” Some formed terrorist paramilitary organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and used violence and threats to prevent black Americans and their white allies from voting.



In the early 1870s, Congress passed a series of Enforcement Acts authorizing the federal government to prevent and prosecute voter intimidation, and federal action successfully dismantled the KKK. But former Confederates quickly regrouped to challenge election results. And some formed new paramilitary organizations, including the White League, the Knights of the White Camelia, and the Red Shirts, that drove sitting politicians from office.

BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN THE AGE OF JIM CROW *Overview continued*

As violence spread across the South, the Grant administration proved increasingly unable to contain the situation. Corruption scandals and the Panic of 1873 helped Democrats opposed to black voting rights gain majorities in Congress. In a series of Supreme Court cases beginning in 1873, the justices narrowly interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment, limiting the federal government's ability to protect African American rights ([Resource 17](#)).

An electoral stalemate during the 1876 presidential election led to a compromise that was disastrous for Reconstruction. Democrats agreed to support Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as President. Republicans agreed to withdraw remaining federal troops from the South. Despite black Americans' protests, the Compromise of 1877 signaled the end of Reconstruction and the sacrifice of black constitutional rights to political expediency ([Resource 9](#)).

The Rise of Jim Crow, 1877–1900

African Americans did not give up the fight to secure their rights when Reconstruction ended. But without federal intervention, Southern states were free to construct and codify an oppressive Jim Crow system that severely curtailed blacks' rights and opportunities during the decades that followed ([Resource 10](#)).

Former Confederates won control over Southern state governments and enacted new laws designed to consolidate white supremacy.

These new administrations restricted funding for educational opportunities, enacted vagrancy laws, and limited African Americans' rights without fear of federal intervention ([Life Story of Laura Towne](#)). Many black Americans became trapped in unprofitable sharecropping arrangements and convict-labor lease systems that subjected them to the abuse of white employers ([Resource 12](#)) and exposed the limits of citizenship protections.



In the face of worsening conditions, some African Americans left the South for states and territories in the West ([Resource 14](#)) while others appealed to the federal courts for protection. But in the Civil Rights Cases of 1883, the Supreme Court consolidated five related cases and ruled that the federal government had no jurisdiction to intervene in individual acts of racial discrimination or violence and could not force states to prosecute them ([Resource 17](#)).

African Americans in the North also encountered Jim Crow, based more on social practice than law ([Resource 16](#)). Northern Jim Crow was not the South's campaign of terror, but it regularly subjected blacks to intimidation and abuse. Moreover, the North, especially New York City, made and distributed goods and materials that

reproduced harmful stereotypes about African Americans and helped make Jim Crow seem normal and acceptable to white Americans across the country ([Resource 15](#)).

In the late nineteenth century, Southern governments began enacting new voting laws requiring citizens to pass literacy tests and pay fees to register to vote ([Resource 13](#)). These laws effectively disenfranchised African Americans. Southern states also passed legislation requiring racial segregation in public spaces, thereby enforcing racial hierarchies in everyday life.

A dramatic increase in acts of violence such as lynching accompanied the movement to legally segregate and disenfranchise black Americans in the 1890s. African American journalist Ida B. Wells ([Life Story](#)) documented and publicized lynchings designed to terrorize black Americans ([Resource 11](#)). Such public murders, often tacitly sanctioned by local authorities, bolstered the emerging Jim Crow system by making it clear that resistance would be met by horrific violence for all to see.

Despite increasing danger to their lives, black Americans continued to seek protection from the courts. But their efforts again exposed the limits of legal citizenship. For instance, when Homer Plessy challenged his eviction from a whites-only train car, the US Supreme Court ([Resource 17](#)) ruled that Louisiana's segregation laws did not violate his Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection so long as he was offered separate but equal accommodation.

BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN THE AGE OF JIM CROW Overview *continued*

The courts endorsed the constitutionality of the Jim Crow system. Political leaders in every Southern state took advantage of the opportunity to discriminate against and disenfranchise African Americans.

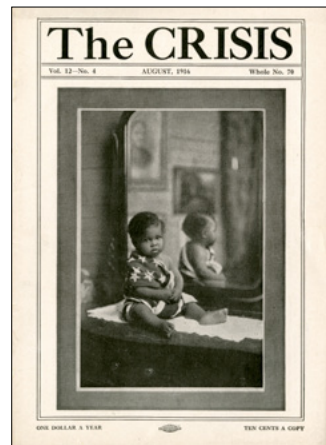
Challenging Jim Crow, 1900–1919

At the turn of the twentieth century, nearly fifty years after the end of the Civil War, the system of Jim Crow was firmly entrenched in the United States. In this context, white Southerners like Janet Randolph ([Life Story](#)) were able to memorialize those who had fought for the Confederacy and its system of slavery by funding the construction of soaring monuments to the Lost Cause that depicted Confederate military leaders and veterans ([Resource 18](#)).

But the rise of Jim Crow spurred a new generation of African Americans to fight back against inequality and oppression. In 1900, W.E.B. Du Bois challenged stereotypical imagery by displaying dignified photographs of African Americans at the international Paris Exposition ([Resource 20](#)). He and others published exposés in the press that documented the brutality required to enforce the Jim Crow system, protested their exclusion from narratives celebrating American history, and raised awareness at home and abroad about how discrimination prevented black Americans from achieving their full potential.

African Americans also organized within their communities. Female community leaders like

Maggie Walker ([Life Story](#)) and the Atlanta Neighborhood Union ([Resource 22](#)) encouraged the establishment of black businesses, banks, insurance companies, newspapers, and networks of support. Businessmen like Philip Payton, founder of the Afro-American Realty Company in Harlem ([Resource 23](#)), helped blacks secure decent housing.



As Jim Crow segregation and racial violence intensified across the nation, African Americans formed new organizations to demand enforcement of the civil rights protections guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. After a white mob terrorized black residents in Abraham Lincoln’s hometown of Springfield, Illinois, in 1908, W.E.B. Du Bois co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ([Resource 21](#)). Du Bois edited the NAACP’s magazine, aptly named *The Crisis*.

The NAACP played an active role in opposing the most popular film of its day, D.W. Griffith’s 1915 *Birth of a Nation* ([Resource 19](#)). It protested the film’s portrayal of African Americans, played by white actors in blackface, as violent, unruly, and subhuman. President Woodrow Wilson,

whose administration endorsed the segregation of the federal government, added fuel to the fire by showing the film at the White House. Although the film helped inspire the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, African Americans’ campaign against what the NAACP called “propaganda of prejudice” helped expand the reach of the new organizations dedicated to dismantling Jim Crow.

African American influence over national policies remained minimal due to voter suppression in the South, where most blacks lived. But increased black migration to Northern cities facilitated new forms of activism and influence. During the Great Migration, hundreds of thousands of African Americans left the Jim Crow South in search of new opportunities. Many learned about life outside the South from Robert Abbott’s newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*. It encouraged its African American readers to move north ([Resource 23](#)) and helped forge an urban black political consciousness and constituency.

African American migrants, particularly those who sought work in wartime industries during World War I (1914–1918), were often met with violent, racialized opposition, sometimes by whites who feared job competition. In response to these brutal attacks on American citizens, the growing ranks of organizations like the NAACP demanded meaningful enforcement of civil rights protections.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, some African Americans hesitated



to fight for a country that did not respect their rights. Others thought that the war offered an opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism. About 400,000 African Americans served in the

Great War, most of whom were drafted into segregated support units. Members of the Harlem-based 369th Regiment, however, distinguished themselves in combat and earned the nickname “Harlem Hellfighters” ([Resource 24](#)).

The valor of African American servicemen did not convince many whites to treat blacks differently after the war. More than two dozen riots targeted black neighborhoods during what James Weldon Johnson termed the Red Summer of 1919. In the face of such violence, African Americans remained committed to urging the nation to fulfill its promises of equality and democracy.

The Citizenship Timeline ([Appendix](#)) traces the citizenship rights of African Americans, and of Asians and Native Americans, from 1857 to 1928.

The Continued Fight for Civil Rights

Black Citizenship in the Age of Jim Crow ends in 1919, with black soldiers returning home from the Great War full of pride, patriotism, and expectations. The [Epilogue](#) briefly brings the story forward from the 1920s to the landmark Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1965). These profound accomplishments were the product of the century-long battle, by African Americans and their allies, to guarantee the gains won during Reconstruction. At last, the US dismantled the pernicious culture of legalized Jim Crow.

But the struggle is far from over. Black Americans today continue to fight for economic justice, fair treatment, equal protection, and basic human rights—the essential markers of full citizenship in the United States.



Image Credits

Page 6: *Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters*, c. 1863-1865. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Page 7: Thomas Nast, “Is This a Republican Form of Government? Is This Protecting Life, Liberty and Property? Is This the Equal Protection of the Laws?,” *Harper’s Weekly*, September 2, 1876. New-York Historical Society Library

Page 8: *Juvenile convicts at work in the fields*, ca. 1903. Detroit Publishing Co., Library of Congress Print & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Page 9: *The Crisis*, August 1916. New-York Historical Society Library

Page 10: *Peter L. Robinson Sr.*, c. 1917. Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Peter L. Robinson Jr. and Marie Robinson Johnson

Parade of Famous 369th Infantry on Fifth Avenue New York City. Colonel “Bill” Hayward’s famous “Hell Fighters” of the 369th Infantry march by crowds at the New York Public Library 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, 1919. National Archives

CLASSROOM NOTES

CITIZENSHIP: THE RIGHT TO BELONG

American citizenship brings legal rights, protections, and responsibilities. But its meaning goes deeper. To be a citizen is to be accepted, to feel safe, to be “one of us.”

Black Americans have long fought for full membership in the American community. In this struggle, the years after the Civil War were critical. Freedom, citizenship, and the right to vote were all extended to African Americans. But by the early 1900s, a repressive racial system known as “Jim Crow” had sabotaged these liberties. This curriculum explores the period between the Civil War and World War I, a half century of stunning advances and reversals.

APPROACH AND STRUCTURE

This supplementary curriculum was developed in conjunction with the New-York Historical Society exhibition, *Black Citizenship in the Age of Jim Crow*, on view from September 7, 2018, to March 3, 2019. For details, see [About the Exhibition](#).

For many people, the phrase “Jim Crow” brings to mind the decades between World War I and the 1960s: water fountains marked “colored” and “white” and other forms of segregation, mostly in the South. But Jim Crow was a nationwide problem that began to take shape even before the Civil War. Understanding how and why it grew, and what African Americans did to fight back, is essential to appreciating

both America’s past and its present.

The classroom materials, like the exhibition, zero in on this often-overlooked story. They will help students observe how this particular history happened, sometimes little by little and sometimes with shocking turns of events. The time period is the half century between the end of the Civil War and the end of World War I. Unit 1 focuses on Reconstruction (1865–1877), a time of both promise and betrayal; Unit 2 (1877–1900) on the growth and hardening of Jim Crow; and Unit 3 (1900–1919) on the many ways in which black Americans resisted and found strength, even as white supremacy became entrenched. Each unit contains two life stories and related primary resources.

In addition, the Citizenship Timeline ([Appendix](#)) spans the period covered by all three units.

These curriculum materials are designed for flexibility in the middle- and high-school classroom. The suggestions that follow offer some ideas for combining materials to focus on different topics and questions, but feel free to use the life stories, resources, and appendix in the ways that suit your students best.

A note about explicit images and text: This curriculum highlights the ways in which black Americans resisted oppression, defined their own lives, and found strength within their communities. But the story of Jim Crow is grim and sometimes shockingly violent. The materials do not shy away from these realities. The [Life Story of Ida B. Wells](#) and [Resource 10](#) are focused on lynching. One of the images in [Resource 23](#) also depicts lynching. [Resource 13](#), [The Life Story of Laura Towne](#), and the [overview essay](#) contain the word “nigger.” Other materials may frighten or upset some students. Please review them carefully and decide if they are appropriate for your class.

CLASSROOM SUGGESTIONS

UNIT 1: RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1877

KEY IDEAS

After the Civil War, the US remained deeply divided over black rights.

Freedpeople defined freedom for themselves, personally and politically.

US citizenship was defined amid political turmoil after the Civil War.

MATERIALS

[Life Story: Andrew Johnson](#)

[Life Story: Hiram Revels](#)

[Resource 1: Sacrifice and Citizenship](#)

[Resource 2: Early Jim Crow](#)

[Resource 3: Black Rights on Paper](#)

[Resource 4: Celebrating Civil Rights](#)

[Resource 5: Learning to Read](#)

[Resource 6: Searching for Relatives](#)

[Resource 7: A Right to the Land](#)

[Resource 8: The Right to Vote](#)

[Resource 9: Reconstruction Abandoned](#)

[Appendix: Citizenship Timeline](#)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

Introductory Activity: What Now for Black Americans?

Materials

Resource 1: Sacrifice and Citizenship

Resource 2: Early Jim Crow

Activities

After black men served in the Union Army during the Civil War, many African Americans believed blacks had proven their patriotism and their right to citizenship. But for decades, white Americans, especially in the North, had been absorbing ideas about black inferiority from popular entertainments known as minstrel shows. In this activity, students explore these opposing positions.

Distribute copies of *Sacrifice and Citizenship* (**Resource 1**). Ask students to write a descriptive caption for the three paintings, explaining this man's experiences. Then ask them to take the role of a journalist and imagine interviewing the wounded veteran. What would he be thinking, feeling, and expecting? Next, ask students to analyze the image of Jim Crow in **Resource 2** and write a caption describing the features that white audiences might have seen as laughable.

Discussion Questions

What do the paintings and broadside communicate about black actions and white attitudes? What do these images suggest about America's immediate future after the Civil War?

The Meaning of Citizenship: Reconstruction

Note: This is the first of three linked activities, one in each unit, all titled *The Meaning of Citizenship*. They will help students explore what changed and what remained constant as the US defined American citizenship over time.

Materials

Life Story: Andrew Johnson

Life Story: Hiram Revels

Resource 3: Black Rights on Paper

Resource 4: Celebrating Civil Rights

Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

Activities

This exercise introduces the idea of citizenship in post-Civil War America. To begin, build a class definition of citizenship as students understand it and then analyze it. What rights and obligations do students identify? Who is included or left out? Then introduce the materials listed above. How did Andrew Johnson, Hiram Revels, former Confederates, and black Americans believe American citizenship should be defined? When the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were written, what rights were included? What was left out? Who was left out?

Discussion Questions

How did people and groups advocate for their views of post-Civil War citizenship?

What were the concerns and issues that divided different groups? Why was citizenship important to all sides?

Black and White in Washington, D.C.

Materials

Life Story: Andrew Johnson

Life Story: Hiram Revels

Activities

Students explore the lives of two very different politicians who represented the conflicting views of black rights in post-Civil War America. To begin, ask students to compare Andrew Johnson (**Life Story**) and Hiram Revels (**Life Story**). They should consider the two men's backgrounds, family experiences, rise to power, and political beliefs. You may want to point out that Revels was born free to free parents when nearly all black people were enslaved. Ask students to make a Venn diagram to show how Johnson and Revels agreed and disagreed on political issues.

Discussion Questions

How should America have treated freed slaves? Former Confederate soldiers? How did Andrew Johnson's and Hiram Revels's personal experiences affect their political views on postwar America?

Personal Freedoms

Materials

Life Story: Laura Towne

Resource 5: Learning to Read

Resource 6: Searching for Relatives

Activities

In these activities, students explore the ways in which freed people pursued the right to literacy,

which helped them search for loved ones. Begin with a do-now activity. Ask students to list the different ways they use reading in the course of a day and discuss what it might be like to learn to read as an adult. Introduce the materials listed for this activity and ask students to identify different ways in which reading was useful to freedpeople.

Discussion Questions

How would your life be affected if you could not read?

How would being forbidden to read during slavery affect freedpeople's feelings about literacy? How would literacy have helped them find people from whom they had been separated? How would it affect how others viewed them and how they viewed themselves?

A Right to the Land

Materials

Life Story: Andrew Johnson

Life Story: Laura Towne

Resource 7: A Right to the Land

Activities

Ask students to read the materials listed to understand the issue of land allotments for former slaves. Ask students to compare the land-ownership experiences of freedpeople on St. Helena (see the **Life Story of Laura Towne**) with those of Bayley Wyatt (**Resource 7**). How and why were they different? What position did Andrew Johnson (**Life Story**) take, and why?

Wyat's speech was transcribed by a sympathetic white man who used the spelling and pronunciation that white people often ascribed to black speakers. Ask students to rewrite Wyatt's speech, or a portion of it, in standard English, with corrected spelling. How does the new version affect their reading or understanding of Wyatt's argument? How would the original transcript have affected white readers in the 1860s?

Discussion Questions

Why did freedpeople want land?

What do these materials indicate about the promise and challenges of Reconstruction?

The Right to Vote and Hold Office

Materials

Life Story: Andrew Johnson

Life Story: Hiram Revels

Resource 3: Black Rights on Paper

Resource 8: The Right to Vote

Activities

Voting is the most significant right of citizenship. In this activity, students explore black suffrage during Reconstruction. To begin, introduce **Resource 3** and **Resource 8**. Ask students to create a timeline of voting rights from 1865 to 1870 to help them understand that black men voted in the South and West *before* the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified. Ask them to analyze the two resources and the profile of Andrew Johnson (**Life Story**) to identify conflicting arguments about black men's right to vote.

Black suffrage opened the door to black officeholders. Ask students to read about Hiram

Revels (**Life Story**) to understand the experience of America's first black senator.

Discussion Questions

Why was black voting a divisive issue after the Civil War? Why did black people want suffrage? Why did many whites hope to prevent it? Why was black suffrage an important question for the United States to resolve? Why is it important who represents people in political office?

Reconstruction Abandoned

Materials

Resource 9: Reconstruction Abandoned

Life Story: Andrew Johnson

Life Story: Hiram Revels

Activities

Students explore how and why Reconstruction ended. Introduce **Resource 9**. Ask students to analyze the image and list the important symbols of the North and the South and to consider what is included and what is left out. Then ask them to read the profiles of Andrew Johnson (**Life Story**) and Hiram Revels (**Life Story**), paying particular attention to the evolving debates at the center of Reconstruction politics.

Discussion Questions

Based on **Resource 9**, who wanted Reconstruction to end, and why? Who do you think supported them? Who would have wanted Reconstruction to continue?

In the profiles of Andrew Johnson and Hiram Revels, what evidence do you see of the national conflicts that would make Reconstruction a struggle?

Unit 1 Wrap-up Questions

What were the biggest challenges facing the nation after the Civil War? To what extent were they resolved? What, if anything, should have been done differently?

What improved in America during Reconstruction? What remained the same? What worsened?

UNIT 2: THE RISE OF JIM CROW, 1877–1900

KEY IDEAS

After Reconstruction, the Jim Crow system of segregation and repression rose gradually, often informally, and sometimes violently.

Jim Crow increasingly limited the rights and freedoms of black people all over America.

MATERIALS

Life Story: Laura Towne

Life Story: Ida B. Wells

Resource 10: Forty Years of Jim Crow

Resource 11: Lynching

Resource 12: Servitude

Resource 13: Disenfranchisement

Resource 14: Heading West

Resource 15: Prejudice in Pictures

Resource 16: Jim Crow in the North

Resource 17: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court

Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

ACTIVITIES

Facing Jim Crow in Everyday Life

Materials

Life Story: Laura Towne

Resource 2: Early Jim Crow

Resource 10: Forty Years of Jim Crow

Resource 15: Prejudice in Pictures

Activities

Students explore the environment of Jim Crow as it affected more and more of daily life. To begin, introduce **Resource 10**. Ask students to summarize the Tennessee law and the Du Bois quotation and contrast the two views of black life in the South, forty years apart. Then ask students to compare the images in **Resource 2** and **Resource 15**. How did portrayals of blacks change between the 1835 caricature and later in the century? Why is this significant?

Ask students to read the **Life Story of Laura Towne**. What was her significance on St. Helena's? How do you think she was viewed? How did she challenge common stereotypes of black Americans?

Discussion Questions

What roles did law and popular culture play in strengthening Jim Crow? Do music, TV, movies, and books affect people's views today? What examples can students cite?

What's the best way to respond to racial bigotry?

Holding Public Office

Materials

Life Story: Hiram Revels

Life Story: Laura Towne

Resource 17: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court

Activities

To explore how the end of Reconstruction reduced the number of black Americans in public office, ask students to read Robert Smalls's experiences running for office (in the **Life Story of Laura Towne**). Compare his story to that of Hiram Revels (**Life Story**).

Discussion Questions

How were Smalls's and Revels's political experiences different? What factors might explain those differences? What pressures did both men face as black politicians in the years after the Civil War?

In the second part of this activity, introduce **Resource 17**. Ask students to read the first two summaries—of Supreme Court cases known as Slaughterhouse and Cruikshank—and identify how federal and state power was shifting even before Reconstruction ended.

Discussion Questions

What did the timing of the Slaughterhouse and Cruikshank cases indicate about the last years of Reconstruction?

What effect might these rulings have had on Robert Smalls's campaigns for office or his supporters? What effect might they have had on the Red Shirts?

Increasing Violence

Materials

Life Story: Ida B. Wells

Resource 11: Lynching

Resource 17: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court

Activities

To explore violence as a tool of control, ask students to analyze the two charts in **Resource 11**.

Discussion Questions

How many of the states listed had not been part of the Confederacy? (Students may need a list of the Confederate states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.) How many were in the North? In the West? What charges were made most frequently against victims? What might phrases and words like race prejudice, incendiarism, and desperadoes mean?

In Part 2, introduce **Resource 17** and ask students how the Supreme Court cases of the 1870s and 1880s might have affected both the numbers of lynchings and how they were viewed.

Then, ask students to read the **Life Story of Ida B. Wells**. According to Wells, how did white people justify lynching? How did she try to stop it?

Discussion Questions

What does the geographic spread of lynching signal about attitudes toward race and the law? Why was it significant that many white people believed lynchings were spectacles worth attending and applauding?

Why did lynching continue? How different was lynching from the way we understand terrorism today?

Servitude and Disenfranchisement

Materials

Life Story: Laura Towne

Resource 3: Black Rights on Paper

Resource 8: The Right to Vote

Resource 12: Servitude

Resource 13: Disenfranchisement

Activities

In this two-part activity, students explore how essential liberties—the rights to control their own labor and to vote—were significantly curbed for black Americans after Reconstruction.

In Part 1, focus on labor. Assign **Resource 12** and ask students to write a paragraph that explains how sharecropping worked and why it was hard for black families to escape it. Then ask for a similar paragraph about the use of convict labor, noting the ages of the prisoners in the photo.

Discussion Questions

How were sharecropping and convict labor similar to slavery? How were they different? What did Southern landowners gain from sharecroppers and convict laborers? Why did Southern states help perpetuate these systems?

In Part 2, focus on suffrage. Ask all students to read **Resources 8 and 13** and the **Life Story of Laura Towne**. Reintroduce **Resource 3** and ask students to read the Fifteenth Amendment. Ask students to identify the strategies used to curtail black voting rights.

Discussion Questions

Why was African Americans' right to vote so hotly contested in national politics? Were poll taxes and literacy tests legal? Were they ethical? What could have been done to protect black voting rights? How did the loss of voting rights affect black Americans' power to affect political and social change?

What was the combined effect of sharecropping, the convict labor system, and the loss of voting rights on black men and black families?

Jim Crow Across America

Materials

Life Story: Ida B. Wells

Resource 14: Heading West

Resource 16: Jim Crow in the North

Activities

Students examine the late nineteenth century, when Jim Crow became more extreme in the South but existed throughout the US. To begin, assign the **Life Story of Ida B. Wells** and **Resource 14**. Ask students to identify why Wells and the Exodusters moved away from the South, what pulled them toward their new homes, and what life might have been like after they moved.

Next, ask students to read **Resource 16** and describe the form Jim Crow took in New York City.

Note: These materials predate the Great Migration of black Southerners to northern cities in the early twentieth century (**Resource 23**).

Discussion Questions

How was Jim Crow different in the South, North, and West? Would you have left the South if you lived there in the late 1800s? Would you have joined the Exodusters? In these materials, does one place stand out as better than the others?

The Meaning of Citizenship: The Rise of Jim Crow

Note: This is the second of three linked activities, one in each unit, all titled The Meaning of Citizenship.

Materials

Resource 17: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court
Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

Activities

Students examine the changing meaning of citizenship, for blacks and others, in the late nineteenth century. To begin, ask students to use **Resource 17** and the Citizenship Timeline (**Appendix**) to write a definition of citizenship as it was understood in the late 1800s. How different is it from the one students wrote in Unit 1? How are they similar?

Discussion Questions

What were the big issues around citizenship in the late 1800s? Who was included and left out? How did Jim Crow erode citizenship rights of black Americans, even while the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments remained in effect? How could this erosion of rights have been prevented?

Unit 2 Wrap-up Questions

Why did Jim Crow become so entrenched?

Why did America tolerate the erosion of citizenship rights for blacks, Asians, and Native people?

Why did it seem right, acceptable, or necessary to so many white Americans? To what extent are things different today?

UNIT 3: CHALLENGING JIM CROW, 1900–1919

KEY IDEAS

The mythology of the Lost Cause spread false views of the Civil War and slavery, altered the way white Americans viewed the past and the present, and helped cement white supremacy.

Black Americans used many strategies to challenge Jim Crow and build community.

MATERIALS

Life Story: Janet Randolph
Life Story: Maggie Walker
Resource 18: Monuments to the Lost Cause
Resource 19: White Supremacy on the Silver Screen
Resource 20: Confronting Stereotypes
Resource 21: The NAACP
Resource 22: Women Helping Women
Resource 23: Heading North
Resource 24: Black Fighters in the Great War
Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

ACTIVITIES

The Lost Cause

Materials

Life Story: Janet Randolph

Life Story: Maggie Walker

Resource 18: Monuments to the Lost Cause

Resource 19: White Supremacy on the Silver Screen

Activities

Students explore the revised view of the past, known as the Lost Cause, that changed the way Americans understood the Civil War for generations. To begin, ask students to read the profiles of Janet Randolph (**Life Story**) and Maggie Walker (**Life Story**). What did each woman think was important to remember about the past? Why didn't they agree?

Introduce **Resources 18** and **19**. Ask students to write diary entries for both Janet Randolph and Maggie Walker in which they reflect on the Vindicatrix statue and the film *The Birth of a Nation*. How would each woman view these public presentations of Southern history?

Discussion Questions

What does it mean to lose the fight for a cause you care about? What does it mean to win? How do you explain defeat or victory to yourself? How do you feel about the other side?

What should happen to symbols, such as monuments and flags, that reflect a view of the past that some people revere and others find offensive or false?

Confederate Monuments Today: An Extension Activity

On June 17, 2015, white supremacist Dylann Roof murdered nine black parishioners at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. The mass shooting ignited an intense national conversation about Confederate symbols in public places.

Two years later, on June 21, 2017, the mayor of Richmond, Virginia, formed the Monument Avenue Commission to determine what to do with the city's monuments to Confederate officials. In July 2018, the Monument Avenue Commission issued a report that made several recommendations, including providing greater context for the monuments and possibly removing the Jefferson Davis monument, erected with the fundraising leadership of Janet Randolph (**Life Story**). Noting legal barriers that would need to be addressed, the report explained why only the Davis monument was identified for potential removal, and suggested how the removed sections might be handled:

“Of all the statues, this one is the most unabashedly Lost Cause in its design and sentiment. Davis was not from Richmond or Virginia. The statue of Davis was created by Edward Virginius Valentine at his studio on Clay St. which is part of the Valentine Museum. The Vindicatrix statue which sits at the very top can be relocated to a cemetery—perhaps with Davis's grave at Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery. The plaques adorning the columns may be held in storage or returned to the United Daughters of

the Confederacy which is the organization that raised funds to construct the piece. The remaining pedestals and mounts could be repurposed for a new monument or artistic work.”(Monument Avenue Commission Report, p. 33, <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org>).

For this extension activity, ask students to read the executive summary in the Monument Avenue Commission Report, pages 8–11. The full report is available at <https://www.monumentavenuecommission.org>. Then ask them to compare Richmond's experience to that of one or more other cities. For example:

The city of New Orleans removed four Confederate monuments in the spring of 2017. To follow the steps taken in this decision, go to www.nola.gov and search for “Confederate monuments.” Then-Mayor Mitch Landrieu's widely viewed May 19 speech is available on **YouTube**.

In August 2017, the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, protested the city's decision to remove a statue of Robert E. Lee. Violence erupted and Heather Heyer, a counter protestor, was killed. The city-commissioned report of the event is at <http://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=59691>.

