VOLUME II: SINCE 1865

Discovering the American Past

A LOOK AT THE EVIDENCE | EIGHTH EDITION

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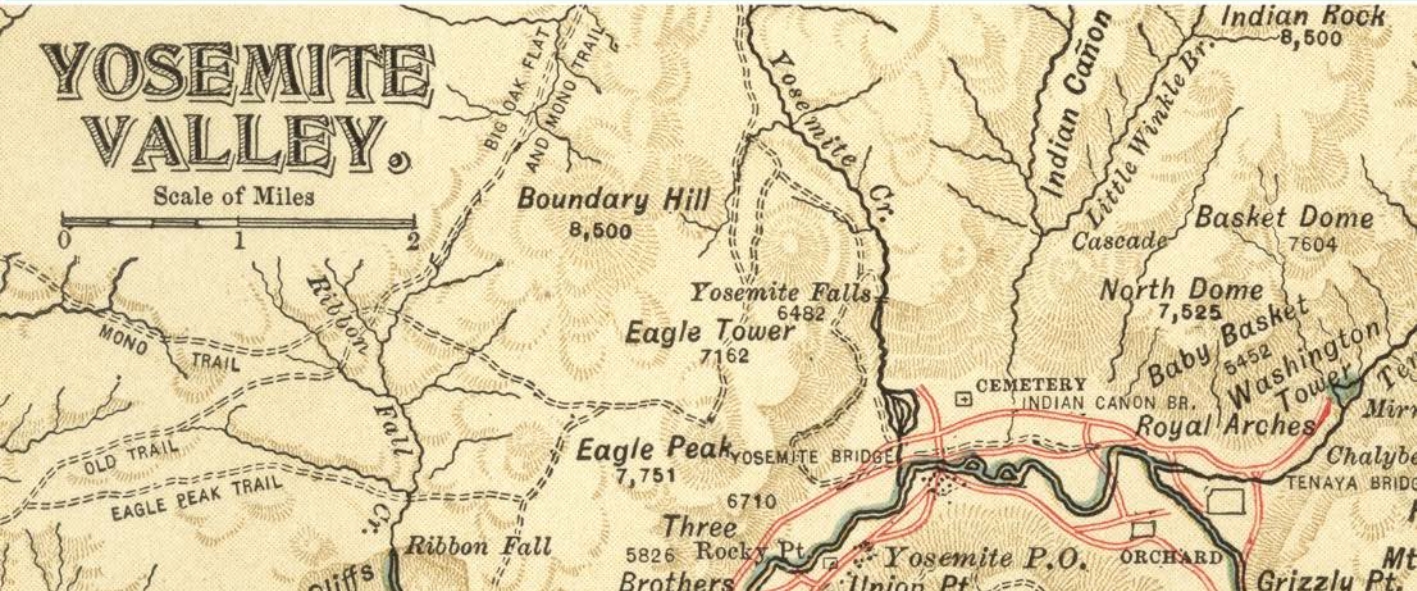

EIGHTH EDITION

Discovering the American Past

A Look at the Evidence

Volume II: Since 1865

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***Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence, Volume II: Since 1865*, Eighth Edition**

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Preface

In his 1990 State of the Union Address, President George Herbert Walker Bush set forth a set of National Education Goals, one of which was the objective that by the year 2000 "American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in . . . English, mathematics, science, history, and geography."[1]

Almost immediately large committees were established in each of the above disciplines, including the National Council for History Standards, composed of history professors, pre-college teachers, members of numerous organizations, educators, and parents. For two years the Council worked to draft a voluntary set of National History Standards that would provide teachers, parents, and American history textbook publishers with guidelines regarding what students ought to know about the U.S. past.

Yet even before the Standards were released to the general public, a storm of controversy arose, in which the Council was accused of a "great hatred of traditional history," of giving in to "political correctness," and of jettisoning the Founding Fathers, the Constitution, and people and events that have made the nation great in favor of individuals and events that portrayed the United States in a less complimentary light. Finally, in January 1995, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 99–1, approved a "sense-of-the-Senate" resolution condemning the standards developed by the National Council for History Standards and urging that any future guidelines for history should not be based on them.[2]

This was not the first time that American history standards and textbooks had been the sources of bitter controversy. In the late nineteenth century, northern and southern whites had radically different ideas about the Civil War and Reconstruction and demanded that public school textbooks reflect those notions. As a result, publishers created separate chapters on these periods for northern and southern schools. At the same time, Roman Catholic leaders in the United States complained about Protestant control of public education and of history textbooks, resulting in Catholics writing their own textbooks for their parochial schools.[3]

Then, in the 1940s, the popular American history textbooks of Professor Harold Rugg of Columbia University were assaulted as being too radical, mainly because Rugg had discussed subjects such as economic classes, inequality, and what he called the apparent failure of laissez-faire economics. By 1944, sales of his public school

1. Transcript, State of the Union Address, January 31, 1990, in C-SPAN.org/Transcripts/SOTU-1990.aspx. See also U.S. Department of Education, *National Goals for Education* (Washington: Dept. of Education, 1990), p. 1.
2. The Senate proceedings are summarized in Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), pp. 231–235. The lone senator who voted against the resolution was Bennett Johnston of Louisiana.
3. Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 15–20.

textbooks had dropped 90 percent, and by 1951 they had totally disappeared from American classrooms. The Cold War and the fear of communism extended this controversy and led to the removal from most textbooks of the sensitive subjects that had gotten Rugg into so much trouble.[4]

By the 1960s, scholars in many American colleges and universities had begun to view the nation's past in decidedly different ways, due in part to the gradual inclusion of African Americans, women, Native Americans, laborers, immigrants, and the "common folk" in the story of America's past. As these individuals took their places alongside the nation's founders, presidents, generals, corporate leaders, and intellectuals (almost all male and white), the texture and shape of American history began to change. At the same time, the Vietnam War prompted some scholars to look at the U.S. overseas record in new, less laudable ways.[5]

Some parents, school officials, and politicians, however, objected to what was being called the "new history." In the mid-1960s, distinguished historians John W. Caughey, John Hope Franklin, and Ernest R. May collaborated on a new eighth-grade American history textbook that raised a storm of protest in California and other states. Critics attacked the textbook as "very distasteful, slanted, and objectionable [and] stressed one-world government, quoted accused communists, portrayed the United States as a bully, [and] distorted history by putting American forefathers in a bad light." The authors made revisions, but "citizen groups" increased their attacks, pointing out that a speech by Patrick Henry was labeled "a tirade," that the military exploits of Generals George Patton and Omar Bradley were eliminated, and that Nathan Hale and Davy Crockett were not mentioned. Several school districts in California refused to adopt the book and some parents refused to allow their children to read it. In 1968, *Time* magazine reported that the textbook showed up on a list of 335 books that some groups demanded be banned. It seems as if both sides agreed with George Orwell when he wrote (in *1984*), "He who controls the past controls the future." Conflicts continue, over textbooks, Common Core, and what America's young men and women ought to know about their past upon their graduation.[6]

How can students hope to come to *their own* understanding of America's past? One way to do this is to go directly to the sources themselves, the "raw material" of history. In *Discovering the American Past,* we have included an engaging and at the same time challenging mixture of types of evidence, ranging from more traditional sources such as letters, newspapers, public documents, speeches, and oral reminiscences to more innovative evidence such as photographs, art, statistics, cartoons, and interviews. In each chapter students will use this varied evidence to solve the problem or answer the central question that each chapter poses.

4. *Ibid*., pp. 219–221. Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979), pp. 36–37. For one attack on textbooks, see E. Merrill Root, *Brainwashing in the High Schools: An Examination of Eleven American History Textbooks* (New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1958).
5. On the inclusion movements of the 1960s and 1970s, see Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), pp. 147–198.
6. John Hope Franklin, *Mirror to America: The Autobiography of John Hope Franklin* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2005), pp. 227–231; Nicholas J. Karolides, *Banned Books: Literature Suppressed on Political Grounds* (New York: Facts on File, rev. ed. 2006), pp. 300–302. On Common Core see *Huffington Post*, January 30, 2014.

Soon they will understand that the historian operates in much the same way as a detective in novels, films, or television programs does when solving a crime.[7]

As much as possible, we have tried to "let the evidence speak for itself" and have avoided (we hope) leading students toward one particular interpretation or another. *Discovering the American Past,* then, is a sort of historical sampler that we believe will help students learn the methods and skills all educated people must be able to master, as well as help them learn the historical content. In the words of an old West African saying, "However far the stream flows, it never forgets its source." Nor, we trust, will you.[8]

Format of the Book

Each chapter is divided into six parts: The Problem, Background, The Method, The Evidence, Questions to Consider, and Epilogue. Each part builds upon the others, creating a uniquely integrated chapter structure that helps guide the reader through the analytical process. The Problem section begins with a brief discussion of the central issues of the chapter and then states the questions students will explore. A Background section follows, designed to help students understand the historical context of the problem. The Method section gives students suggestions for studying and analyzing the evidence. The Evidence section is the heart of the chapter, providing a variety of primary source material on the particular historical event or issue described in the chapter's Problem section. Questions to Consider, the section that follows, focuses students' attention on specific evidence and on linkages among different evidence material. The Epilogue section gives the aftermath or the historical outcome of the evidence—what happened to the people involved, who won an election, how a debate ended, and so on.

Changes in the Eighth Edition

Each chapter in this edition has had to pass three important screening groups: (1) the authors (and some of our graduate students) who used the chapters to teach our students, (2) student evaluators who used *Discovering the American Past* in class, and (3) instructors who either used the book or read and assessed the new and revised chapters. With advice from our screeners, we have made the following alterations that we believe will make this edition of *Discovering the American Past* even more useful and contemporary.

Volume I contains four entirely new chapters. Chapter 1, "The Beginning of the World," concentrates on Native American and Judeo-Christian accounts of creation and what they tell us about the people who embraced them; Chapter 3, "From English Servants to African Slaves," allows students to explore the evolution of racial slavery in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Virginia; Chapter 10, on Civil War nurses of the Union and Confederacy, uses women's letters, diaries, and memoirs to understand the conflict through their eyes; and Chapter 12, which makes

7. See the exciting Robin W. Winks, ed., *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), esp. pp. xiii–xxiv.
8. For the saying, see Nash, *History on Trial*, p. 8.

a new turn in the volume by closing with a chapter that guides students toward designing their own research projects. In addition, the evidence in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 has been streamlined, and in Chapter 9 (on the "Peculiar Institution") we replaced the excerpt from Frederick Douglass with some of the writings of Solomon Northup (students perhaps will know about Northup's ordeals from the Academy Award–winning film *Twelve Years a Slave*). The chapter retains many of the materials from the WPA ex-slave interviews, but it also has been further revised to include freedom suits from antebellum St. Louis. These depositions allow students to see another way in which slaves told their own stories.

Volume II contains five entirely new chapters: Chapter 2 brings to life the transformative experience of immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by using the autobiography of a Russian Jewish girl who came of age in New York City working in the garment industry. Chapter 3 introduces students to environmental history by having them enter early twentieth-century debates about the damming of the Tuolumne River and the flooding of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park to provide safe and reliable water to the city of San Francisco. Chapter 10 surveys the rise of religious conservatism in the 1950s and 1960s and its role in American politics. A new Chapter 11 turns to the War on Drugs in the 1980s and the consequent rise of the prison state to try to untangle why the United States has the highest rate of incarceration in the world. Chapter 12, "History Skills in Action," offers students the opportunity to undertake their own individual research projects. In addition, all of the other chapters have been revised, Chapters 5 and 9 in a major way.

In all, we have paid close attention to students, fellow instructors, and reviewers in our efforts to keep *Discovering the American Past* fresh, challenging, and relevant. Earlier editions have shown clearly students' positive responses to the challenge of being, as Robin Winks put it, "historical detectives" who use historical evidence to reach their own conclusions.

Instructor's Resource Manual

Because we value the teaching of American history and yet fully understand how difficult it is to do well, we have written our own Instructor's Resource Manual to accompany *Discovering the American Past.* In this manual, we explain our specific content and skills objectives for each chapter. In addition, we include an expanded discussion of the Method and Evidence sections. We also answer some of our students' frequently asked questions about the material in each problem. Our suggestions for teaching and evaluating student learning draw not only upon our own experiences but also upon the experiences of those of you who have shared your classroom ideas with us. Finally, we wrote updated bibliographic essays for each problem.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank all the students and instructors who have helped us in developing and refining our ideas for this edition. In addition, we extend deep thanks to

those reviewers who offered us candid and enormously helpful advice and saved us from more than a few errors.

