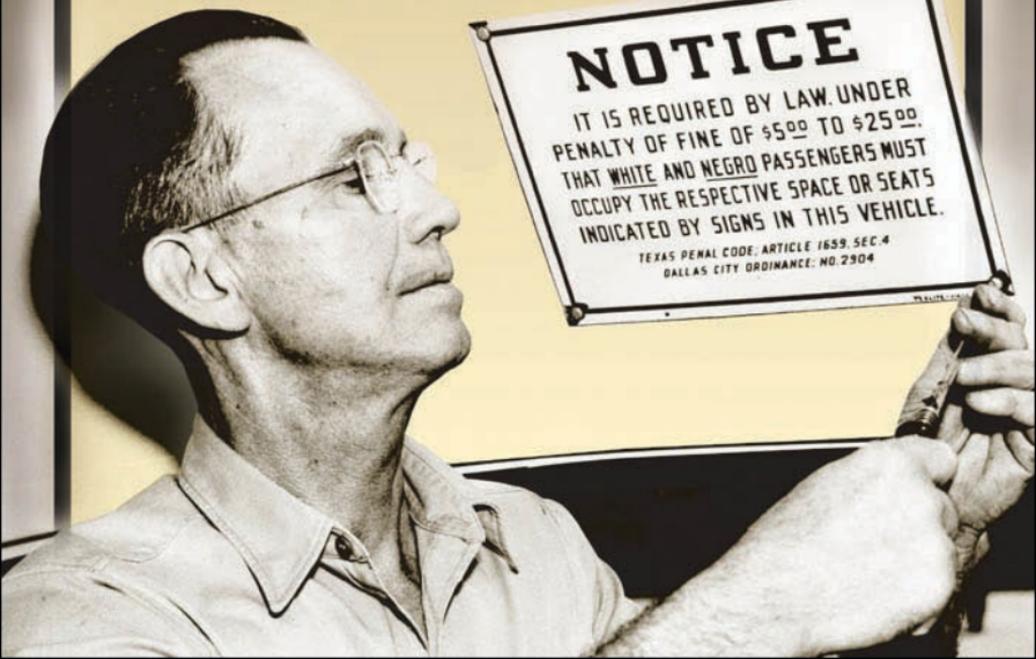


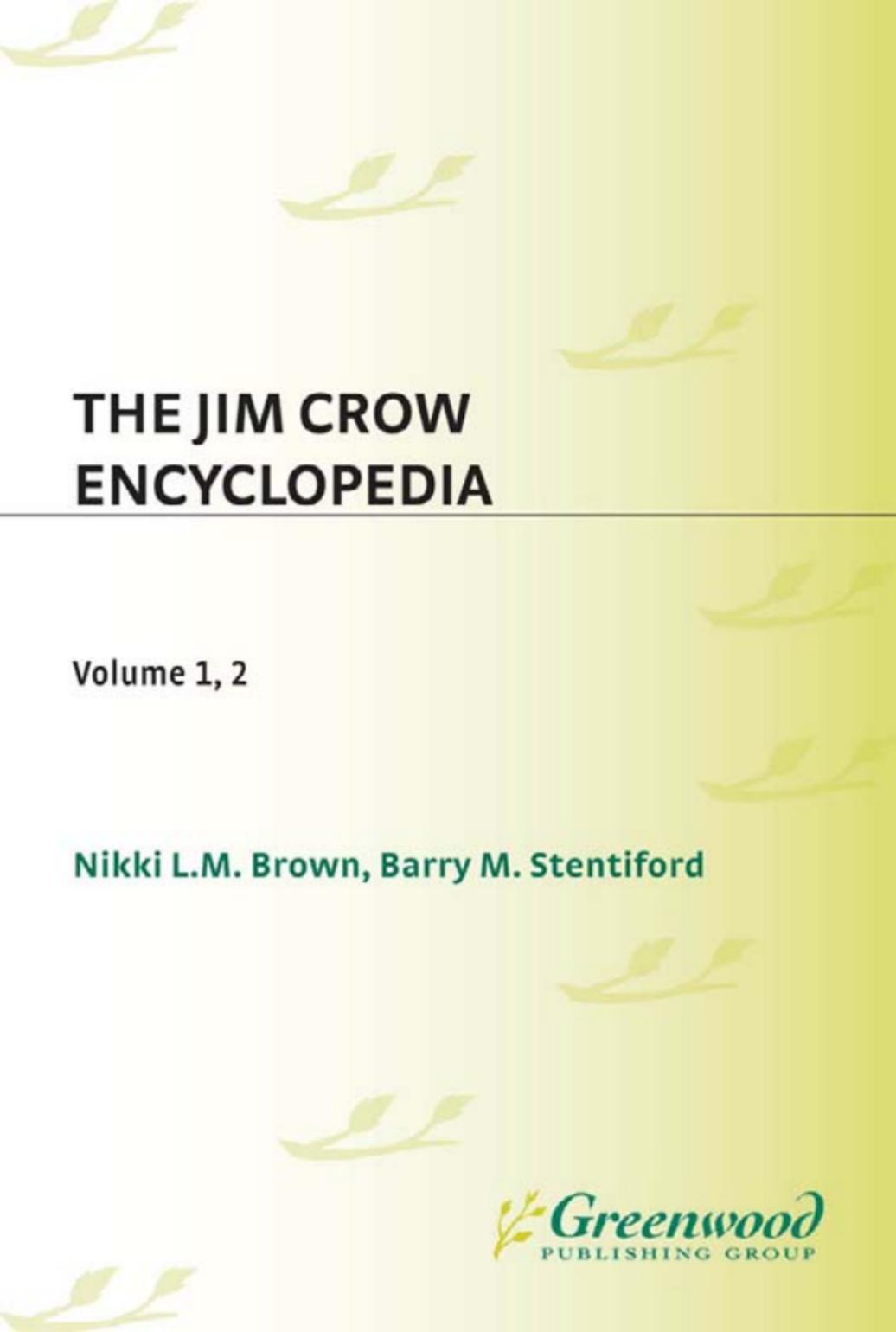


The Jim Crow

ENCYCLOPEDIA

Edited by Nikki L.M. Brown and Barry M. Stentiford



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THE JIM CROW ENCYCLOPEDIA

Volume 1, 2

Nikki L.M. Brown, Barry M. Stentiford

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THE JIM CROW ENCYCLOPEDIA

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THE JIM CROW ENCYCLOPEDIA



Volume 1: A–J

Edited by
Nikki L.M. Brown and
Barry M. Stentiford

Greenwood Milestones in African American History



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PREFACE

The Jim Crow Encyclopedia provides a comprehensive description of the structural framework of Jim Crow. It explores the complex system of segregation by race that ran from the mid-1880s to the mid-1960s, and how this system affected African Americans, Native Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans in the United States. It describes Jim Crow's effects on politics and culture in more than 275 entries. Essay entries herein examine the era from the following vantage points: concrete and abstract, as in religious beliefs and art; majority and minority, as in educational institutions; legal and illegal, as in suffrage movements and violence; working class and middle class, as in housing and employment; and traditional and modern, as in forms of political protest

The Jim Crow Encyclopedia concludes its catalogue of events and people at the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Though the story of Jim Crow does not end in 1965, a new form of black protest group emerged in the mid-1960s, best explained by the phrase "black power." As civil rights organizations shifted their emphasis to challenging the lingering social and economic consequences of Jim Crow, they also embraced more strident forms of resistance. Yet, the conversation about civil rights in American public life continues to expand, to gain greater nuances, and to redefine itself to the next generation of students and scholars. *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia* serves as a springboard to this and future discussions on the history of racial subordination and the triumph of social justice.

Readers can quickly identify entries of interest through the alphabetical list of entries and the topical list of entries in the front matter, or from the index. A chronology of the Jim Crow era is also in the front matter. Each entry offers further reading, often including Web sites or further listening or viewing. Within the entries are bolded cross-references or a "See also" cross-reference to other entries of interest. A selected bibliography rounds out the coverage.

Students, scholars, and the general public who strive to understand the full impact of Jim Crow are the primary audience of *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia*. Journalists and policy makers will also find *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia* useful, as they debate social policy and legal decisions that address the impact of the system of racial segregation.

The contributors to *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia* have been drawn from a diversity of intellectual environments. They are professors, teachers, journalists, and lawyers, among others. Their fields of study are similarly diverse, but they are experts in Jim Crow and its impact on American life.

INTRODUCTION

The term “Jim Crow” refers to a set of laws passed in many states, predominantly in the South, that placed severe restrictions on the rights and privileges of African Americans after the end of Reconstruction in 1877. The name itself probably originated with a stock character in minstrel shows dating before the Civil War. The Jim Crow character was usually portrayed as a happy and simpleminded country slave. The name was later extended to refer to blacks in general, and then to laws restricting the rights of blacks in particular.

As a caste system of enormous social and economic magnitude, the institutionalization of Jim Crow was the most significant element in African American life after the Civil War. Not even the Reconstruction period and its promise to usher four million African Americans from slavery to freedom could compete with the systematic marginalization of people of color over the following 70 years. Indeed, what slavery was to the generations after the Civil War, Jim Crow is to the generations following the Civil Rights Movement. Racial segregation, as well as responses to it and resistance against it, dominated the African American consciousness and reinforced long-held beliefs in white supremacy. The cycle of division, exclusion, and integration has influenced some of the most important works in African American life. The poetry of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the sociological texts of W.E.B. Du Bois, the literature and art of the Harlem Renaissance, the establishment of historically black colleges and universities, and the growth of the black middle class are just a few of ways in which African Americans have sought to analyze and dismantle Jim Crow. Although the important watersheds of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act eventually made racial segregation and discrimination illegal, the full impact of Jim Crow is still being measured by academics, teachers, and intellectuals.