In response to the events in Charlottesville, the city of Baltimore removed four Confederate monuments quietly and at night. See <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-baltimore-confederate-monuments-list-20170814-htmlstory.html>.

For the position of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on the removal of Confederate monuments, go to <https://www.hqudc.org> and search for the August 21, 2017, press release.

The Southern Poverty Law Center produced an overview of this issue titled “Whose Heritage? A Report on Public Symbols of the Confederacy” (<https://www.splcenter.org/20180604/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>).

Based on their research, ask students to write an editorial explaining what they think should happen to Confederate monuments in public places, and why. They should cite evidence from both contemporary and historical sources.

Confronting Stereotypes

Materials

Resource 20: Confronting Stereotypes

Resource 15: Prejudice in Pictures

Resource 2: Early Jim Crow

Activities

In this activity, students explore efforts to counter racial stereotypes. Begin with **Resource 20** and ask students to describe each photograph in detail. Compare these photos to the drawings of black characters in **Resource 2** and **Resource 15**. What message does each image send? How does the artist convey his point of view? Why do you think Du Bois included these pictures in his exhibit in Paris?

Discussion Questions

Do you think evidence changes people's prejudices? If not, what does? If racial bias is difficult to erase, what is the best way to protect people's rights? How do you think Du Bois would have answered that question?

Fighting Back

Materials

Life Story: Ida B. Wells

Life Story: Maggie Walker

Resource 14: Heading West

Resource 16: Jim Crow in the North

Resource 21: The NAACP

Resource 22: Women Helping Women

Resource 23: Heading North

Activities

With these materials, students consider some of the ways in which black Americans sought to resist or escape the abuses of Jim Crow. In a jigsaw activity, break the class into small groups and give each group one or two of the materials listed above. Ask the groups to consider these questions: What aspects of Jim Crow did this person or group face? What problems were they trying to address? What strategies did they use? How much risk did they face? How did they measure success? Then, with the whole class, share each group's work and discuss similarities and differences in the groups' findings.

Discussion Questions

If you had lived in the South in the early 1900s, how would you decide whether to leave or stay? What do you think you would have done?

What kind of prejudice do people face today? How do they fight back? What strategies do people use?

Military Service and Black Rights

Materials

Resource 1: Sacrifice and Citizenship

Resource 24: Black Fighters in the Great War

Activities

In this activity, students explore the relationship between military service, sacrifice, and rights. Begin with a close reading of **Resource 24**. Ask students to identify symbols of patriotism included in the image and its title. What message was the artist conveying? Why was Lincoln included? Reintroduce **Resource 1**. Compare the three paintings of the Civil War soldier to the fighters in the Great War. What were black soldiers fighting for in the Civil War? In the Great War? What do you think these soldiers expected when they returned home? What did they find?

Discussion Questions

What rights are due to people who sacrifice for their country, either by joining the military or in other ways? Should noncitizens who join the military automatically qualify for American citizenship?

The Meaning of Citizenship: The Early 1900s

Note: This is the third of three linked activities, one in each unit, titled The Meaning of Citizenship.

Materials

Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

Epilogue: 1920s–1960s

Activities

In this activity, students consider how the meaning of citizenship has changed since 1865 for African Americans and others. Ask students to write a paragraph to summarize how citizenship was defined in the **Epilogue** and the Citizenship Timeline (**Appendix**).

Discussion Questions

When did the definition of citizenship expand? When did it contract? Why? How is citizenship understood today? (You might want to direct students to the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services document at <https://www.uscis.gov/citizenship/learners/citizenship-rights-and-responsibilities>.)

What issues from the past still reverberate today? How should American citizenship be defined?

Unit 3 Discussion Questions

What strategies did people use to fight racism?
What strategies do people use today? What works best?

How does understanding the Lost Cause and the rise of Jim Crow affect your opinion about the Confederate monuments debate? How does the controversy over Confederate monuments today illustrate ongoing disagreements about race and history?

CURRICULUM WRAP-UP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Could Jim Crow have been prevented? How?

What is the connection between legal rights, fair treatment, and a sense of belonging?

Why is US citizenship a contentious issue for Americans today? How should the US define and protect the rights of citizens?

UNIT 1

RECONSTRUCTION 1865-1877

Reconstruction began with the Confederate surrender that ended the Civil War. America needed to reunite, heal, and change. Just at this crucial moment, a Southern sympathizer killed President Lincoln. Vice President Andrew Johnson took over.

A burning question faced the nation during Reconstruction. Would black people now be accepted as equals? The country was deeply divided. Some envisioned a radically new interracial democracy. Others wanted the old America, with strict racial lines intact and whites in control. President Johnson agreed with the latter. He brought his support for white supremacy to the helm of government. An urgent contest—over political power and the future of American society—erupted in Washington and throughout the country.

The struggle for black freedom and equality during Reconstruction produced long strides forward and bruising setbacks. Promises were both made and betrayed. But those twelve years changed the meaning of citizenship fundamentally, for black people and for all Americans.

UNIT 1 MATERIALS

Life Story: Andrew Johnson

Life Story: Hiram Revels

Resource 1: Sacrifice and Citizenship

Resource 2: Early Jim Crow

Resource 3: Black Rights on Paper

Resource 4: Celebrating Civil Rights

Resource 5: Learning to Read

Resource 6: Searching for Relatives

Resource 7: A Right to the Land

Resource 8: The Right to Vote

Resource 9: Reconstruction Abandoned

Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

ANDREW JOHNSON 1808–1875

The White House Champions the White South

LINCOLN'S RUNNING MATE

Inauguration Day—March 4, 1865. Abraham Lincoln was beginning his second term, but the vice president, Andrew Johnson, was new to his role.

Johnson was a Southerner, a Democrat, a defender of slavery, and a former slaveholder himself. Why was he being sworn in with the antislavery Republican Abraham Lincoln? Because the president had made a strategic decision a few months earlier. He put Johnson on the ticket as a symbol of Southern white support for the Union. Lincoln was also demonstrating Republicans' intention to extend their presence into the South, where they had few supporters.

Lincoln drew Johnson's attention to an important person in the crowd. Frederick Douglass described what happened when Johnson glanced his way: "The first expression which came to his face, and which I think was the true index of his heart, was one of bitter contempt and aversion." Douglass said to a black companion, "Andrew Johnson . . . is no friend to our race."

Six weeks later, the Civil War was over, Abraham Lincoln was dead, Andrew Johnson was president, and Frederick Douglass was about to be proven right.

Republicans admired Andrew Johnson because he supported the Union. As a US senator from Tennessee before the Civil War, he had argued against secession and labeled it treason. When the war began, Johnson was the only Southern senator who chose not to resign from Congress. Lincoln trusted him enough to appoint him military governor of Tennessee when Union forces took control of the state during the war. Choosing Johnson was not much of a stretch for Lincoln when he wanted a running mate from the South.

Andrew Johnson was born in North Carolina to poor, illiterate parents. When he was 10, his widowed mother apprenticed him to a tailor. Johnson never went to school, but he taught himself to read and write. By age 20, he was married, living in Greeneville, Tennessee, and discovering his talent for public speaking and politics. He was only 21 when he was first elected to public office in Greeneville.

Mathew Brady, *Andrew Johnson*, ca. 1860-1875. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



“ The first expression which came to his face, and which I think was the true index of his heart, was one of bitter contempt and aversion. ”

—Frederick Douglass

ANDREW JOHNSON 1808–1875

The White House Champions the White South *continued*

Johnson appeared on the national scene in his late 30s, when he was elected to the US House of Representatives. In 1857, Tennessee voters elected him to the Senate. Johnson was a “common man” politician. He was uncomfortable with people of wealth and privilege. His strongest bond was always with poor whites, especially those in the South. He did not speak against slavery until well into the war, but he strongly criticized the upper-class “slaveocracy” for neglecting the needs of poor white farmers.

AT THE CROSSROADS

Thrust into the presidency by the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson faced monumental questions. How should the North treat its defeated enemy? How, exactly, would the United States become united again? And what was the future of black Americans, most of whom were newly free? There was a word for the period that would follow the war—Reconstruction—but no plan in place. Neither President Lincoln nor Congress had decided what should happen next.

President Johnson took the opportunity to act as he saw fit. He was aided by the fact that Congress, led by Republicans, was not in session during his first months in office. Johnson set guidelines that made it relatively easy for former Confederate states to rejoin the Union. He pardoned most of their fighting men. The Freedmen’s Bureau had been set up to help former slaves, but he prevented it from giving them seized

Johnson argued that freed slaves were not qualified for such civil rights as testifying in court, choosing their own livelihoods, and enjoying the same legal protections as whites.

Confederate land. Instead, he restored property to white former owners, many of them small farmers. He refused to give any black men the right to vote. Johnson hoped “his people”—the South’s nonslaveholding white farmers—would rise to power. Instead, the old guard returned: former Confederate leaders and the plantation elite.

At the beginning of his term, most Northerners were willing to give President Johnson a chance. But their support waned when state governments in the South took steps to reinstate white supremacy. Southern officials ignored rising violence against freed people and passed new laws known as Black Codes, which controlled blacks’ lives in ways that echoed slavery. President Johnson did nothing to intervene. Instead, in late 1865, he announced that Reconstruction was over.

BATTLES OVER RECONSTRUCTION

Congress was then back in session, and Republicans were outraged. Many belonged to the party’s radical wing and had fought for years to end slavery. Now their goal was legal equality for black Americans, but the president and the Southern states were moving in the opposite direction. Republican legislators declared that Congress was in charge of Reconstruction. They passed the 1866 Civil Rights Bill ([Resource 4](#)) to extend citizenship and legal equality, though not the right to vote, to African Americans. Johnson vetoed the bill, arguing that freed slaves were not qualified for such civil rights as testifying in court, choosing their own livelihoods, and enjoying the same legal protections as whites. Republicans overrode the veto, the first time Congress had ever done this for a significant bill. Moderate Republicans, alarmed by Johnson’s actions, moved closer to the party’s radical wing and strengthened its hand.

In this explosive atmosphere, Republicans wanted to put the fundamental issue of citizenship into the Constitution itself ([Resource 3](#)), beyond the easy reach of political adversaries. In June 1866 Congress approved the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted citizenship to any person born or naturalized in the US and prohibited states from denying any persons the equal protection of the laws. It revoked the 1857 Dred Scott decision that declared blacks permanently ineligible for citizenship. Presidents have no role in the amendment process, so Johnson could not intervene.

ANDREW JOHNSON 1808–1875

The White House Champions the White South *continued*

Reconstruction was never going to be easy, no matter who was in charge, but a white supremacist occupied the white house.

Republicans won decisively in the 1866 midterm elections. With Republicans even more firmly in control, Congress passed the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, which forced former Confederate states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before rejoining the Union and to extend the vote to all men, regardless of color. These steps fostered the formation of interracial state governments throughout the South.

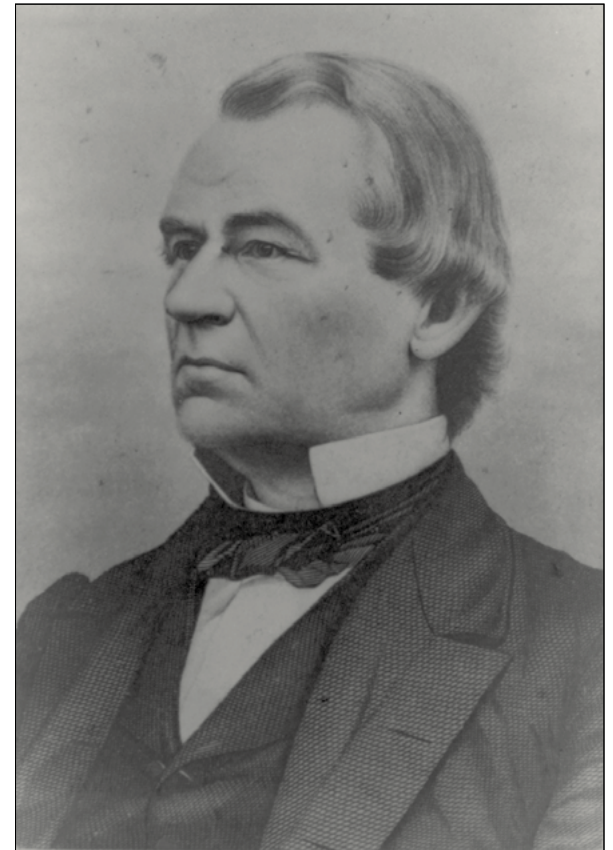
Despite the actions of Republicans in Congress, many white Americans did not support black rights. They proved it in 1867 when they elected many Democrats to state and local office. Johnson was encouraged by these results. He took the daring step of firing the most fervent Republican in his cabinet, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, in violation of a recently enacted law requiring congressional approval for such dismissals. Congressional Republicans retaliated and impeached the president. They fell one vote short of removing him from office, but he agreed

to stop interfering with Reconstruction. Johnson finished Lincoln's second term, and did not run for reelection. In 1868 Ulysses S. Grant, the Republican general who had led the North to victory, was elected president.

Reconstruction was never going to be easy, no matter who was in charge. Most historians view Abraham Lincoln as a masterful politician. Many believe that if he had lived, he and Congress might have found a mutually acceptable way forward after the Civil War. Instead, Andrew Johnson, a white supremacist, occupied the White House. Ironically, though some of the steps he took were costly for black Americans, the very political impasse he created also propelled an irate Congress to pass landmark legislation and amendments that granted black equality, citizenship, and voting rights ([Resource 3](#)).

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ Why did Abraham Lincoln trust Andrew Johnson, when Frederick Douglass saw him as a threat?
- ❑ What was President Johnson's vision for America after the Civil War? What was the vision of Congressional Republicans?
- ❑ In the conflict between President Johnson and Congress, what steps did each side take to cancel either other's actions and determine the nation's future?



A. Bogardus, *Andrew Johnson*, ca. 1865–1880.
New York: A. Bogardus & Co. Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C

HIRAM REVELS 1827–1901

The First Black US Senator

FREE AND BLACK IN THE SOUTH

Hiram Revels was America's first black senator, representing Mississippi in 1870–71, the midpoint of the Reconstruction era. He had an unusual background, even before his unprecedented election. Hiram and his parents were free at a time when most Southern blacks were enslaved. The family lived in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and many of their ancestors were Croatan Indians, who some scholars believe absorbed the “lost” British settlers of sixteenth-century Roanoke Colony in North Carolina. In his teens, Hiram learned barbering from his brother and inherited the barbershop when his brother died, so even as a young man he was able to earn a living.

But Hiram had attended school, and he had other dreams. He headed to the Midwest, studied at seminaries in Indiana and Ohio, was ordained in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, and later enrolled at Knox College in Illinois. He was one of the best-educated black men of his time.

When the Civil War began, Hiram was the principal of an all-black school in Baltimore. After the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation opened the Union's military to blacks, he raised three regiments of black volunteers from Maryland. Then he traveled to Mississippi to serve as a chaplain for what were called “colored regiments” and remained there when the war ended.

ENTERING POLITICS

During Reconstruction, Congress set requirements that former Confederate states had to meet before they could be readmitted to the United States: ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, write new state constitutions, and give black men the right to vote in state and local elections. Until they took these steps, they would be under the control of the US military, with governors assigned by Washington.

The South was undergoing dramatic changes that shaped the future of Hiram's life. He worked with the Freedmen's Bureau, the relief agency set up to aid former slaves and rent them land seized from former Confederates. Because of his education and experience, he was appointed to the city government in Natchez

Matthew Brady, Hiram Revels carte de visite, ca. 1870s.
New-York Historical Society Library

Choosing Hiram Revels was an extraordinary step for the state of Mississippi, where more than half the population was black and where many whites' allegiance to the Confederacy remained unshaken.



HIRAM REVELS 1827–1901

The First Black US Senator *continued*

by Mississippi's military governor, Adelbert Ames. This was the beginning of his political career.

Before 1867, no black Americans were elected to public office in the South and only a handful were in the North. But beginning that year, as Southern states passed their new constitutions, black voters began to elect black candidates. In 1869, under the terms of its new constitution, Mississippi held a two-day election to choose legislators for its newly formed government. Hiram ran to represent Adams County and won easily. Mississippi elected 140 legislators over those two days, and more than 30 of them were black. This racial mix would have been unthinkable before black men could vote.

SENATOR REVELS

The new legislators met in Jackson, the state capital. Their immediate task was to select two men to serve as Mississippi's US senators. With the exception of Andrew Johnson, all Southern senators had resigned from Congress early in the war, and their seats had remained empty. One of Mississippi's senators had been Jefferson Davis, later the president of the Confederacy. There was some discussion among the legislators of sending a black man to fill Davis's seat, but Adelbert Ames, the state's white military governor, was chosen instead. Hiram was selected to complete the shorter term of former Senator Albert Brown.

Hiram was not the only African American who served in Congress during Reconstruction. But his selection marked an extraordinary step for the state of Mississippi, where more than half the population was black and where many whites' allegiance to the Confederacy remained unshaken.

Black legislators believed that sending a black man to Congress would strike a blow against racism. White Democrats supported Hiram for different reasons. They may have felt relatively safe with a political moderate like Hiram, but they also hoped he would fail and embarrass the Republican Party. It was also clear from the start that Hiram's tenure in Congress would be limited to what remained of Albert Brown's term.

When Hiram arrived in Washington, some Democratic senators tried to prevent him from taking his seat. Some argued, for example, that his election was null and void because Mississippi was under military rule. But on February 25, 1870, after two days of discussion, Republican Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a fierce abolitionist, took the floor. Addressing the gravity of the historic moment, he said it was time to honor the principle laid out in the Declaration of Independence: all men are created equal. The Senate voted overwhelmingly to seat Senator Revels.

Hiram served for a little over one year, until March 1871. During his brief time in the Senate, he took several opportunities to stand up for black rights. When white legislators in Georgia tried to remove their black counterparts, Hiram argued for federal steps to protect duly elected black state legislators. He fought for the rights of black mechanics to work in the US Navy Yard in Baltimore, and was proud of winning that fight. But he lost his battle to desegregate the schools in Washington, DC, where students continued to be separated by race until the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

During his brief time in the Senate, Hiram took several opportunities to stand up for black rights.

Hiram was more moderate in his political views than many Republicans. He introduced a bill to pardon a former Confederate, believing that ex-Confederates, if they were now loyal to the country, should be forgiven rather than punished. Some five years after his Senate term, Hiram even switched to the Democratic party. He blamed Republicans for widespread corruption, as did some white Americans, and denied knowing anything about Democratic election fraud. Many black people disagreed with him. Hiram moved to Holly Springs, Mississippi, when he left Congress, and spent the remainder of his career as a teacher and administrator in Mississippi's black colleges.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ Why was Hiram Revels's selection for US Congress an "extraordinary step" for Mississippi, and for America?
- ❑ What did the dissension that greeted Hiram's arrival in Congress indicate about the nation's readiness for black politicians?

RESOURCE 1

SACRIFICE AND CITIZENSHIP

These paintings depict one man over time: first, as a runaway slave—called “contraband” by the Union, meaning property of military value seized from the enemy; second, as a proud volunteer in Union blue; last, as a loyal wounded veteran whose sacrifice helped to end slavery and secure a Union victory. All three paintings are set in the office of the Provost Marshal, where men signed up to join the Union Army. Northern audiences admired the empathetic depictions of a black soldier as a fellow American.

In a comment midway through the war, Frederick Douglass captured what many believed about black men: “[L]et him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pockets, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States.”

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- What details did the artist use to show the veteran’s sacrifice and patriotism?
- What point was the artist making about the three stages in this man’s life? Did he agree with Frederick Douglass?



Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Contraband*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884



Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Recruit*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884



Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Veteran*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884

EARLY JIM CROW

The name “Jim Crow” came from a blackface minstrel character created by white stage performer Thomas “Daddy” Rice in the 1820s, when slavery was ending in the Northern states. Rice, a New Yorker, played Jim Crow for laughs, and white audiences loved him. They saw the foolish character as an accurate depiction of an inferior race. As minstrel shows became all the rage, especially in the North, Jim Crow entered the popular culture and helped spread racial stereotypes about blacks. The character’s name became attached to the many legal and social measures meant to subjugate African Americans and guarantee white dominance. Even before the Civil War, some public transportation in the North used segregated Jim Crow cars.

When the war ended, Jim Crow was not yet the broad national system of repression it later became. But the seeds had been planted.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- Why would laughing at a minstrel character reinforce racial attitudes in audience members? What role did laughter play?
- What does this character’s popularity indicate about the North?

American Theatre,
WALNUT STREET.

ADMISSION:
Boxes 50 Cents.
Pit 25 Cents.
Gallery 25 Cents.



Nightly Tickets to be had at M'Makin's News Rooms, North Third street.
ACTING MANAGER, Mr. PORTER. STAGE MANAGER, Mr. WARD.

MR. RICE
WILL APPEAR AS

JIM CROW.



DISCOVERIES in the MOON
Founded on the late supposed Hoax.

SATURDAY EVENING Sept. 5, 1835.

“Mr. Rice will appear as Jim Crow,” 1835. New-York Historical Society Library, Gift of Bella C. Landauer

BLACK RIGHTS ON PAPER 1865–1870

Background Information

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution permanently abolished slavery in the US. Unlike the Emancipation Proclamation, which applied only to the Confederate states, it freed enslaved African Americans across the nation.

As profound as it was, the Thirteenth Amendment left crucial questions unanswered. What were black Americans' legal rights? They were free, but would they be citizens?

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Until this amendment, citizenship was not defined in the Constitution. Section 1 granted US citizenship to all those born or naturalized in the US, regardless of race. It overturned the Dred Scott decision that denied citizenship to anyone of African descent. And it guaranteed equality before the law for all persons living in the US, whether citizens or not.

Section 2 inserted gender into the Constitution for the first time. No part of the Fourteenth Amendment gave citizens the right to vote, which was determined by individual states. But with this clause, any state that denied voting rights to black men would lose seats, and therefore political power, in the House of Representatives. Denying the right to vote to women carried no penalty.

The reference to Indians who were not taxed appeared in the Articles of Confederation, the US Constitution, the Dred Scott decision, and other documents. It reflected ongoing debate about the legal status of Native Americans. Tribal lands were considered foreign nations within the US. Those who lived within the tribe

"Amendment XIII; Amendment XIV; Amendment XXV." *National Constitution Center*, <https://constitutioncenter.org>

Primary Sources

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Ratified 1865

Section 1. 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.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT (excerpts)

Ratified 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote . . . is denied to any of the male inhabitants of [a] state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced. . . .

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who . . . shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion.

RESOURCE 3

BLACK RIGHTS ON PAPER 1865–1870 *continued*

Background Information *continued*

were not considered Americans, paid no taxes, and were not included in population counts that determined representation in Congress. Native people who left the tribe and assimilated into American life did pay taxes.

Section 3 prohibited high-ranking former Confederates from holding federal or state office.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

This amendment removed race as a barrier to voting, while allowing others to remain. It did not advance the voting rights of women, which were granted after decades of advocacy when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ How did each amendment change the lives and rights of African Americans?
- ❑ After these amendments became law, who qualified as American citizens? What rights did citizens have? What were the rights of women?

Primary Sources *continued*

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

Ratified 1870

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude—

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

CELEBRATING CIVIL RIGHTS

On April 9, 1866—the first anniversary of the end of the Civil War—Republicans in Congress made history when they passed a civil rights bill over President Johnson’s veto. Soon afterward, they asked the states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Both measures secured citizenship for African Americans and equality before the law for all persons in the US.

The images show rejoicing in the halls of Congress, but not everyone was pleased. On April 20, the *New York Times* described another gathering to mark the new legislation: “The late celebration of the passage of the Civil Rights Bill by the colored people of Norfolk, Va., was attended with a serious disturbance, resulting in the death of several persons. It is reported that the negroes were attacked by rowdies, and in defending themselves a general fight ensued. Troops have been sent over from Fortress Monroe to guard against a repetition of the affair.”

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ In the drawing on the left, who do you think is celebrating? What is the artist suggesting about the man with the crutch?
- ❑ What do these two images suggest about women’s roles at the time? Why are no black women or girls shown? Why do the white women watch from a distance?

APRIL 28, 1866.]

HARPER’S WEEKLY.

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OUTSIDE OF THE GALLERIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

“Outside of the galleries of the House of Representatives during the passage of the civil rights bill,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 28, 1866. New-York Historical Society Library

LEARNING TO READ

Early in the Civil War, many Northern schoolteachers moved south to teach the newly freed. Charlotte Forten was one of several black people among them; most, like Laura Towne, were white. Both women had campaigned for abolition, and both taught at the Penn School in South Carolina. Founded by Laura Towne, Penn became one of the first schools in the South dedicated to educating freedpeople. Here, as elsewhere, African Americans were eager to learn letters and numbers, which could help them establish businesses, read rental agreements and work contracts, and much more. (For more about the Penn School, see the [Life Story of Laura Towne](#).)

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ Describe what's happening in this photo. What is each person doing?
- ▣ What did learning to read mean for formerly enslaved people?

“Many of the negroes . . . were supporting little schools themselves. . . . I had occasion very frequently to notice that porters in stores and laboring men about cotton warehouses and cart-drivers in the streets, had spelling books with them, and were studying them during the time they were not occupied with their work.”

—Sidney Andrews, Northern white journalist, April 19, 1866,
The Reports of the Committees of the House of Representatives Made During the First Session Thirty-Ninth Congress, 1865–66
(Washington, DC: 1866)

“Our job was to go to school and learn all we could. . . . [M]y mother went along to school with us until she learned to read the Bible.”

—Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*



Formerly enslaved people reading in front of a cabin, mid-19th century. New-York Historical Society Library

SEARCHING FOR RELATIVES

Background Information

In 1865, African Americans numbered four and a half million. Most were newly free. All now laid claim to the American promise of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They sought the right to control their own lives and pursue the basic freedoms that white Americans took for granted.

One profound freedom was the ability to reunite with family members who had been sold away. “Thank God that now we are not sold and torn away from each other as we used to be,” one wrote. Another freedman walked more than 600 miles in search of his wife and children. Others chose to rid themselves of their former masters’ surnames, choosing new ones like Deliverance, Lincoln, or Freeman.

Thousands of advertisements and articles like these filled newspapers for decades after the war ended.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ What do these newspaper clippings suggest about family ties during and after slavery?
- ❑ What tools would people use today to find loved ones?

Primary Sources

Information Wanted

OF NANCY YOUNG, who was living in Summerville in 1861, and belonged to Mrs. Edward Lowndes, but was afterwards sold to Mr. Colder, and carried up the country, perhaps to Spartensburg or Columbia. Any information respecting her whereabouts will be thankfully received by her son, Thomas S. P. Miller, at Charleston, S. C.

—*The South Carolina Leader*, May 12, 1866. Villanova University Department of History, Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery, <http://www.informationwanted.org/items/show/909> (accessed 4-30-18 by M. Waters)

Mrs. Harriet Smith, formerly Mrs. Harriet Russell, desires to hear from her sons, Henry and Llewellyn Russell, who were sold away from her in 1858 by Mr. J. Bruin, Alexandria, Va., to some one in Arkansas, and were last heard from in that State. Address, care Alex. Smith, No. 2 Pierce street, between L and M streets, Washington, D. C.

—*New Era* (Washington, D.C.), July 28, 1870. Villanova University Department of History, Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery, <http://www.informationwanted.org/items/show/1731> (accessed 4-30-18 by M. Waters)

Thirty-two Years in Search of a Wife.

Richard Zeigler, colored, residing in the State of North Carolina, recently received tidings of his wife, from whom he has been separated for thirty-two years. He has been looking for her ever since the war. She was sold by slave traders and he gradually lost all trace of her whereabouts. Lately he received a telegram from her in Georgia, and started for that State to bring her back. He is sixty years old, and has saved money and spent it liberally in his search. When he received the telegram he wept for joy. He has called a meeting of his grand children, and next week will have a big reunion.

—*New York Sun*, February 22, 1883. Villanova University Department of History, Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery, <http://www.informationwanted.org/items/show/2819> (accessed 4-30-18 by M. Waters)

A RIGHT TO THE LAND

Background Information

Affrican Americans sought to own their own land and control their own labor. They believed the United States had an obligation to assist the formerly enslaved, who had helped build the nation and fight the war. Freedom would mean opportunities to acquire property, support families, and put down roots. But President Johnson saw no reason to help the newly freed get their footing. In the summer of 1865, he prevented the Freedmen's Bureau from distributing confiscated land to former slaves and ordered nearly all plantation lands restored to their former owners.