At Saint Louis University, Ivy McIntyre and Joshua Mather provided invaluable research assistance, and Torrie Hester, Stefan Bradley, and Flannery Burke generously shared their expertise and advice. Mike Everman showed us the rich potential of the St. Louis, Missouri, freedom suits. In Richmond, Virginia, Livia Marrs offered invaluable help in locating Civil War nurses and their memoirs. In Tennessee, Laura Vaught helped us through the maze of court records regarding Japanese internment suits, and SFC Darrell Rowe, Dr. Ed Caudill, and Joe and Justin Distretti helped us to understand the complicated legacy of Vietnam. Linda Claire Wheeler read almost every word and offered enlightened suggestions and gentle flogging. Dan Smith discussed, read, and encouraged, always with good cheer. Will Fontanez of the University of Tennessee Cartography Department created important maps for three chapters.

Finally, we owe a great deal to the members of the publishing team who worked together to make our ideas and words into a well-organized and attractive book. And to Jean Woy, who was present at the creation of the first edition of *Discovering the American Past* and who offered her steady and helpful guidance, we owe intellectual debts that can never be repaid. Also at Cengage, Clint Attebery represented this edition as the current U.S. History product manager. Prashanth Kamavarapu at Lumina Datamatics, guided the project through the production process. Lastly, we'd like to especially thank Anais Wheeler at Cengage, who kindly shared her wisdom on more matters than we can list.

And last, this edition is dedicated to Linda Claire Wheeler and Dan Smith, who kept the ship afloat when the waters all around us were considerably less than calm.

Any errors that do appear in any of the chapters are ours, not theirs.

CHAPTER

1

The Road to True Freedom: African American Alternatives in the New South

The Problem

On January 21, 1875, Ohio congressman James Garfield wrote to his friend and political ally Julius Converse to relate his troubles and fears regarding the collapse of Reconstruction and the erosion of the rights of freedmen and women:

> I have for some time had the impression that there is a general apathy among the people concerning the War and the Negro. The public seems to have tired of the subject and all appeals to do justice to the Negro seem to be set down to the credit of partisan prejudice.[1]

There is little doubt that, even before emancipation and Radical Reconstruction, African Americans had made some significant accomplishments in establishing churches and schools, organizing political and social clubs, choosing leaders, petitioning state and federal governments for expanded civil rights, and negotiating with their former masters or new employers for wages and working conditions. Then, during the Radical Reconstruction period, freedmen gained the right to vote, and received assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau (technically the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands) in medical services, establishing branches of the Freedmen's Bank, issuing food to the temporarily needy, and protecting freedmen

1. Garfield to Converse, January 21, 1875, quoted in Vincent P. De Santis, *Republicans Face the Southern Question: The New Departure Years*, *1877–1897* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 131. In 1880 Republicans nominated Garfield for president and he won in a razor-thin contest. Just a few months after his inauguration (on July 2, 1881), he was shot by a disappointed office seeker and died on September 19, 1881.

and women against violence as best it could with limited resources.[2]

Yet in many ways the situation of the freedmen had barely improved from that of servitude, and in some ways it had actually deteriorated and many hopes had been dashed. Economically, very few had been able to acquire land of their own (along with voting, a major goal), and the vast majority who remained in rural areas continued to work for white landowners under various forms of labor arrangements and sometimes even under outright peonage.[3] Political and civil rights supposedly had been guaranteed under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution and enforced by a small number of U.S. Army soldiers. But those rights often were violated. Federal courts offered little assistance, and as the states of the former Confederacy gradually returned to the control of Southern Democrats, protection of the freedmen and women evaporated.

Finally, as Garfield had feared, the North grew tired of Reconstruction, coming to the conclusion that former slaves could never achieve equality or ever *earn* equality. Many white northerners agreed with Editor E. L. Godkin, who denounced Radical Republicans for "the insane task of making newly emancipated field hands, led by barbers and barkeepers, fancy they knew as much about government and were as capable of administering it, as the whites. . . . It was a silly attempt, doubly silly when made through the use of troops."[4] Even as the nation prepared to celebrate its centennial in 1876, whites in both the North and the South called for an end to sectional animosity and an embrace of national unity—even if it was only on the surface and would require the betrayal of democracy and of the freedmen and women. At that point African Americans understood all too well what lay ahead.[5]

Gradually the South came to appreciate the fact that it could move with impunity against African Americans and that there would not be a repeat of Radical Reconstruction—even though southern leaders threatened white voters with that possibility. The Supreme Court's decision in the 1883 Civil Rights Cases made it clear that the federal

2. See John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (New York: Alfred a. Knopf, 8th ed. 2000), pp. 250–275 passim. On leaders see Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), parts 1 and 2; Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, rev. ed. 1996).

3. Whatever names were given to these labor arrangements (tenancy, sharecropping, and so on), in most of the arrangements a white landowner or merchant furnished farm workers with foodstuffs and fertilizers on credit, taking a percentage of the crops grown in return. For a fascinating description of how the system worked, see Theodore Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974). On peonage see Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901–1969* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), esp. p. 22.

4. *The Nation*, August 24, October 16, 1876, quoted in De Santis, *Republicans Face the Southern Question*, p. 44.

5. In 1876 *Scribner's Monthly* hoped that "the 'Spirit of '76' was one that would heal all the old wounds, reconcile all the old differences." For national reunification and the *Scribner's Monthly* quote, see Edward J. Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865–1898* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), pp. 3, 137.

government would offer the South a free hand in dealing with the freedmen and women, even if that meant segregation laws and an irregular "army" of volunteer armed civilians to enforce second-class citizenship for African Americans.[6]

Beginning in the early 1890s, southern states began a successful campaign to disfranchise black voters and to institute legal segregation through legislation that collectively became known as Jim Crow laws.[7] In some ways far more dangerous, violence against African Americans was increasing and in most cases was going unpunished. Between 1889 and 1900, 1,357 lynchings of African Americans were recorded in the United States, the vast majority in the states of the former Confederacy. In 1898, in New Bern, North Carolina, one white orator proposed "choking the Cape Fear River with the bodies of Negroes." In truth, by the 1890s it had become evident for all who cared to see that Lincoln's emancipation of southern slaves had been considerably less than complete.

Economic semiservitude, disfranchisement, assaults on black women, and widespread lynchings combined to undercut the African American male's sense of his own manhood. Alternately portrayed by whites as childlike creatures or as brutish sexual predators, black males tried desperately, though not always successfully, to assert their manhood. At the beginning of the Spanish American War in 1898, many African American men rushed to enlist in the armed services, and one unit actually rescued Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders from a difficult situation in their soon-to-be-famous "charge up San Juan Hill."

Many whites, however, refused to allow African American men to express their masculinity. Indeed, more than a few white men actually believed that *they themselves* displayed their own masculinity by keeping blacks in their "place." During the racially charged North Carolina state elections in 1898, one newspaper published a poem that specifically expressed that sentiment:

> Rise, ye sons of Carolina!
> Proud Caucasians, one and all;
> Be not deaf to Love's appealing—
> Hear your wives and daughters call,
> See their blanched and anxious faces,
> Note their frail, but lovely forms
> Rise, defend their spotless virtue
> With your strong and manly arms.[8]

Thus, in the eyes of many African Americans their lot appeared not to be rising but rather descending. A number of spokespersons offered significantly

6. In the 1883 Civil Rights Cases (109 U.S. 3), the Supreme Court ruled in an 8–1 decision that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional because it attempted to regulate private conduct of individuals with regard to racial discrimination, an action that was beyond the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment, which applied only to the states. John J. Patrick, *The Supreme Court of the United States: A Student Companion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed. 2006), pp. 81–82.

7. The term *Jim Crow*, generally used to refer to issues relating to African Americans, originated in the late 1820s with white minstrel singer Thomas "Daddy" Rice, who performed the song "Jump Jim Crow" in blackface makeup. By the 1840s, the term was used to refer to racially segregated facilities in the North.

8. *Wilmington (NC) Messenger*, November 8, 1898, quoted in Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 91. Gilmore's study is highly recommended for anyone who wishes to delve more deeply into this topic.

different strategies for improving the situation of African Americans in the South. For this chapter's Evidence section, we have chosen five such spokespersons, all of them well known to blacks in the New South. Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) was a journalist, lecturer, and crusader who was highly regarded in both the United States and Europe. Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) was a celebrated educator, author, and political figure who many believed should have inherited the mantle of Frederick Douglass as the principal spokesperson for African Americans. Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915) was a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and a controversial speaker and writer. W. E. B. DuBois (pronounced *Du Boys'*, 1868–1963) was an academician and editor and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Finally, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911) was a popular poet and writer who gave numerous speeches in support of both African American and women's rights. Each of these spokespersons offered a contrasting alternative for African Americans in the New South.

In this chapter, you will be analyzing the situation that southern blacks faced in the years after Reconstruction and identifying and evaluating the principal alternatives offered by these five important African American spokespersons to deal with their deteriorating conditions. **What different strategies did Wells, Washington, Turner, DuBois, and Harper call for to improve the collective lot of African Americans? Were there other options that they did *not* address?** Based on your examination of southern blacks' deteriorating position in the post-Reconstruction South *and* the five recommended alternatives, what do you think were the strengths and weaknesses of each approach as well as any other approaches you may have uncovered? Finally, keep in mind that while the five spokespersons did not always get along or agree with one another, all of them advocated taking different paths to the *same* ultimate goal: full equality for African Americans.

Background

Unbeknownst to almost all southern whites, black slaves had surprising and fairly sophisticated ways of passing information, what historian Eric Foner referred to as a "grapevine telegraph," some of which included songs, quilts with secret messages in the patterns, whispers from plantation to plantation, overhearing white conversations, and so on. Thus as early as the outbreak of the war in 1861, slaves were well aware of the war's progress as well as what that conflict meant for them. On November 7, 1861, a U.S. naval squadron sailed into Port Royal Sound in South Carolina and reduced the two Confederate batteries to rubble. And when one black child mistook the ships' guns for thunder, his mother comforted him by saying, "Son, dat ain't no t'under, dat Yankees

come to gib you freedom." As far away as California, one African American predicted, "Old things are passing away. . . . The revolution has begun."[9]

Unquestionably, the new Confederate nation (if it ever had in fact become a nation) had begun to unravel not long after the beginning of hostilities. The Confederate government, such as it was, was unable to exert its authority over large sections of the South. As for the vaunted Confederate armies, they could fight fiercely, but they also could desert when they felt like it or believed they had done their duty. General Robert E. Lee complained to President Jefferson Davis that "Our ranks are very much diminished—I fear from a third to one-half of our original numbers." And on the home front, in spite of increased patrols to capture or kill runaway slaves or deserters, as early as the fall of 1861, slaves began to "walk away" from their plantations and, with the "home guard" eventually diminished, many whites were afraid of violence by the former slaves. One Alabama physician confided to a nurse at a Confederate hospital that he "had left his young wife on his plantation, with more than a hundred Negroes upon it, and no white man but an overseer. He had told the Negroes, before he left, if they desired to leave, they could do so when they pleased." And they often did leave, many to Union army lines. In March 1862 Congress passed an act forbidding the army from returning slaves to their masters. Indeed, before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, slavery had virtually collapsed in large areas of the South, and for the so-called Confederate nation it was only a matter of time.[10]

As the war staggered to its bloody conclusion, African Americans celebrated their freedom, went to search for family members who had been either traded or sold, began to establish their own churches and schools, performed legal marriages, attempted to set up work agreements with their former masters or other potential employers, and formed clubs and political societies, which held meetings to select leaders who could petition the federal government to assist them in winning their rights (especially the right to vote). As one African American observed, "They tell me before Mr. Lincoln made them free they had nothing to work for, to look up to, now they have everything, and will, by God's help, make their best of it."[11]

9. See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, *1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), p. 3. One southern white warned that "the black waiters are all ears now." Hahn, *A Nation Under Their Feet*, p. 36. For Port Royal see Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 12. For a report on the bombardment, see Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1864), supplement to vol. 1, pp. 192–197. For the Californian, see Foner, *Reconstruction*, p. 27.