Evolution of the Racial Caste System

Immediately after the Civil War ended in 1865, most states of the former Confederacy adopted Black Codes, new laws that seriously restricted the movement and rights of the former slaves, and eventually all African

Americans. Black Codes attempted to keep African Americans under the control of white landowners, to deny them suffrage, and to ensure that they remained socially subordinate to whites. Radical Republicans, who controlled Congress after the Civil War, were incensed at this flagrant attempt by the Southern states to reimpose a socioeconomic caste system. Despite constitutional amendments and legislation that abolished slavery and guaranteed African American political rights, the Black Codes instituted a racial caste system. They also laid the groundwork for the era of Jim Crow.

Validation of Racial Segregation

When Reconstruction officially ended in 1877 with the removal of the last Union troops from the Southern states, Southern whites increasingly turned to extralegal means to deny the black vote. In fact, the 1880s in American history is marked by the growth in racial violence, which reinforced the subordinate economic status of people of color. Embittered whites created several terrorist organizations, the most infamous of which was the original Ku Klux Klan, created in 1866. The Klan and other groups used masks, darkness, the whip, and the noose to instill fear in blacks and to cower whites who might dare to openly assist African Americans.

Coupled with the violence, political shifts in the legislative and judicial branches led to the exclusion of people of color from the Democratic Party by 1890 and the entire political process by 1900. The Democratic Party had become the organization of small farmers, disgruntled former Confederates, poor whites, and supporters of states' rights, and it controlled the South after Reconstruction. The resumption of white Democratic control of the South and the adoption of laws restricting the rights of African Americans came to be known as Redemption—the salvation of the South. As the Democratic Party thrived after Reconstruction, the declining will of the federal government to protect the civil rights of blacks was reflected in *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1875). This influential Supreme Court ruling reduced the power of the federal government to interfere in what were considered state or local affairs, allowing the states to legislate racial segregation without federal intervention.

Still, Jim Crow became law of the land with one Supreme Court case of enormous significance. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) signified the complete surrender of the federal government to the white South on matters of civil rights for African Americans, though it also affected other minority groups. The ruling upheld states' rights in matters of racial segregation; indeed, the states were granted the right to make racial segregation mandatory in most aspects of life. Federal acquiescence reflected weariness on the part of Northerners of dealing with social issues of the South, a struggle that was then in its fourth decade. *Plessy v.*

Ferguson was not the first attempt to legislate racial segregation and discrimination. (The first state to segregate public transportation was Tennessee in 1881.) But, *Plessy v. Ferguson* was a watershed in American racial and ethnic history. By 1910, every former Confederate state had enacted laws

restricting African American political rights, social movement, and economic development.

Normalization of “Separate but Equal”

The phrase “separate but equal” would long burn in the ears of African Americans, who knew intimately that while whites would uphold the “separate” part with zeal, the “equal” part was a complete fiction that no one, black or white, even pretended to believe. Rail cars for white passengers were almost always better than the single-class car reserved for blacks, the “Jim Crow car,” or “smoke car.” Whites who could afford the higher price of a first-class ticket would have even greater comfort, while no amount of money could buy a black passenger out of the Jim Crow car. Similar dual standards existed in schools, where white children had lower student-to-teacher ratios, newer textbooks, and even sometimes a longer school year, than black students. Restaurants would not allow black customers to eat in the dining room, but required them to use the take-out counter only. Jim Crow dominated almost all aspects of black life in the South, from subjecting blacks to substandard health care and education, to daily humiliations of being served last in stores and having to make way for whites on public sidewalks.

Jim Crow became a self-perpetuating system for several decades. The system was particularly degrading to the black middle class. Regardless of income level or intellectual achievement, blacks were instilled with the understanding that they challenged their low status at the peril of their lives. Black land-ownership remained low compared to whites, as did education levels. Thus the relative poverty and low educational levels of blacks were used to justify their continued exclusion from politics.

Racial stereotypes became a common fixture in popular images in American media. American television and film became vital instruments in the widespread acceptance of racial segregation. Minstrel shows, comics, cartoons, newspaper stories, and movies reinforced two divergent images of blacks, both of which underscored the need for white supremacy and the need for Jim Crow laws to control blacks. One image was of blacks as simple, happy-go-lucky, and often childlike. The other image was the black beast, the wild emotional creature of hellish lusts, always ready to rape the virtuous white woman, or expressed in the black woman as a wanton woman always ready to seduce a healthy but naive young white man. Such people obviously were not fit for the voting booth, let alone to sit at the same table as white people.

The period from the 1890s into the 1910s, the Nadir of the Negro, was the high point of institutionalized racism, when Jim Crow laws ruled the lives of most African Americans. Added to that was a myriad of customs, rules, and unwritten laws that reinforced white supremacy. White men would be addressed as “Mister,” while black men would be addressed as “boy,” “Uncle,” or, if in a newspaper or magazine, as “Negro,” but never as “Mister.” Blacks would be served last, paid less, required to give way in public places, enter white homes through the back door, and above all, black men would interact socially with white women at the risk of their lives. While legal means enforced the most important foundation of Jim Crow—denying

blacks the vote—extralegal means were often employed to enforce the other daily humiliations of blacks. Accusations of rape or murder of whites by blacks brought the most violent response, usually in the form of a lynch mob, although torture and lynching were also applied for a host of lesser transgressions.

The Nadir of the Negro coincided with the high point of imperialism and so-called scientific racism. By the end of the nineteenth century, all of Africa except for Ethiopia, and Liberia was under the domination of Europe, and even the nominally independent Republic of Liberia was not under the control of indigenous Africans. Additionally, most of Asia was under direct European rule, or part of a sphere of influence of Europeans or the Japanese. With few exceptions, white people were in charge over most of the world. After the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States itself ruled a small overseas empire of nonwhite colonies. This imperialism and scientific racism dovetailed neatly with Jim Crow in the United States, making the idea that whites ruled nonwhites appear part of the natural order of the world.

Opposition and Survival in the Era of Jim Crow

African Americans struggled against Jim Crow through protests, writing, acts of defiance, and numerous other means. In general, African Americans sought the elimination of mandated segregation, the end of unwritten but deeply humiliating customs, and the recognition of their human and civil rights as American citizens. Some African Americans responded to Jim Crow by advocating their complete separation from American society. Such individuals and groups proposed a spectrum of radical solutions to Jim Crow, ranging from the complete economic and social removal of blacks from American society, to the establishment of a separate black nation on the American continent, to the removal of blacks to their ancestral homelands in Africa. Some turned white supremacy on its head and promoted black supremacy. However, most African Americans desired civic equality (as in, the end of discrimination in housing and employment) and the opportunity to fully participate in American democracy.

By the 1920s, forces subtle but of lasting import were underway that would seriously weaken the ability of Jim Crow to continue. The Harlem Renaissance offered literature and art heralding a New Negro, who militantly challenged the structures of white supremacy. Labor shortages in the Northern industrial economy lured African Americans to the North in large numbers during the World Wars, creating a profound demographic shift as the number of African Americans living in the rural South declined. While Northern white racism could at times be as virulent and even as violent as Southern racism, Northern states had few Jim Crow laws that denied blacks the most important civil right—the right to vote. African American veterans of the World Wars had often experienced a world beyond the narrow confines of the Jim Crow South or Northern ghettos. They had experienced the obligations of citizenship, while remaining consciously aware that they were systematically denied the rights of citizenship.

Demolition of Structural Racial Inequality

The history of Jim Crow is interwoven with the threads of resistance, agitation against lynching, the realignment of the Great Migration, and the moral authority of nonviolent civil disobedience, to name a few social movements. These all became crucial parts of the narrative of Jim Crow's downfall. In the original ruling of "separate but equal" lay the Achilles' heel of Jim Crow laws. Had the white South been as scrupulous in maintaining "equal" facilities as they were about "separate," dismantling the system would have been more problematic. But six decades of Jim Crow had amply demonstrated that separate was inherently unequal.

A second shift in the outlook of the Supreme Court, combined with vigorous legal assaults launched by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), mounted crippling attacks on Jim Crow and the subordination of people of color. World War II, and the patriotic service of African Americans, escorted the transformation of the 1950s. The eventual result was the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruling that initiated the dismantling of Jim Crow. Although *Brown v. Board of Education* would not in and of itself eradicate all vestiges of Jim Crow and segregation from the United States, it did undermine state laws mandating segregation. The implementation of *Brown v. Board of Education* proved emotional, traumatic, and occasionally violent, but the days of Jim Crow were numbered.

The slow dismantling of Jim Crow came in two phases, from 1955 to 1961, and 1963 to 1965. In the first phase, the Montgomery Bus Boycott and its predecessor, the Baton Rouge Bus Boycott, proclaimed a new conviction to nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. Civil rights workers focused most of their attention on the most basic of civil rights—the right to vote. At great risk to their lives, blacks and whites pushed for voter registration of blacks, and blacks, also at great risk to their lives, began to vote. The world in the 1950s and early 1960s was changing. Glossy magazines such as *Life* brought images of small neat black children being screamed at by angry white adults, or police dogs and fire hoses being used on young black adults, into the living rooms of many Americans who had seldom thought about Jim Crow or race problems.

The second phase of the Civil Rights Movement is marked by the 1963 March on Washington, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. By the summer of 1963, the five main civil rights groups—the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the NAACP—had decided to pool their efforts and organized a March on Washington for Civil Rights and Freedom. The March on Washington took place on August 28, 1963. More than 250,000 people gathered at the Lincoln Memorial to hear the various speeches. It was the largest political assembly in American history. This is when Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech, which brought the entire march to an emotional climax.

In July 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act, the most significant civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. Among many

things, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, outlawed discrimination in employment based on race, sex, or national origin, and desegregated schools. Johnson then signed the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, which abolished all forms of discrimination in voting, including the poll tax, literacy test, understanding clauses, and grandfather clauses. With the passage of these two pieces of legislation, Jim Crow, institutionalized discrimination, and racial segregation were officially illegal.