Bayley Wyat, a Virginia freedman, was told to leave the land on which the army had earlier allowed him to settle. In December 1866, he spoke to a meeting of other freedmen being pushed from their land. Quaker Jacob H. Vining, Superintendent of the Friends' Freedmen's Schools in Yorktown, Virginia, heard his speech. Later he asked Wyat to repeat it so he could write it down. Vining used the misspellings whites often adopted when they recorded black people's speech. Vining printed 500 copies to try to win support for freedmen's land rights, especially among legislators. But Wyat and the other evicted freedmen were required to move elsewhere.

Nearly all Confederate lands were returned to white former owners. Without control over land, blacks sought other avenues towards economic independence. But most remained poor and economically dependent on white landowners.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ **Why did Wyat believe freedmen had a right to own land? What were his arguments?**
- ❑ **How were Wyat's feelings about the government affected by orders to leave what he saw as his land?**

Primary Source

We has a right to the land where we are located. For why? I tell you. Our wives, our children, our husbands, has been sold over and over again to purchase the lands we now locates upon; for that reason we have a divine right to the land.

Den again, the United States, by deir officers, told us if we would leave the Rebs and come to de Yankees and help de Government, we should have de land where dey put us as long as we live; and dey told us dat we should be see'd after and cared for by de Government, and placed in a position to become men among men ...

Dey told us dese lands was 'fiscated from the Rebs, who was fightin' de United States to keep us in slavery and to destroy the Government. De Yankee officers say to us: "Now, dear friends, colored men, come and go with us; we will gain de victory, and by de proclamation of our President you have your freedom, and you shall have the 'fiscated lands."

And now we feels disappointed dat dey has not kept deir promise ... for now we has orders to leave dese lands by the Superintender of the Bureau.

We was first ordered to pay rent, and we paid de rent; now we has orders to leave, or have our log cabins torn down over our heads. Dey say "de lands has been 'stored to de old owners, and dey must have it."

—Bayley Wyat, "A Freedman's Speech," Dec. 15, 1866, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, & Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

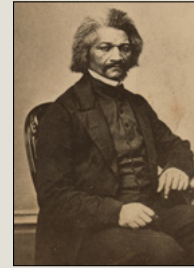
Between January and March 1867—three years before the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment—Congressional legislation granted the vote to black men in Washington, DC, all the western territories, and the former Confederate states. The bills passed over President Johnson’s vetoes.

In this drawing, the cartoonist explores the immediate aftermath of those laws. On the left, President Johnson stands next to an ex-Confederate with his veto power represented as a club. Both men are disgruntled by what they see: a black Union veteran casting his vote. America did not yet have a secret ballot, so the two glass ballot boxes are clearly marked for the opposing candidates. The scene was not real, but this mayoral election was, and black men did vote. When the results were in, Republican Charles D. Welch defeated the incumbent, Henry Addison.

White resistance to black suffrage was swift. In 1867, the two-year-old Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and other vigilante groups began using violence and threats to prevent black men from voting or running for office. In 1870 and 1871, Congress passed enforcement acts to protect black voters. These measures crushed the KKK, but other white groups carried out intimidation campaigns to keep black men from the polls. Four decades later, the KKK revived.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ **What does the illustration communicate about this black voter? About the white men watching him?**
- ❑ **Who is the voter casting his ballot for? How do you know?**
- ❑ **How does the illustration show the sharp disagreements over black suffrage?**



“ I have had but one idea for the last three years to present to the American people, and the phraseology in which I clothe it is the old abolition phraseology. I am for the ‘immediate, unconditional, and universal’ enfranchisement of the black man, in every State in the Union. Without this, his liberty is a mockery. . . . He is at the mercy of the mob, and has no means of protecting himself. ”

—Frederick Douglass, “What the Black Man Wants,” January 26, 1865, Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society



“The Georgetown elections – the Negro at the ballot-box,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 16, 1867. New-York Historical Society Library

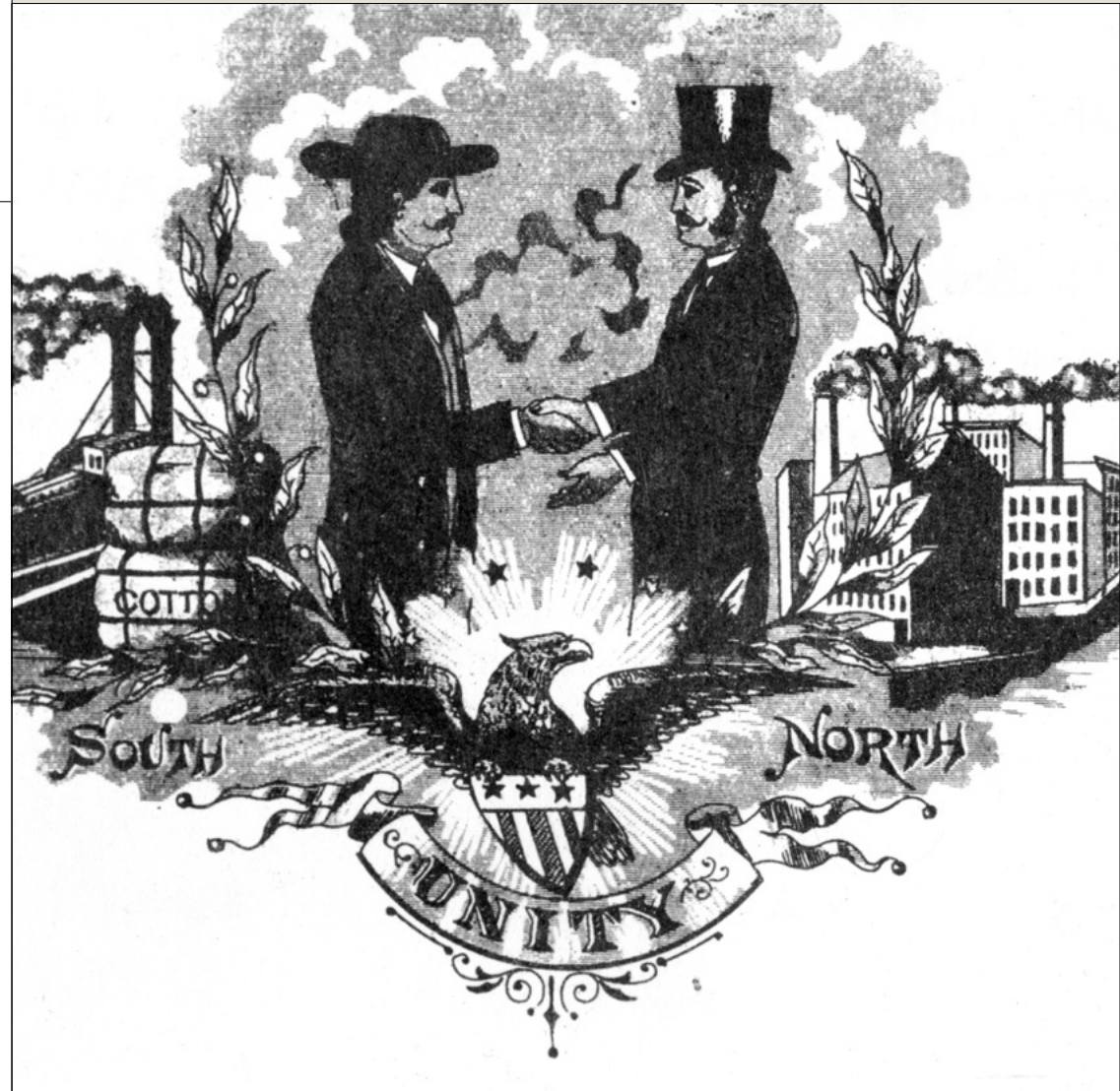
RECONSTRUCTION ABANDONED

The 1876 presidential election was inconclusive. Congress had to settle the matter, and politicians struck a deal. Democrats allowed Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to become president. Republicans agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South. This compromise ended formal Reconstruction in 1877, twelve years after it began.

Without the presence of the US military, and with new limits by the Supreme Court on constitutional protections for blacks, federal power in the South dwindled and Washington became largely unable to defend the rights of African Americans. Former Confederate states began to undo the gains of Reconstruction.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ What does this handshake signify? What do the background details suggest about the two men's reasons for wanting a unified country?
- ▣ Based on this illustration, why did Reconstruction end? Whose perspective is missing from this illustration?



Unity, 1876. American Social History Project

UNIT 2

THE RISE OF JIM CROW 1887-1900

Jim Crow was a widespread system of segregation and racial inequality. Although named for a comic minstrel character, it was deadly serious. Soon after Reconstruction ended, former Confederates began restricting black Southerners' liberties. By the 1880s and 1890s, new laws prevented African Americans from voting and limited their mobility, employment, and schooling. The threat of violence hung over daily life.

The South produced the most extreme form of racial repression, but the spirit of Jim Crow pervaded every region of the country. In the North, before 1900, black people were a small portion of the population, and they were able to exercise political rights denied in the South after Reconstruction. But they still encountered a version of Jim Crow that was based more on social practice than laws. Jim Crow existed in the West, too, where some black Southerners chose to relocate, beginning in the 1870s.

Despite the odds, black Americans continued to push for equal rights and full citizenship, and they built institutions that provided community, opportunity, and strength.

UNIT 2 MATERIALS

Life Story: Laura Towne

Life Story: Ida B. Wells

Resource 10: Forty Years of Jim Crow

Resource 11: Lynching

Resource 12: Servitude

Resource 13: Disenfranchisement

Resource 14: Heading West

Resource 15: Prejudice in Pictures

Resource 16: Jim Crow in the North

Resource 17: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court

Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

NOTE: The **Life Story of Laura Towne** and **Resource 13** both contain racial slurs. The **Life Story of Ida B. Wells** and **Resource 11** focus on lynching and include disturbing text and images. **Resource 15** contains blatantly racist images. Please review these materials and decide if they are right for your students.

LIFE STORY

LAURA TOWNE 1825–1901

Educating the Newly Free

THE PORT ROYAL EXPERIMENT

Laura Towne arrived on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, in 1862, less than a year after the Civil War began. She had spent her life among dedicated Pennsylvania abolitionists, and at 37, she was fully committed to the task ahead.

St. Helena is one of the largest of the Sea Islands that hug the shorelines of South Carolina, Georgia, and northern Florida. Before the Civil War, this area was cotton country, and the population was mostly enslaved. Because of their isolation, black Sea Islanders preserved much of their African heritage and developed a distinctive language and culture known as Gullah. When the war started, the islands were part of the Confederacy. But in November 1861, Union ships and soldiers captured Port Royal Sound and more than a dozen neighboring islands, including St. Helena. When white Southerners fled, Union forces freed 10,000 slaves who had refused to leave with their masters.

Laura was part of a group of Northern missionaries who answered the US government's call for volunteers to start schools and hospitals and to help former slaves buy and run the cotton plantations. The project was known as the Port Royal Experiment—"experiment" because it would test the programs and assistance African Americans would need when all were free. Laura was trained as a homeopathic physician, but on St. Helena she focused on education. She started the Penn School, where she taught along with her friend Ellen Murray and black abolitionist Charlotte Forten. Laura and Ellen were among the island's few whites.

RECONSTRUCTION

Penn's students, including both children and adults, were more than eager. During slavery, education had been denied to them, and now they saw it as their way forward ([Resource 5](#)). By the end of the war, the student body had grown and the school had moved to a new building. Laura added high-school courses and

Laura was part of a group of Northern missionaries who answered the US government's call for volunteers to start schools and hospitals and to help former slaves buy and run the cotton plantations.



Laura Towne teaching students at the Penn School, 1866. Penn School Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Laura Towne 1825–1901

Educating the Newly Free *continued*

In November 1876, Laura railed against the “horrid, nasty tricks” used by Democrats to keep black men from voting in the presidential election.

began providing training for teachers. She worried constantly about money because students paid no tuition. For most of its history, Penn was privately funded by Pennsylvania relief societies and, especially, Laura’s family.

As the nation struggled with Reconstruction, St. Helena struggled with the presidency of Andrew Johnson. A Democrat from the South, he was determined to reestablish the racial hierarchy that had existed before the war. He pardoned former Confederates and halted the federal program to distribute seized Confederate land to freed slaves. Laura wrote that “The people . . . believe Johnson is going to put them in their old masters’ power again.”

But St. Helena’s whites did not reestablish slavery. Nor did they reclaim their lands, as whites did elsewhere in the former Confederacy. On the Sea Islands, the land was in a special legal category because it had been seized by the US government for nonpayment of taxes, not captured by Union

forces. Freed people on St. Helena were able to buy land and hold onto it. In 1878, 75% of the land in Beaufort County, which included St. Helena, was owned by African Americans, an exceptionally high percentage.

Students at the Penn School also benefited from Laura’s educational philosophy. She believed in their abilities, and the curriculum followed the model of Northern schools for white children. “The children have read through a history of the United States and an easy physiology, and they know all the parts of speech.” They were working on “dialogues, exercises in mathematics, in grammar, geography, spelling, reading, etc., etc.” One September, she wrote, “Our children seem wild with joy that school is about to begin again soon.”

THE RISE OF JIM CROW

By the mid-1870s, the Republican party—the party of antislavery and Abraham Lincoln—was losing power in the South. Democrats, whose platform was closely associated with white supremacy, were establishing control. Laura filled her letters and diary with her alarm. In November 1876, she railed against the “horrid, nasty tricks” used by Democrats to keep black men from voting in the presidential election. When both parties claimed to have carried the key states of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, Congress was required to step in, and the opposing political parties struck a calamitous deal. Democrats allowed the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes,

to become president. In return, Republicans recognized Democratic control of these states and promised to withdraw federal troops from the South, which Hayes did within weeks of taking office.

“I try to smother my rage,” Laura wrote. She knew that the Compromise of 1877 meant that the rights of black people would no longer be protected and that Southern whites would return to power unchecked. The congressional deal opened the way for Jim Crow, a system of discrimination, segregation, and violence that spread widely in the South and elsewhere after Reconstruction ended.

The Sea Islands had long enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. Geographic isolation and the large number of black landowners provided some protection from the worst abuses of Jim Crow. Sharecropping did not develop on the Sea Islands, and there were no recorded lynchings on St. Helena. But isolation did not protect the political rights of the islands’ African Americans. Under Jim Crow, whites successfully challenged their freedom to vote and hold office. Laura closely followed the story of politician Robert Smalls, a Gullah-speaking former slave, Union war hero, and the father of one of her students.

In 1874, Robert Smalls, a Republican, was elected to the US House of Representatives from the Beaufort district, which was predominantly black. He was elected again in 1876, though not without threats from the Red Shirts, South Carolina’s

Laura Towne 1825–1901

Educating the Newly Free *continued*

version of the Ku Klux Klan. When the 1878 election approached, Smalls ran for a third term, but Reconstruction was over and conditions had changed. “Political times are simply frightful,” Laura wrote. “Men are shot at, hounded down, trapped, and . . . intimidated in every possible way.”

“Political times are simply frightful. Men are shot at, hounded down, trapped, and . . . intimidated in every possible way.”

Intimidation tactics worked. Robert Smalls lost when most of the Beaufort district voted against him, but he had overwhelming support on St. Helena. According to Laura out of 918 votes on St. Helena, “only nine of them [were] Democratic and only one of the nine a colored man’s vote.” But thanks to the large black population and a redrawn district map, Robert Smalls was returned to the House of Representatives in the next election and the two after that.

Laura lived on St. Helena for the rest of her life, eventually stepping down from leadership of the school. After her death, her diary and letters were published in a book that ends with a letter she wrote on July 10, 1884. She was traveling by train back to South Carolina after a trip up north. “That old plague, the North Penn[sylvania Railroad] conductor, came and talked to me a long time. . . . He said the whole race of niggers ought to be swept away, and I told him my business was with that race and that they would never be swept away, so he was disgusted and went away, leaving me to read in peace.”

The Penn School operated until 1948 and then became the Penn Center, a community facility for the local people. In 2017, shortly before leaving office, President Obama ordered the establishment of the Reconstruction Era National Monument at several locations in Beaufort County. The Penn Center is one of the monument’s sites.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ **What did Laura Towne provide for Penn’s students? Why would they seem “wild with joy” that school was about to begin?**
- ▣ **What changes in the lives of African Americans did Laura witness during her years on St. Helena?**

LIFE STORY

IDA B. WELLS 1862–1931

Leading the Charge Against Lynching

GROWING UP

Ida B. Wells was not yet three when the Civil War ended and slavery was abolished, so she had no personal memory of being enslaved. But she heard her parents' stories and saw the scars on her mother's back from beatings she had suffered. Slavery was a stark reality for Ida, but her own childhood was spent in, and shaped by, Reconstruction. From 1865 to 1877, the federal government established the ground rules for Southern states' readmission to the Union, and federal troops kept order in the South. Black Americans gained freedom, citizenship, and the right to vote during these years. They also contended with fear, poverty, and the sometimes violent hostility of many whites.

Ida grew up in Holly Springs, Mississippi, the oldest of eight children. Her parents, James and Elizabeth Wells, learned to read after slavery and made sure their children were educated. James had been trained as a carpenter and was able to support his family without becoming a sharecropper, the fate that kept so many blacks in conditions similar to slavery. He was self-sufficient, determined, and proud. When his former owner's wife asked him to visit, he refused. In 1867, when black men in Mississippi could vote for the first time, his white employer, a builder named Bolling, told him to vote for the Democrats, but again he refused. Ida later wrote, "When he returned from voting he found the shop locked. Jim Wells said nothing to anyone, but went downtown, bought a new set of tools, and went across the street and rented another house. When Mr. Bolling returned he found he had lost a workman and a tenant, for already Wells had moved his family off the Bolling place."

When Ida was 16, her family faced a terrible tragedy when her parents and baby brother died of yellow fever. Another brother had died earlier. So the six remaining Wells children were orphaned, and Ida "suddenly found myself head of a family." She went to work as a schoolteacher, traveling on the back of her slow-moving mule, Ginger. She also continued her own studies, taught Sunday

Ida went to work as a schoolteacher, traveling on the back of her slow-moving mule, Ginger. She also continued her own studies, taught Sunday school, and did the family's cooking, washing, and ironing.



Cihak and Zima, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, ca. 1893-1894. University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center

IDA B. WELLS 1862–1931

Leading the Charge Against Lynching *continued*

school, and did the family's cooking, washing, and ironing. Three years later, in 1881, Ida and her two youngest sisters moved fifty miles away to Memphis, Tennessee, to live with their aunt. Their other sister had moved in with another aunt and their two brothers were working as carpenters, so everyone was cared for. Ida took a teaching job in Memphis and continued to send money to her brothers and visit them regularly.

MEETING JIM CROW

The South was changing. Reconstruction was over. A harsh new system was gradually constricting black people's rights and freedoms and subjecting them to inferior, segregated conditions, often through intimidation and violence. The system was known as Jim Crow, a name taken from a minstrel character who reflected whites' stereotyped negative views of blacks. Jim Crow was eventually written into law, but much of it was based on social customs and the whims of individuals, as Ida learned.

When she was 22, Ida bought a first-class ticket on a train from Memphis to Holly Springs and took a seat in the ladies' car. There were other cars as well, some meant for "colored," others for second-class passengers, but they were noisy and smoke-filled. For two years, she had traveled to and from Holly Springs in the quiet comfort of the ladies' car, but this time the conductor told her to move. Ida resisted, and when he tried to drag her from her seat, she bit his hand. Eventually two

men helped him forcibly remove her from the car, as white passengers applauded.

Ida had a hot temper, and it landed her in trouble more than once. She called it her sin, but it was also her fuel. After she was removed from the train, she sued the railroad for damages and won, though her triumph was short-lived. The railroad filed an appeal in court and spread false stories about Ida's character. The company hoped to prove she was not a refined "lady" but an overly aggressive black woman. When the railroad won on appeal and her earlier victory was overturned, Ida was crushed. She had hoped to establish a significant precedent, as Rosa Parks eventually did, decades later.

Ida was the first female co-owner and editor of a black newspaper in the US.

In 1886, when she was 24, Ida lost her teaching job after she criticized conditions in the Memphis schools. She had written a few articles for newspapers and decided to turn to journalism full time. Three years later, she bought a share in the *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight* and was appointed its editor. She was the first female co-owner and editor of a black newspaper in the US. She began writing articles and editorials under the name "Iola."

CRUSADER AGAINST LYNCHING

The major turning point in Ida's life came in 1892. Her friend Thomas Moss, a Memphis letter carrier and grocer, was lynched by a mob after confrontations with rival white grocers. Shocked, Ida bought a pistol and wrote an editorial urging African Americans to move out of Memphis for their safety. Then she began to focus on the rise in lynchings in America, and everything in her past kicked in: the resourcefulness she had learned from her parents, the memory of her mother's scarred back, her time spent learning and teaching, her skill as a writer, her self-reliance, and her famous temper.

Targets of lynching could be young or old, male or female, and, in the first years after Reconstruction, either black or white. But by the 1890s, lynching was a terrorist campaign to solidify white control. Victims were often black men accused of raping white women.

Ida doubted these accusations, noting that often the charge was made *after* a man had been hanged or burned or shot or beaten. She thought it more likely that victims had been in a consensual relationship with a white woman or were, like her friend Thomas Moss, businessmen who threatened rival whites and had no connection to white women at all.

Ida wrote a series of antilynching editorials. The last one suggested that white women could find black men romantically appealing, and she headed north for three weeks as it hit the newsstands.

IDA B. WELLS 1862–1931
Leading the Charge Against Lynching *continued*

Ida's goal was "to arouse the conscience of America," and she became America's best-known crusader against lynching.

Editors of white newspapers in the South were scandalized by what they considered gross slander. They reprinted the editorial and called for white men to avenge their women. While she was in New York, Ida learned of threats against her and against her friends and family. The offices of her newspaper were burned. It was clear she could not return to Memphis. From then on she lived in the North, mostly in Chicago, and changed her pen name to "Exiled."

Ida documented 728 lynching cases that had occurred between 1884 and 1892, using research by the *Chicago Tribune*. Within months of her friend's murder, she wrote a collection of articles under the title *Southern Horrors*. She focused less on grisly details and more on the false accusations made against the victims. Her goal was "to arouse the conscience of America," and she became America's best-known crusader against lynching. She continued her work for decades and traveled

abroad to publicize the Southern horrors and raise money. In 1922, she supported an antilynching bill then before Congress. Because of Democratic opposition, the bill failed, as did all federal efforts to end lynching, white supremacy's weapon of terror.

In 2018, the National Memorial for Peace and Justice opened in Montgomery, Alabama, to commemorate more than 4,400 African American men, women, and children lynched between 1877 and 1950.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- **How did Ida's personality and childhood prepare her for life as a crusader?**
- **What strategies did Ida use to fight against lynching? What did she think would happen when America's conscience was aroused?**

FORTY YEARS OF JIM CROW

Background Information

Black Americans faced new hazards as Reconstruction ended and white opponents forced their way into power. A forbidding new set of rules and prohibitions, called Jim Crow, gradually made it all but impossible for African Americans to exercise their new rights.

Tennessee's 1881 law is considered by many historians to be the first Jim Crow law. But it was actually intended to protect black rights. According to the 1875 federal Civil Rights Act, blacks were entitled to "full and equal enjoyment" of public transportation, theaters, etc. But the law was largely ignored, and facilities for black people deteriorated. In 1881, four black Tennessee legislators and their Republican allies tried to ban unequal treatment on trains. After that bill failed, they succeeded in passing Chapter 155, which they hoped would protect black Americans who bought first-class tickets. The facilities were segregated, but spaces for black riders were to be kept in good condition. This law, too, was ignored.

Over the next decades, Jim Crow laws multiplied, spread to other states, and tightened. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that public facilities could be segregated on a "separate but equal" basis. These new laws and court decisions set limits on nearly every facet of black life, especially but not only in the South. The treatment black railroad passengers received was only one of many insults and threats. But as W.E.B. Du Bois made clear in his writing some forty years later, it represented much more than a seat on a train.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ Why would Tennessee's Chapter 155 be considered a Jim Crow law?
- ❑ What do you think was the point of the segregated waiting room? Why would whites behave as Du Bois describes?

Primary Sources

JIM CROW 1881

An Act to prevent discrimination by railroad companies among passengers who are charged and paying first class passage.

Whereas, it is the practice of railroad companies . . . to charge and collect from colored passengers . . . first class passage fare, and compel said passengers to occupy second class cars . . . ; therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted . . . that all railroad companies located and operated in this State shall furnish separate cars, or portions of cars cut off by partition walls, in which all colored passengers who pay first class passenger rates of fare, may have the privilege to enter and occupy, and such apartments shall be kept in good repair.

—Chapter 155. Acts of the State of Tennessee, 1881

JIM CROW 1920

Did you ever see a "Jim Crow" waiting room? There are always exceptions . . . but usually there is no heat in winter and no air in summer; with undisturbed loafers and train hands and broken, disreputable settees; to buy a ticket is torture; you stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the "other window" is waited on. Then the tired agent yells across, because all the tickets and money are over there—

"What d'ye want? What? Where?"

The agent browbeats and contradicts you, hurries and confuses the ignorant, gives many persons the wrong change, compels some to purchase their tickets on the train at a higher price, and sends you and me out on the platform, burning with indignation and hatred!

—W.E.B. Du Bois, 1920

LYNCHING

Lynchings were vigilante killings, by hanging or other means. Although many earlier victims had been white, lynching was increasingly used to terrorize blacks and put the law in the hands of mobs. Some victims were lynched for perceived transgressions, others for demanding basic rights. Some victims were not accused of anything at all.

Some lynchings were announced in advance, and large crowds gathered to watch. Many were photographed, and the photos were often made into postcards that served as souvenirs and as gruesome public warnings. One postcard, sent to a New Yorker, included this message: “This is the way we do them down here. The last lynching has not been put on card yet. Will put you on our mailing list. Expect one a month on the average.”

In her forty-year crusade against lynching, Ida B. Wells (**Life Story**) used statistics to drive home her message. In the charts shown here, she focused on 1892, when the percentage of blacks among victims began to soar. After 1900, nearly everyone who was lynched was black.

Primary Sources

In 1892, when lynching reached high-water mark, there were 241 persons lynched. The entire number is divided among the following States:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|--------------------------|----|
| Alabama | 22 | Montana | 4 |
| Arkansas | 25 | New York | 1 |
| California | 3 | North Carolina | 5 |
| Florida | 11 | North Dakota | 1 |
| Georgia | 17 | Ohio | 3 |
| Idaho | 8 | South Carolina | 5 |
| Illinois | 1 | Tennessee | 28 |
| Kansas | 3 | Texas | 15 |
| Kentucky | 9 | Virginia | 7 |
| Louisiana | 29 | West Virginia | 5 |
| Maryland | 1 | Wyoming | 9 |
| Mississippi | 16 | Arizona Ter. | 3 |
| Missouri | 6 | Oklahoma | 2 |

Of this number, 160 were of negro descent. Four of them were lynched in New York, Ohio, and Kansas; the remainder were murdered in the South. Five of this number were females. The charges for which they were lynched cover a wide range.

They are as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|---|----|
| Rape | 46 | Attempted rape | 11 |
| Murder | 58 | Suspected robbery | 4 |
| Rioting | 3 | Larceny | 1 |
| Race Prejudice | 6 | Self-defense | 1 |
| No cause given | 4 | Insulting women | 2 |
| Incendiarism | 6 | Desperadoes | 6 |
| Robbery | 6 | Fraud | 1 |
| Assault and battery | 1 | Attempted murder | 2 |
| | | No offense stated, boy and girl | 2 |

In the case of the boy and girl above referred to, their father, named Hastings, was accused of the murder of a white man. His fourteen-year-old daughter and sixteen-year-old son were hanged and their bodies filled with bullets; then the father was also lynched. This occurred in November, 1892, at Jonesville, La.

Ida B. Wells, “Lynch Law in America,” January 1900, Chicago, (http://www.sojust.net/speeches/ida_wells_lynch_law.html, accessed 5-21-18 by M. Waters).

Lynching photos were often made into postcards that served as souvenirs and gruesome public warnings.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ What does the list of charges indicate about how mobs justified lynching?
- ❑ What should have happened to end lynching? Why didn't it?



Top: Lynching of the Negro murderer of a child. Accosted before mob, on wooden platform, 1893. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Bottom: Jack Morton, Photographic postcard depicting the lynching of four African Americans, 1908. The Gilder Lehrman Institute for American History



SERVITUDE

Henry Blake was an Arkansas sharecropper. Without land of his own, he worked the cotton fields of a white farmer. Like most sharecroppers, he was paid in credit, which was then used to pay for food and supplies.