10. For the Confederate government and army desertions, see David Donald, "Died of Democracy," in David Donald, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), pp. 77–90, esp. 79. For the Alabama physician, see Richard Barksdale Harwell, ed., *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), p. 17. On the 1862 Act of Congress, see Foner, *Reconstruction*, p. 6. For patrols and "walking off," see Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom,* pp. 233–234.

11. For one such celebration see Hahn, *A Nation Under Their Feet*, p. 113. For one African American's observation see Foner, *Reconstruction*, p. 95. For one such petition having to do with achieving the right to vote, see Ira Berlin, ed., *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War* (New York: New Press, 1992), pp. 497–505.

This is not to say that these gains came easily, for they did not. With the war ending in the spring, it was essential for crops to be planted immediately. Landowners desperately needed black labor and often either refused to free their slaves or forced freedmen and women to work without pay. In some states, blacks could be jailed as vagrants and were hired out to anyone able to pay their fines (former masters had the right of "first hire"). In the former Confederate states, laws were passed in an attempt to set up a system somewhere between slavery and freedom. In some states African Americans could not own firearms or alcoholic beverages; had to obey city curfews; and suffer punishment for insulting gestures to whites, "bad behavior," and so forth.

Violence against freedmen and women was widespread. In Texas between 1865 and 1868, over one thousand blacks were murdered for a number of reasons. In Pine Bluff, Arkansas, in 1866 whites set fire to a black community; shot those who tried to escape the flames; and hanged twenty-four men, women, and children. And in Memphis, Tennessee, a three-day riot resulted in forty African Americans being killed; dozens wounded; several raped; and black churches, schools, and homes destroyed. Finally, throughout the South, informal organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and other groups engaged in wholesale drownings, whippings, shootings, and lynchings of freedmen and women who attempted to exercise their rights. As *Richmond Examiner* editor Edward A. Pollard put it, "[t]he war did not decide negro equality; it did not decide negro suffrage; it did not decide State Rights. . . . And these things, which the war did not decide, the southern people will still cling to."[12]

Angered by President Andrew Johnson's unwillingness to take action against white southerners who refused to accept defeat or to recognize slaves' emancipation, Congress passed and overrode Johnson's veto of a series of acts that created a harsher reconstruction of the South. These acts included sending U.S. Army troops to assist the Freedmen's Bureau (created in 1865) in negotiating labor contracts, providing food and medical supplies, establishing schools, and registering freedmen to vote. In addition, southern states were required to elect delegates (with African American males enfranchised and disloyal whites disfranchised) to conventions that would write new state constitutions to be approved by Congress. When the constitution was approved *and* when the state had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment (by 1868 seven southern states had yet to do so), that state could be readmitted to the Union and could send senators and representatives to Congress.

And yet, despite the efforts of some federal officeholders, officials of the Freedmen's Bureau, a minority of U.S. Army soldiers, and the African Americans themselves, Reconstruction, according to historian William Gillette, "was virtually over almost as soon as it had begun." To begin with,

12. For "black codes," see Foner, *Reconstruction*, pp. 199–209. For violence see *ibid*, pp. 119–123; Stephen V. Ash, *A Massacre in Memphis: The Race Riot That Shook the Nation One Year After the Civil War* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2013). For Pollard's remark, see David Goldfield, *America Aflame: How the Civil War Created a Nation* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), quoted p. 406.

the scope and power of America's mid-nineteenth-century government were only fractions of what they would become a half century later. The Freedmen's Bureau had only about nine hundred officials in the entire South (only one in the entire state of Mississippi); the U.S. Army troops were small in number and scattered about the former Confederacy; and not a few of the federal officials were inefficient—some were corrupt, and a goodly number were racists. At last, as popular support in the North for Reconstruction evaporated, Republican candidates for office ceased to "wave the bloody shirt" and drum up sympathy for the freedmen and women. The feelings evoked by Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) were virtually gone.[13]

The gradual end of Reconstruction by the federal government left the South in the hands of political and economic leaders who chose to call themselves "Redeemers." Many of these men came from the same planter elite that had led the South prior to the Civil War, thus giving the post-Reconstruction South a high degree of continuity with earlier eras. Also important, however, was a comparatively new group of southerners, men who called for a "New South" that would be highlighted by increased industrialization, urbanization, and diversified agriculture.

In many ways, the New South Movement was an undisguised attempt to imitate the industrialization that was sweeping through the North in the mid to late nineteenth century. Indeed, the North's industrial prowess had been one reason for its ultimate military victory. As Reconstruction collapsed in the southern states, many southern bankers, business leaders, and newspaper editors became convinced that the South should not return to its previous, narrow economic base of plantations and one-crop agriculture, but instead should follow the North's lead toward modernization through industry. Prior to the Civil War, many of these people had called for economic diversification, but they had been overwhelmed by the plantation aristocracy that dominated southern state politics and had used that control to further its own interests. By the end of Reconstruction, however, the planter elite had lost a good deal of its authority, thus creating a power vacuum into which advocates of a New South could move.

Nearly every city, town, and hamlet of the former Confederacy had its New South boosters. Getting together in industrial societies or chambers of commerce, the boosters called for the erection of mills and factories. Why, they asked, should southerners export their valuable raw materials elsewhere, only to see them return from northern and European factories as costly finished products? Why couldn't southerners set up their own manufacturing establishments and become prosperous within a self-contained economy? And if the southerners were short of capital, why not encourage rich northern investors to put up money in return for promises of great profits? In fact, the South had all the ingredients required of an industrial system: raw materials, a rebuilt

13. For William Gillette's opinion, see his *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869–1879* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 363, 380. For the Republicans' shift in strategy from relying on freedmen to build a Republican party in the South to an embrace of pro-business southern whites, see De Santis, *Republicans Face the Southern Question*, p. 11.

transportation system, labor, potential consumers, and the possibility of obtaining capital. As they fed each other's dreams, the New South advocates pictured a resurgent South, a prosperous South, a triumphant South, and a South of steam and power rather than plantations and cotton.

Undoubtedly, the leading spokesman of the New South Movement was Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and one of the most influential figures in the southern states. Born in Athens, Georgia, in 1850, Grady was orphaned in his early teens when his father was killed in the Civil War. Graduating from his hometown college, the University of Georgia, Grady began a long and not particularly profitable career as a journalist. In 1879, aided by northern industrialist Cyrus Field, he purchased a quarter interest in the *Atlanta Constitution* and became that newspaper's editor. From that position, he became the chief advocate of the New South Movement.

Whether speaking to southern or northern audiences, Grady had no peer. Addressing a group of potential investors in New South industries in New York in 1886, he delighted his audience by saying that he was glad the Confederacy had lost the Civil War, for that defeat had broken the power of the plantation aristocracy and provided the opportunity for the South to move into the modern industrial age. Northerners, Grady continued, were welcome: "We have sown towns and cities in the place of theories, and put business above politics . . . and have . . . wiped out the place where Mason and Dixon's line used to be."[14]

14. Grady's speech is in Richard N. Current and John A. Garraty, eds., *Words That Made American History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962), Vol. II, pp. 23–31.

To those southerners who envisioned a New South, the central goal was a harmonious, interdependent society in which each person and thing had a clearly defined place. Most New South boosters stressed industry and the growth of cities because the South had few factories and mills and almost no cities of substantial size. But agriculture also would have its place, although it would not be the same as the cash-crop agriculture of the pre-Civil War years. Instead, New South spokespersons advocated a diversified agriculture that would still produce cash crops for export or for home manufacturing but would also make the South more self-sufficient by cultivating food crops and raw materials for the anticipated factories. Small towns would be used for collection and distribution, a rebuilt railroad network would transport goods, and northern capital would finance the entire process. Hence, each part of the economy and, indeed, each person would have a clearly defined place in the New South, and that would ensure everyone a piece of the New South's prosperity.

But even as Grady and his counterparts were fashioning their dreams of a New South and selling that vision to both northerners and southerners, a less beneficial, and less prosperous side of the New South was taking shape. In spite of the New South advocates' successes in establishing factories and mills (for example, Knoxville, Tennessee, witnessed the founding of more than ninety such enterprises in the 1880s alone), the post-Reconstruction South remained primarily agricultural. Furthermore, many of the farms were worked by sharecroppers or tenant farmers who eked out a bare subsistence while the profits went

to the landowners or to the banks. This situation was especially prevalent in the lower South, where by 1910 a great proportion of farms were worked by tenants: South Carolina (63.0 percent), Georgia (65.6 percent), Alabama (60.2 percent), Mississippi (66.1 percent), and Louisiana (55.3 percent).[15] Even as factory smokestacks were rising on portions of the southern horizon, the majority of southerners remained in agriculture and in poverty.

Undeniably, African Americans suffered the most. More than four million African American men, women, and children had been freed by the Civil War. During Reconstruction, some advances were made, especially in the areas of public education and voter registration. Yet even these gains were either impermanent or incomplete. By 1880 in Georgia, only 33.7 percent of the black school-age population was enrolled in school, and by 1890 (twenty-five years after emancipation), almost half of all blacks aged ten to fourteen in the Deep South were still illiterate.[16] As for voting rights, the vast majority of African American men chose not to exercise them, fearing intimidation and violence.

Many blacks and whites at the time recognized that African Americans would never be able to improve their situation economically, socially, or politically without owning land. Yet even many Radical Republicans were reluctant to give land to the former slaves. Such a move would mean seizing land from the white planters, a proposal that clashed with the notion of the sanctity of private property. As a result, most African Americans were forced to take menial, low-paying jobs in southern cities or to work as farmers on land they did not own. By 1880, only 1.6 percent of the landowners in Georgia were African Americans, although blacks constituted 47 percent of the state's population.

As poor urban laborers or tenant farmers, African Americans were dependent on their employers, landowners, or bankers and prey to vagrancy laws, the convict lease system, peonage, and outright racial discrimination. Moreover, the end of Reconstruction in the southern states eventually was followed by a reimposition of rigid racial segregation, at first through a return to traditional practices and later (in the 1890s) by state laws governing nearly every aspect of southern life. For example, voting by African Americans was discouraged, initially by intimidation and then by more formal means such as poll taxes and literacy tests. African Americans who protested or strayed from their "place" were dealt with harshly. Between 1880 and 1918, more than 2,400 African Americans were lynched by southern white mobs, each action being a grim reminder to African Americans of what could happen to those who challenged the status quo. For their part, the few southern whites who spoke against such outrages were themselves subjects of intimidation and even violence. Indeed, although most African American men and women undoubtedly would have disagreed, African Americans' relative position in some ways had deteriorated since the end of the Civil War.

15. Bureau of the Census, *Farm Tenancy in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), pp. 207–208.
16. Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 28, 30.

To be sure, a black middle class did exist and was growing in the South, principally in cities such as New Orleans, Richmond, Durham, and Atlanta. Most were men and women who served the African American community (editors, teachers, clergy, undertakers, retailers, restauranteurs, realtors, and so forth), people who owned their own homes, saw to it that their sons and daughters received good educations, and maintained a standard of living superior to the majority of whites and blacks in the South.[17] Although some of them spoke out in the interests of fellow African Americans, more preferred to live out of the spotlight and challenged the region's status quo quietly—when they did so at all.

Many New South advocates openly worried about how potential northern investors and politicians might react to the disturbing erosion of African Americans' position or to the calls of some middle-class blacks for racial justice. Although the dream of the New South rested on the concept of a harmonious, interdependent society in which each component (industry or agriculture, for example) and each person (white or black) had a clearly defined place, it appeared that African Americans were being kept in their "place" largely by laws, intimidation, and violence. Who would want to invest in a region where the status quo of mutual deference and "place" often was maintained by force? To calm northern fears, Grady and his cohorts assured northerners that African Americans' position was improving and that southern society was one of mutual respect between the races. "We have found," Grady stated, "that in summing up, the free Negro counts for more than he did as a slave."[18] Most northerners believed Grady because they wanted to, because they had no taste for another bitter Reconstruction, and in many cases because they shared white southerners' prejudice against African Americans. Grady was able to reassure them because they wanted to be reassured.

Thus, for southern African Americans, the New South Movement had done little to better their collective lot. Indeed, in some ways their position actually had deteriorated. Tied economically either to land they did not own or to the lowest-paying jobs in towns and cities, subjects of an increasingly rigid code of racial segregation and loss of political rights, and victims of an upswing in racially directed violence, African Americans in the New South had every reason to question the oratory of Henry Grady and other New South boosters. Jobs in the New South's mills and factories generally were reserved for whites, so the opportunities that European immigrants in the North had to work their way gradually up the economic ladder were closed to southern blacks.