CHRONOLOGY OF JIM CROW

- 1862 Emancipation Proclamation abolishes slavery in areas under rebellion against the Union.
- 1865 The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, abolishing slavery nationwide.
- 1865–1866 States of the former Confederacy adopt laws that place free blacks in a condition similar to slavery.
- 1866 Congress passes the Reconstruction Acts that suspend civilian government in the South and place the former Confederacy under military occupation.
- 1868 The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, granting equal protection under the law to all American citizens. It also confers citizenship to every person born in the United States, including former slaves.
- 1875 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *U.S. v. Cruikshank* strips the federal government of the authority to ensure the protection of citizens attempting to vote.
- 1877 The Compromise of 1877 removes the last federal troops from the former Confederate states. Reconstruction ends, but the Jim Crow period is not underway fully.
- 1880 Black migration from the South to the West, begun in 1865, ends. The “Exodusters” sought to escape emerging Jim Crow in the former Confederacy.
- 1881 Tennessee enacts the first law requiring racial segregation on public trains.
- Booker T. Washington founds the Tuskegee Institute. It builds on the example set by the Hampton Institute, founded in 1868. Washington’s leadership of the school would inspire his nickname, the “Wizard of Tuskegee.”
- 1882 The Chinese Exclusion Act drastically limits the number of Chinese immigrants to the United States and requires all Chinese residents who leave the United State to reapply for reentry.

- 1887 Congress passes the Dawes Severalty Act, beginning official efforts to detribalize the Indians and eliminate reservations. The government divides ancestral and tribal lands and sells the portions not used for capital development.
- Major League Baseball imposes racial segregation in all of its member teams.
- 1890s Blues, ragtime, and jazz develop in Southern cities, particularly New Orleans, as the most popular musical forms among African Americans.
- The Nadir of the Negro, a historical period named by historian Rayford Logan, begins in 1890 and runs to the mid 1910s. Lynchings, legal disenfranchisement, and the absence of political equality institutionalizes white supremacy and African American subordination.
- 1890 Mississippi imposes a poll tax, understanding clause, and literacy test for all voters. The state's methods spread to the Alabama in 1893, Virginia in 1894, and South Carolina in 1895. By 1910, all former Confederate states have some provision in place for proscribing black voting.
- 1895 Booker T. Washington addresses a predominantly white audience at the Atlanta Exposition. Washington pledges African American accommodation to racial abuse in return for economic security.
- 1896 The National Association of Colored Women is founded in Washington, DC. An African American women's middle-class organization, the NACW would soon become the largest black organization in the country until the 1920s.
- The Supreme Court decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* upholds racial segregation on public transportation. In the 8–1 ruling, the majority reasons that legislation “is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences.” Segregation, or Jim Crow, quickly spreads to education, public accommodations, housing, and employment.
- In a spirited election year, which brought up issue of agrarian rights, race, sectional divisions, and the economy, the Populist Party loses its presidential bid. The breakup of the Populist Party leads to a Southern backlash against African American political activism. The Democratic Party triumphs in the South by promising white supremacy at the polls.
- 1898 *Williams v. Mississippi* legalizes literacy tests for voter registration. The Supreme Court ruling paves the way for Jim Crow in politics, authorizing legal disenfranchisement and the use of poll taxes, character clauses, and understanding clauses in voting registration.
- Race riot in Wilmington, North Carolina, erupts after the Democratic Party tries to oust African American elected officials.
- 1899 *Cumming v. Richmond County* (Georgia) upholds segregation in public schools by allowing for unequal levels of resources and schools for black and white secondary schools.
- 1900 Race riot in New Orleans is sparked by a shoot-out between the police and an African American laborer. Twenty thousand people are drawn into the riot that lasted four days

- 1903 W.E.B. Du Bois publishes his landmark polemic, *The Souls of Black Folk*. It pronounces that the “problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.”
- 1905 The Niagara Movement forms. An organization of black intellectuals who opposed Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Machine, the Niagara movement promoted black political equality and voting rights.
- 1906 Rumors of black assaults on white women lead to a race riot in Atlanta. The riot claims the lives of 25 blacks and one white. Hundreds are injured.
- 1909 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is founded in New York City. Some of the members of the Niagara Movement contribute to the founding of the NAACP. The board of directors of the NAACP includes several white progressives.
- 1914–1918 World War I engulfs Europe, and involves much of the world through colonial empires and alliances.
- 1915 The Great Migration begins. Many African Americans move first from rural areas to cities in the South, then to Northern cities. The Great Migration peaks in the early 1940s.
- D. W. Griffith’s film *The Birth of a Nation* is released. Based in part on Thomas Dixon’s novel, *The Clansmen*, it depicts the terrorist Ku Klux Klan as heroic defenders of white womanhood and civilization.
- 1917 The United States enters World War I; in October 1917, 1,000 African American officers are commissioned. Black soldiers win the Croix de Guerre, the French medal for bravery on the front.
- 1917
June A race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois, erupts over housing and jobs between working-class whites and blacks. Eight whites and about 100 blacks are killed in the riot. Thousands of fleeing residents of the city lose their possessions and homes in the aftermath.
- August A race riot in Houston erupts between the African American soldiers stationed at Camp Logan and the white residents and police officers in nearby Houston. Over 100 soldiers are arrested, and 63 of them are court-martialed. Twenty are later executed, seven are set free, and the rest are given life sentences.
- 1919 Race riots across the nation claim more 200 lives. The biggest riot is in Chicago.
- 1920s Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) gains thousands of followers, until the group’s dissolution in the late 1920s. The popularity of UNIA stems from the Black Star Line, a shipping company, founded in 1919.
- 1920
August The Nineteenth Amendment passes, granting the right to vote for women.
- 1921 A race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, nearly wipes out the entire African American area, including the “Black” Wall Street.

- 1925–1935 African American literature, art, and criticism form the Harlem Renaissance, an influential cultural movement. The Harlem Renaissance leads to similar cultural movements in Chicago and Kansas City.
- 1925 A. Philip Randolph forms the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
- 1926 Historian Carter G. Woodson founds Negro History Week, later evolving into Black History Month.
- 1929 The crash of the stock market reveals serious problems with the economy.
- 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected president. His promise of a New Deal and a “Black Cabinet” in 1933 attracts many black voters to the Democratic Party.
- 1934 The Nation of Islam comes under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad.
- 1935 Ethiopia, the last African nation under native rule, is attacked by Italy.
The National Council of Negro Women is formed.
- 1936 Jesse Owens wins four gold medals at the Summer Olympics in Berlin.
- 1938 Boxer Joe Louis defeats Max Schmeling in a rematch from a 1937 fight.
- 1939 On the personal invitation of Eleanor Roosevelt, Marian Anderson sings at the Lincoln Memorial.
- 1940 Author Richard Wright publishes *Native Son*, a chilling novel about youth, poverty, and Jim Crow. It is called the “new American tragedy.”
- 1941–1945 The United States joins the Allies and wages war against the Axis Powers of Germany, Japan, and Italy in World War II. African American activists call for a Double V campaign, the defeat of enemies abroad and racism in America.
- 1941
January The 332nd Fighter Group—Tuskegee Airmen—of the Army Air Corps forms.
- June A. Philip Randolph threatens a march on Washington to protest Jim Crow in employment in defense industries.
- 1941 President Roosevelt signs Executive Order 8802, prohibiting racial discrimination in hiring in government of defense industry during World War II.
- 1942 Internment of Japanese Americans from West Coast states begins, lasting until 1946.
James Farmer founds the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
- 1945 Nat “King” Cole launches the first black radio variety show on NBC.
- 1947 Jackie Robinson becomes the first black player in Major League Baseball since 1887, playing for the Brooklyn Dodgers.
- 1948 President Harry S. Truman orders the desegregation of the U.S. military with Executive Order 9981.

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- Larry Doby integrates the American League in Major League Baseball, playing for the Cleveland Indians.
- 1949 Essayist James Baldwin critiques Richard Wright's depiction of African American protest to racism in his short essay, "Everybody's Protest Novel."
Jackie Robinson wins the National League's Most Valuable Player Award.
- 1950s The first segment of the Civil Rights Movement is underway by 1954.
- 1950 The Supreme Court finds for both the plaintiffs in *Sweatt v. Painter* and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma*. The lawsuits were a huge success for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.
- 1952 Ralph Ellison publishes *Invisible Man*, a stinging critique of Jim Crow.
- 1954 The Supreme Court decides for the plaintiffs in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education*. The ruling makes illegal segregation and discrimination in the nation's public schools.
Brown II requires the desegregation of American public schools. The decision is met with massive resistance from the states.
- 1955 Chicago teenager Emmett Till is lynched while visiting relatives in Mississippi.
Rosa Parks is arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for not giving up her seat to a white passenger. The Montgomery Improvement Association launches a yearlong boycott. It is the first national protest movement for Martin Luther King, Jr.
- 1956 Billie Holliday, acclaimed jazz singer, publishes her autobiography, *Lady Sings the Blues*.
- 1957 The Civil Rights Act of 1957 pledges the federal government to prosecute abuses of African American civil rights.
Nine black students in Little Rock, Arkansas, attempt to desegregate Central High School. Governor Orval Faubus closes the school in protest.
- 1958 Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and other African American ministers form the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
- 1960 John F. Kennedy is elected president with large support from African American voters.
Four African American students at North Carolina A&T begin a national movement with their sit-in at a segregated lunch counter at Woolworth's.
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee forms, a follower of Martin Luther King's program of nonviolence.
- 1961 The Freedom Rides begin. They last for approximately four weeks.
- 1962 James Meredith enters the University of Mississippi.