Sharecropping provided white employers with cheap labor. So did prisons. Laws in Southern states were written and enforced to maintain a steady supply of convicts, most of them African American. In some states, for example, the sentence for a white person who stole a cow was two years; for a black person, five. States rented out prisoners as workers and kept the fees paid for their labor.

Sharecropping and the penal system both worsened under Jim Crow, maintaining white power and keeping black people's lives and livelihoods always at risk.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ Why did Blake connect sharecropping to slavery? How was it similar?
- ❑ Describe the prisoners in this photo. Which one looks youngest to you?
- ❑ How did the Thirteenth Amendment (**Resource 3**) make prison labor legal?

SHARECROPPERS

“ After freedom, we worked on shares a while. . . [W]e couldn't make nothing—Just overalls and something to eat. Half went to the other man and you would destroy your half if you weren't careful. A man that didn't know how to count would always lose. He might lose anyhow. They didn't give no itemized statement. No, you just had to take their word. They never give you no details. They just say you owe so much. No matter how good account you kept, you had to go by their account . . . They'd keep you in debt. . . Anything that kept you a slave because he was always right and you were always wrong if there was difference. If there was an argument, he would get mad and there would be a shooting take place.”

Henry Blake, Little Rock, Arkansas, *Federal Writer's Project: Slave Narrative Project*, Vol.2, Arkansas, Part 1, Abbot-Byrd, 1938. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division

PRISONERS



Juvenile convicts at work in the fields, ca. 1903. Detroit Publishing Co., Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

DISENFRANCHISEMENT

Background Information

M

any strategies were used to keep African Americans from voting. States made registering difficult. Violence, or the threat of it, kept black voters away from the polls. Dishonest vote counts guaranteed that whites remained in power.

Poll taxes were established in many states. The small fee charged for voting put it out of reach for many poor men, black and white. By 1908, every state in the former Confederacy had instituted a poll tax. Many states, in the South and elsewhere, also established literacy tests that might, for example, require voters to read and show they understood a passage of the state or US constitution. Election officials used their own discretion to fail African Americans and pass whites, regardless of ability. Some requirements were waived if an individual's grandfather could vote. The so-called "grandfather clause" thus banned blacks, who had only been able to vote for a generation.

At the time, these strategies were not judged by the Supreme Court to be in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment, even though they effectively eliminated black suffrage. During Reconstruction, 90% of Mississippi's black men were registered voters. By 1892, the figure had plummeted to 6%, where it remained until the 1965 Voting Rights Act was written to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ How did the 1890 Mississippi Constitution undercut the Fifteenth Amendment?
- ❑ Why would James K. Vardaman go on record with this statement?

Primary Sources

POLL TAX AND LITERACY TEST

Sec. 243. A uniform poll tax of two dollars, to be used in aid of the common schools, and for no other purpose, is hereby imposed on every male inhabitant of this State between the ages of twenty-one and sixty years, except persons who are deaf and dumb or blind, or who are maimed by loss of hand or foot; said tax to be a lien only upon taxable property. The board of supervisors of any county may, for the purpose of aiding the common schools in that county, increase the poll tax in said county, but in no case shall the entire poll tax exceed in any one year three dollars on each poll. No criminal proceedings shall be allowed to enforce the collection of the poll tax.

Sec. 244. On and after the first day of January, A. D., 1892, every elector shall, in addition to the foregoing qualifications, be able to read any section of the constitution of this State; or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof.

—1890 Constitution of Mississippi, Article 12. (<http://mshistorynow.mdah.state.ms.us/articles/103/index.php?s=extra&id=270>, accessed 5-23-18 by M. Waters)

There is no use to equivocate or lie about the matter. Mississippi's constitutional convention of 1890 was held for no other purpose than to eliminate the nigger from politics. . . . Let the world know it just as it is.

—James K. Vardaman, August 17, 1900, Governor of Mississippi, 1904–1908

HEADING WEST

In the 1870s, “the West” defined half the country. For black Americans, the vast region offered both greater opportunity and familiar abuse. The 1862 Homestead Act enabled many citizens, now including African Americans, to own land. And a population that included Chinese, Hispanics, and Native Americans made it easier for blacks to fit in. But Jim Crow was also present in the West. A product of both law and custom, it was more severe in some areas than others, so people planning to migrate chose their destinations carefully.

Most black settlers came from the South, where Jim Crow was growing more aggressive and frightening. Some headed to California, but many settled in the Great Plains. Kansas held special appeal because it had a strong antislavery history. Thousands of African Americans moved from Southern states to Kansas. They were known as “Exodusters,” a name inspired by the biblical book of Exodus, in which Moses led the Israelites from slavery to the promised land. In 1877, Kentucky Exodusters founded the all-black town of Nicodemus. It was the largest and best-known of dozens of such towns in the West.

This broadside was produced by Benjamin “Pap” Singleton. During slavery, he had escaped and helped other fugitives head north. In the 1870s, he encouraged black Southerners to move to Kansas and take advantage of the Homestead Act to become landowners. He advertised for migrants, who traveled in groups of 100 to 300 people. Railroad companies offered tickets at reasonable prices to stimulate business—ten dollars per person to go from Nashville to Topeka in 1879. Up to 1,000 African Americans lived in Singleton Colony in Dunlap, Kansas, during the late nineteenth century.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ What was the purpose of this broadside? How did it promote moving from the South to the West?
- ❑ What do you think black people expected when they moved West?

Ho for Kansas!

Brethren, Friends, & Fellow Citizens:

I feel thankful to inform you that the

REAL ESTATE

AND

Homestead Association,

Will Leave Here the

15th of April, 1878,

In pursuit of Homes in the Southwestern

Lands of America, at Transportation

Rates, cheaper than ever

was known before.

For full information inquire of

Benj. Singleton, better known as old Pap,

NO. 5 NORTH FRONT STREET.

Beware of Speculators and Adventurers, as it is a dangerous thing to fall in their hands.

Nashville, Tenn., March 18, 1878.

Ho for Kansas!, March 18, 1878. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

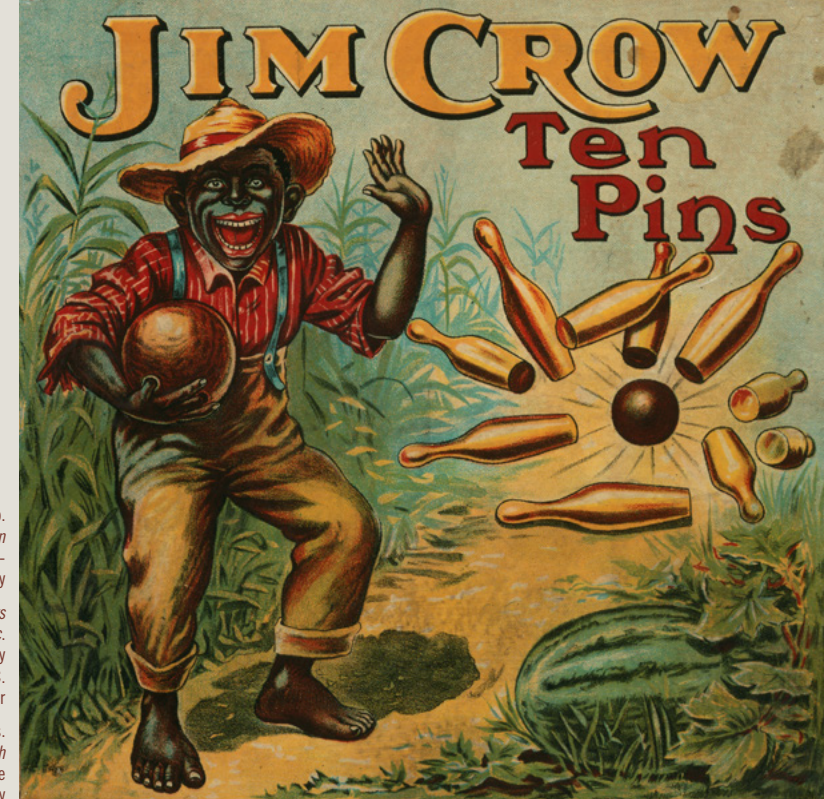
PREJUDICE IN PICTURES

Racist imagery proliferated in popular culture after the Civil War, and much of it was created and distributed by Northern businesses, especially those in New York City. African Americans were shown as laughable and inept, often less than human. These caricatures were so popular and so widespread in commercial advertising, manufactured goods, art, and music that they became part of everyday American life. They hung framed in family parlors, rested on kitchen tables, and decorated children’s toys.

The constant flow of visual messages made black Americans appear incapable of accomplishing the simplest tasks, and undeserving of the rights of citizenship.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ Seeing these images, how would white consumers think about African Americans?
- ❑ Why would advertisers use images like these to sell products like games, tobacco, and sheet music? What do they indicate about racial prejudice against African Americans?
- ❑ How would these stereotypes affect African Americans' ability to defend their rights?



Right: J. Ottmann Lith. Co. (New York), *Jim Crow Ten Pins*. Collection of the New-York Historical Society

Below Left: “Happy Hours in Coontown” sheet music. New-York Historical Society Library, Gift of Bella C. Landauer

Below Right: Marburg Bros. Manufacturers, *Seal of North Carolina*. Collection of the New-York Historical Society



JIM CROW IN THE NORTH

Background Information

In the North before 1900, black people made up only a small portion of a mostly white world. In Manhattan and Brooklyn, for example, the 1890 black population was less than 2% of the total. African Americans were able to exercise political rights denied in the South. They voted in elections, ran for office, and used the court system to challenge discrimination. But they still encountered Jim Crow. Their political rights were disputed or scorned. They were limited to low-paying jobs. They were prohibited from living in many neighborhoods. Their children were often barred from attending white schools. Though they did not face the terrorism of the South, African Americans in the North endured threats, insults, and demeaning treatment.

In 1890, black journalist T. Thomas Fortune ordered a cold beer in Trainor's Hotel in New York City. He was refused, and he in turn refused to leave until he was served. Police came and arrested him. African Americans in the North had many experiences like Fortune's, never knowing how they would be treated. Most did not have the means to fight back, but Fortune was a nationally known civil rights leader and one of America's most successful black journalists. He sued the hotel. And in a twist that showed the complexity of race relations in the North, the all-white jury decided in his favor.

Even after New York State outlawed Jim Crow practices in 1895, lax enforcement meant that private institutions—hotels, shops, theaters—usually set their own rules. They decided whether to open the door or slam it shut. Well into the twentieth century, many restaurants in New York City refused to serve African Americans.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ What steps did Fortune take to challenge Jim Crow?
- ❑ How might his victory have affected actions by white businesses, police, and black patrons in the future?

Primary Source

FORTUNE WINS HIS SUIT THE COURT OF APPEALS AWARDS HIM DAMAGES FOR HIS TREATMENT BY TRAINOR'S MANAGER

Albany, March 20. The Court of Appeals to-day affirmed with costs the judgment of the lower court in favor of Thomas Fortune against James Trainor, appellant.

The case is one of considerable moment, involving the rights of colored citizens. The appeal was from a decision made by the General Term, First Department, affirming a judgment at Circuit in favor of plaintiff for \$1,016.23. The action was brought to recover damages for assault and battery and for false imprisonment. The plaintiff, Fortune, in June, 1890, entered defendant's hotel at Sixth-ave. and Thirty-third St., New-York City, and called for a glass of beer. The bartender refused to serve him, and said: "We don't serve colored people here." Plaintiff sought an explanation from the manager, and was ordered off the premises; and on his not complying, the latter called a police officer. The officer refused to arrest plaintiff, on the ground that there was no disorder, but advised defendant to put him out on the street, when he would arrest him for disorderly conduct. This was done, and the plaintiff, after being locked up for three hours, was released on bail, and on trial was discharged. He brought suit for damages.

New-York Daily Tribune, March 21, 1894

JIM CROW AND THE SUPREME COURT

Background Information

After the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, the Supreme Court issued several major rulings that eroded the civil rights of all Americans but especially affected blacks.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ In the three decades between 1873 and 1903, how did Supreme Court decisions limit black Americans' ability to fight discrimination?
- ❑ How and when did the Supreme Court curtail black voting rights?

SUPREME COURT CASES

1873

Slaughterhouse Cases

The Supreme Court abandons Reconstruction



The justices limit the Fourteenth Amendment's reach.

African Americans can no longer turn to the federal government for protection when Southern states limit their civil liberties.

1875

United States v. Cruikshank

Withdrawing federal protection



The Supreme Court rules that the federal government may not act to protect African Americans from violence. This is the states' responsibility.

Violence spreads, especially around election time. African Americans are threatened, assaulted, and murdered with impunity.

1883

United States v. Harris

Overturning the Ku Klux Klan Act



The 1871 law that shut down the Ku Klux Klan is ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The justices declare that "equal protection under the law" applies only when a state targets individuals. The federal government cannot intervene when white mobs murder their fellow citizens.

1873: "The Funny Page," *The Crisis*, 1918 Vol. 15, No. 5. Courtesy Brown University Library; **1875:** "Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket," *Harper's Weekly*, October 21, 1876. New-York Historical Society Library; **1883: US v. Harris Case:** Thomas Nast, "The Target," *Harper's Weekly*, 1875. New-York Historical Society Library; **1883: Civil Rights Cases:** Sign, "For White Passengers," Division of Political History, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution Sign, "For Colored Passengers," Division of Political History, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution; **1896:** "The Fuller Court, Supreme Court." Illustration by Barnett Clinedinst, ca. 1888-1910. Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States; **1898:** Sen Jillman: P. Thomas Stanford, "The Negro Disenfranchised," 1897. Courtesy of the New York Public Library; **1903:** "The Negro and His Many Burdens," The Tragedy of the Negro in America, 1898. New-York Historical Society Library

1883

Civil Rights Cases

Authorizing discrimination



The Supreme Court overturns the 1875 law that required equal treatment in public places. Businesses can now discriminate based on race.

The Fourteenth Amendment applies only when a state discriminates. Hotels and theaters refuse service to blacks. Railroads separate passengers. Jim Crow spreads.

1896

Plessy v. Ferguson

Separate but equal



The Supreme Court rules that racial segregation does not constitute discrimination or violate the Fourteenth Amendment. Thus, states may legally segregate public facilities on a separate but equal basis.

1898

Williams v. Mississippi

Voting rights denied

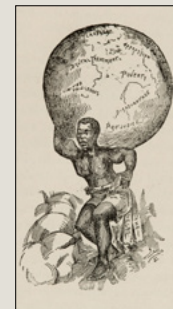


Mississippi designs its poll taxes and literacy tests to prevent African Americans from voting. The Supreme Court rules that these measures do not violate constitutional protections. Other Southern states follow Mississippi's example.

1903

Giles v. Harris

Voting rights further denied



In Alabama, 5,000 African Americans sue for the right to vote. The Supreme Court rules that it is powerless to intervene even if a state violates the Fifteenth Amendment. This permits states to disenfranchise black voters.

UNIT 3

CHALLENGING JIM CROW 1900-1919

Jim Crow was operating freely in America by the turn of the twentieth century. Southern whites wrapped long-standing racial attitudes in a new mythology known as the Lost Cause. Government abandoned the goal of black equality. In white America, the belief in white supremacy and black inferiority deepened.

Increasingly at risk, African Americans looked for ways to survive and advance in a hostile environment. They acted collectively and individually, in art and politics and everyday life. They shouldered the responsibilities of citizenship, even fighting in America's wars, while the essential rights of citizens were denied them. And tens of thousands of African Americans decided to leave the South behind for the North and West.

These determined efforts produced new leaders and organizations that demanded racial justice. Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League mounted national campaigns for equality and against discrimination and violence. One massive effort protested the blockbuster film *The Birth of a Nation*, which praised the Ku Klux Klan and denigrated African Americans.

UNIT 3 MATERIALS

Life Story: Janet Randolph

Life Story: Maggie Walker

Resource 18: The Lost Cause in Granite and Bronze

Resource 19: White Supremacy on the Silver Screen

Resource 20: Confronting Stereotypes

Resource 21: The NAACP

Resource 22: Women Helping Women

Resource 23: Heading North

Resource 24: Black Fighters in the Great War

Epilogue: 1920s–1960s

Appendix: Citizenship Timeline

NOTE: One of the images in [Resource 23](#) depicts lynching.

JANET RANDOLPH 1848–1927

Memorializing the Lost Cause

SOUTHERN WHITE GIRL

Janet Weaver grew up near Warrenton, Virginia, on the plantation of her grandfather, Inman Horner. In 1860, the family owned some 50 enslaved people, and Janet was taught by a governess. But when the Civil War began, her world changed completely. She was about two weeks shy of her 13th birthday when South Carolina fired on Fort Sumter and the Civil War began. Over the next four years, she saw the conflict come painfully close. Her beloved father joined the Confederate Army and died of typhoid fever. Her mother traveled to Pennsylvania to ask relatives for financial help but was arrested for spying and later jailed for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Warrenton changed hands many times, and Janet grew accustomed to the sound of enemy soldiers on horseback, their sabers clattering just below the window of her room. Even worse, Union soldiers pulled up the simple wooden crosses that marked new Confederate graves—crosses Janet had helped to make—and used them for firewood.

When the Confederacy was defeated in 1865, 17-year-old Janet wrote to a friend, “Oh! The thought is sickening . . . that we should have to submit to the hated yankees, the very thought makes my blood run cold.”

THE LOST CAUSE AND THE UNITED DAUGHTERS

In 1880, Janet married Norman V. Randolph, a Confederate veteran and widower with two young children. They moved to Richmond, Virginia, where both took part in a wave of activities that glorified the Confederacy and helped to reinterpret the history of the Civil War in the South’s favor. The new version, known as the Lost Cause, was a false view of the past. But it gave white Southerners a narrative in which they had suffered terrible oppression during Reconstruction, were blameless for the war, and were justified in their post-Reconstruction actions, which included denying black people their constitutional rights.

The mythology of the Lost Cause was accepted in the South and even in the North. But it was taken especially to heart in Richmond, which had been the capital of the Confederacy. In 1890, a soaring monument was erected to Robert E. Lee, who

“Oh! The thought is sickening . . . that we should have to submit to the hated yankees, the very thought makes my blood run cold.”



“Mrs. Norman V. Randolph,” *A Souvenir Book of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association and the Unveiling of the Monument*, Richmond, Va., June 3rd, 1907. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1907. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

JANET RANDOLPH 1848–1927

Memorializing the Lost Cause *continued*

commanded Confederate forces throughout the war, and who was seen as godlike in the South. By then, plans were already underway for another Richmond monument, this one to honor Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy. Norman Randolph was named to the all-male association charged with making the monument a reality, and Janet was one of many Southern women who added their enthusiastic support.

Norman Randolph's committee chose a site for the Davis memorial on the boulevard that became known as Monument Avenue, a few blocks beyond the Lee monument.

The cornerstone was laid in 1896, and a designer was selected. But after three years the committee had still not raised enough money to begin the work. In 1899, at Norman Randolph's suggestion, the committee asked the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) to take over the fund-raising effort. The UDC had formed in 1894 as an association of female descendants of Confederate veterans. Janet started the Richmond chapter two years later. When the UDC began raising funds for the Davis monument, she led the campaign.

The UDC was another representative of the Lost Cause. A national organization, it drew inspiration from Winnie Davis, daughter of Jefferson Davis and therefore the original "daughter of the Confederacy." It was a mark of Southern pride to belong to the UDC and especially to serve as its Richmond chapter president, as Janet did until her death. Women held a special, idealized place in Southern thinking. When the Davis monument was designed, it included a statue of President Jefferson Davis surrounded by a partial circle of

The inscription at the base of the statue acclaimed Jefferson Davis as the "Exponent of Constitutional Principles – Defender of the Rights of States." It made no mention of slavery.

marble columns. But rising high above him, atop a pedestal, was a statue of Miss Confederacy, called the Vindicatrix, said to represent the spirit of the South ([Resource 18](#)).

Janet took a leave from her work in late 1902, probably to care for her ill husband, who died the following March. From then on, she dressed in black, head to toe, as did many UDC widows. The lifelong mourning clothes worn by middle-aged and older women were a visual reminder of what they, and the South, had suffered. Collective, enduring grief underlay much of the Lost Cause.

Returning to work, Janet continued to seek donations from Southerners, especially the United Confederate Veterans. She told them firmly that contributing was their duty. It was hard to turn down an imposing widow seeking to honor the only man ever to serve as president of the Confederacy. Personal donations poured in, and the work went forward.

DAYS OF CELEBRATION

The unveiling and dedication of the Jefferson Davis monument was an elaborate five-day event, during which the United Confederate Veterans held their annual meeting. The city filled with gray-haired men wearing their faded military uniforms. On the first day, May 30, 1907, ceremonies began with the unveiling of a monument to J.E.B. Stuart, one of the South's most revered fallen heroes. The next days were filled with parades, music, fireworks, entertainment, and prayer.

On the final day, June 3, the Grand Parade began just before noon. The governor of Virginia and Richmond's mayor both spoke to a crowd of about 100,000 people. At two o'clock, the fabric that had kept the statue of Jefferson Davis hidden from public view was removed by members of Davis's family. The inscription at the base of the statue acclaimed Jefferson Davis as the "Exponent of Constitutional Principles — Defender of the Rights of States." It made no mention of slavery.

Janet proved her dedication to the Confederacy and its heroes year after year. But she opposed UDC plans to build mammy memorials in every state in the union. She favored other relief efforts. "No monument to them, if you please," Janet wrote in a public 1910 letter, "until we have attended to [the] earthly wants" of poor black children and "the old Negro." Janet worked with Maggie Walker, one of the leaders of Richmond's black community, to provide services for the city's African Americans. But she never spoke out against the denial of basic constitutional rights to blacks during the long era of Jim Crow.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ How did Janet's childhood experiences before and during the Civil War carry through into her adult life?
- ▣ What was the link between the Lost Cause and Southern beliefs about women? How did those beliefs contribute to Janet's power?

MAGGIE WALKER 1864–1934

Creating Community in the Face of Jim Crow

SOUTHERN BLACK GIRL

Maggie Lena Draper was born in Richmond, Virginia, one year before the end of the Civil War. Her mother, Elizabeth Draper, was a former slave who married William Mitchell when Maggie was a baby. William was a butler for a white family and later the headwaiter at one of Richmond's best hotels. The family enjoyed modest financial security until William Mitchell died. Suddenly facing dire poverty, Elizabeth started a laundry business with the help of Maggie, then 11 years old. Maggie went on to become both prominent and well-off, but she later remarked, "I was not born with a silver spoon in my mouth, but with a laundry basket on my head."

Maggie and her younger brother attended one of the city's public primary schools for black students. At 18, she graduated from the Richmond Colored Normal School, a high school that also trained teachers, and promptly joined other students to protest the city's policy of holding separate graduation ceremonies for white and black students. "Our parents pay taxes just the same as you white folks," they argued. Within a few months, she was a teacher at one of the African American schools in the city.

BUILDING COMMUNITY DURING JIM CROW

Maggie taught until 1886, when she married Armstead Walker Jr. The Richmond school district did not permit married women to teach, so she had to give up her coveted job. By then, Reconstruction had been over for nearly a decade. Without Reconstruction governments in place to protect the rights of Southern blacks, a new system of segregation and discrimination was reestablishing firm white control. Known as Jim Crow, it was imposed by laws, customs, and threats that narrowed nearly every aspect of black Americans' lives.

In the face of Jim Crow, black Americans had to figure out how to stay safe, support themselves, educate their children, and fight for their rights. Strategies

Studio Portrait of Maggie L. Walker, early 20th century. Courtesy of National Park Service, Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site

“I was not born with a silver spoon in my mouth, but with a laundry basket on my head.”



MAGGIE WALKER 1864–1934

Creating Community in the Face of Jim Crow *continued*

varied. Some people brought legal suits in court. Some wrote books and editorials. Some left the South in search of better lives in the North or West. But most, including Maggie, remained in place and sought the power of community and self-reliance. Maggie's communities were the historic Richmond First African Baptist Church and the Independent Order of Saint Luke (IOSL), an organization she discovered as a teenager, became seriously committed to after she left her teaching job, and then led for many years.

Founded in 1867, the IOSL was a national association of African Americans. There were many fraternal organizations like this in American cities and towns. Most were dedicated to doing good works for their members or to broader charitable activities. Nearly all had elaborate titles for their leaders (Maggie's was Right Worthy Grand Secretary) and secret rituals that bound members together. Membership in these groups was generally limited by gender, race, ethnic group, or community roles.

There is always strength and safety in numbers, but for African Americans in Richmond, the group cohesion offered by IOSL was especially important because of what was happening around them. Richmond's white leaders were building memorials to Confederate heroes along Monument Avenue in testimony to their belief in the mythology of the Lost Cause ([Resource 18](#)). The monuments kept the champions and values of the old South in the foreground of the city's life. They also reinforced racial bias and justified Jim Crow. For Richmond's

African Americans—nearly 40% of the city's population, many of whom lived within an easy walk of the monuments—the Lost Cause meant increasingly difficult lives and a discriminatory, abusive environment.

BLACK, FEMALE, ENTREPRENEUR, LEADER

The IOSL offered a way for black Americans to find strength by banding together. Maggie spoke frequently to black audiences around the country, using inspiring biblical references to describe clearly what progress could look like. In 1901 she announced a plan to start projects that would expand the IOSL's reach and provide important services to black Americans. She started a newspaper, the *St. Luke Herald*, to spread the word about IOSL and speak out against racial injustice.

In 1903, Maggie chartered the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, becoming the first African American woman to start a bank in the United States and the first to serve as a bank president. Because the bank was staffed by African Americans, customers could manage their money without the unending mistreatment they encountered in white-run banks. In 1905, she opened a department store called the St. Luke Emporium. At a time when black women often had to cover their hair with wax paper when they tried on hats in white-owned stores, the Emporium was a welcome relief. Like the bank, it gave people a way to do everyday activities without facing white prejudice. All of these institutions

In 1903, Maggie chartered the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, becoming the first African American woman to start a bank in the United States and the first to serve as a bank president.

employed and served local black residents in Jackson Ward, the center of Richmond's black business and social life. Maggie also bought the area's most elegant home, today a National Park Service site.

Maggie did not speak out against Monument Avenue, but she made her feelings about Jim Crow more than clear. In 1907, a few months before statues to Confederates J.E.B. Stuart and Jefferson Davis were unveiled, she delivered a speech in Richmond, denouncing segregation: "The song which the white press, the white pulpit and the white public men are singing is the song of separation. Separate public conveyances, separate schools, separate churches, separate places of amusements, separate hotels, separate depots, separate localities in which to live. 'Separate' is the cry daily: go to another country, get out, go away; if you want to remain here, you must be my menial, be my servant: and if you want to be what I am — a MAN — separate. Go where I can't see you."

MAGGIE WALKER 1864–1934

Creating Community in the Face of Jim Crow *continued*

Maggie was a pragmatic and savvy businesswoman. She led the IOSL for thirty-five years and increased its membership from 3,400 in 1890 to more than 70,000 in 1924. She also served on the boards of several national organizations focused on black rights, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ([Resource 21](#)), and the National Association of Colored Women.

Jackson Ward was always Maggie’s home turf and primary focus. But she also provided leadership in the city more broadly. Prominent American women were expected to spearhead fund-raising efforts for civic projects. In this capacity, she worked on campaigns with Janet Randolph ([Life Story](#)), who was dedicated to the Lost Cause view of the South and raised money to build the monument to Confederate president Jefferson Davis. The two women solicited funds for a black ward for the local hospital, located a block away from where white patients were treated. Both were members of the executive committee of the Community House for Colored People, which provided shelter, health care, food, and economic assistance.

In 2017, as Americans debated the future of Confederate memorials, a bronze statue of Maggie Walker was unveiled in Jackson Ward.

She delivered a speech in Richmond, denouncing segregation: “The song which the white press, the white pulpit and the white public men are singing is the song of separation. ... ‘Separate’ is the cry daily: go to another country, get out, go away; if you want to remain here, you must be my menial, be my servant: and if you want to be what I am – a MAN – separate. Go where I can’t see you.”

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ How did Maggie Walker foster self-sufficiency in Richmond’s black community?
- ▣ In what ways did Maggie challenge stereotypes about blacks and women?

MONUMENTS TO THE LOST CAUSE

A monument to Confederate President Jefferson Davis was unveiled in Richmond, Virginia—once the Confederacy’s capital city—in June 1907. (See the **Life Story** of Janet Randolph.) Along with other Confederate memorials on Monument Avenue, it reflected the Lost Cause rewriting of the South’s past. In this false version of history, slavery was a benign institution, the Civil War was fought over states’ rights, the North won because it had more men and more money but the South was morally superior. Reconstruction was deemed a failure and understood as a time of “Negro rule,” when African Americans had proved incapable of properly exercising their political rights. Reconstruction, not slavery, was blamed for embittering Southern race relations.