How did African Americans respond to this deteriorating situation? In the 1890s, numerous African American farmers joined the Colored Alliance, part of the Farmers' Alliance Movement that swept the South and Midwest in the 1880s and 1890s. This movement attempted to reverse the farmers' eroding position through the establishment of

17. On home ownership, in North Carolina in 1870, only 5.6 percent of African Americans owned their own homes. By 1910, that figure had risen to 26 percent. Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, p. 15.

18. *The New South: Writings and Speeches of Henry Grady* (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1971), p. 8.

farmers' cooperatives, to sell their crops together for higher prices and to purchase manufactured goods wholesale, and by entering politics to elect candidates sympathetic to farmers, who would draft legislation favorable to farmers. Many feared, however, that this increased militancy of farmers—white and black—would produce a political backlash that would leave them even worse off. Such a backlash occurred in the South in the 1890s with the defeat of the Populist revolt.

Wells, Washington, Turner, DuBois, and Harper offered southern African Americans alternative means of confronting the economic, social, and political difficulties they faced. And, as African American men and women soon discovered, there were other options as well.

Your task in this chapter is to analyze the Evidence section in order to answer the following central questions:

1. What were the different alternatives offered by Wells, Washington, Turner, DuBois, and Harper?
2. Were there other options those five spokespersons did not mention?
3. What were the strengths and weaknesses of each alternative? Note: Remember that you are evaluating the five alternatives *not* from a present-day perspective but in the context and time in which they were advocated (1892–1906).
4. How would you support your assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of each alternative?

The Method

In this chapter, the Evidence section is from speeches delivered by five well-known African Americans or from their writings that were also given as speeches. Although all five spokespersons were known to southern African Americans, they were not equally prominent. It is almost impossible to tell which of the five was the best known (or least known) in her or his time, although fragmentary evidence suggests that Washington and Harper were the most famous figures among African Americans in various socioeconomic groups.

The piece by Ida B. Wells (Source 1) is excerpted from a pamphlet published simultaneously in the United States and England in 1892, but it is almost certain that parts of it were delivered as a speech by Wells in that same year. The selections by Booker T. Washington (Source 2), Henry McNeal Turner (Source 3), W. E. B. DuBois (Source 4), and Frances E. W. Harper (Source 5) are transcriptions, or printed versions, of speeches delivered between 1895 and 1906.

Ida B. Wells was born a slave in Holly Springs, Mississippi, in 1862. After emancipation, her father and mother, as a carpenter and a cook, respectively, earned enough money to send her to freedmen's school. In 1876, her parents died in a yellow fever epidemic. Only fourteen years old, Wells lied about her age and got a job teaching in a rural school for blacks, eventually moving to Memphis, Tennessee, to teach in the city's school

for African Americans. In September 1883, she was forcibly removed from a railroad passenger car for refusing to move to the car reserved for "colored" passengers (she bit the conductor's hand in the scuffle). She won a lawsuit against the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, but that lawsuit was overturned by the Tennessee Supreme Court in 1887.[19] About this time Wells began writing articles for many black-owned newspapers (one of which, *Free Speech,* she co-owned), mostly on the subject of unequal educational opportunities for whites and blacks in Memphis. As a result, the Memphis school board discharged her, and she became a full-time journalist and lecturer. Then, in March 1892, three black men, one of them a friend of Wells, were lynched in Memphis. Her angry editorial in *Free Speech* resulted in the newspaper's destruction. The other co-owner was threatened with hanging and castration, the paper's former owner was pistol-whipped, and Wells herself was threatened with lynching if she returned to Memphis (she was in New York when her editorial was published). Relocating to Chicago, in 1895 she married black lawyer-editor Ferdinand Lee Barnett and from that time went by the name Ida Wells-Barnett, a somewhat radical practice in 1895.

Like Wells, Booker T. Washington was born a slave, in Franklin County, Virginia. Largely self-taught before entering Hampton Institute, a school for African Americans, at age seventeen he worked his way through school mostly as a janitor. While a student at Hampton Institute, he came to the attention of Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong (1839–1893), one of the school's founders, who recommended Washington for the post as principal of the newly chartered normal school for blacks in Tuskegee, Alabama. Washington spent thirty-four years as the guiding force at Tuskegee Institute, shaping the school into his vision of how African Americans could better their lot. In great demand as a speaker to white and black audiences alike, Washington received an honorary degree from Harvard College in 1891. Four years later, he was chosen as the principal speaker at the opening of the Negro section of the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, after which he became the most well-known African American in the United States, courted by corporate leaders, philanthropists, and U.S. presidents. His invitation by President Theodore Roosevelt to have dinner at the White House outraged southern white leaders, including one senator from South Carolina who charged that it was an act so obnoxious that it would require "lynching a thousand niggers in the South before they will learn their place again."[20]

Henry McNeal Turner was born a free black near Abbeville, South Carolina. Mostly self-taught, he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1848 and was licensed to preach in 1853. In 1858, he abandoned that denomination to become a minister in the AME Church, and by 1862 he was the pastor of the large Israel Church in Washington, D.C. During the Civil War he served as chaplain in the Union Army,

19. Wells was not the first African American woman to challenge Tennessee's racial segregation of railroad passenger cars. See Paula J. Giddings, *Ida, A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Amistad, 2008), pp. 52–59.

20. Robert J. Norrell, *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 4.

assigned to the First U.S. Colored Regiment. After the war, he became an official of the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia and afterward held a succession of political appointments. One of the founders of the Republican Party in Georgia, Turner was made a bishop of the AME Church in Georgia in 1880. In that position, he met and befriended Ida B. Wells, who also was a member of the AME Church.

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, one of approximately fifty blacks in a town of five thousand people. He was educated with the white children in the town's public school and, in 1885, was enrolled at Fisk University, a college for African Americans in Nashville, Tennessee. It was there, according to his autobiography, that he first encountered overt racial prejudice. Graduated from Fisk in 1888, he entered Harvard as a junior. He received his bachelor's degree in 1890 and his Ph.D. in 1895. His book *The Philadelphia Negro* was published in 1899. In this book DuBois asserted that the problems African Americans faced were the results of their history (slavery and racism) and environment, not of some imagined genetic inferiority. By the early twentieth century, he had emerged as Washington's principal rival as the leader of and spokesman for African Americans. In 1909, he was one of the founders of the NAACP, a biracial group of white liberals and northern blacks who sought to overthrow Booker T. Washington, whom they generally considered too accommodating to powerful whites and too conservative in his strategies for African American progress.[21]

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was born in Maryland in 1825, the only child of free parents. Orphaned at an early age, she was raised by an aunt, who enrolled her in a school for free blacks run by an uncle, who headed the Academy for Negro Youth and was a celebrated African American abolitionist (he was friends with both William Lloyd Garrison and Benjamin Lundy). Ending her formal education at the age of thirteen, Harper worked as a seamstress and needlework teacher. But she yearned to write and, in 1845, published her first book of poetry. It was later followed by ten more volumes of poetry (all commercially successful), a short story—the first to be published by a black woman—in 1859, and an immensely popular novel in 1892. She was a founder of the National Association of Colored Women, along with Ida B. Wells, and served as the organization's vice president. In 1860, she married Fenton Harper, who died in 1864. The couple had one child, a daughter, who was in continuous poor health and died in 1909.

This is not the first time that you have had to analyze speeches. Our society is virtually bombarded by speeches delivered by politicians, business figures, educators and others, most of whom are trying to convince us to adopt a set of ideas or actions. As we listen to such speeches, we invariably weigh the options presented to us, often using other available evidence to help us make our decisions. One purpose of this exercise is to help you think more critically and use evidence more thoroughly when assessing different options.

21. For the first decade or so of the NAACP's history, the majority of offices and power were held by whites, principally Mary White Ovington, William English Walling, and Oswald Garrison Villard. Other prominent white members included Jane Addams, John Dewey, Lincoln Steffens, William Dean Howells, Ray Stannard Baker, Stephen Wise, Clarence Darrow, and Franz Boaz.

In analyzing the speeches in the Evidence, it would be very helpful to know the backgrounds of the respective speakers, as those backgrounds clearly may have influenced the speakers' ideas and proposals. For example, how would the fact that Washington lived and worked in Alabama and was dependent on white philanthropists and politicians help to shape his thinking? Or that DuBois was born and grew up in a town in western Massachusetts in which African Americans comprised only one percent of the population? Or that Wells and Harper were women? Before you begin analyzing the speeches in the Evidence section, study the backgrounds of the speakers.

It is logical to begin by analyzing each of the speeches in turn. As you read each selection, make a rough chart like the one that follows to help you remember the main points.

Once you have carefully defined the alternatives presented by Wells, Washington, Turner, DuBois, and Harper, return to the Background section of the chapter. As you reread that section, determine the strengths and weaknesses of each alternative offered for African Americans living in the New South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What evidence would you use to determine each alternative's strengths and weaknesses?

African American Alternatives

Speaker	Suggested Alternatives	How Does Speaker Develop Her/His Arguments?	Strengths and Weaknesses (Fill in Later)
Wells			
Washington			
Turner			
DuBois			
Harper			

The Evidence

Source 1 from Ida B. Wells, *United States Atrocities* (London: Lux Newspaper and Publishing Co., 1892), pp. 13–18; in the United States, published as *Southern Horrors*. See Jacqueline Jones Royster, ed., *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), pp. 49–72.

1. Ida B. Wells's *United States Atrocities*, 1892 (excerpt).

Mr. Henry W. Grady, in his well-remembered speeches in New England and New York, pictured the Afro-American as incapable of self-government. Through him and other leading men the cry of the South to the country has been "Hands off! Leave us to solve our problem." To the Afro-American the South says, "The white

man must and will rule." There is little difference between the Ante-bellum South and the New South. Her white citizens are wedded to any method however revolting, any measure however extreme, for the subjugation of the young manhood of the dark race. They have cheated him out of his ballot, deprived him of civil rights or redress in the Civil Courts thereof, robbed him of the fruits of his labour, and are still murdering, burning and lynching him.

The result is a growing disregard of human life. Lynch Law has spread its [insidious] influence till men in New York State, Pennsylvania and on the free Western plains feel they can take the law in their own hands with impunity, especially where an Afro-American is concerned. The South is brutalized to a degree not realized by its own inhabitants, and the very foundation of government, law, and order are imperilled.

Public sentiment has had a slight "reaction," though not sufficient to stop the crusade of lawlessness and lynching. The spirit of Christianity of the great M.E. Church[22] was sufficiently aroused by the frequent and revolting crimes against a powerless people, to pass strong condemnatory resolutions at its General Conference in Omaha last May. The spirit of justice of the grand old party[23] asserted itself sufficiently to secure a denunciation of the wrongs, and a feeble declaration of the belief in human rights in the Republican platform at Minneapolis, June 7th. A few of the great "dailies" and "weeklies" have swung into line declaring the Lynch Law must go. The President of the United States issued a proclamation that it be not tolerated in the territories over which he has jurisdiction. . . .

These efforts brought forth apologies and a short halt, but the lynching mania has raged again through the past twelve months with unabated fury. The strong arm of the law must be brought to bear upon lynchers in severe punishment, but this cannot and will not be done unless a healthy public sentiment demands and sustains such action. The men and women in the South who disapprove of lynchings and remain silent on the perpetration of such outrages are *particeps criminis*[24] accomplices, accessories before and after the fact, equally guilty with the actual law-breakers, who would not persist if they did not know that neither the law nor militia would be deployed against them.

In the creation of this healthier public sentiment, the Afro-American can do for himself what no one else can do for him. The world looks on with wonder that we have conceded so much, and remain law-abiding under such great outrage and provocation.

To Northern capital and Afro-American labour the South owes its rehabilitation. If labour is withdrawn capital will not remain. The

22. M.E. Church: The Methodist Episcopal Church, North. The Methodist Church split in 1844 over the issue of whether a bishop in that church could own slaves. The two churches did not reunite until 1939.
23. *Grand old party* refers to the Republican Party, the GOP.
24. A *particeps criminis* is one who has a share in a crime, an accomplice.

Afro-American is thus the backbone of the South. A thorough knowledge and judicious exercise of this power in lynching localities could many times affect a bloodless revolution. The white man's dollar is his god, and to stop this will be to stop outrages in many localities.