- 1963** Essayist and author James Baldwin publishes *The Fire Next Time*, a critique of the national resistance to the Civil Rights Movement.
- Medgar Evers, president of the Mississippi chapter of the NAACP, is shot and killed in his driveway.
- August The historic March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom converges in August. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivers his “I Have a Dream Speech.”
- November President John F. Kennedy is assassinated.
- 1964** Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Malcolm X makes his pilgrimage to Mecca. Upon his return, he forms the Organization of Afro-American Unity.
- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is passed. The landmark legislation outlawed racial segregation in all public transportation, public accommodation, employment, and education. It also prohibited government financial support of any institution or agency practicing Jim Crow.
- 1965** Malcolm X is assassinated.
- The last legal vestiges of Jim Crow are removed. The Voting Rights Act abolishes all forms of legal disenfranchisement and pledged to prosecute illegal disenfranchisement.

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Abernathy, Ralph David (1926–1990)

Considered one of the “Big Three” leaders of the **Civil Rights Movement**, Ralph David Abernathy joined **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, Fred Shuttlesworth, and a long list of African American clergymen who defeated **Jim Crow** using the doctrine of nonviolence. Born in Linden, Alabama, in 1926, Abernathy was the 10th of the 12 children born to William and Louivery (Bell) Abernathy. Abernathy’s parents named him David, which family members called him throughout his youth; he registered as Ralph David Abernathy when he enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1944.

The Abernathy family was solidly middle class, in comparison to other residents of Marengo County in rural Alabama in the 1930s and 1940s. William Abernathy owned several hundred acres of fertile land, from which the family drew most of its food and resources. The family also enjoyed an elevated status in Linden, Alabama, as William Abernathy was a deacon at Hopewell Baptist Church and a successful farmer. At the insistence of Louivery Abernathy, all of the Abernathy children attended primary and secondary school. **World War II** erupted while Abernathy was still in high school, but he enlisted in the army in 1944. Abernathy was honorably discharged at the rank of sergeant in the summer of 1945.

In September 1945, Abernathy entered Alabama State College (now Alabama State University) in Montgomery. At Alabama State, Abernathy studied mathematics and the political activism of civil disobedience. As president of the Student Council, Abernathy met with the president of Alabama State to protest the living conditions of veteran-students, who lived in barracks with no heating and poor plumbing. After the meeting, promises for improvements were made and kept. Abernathy later remarked that his meetings with the intimidating president of Alabama State prepared him for debates over civil rights with future presidents **John F. Kennedy**, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon. Abernathy graduated in 1950 with a B.S. in mathematics.

Abernathy also found a religious calling while he was a student at Alabama State. He gave a number of sermons at First Baptist Church in Montgomery. When he enrolled at Atlanta University to earn a master’s degree in sociology in 1950, he attended the historical Ebenezer Baptist Church. There he met

two influential figures in Atlanta's church community, Vernon Johns and Martin Luther King, Jr. After graduating in 1951, Abernathy returned to Alabama, where he took two positions, one as dean of men at Alabama State College, and another as the primary pastor at First Baptist Church. Three years later, King and his family moved to Montgomery, where he was named chief pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Abernathy and King had similar political interests, including a fascination with the writings of **Mahatma Gandhi** and the peaceful withdrawal of the British from colonial India after World War II. The two pastors became close friends, and their relationship remained steadfast until King's death in 1968.

Abernathy and King's first organized attack on Jim Crow was the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** of 1955–1956. Set off by the arrest of **Rosa Parks**, a seamstress and secretary of the NAACP Montgomery chapter, the boycott of Montgomery's segregated city buses quickly galvanized African American support. Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, leader of the Women's Political Council of Montgomery and a professor of English at Alabama State, had expertly organized a complex network of carpools and private transportation for a one-day boycott in December 1955. Abernathy and King joined with Robinson's network to form the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). Arranging a system of phone banks, reduced fare taxis, private cars, and escorts, the MIA extended the boycott over 12 months. The MIA also professed nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. The Montgomery Bus Boycott emerged successful in December 1956, when the city surrendered to the demands of the MIA and the abolished segregation on its public transportation. After the boycott, King became the charismatic scholar and pastor of the Civil Rights Movement, and Abernathy became its chief tactician.

The success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott led to the founding of the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in Atlanta, Georgia. Abernathy joined King, Fred Shuttlesworth, Joseph Lowery, and other prominent clergymen to establish an organization dedicated to the eradication of Jim Crow and to nonviolence. The SCLC's mission differed from the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the **NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund**. The SCLC focused on gathering moral and religious objections to Jim Crow, while the NAACP Legal Defense Fund broke down the legal structures of segregation and white supremacy. Together, the two groups worked to dismantle Jim Crow and change American consciousness, which had tolerated the worst abuses in white supremacy.

Yet, Abernathy's activism in the state of Alabama drew harassment and violent backlash. In 1957, while he attended a planning session of the SCLC in Atlanta, his home and church were bombed. His pregnant wife, Juanita, and Juandalynn, their child, narrowly escaped injury, but the arsonists were never caught. Moreover, three other churches were bombed the same night, Bell Street Baptist, Hutchison Street Baptist, and Mt. Olive Baptist. The bitter resistance to the Civil Rights Movement in Montgomery forced Abernathy to move his family to Atlanta in 1960. In 1962, Abernathy and three other clergymen were sued for libel by the attorney general of the state of Alabama. The lawsuit claimed that Abernathy, Joseph Lowery, S. S. Seay, Fred Shuttlesworth, and the *New York Times* had slandered the city by supporting an

advertisement in the newspaper to raise funds for King's legal defenses. In *Sullivan v. New York Times*, the jury initially found for the plaintiffs, but the **U.S. Supreme Court** overturned the ruling on appeal in 1964.

In Atlanta, King, Abernathy, and the SCLC launched their most memorable, nonviolent attacks on Jim Crow. They maintained their conviction that nonviolence, primarily surrendering to inevitable suffering, would transform the hearts and minds of segregationists and white supremacists. Abernathy's faith and his adherence to nonviolence shaped the critical involvement of the SCLC in the Civil Rights Movement of the mid-1960s. They supported the Freedom Rides of 1961 by taking the riders and their families into the West Hunter Street Baptist Church. They organized the marches against segregation in Birmingham and Selma, and were arrested several times. Abernathy saw King and the SCLC through the difficult period following the Albany marches, and the high point of the 1963 March on Washington. He also rallied for protests in St. Augustine, Charleston, and Chicago in the latter half of the decade.

Eventually, the violence following the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement caught up with the two leaders. In April 1968, the SCLC traveled to Memphis to support a sanitation workers' strike. Standing on the balcony at the Lorraine Hotel, King was shot and killed by James Earl Ray on April 4. Abernathy was the last person to see King alive. The assassination of King left a profound void on the Civil Rights Movement, particularly on newer, more militant incarnations. After King's death, Abernathy was vaulted into the presidency of the SCLC. His immediate task was to assess the popularity of groups that had turned to Black Power for answers. Once a close political ally, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** had become increasingly dissatisfied with nonviolence and the goals of integration. The Black Panthers and the US movement amassed a large following of young African Americans, and college students across the country rallied for changes in university curricula to reflect African American contributions. The SCLC had a difficult time appealing to the newer recruits to the Civil Rights Movement, and nonviolence appeared to lose its place as the nation struggled with the assassination of **Robert F. Kennedy** and the escalation of the Vietnam War.

Stepping into King's shoes as president of the SCLC proved exceedingly difficult for Abernathy. Not only did national events necessitate a response from the organization, but Abernathy's style and leadership were often unfavorably compared with that of King. For example, Abernathy carried on King's program for a Poor People's March on Washington, DC, but the 1968 march attracted much less interest and the tent city, Resurrection City, was taken down by the **National Guard**. Though Abernathy and the doctrine of nonviolence took the moral high ground amid the violence of the late 1960s, the SCLC competed with the increasingly popular Black Power movement and its militant message. The SCLC was also under considerable pressure to raise funds to continue its work, and it needed new, dues-paying members to fund its activism. The difficulty confronting Abernathy was the type of activism a post-King SCLC should undertake to preserve the organization and the movement.

By the mid-1970s, the SCLC split into two distinct halves—a section of older, middle-class protestors espousing nonviolence and marches, and a

section of younger students espousing direct action and self-protection from the police, especially gun ownership rights. In 1977, a vote on the future of the organization was put to the members of the SCLC. The older generation of activists won out, and the SCLC continued its program of nonviolence. Yet, the dispute took its toll on Abernathy's presidency, and he resigned later that year. He ran for a congressional seat representing Georgia in 1977, but his bid was unsuccessful. A fellow cofounder of the SCLC, Joseph Lowery, followed Abernathy as president of the SCLC.

Abernathy later returned to his position as pastor of West Hunter Baptist in Atlanta. He served there from 1977 to 1990. His church deepened its commitment to empowering black communities in Atlanta, by establishing the Foundation for Economic Enterprises Development. In 1989, Abernathy published his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, a moving description of the highs and lows of the Civil Rights Movement from 1955 to 1968 with King and the SCLC. Abernathy's autobiography also disclosed some embarrassing mistakes in King's personal life, which drew much criticism from other members of the movement. Abernathy died a year later in Atlanta.

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Nikki Brown

Advertising

The use of images of African Americans in advertising has a long history in American marketing. However, even before such images were used for promotional purposes in the United States, images of blacks made for popular advertisements in European marketing campaigns. In both cases, early advertisements featuring blacks relied heavily on popular racist stereotypes that changed little over time. In the United States, these changes came largely as the result of changing social attitudes about race, increased involvement of African Americans in the advertising industry, the growing purchasing power of black markets, and activism on the part of concerned African Americans.