These beliefs glorified the Confederacy, and took hold. The statues on Monument Avenue, and similar memorials throughout the South, honored the virtue and sacrifice of whites who fought to protect slavery, not black people who suffered under it and fought to end it.

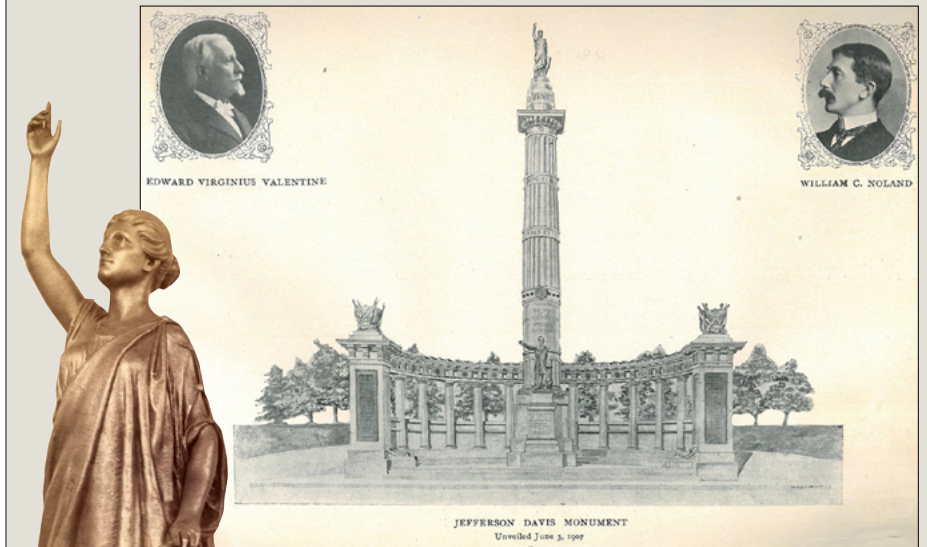
When the Jefferson Davis memorial was unveiled in a massive five-day celebration, Davis’s statue was almost within reach of admirers on the ground. But atop a soaring column behind him stood a female figure known as the Vindicatrix, also called Miss Confederacy. “Vindicatrix” was derived from the Confederate motto, *Deo Vindice*, which is translated as “With God As Our Protector” or “Under God As Our Vindicator.” She represented not only idealized Southern womanhood but the conviction that the Confederacy would be vindicated, cleared of blame for slavery and the war.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ How would you describe the language used in the epigraph? Why do you think it sounds the way it does?
- ❑ How was the Confederacy viewed forty years after the war ended?

“ Symbolized in the Vindicatrix which crowns the shaft of the monument erected by the Jefferson Davis Monument Association, the emblem of Southern womanhood, fitly stands, the immortal spirit of her land shining unquenched within her eyes, and her hand uplifted in an eternal appeal to the god of justice and truth. The heroism of Southern women was the inspiration of the matchless bravery of the Southern soldiers. Their hands girded the sash and their hearts fared forth their knights to the field. Now, the days of youth for many of these women lie buried on forgotten battle-fields. But in the twilight of their years they have builded: ‘Love’s memorial unto valor that shall stand while time shall bide.’ ”

Epigraph, *A Souvenir Book of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association and the Unveiling of the Monument*, Richmond, Va., June 3, 1907. <https://archive.org/details/cu31924030945020> (accessed 5-5-18 by M. Waters).



Edward Virginius Valentine, sculptor, and William C. Noland, architect.

Above: *Unveiling of the Jefferson Davis monument, Richmond, ca. 1907.* American Civil War Museum, Richmond, VA.

Left: *The Vindicatrix, ca. 1907.* The Valentine, Richmond, Virginia

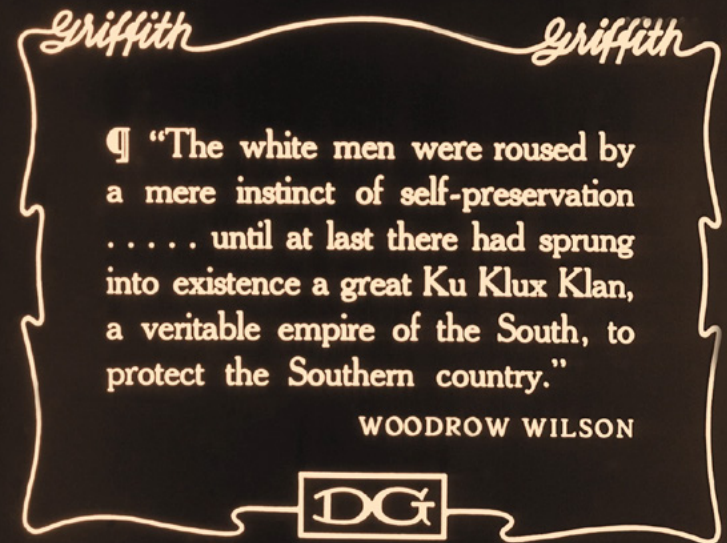
WHITE SUPREMACY ON THE SILVER SCREEN

The *Birth of a Nation* was set in the Reconstruction South. In this still shot from the film, a white actor in blackface plays a black man who has been accused of sexually assaulting a white woman. He will soon be lynched by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). D.W. Griffith made the film in 1915, basing it on a novel by Thomas Dixon. The Klansmen were the heroes. Despite vigorous protests about its racism, *The Birth of a Nation* was the highest-grossing film of the silent era. President Woodrow Wilson showed it at the White House. “It’s like writing history with lightning,” he said. “And my only regret is that it is all terribly true.” Wilson was a Southerner and a believer in white supremacy. He permitted his administration’s postmaster and treasury secretary to segregate their departments of the federal government.

White audiences already believed in the stereotype of the dangerous black man. The film magnified their fears and justified violence in response. In the glow of popular acclaim, the Klan revived, donned white robes like those shown in the film, and restarted its vigilante campaign. The KKK primarily targeted blacks, but now it was also widespread in the North, where it spread hatred against Jews, Catholics, and many immigrants.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ What made this film powerful? How did it help make antiblack attitudes acceptable?
- ❑ How does popular culture shape attitudes about race?



Top: Reproduction still from *The Birth of a Nation*, 1915

Bottom: Woodrow Wilson on the KKK, printed on *The Birth of a Nation* film footage, 1915

CONFRONTING STEREOTYPES

W

illiam Edward Burghardt Du Bois went to the international exposition in Paris in 1900 to showcase African American achievements. He was known by his initials, W.E.B. Du Bois. At 32, he was the first black man to earn a Harvard doctorate and a respected, trailblazing scholar teaching at Atlanta University in Georgia. His *Exhibit of American Negroes* displayed dozens of statistical charts and more than 350 photos, and won a gold medal. Du Bois hoped that evidence of black progress would counter racist claims of black inferiority. (Frederick Douglass shared the belief that photographs could challenge prejudice. He had his own picture taken so often that he was the most photographed American of the nineteenth century.)

Born and raised in Massachusetts, Du Bois had earned his first college degree from Fisk University in Tennessee. His later experience living and teaching in Atlanta deepened his exposure to the cruelties of southern Jim Crow. He published his reflections on black life in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). “The problem of the twentieth century,” he wrote, “is the problem of the color line.” He also increasingly turned from scholarship to activism. In 1905, Du Bois cofounded the Niagara Movement to demand full rights for black people. In 1909, he was one of the founders of the NAACP ([Resource 21](#)). In 1935, he wrote *Black Reconstruction*, later reissued as *Black Reconstruction in America*, to challenge the Lost Cause view of America’s history.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ **What do clothing and hairstyles signal about people? What was Du Bois trying to communicate by exhibiting these photos?**
- ▣ **How would these photos challenge stereotypes of African Americans? Do you think they worked?**



Top: Thomas E. Askew, Daughter of Thomas E. Askew, ca. 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Middle: Roger Williams University – Nashville, Tenn[essee] – Normal class, 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Bottom: Roger Williams University – Nashville, Tenn[essee] – Ministers’ class, 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

THE NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was created in 1909 after an assault by whites on the black community in Springfield, Illinois. The violence in Abraham Lincoln's hometown convinced many that Jim Crow was not simply a Southern problem, and it provided a rare platform for interracial cooperation. The call for action came from New Yorker William English Walling. Walling and other white progressives joined with black activists, including W.E.B. Du Bois, to form the NAACP. They demanded that the civil and voting rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments be protected. Du Bois launched and edited the organization's magazine. He titled it *The Crisis* because he believed America was at a critical moment in its history.

On July 1, 1917, racial tensions exploded in East St. Louis, Illinois, sparked by competition for jobs and a recent spate of shootings. A white mob set fire to the city's black neighborhoods, and lynched, shot, or burned alive as many as 200 African Americans. Thousands more were displaced and left the city. In response to this and other spasms of white violence, the NAACP organized a silent march down New York's Fifth Avenue. Nearly 10,000 people participated, silent but for the sound of muffled drums. Children led the way, followed by groups of women in white dresses and men in dark suits. Marchers held signs protesting racial violence and demanding fair treatment: "We have fought for the liberty of white Americans in six wars; our reward is East St. Louis."

Click [here](#) to watch footage from the march.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ What tactics did the parade organizers and marchers use?
- ▣ What messages were they sending? Who were they trying to reach?



Underwood & Underwood,
*Silent protest parade in
New York [City] against the
East St. Louis riots, 1917.*
Library of Congress Prints
& Photographs Division,
Washington, D.C.

WOMEN HELPING WOMEN

The Atlanta Neighborhood Union was an organization of black women in Georgia's capital. It was founded by a group of Atlanta's prominent black women in 1908, two years after a race riot rocked the city and again demonstrated the black community's vulnerability to white violence. For the Union's members, the safe, stable black home was a crucial line of defense, and providing for Atlanta's black women and children became their mission. The group offered temporary housing, food, classes in parenting and elderly care, medical attention, and other services. Hundreds of such clubs existed around the country. They were early models of grassroots organizing and community building.

Black women also organized politically. The National Association of Colored Women was formed in 1896 and led by suffragist Mary Church Terrell. It fostered a national network of black women's clubs, and offered women opportunities to develop leadership and organizational skills.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ▣ **What can you infer about the Atlanta Neighborhood Union from this photo? What services were available? Who used them?**
- ▣ **How would a strong family help people fight mistreatment?**
- ▣ **Why would local organizations be important in black communities?**



Nurses and Babies in front of Neighborhood House.
Neighborhood Union collection, ca. 1908-1935. Robert W.
Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center

HEADING NORTH

As Jim Crow worsened in the late 1800s, black Southerners were hearing stories from Pullman porters who worked in railroad sleeping cars and traveled much of the country. Life was better in the North, the black porters told friends and relatives. In the 1910s, African Americans began moving out of the South and heading to northern cities—New York, Chicago, and Detroit in particular. Factory jobs beckoned, especially after World War I cut off European immigration. Southern white employers tried to stop them from leaving, and northern white workers treated them as competitors, but African Americans continued to flee the South.

The exodus was part of what came to be known as the Great Migration. When it began, New York’s small black population was scattered in sections of Manhattan and Brooklyn. Harlem was a mostly white neighborhood, but it was beginning to change, thanks largely to black entrepreneur Philip Payton. In 1904, a white real estate company had evicted black tenants to stop blacks from moving to Harlem. Payton bought the neighboring two buildings, evicted the white residents, and allowed the recently ejected black tenants to move in. He continued to buy buildings and rent to black tenants from other New York neighborhoods, from the South, and from the Caribbean.

Between 1910 and 1920, the black population of New York City increased by 60%. Many flocked to Harlem, which was, by 1930, the largest black urban community in the country.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

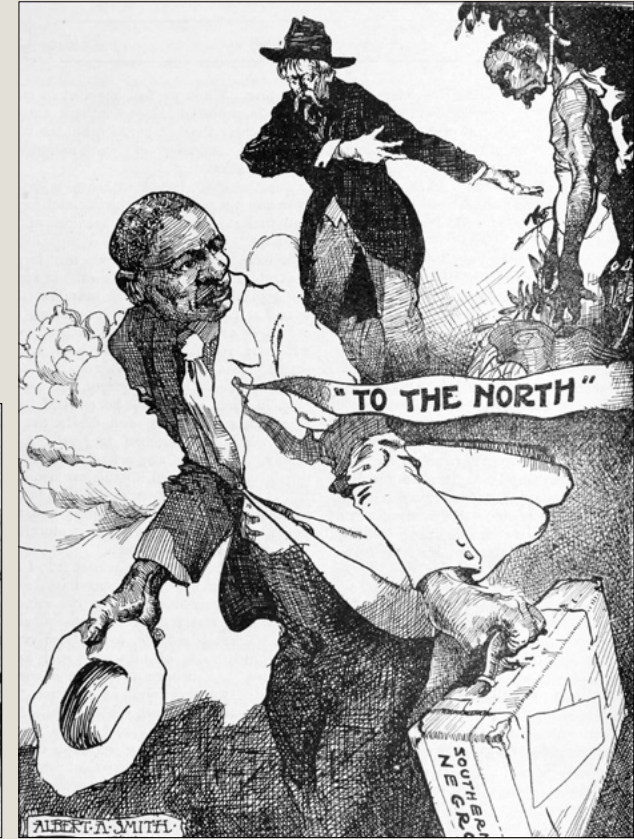
- ❑ What was pushing black Southerners to leave the South? What was pulling them toward the North?
- ❑ What expressions do you see on the faces of the family in the photograph? What can you infer about how they viewed this move?
- ❑ What does the Armistice Day photo indicate about Harlem in 1919?



Above: "A Negro Family Arrives in Chicago," *The Negro in Chicago*, 1922 Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library

Above Right: "The Reason," *The Crisis*, 1920. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library. "The reason" New York Public Library Digital Collections

Right: Harlem, Armistice Day, 1919. The New York Public Library



BLACK FIGHTERS IN THE GREAT WAR

C

lose to 400,000 black Americans served in France during World War I, then known as the Great War. In the belief that black soldiers could not be trusted in battle, white military leaders generally assigned them to manual labor rather than combat units. But the 369th Regiment of the 93rd Division did see combat and fought heroically, directly challenging those prejudices. They were known as the Harlem Hellfighters.

Scholar and activist W.E.B. Du Bois saw the Great War as a pivotal moment for black Americans: “We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.”

Black veterans had proven their patriotism in the Great War and now demanded equal treatment from their fellow citizens. Instead, they became targets. In the summer of 1919, just months after the veterans triumphantly returned home, more than two dozen separate race riots broke out across the country. Many whites felt threatened by African American claims for equality. NAACP organizer James Weldon Johnson dubbed the weeks of bloody violence the “Red Summer.” Lynchings increased throughout the South.

To the black veterans and all others who strove for equality, its attainment must have seemed impossibly far away. Indeed, bringing an end to legalized Jim Crow in the 1960s ([Epilogue](#)) would take decades of effort and sacrifice. The ideals and achievements of Reconstruction fueled this long and still continuing struggle for equality, full citizenship, and interracial democracy.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- ❑ What messages about black soldiers are conveyed in this image?
- ❑ Why would taking part in the war change the expectations of black veterans? Why would white Americans turn on them after the war?



Charles Gustrine, *True Sons of Freedom*, 1918. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

EPILOGUE 1920s–1960s

1920s



**“Up, up, you mighty race!
You can accomplish what
you will.”**

Marcus Garvey, 1920

The epidemic of race riots in 1919 led many African Americans to look for different answers to the problem of white-on-black violence and racism. Millions turned to a new leader and organization. Jamaican immigrant Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) advocated for black nationalism, separatism, and global black solidarity. Headquartered in 1920s Harlem, the UNIA galvanized the black metropolis, as did the concurrent artistic and intellectual activity known as the Harlem Renaissance.

United Negro Improvement Association parade in Harlem, 1920. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

1930s



**“At no time in the history of the Negro since slavery
has his economic and social outlook seemed so
discouraging.”**

T. Arnold Hill, National Urban League, 1931

The Great Depression of the 1930s and its soaring unemployment hit black communities especially hard. The government’s new relief programs helped many Americans survive, but with Jim Crow still intact, the New Deal delivered less to blacks than to whites. Still, President Franklin Roosevelt’s calls to build a more equitable society appealed to many African Americans. Staunch Republicans since the days of Lincoln, they broke with tradition to vote Democratic for Roosevelt, although Roosevelt refused to support antilynching legislation while in office.

Flag outside the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s New York office, 1936. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

1940s



**“American Negroes, involved as we are in the
general issues of the conflict, are confronted
not with a choice but the challenge both to win
democracy for ourselves at home and to help win
the war for democracy the world over.”**

A. Philip Randolph, 1941

During World War II, African Americans waged a “Double V” campaign for victory abroad and at home. While hundreds of thousands of black men fought on three continents for the US, black unions, newspapers, and civil rights organizations waged campaigns at home to desegregate the military, eliminate discriminatory hiring in defense plants, and overturn Jim Crow.

Poster for Negro Freedom Rally, Madison Square Garden, 1944. Special Collections, University of Virginia Library

1950s



“Racial segregation is grounded upon the myth of inherent racial superiority. This myth has been completely exploded by all scientific studies. It now stands exposed as a theory which can only be explained as a vehicle for perpetuating racial prejudice.”

Thurgood Marshall, 1954

“We come then to the question presented: does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.”

Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren, majority opinion, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954

The Supreme Court decided in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) that racial segregation in schools was illegal, overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote for the majority, “We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate

but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

This ruling, the Montgomery bus boycotts, and massive protests after the brutal murder of Emmett Till all built momentum for a nationwide campaign for civil rights.

1960s



“When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned.”

Martin Luther King Jr., 1963

Washington, DC, filled with demonstrators in late August 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. From the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, Dr. Martin Luther

King Jr. delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech. African Americans and white supporters demanded that the US make good, at last, on its promises of equal rights for all American citizens.

The massive March on Washington electrified the nation and spurred historic legislation. A decade after *Brown v. Board of Education*, the civil rights movement won passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the most significant civil rights bills since Reconstruction. These laws signaled the end of legalized Jim Crow, though the struggle for equality and full citizenship continues.

Image Credits:

Far Left: Nettie Hunt, sitting on the steps of the Supreme Court, explaining to her daughter Nikie the court’s decision banning school segregation, 1954. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Left: Demonstrators at the March to Freedom, Washington, D.C., 28 August, 1963. Courtesy of the Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University

GLOSSARY

Black Codes

Laws passed by Southern states in 1865 and 1866 that were primarily intended to maintain the black work force by requiring yearly labor contracts, establishing apprenticeship programs in which young people worked without pay, and making it illegal to refuse to work. The codes, which varied from state to state, restricted black freedom by prohibiting, for example, gun ownership or assembling in groups. The codes eroded Northern support for President Andrew Johnson, who openly supported them. The most restrictive codes were quickly overridden by the Freedmen's Bureau.

Confederate States of America

The formal name adopted by the Southern states during the period of secession and Civil War, from 1861 to 1865.

freedmen

The term used after the Civil War to describe formerly enslaved people. Variations included freedperson and freedpeople.

Freedmen's Bureau

A federal agency established by Congress in March 1865 to aid newly emancipated African Americans in the South. Bureau agents helped mediate disputes between blacks and whites, negotiated labor contracts, opened schools, and more. The agency's full name was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

Jim Crow

Originally, a black minstrel character played by a white performer in blackface. The term became attached to a widespread system of segregation and racial oppression in the United States. The system's early roots predated the Civil War. After Reconstruction, Jim Crow developed further and was at its strongest in the first half of the twentieth century. Most historians date the end of Jim Crow to the 1950s and 1960s, when civil rights advances outlawed segregation and guaranteed black voting rights. But the end of Jim Crow did not mean the end of race-based inequality.

Ku Klux Klan

A vigilante group formed by ex-Confederates after the Civil War to resist Reconstruction policies and terrorize blacks and their supporters. Similar groups included the Knights of the White Camelia, the White League, and the Red Shirts.

Lost Cause

A false view of the past that developed after the Civil War. Lost Cause subscribers believed that slavery was a benign institution, the Civil War was fought over states' rights, not slavery, Reconstruction was a terrible mistake, and the Confederacy was an honorable endeavor.

lynching

A murder committed by vigilante groups operating outside the legal system. By the 1890s, most victims were black who were killed by whites. Many were hanged, but others were shot, burned at the stake, or beaten to death.

Reconstruction

The term used to describe the period of national rebuilding and transformative change after the Civil War. Historians date formal Reconstruction from 1865 to 1877. In the 1880s, a transitional decade, black political power waned but many blacks still could exercise their right to vote. The complete undoing of Reconstruction required a generation.

sharecropper

After the Civil War, a person who worked farmland for a landowner who kept a share of the crops but paid no wage. The system kept most black Americans economically dependent on white landowners. Many whites also worked as sharecroppers.

CITIZENSHIP TIMELINE

1857: The Supreme Court rules in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* that black Americans cannot be US citizens and are not entitled to the rights of citizens.



1863: President Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, and African Americans volunteer to fight for freedom ([Resource 1](#)).

1865: The Civil War ends, and the Thirteenth Amendment abolishes slavery ([Resource 3](#)).



1866: Congress passes a civil rights bill and sends the Fourteenth Amendment to the states for ratification ([Resource 4](#)).



1867: African Americans help rewrite state constitutions in the South, ushering in interracial governments ([Hiram Revels](#)).

1868: The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equality before the law for all and citizenship for people born in the US. Excluded from the citizenship clause are Native Americans with tribal membership ([Resource 3](#)).

1870: The Fifteenth Amendment prohibits states from denying suffrage on the basis of race ([Resource 3](#)).



1871: Congress empowers the federal government to protect the right to vote.



1873: New York State opens white schools to black students and guarantees equal access to public places, such as theaters, inns, and trains.

1875: Congress passes a civil rights act that bans discrimination in public places. In 1883, the Supreme Court declares it unconstitutional ([Resource 17](#)).

1882: The federal government passes the Chinese Exclusion Act, severely restricting Chinese immigration and prohibiting the courts from allowing Chinese immigrants to naturalize as citizens.

1884: The Supreme Court rules in *Elk v. Wilkins* that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments do not grant citizenship to Native Americans nor guarantee their right to vote ([Resource 3](#)).

1887: Congress passes the Dawes Severalty Act, granting citizenship to Native Americans who have “adopted the habits of civilized life” and accepted private plots of tribal land. The law also opens tribal lands to white settlement.

1890: Mississippi and other Southern states begin formalizing the disenfranchisement of African Americans. Because the new voting restrictions avoid mentioning race as a factor, the Supreme Court upholds them.



1896: The Supreme Court rules in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that segregated facilities can be “separate, but equal” ([Resource 17](#)).

1898: The Supreme Court rules in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* that the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees citizenship for all persons born on US soil, including Asians.

1898: During the Spanish American War, the United States annexes Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Residents of these overseas territories are not granted American citizenship nor guaranteed any constitutional rights. In 1917, Congress makes Puerto Ricans US citizens, though the island remains a territory.



1909: The NAACP is founded to work for rights promised under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments but not yet delivered ([Resource 21](#)).



1910s: Hundreds of thousands of African Americans begin to move from the South to the North in the Great Migration ([Resource 23](#)).

1915: The Supreme Court rules that grandfather clauses violate the Fifteenth Amendment by restricting voting to those whose grandfathers could vote before the Civil War (when no African Americans were citizens).

1917: The Immigration Act of 1917 creates the Asiatic Barred Zone, which stops immigration from a region that stretches from Afghanistan to China.

1920: The Nineteenth Amendment grants women the right to vote.

1920s: The Supreme Court rules in two cases that immigrants Takao Ozawa and Bhagat Singh Thind cannot naturalize as American citizens. They are considered neither “free white persons” nor “persons of African descent” as the law requires.

1924: The Immigration and Naturalization Act bars “aliens ineligible to citizenship” from immigrating, thus cementing Asian exclusion. It also limits European immigration.

1924: Congress passes the Citizenship Act, which determines that all Native Americans born in the US are citizens.

1928: Oscar DePriest (Republican, Illinois) is elected to the House of Representatives—the first black congressman since 1901.



IMAGE CREDIT

pg 68
left column

Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Recruit*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884

“Outside of the galleries of the House of Representatives during the passage of the civil rights bill,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 28, 1866. New-York Historical Society Library

Mathew Brady, *Hiram Revels carte de visite*. New-York Historical Society Library

middle column

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right column

“The Fuller Court, Supreme Court.” Illustration by Barnett Clinedinst, ca. 1888-1910. Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States

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United Negro Improvement Association parade in Harlem, 1920. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

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CURRICULUM STANDARDS

NEW YORK STATE LEARNING STANDARDS FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

Standard 1: History of the United States and New York

Students will use a variety of intellectual skills to demonstrate their understanding of major ideas, eras, themes, developments, and turning points in the history of the United States and New York.

Standard 2: World History

Students will use a variety of intellectual skills to demonstrate their understanding of major ideas, eras, themes, developments, and turning points in world history and examine the broad sweep of history from a variety of perspectives.

Standard 4: Economics

Students will use a variety of intellectual skills to demonstrate their understanding of how the United States and other societies develop economic systems and associated institutions to allocate scarce resources, how major decision-making units function in the United States and other national economies, and how an economy solves the scarcity problem through market and non-market mechanisms.

Standard 5: Civics, Citizenship, and Government

Students will use a variety of intellectual skills to demonstrate their understanding of the necessity for establishing governments; the governmental systems of the United States and other nations; the United States Constitution; the basic civic values of American constitutional democracy; and the roles, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship, including avenues of participation.