The Afro-Americans of Memphis denounced the lynching of three of their best citizens, and urged and waited for the authorities to act in the matter, and bring the lynchers to justice. No attempt was made to do so, and the black men left the city by thousands, bringing about great stagnation in every branch of business. Those who remained so injured the business of the streetcar company by staying off the cars, that the superintendent, manager, and treasurer called personally on the editors of the *Free Speech*, and asked them to urge our people to give them their patronage again. Other businessmen became alarmed over the situation, and the *Free Speech* was suppressed that the coloured people might be more easily controlled. A meeting of white citizens in June, three months after the lynching, passed resolutions for the first time condemning it. *But they did not punish the lynchers.* Every one of them was known by name because they had been selected to do the dirty work by some of the very citizens who passed these resolutions! Memphis is fast losing her black population, who proclaim as they go that there is no protection for the life and property of any Afro-American citizen in Memphis who will not be a slave. . . .

[*Wells then urged African Americans in Kentucky to boycott railroads in the state, since the legislature had passed a law segregating passenger cars. She claimed that such a boycott would mean a loss to the railroads of $1 million per year.*]

The appeal to the white man's pocket has ever been more effectual than all the appeals ever made to his conscience. Nothing, absolutely nothing, is to be gained by a further sacrifice of manhood and self-respect. By the right exercise of his power as the industrial factor of the South, the Afro-American can demand and secure his rights, the punishment of lynchers, and a fair trial for members of his race accused of outrage.

Of the many inhuman outrages of this present year, the only case where the proposed lynching did *not* occur, was where the men armed themselves in Jacksonville, Florida, and Paducah, Kentucky, and prevented it. The only times an Afro-American who was assaulted got away has been when he had a gun, and used it in self-defence. The lesson this teaches, and which every Afro-American should ponder well, is that a Winchester rifle should have a place of honour in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give. When the white man, who is always the aggressor, knows he runs a great risk of biting the dust every time his Afro-American victim does, he will have greater respect for Afro-American life. The more the Afro-American yields and cringes and begs, the more he has to do so, the more he is insulted, outraged, and lynched.

Source 2 from Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), Vol. III, pp. 583–587.

2. Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Address (standard printed version), September 1895.

[Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 18, 1895]

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

One-third of the population of the South is of a Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions

of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:

"The laws of changeless justice bind
  Oppressor with oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined
  We march to fate abreast."

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third [of] its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our education life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern Philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

Source 3 from Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *Respect Black: The Writings and Speeches of Henry McNeal Turner* (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

3. Henry McNeal Turner's "The American Negro and His Fatherland," December 1895 (excerpt).

It would be a waste of time to expend much labor, the few moments I have to devote to this subject, upon the present status of the Negroid race in the United States. It is too well-known already. However, I believe that the Negro was brought to this country in the providence of God to a heaven-permitted if not a divine-sanctioned manual laboring school, that he might have direct contact with the mightiest race that ever trod the face of the globe.

The heathen Africans, to my certain knowledge, I care not what others may say, eagerly yearn for that civilization which they believe will elevate them and make them potential for good. The African was not sent and brought to this country by chance, or by the avarice of the white man, single and alone. The white slave-purchaser went to the shores of that continent and bought our ancestors from their African masters. The bulk who were brought to this country were the children of parents who had been in slavery a thousand years. Yet hereditary slavery is not universal among the African slaveholders. So that the argument often advanced, that the white man went to Africa and stole us, is not true. They bought us out of a slavery that still exists over a large portion of that continent. For there are millions and millions of slaves in Africa today. Thus the superior African sent us, and the white man brought us, and we remained in slavery as long as it was necessary to learn that a God, who is a spirit, made the world and controls it, and that that Supreme Being could be sought and found by the exercise of faith in His only begotten Son. Slavery then went down, and the colored man was thrown upon his own responsibility, and here he is today, in the providence of God, cultivating self-reliance and imbibing a knowledge of civil law in contradistinction to the dictum of one man, which was the law of the black man until slavery was overthrown. I believe that the Negroid race has been free long enough now to begin to think for himself and plan for better conditions [than] he can lay claim to in this country or ever will. *There is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro.* He may eke out an existence for generations to come, but he can never be a *man*—full, symmetrical and undwarfed. . . .

[*Here Turner asserted that a "great chasm" continued to exist between the races, that whites would have no social contact with blacks, and (without using Booker T. Washington's name) that any black who claimed that African Americans did not want social equality immediately "is either an ignoramus, or is an advocate of the perpetual servility and degradation of his race. . . ."*]

. . . And as such, I believe that two or three millions of us should return to the land of our ancestors, and establish our own nation, civilization, laws, customs,

style of manufacture, and not only give the world, like other race varieties, the benefit of our individuality, but build up social conditions peculiarly our own, and cease to be grumblers, chronic complainers and a menace to the white man's country, or the country he claims and is bound to dominate.

The civil status of the Negro is simply what the white man grants of his own free will and accord. The black man can demand nothing. He is deposed from the jury and tried, convicted and sentenced by men who do not claim to be his peers. On the railroads, where the colored race is found in the largest numbers, he is the victim of proscription, and he must ride in the Jim Crow car or walk. The Supreme Court of the United States decided, October 15th, 1883, that the colored man had no civil rights under the general government,[25] and the several States, from then until now, have been enacting laws which limit, curtail and deprive him of his civil rights, immunities and privileges, until he is now being disfranchised, and where it will end no one can divine. . . .

The discriminating laws, all will concede, are degrading to those against which they operate, and the degrader will be degraded also. "For all acts are reactionary, and will return in curses upon those who curse," said Stephen A. Douglass [*sic*], the great competitor of President Lincoln. Neither does it require a philosopher to inform you that degradation begets degradation. Any people oppressed, proscribed, belied, slandered, burned, flayed and lynched will not only become cowardly and servile, but will transmit that same servility to their posterity, and continue to do so *ad infinitum*, and as such will never make a bold and courageous people. The condition of the Negro in the United States is so repugnant to the instincts of respected manhood that thousands, yea hundreds of thousands, of miscegenated will pass for white, and snub the people with whom they are identified at every opportunity, thus destroying themselves, or at least *unracing* themselves. They do not want to be black because of its ignoble condition, and they cannot be white, thus they become monstrosities. Thousands of young men who are even educated by white teachers never have any respect for people of their own color and spend their days as devotees of white gods. Hundreds, if not thousands, of the terms employed by the white race in the English language are also degrading to the black man. Everything that is satanic, corrupt, base and infamous is denominated *black*, and all that constitutes virtue, purity, innocence, religion, and that which is divine and heavenly, is represented as *white*. Our Sabbath-school children, by the time they reach proper consciousness, are taught to sing to the laudation of white and to the contempt of black. Can any one with an ounce of common sense expect that these children, when they reach maturity, will ever have any respect for their black or colored faces, or the faces of their associates? But, without multiplying words, the terms used in our religious experience, and the hymns we sing in many instances, are degrading, and will

25. See the Civil Rights Cases, fn 6.

be as long as the black man is surrounded by the idea that *white* represents God and *black* represents the devil. The Negro should, therefore, build up a nation of his own, and create a language in keeping with his color, as the whites have done. Nor will he ever respect himself until he does it.

What the black man needs is a country and surroundings in harmony with his color and with respect for his manhood. Upon this point I would delight to dwell longer if I had time. Thousands of white people in this country are ever and anon advising the colored people to keep out of politics, but they do not advise themselves. If the Negro is a man in keeping with other men, why should he be less concerned about politics than any one else? Strange, too, that a number of would-be colored leaders are ignorant and debased enough to proclaim the same foolish jargon. For the Negro to stay out of politics is to level himself with a horse or a cow, which is no politician, and the Negro who does it proclaims his inability to take part in political affairs. If the Negro is to be a man, full and complete, he must take part in everything that belongs to manhood. If he omits a single duty, responsibility or privilege, to that extent he is limited and incomplete.

Time, however, forbids my continuing the discussion of this subject, roughly and hastily as these thoughts have been thrown together. Not being able to present a dozen or two more phases, which I would cheerfully and gladly do if opportunity permitted, I conclude by saying the argument that it would be impossible to transport the colored people of the United States back to Africa is an advertisement of folly. Two hundred millions of dollars would rid this country of the last member of the Negroid race, if such a thing was desirable, and two hundred and fifty millions would give every man, woman and child excellent fare, and the general government could furnish that amount and never miss it, and that would only be the pitiful sum of a million dollars a year for the time we labored for nothing, and for which somebody or some power is responsible. The emigrant agents at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St. John, N. B., and Halifax, N. S., with whom I have talked, establish beyond contradiction, that over a million, and from that to twelve hundred thousand persons, come to this country every year, and yet there is no public stir about it. But in the case of African emigration, two or three millions only of self-reliant men and women would be necessary to establish the conditions we are advocating in Africa.

Source 4 from Herbert Atheker, ed., *Pamphlets and Leaflets by W. E. B. Du Bois* (White Plains, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd., 1986).

4. DuBois's Niagara Address, 1906 (excerpt).

In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: Freedom, manhood, the honor of your

wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this.

We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no State allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions [in] the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States.

And when we call for education we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote, by persistent, unceasing agitation, by hammering at the truth, by sacrifice and work.

We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom we

reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free.

Our enemies, triumphant for the present, are fighting the stars in their courses. Justice and humanity must prevail. We live to tell these dark brothers of ours—scattered in counsel, wavering and weak—that no bribe of money or notoriety, no promise of wealth or fame, is worth the surrender of a people's manhood or the loss of a man's self-respect. We refuse to surrender the leadership of this race to cowards and trucklers. We are men; we will be treated as men. On this rock we have planted our banners. We will never give up, though the trump of doom find us still fighting.

And we shall win. The past promised it, the present foretells it. Thank God for John Brown! Thank God for Garrison and Douglass! Sumner and Phillips, Nat Turner and Robert Gould Shaw,[26] and all the hallowed dead who died for freedom! Thank God for all those today, few though their voices be, who have not forgotten the divine brotherhood of all men, white and black, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate.

We appeal to the young men and women of this nation, to those whose nostrils are not yet befouled by greed and snobbery and racial narrowness: Stand up for the right, prove yourselves worthy of your heritage and whether born north or south dare to treat men as men. Cannot the nation that has absorbed ten million foreigners into its political life without catastrophe absorb ten million Negro Americans into that same political life at less cost than their unjust and illegal exclusion will involve?

Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. All across the skies sit signs of promise. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace. The morning breaks over blood-stained hills. We must not falter, we may not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars.

26. William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879): editor of *The Liberator*, major figure in the abolition movement.
Frederick Douglass (1817–1895): escaped slave; noted African American abolitionist, journalist, orator; his autobiography (1845) is still in print.
Charles Sumner (1811–1874): U.S. senator from Massachusetts; leading antislavery person in the Senate; on May 22, 1856, he was assaulted and seriously injured in the Senate chamber by South Carolina representative Preston Brooks.
Wendell Phillips (1811–1884): attorney, orator, and important abolitionist.
Nat Turner (1800–1831): African American preacher and leader of a slave rebellion in Virginia in 1831.
Robert Gould Shaw (1831–1863): white Civil War officer who commanded the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment; he was killed leading an assault on Fort Wagner in South Carolina.

Source 5 from Frances Smith Foster, ed., *A Brighter Coming Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader* (New York: Feminist Press, 1990), pp. 285–292.

5. Frances E. W. Harper's "Enlightened Motherhood," an Address to the Brooklyn Literary Society, November 15, 1892 (excerpt).

It is nearly thirty years since an emancipated people stood on the threshold of a new era, facing an uncertain future—a legally unmarried race, to be taught the sacredness of the marriage relation; an ignorant people, to be taught to read the book of the Christian law and to learn to comprehend more fully the claims of the gospel of the Christ of Calvary. A homeless race, to be gathered into homes of peaceful security and to be instructed how to plant around their firesides the strongest batteries against the sins that degrade and the race vices that demoralize. A race unversed in the science of government and unskilled in the just administration of law, to be translated from the old oligarchy of slavery into the new commonwealth of freedom, and to whose men came the right to exchange the fetters on their wrists for the ballots in their right hands—a ballot which, if not vitiated by fraud or restrained by intimidation, counts just as much as that of the most talented and influential man in the land.