African Americans in Advertising during the Jim Crow Era

African Americans were first used in commercial imagery in the United States during the 1870s. Utilizing recent developments in color lithography technology that made it possible to produce colorized images cheaply, manufacturers featured images of African Americans on trade cards, a very popular form of advertising in the years between 1870 and 1900. Trade cards were used to advertise a wide variety of consumer items and were included with the product at the time of purchase as an incentive for the consumer.

From the earliest manifestations in America, images of blacks in advertisements frequently drew on existing demeaning, racist stereotypes that had once served to justify the enslavement of blacks. While some nineteenth-century advertisements depicted African Americans in a positive or neutral way, they were much more likely to be represented as ugly, subservient, or ignorant, and were often utilized to depict acts of domestic or manual labor. One popular example of this type of image can be found in a long-lived Lever Brothers advertising campaign featuring the Gold Dust Twins. Designed by the Chicago advertising firm N. K. Fairbanks & Co. in 1884 for a line of cleaning products, advertisements using the Gold Dust Twins showed the twins, two young black children named Goldie and Dustie, diligently cleaning household surfaces for white consumers.

Advertisements for soaps and cleaning products in general were especially likely to utilize images of blacks, creating a popular theme in which the efficacy of the product being promoted was demonstrated by its ability to remove or wash away blackness from skin. The most well-known advertisement of this kind is a 1903 advertisement for Pear's soap, an English product also sold in the United States. In this advertisement, Pear's promotes itself as "powerful enough to clean a black child," and features a before-and-after image in which a young white boy helps a young black boy into a tub of soapy water, causing the body of the black child to turn white. While this is one of the most commonly cited images of this sort in the modern era, it is only one example of a great number of advertisements that utilized this motif.

For white consumers who associated black domestic servants with a life of leisure and status, or who were nostalgic for the enslaved domestic help of decades past, advertisers created a multitude of smiling black mammies, butlers, and other servants. Corporate logos like Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus are among the most well known of these figures, as their use has persisted into the modern day, but they were certainly not the only images of this type. Convenience products, a relatively new category of consumer item, were particularly likely to adopt these images, as they could suggest that the time and effort saved by the product was akin to having personal domestic help.

Most early nineteenth-century advertisements that depicted images of blacks were for products intended for white consumers. Few industries at this time thought of African Americans as a consumer base worth courting. Those products that were marketed directly to black consumers were usually items that only blacks purchased, such as products designed to lighten skin or straighten hair. These products, which were created for the purposes of altering black features to better adhere to white standards of beauty, were often no less racist than advertisements marketed to white consumers. Depicting images that showed black features as ugly or undesirable, especially when compared to idealized images of white features, these images tapped into an American racial discourse that pathologized the black body while holding up the white form as a normative model of health and perfection. At its most extreme, this practice presented the image of the golliwog, a caricature of blackness and minstrelsy imported from England. The golliwog was an often-subhuman figure recognizable by its black-colored skin, large, exaggerated facial features, and wild, bushy hair.

Despite the political and socioeconomic restrictions placed on African Americans by **Jim Crow** laws in the South and informal systems of racial segregation and discrimination in the North, the decades following emancipation saw a dramatic increase in the population of middle-class African Americans. While increased buying power did little to alter the popularity of demeaning images in advertising, it did catch the attention of businesses and advertisers, and a marketing industry targeting black customers began to develop in earnest.

In 1916, a gas company in Rock Hill, **South Carolina**, became one of the first companies to create an advertisement designed to target African American consumers of a race-neutral product. These advertisements promoted the company's collaboration with a local church group to create a cooking school for African Americans looking for employment as servants. As a result of this promotional campaign, the gas company sold 12 kitchen stoves to African American customers, a significant number at the time.

Other companies soon developed African American marketing campaigns of their own. Some, like the Fuller Brush Company in 1922, even began hiring African Americans as salespersons and representatives for markets within black communities. Other companies who discovered unexpected markets among African American consumers began altering not only their marketing strategies, but their production as well.

Companies' desires to tap into the purchasing power of African Americans intensified further in the 1930s. This was in no small part due to a study commissioned by Montgomery Ward, Anheuser-Busch, and the Lever Brothers, and conducted by the National Negro Business League. This study, one of the first to investigate the national income, spending, and living habits of African Americans, placed the disposable income of African American consumers at approximately \$1.65 million. That same decade, Paul K. Edwards, a professor of economics at Fisk University published "The Negro Commodity Market" in the May 1932 issue of the *Harvard Business School Bulletin*, the first academic study to offer a systematic evaluation of African Americans as consumers.

Through the 1930s, despite decades of increasing corporate interest in African Americans as targeted customers and the business practice of employing African Americans as sales representatives to black markets, all major American advertising firms were owned and managed by whites. This began to change in the 1940s, helped along in no small part by the establishment of black-owned magazines like *Ebony*, who were willing and eager to work with other black-owned businesses.

Vomack Advertising of Inwood, New York, was the first black-founded advertising agency, but others soon followed, including Fusche, Young, and Powell in Detroit and David Sullivan in New York City, both founded in 1943. Meanwhile, in white-owned advertising agencies, some African Americans began making inroads against long-standing racist hiring policies, acquiring jobs not only as entry-level sales representatives, but also as advisors and marketing consultants.

Despite these advancements, the power of African Americans in the advertising industry remained very limited. Images of blacks in popular

advertisements continued to represent racist, derogatory stereotypes. In fact, many historical analyses suggest that the number of these kinds of images only increased in the years following the **Great Depression**. Furthermore, those African Americans who were able to establish themselves in the advertising industry were almost exclusively limited to the creation of marketing for other black-owned companies, for advertisements designed to target African American customers, or for promotions intended to run only in African American media outlets. Industries who wanted to market their products outside the African American market rarely employed blacks in their advertising campaigns, which limited the input African American advertising companies had on mainstream advertisements.

The limited opportunities faced by black advertisers also presented financial difficulties that many advertising firms could not overcome. Many black-owned advertising agencies failed as a result of their inability to compete with larger firms that could attract business from both black- and white-owned companies. The David Sullivan agency, one of the earliest black-owned advertising firms, was forced to close under these conditions in 1949, only six years after it first opened.

White-owned advertising firms could affect African Americans in other ways as well. In 1956, NBC began running a **television** series starring the popular singer Nat “**King**” Cole. In the years before the program aired, Cole had established himself as an immensely popular African American performer, with four number-one hits, 13 top-ten hits, and a history of performances on a number of television variety programs. Most people expected that Cole’s television series would become a substantial success, and ratings for the program were favorable. The series presented a problem for advertisers, however. Contemporary studies had enticed marketers with descriptions of African American consumers as being particularly likely to be brand-loyal customers with strong brand consciousness. For many African American consumers, especially those in the black middle class, the freedom of choice in the marketplace was one of the few social or political arenas in which the rights of African Americans were not restricted, and purchasing brands that suggested prestige or status could be a means of laying claim to these qualities, which were denied to them elsewhere.

Given the implications of these studies, advertisers were eager to find opportunities to appeal to black consumers, and a nationwide broadcast featuring a popular and successful black performer would have been an excellent way of reaching that market. Despite this potential appeal, Cole’s program was cancelled after his yearly contract expired due to its inability to



Consumers were urged to maintain segregation, even at public vending machines. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-116815.

attract advertisers, as white-owned companies were unwilling to ally with African American products or advertisements in mainstream media. Despite Cole's popularity among black and white Americans alike, advertisers feared that buying time on his program would upset whites or cause them to associate the advertised products with African Americans, thereby devaluing their appeal to white consumers.

The first significant changes regarding images of blacks in American advertising and the role of African Americans in the advertising industry began to happen in the 1960s. As movements for social change began to exert a presence in the national consciousness, blacks who had long objected to these images began to use these organizations to exert change. Initially, most of these changes were found in advertisements marketed to or created by African Americans. In keeping with the larger African American cultural ethos of black pride that was popularized in this decade, for the first time, these advertisements began to reject the use of models or images with fair skin, straightened hair, or Caucasian features in favor of models and positive images of blacks with dark skin, natural hairstyles, and nonwhite facial features.

Organizations like the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) arranged meetings with groups like the American Association of Advertising Agencies in order to convince advertisers to fundamentally alter the way that they represented, marketed to, and provided sponsorship opportunities for African Americans. In addition to holding meetings, these organizations also helped to organize boycotts of products whose advertising and marketing strategies continued to promote racism against African Americans.

While most white advertisers were slow to respond to these efforts in any substantial way, the efforts of civil rights activists to change the way the media represented blacks did result in gradual but meaningful transformations. By 1970, the images of blacks in American advertisements were considerably different than those seen a decade earlier, and a number of significant milestones had been reached. In 1963, the New York Telephone Company released a newspaper advertisement that was so revolutionary that many newspapers that carried it felt moved to include articles about it the next day. The advertisement was the first of its kind to run in a mainstream media publication and featured a professionally dressed black man entering a telephone booth, bearing none of the stereotypically black attributes that had been commonly present in American advertising.

Notable Black Advertising Icons

Some images of African Americans in advertising have proved more durable than others. Studies of the black image in advertising have found it particularly useful to focus on two of these images, Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben, as their early creation, changes over time, and survival on popular modern products has made them useful case studies for the study of the ways in which the African American relationship with advertising has changed over time.

Aunt Jemima

As the most popular and enduring image of the mammy figure in popular American advertising, Aunt Jemima has been the focus of a great many scholarly and popular studies on the image of black women in American advertising. Chris L. Rutt developed the Aunt Jemima trademark in 1889 after seeing a similar character of the same name in a blackface performance. The original Aunt Jemima image featured a smiling, chubby black woman wearing a kerchief over her hair, and was understood to be a slave. In 1890, the R. T. Davis Milling Company hired Nancy Green, an emancipated slave from Montgomery County, Kentucky, to play Aunt Jemima for public promotions. After Green died in 1923, she was replaced by a new Aunt Jemima, a practice that continued into the 1960s. In total, R. T. Davis and Quaker Oats, which purchased the brand in 1926, hired seven different women, sometimes simultaneously, to play the character of Aunt Jemima for radio, television, public appearances, and promotional images.