8th Grade

| 8.1 RECONSTRUCTION: Regional tensions following the Civil War complicated efforts to heal the nation and to redefine the status of African Americans. | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Unit 1 | Unit 2 | Unit 3 |
| 8.1a Different approaches toward and policies for Reconstruction highlight the challenges faced in reunifying the nation. | X | | |
| 8.1b Freed African Americans created new lives for themselves in the absence of slavery. Constitutional amendments and federal legislation sought to expand the rights and protect the citizenship of African Americans. | X | X | X |
| 8.1c Federal initiatives begun during Reconstruction were challenged on many levels, leading to negative impacts on the lives of African Americans. | X | X | X |
| 8.2 A CHANGING SOCIETY: Industrialization and immigration contributed to the urbanization of America. Problems resulting from these changes sparked the Progressive movement and increased calls for reform. | | | |
| | Unit 1 | Unit 2 | Unit 3 |
| 8.2e Progressive reformers sought to address political and social issues at the local, state, and federal levels of government between 1890 and 1920. These efforts brought renewed attention to women's rights and the suffrage movement and spurred the creation of government reform policies. | | | X |

11th Grade

| | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 11.4 POST-CIVIL WAR ERA (1865 – 1900): Reconstruction resulted in political reunion and expanded constitutional rights. However, those rights were undermined, and issues of inequality continued for African Americans, women, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Chinese immigrants. | | | |
| | Unit 1 | Unit 2 | Unit 3 |
| 11.4a Between 1865 and 1900, constitutional rights were extended to African Americans. However, their ability to exercise these rights was undermined by individuals, groups, and government institutions. | X | X | X |
| 11.4b The 14th and 15th amendments failed to address the rights of women. | X | | |
| 11.5 INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION (1870 – 1920): The United States was transformed from an agrarian to an increasingly industrial and urbanized society. Although this transformation created new economic opportunities, it also created societal problems that were addressed by a variety of reform efforts. | | | |
| 11.5b Rapid industrialization and urbanization created significant challenges and societal problems that were addressed by a variety of reform efforts. | | X | X |

Next Generation Reading Standards for English Language Arts & Literacy in History/Social Studies

Grade 6-8

| Key Ideas and Details | Unit 1 | Unit 2 | Unit 3 |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources. | X | X | X |
| 2) Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions. | X | X | X |
| 3) Identify key steps in a text's description of a process related to history/social studies (e.g., how a bill becomes law, how interest rates are raised or lowered). | X | X | |
| Craft and Structure | | | |
| 4) Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including content-specific vocabulary related to history/social studies. | X | X | X |
| 5) Describe how a text presents information (e.g., sequentially, comparatively, causally, visually, and graphically). | X | X | X |
| 6) Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view, stance, or purpose (e.g., rhetorical language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts, images, visuals, etc.). | X | X | |
| Integration of Knowledge and Ideas | | | |
| 7) Integrate visual information (e.g., in charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts. | X | X | X |
| 8) Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text. Identify and distinguish between a primary and secondary source on the same topic. | X | X | X |
| 9) Analyze how two or more texts address address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches of the authors. | X | X | X |

CURRICULUM STANDARDS continued

Grade 9-10

| Key Ideas and Details | Unit 1 | Unit 2 | Unit 3 |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the time and place of publication, origin, authorship, etc. | X | X | X |
| 2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop within a text. | X | X | X |
| 3: Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them. | X | X | X |
| Craft and Structure | | | |
| 4: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, economic, or geographic aspects of history/social studies. | X | X | X |
| 5: Describe how a text presents information (e.g., sequentially, comparatively, causally, visually, and graphically). | X | X | |
| 6: Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts. | | | X |
| Integration of Knowledge and Ideas | | | |
| 7: Integrate and evaluate visual and technical information (e.g., in research data, charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts. | X | X | X |
| 8: Analyze the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence. | X | X | |
| 9: Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources. | X | X | X |

Grade 11-12

| Key Ideas and Details | Unit 1 | Unit 2 | Unit 3 |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the source as a whole. | X | X | X |
| 2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas. | X | X | X |
| 3: Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain. | X | X | X |
| Craft and Structure | | | |
| 4: Interpret words and phrases, including disciplinary language, as they are developed in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative meanings, and analyze how specific word choices shape meaning or tone. | X | X | X |
| 5: Analyze in detail how a complex primary source (text, image, map, graphic, etc.) is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the source contribute to the whole. | X | X | |
| 6: Evaluate authors' points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence. | | | X |
| Integration of Knowledge and Ideas | | | |
| 7: Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem. | X | X | X |
| 8: Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information. | X | X | |
| 9: Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources. | X | X | X |

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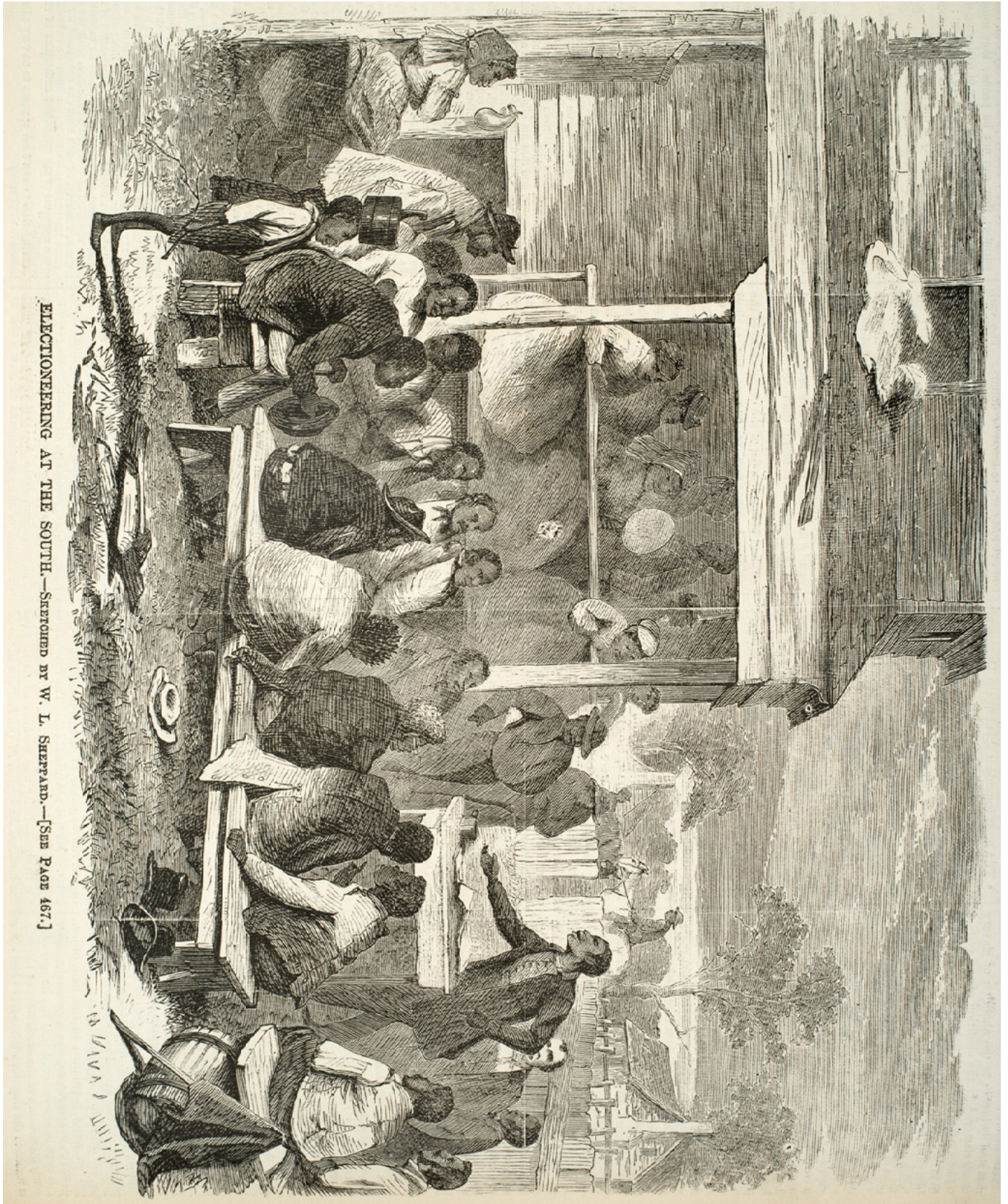
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African American Family Picking Cotton Near Savannah, Georgia, mid-19th century. New-York Historical Society Library, William Ludwell Shepperd



ELECTIONEERING AT THE SOUTH.—SKETCHED BY W. L. SHEPPARD.—[SEE PAGE 467.]

"Electioneering at the South," *Harper's Weekly*, July, 25, 1868. New-York Historical Society Library



846

Contrabands in Richmond after surrender, c. 1865. New-York Historical Society Library



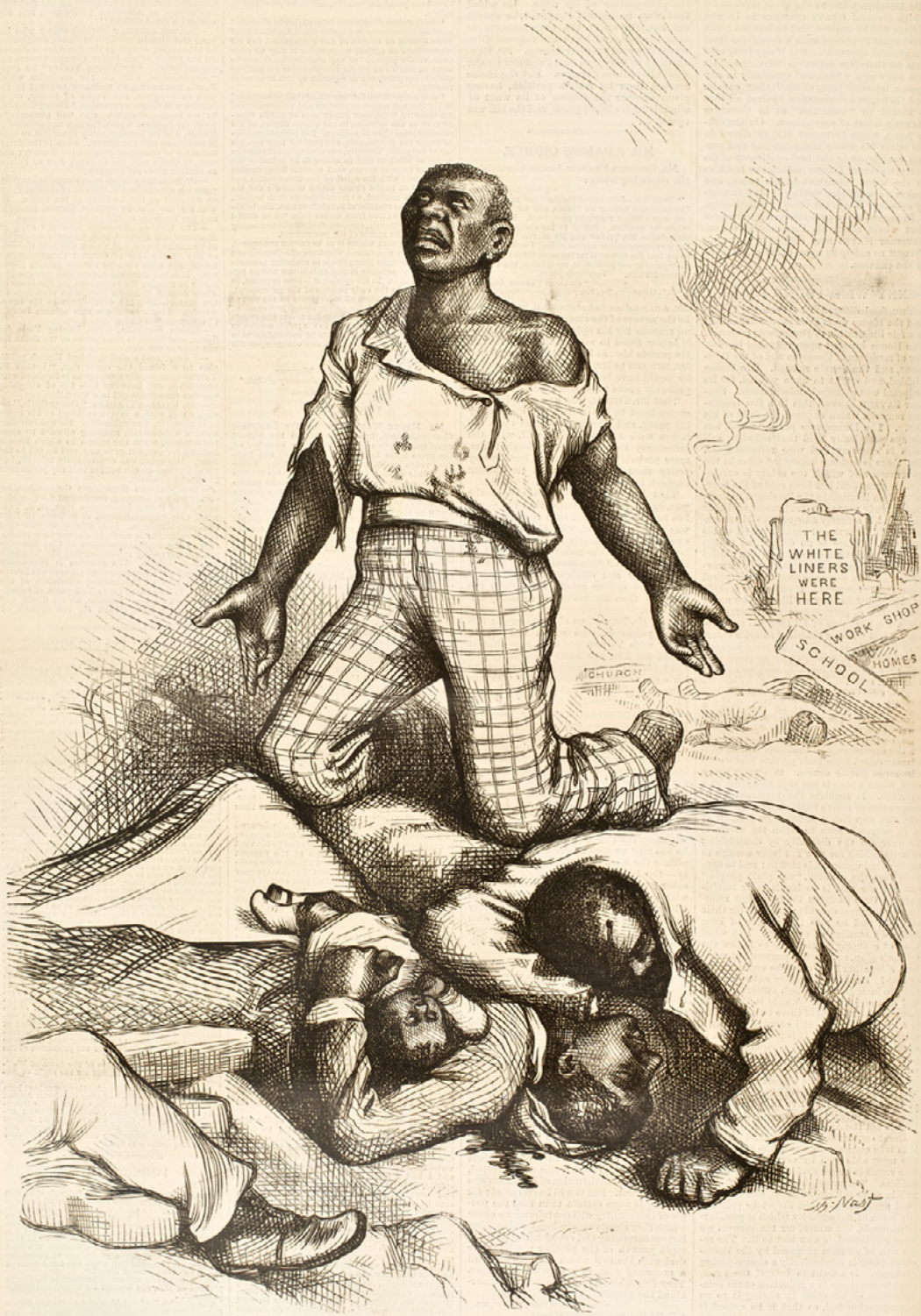
Group of Neighborhood Union Workers. Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library



Madam C.J. Walker Salon. Byron Company, (New York, NY) Museum of the City of New York, 93.1.1.110837



Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters, c. 1863-1865. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



"IS THIS A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT? IS THIS PROTECTING LIFE, LIBERTY, OR PROPERTY? IS THIS THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS?"
 MR. LAMAR (Democrat, Mississippi). "In the words of the inspired Poet, 'Thy Gentleness has made thee Great.'" (Did Mr. LAMAR mean the Colored Race?)

Thomas Nast, "Is This a Republican Form of Government? Is This Protecting Life, Liberty and Property? Is This the Equal Protection of the Laws?," *Harper's Weekly*, September 2, 1876. New-York Historical Society Library

The CRISIS

Vol. 12—No. 4

AUGUST, 1916

Whole No. 70



ONE DOLLAR A YEAR



TEN CENTS A COPY

The Crisis, August 1916. New-York Historical Society Library

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Peter L. Robinson Sr., c. 1917. Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Peter L. Robinson Jr. and Marie Robinson Johnson



Parade of Famous 369th Infantry on Fifth Avenue New York City. Colonel "Bill" Hayward's famous "Hell Fighters" of the 369th Infantry march by crowds at the New York Public Library 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, 1919. National Archives



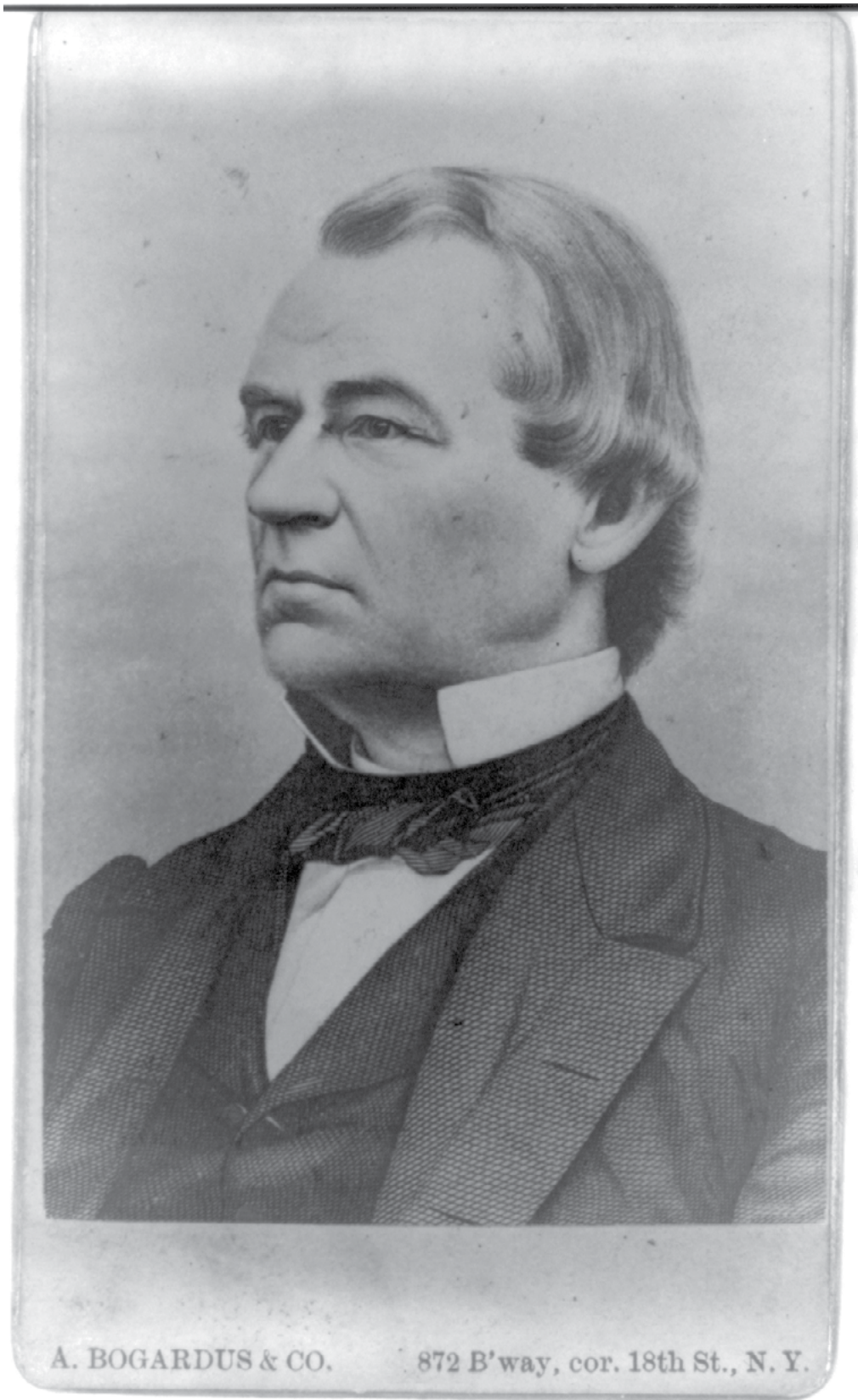
Life Story: Andrew Johnson (a)

Mathew Brady, *Andrew Johnson*, ca. 1860-1875. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

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Life Story: Andrew Johnson (b)

A. Bogardus, *Andrew Johnson*, ca. 1865-1880. New York: A. Bogardus & Co. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Life Story: Hiram Revels

Mathew Brady, *Hiram Revels carte de visite*, ca. 1870s. New-York Historical Society Library

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Resource 1 (a)

Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Contraband*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884



Resource 1 (b)

Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Recruit*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884



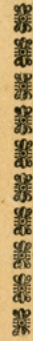
Resource 1 (c)

Thomas Waterman Wood (American, Montpelier, Vermont 1823-1903 New York), *A Bit of War History: The Veteran*, 1865. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884

American Theatre,
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Gallery 25 Cents.

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STAGE MANAGER, Mr. WARD.

MR. RICE

WILL APPEAR AS

JIM CROW.



WILL

DISCOVERIES in the MOON

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SATURDAY EVENING Sept. 5, 1835.

Resource 2

"Mr. Rice will appear as Jim Crow," 1835. New-York Historical Society Library, Gift of Bella C. Landauer

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Ratified 1865

Section 1. 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.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT (excerpts)

Ratified 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote . . . is denied to any of the male inhabitants of [a] state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced. . . .

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who . . . shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

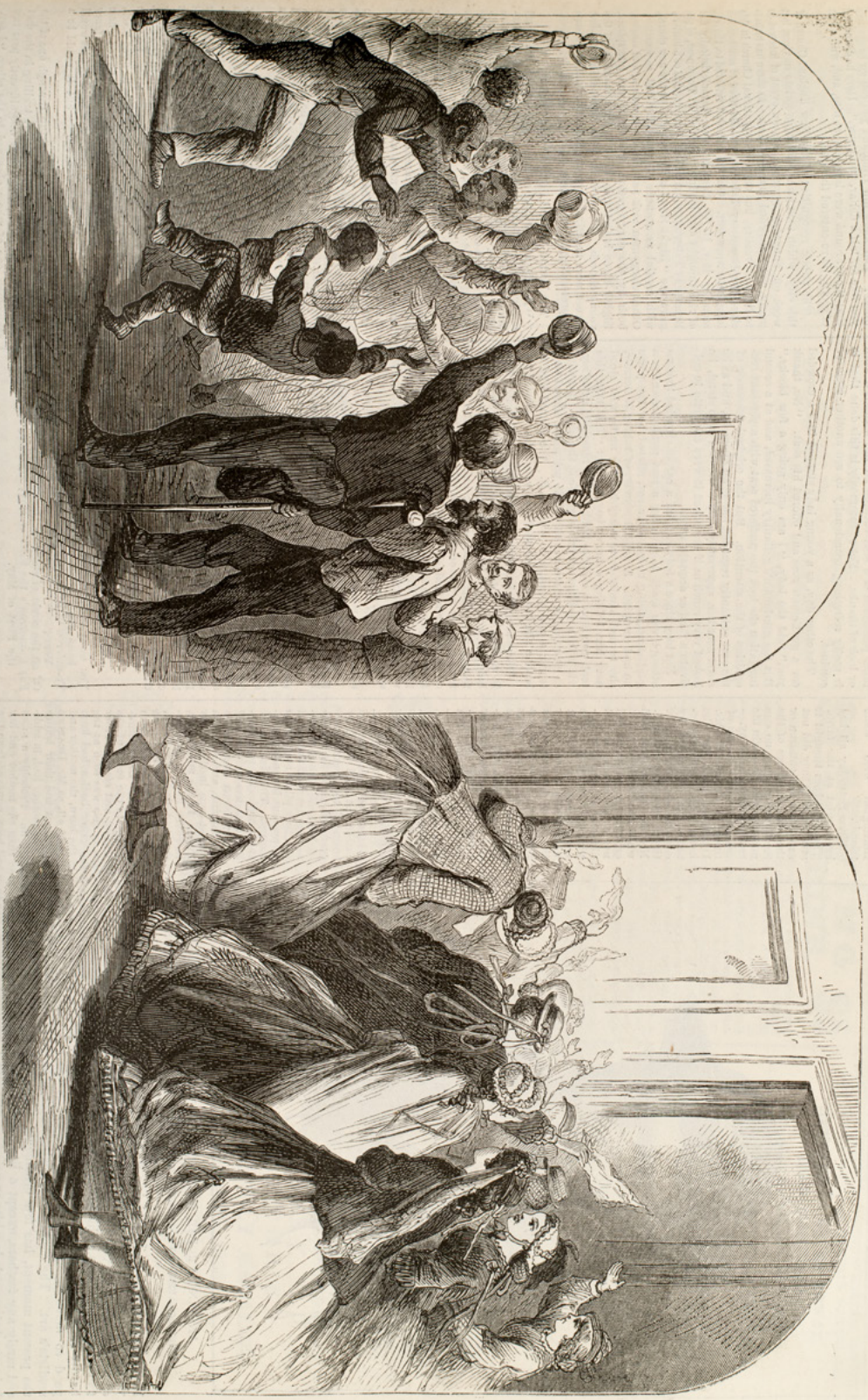
Ratified 1870

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude—

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Resource 3

"Amendment XIII; Amendment XIV; Amendment XXV," *National Constitution Center*, <https://constitutioncenter.org>



OUTSIDE OF THE GALLERIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

Resource 4

"Outside of the galleries of the House of Representatives during the passage of the civil rights bill," *Harper's Weekly*, April 28, 1866. New-York Historical Society Library

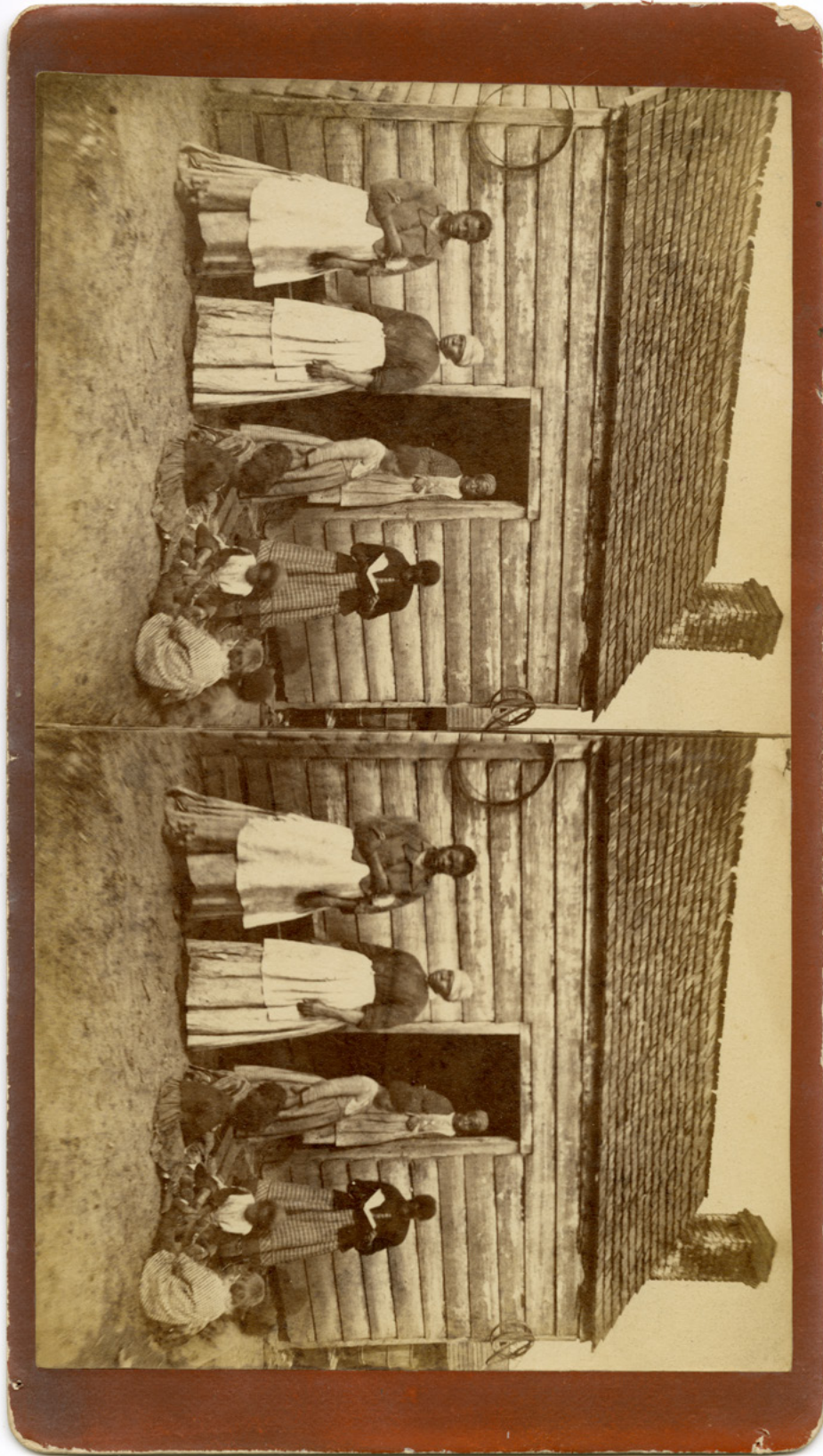
⚡⚡ Many of the negroes . . . were supporting little schools themselves. . . . I had occasion very frequently to notice that porters in stores and laboring men about cotton warehouses and cart-drivers in the streets, had spelling books with them, and were studying them during the time they were not occupied with their work. ⚡⚡

–Sidney Andrews, Northern white journalist, April 19, 1866,
*The Reports of the Committees of the House of Representatives Made
During the First Session Thirty-Ninth Congress, 1865–'66*
(Washington, DC: 1866)

⚡⚡ Our job was to go to school and learn all we could. . . . [M]y mother went along to school with us until she learned to read the Bible. ⚡⚡

–Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice:
The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*

Resource 5 (a)



Resource 5 (b)

Formerly enslaved people reading in front of a cabin, mid-19th century. New-York Historical Society Library

Information Wanted

OF NANCY YOUNG, who was living in Summerville in 1861, and belonged to Mrs. Edward Lowndes, but was afterwards sold to Mr. Colder, and carried up the country, perhaps to Spartensburg or Columbia. Any information respecting her whereabouts will be thankfully received by her son, Thomas S. P. Miller, at Charleston, S. C.

—*The South Carolina Leader*, May 12, 1866.

Mrs. Harriet Smith, formerly Mrs. Harriet Russell, desires to hear from her sons, Henry and Llewellyn Russell, who were sold away from her in 1858 by Mr. J. Bruin, Alexandria, Va., to some one in Arkansas, and were last heard from in that State. Address, care Alex. Smith, No. 2 Pierce street, between L and M streets, Washington, D. C.

—*New Era* (Washington, D.C.), July 28, 1870.

Thirty-two Years in Search of a Wife.

Richard Zeigler, colored, residing in the State of North Carolina, recently received tidings of his wife, from whom he has been separated for thirty-two years. He has been looking for her ever since the war. She was sold by slave traders and he gradually lost all trace of her whereabouts. Lately he received a telegram from her in Georgia, and started for that State to bring her back. He is sixty years old, and has saved money and spent it liberally in his search. When he received the telegram he wept for joy. He has called a meeting of his grand children, and next week will have a big reunion.

—*New York Sun*, February 22, 1883.

Resource 6

Villanova University Department of History, Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery, <http://www.informationwanted.org/items/show/2819> (accessed 4-30-18 by M. Waters)

We has a right to the land where we are located. For why? I tell you. Our wives, our children, our husbands, has been sold over and over again to purchase the lands we now locates upon; for that reason we have a divine right to the land.

Den again, the United States, by deir officers, told us if we would leave the Rebs and come to de Yankees and help de Government, we should have de land where dey put us as long as we live; and dey told us dat we should be see'd after and cared for by de Government, and placed in a position to become men among men. . . .

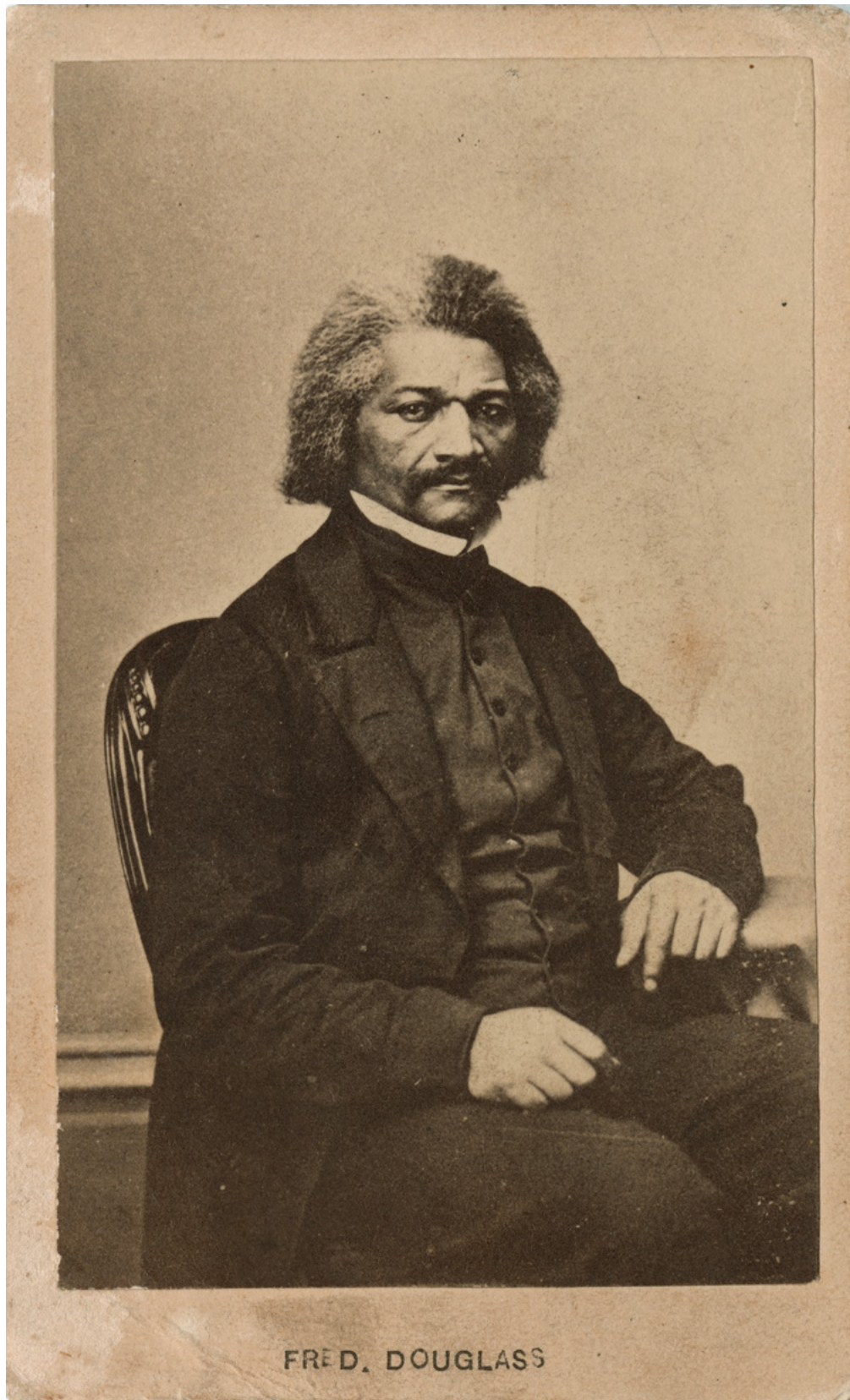
Dey told us dese lands was 'fiscated from the Rebs, who was fightin' de United States to keep us in slavery and to destroy the Government. De Yankee officers say to us: "Now, dear friends, colored men, come and go with us; we will gain de victory, and by de proclamation of our President you have your freedom, and you shall have the 'fiscated lands."