While politicians may stumble on the barren mountain of fretful controversy, and men, lacking faith in God and the invisible forces which make for righteousness, may shrink from the unsolved problems of the hour, into the hands of Christian women comes the opportunity of serving the ever blessed Christ, by ministering to His little ones and striving to make their homes the brightest spots on earth and the fairest types of heaven. The school may instruct and the church may teach, but the home is an institution older than the church and antedates school, and that is the place where children should be trained for useful citizenship on earth and a hope of holy companionship in heaven. . . .

The home may be a humble spot, where there are no velvet carpets to hush your tread, no magnificence to surround your way, nor costly creations of painter's art or sculptor's skill to please your conceptions or gratify your tastes; but what are the costliest gifts of fortune when placed in the balance with the confiding love of dear children or the true devotion of a noble and manly husband whose heart can safely trust in his wife? You may place upon the brow of a true wife and mother the greenest laurels; you may crowd her hands with civic honors; but, after all, to her there will be no place like home, and the crown of her motherhood will be more precious than the diadem of a queen. . . .

Marriage between two youthful and loving hearts means the laying [of] the foundation stones of a new home, and the woman who helps erect that

home should be careful not to build it above the reeling brain of a drunkard or the weakened fibre of a debauchee. If it be folly for a merchant to send an argosy, laden with the richest treasure, at midnight on a moonless sea, without a rudder, compass, or guide, is it not madness for a woman to trust her future happiness, and the welfare of the dear children who may yet nestle in her arms and make music and sunshine around her fireside, in the unsteady hands of a characterless man, too lacking in self-respect and self-control to hold the helm and rudder of his own life; who drifts where he ought to steer, and only lasts when he ought to live?

The moment the crown of motherhood falls on the brow of a young wife, God gives her a new interest in the welfare of the home and the good of society. If hitherto she had been content to trip through life a lighthearted girl, or to tread amid the halls of wealth and fashion the gayest of the gay, life holds for her now a high and noble service. She must be more than the child of pleasure or the devotee of fashion. Her work is grandly constructive. A helpless and ignorant babe lies smiling in her arms. God has trusted her with a child, and it is her privilege to help that child develop the most precious thing a man or woman can possess on earth, and that is a good character. Moth may devour our finest garments, fire may consume and floods destroy our fairest homes, rust may gather on our silver and tarnish our gold, but there is an asbestos that no fire can destroy, a treasure which shall be richer for its service and better for its use, and that is a good character. . . .

Are there not women, respectable women, who feel that it would wring their hearts with untold anguish, and bring their gray hairs in sorrow to the grave, if their daughters should trail the robes of their womanhood in the dust, yet who would say of their sons, if they were trampling their manhood down and fettering their souls with cords of vice, "O, well, boys will be boys, and young men will sow their wild oats."

I hold that no woman loves social purity as it deserves to be loved and valued, if she cares for the purity of her daughters and not her sons; who would gather her dainty robes from contact with the fallen woman and yet greet with smiling lips and clasp with warm and welcoming hands the author of her wrong and ruin. How many mothers to-day shrink from a double standard for society which can ostracise the woman and condone the offense of the man? How many mothers say within their hearts, "I intend to teach my boy to be as pure in his life, as chaste in his conversation, as the young girl who sits at my side encircled in the warm clasp of loving arms?" How many mothers strive to have their boys shun the gilded saloon as they would the den of a deadly serpent? Not the mother who thoughtlessly sends her child to the saloon for a beverage to make merry with her friends. How many mothers teach their boys to shrink in horror from the fascinations of women, not as God made them, but as sin has degraded them? . . .

I would ask, in conclusion, is there a branch of the human race in the Western Hemisphere which has greater need of the inspiring and uplifting influences that can flow out of the lives and examples of the truly enlightened than ourselves? Mothers who can teach their sons not to love pleasure or fear death; mothers who can teach their children to embrace every opportunity, employ every power, and use every means to build up a future to contrast with the old sad past. Men may boast of the aristocracy of blood; they may glory in the aristocracy of talent, and be proud of the aristocracy of wealth, but there is an aristocracy which must ever outrank them all, and that is the aristocracy of character.

Source 6 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

6. Estimated Net Intercensal Migration* of Negro Population by Region, 1870–1920 (in thousands).

Region	1870–1880	1880–1890	1890–1900	1900–1910	1910–1920
New England[1]	4.5	6.6	14.2	8.0	12.0
Middle Atlantic[2]	19.2	39.1	90.7	87.2	170.1
East North Central[3]	20.8	16.4	39.4	45.6	200.4
West North Central[4]	15.7	7.9	23.5	10.2	43.7
South Atlantic[5]	−47.9	−72.5	−181.6	−111.9	−158.0
East South Central[6]	−56.2	−60.1	−43.3	−109.6	−246.3
West South Central[7]	45.1	62.9	56.9	51.0	−46.2

*A net intercensal migration represents the amount of migration that took place between U.S. censuses, which are taken every ten years. The net figure is computed by comparing in-migration to with out-migration from a particular state. A minus figure means that out-migration from a state was greater than in-migration to it.
1. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.
2. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.
3. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.
4. Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.
5. Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.
6. Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.
7. Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Questions to Consider

The Background section of this chapter strongly suggests that the prospects for African Americans in the post-Reconstruction South were bleak. Although blacks certainly preferred sharecropping or tenancy to working in gangs as in the days of slavery, neither system offered African Americans much chance to own their own land. Furthermore, the industrial opportunities available to European immigrants, which allowed many of them gradually to climb the economic ladder, were generally closed to southern blacks, in part because the South was never able to match the North in the creation of industrial jobs and in part because what jobs the New South industrialization did create often were closed to blacks. As we have seen, educational opportunities for African Americans in the South were severely limited—so much so that by 1890, more than 75 percent of the adult black population in the Deep South remained illiterate (as opposed to 17.1 percent of the adult white population). In addition, rigid segregation laws and racial violence had increased dramatically. Indeed, the prospects for southern blacks were far from promising.

Begin by analyzing Ida B. Wells's response (Source 1) to the deteriorating condition of African Americans in the South. In her view, how did blacks in Memphis and Kentucky provide a model for others? What was that model? In addition to that model, Wells tells us how blacks in Jacksonville, Florida, and Paducah, Kentucky, were able to prevent lynchings in those towns. What alternative did those blacks present? Was Wells advocating it? Finally, what role did Wells see the African American press playing in preventing lynchings?

The alternative presented by Booker T. Washington (Source 2) differs markedly from those offered by Wells. In his view, what process should African Americans follow to enjoy their full rights? How did he support his argument? What did Washington conceive the role of southern whites in African Americans' progress to be? Remember that his *goals* were roughly similar to those of Wells. Also use some inference to imagine how Washington's audiences would have reacted to his speech. How would southern whites have greeted his speech? Southern blacks? What about northern whites? Northern blacks? To whom was Washington speaking?

Now move on to Henry McNeal Turner's alternative (Source 3). At first Bishop Turner seems to be insulting blacks. What was he really trying to say? Why did he think that God ordained blacks to be brought to America in chains? In Turner's view, once blacks were freed, what was their best alternative? Why? Turner's view of whites is at serious odds with that of Washington. How do the two views differ on this point? Why do you think this was so? How did Turner use his view of whites to support his alternative for blacks?

The speech by W. E. B. DuBois at the Niagara Falls meeting in 1906 (Source 4) was intended to lead African

American professional men away from the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. How did DuBois's philosophy differ from that of Washington? How does his suggested *process* differ from that of Washington? Furthermore, how did DuBois's view differ with respect to timing? Tactics? Tone? Remember, however, that the long-term goals of both men were similar.[27]

Perhaps you have been struck by the fact that both Turner and DuBois pinned their hopes for progress on African American *men*. Turner refers frequently to "manhood" and DuBois to "exceptional men." Why do you think this was so? Why do you think the concept of African American manhood was important to these two thinkers?

For Frances E. W. Harper (Source 5), the hopes of African Americans lay not with black men but with black *women.* Why did she believe this was so? As opposed to education, work, or the political arena, in Harper's view what was the importance of the African American home? Would Harper have agreed or disagreed with Wells? Washington? Turner? DuBois? How might African American men such as Washington, Turner, and DuBois have reacted to her arguments?

The ideas of Wells and Harper differed significantly from those of Washington, Turner, and DuBois. What role do you think gender played in the formation of Wells's and Harper's ideas? Of Washington's? Turner's? DuBois's?

After you have examined each of the alternatives, move on to your assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of each argument. As noted earlier, you will need to review the Background section of this chapter in order to establish the historical context in which the five arguments were made. Then, keeping in mind that context, try to imagine the reactions that these alternatives might have elicited in the following situations:

1. What would have happened if southern African Americans had adopted Wells's alternatives? Where might the process outlined by Wells have led? Were there any risks for African Americans? If so, what were they?
2. What would have happened if southern African Americans had adopted Washington's alternative? How long would it have taken them to realize Washington's goals? Were there any risks involved? If so, what were they?
3. What would have happened if southern African Americans had adopted Turner's alternative? Were there any risks involved? How realistic was Turner's option?
4. What would have happened if southern African Americans had adopted DuBois's alternative? How long would DuBois's process have taken? Were there any risks involved?
5. Was white assistance necessary according to Wells? To Washington? To Turner? To DuBois? How did each spokesperson perceive the roles of the federal government

27. In 1903 DuBois wrote an essay titled "The Talented Tenth," in which he called for leading African Americans to graduate from college, secure good business and academic positions, and then labor to "lift up" the race. "The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men." See Nathan Huggins, comp., *W. E. B. DuBois Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1986), pp. 842–861. On the Niagara meeting, see Norrell, *Up from History*, pp. 321–322. The meeting was attended by twenty-nine men.

and the federal courts? How did the government and courts stand on this issue at the time [*Clue:* What was the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)?]

6. How might blacks and whites have reacted to Harper's arguments? Black women? Black men? As with the ideas of Washington, how long would it have taken for African Americans who embraced Harper's ideas to reach the goals of social, economic, and political equality?

To be sure, it is very nearly impossible for us to put ourselves completely in the shoes of these men and women. Although racism still is a strong force in American life still, the intellectual and cultural environment was dramatically different in the time these five spokespersons were offering their ideas to African Americans. Even so, by placing each spokesperson in a historical context, we should be able to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each argument.

Epilogue

For advocates of the New South, the realization of their dream seemed to be right over the horizon, always just beyond their grasp. Many factories did make a good deal of money, but profits often flowed out of the South to northern investors. And factory owners usually maintained profits by paying workers pitifully low wages, which led to the rise of a poor white urban class that lived in slums and faced enormous problems of malnutrition, poor health, family instability, and crime. To most of those who had left their meager farms to find opportunities in the burgeoning southern cities, life there appeared even worse than it had been in the rural areas. Many whites returned to their rural homesteads disappointed and dispirited by urban life. For African Americans, their collective lot was even worse.

At the same time that the New South philosophy was gaining advocates and power, parallel to those ideas was the glorification of the Old South and of those who fought a war to retain it. Interestingly, many white southerners embraced both intellectual strains, not unlike what historian David Goldfield described as the ideology of Bismarckian Germany that "marched forward to modernity, while looking to the past for its inspiration and guidance."

In the years after Reconstruction, white southerners created a Confederate nationalism for the nation that never really was, constructed statues and memorials, proudly flew the stars and bars of the Confederate battle flag, held veterans' reunions, founded the Union of Confederate Veterans (1888) and the Daughters of the Confederacy (1894), and rewrote the South's history

to absolve the section for the coming of the War Between the States and to give countless speeches on the myth of the Lost Cause.[28]

In sum, the Lost Cause was a powerful myth that many white southerners stubbornly clung to. French-American novelist and diarist Julian Green (1901–1998), child of an expatriate Savannah family that exiled itself to France after the war, wrote of his mother,

> She made of her sons and daughters the children of a nation which no longer existed but lived on in her heart. She cast over us the shadow of a tragedy which darkened for her even the clearest days. We were the eternally conquered but unreconciled—rebels, to employ a word dear to her. [The banner of the Confederacy was framed in gold on the wall of the salon of their apartment on the Rue de Passy in Paris. Regularly she pointed to the flag and said to her children] ". . . your flag. . . . Remember it. That and no other."