The image of Aunt Jemima has been a brand logo for over 100 years, and has been redesigned a number of times. Many of these changes have been in response to changes in the identity of the public spokesperson. Aunt Jemima was first redesigned in 1933 to better match the image of Anna Robinson, Quaker Oats' second Aunt Jemima; again in the 1950s for Ethel Ernestine Harper, the fourth Aunt Jemima; and once again in the 1960s, when Aunt Jemima was redrawn as a composite character.

Objections to the sexism and racism inherent to the Aunt Jemima logo began to appear in the black press and the national consciousness as early as the 1920s. African Americans who saw the figure as a demeaning representation of white desires for blacks to smilingly accept servile, socially inferior roles began adopting the phrase "Aunt Jemima" as a feminine version of the derogatory term "Uncle Tom." Despite these objections, which became increasingly intense in the decades following 1950, few major changes were made to the image of Aunt Jemima. While Aunt Jemima was made to appear younger and more physically attractive during these decades, these changes were largely intended to increase her appeal to white consumers.

In 1989, following boycotts by the NAACP and attacks in popular works by black artists, Quaker Foods responded to the continued objections of social rights activists by replacing Aunt Jemima's kerchief with pearl earrings and a lace collar, an update intended to rid the figure of connotations of slavery. This change was supplemented in 1992 by another change that straightened the tilt of Aunt Jemima's head, which many people had interpreted as a symbol of deference and docility. While these changes have done much to decrease the intensity of objections to the advertising image of Aunt Jemima, the logo is still capable of provoking controversy and unease, as many consumers see the corporate retention of the brand image as a troubling reminder of the logo's history.

Uncle Ben

The corporate logo of Uncle Ben is another advertising image that has been the subject of much debate and study. The image was created in the 1940s by Gordon L. Halliwell during the planning stages of what would later become

Uncle Ben's Converted Rice Company. According to corporate history, the inspiration for the character came from an actual individual, a rice farmer from Houston, Texas, referred to as Uncle Ben, who, before his death, had been locally famous for the high quality of his product. The actual image of Uncle Ben was supplied by Frank Brown, maitre d' at a restaurant that the founders of the company patronized.

Critics of the Uncle Ben image objected to the logo for reasons that were mostly similar to objections to the image of Aunt Jemima. Activists for black social and civil rights argued that the continued use of the addresses "Aunt" and "Uncle" promoted a racist naming tradition in which Southern blacks had been denied the use of courtesy titles reserved for whites, such as "Mr." and "Mrs." Further objections were raised regarding Uncle Ben's association with rice, an agricultural product stereotypically associated with African Americans based on the heavy use of enslaved black labor on the large rice plantations of the South.

In 2007, Mars, Inc., the corporate owner of the Uncle Ben's line of products, attempted to address the racial concerns associated with the image by giving the character a promotion, making him the symbolic chairman of the board for the company. As in the case of Aunt Jemima, this change in image has been met with a mixed response from consumers concerned about the representations of blacks in American advertising. While there has been positive responses to the elimination of a black figure as a servant and his reemergence as a successful businessmen, many people see this symbolic promotion as a cosmetic improvement that cannot make up for the image's longer history of racist symbolism, especially given the retention of the title "Uncle," a decidedly unbusinesslike honorific. *See also Amos 'n' Andy*; *Children's Literature*; *Cosmetics*; *Racial Stereotypes*.

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Skylar Harris

Affirmative Action

In March 1961, President **John F. Kennedy** set the first steps of affirmative action in motion when he began his term with Executive Order 10925, creating the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The edict compelled contractors to cease all discrimination against employees or employment applicants based on "race, creed, color, or national origin" while taking

“affirmative action” to “curb unfair employment practices” due to such discrimination. The phrase “affirmative action” was thus conceived and has since been used to refer to all counter-discriminatory practices.

The **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, an initiative of President Lyndon B. Johnson, took the idea of equal opportunity employment to the national level. Under the act, affirmative action was bolstered when it demanded the aforementioned discriminated groups the full ability to participate in, benefit from, and be free from all discrimination “under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.” The statute was pivotal in the rights of discriminated groups, but highly contentious across the United States. Within a year, Johnson believed that it was working to level the playing field of employment, since many minorities had long been hobbled by racism and racist practices.

Johnson gave a speech on June 4, 1965, at Howard University regarding civil rights, and in particular, he argued for the necessity for social programs that benefited minority members of the American public. He hoped the Civil Rights Act would provide discriminated groups, particularly African Americans, equal prospects with “every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.” He thought that Affirmative Action was the most effective way to achieve this end, adding that “Negro [African American] poverty is not white poverty.” Though “many of its causes and many of its cures are the same,” there are glaring differences. Johnson held that these differences are not based on ethnicity, “but the result of a long history of oppression prejudice and brutality,” with effects that “[radiate] painful roots into the community, into the family, and the nature of the individual.” Those afflicted by white poverty had not been endowed with a “cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness” or exclusion “because of race or color—a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.” His powerful words lead to the conclusion that African Americans “just cannot do it alone,” and would require the help of their government to achieve the equality that they deserve.

In 1965, President Johnson issued another directive, Executive Order 11246, which furthered affirmative action even more. The order appended to the fray pressure to the “action” side of affirmative action within government. Johnson demanded “positive, continuing program in each [government] department and agency” to “promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity” for “all qualified persons” regardless of national, cultural, or racial background. The Act was later amended to include sex, and altogether it further established affirmative-action policies.

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African Blood Brotherhood

The African Blood Brotherhood for African Liberation and Redemption (ABB) was a secret paramilitary organization established by Cyril V. Briggs in New York City in 1919. It became the first black auxiliary of the Communist Party in the United States in 1923. Briggs and many in the New Negro Movement found frustrating the failed promises of self-determination and “Africa for the Africans” made in President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, particularly during the rampant racial violence of the 1919 Red Summer.

After **World War I** ended, many African American war veterans and members of the Northern black intelligentsia turned to alternative and radical organizations to find solutions for racial inequality. Although many turned to **A. Philip Randolph** and the Socialist Party, Briggs was dissatisfied with the organization’s unwillingness to address the unique position of the black worker in the United States. Inspired by Sinn Fein’s revolutionary nationalism in Ireland and the postwar Zionist movement, Briggs founded the Brotherhood on an ideology that fused black nationalism, anticolonialism, anticapitalism, class consciousness, race consciousness, and Pan-Africanism. As a response to numerous race riots, **lynchings**, and a renewed **Ku Klux Klan**, the organization promoted armed self-defense against racist attacks, an element that gained significant attention after the *New York Times* linked the Brotherhood to the **Tulsa Riot of 1921**. The ABB also denounced issues that divided the black community, such as skin complexion and regional discrimination caused by the **Great Migration**. Furthermore, they pledged to support a race-first stance, referred to by Briggs as “race patriotism,” an encompassing term for patronizing black businesses, teaching black history, supporting black political candidates, and working toward international black liberation. The most radical aspect of their program called for an independent state for people of African descent somewhere in the western United States, although the exact location varied.

The group drew its core membership from New York’s West Indian population, World War I veterans, the black working class, and readers of Briggs’s newspaper *The Crusader*. The only qualifications for membership were to be of African descent and to pay the dues. Formation of a local post required seven interested members. Beyond its headquarters in Harlem, the secret organization had posts in Chicago, in Tulsa, and in West Virginia’s coal mining region. In cities where the Ku Klux Klan dominated, the Brotherhood announced in local newspapers future plans to organize local chapters, but no evidence exists that these chapters were established. According to Briggs, the ABB never had more than 3,000 active members, but had nearly 5,000 paying dues; and his newspaper *The Crusader*, the Brotherhood’s official organ, had over 30,000 subscribers. Most historians believe these estimates are exaggerated, since the newspaper stopped production in 1922 due to financial concerns. The ABB opened membership to women, and their Supreme Council included activist Grace Campbell, although her role remained confined to secretarial duties.

In 1920, the Brotherhood had its first convention in which it promoted a political program of traditional self-reliance, black labor issues, black cooperatives, “race first” program, the creation of a black organizational united front, and organized resistance to the Ku Klux Klan. Eventually, they lessened their initial demand for an independent state in America to promote **Marcus Garvey’s Back to Africa Movement**; however, they dropped their support after Garvey met with Klan officials in 1921. With many socialist and communist members, they also encouraged the black working class to assume leadership roles in the larger movement for equality, positions traditionally held by the black middle class. They also cooperated with other groups to create a united black front that included labor’s perspectives, an effort that largely failed. After the Comintern—formed in 1919 as a propaganda organ that disseminated Communist principles to foreign governments and, in the 1930s, became a fierce political weapon for Josef Stalin—encouraged the Communist Party in the United States to pay attention to racial oppression, the ABB joined as an auxiliary. In doing so, it quickly lost its own identity. The organization declined throughout 1924 and 1925. *See also* Black Nationalism; Communism; Red Summer; Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

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Katherine Kuehler Walters

Agricultural Adjustment Act

First passed in 1933, the Agricultural Adjustment Act was part of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal** program, which was designed to combat the financial hardships caused by the Great Depression. Architects of this bill hoped to raise prices in the agricultural sector by limiting production and to increase the financial well-being of farmers by subsidizing agricultural prices. This act of Congress also created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), a government agency charged with carrying out its mandates. African Americans and other poor southern farmers did not receive the full benefits of this program.

Under the supervision of the AAA, American farmers destroyed more than six million pigs, which were deemed surplus, and plowed up many crops that had already been planted. In sheer economic terms, the plan was a success. Indeed, agricultural prices increased as commodities became scarce. However, many citizens were deeply troubled to see portions of the nation’s valuable food supply willfully destroyed at the same time that many Americans were faced with hunger and malnutrition.