And now we feels disappointed dat dey has not kept deir promise ... for now we has orders to leave dese lands by the Superintendent of the Bureau.

We was first ordered to pay rent, and we paid de rent; now we has orders to leave, or have our log cabins torn down over our heads. Dey say "de lands has been 'stored to de old owners, and dey must have it."

Resource 7

Bayley Wyat, "A Freedman's Speech," Dec. 15, 1866, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, & Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives.



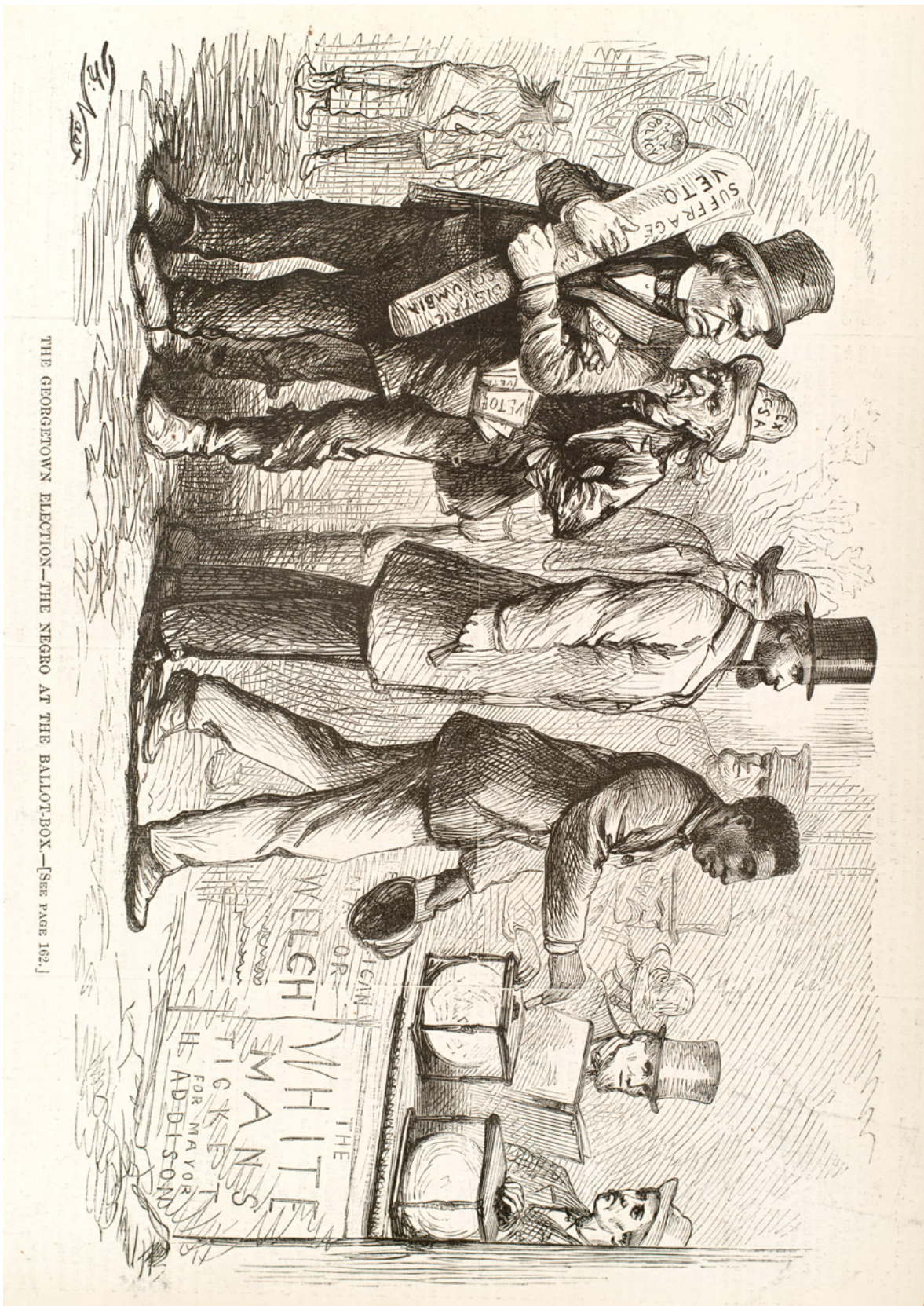
Resource 8 (a)

Frederick Douglass carte de visite, late 19th century. New-York Historical Society Library

“ I have had but one idea for the last three years to present to the American people, and the phraseology in which I clothe it is the old abolition phraseology. I am for the ‘immediate, unconditional, and universal’ enfranchisement of the black man, in every State in the Union. Without this, his liberty is a mockery. . . . He is at the mercy of the mob, and has no means of protecting himself. ”

Resource 8 (b)

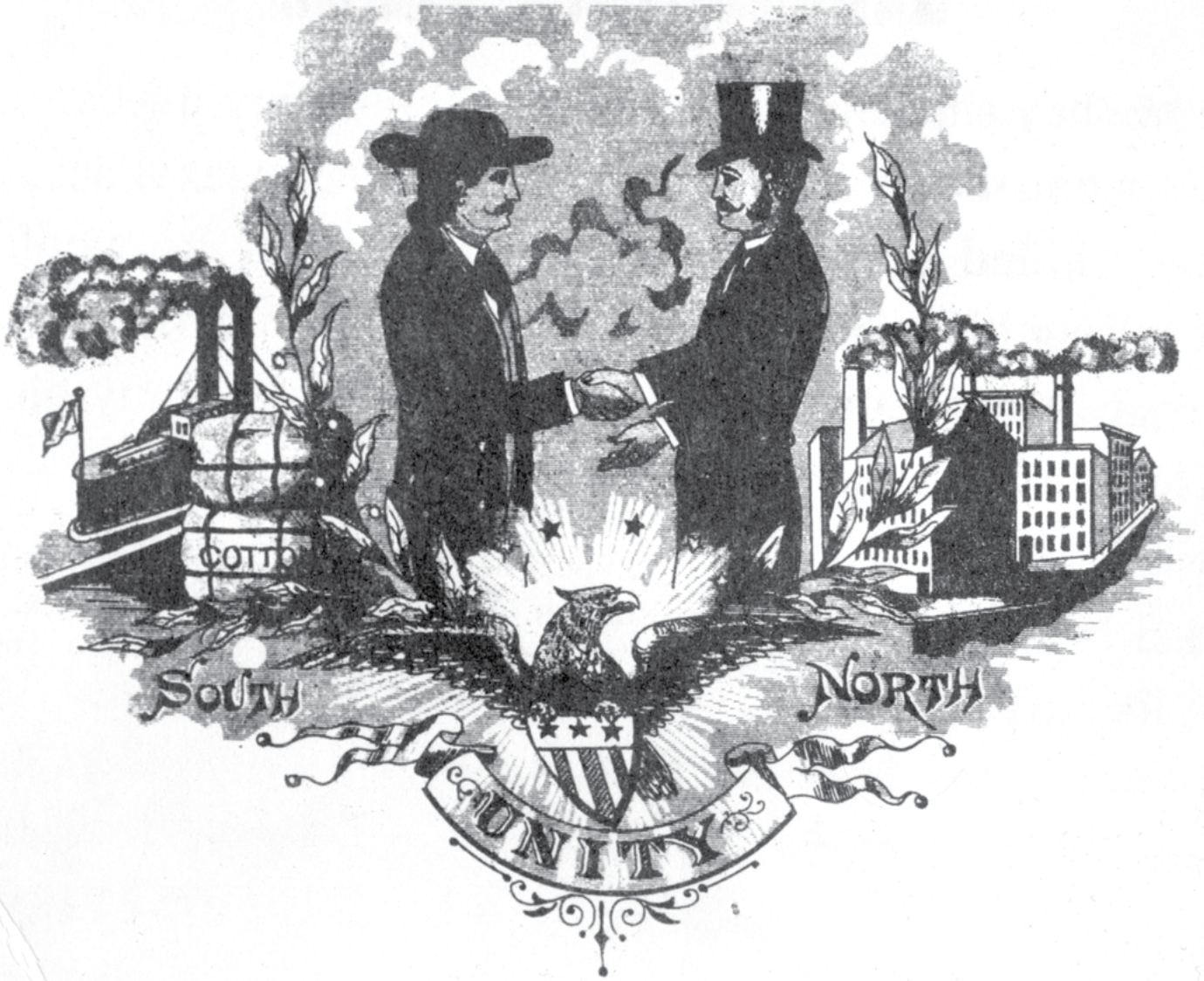
Frederick Douglass, “What the Black Man Wants,” January 26, 1865, Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society



THE GEORGETOWN ELECTION—THE NEGRO AT THE BALLOT-BOX—[SEE PAGE 162.]

Resource 8 (c)

"The Georgetown elections – the Negro at the ballot-box," *Harper's Weekly*, March 16, 1867. New-York Historical Society Library



Resource 9

Unity, 1876. American Social History Project

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Life Story: Laura Towne

Laura Towne teaching students at the Penn School, 1866. Penn School Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill



Life Story: Ida B. Wells

Cihak and Zima, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, ca. 1893-1894. University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center

JIM CROW 1881

An Act to prevent discrimination by railroad companies among passengers who are charged and paying first class passage.

Whereas, it is the practice of railroad companies . . . to charge and collect from colored passengers . . . first class passage fare, and compel said passengers to occupy second class cars . . . ; therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted . . . that all railroad companies located and operated in this State shall furnish separate cars, or portions of cars cut off by partition walls, in which all colored passengers who pay first class passenger rates of fare, may have the privilege to enter and occupy, and such apartments shall be kept in good repair.

—Chapter 155. Acts of the State of Tennessee, 1881

JIM CROW 1920

Did you ever see a “Jim Crow” waiting room? There are always exceptions . . . but usually there is no heat in winter and no air in summer; with undisturbed loafers and train hands and broken, disreputable settees; to buy a ticket is torture; you stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the “other window” is waited on. Then the tired agent yells across, because all the tickets and money are over there—

“What d’ye want? What? Where?”

The agent browbeats and contradicts you, hurries and confuses the ignorant, gives many persons the wrong change, compels some to purchase their tickets on the train at a higher price, and sends you and me out on the platform, burning with indignation and hatred!

—W.E.B. Du Bois, 1920

Resource 10

In 1892, when lynching reached high-water mark, there were 241 persons lynched. The entire number is divided among the following States:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|--------------------------|----|
| Alabama | 22 | Montana | 4 |
| Arkansas | 25 | New York | 1 |
| California | 3 | North Carolina | 5 |
| Florida | 11 | North Dakota | 1 |
| Georgia | 17 | Ohio | 3 |
| Idaho | 8 | South Carolina | 5 |
| Illinois | 1 | Tennessee | 28 |
| Kansas | 3 | Texas | 15 |
| Kentucky | 9 | Virginia | 7 |
| Louisiana | 29 | West Virginia | 5 |
| Maryland | 1 | Wyoming | 9 |
| Mississippi | 16 | Arizona Ter. | 3 |
| Missouri | 6 | Oklahoma | 2 |

Of this number, 160 were of negro descent. Four of them were lynched in New York, Ohio, and Kansas; the remainder were murdered in the South. Five of this number were females. The charges for which they were lynched cover a wide range. They are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------------------------|----|
| Rape | 46 | Attempted rape | 11 |
| Murder | 58 | Suspected robbery | 4 |
| Rioting | 3 | Larceny | 1 |
| Race Prejudice | 6 | Self-defense | 1 |
| No cause given | 4 | Insulting women | 2 |
| Incendiarism | 6 | Desperadoes | 6 |
| Robbery | 6 | Fraud | 1 |
| Assault and battery | 1 | Attempted murder | 2 |
| No offense stated, boy and girl | | 2 | |

In the case of the boy and girl above referred to, their father, named Hastings, was accused of the murder of a white man. His fourteen-year-old daughter and sixteen-year-old son were hanged and their bodies filled with bullets; then the father was also lynched. This occurred in November, 1892, at Jonesville, La.

Resource 11 (a)

Ida B. Wells, "Lynch Law in America," January 1900, Chicago (http://www.sojust.net/speeches/ida_wells_lynch_law.html, (accessed 5-21-18 by M. Waters.)

Copyright Pending.]

No 1
Little Myrtle Vance Avenged.

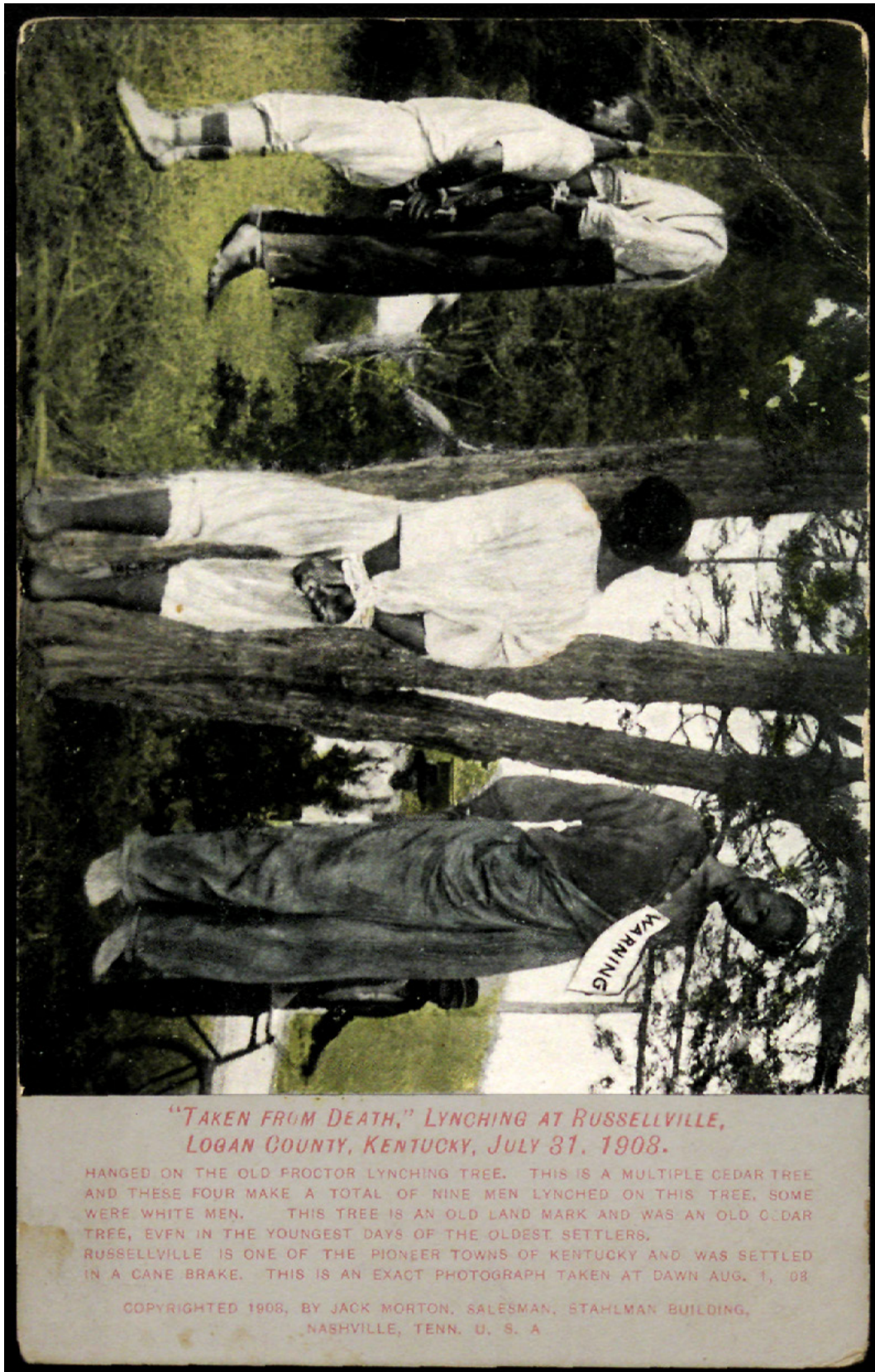
Aged Three Years, Eight Months and One Day.

Photo by J. L. MERTINS, Paris, Texas, Feb. 1st, 1893.



Resource 11 (b)

Lynching of the Negro murderer of a child. Accosted before mob, on wooden platform, 1893. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Resource 11 (c)

Jack Morton, *Photographic postcard depicting the lynching of four African Americans*, 1908. The Gilder Lehrman Institute for American History

“ After freedom, we worked on shares a while. . . . [W]e couldn't make nothing—just overalls and something to eat. Half went to the other man and you would destroy your half if you weren't careful. A man that didn't know how to count would always lose. He might lose anyhow. They didn't give no itemized statement. No, you just had to take their word. They never give you no details. They just say you owe so much. No matter how good account you kept, you had to go by their account They'd keep you in debt. . . . Anything that kept you a slave because he was always right and you were always wrong if there was difference. If there was an argument, he would get mad and there would be a shooting take place.”

Resource 12 (a)

Henry Blake, Little Rock, Arkansas, *Federal Writer's Project: Slave Narrative Project*, Vol.2, Arkansas, Part 1, Abbot-Byrd, 1938. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division



0670. JUVENILE CONVICTS AT WORK IN THE FIELDS.

COPYRIGHT 1911 BY DETROIT PHOTOGRAPHIC CO.

Resource 12 (b)

Juvenile convicts at work in the fields, ca. 1903. Detroit Publishing Co., Library of Congress Print & Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

POLL TAX AND LITERACY TEST

Sec. 243. A uniform poll tax of two dollars, to be used in aid of the common schools, and for no other purpose, is hereby imposed on every male inhabitant of this State between the ages of twenty-one and sixty years, except persons who are deaf and dumb or blind, or who are maimed by loss of hand or foot; said tax to be a lien only upon taxable property. The board of supervisors of any county may, for the purpose of aiding the common schools in that county, increase the poll tax in said county, but in no case shall the entire poll tax exceed in any one year three dollars on each poll. No criminal proceedings shall be allowed to enforce the collection of the poll tax.

Sec. 244. On and after the first day of January, A. D., 1892, every elector shall, in addition to the foregoing qualifications, be able to read any section of the constitution of this State; or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof.

—1890 Constitution of Mississippi, Article 12. (<http://mshistorynow.mdah.state.ms.us/articles/103/index.php?s=extra&id=270>, accessed 5-23-18 by M. Waters)

There is no use to equivocate or lie about the matter. Mississippi's constitutional convention of 1890 was held for no other purpose than to eliminate the nigger from politics. . . . Let the world know it just as it is.

—James K. Vardaman, August 17, 1900, Governor of Mississippi, 1904–1908

Resource 13

Ho for Kansas!

Brethren, Friends, & Fellow Citizens:

I feel thankful to inform you that the

REAL ESTATE

AND

Homestead Association,

Will Leave Here the

15th of April, 1878,

In pursuit of Homes in the Southwestern
Lands of America, at Transportation
Rates, cheaper than ever
was known before.

For full information inquire of

**Benj. Singleton, better known as old Pap,
NO. 5 NORTH FRONT STREET.**

Beware of Speculators and Adventurers, as it is a dangerous thing
to fall in their hands.

Nashville, Tenn., March 18, 1878.

Resource 14

Ho for Kansas!, March 18, 1878. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Resource 15 (a)

J. Ottmann Lith. Co. (New York), *Jim Crow Ten Pins*. Collection of the New-York Historical Society



Resource 15 (b)

Marburg Bros. Manufacturers, *Seal of North Carolina*. Collection of the New-York Historical Society

HAPPY HOURS IN COONTOWN

CAKE-WALK
TWO-STEP
MARCH.



BY

CHAS. B. BROWN.

5
BL
\$

PUBLISHED
FOR
EVERY KNOWN INSTRUMENT
AND
EVERY KNOWN
COMBINATION
OF INSTRUMENTS.

Resource 15 (c)

"Happy Hours in Coontown" sheet music. New-York Historical Society Library, Gift of Bella C. Landauer

**FORTUNE WINS HIS SUIT
THE COURT OF APPEALS AWARDS HIM DAMAGES
FOR HIS TREATMENT
BY TRAINOR'S MANAGER**

Albany, March 20. The Court of Appeals to-day affirmed with costs the judgment of the lower court in favor of Thomas Fortune against James Trainor, appellant.

The case is one of considerable moment, involving the rights of colored citizens. The appeal was from a decision made by the General Term, First Department, affirming a judgment at Circuit in favor of plaintiff for \$1,016.23. The action was brought to recover damages for assault and battery and for false imprisonment. The plaintiff, Fortune, in June, 1890, entered defendant's hotel at Sixth-ave. and Thirty-third St., New-York City, and called for a glass of beer. The bartender refused to serve him, and said: "We don't serve colored people here." Plaintiff sought an explanation from the manager, and was ordered off the premises; and on his not complying, the latter called a police officer. The officer refused to arrest plaintiff, on the ground that there was no disorder, but advised defendant to put him out on the street, when he would arrest him for disorderly conduct. This was done, and the plaintiff, after being locked up for three hours, was released on bail, and on trial was discharged. He brought suit for damages.

Resource 16

"Fortune Wins His Suit - The Court of Appeals Awards Him Damages for His Treatment by Trainor's Manager," March 21, 1894. *New-York Daily Tribune*



Resource 17 (a)

"The Funny Page," *The Crisis*, 1918. Vol. 15, No. 5. Courtesy Brown University Library



Resource 17 (b)

“Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket,” *Harper’s Weekly*, October 21, 1876. New-York Historical Society Library



THE TARGET.

“* * * They (Messrs. PHELPS & POTTER) seem to regard the White League as *innocent as a Target Company.*”—Special Dispatch to the “N. Y. Times,” from Washington, Jan. 17, 1875.

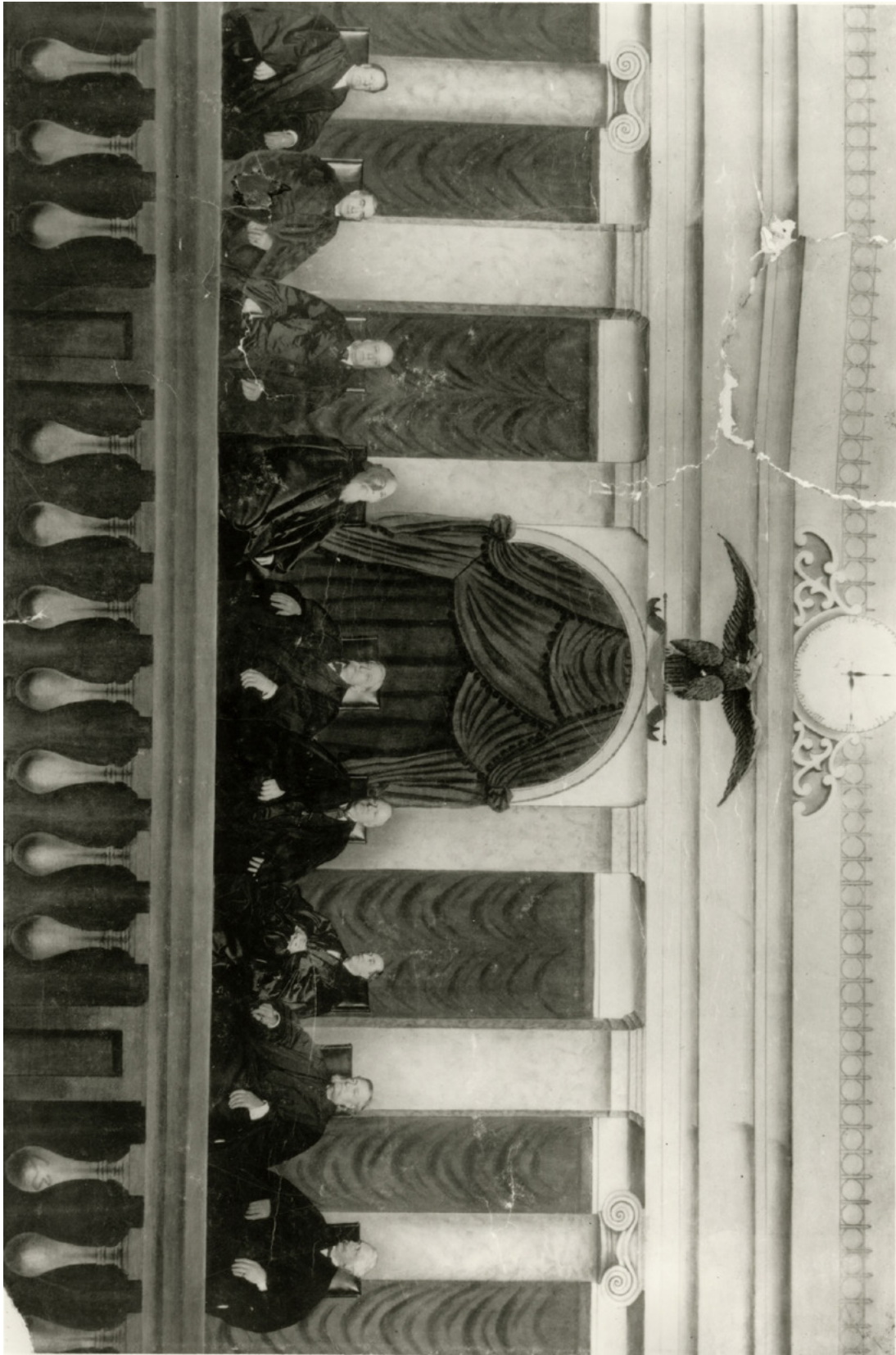
Resource 17 (c)

Thomas Nast, “The Target,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 1875. New-York Historical Society Library



Resource 17 (d)

Sign, "For White Passengers," Division of Political History, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution Sign, "For Colored Passengers," Division of Political History, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution



Resource 17 (e)

"The Fuller Court, Supreme Court." Illustration by Barnett Clinedinst, ca. 1888-1910. Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States



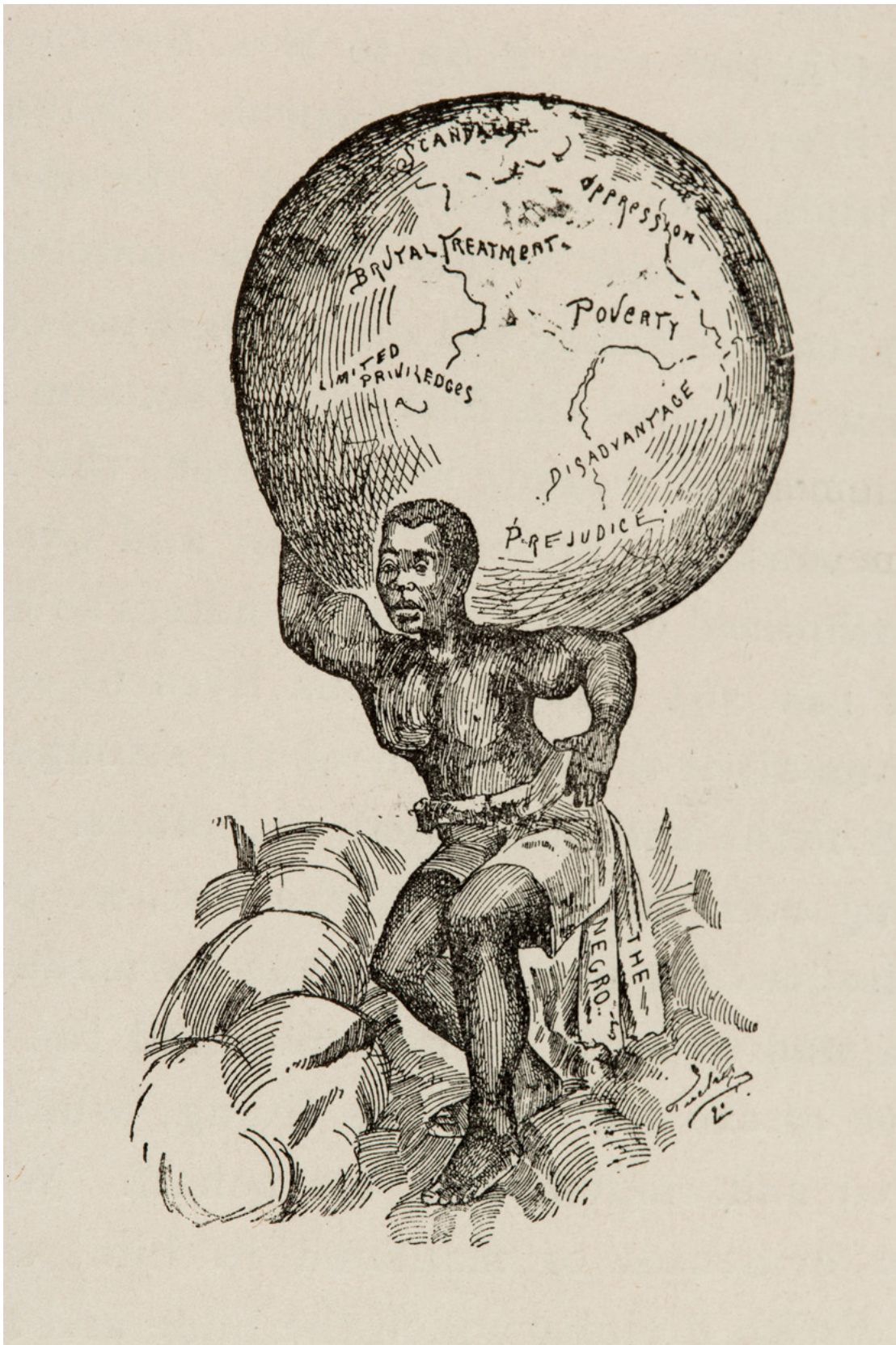
SENATOR TILLMAN IN CONGRESS.—“We do our best to keep every negro in our State from voting.”