Indeed, in some ways the post-Reconstruction white South was moving in the opposite direction from much of the rest of the Western world. It is not difficult to imagine where African Americans "fit"—or did not fit—into a New South that sought to chart for itself a new future while lauding its created past.[29]

For roughly twenty years after his 1895 Atlanta address, Booker T. Washington remained the nominal leader and spokesman for African Americans. On the surface an accommodationist and a gradualist, beneath the surface Washington worked to secure government jobs for blacks; protested discrimination on railroads, in voting, in education, and regarding lynching; and organized and funded court challenges to disfranchisement, all-white juries, and peonage. By 1913, he had openly criticized southern white leaders, stating that "the best white citizenship must take charge of the mob and not have the mob take charge of civilization."[30]

Yet Washington's style, as well as his jealous guarding of his own power, caused serious divisions among black leaders. African American editor William Monroe Trotter accused Washington of being "a miserable toady" and "the Benedict Arnold of the Negro race." The NAACP was founded by Washington's critics in 1909 with the main objective of wresting power from Washington and being considerably more assertive in demanding equal rights for the nation's black people.

Yet at the May 1909 organizational meeting of the NAACP, Washington's opponents were themselves sharply divided. DuBois purposely removed Wells-Barnett's name from the Committee of Forty (later the "Founding Forty"), causing her to walk out of the

28. For Goldfield's comparison see his *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), p. 17. For an excellent discussion of the two strains see James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. ch. 3.

29. For Green see William Pfaff, *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), p. 174. For Green's obituary see *Time Magazine*, August 31, 1998, p. 22. Green once described himself as "a Southerner lost in Europe, no matter what I do."

30. Norrell, *Up from History*, pp. 392–393, 408–410.

meeting (she later returned), perhaps because he feared that she was too strident, or because she opposed so many of the organization's offices being given to whites, or because he feared her popularity and power. It took years for the chasm and the power struggle within the organization to be mended.[31]

Meanwhile, for an increasing number of African Americans, the solution seemed to be to abandon the South entirely. Beginning around the time of World War I (1917–1918), a growing number of African Americans migrated to the industrial cities of the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast (Source 6). But there, too, they met racial hostility and racially inspired riots.

In the North, African Americans could vote and thereby influence public policy. By the late 1940s, it had become clear that northern urban African American voters, by their very number, could force politicians to deal with racial discrimination. By the 1950s, it seemed equally evident that the South would have to change its racial policies, if not willingly then by force. It took federal courts, federal marshals, and occasionally federal troops, but the crust of discrimination in the South began to be broken in the 1960s. Attitudes changed slowly, but the white southern politician draped in the Confederate flag, and calling for resistance to change became a figure of the past. Although much work still needed to be done, the Civil Rights Movement brought profound change to the South, laying the groundwork for more changes ahead. Indeed, by the 1960s, the industrialization and prosperity (largely through in-migration) of the Sunbelt seemed to show that Grady's dream of a New South might become a reality.

Yet, for all the hopeful indications (black voting and office holding in the South, for instance), in many ways the picture still was a somber one. By the 1970s, several concerned observers, both black and white, feared that the poorest 30 percent of all black families, instead of climbing slowly up the economic ladder, were in the process of forming a permanent underclass, complete with a social pathology that included crime, drugs, violence, and grinding poverty. Equally disturbing in the 1980s was a new wave of racial intolerance among whites, a phenomenon that even invaded many American colleges and universities. In short, although much progress had been made since the turn of the nineteenth century, in many ways, as in the New South, the dream of equality and tolerance remained over the horizon.[32]

31. For Trotter see David L. Lewis, *W. E. B. DuBois: A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2009), pp. 78–79 passim; Norrell, *Up from History*, pp. 6–7. Trotter graduated from Harvard in 1895, the first man of color to be awarded a Phi Beta Kappa key. The story of the DuBois-Wells conflict at the May 1909 meeting has been often told. See Lewis, *W. E. B. DuBois*, p. 259; Patricia A. Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 136–137; Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 280–282; and Giddings, *Ida*, pp. 474–479. Mary White Ovington, a white leader in the NAACP, later wrote that Wells-Barnett was "perhaps not fitted to accept the restraint of organization." See Ovington's *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York: Schocken Books, 1947), p 106.

32. For an excellent account, see Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic*

By this time, of course, Wells, Washington, Turner, DuBois, and Harper were dead. Wells continued to write militant articles for the African American press, became deeply involved in the women's suffrage movement, and carried on a successful crusade to prevent the racial segregation of the Chicago city schools. She died in Chicago in 1931. For his part, Washington publicly clung to his notion of self-help while secretly supporting more aggressive efforts to gain political rights for African Americans. He died in Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1915.

Turner's dream of thousands of blacks moving to Africa never materialized. In response, he grew more strident and critical of African Americans who opposed his ideas. In 1898, Turner raised a storm of protest when his essay "God Is a Negro" was published. The essay began, "We have as much right . . . to believe that God is a Negro, as you buckra, or white, people have to believe that God is a fine looking, symmetrical and ornamented white man."[33] He died while on a speaking trip to Canada in 1915. As for DuBois, he eventually turned away from his championship of a "Talented Tenth" in favor of more mass protests. As a harbinger of many African Americans of the 1960s and 1970s, he embraced pan-Africanism, combining it with his long-held Marxist ideas. He died in Ghana on the midnight before the historic March on Washington of August 28, 1963. DuBois's death was announced to the 250,000 who attended the event just a few minutes before the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., began his "I Have a Dream" speech. To many people, the two events taking place on the same day represented a symbolic passing of the torch of African American leadership from DuBois to King.[34]

Harper was one of the most popular poets of her time. After her husband's death, she became increasingly vocal on feminist issues; was a friend and ally of Susan B. Anthony; and, in 1866, delivered a moving address before the National Women's Rights Convention. She died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from heart disease in 1911. Her home has been preserved as a national historic landmark.

In their time, Wells, Washington, Turner, DuBois, and Harper were important and respected figures. Although often publicly at odds with one another, they shared the same dream of African Americans living with pride and dignity in a world that recognized them as equal men and women. In an era in which few people championed the causes of African Americans in the New South, these five spokespersons stood out as courageous individuals.

Story of America's Great Migration (New York: Random House, 2010).

33. Redkey, *Respect Black*, pp. 176–177.

34. Lewis, *W. E. B. DuBois*, pp. 1–4.

CHAPTER

2

Rose Cohen Comes to America: Living and Remembering the Immigrant Experience

The Problem

In 1892, twelve-year-old Rahel Gollup made a harrowing journey, leaving behind her mother and siblings and all she knew in Czarist Russia to travel over four thousand miles to America. Though sorrowful and frightened, she was not alone and not without purpose. Her father, Avrom Gollup, who had fled Russia a year and a half before, awaited her in New York City. He had worked tirelessly and saved every possible penny to pay the passage for Rahel and her aunt Masha. The two females traveled together, escaping Russian authorities, fending off criminals, and enduring deprivation and seasickness during their long Atlantic crossing. At times, Rahel and Masha feared they might not survive their effort to reach the United States. But at last they did. Rahel was reunited with her father, and soon she set to work alongside him in New York City's booming garment industry. Their work was hard, long, poorly compensated, and sometimes dangerous. They continued to save their money and a year later managed to bring Rahel's mother and siblings to America, too.

Rahel Gollup grew up in the Lower East Side of New York City, during a time of profound change. Her immigrant odyssey—making a perilous passage to America, laboring in the sweatshops of New York City, struggling to maintain her Jewish faith, and finding a place in her new country—left deep impressions that time did not erase. In 1918, at the age of thirty-eight, she could still recall with remarkable clarity the sights and sounds and the events and emotions of her coming-of-age experience. Married then, and with a new, more American-sounding name—Rose Cohen—she published an autobiography, called *Out of the Shadow*.[1]

1. As you will discover later in the chapter, soon after her arrival in America, Rahel Gollup took a different first name: Ruth. This was common among immigrants. Her father, Avrom, became known as Abraham, and her mother, whose Russian name was never given in the book, was called Annie after she emigrated. The autobiography ends before Rahel/

The evidence in this chapter consists of excerpts from that autobiography, still touching and relatable a century later. Reading this firsthand account of one girl's life in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America will provide the foundation for investigating the chapter's central question: **What can Rose Cohen's autobiography reveal about immigrant experiences in America?** But, as you will discover, this question is not so simple and clear-cut as it might seem.

Background

The decades between the 1880s and the 1910s were marked by unprecedented industrialization, both in the United States and in countries around the world. This global move toward mechanization of labor and mass production of goods changed not only how people worked but also how—and where—they lived.

The United States experienced the highest rate of economic development in the world during these decades. After the Civil War, America was better poised to exploit a greater supply of natural resources than virtually any other country: coal, timber, oil, land for commercial farming, and raising livestock. By the early twentieth century, the United States ranked first in world markets in steel, timber, oil, textiles, wheat, and meat.

Immigrants made possible America's move to the forefront of industrialization.[2] No period in world history saw greater movement of people across the globe, and no country attracted more immigrants than the United States. In the eyes of many potential emigrants, the United States offered more jobs and greater safety than their home countries. In America, they saw the promise of being part of the nation's flourishing industrial economy, of enjoying political and religious freedom, and of building a brighter future.

In the decades after the Civil War, immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe, from Asia, and indeed from around the globe to fill jobs in America's booming industrial cities. Around fifteen million newcomers migrated to the United States between 1865 and 1900, and that pattern increased in the first decades of the twentieth century. To be sure, American citizens left the countryside to move to industrializing cities, too. This domestic farm-to-factory migration played a crucial role in the growth of these cities' populations and industries, but the majority of new city dwellers moved from other countries.

Northeastern and midwestern cities saw the greatest expansion. Boston,

Ruth married, and throughout the text she refers to herself as Ruth. However, she published the book under her married surname with yet another first name: Rose Cohen. *Out of the Shadow* is available as a Google book as well as in a modern print edition, with an excellent introduction by historian Thomas Dublin, published by Cornell University Press in 1995.

2. The Library of Congress maintains an excellent website on the history of immigration in America: http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/immigration/index.html. Also at the Library of Congress website, you can view films made of early twentieth-century life in New York City.

Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee all had unprecedented population growth in the last decades of the nineteenth century. New York City alone attracted over one million immigrants between 1880 and 1910. The city's foreign-born population grew from 567,812 in 1870 to 902,643 in 1890 to nearly two million in 1910. By 1910, immigrants and their American-born children comprised 75 percent of the population of New York City as well as of Chicago, Detroit, and Boston.[3]

The work that immigrants found in their new country was often disappointing and exploitative. Immigrants struggling to learn English and unfamiliar with U.S. employment practices were especially vulnerable to the corrupt tactics of employers and hiring agents. Factory work could be very dangerous, and workers—especially immigrants—enjoyed few protections. In the late nineteenth century, the United States had the highest rate of workplace injuries and deaths of any industrial country. Housing conditions were also bleak. Most immigrants to American cities could afford to live only in dangerously overcrowded tenements, with little natural light and few places for children to play. (In 1900, the neighborhood that Rahel Gollup's family lived in, the Lower East Side, contained seven hundred people per acre, making it the most crowded neighborhood in the world.) Despite reform efforts to clean up water supplies and develop sewage systems and garbage collection, epidemics of diseases routinely swept through working-class and immigrant neighborhoods.

But as difficult as life could be in the United States, many immigrants found it a better place to make a future than the country they left. In addition to the "pulls" of jobs and an imagined new start in America, factors in their country of origin often provided powerful "pushes" for immigrants. Political instability, joblessness, poverty, crop failures and famine, violence, and religious and ethnic persecution could all influence the decision to emigrate. The pushes and pulls varied by country of origin, by class and religion and ethnicity, and even by individual.