Furthermore, New Deal bounty from the AAA was inequitably distributed. The program favored landowners over other kinds of farm workers, such as day laborers, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers. These types of workers,

many of them African American, provided the southern plantation sector with the bulk of its labor supply. The AAA made benefit payments directly to landowners who theoretically were to distribute some of these monies to their tenants and sharecroppers. Therefore, sharecroppers and other low-wage laborers were ineligible to directly receive the bulk of AAA funds.

Not only were most tenants and sharecroppers excluded from AAA programs, but many were also evicted from their land during the years of the Great Depression. Rather than uniformly distributing acreage reductions throughout their plantations, many planters chose to do away with some tenants' plots altogether and to evict the unneeded laborers. As many as a third of all Southern sharecroppers, many of them African American, were displaced during the decade of the 1930s.

In addition to encouraging decreased production, the AAA also subsidized prices for those agricultural products that actually made it to market. Technically, tenant farmers and sharecroppers were entitled to a share of these governmental parity payments, which were designed to increase agricultural prices to their pre-World War I level. Many planters refused to give tenants a portion of the subsidy money, generally justifying their actions by claiming that they had applied the payments to outstanding debts. Sharecroppers who asked for their money were far more vulnerable to eviction than those who quietly feigned ignorance.

Many of the worst abuses of the system took place in the South, particularly in cotton-growing regions. The AAA was reluctant to antagonize local landowners by dealing directly with tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Sharing this same sort of pragmatism, Roosevelt reportedly told National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) secretary, Walter White, "I must get legislation for the entire country through Congress. If I antagonize the Southerners who dominate Congressional committees through seniority, I'll never be able to get bills passed." Although Roosevelt and other officials were aware of the potential for abuses of AAA monies, many hoped in vain that landowners would behave compassionately and aide the less fortunate even without government intervention.

In 1936, in *United States v. Butler*, the Supreme Court found that the Agricultural Adjustment Act was unconstitutional. The basis of this ruling was not the fact that the benefits of the program had been inequitably distributed. Instead, the court found that the law represented unconstitutional government intervention in the economic activities of local communities. However, the act had already become popular with farmers who were growing dependent on agricultural subsidies. The law was rewritten in 1938 in accordance with Supreme Court guidelines, and parity payments to farmers were maintained. See also Great Depression; Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

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Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Alabama

Alabama, a Deep South state in the “Heart of Dixie,” was also one of the centers of **Jim Crow**. In several respects, Alabama followed the lead of other states in establishing Jim Crow legislation, but once Jim Crow was established in the state, eradicating it would be a long, painful, and at times bloody ordeal. During the 1960s, Alabama became the focal point of the **Civil Rights Movement**, while white resistance and violence brought the state notoriety.

After **Reconstruction**, Alabama followed the lead of **Mississippi** in using white Democratic control of the courts, legislature, and governor’s mansion, to establish legal means to prevent black suffrage. With blacks rendered negligible as a political force in the state, Jim Crow laws proliferated by the beginning of the twentieth century. During the 1920s, the revived **Ku Klux Klan** became a powerful force in Alabama, but with poll taxes and other means keeping blacks off juries and out of the polling places, the Klan in Alabama focused more on Populist causes, such as better public schools for white children, and Prohibition. Many poorer whites flocked to the new Klan, seeing it as a way of breaking the monopoly on political power of the large landowners and the factory owners in cities such as Birmingham, the so-called Big Mules. Hugo Black, who would later be appointed to the **U.S. Supreme Court**, was elected Senator in 1926 with the backing of the Klan. As a senator, he wholly supported the **New Deal**. Governor Bibb Graves was elected governor in 1926, also with Klan backing, and he instituted some of the most progressive programs for poor whites in the state’s history.

However by the late 1920s, the Klan lost much of its popular support in Alabama. Their heavy-handed attempts to enforce a strict moral code harassed many whites. As long as the Klan focused its violent urges on blacks, it was tolerated. But with Alabama’s blacks essentially rendered powerless by Jim Crow, the Klan had found new white targets, white people who could vote and serve on juries. After Klansmen stripped to the waist a divorced white woman, tied her to a tree, and whipped her for immorality, the Klan lost much of its grassroots support.

Moderate and liberal whites had never totally disappeared from the state. The 1938 Southern Conference on Human Welfare met in Birmingham, bringing together 1,200 black and white Southerners, including labor leaders, political and business leaders, newspaper editors, and academics. The group supported paying black and white school teachers equally, and endorsed passing a federal antilynching law. First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** attended. However, despite such meetings, the overwhelming majority of white Alabamans supported Jim Crow.

Still, the years after **World War II** were a time of optimism for opponents of Jim Crow. The growth of Redstone Arsenal at Huntsville, in the northern part of the state, and its concurrent influx of German scientists involved in the **federal government’s** rocket programs, indicated that the state’s future was perhaps to be more cosmopolitan and high-tech oriented, than the state traditionally had been. The **Montgomery Bus Boycott**, begun in December 1955, eventually resulted in an ending of the system of segregation on that city’s buses. Governor **James Folsom**, who served two nonconsecutive terms from

1947 to 1951 and from 1955 to 1959, raised hope among blacks and white liberals that change might come relatively painlessly. A Populist, Folsom often expressed his desire to help “the common man” and unite the people of his state. He sought to abolish the poll taxes that kept many poor whites as well as blacks from voting. He publicly spoke against the formation of a **White Citizens Council** in Alabama.

However Folsom’s moderate stance on Jim Crow proved too soft for many of Alabama’s white residents, who, after all, made up most of the voters. When Folsom tried to accommodate the increased federal involvement in civil rights, his political base dissolved. Poorer whites, often fearing any lessening of Jim Crow, switched their support to candidates they thought would oppose federal intrusion and maintain the status quo on racial issues. In the 1962 gubernatorial election, George C. Wallace defeated Folsom. Wallace had previously been a moderate and had even been backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in his 1958 bid for the governorship. Wallace lost that election to John Patterson, who had the support of the Ku Klux Klan. Learning from his defeat, Wallace adopted a strict segregationist stance, which propelled him to the governor’s mansion and, eventually, into the national spotlight.

The 1960s turned out to be much different from the 1950s. White supremacist elements in the state saw the gains in black civil rights in the 1950s as a call to stiffen their resistance to further gains by blacks. Birmingham, a city located in the center of the state with an economy based on steel mills, was one of the most segregated cities on America. Police Chief “**Bull**” **Connor**, who took office in 1957, swore to use all means to enforce segregation. In 1963, he directed his forces to use police dogs and fire hoses on demonstrators. When photographs of Birmingham police attacking blacks were published in *Life* and other national magazines, Connor became the national face of official white resistance to the **Civil Rights Movement**. When bombs planted by three Ku Klux Klan members killed four girls at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on September 15, 1963, Connor publicly speculated that members of the Civil Rights Movement themselves had planted the bomb to stir up sympathy. He later closed all public parks and golf courses in the city, rather than allow their integration, as ordered by the federal courts.

Connor was only one man, but he represented an entrenched system with wide support among Alabama whites. Given the tension in the state, more confrontations were perhaps inevitable. On February 18, 1965, during a civil rights demonstration on the town of Selma, a state policeman shot Jimmie Lee Jackson in a café, where he and his mother and grandfather had sought shelter from the police. He died of his wounds eight days later. The incident cast Selma into the spotlight. When Civil Rights Movement leaders focused on the town of Selma for voter registration a few weeks after Jackson’s death, official opposition turned the event into a national spectacle, and furthered Alabama’s violent reputation.

The town of Selma was half black, but only about 1 percent of black residents were registered voters. In an attempt to draw attention to this incongruity, Amelia B. Robinson organized a march along U.S. Highway 80 to the state capital in Montgomery. The march itself was led by John Lewis, Hosea



The home of Arthur Shores, attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, was bombed numerous times. This photo dates to the 1963 bombing during the Birmingham campaign. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-03194.

Williams, and Bob Mants. **Rosa Parks** was one of the marchers. However, the first attempt, on March 7, 1965, ended shortly after it began with local and state police beating marchers as they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge in town, an incident that became known as “Bloody Sunday.” The event was again duly recorded by the national media. The second march, on March 9, led by **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and involving the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**, did not attempt more than a symbolic short march, in order to obey a court order and not alienate federal judges. The third march was successful, and the marchers reached the state capital on March 24 after a five-day hike.

When Wallace ran for governor in 1962 on a platform of support for segregation, he promised his political base to stand personally “in the school house door” to prevent the desegregation of schools. When Wallace won, he and Alabama solidified their status as symbols of resistance to federally ordered integration. On June 11, 1963, he lived up to his campaign rhetoric by standing in front of a doorway at the University of Alabama’s Foster Auditorium to prevent the registration of two black students, James Hood and Vivian Malone. After fulfilling his promise, Wallace stood aside when ordered to by the adjutant general of Alabama, who had been federalized by the Kennedy administration. The incident was largely theatrical in that it had been arranged beforehand to allow Wallace to save face. He would again symbolically attempt to prevent integration, in September 1963, when he tried unsuccessfully to prevent four black children from attending white public schools in Huntsville. Wallace would continue to speak against integration, usually

couching it terms of anticommunism, states' rights, and the rhetoric of the Civil War.