THE NEGRO DISFRANCHISED
THE FIRST STEP INTO A NEW SLAVERY

P. THOMAS STANFORD

Resource 17 (f)

Sen Jillman: P. Thomas Stanford, "The Negro Disenfranchised," 1897. Courtesy of the New York Public Library



Resource 17 (g)

"The Negro and His Many Burdens," *The Tragedy of the Negro in America*, 1898. New-York Historical Society Library



Life Story: Janet Randolph

"Mrs. Norman V. Randolph," *A Souvenir Book of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association and the Unveiling of the Monument*, Richmond, Va., June 3rd, 1907. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1907. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



Life Story: Maggie Walker

Studio Portrait of Maggie L. Walker, early 20th century. Courtesy of National Park Service, Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site

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CITIZENSHIP
IN THE AGE OF **JIM CROW**

*because
history
matters*

NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
MUSEUM & LIBRARY

☞☞ Symbolized in the Vindicatrix which crowns the shaft of the monument erected by the Jefferson Davis Monument Association, the emblem of Southern womanhood, fitly stands, the immortal spirit of her land shining unquenched within her eyes, and her hand uplifted in an eternal appeal to the god of justice and truth. The heroism of Southern women was the inspiration of the matchless bravery of the Southern soldiers. Their hands girded the sash and their hearts fared forth their knights to the field. Now, the days of youth for many of these women lie buried on forgotten battle-fields. But in the twilight of their years they have builded: 'Love's memorial unto valor that shall stand while time shall bide.' ☞☞

Resource 18 (a)

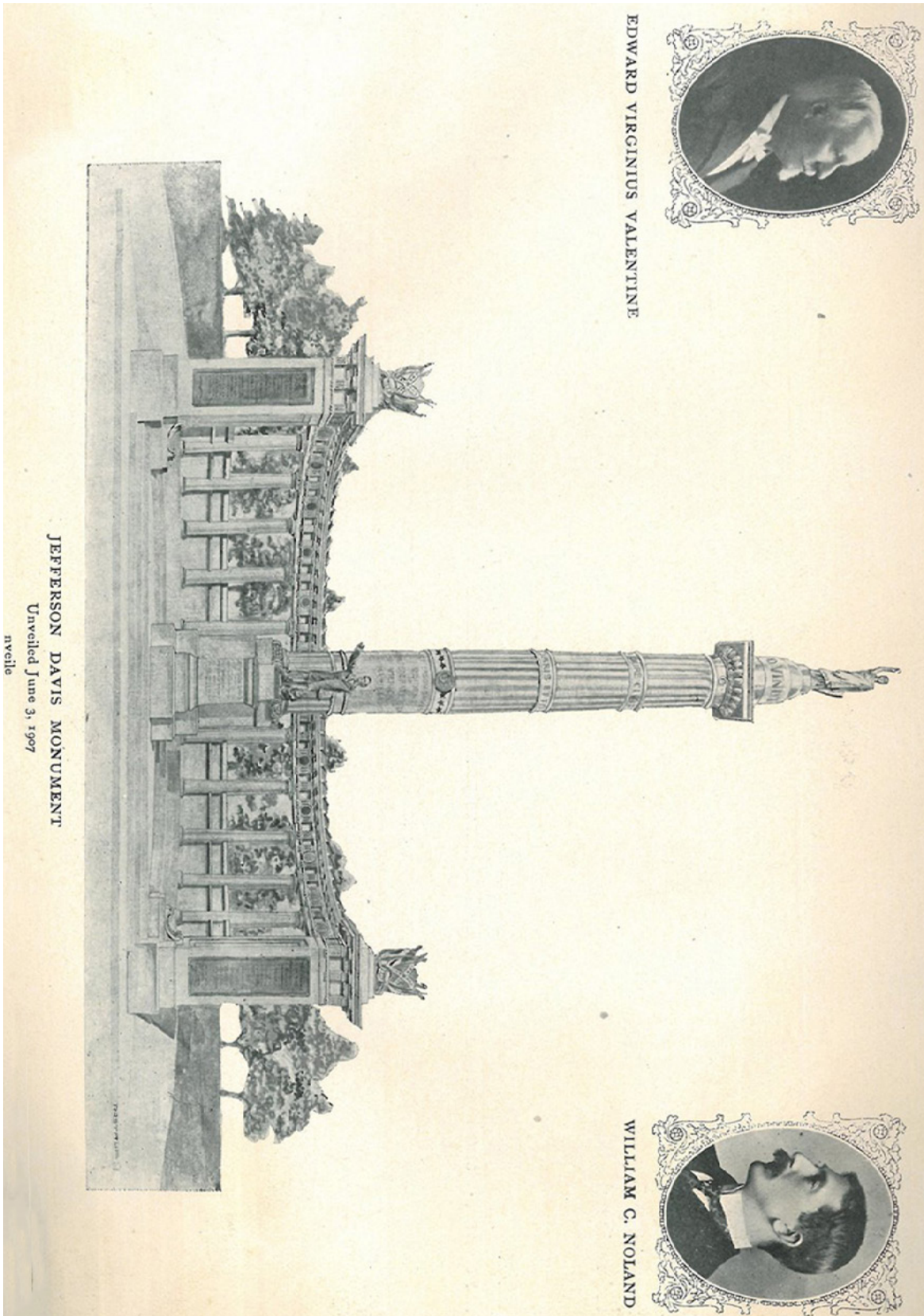
Epigraph, *A Souvenir Book of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association and the Unveiling of the Monument*, Richmond, Va., June 3, 1907. <https://archive.org/details/cu31924030945020> (accessed 5-5-18 by M. Waters).



EDWARD VIRGINIUS VALENTINE



WILLIAM C. NOLAND



JEFFERSON DAVIS MONUMENT
Unveiled June 3, 1907
nveille

Edward Virginius Valentine, sculptor, and William C. Noland, architect.

Resource 18 (b)

Unveiling of the Jefferson Davis monument, Richmond, ca. 1907. American Civil War Museum, Richmond, VA.



Resource 18 (c)

The Vindicatrix, ca. 1907. The Valentine, Richmond, Virginia

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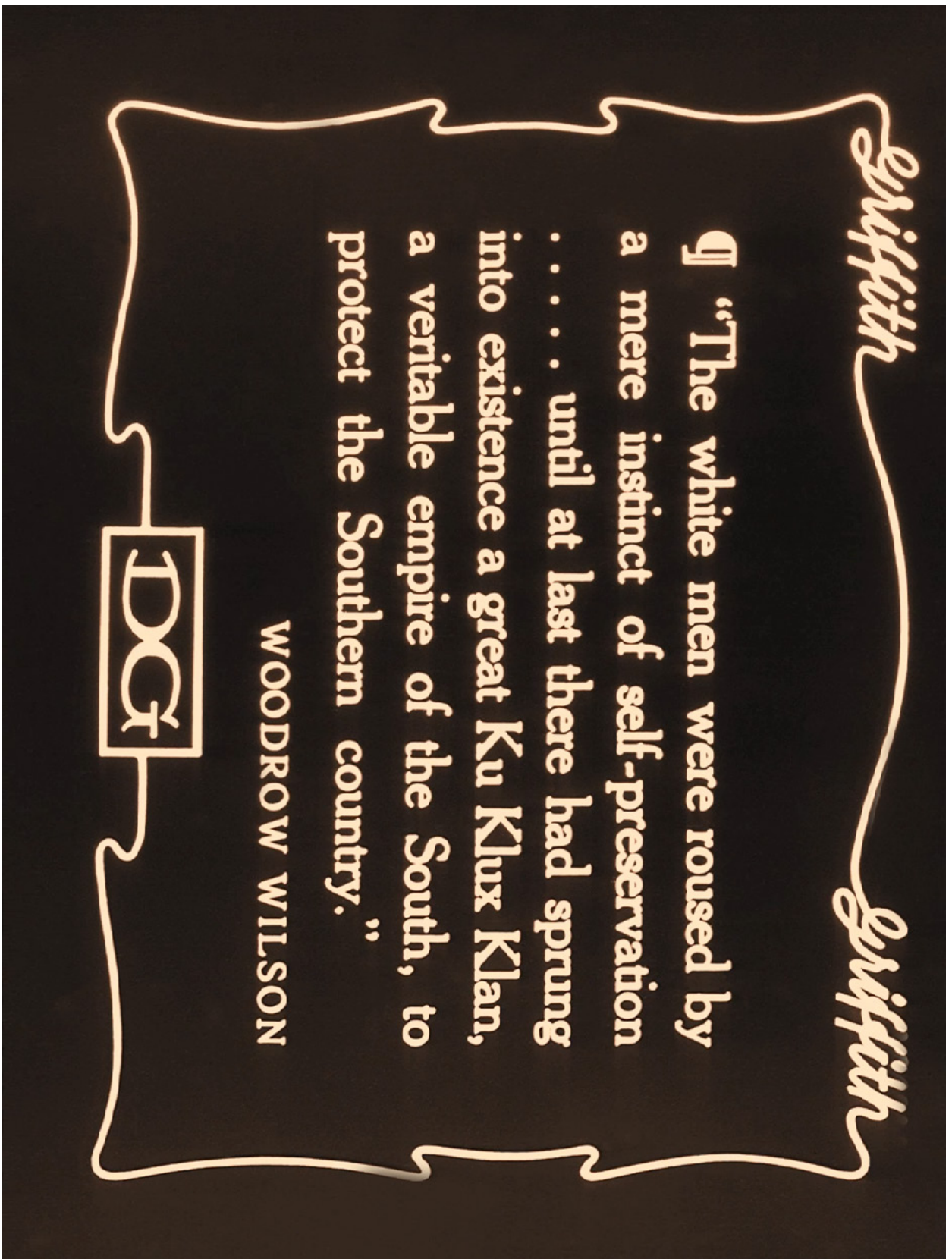
Resource 19 (a)

Reproduction still from *The Birth of a Nation*, 1915

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Resource 19 (b)

Woodrow Wilson on the KKK, printed on *The Birth of a Nation* film footage, 1915



Resource 20 (a)

Thomas E. Askew, *Daughter of Thomas E. Askew*, ca. 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Resource 20 (b)

Roger Williams University – Nashville, Tenn[essee] – Normal class, 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

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Resource 20 (c)

Roger Williams University – Nashville, Tenn[essee] – Ministers' class, 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



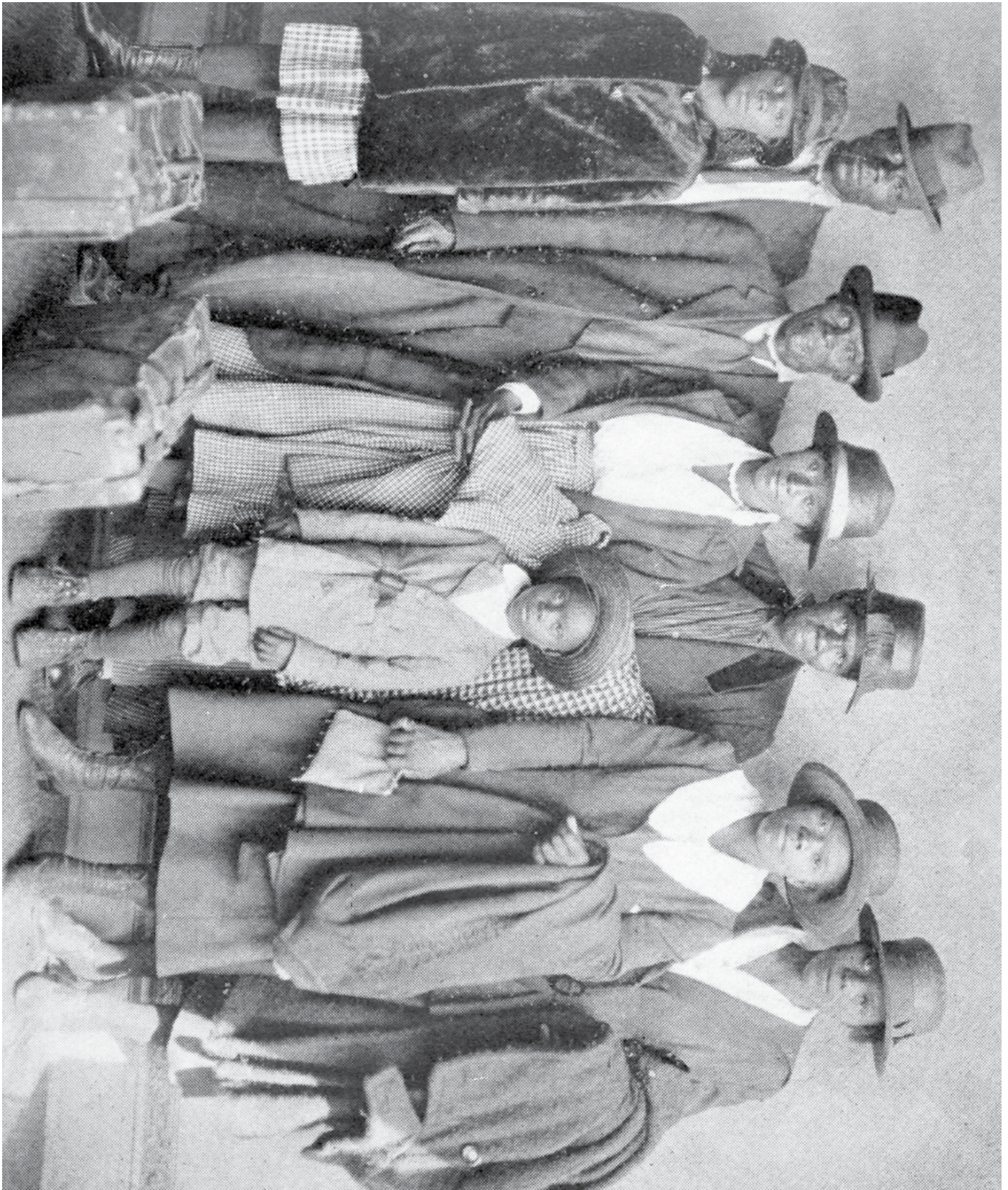
Resource 21

Underwood & Underwood, *Silent protest parade in New York [City] against the East St. Louis riots, 1917*. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



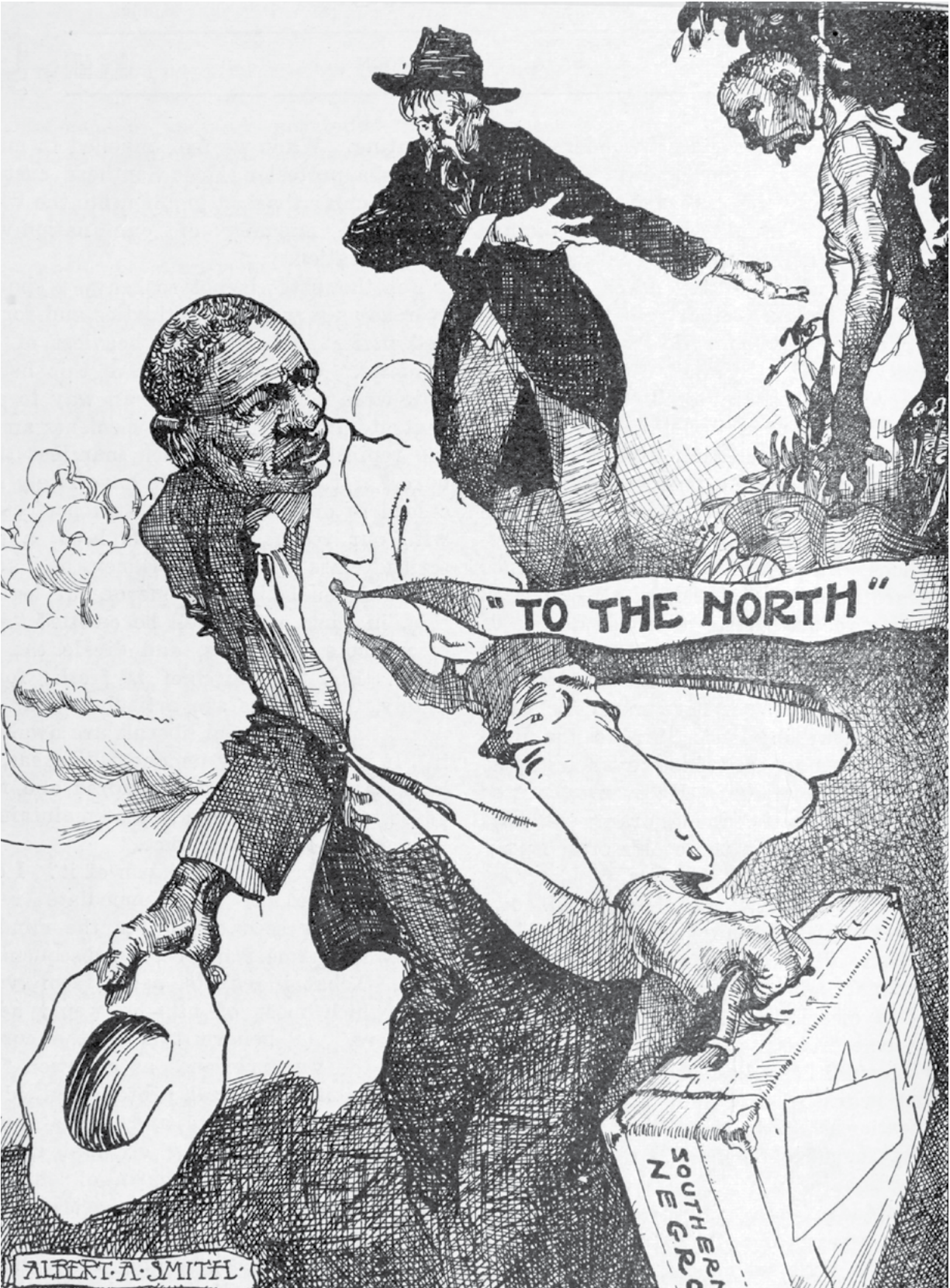
Resource 22

Nurses and Babies in front of Neighborhood House. Neighborhood Union collection, ca. 1908-1935. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center



Resource 23 (a)

"A Negro Family Arrives in Chicago," *The Negro in Chicago*, 1922. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library



Resource 23 (b)

"The Reason," *The Crisis*, 1920. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library. "The reason" New York Public Library Digital Collections



Resource 23 (c)

Harlem, Armistice Day, 1919. The New York Public Library



Resource 24

Charles Gustrine, *True Sons of Freedom*, 1918. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Epilogue: 1920s

United Negro Improvement Association parade in Harlem, 1920. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

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Epilogue: 1930s

Flag outside the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's New York office, 1936. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

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NEGRO FREEDOM RALLY



MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
Monday, June 26 7:30 P. M.

VICTORY
Over Fascism — Jim
Crowism — Anti-
Semitism.

UNITY
Behind our Command-
er-in-Chief for a speedy
victory—a just and last-
ing peace.

EQUALITY
Everywhere—in the
armed forces. — Jobs
for ALL. — The right
to vote.

OBJECTIVES
PASS Anti-Poll Tax Bill.
Strengthen the F.E.P.C.
Preserve United Na-
tions Coalition.
Maintain Labor and
People's
Unity.

TICKETS
Negro Labor
Victory
Committee
308 LENOX AVE.
LEhigh 4-9740

Peoples
Committee
132 W. 138th ST.

Local 65
13 ASTOR PLACE

NOTED SPEAKERS • GREAT ARTISTS • AND A COLORFUL PAGEANT

"NEW WORLD A-COMING"

Title courtesy of author and publisher. Pageant written and directed by Owen Dodson.

Initiated by Negro Labor Victory Committee, Peoples Committee, and Affiliated Organizations

308 Lenox Avenue. • LEhigh 4-9740, ATwater 9-4670

Epilogue: 1940s

Poster from *Negro Freedom Rally, Madison Square Garden, 1944*. Special Collections, University of Virginia Library

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Epilogue: 1950s

Nettie Hunt, sitting on the steps of the Supreme Court, explaining to her daughter Nikie the court's decision banning school segregation, 1954.
Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

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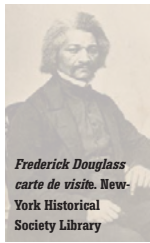


Epilogue: 1960s

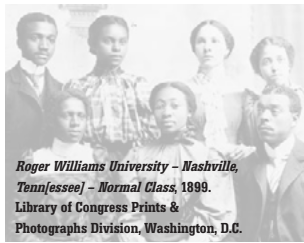
Demonstrators at the March to Freedom, Washington, D.C., 28 August, 1963. Courtesy of the Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University



Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters, c. 1863-1865. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Frederick Douglass carte de visite. New-York Historical Society Library



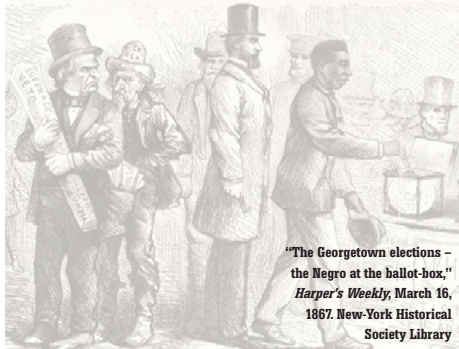
Roger Williams University - Nashville, Tennessee - Normal Class, 1899. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Contrabands in Richmond after surrender, c. 1865. New-York Historical Society Library



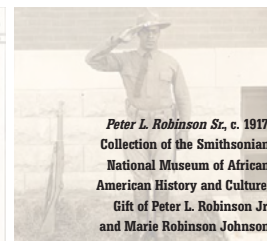
Mathew Brady, Hiram Revels carte de visite. New-York Historical Society Library



"The Georgetown elections - the Negro at the ballot-box," Harper's Weekly, March 16, 1867. New-York Historical Society Library



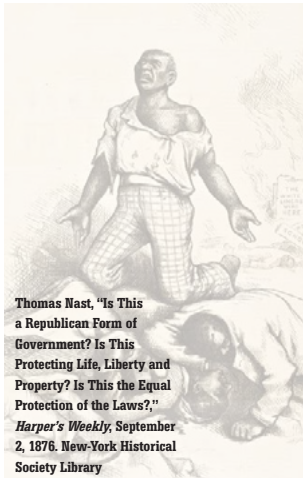
The Crisis, August 1916. New-York Historical Society Library



Peter L. Robinson Sr., c. 1917. Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Peter L. Robinson Jr. and Marie Robinson Johnson



Cihak and Zima, Ida E. Wells-Barnett, c. 1893-1894. University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center



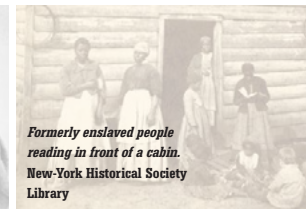
Thomas Nast, "Is This a Republican Form of Government? Is This Protecting Life, Liberty and Property? Is This the Equal Protection of the Laws?" Harper's Weekly, September 2, 1876. New-York Historical Society Library



African American Family Picking Cotton Near Savannah, Georgia. New-York Historical Society Library



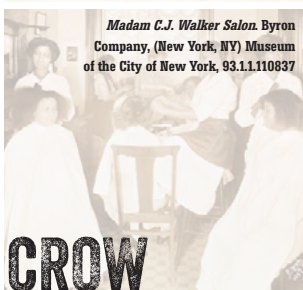
"A Negro Family Arrives in Chicago," The Negro in Chicago, 1922. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library



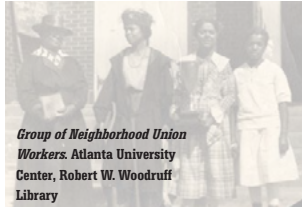
Formerly enslaved people reading in front of a cabin. New-York Historical Society Library



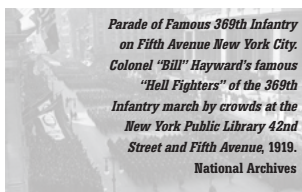
Juvenile convicts at work in the fields, c. 1903. Detroit Publishing Co., Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



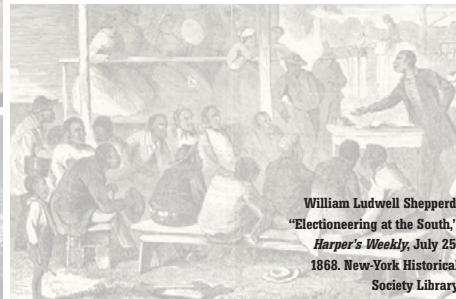
Madam C.J. Walker Salon. Byron Company, (New York, NY) Museum of the City of New York, 93.1.110837



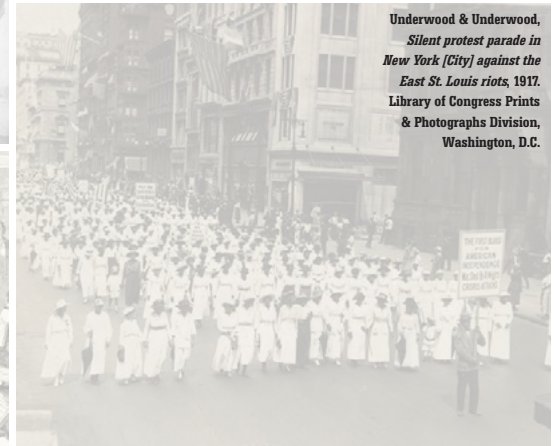
Group of Neighborhood Union Workers. Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library



Parade of Famous 369th Infantry on Fifth Avenue New York City. Colonel "Bill" Hayward's famous "Hell Fighters" of the 369th Infantry march by crowds at the New York Public Library 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, 1919. National Archives



William Ludwell Shepperd, "Electioneering at the South," Harper's Weekly, July 25, 1868. New-York Historical Society Library



Underwood & Underwood, Silent protest parade in New York [City] against the East St. Louis riots, 1917. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

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