In the case of Russian Jewish families like Rahel Gollup's, we can make some general conclusions about why they moved to New York City in the early 1890s by looking at life in Russia.[4] Rahel and her family lived, as did most Jews in Czarist Russia, in the Pale of Settlement, a region between the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea, along the borders of Prussia and Austria-Hungary. The Pale was created in the late eighteenth century, after the partition of Poland meant that large numbers of Jews now lived in Russian-controlled territory. From the 1770s and the expansion into Poland until the 1880s, imperial authorities struggled with defining the place of Jews in

3. Those curious about immigration history and immigrants' experiences may want to start with an excellent and wide-ranging reader, which blends interpretive essays by scholars with primary sources: David A. Gerber and Alan M. Kraut, eds., *American Immigration and Ethnicity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

4. For more firsthand accounts of Jews in Russia during this era, see Chaeran Y. Freeze and Jay M. Harris, eds., *Everyday Jewish Life in Imperial Russia: Select Documents, 1772–1914* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2013). For Jewish immigrant women, see Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990). And for the Lower East Side, see Hasia R. Diner, *Lower East Side Memories: A Jewish Place in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Russia. At times, they sought to better integrate Jews—who had long been persecuted across Europe—in order to promote their allegiance to Russia and therefore foster stability on Russia's western borders. These attempts at integration were highly selective, however. Government policies distinguished between skilled and unskilled Jewish men and women; only the former could usually move out of the Pale of Settlement. At other times, Russian authorities enforced rigid codes defining which jobs Jews could hold and where they could live. The only way to escape exclusion and persecution was to abandon Judaism and convert to Orthodox Christianity. But their faith was central to the lives of Jewish men and women living in Czarist Russian: the foundation not only of their religion but also their cultural identity and family life.

Imperial Russian treatment of Jews took a sharp and dangerous turn in the decade before Rahel's family emigrated. In 1882, the "May Laws"—a supposedly temporary set of laws that actually lasted for decades—even more strictly circumscribed Jewish residency outside the Pale and forbade Jews from acquiring mortgages or property deeds. A few years later, more restrictions followed, including quotas for Jewish involvement in government and many professions and attendance at universities. The year Rahel's father left, twenty thousand Jews living in Moscow were expelled and forced to move to the Pale. Violent pogroms grew out of these policies, with Jewish businesses and homes attacked and individuals being beaten, raped, and murdered. In addition to this state-sanctioned anti-Semitism, industrial changes pushed many Russian Jewish artisans into unskilled work and poverty. And then, a famine swept Russia in 1891–1892, and four hundred thousand people died.

Between 1880 and 1914, over two million Jews fled Russia. This was nearly one-third of the Jewish population of Russia. Leaving was not easy, however. Despite widespread discrimination against Jews, the Russian government closely monitored emigration. Because of these emigration controls, Jews could not obtain passports and emigration papers without proper documentation, which included certification from local police that the emigrant had no criminal record and no outstanding civil suits. Jews hoping to leave Russia also had to submit high fees with their paperwork and sometimes pay drummed-up and exorbitant fines. Or, they could try to flee in secrecy, which is how Rahel and Masha were able to leave the Pale of Settlement. Avrom Gollup left secretly, too, but he endured an even greater ordeal than Rahel and Masha. Unable to acquire a passport, he resolved to make the trip covertly. But he was arrested and returned to his village for prosecution. He managed to escape authorities and, on his second attempt, board a ship for America.

Like tens of thousands of other Jewish emigrants, Rahel's father set his sights on New York City, and the Lower East Side in particular. It was a Jewish neighborhood by 1890, the largest and most well known in the United States. The Lower East Side was terribly overcrowded and poor, but it was safer than the Pale of Settlement and home to a thriving community. Synagogues and mutual aid societies welcomed newcomers, and schools stood ready to educate their children. Established members of the community ran businesses, banks, and social clubs—all Jewish owned and operated. During the industrial era, New York and other major U.S. cities became

home to countless such ethnic and immigrant neighborhoods: everything from Chinatown to Little Italy. Although life in these neighborhoods was difficult and dangerous and sometimes deadly, immigrants could start to fulfill the promise of a new life in the United States.

Appreciating the world that Rahel Gollup left behind as a twelve-year-old girl is the first crucial step to understanding her autobiography. Alongside her vivid accounts of life in the Lower East Side and her work in New York's garment industry, her religious faith and her memories of Russia will enable you to begin to see what her autobiography reveals about immigrant experiences in America.

The Method

In this chapter you will be using a firsthand, individual account—one woman's story about her life—to gain insight into a larger pattern in U.S. history: the unprecedented migration into America's industrializing cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But before you read Rose Cohen's work, you need to think about the medium as well as the message.

Autobiographies and memoirs along with diaries can connect readers to the past in rare and compelling ways.[5] Firsthand accounts often have an immediacy and a relatability that many other kinds of historical sources cannot match. Autobiographers, memoirists, and diarists can transport readers into the historical moment, bringing to life episodes that might otherwise seem flat or abstract. The very best firsthand writing humanizes and personalizes the past, forging a connection between the present-day reader and the historical writer. Think, for example, about the transcendent power of Anne Frank's diary to enable readers to understand what it was like to try and survive in Nazi Germany. Other individual accounts seem to perfectly exemplify an era. Benjamin Franklin's autobiography is a classic example; historians often think of him as the "first American" because of the riveting story he told of his self-determination, practicality, and achievement. Likewise, Anne Moody's autobiography, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, movingly captured the desire for young African Americans in the mid-twentieth-century South to end racial segregation and the barrage of violence they withstood as a consequence.[6]

On the other hand, individual accounts of the past such as Rose Cohen's cannot, by their very nature, convey aggregate historical changes or societal patterns. Historians must consult census records to chart the numbers

5. The line between autobiography and memoir, both written for publication, can be blurry. Autobiographies typically cover the span of a life—from birth or first memories to near the time of the book's publication. Memoirs, also self-authored, generally focus on a discrete episode or experience in a writer's life. Memoirs also tend to be more personal and less linear than autobiographies. Diaries, though sometimes published, often after the writer has died, are personal writings not expressly intended for publication.

6. Anne Frank's diary, usually published as *The Diary of a Young Girl*; *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*; and Anne Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi* are all widely available in varied editions.

of immigrants who moved to America, governmental debates and legislation to understand immigration policy, and statistics to explain wealth distribution and population density.

It will also be important for you to consider the differences and the links between history and biography: the story of the past versus the experiences of an individual. Single-subject accounts, whether written by individuals about their own past (autobiography and memoir) or by historians and journalists studying individual historical figures (biography), can be stirring and compelling. But they can also lack distance and perspective, seeing the world writ small in the life of one person.

Insights gained from firsthand accounts of the past can vary according to the gender, age, religion, and ethnicity of the writer. For example, Rose Cohen's autobiography tells us a great deal about the experiences of Russian Jews in turn-of-the-century New York City. We can see, too, in her coming-of-age conflicts with her parents and her new ideas about acceptable women's roles, some patterns commonplace with young female immigrants.[7] There are larger issues she raises, too: the economic hardships that immigrants often faced when they arrived in America; the discrimination and even violent assaults they sometimes endured from native-born citizens; and their struggles to balance Old World traditions, including religion, against the pressure to become "Americanized." Most immigrants coming to America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries dealt with such issues irrespective of ethnicity or place of settlement. (Many of these patterns remain common in immigrant experiences in the early twenty-first century.)

On the other hand, there were important differences in immigrant experiences that you should keep in mind as you read the following excerpts. For example, in the industrializing era Jewish immigration was mostly a family affair, as was the case with the Gollup family. Men usually migrated first, but children and wives and extended family soon followed. Conversely, many Italian men emigrated in this era without plans to bring their families; they wanted to earn money and eventually return home.

Do not forget that Rose Cohen's autobiography was written for publication. Attention to a public audience invariably shapes what stories get told in any autobiography, how the person tells them, and what she or he leaves out. As Winston Churchill famously said about his place in accounts of World War II politics and diplomacy, "History will be kind to me, for I intend to write it myself."

The fact that Cohen published her autobiography makes it different from other firsthand, individually based sources such as personal letters or a diary. Those primary sources also have an audience, of course. Letters were meant to be shared, often with an individual but sometimes more broadly. Some diarists write to create a legacy. But even if a diary is meant for the writer's eyes only, not everything is put to the page; the stories we tell ourselves about our lives are always selective. Writing for a public audience, however, can shape that selectivity, even in ways the author may not intend or even realize. So, when historians use

7. For the experiences of Chinese women enduring especially virulent racism while exercising greater rights, see Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

an autobiography written for publication as a primary source, they must be careful to consider how the form of writing influences the information in the writing.

Cohen wrote her book in her thirties, so she was working from memory, as do all autobiographers. This adds yet another layer to the puzzle of how to use her writing as an historical source.

So, as you consider the central question in this chapter, remember that it contains three interrelated issues: Rose Cohen, the immigrant experience, and autobiography. Thinking about these three matters makes the question more complicated but also more interesting and more revealing of the historian's craft. As you read the Evidence section, think about:

1. The nature of the source: What are the benefits and limits of a firsthand, self-reported life story, recreated from memory and for publication?
2. The pros and cons of individual experiences to understanding history: How much can one person tell historians about an era? What is the difference between history and biography?
3. Rose Cohen's life: While weighing the source and the individual case study, analyze the contents of Cohen's life story. What can we learn from her about immigrant experiences in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

The Evidence

Source from Rose Cohen, *Out of the Shadow* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918), pp. 35, 48–49, 69–70, 73–74, 81–82, 84, 104–105, 112–113, 115, 142–143, 156–157, 175, 246–248.

Rahel begins her autobiography with her earliest memories of childhood in Russia. She was the eldest of five siblings, and her family lived with her paternal grandparents in a small village in the Pale of Settlement. Her father, Avrom, was a tailor by trade. She and her siblings were taught to sew, Rahel wrote, "as soon as we were able to hold a needle." She also remembered herself as an especially pious child. Her father's departure for America was a signal event in her life. His first letter from America brought word that he was boarding with a Jewish family and earning $10 per week. Avrom soon made plans for Rahel and his unmarried sister Masha, who was in her twenties, to come to America. Rahel, he predicted, could earn $3 per week and speed the effort to make enough money to pay passage for the other members of the family. The story picks up next, when the family receives the tickets and instructions for Rahel and Masha to come to America.

I do not know whether I considered myself fortunate in going to America or not. But I do remember that when I convinced myself, by looking at the tickets often, that it was not a dream like many others I had had, that I would really start for America in a month or six weeks, I felt a great joy. Of course I was a little ashamed of this joy. I saw that mother was unhappy. And grandmother's sorrow, very awful, in its calmness, was double now. . . .

[When the time to depart came, Rahel and Masha grieved at leaving their relatives and feared the dangerous passage to America. Rahel's mother accompanied the two on part of the journey.]

As we jogged off I heard uncle calling after us, "Don't forget God." And it seemed to me that the frogs from the neighbouring swamps took up the words and croaked, "Don't forget God! Don't forget God!"

The road was very uneven, and every time the wheels passed over a stone I heard Aunt Masha's head bump against the wagon. Mother gave her some more straw to put there, but she refused.

"What," she said, peevishly, "is this pain or any other pain that I have ever had, compared with what my mother suffers to-night." And so she let her head bump as if that would give her mother relief. For a long time I felt Aunt Masha's body shaking with sobs. But by degrees it grew quieter, the breathing became regular, and she slept. Then I saw mother, who I thought was also asleep, sit up. She took some straw from her side of the wagon and bending over me towards Aunt Masha she raised her head gently and spread the straw under it. . . .

[Masha and Rahel eventually made their way to Hamburg, Germany, for their ocean crossing. They had to stay a week in a fetid building run by the steamer company and sleep on bug-infested cots. After a perilous voyage, Rahel and Masha arrived in New York City. At first Rahel did not recognize her father, but then they all enjoyed a joyous and tearful reunion. As Rahel recalled, "the three of us stood clinging to one another."]

From Castle Garden[8] we drove to our new home in a market wagon filled with immigrants' bedding. Father tucked us in among the bundles, climbed up beside the driver himself and we rattled off over the cobbled stone pavement, with the noon sun beating down on our heads.

As we drove along I looked about in bewilderment. My thoughts were chasing each other. I felt a thrill: "Am I really in America at last?" But the next moment it would be checked and I felt a little disappointed, a little homesick. Father was so changed. I hardly expected to find him in his black long tailed coat in which he left home. But of course yet with his same full grown beard and earlocks. Now instead I saw a young man with a closely cut beard and no sign of earlocks. As I looked at him I could scarcely believe my eyes. Father had been the most pious Jew in our neighbourhood. I wondered was it true then as Mindle said that "in America one at once became a libertine"?

Father's face was radiantly happy. Every now and then he would look over his shoulder and smile. But he soon guessed what troubled me for after a while he began to talk in a quiet, reassuring manner. He told me he would take me to

8. Castle Garden was an immigration center that preceded Ellis Island. After 1892 Ellis Island replaced Castle Garden as the primary site for immigration to New York City and, more generally, the entire United States.