In retrospect, federal enforcement of the **Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964**, and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** ensured that black Alabamians regained the right to vote, and with blacks forming a large block of voters, the end of Jim Crow was all but inevitable. The violence of the 1960s, when whites used both official and subversive means in an attempt to prevent blacks from exercising their civil rights, left the state with a tarnished image, but did not prevent blacks from regaining their civil rights. The negative image of Alabama would take at least a generation to overcome. *See also* Albany Plan; Democratic Party; Mississippi Plan.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Alabama Council on Human Relations (1954–1961)

The Alabama Council on Human Relations originated as a state affiliate of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), a biracial federation organized in 1919 in response to 26 post-**World War I** race riots that shook the nation. While its Board was composed of blacks and whites and offered a forum for interracial dialogue, the CIC was not a radical organization. The leadership, whose primary goal was to prevent violence, maintained that segregation and reform could coexist.

Although the CIC created the Southern Commission on the Study of **lynching** in 1930 and placed black advisors in several **New Deal** agencies, it was increasingly criticized for its efforts to “improve segregation.” In February 1944, the CIC merged with the Southern Regional Council (SRC), an early think tank whose founders believed that racial animosity could be alleviated by improving economic conditions for *all* Southerners. From its Atlanta headquarters, it reorganized the CIC state affiliates and put volunteers to work gathering economic data and monitoring race relations. Detailed reports and research papers were published several times a year. Alabama's CIC affiliate became the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council in 1944, and the Alabama Council on Human Relations in 1954.

Like the CIC, the SRC was slow to attack segregation because it hoped to attract white moderate support, and the SRC did not publicly declare its opposition to segregation until 1949. Regarded as the preeminent southern race relations organization, after the **U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*** decision declaring segregated public education unconstitutional, the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic granted the SRC \$240,000 to support race relations education. These funds were used to hire 13 full-time regional directors to organize and support local biracial committees, which would in turn assist local communities in achieving school desegregation without violence. The SRC's leadership, perhaps naively, maintained

that the Deep South would voluntarily desegregate if the alternative was submitting to federal intervention.

On February 8, 1955, 26-year-old Methodist minister Robert Hughes, a graduate of both the University of **Alabama** and Emory University, was appointed executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations headquartered in Montgomery. Thomas Thrasher, rector of the city's largest Episcopal church, served on his board, as did white activists Clifford and Virginia Durr, Aubrey Williams, and **Martin Luther King, Jr.** The membership was composed almost exclusively of middle-class black and white businessmen, ministers, teachers, and housewives. Hughes marketed the Council's role as "bridge building," and meetings were held on the campus of the black Alabama State University or in the basements of black churches, since integrated public meetings violated the capital city's municipal code. When King established his Montgomery Improvement Association later that year, he recruited Hughes.

The **Montgomery Bus Boycott** began on Monday, December 5, 1955, and initially the city commissioners refused to meet with the protest leaders. Hughes offered his services as a mediator and he and Thrasher brought the Montgomery Improvement Association, the City Commissioners, and representatives from the bus company together on December 8. Their attempts to broker a settlement were not only unsuccessful, but interpreted by the white community as a betrayal of white interests.

Montgomery's chapter of the **White Citizens Council** (WCC) was organized in October 1955, shortly after the implementation order for the *Brown* decision was delivered and two months prior to the Bus Boycott. Its purpose was to resist any attempt to desegregate schools, public transportation, or public facilities. The leadership charged that "human relations" was merely a euphemism for integration, and that Hughes and his Council members were communists.

On February 10, 1956, state senator Sam Engelhardt, Jr., executive secretary of the Alabama Association of Citizens' Councils, hosted a recruitment rally in Montgomery to celebrate the successful defense of segregation at the University of Alabama that month when black graduate student Autherine Lucy was prevented from attending classes, and to encourage continued opposition to the bus boycott. The audience of 12,000 included farmers, mill hands, businessmen, municipal workers, teachers, attorneys, and students.

The following evening, the Alabama Council on Human Relations celebrated its first anniversary on the campus of Alabama State College. The contrast was stark. Of the 300 who attended, fewer than half were black. Unlike the mix of middle class, working class, and poor whites at the WCC rally, most of the HR Council delegates were white, middle class and lived outside Montgomery. In July, when the ACHR's lease for its headquarters on South Court Street expired, the WCC pressured the landlord not to renew. Hughes subsequently relocated to Birmingham, where the ACHR was once again compelled to hold meetings in the basements of black churches. It was the only biracial organization in the city at that time.

In October 1957, the Birmingham city police broke up an ACHR meeting and wrote down the names and addresses of all present. Their employers

subsequently received anonymous letters reporting their attendance at a “communist front” meeting, which violated the municipal ordinance against integrated gatherings. The ACHR lost most of its members and half its officers that evening, and it did not meet again for several months. The Methodist Laymen’s Association, organized to oppose the Council of Methodist Bishops’ support of the *Brown* decision in 1954, also viciously attacked Hughes. The group sent letters to every Methodist congregation in Birmingham accusing him and the HR Council of supporting racial integration of the congregations. Hughes received death threats, and the **Ku Klux Klan** burned a cross on his front lawn.

It was evident that the ACHR was too small and too weak to effect any meaningful change. Hughes grew frustrated as he presided over meaningless sessions with a few middle-class blacks and whites who politely discussed issues of little consequence, then fled when segregationists called them communists. It angered him too because he knew that several members of the affluent Young Men’s Business Club, who had spoken with him privately, supported the SRC’s mission, but were reluctant to declare themselves. Hughes was aware that negative publicity about the Magic City made them nervous since it discouraged new business investment. In a last-ditch effort to force these business progressives into the open, Hughes began to copy the national press on his monthly reports to the SRC. These reports documented the violence and fear that ruled in Birmingham. On December 15, 1958, *Time* magazine carried an article describing Birmingham’s ugly racial climate, based almost entirely on information provided by Hughes. In April 1960, Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times* met secretly with the minister and subsequently produced a scathing exposé charging that in Birmingham, “Every channel of communication, every medium of mutual interest, every reasoned approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism.” When the Birmingham and Bessemer City commissions sued Salisbury for criminal libel, Hughes was subpoenaed by a Jefferson County Grand Jury and directed to submit the ACHR’s membership and correspondence files. He refused, knowing that they would be published, and was cited for contempt and jailed for four days. While prominent Birmingham attorney Charles Morgan successfully defended him, Hughes had destroyed his career with the Methodist church. When the North Alabama Conference convened its 1960 Annual Meeting in Birmingham that year, the angry Methodist Laymen’s Association prevailed on the conclave to demand that Hughes resign from the ACHR. When he refused, they voted to defrock him, a decision supported by Bishop Bachman Hodge on September 5, 1960. After Hughes was released from jail, he personally appealed to Hodge, who agreed to rescind the decision on the condition that Hughes accept a missionary assignment to Salisbury, Rhodesia. He and his family left for Africa before the end of 1960 and remained there for four years until the Rhodesian government expelled him for supporting a national liberation movement.

Years of frustration and failure had radicalized Hughes. He believed that he and the Council had accomplished little through their local efforts at mediation and bridge building. By engaging the national press, however, he had made Americans outside of Alabama aware of what blacks and white

progressives were coping with. The articles captured the nation's attention and gave Americans some sense of the seething resentments that were brewing in Birmingham just one year before the beatings of the Freedom Riders, and two years before the brutalization of the demonstrators, and the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Although Hughes was not in Birmingham to see it, his actions also spurred the progressive white business community to action. Men like Charles Morgan, David Vann, and Sid Smyer became involved in negotiating the desegregation of downtown Birmingham in 1963. By that time, it was too late. Two years after Hughes was banished from the Magic City, Birmingham imploded.

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Mary Stanton

Albany Civil Rights Movement (1961–1962)

A branch of the extensive Southern **Civil Rights Movement** took place in the city of Albany, **Georgia**. One of the largest cities in southern Georgia, Albany was the nexus of protest and demonstrations against the segregated practices in place throughout southwest Georgia. Black Albanians grew tired of the prejudiced practices of the city. Segregated bus stations, eateries, and even classified advertisements divided the city by race. The local newspaper, the *Albany Herald*, ran “Negro Only” classifieds for African Americans in search of a job. The Albany Movement was the first attempt to desegregate an entire city. Prior to the organization of the 1960s movement, war veteran C. W. King established Albany's branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In the 1950s, a group of concerned black citizens formed the Lincoln Heights Groups and demanded change.

In 1961, members of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC) descended into Albany. Charles S. Sherrod, Cordell Reagon, and Charles Jones began organizing mass meetings and protests. The Albany Movement organization was established on December 17, 1961, and elected William G. Anderson as its president. To give motivation to those participating in the movement, **Martin Luther King, Jr.** and **Ralph Abernathy** were invited to participate in the events taking place. King and Abernathy arrived in December 1961. After delivering a speech at Shiloh Baptist Church and crossing the street to address the overflow of the mass meeting in Mount Zion Baptist Church, King marched with Albany protesters. He was jailed and refused to post bail. Other prominent members of the black Albany community, including attorney C. B. King and his brother Slater King, a successful real estate broker, participated in the outcry for civil rights and contributed their services to those ready to protest. C. B. King provided legal services to

imprisoned protesters, including Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy. Slater King served as the vice-president of the Albany Movement. After being beaten by Sheriff Cull Campbell while trying to check on a jailed protester, C. B. King's bloodied and battered body was photographed and sent across newswires throughout the country, and his picture made the *New York Times*.

Mass protests and outcries continued in Albany. Major factors in the Albany movement continuation included college students and youth who participated. Students from the historically black Albany State College (now Albany State University) demonstrated and protested in Albany's streets. Many students, including Dr. Janie Rambeau and Bernice Johnson Reagon, were expelled from Albany State because of their actions. Students transferred to other surrounding schools, including Fort Valley State College (now Fort Valley State University) in Fort Valley, Georgia, and Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. The Freedom Singers, an a cappella group established by Bernice Johnson Reagon, sang spirituals to keep protestors uplifted. McCree Harris, a teacher at Monroe Comprehensive High School, also participated with the Freedom Singers. Harris encouraged her students to participate in Albany's fight for equality and rights. Many Freedom Singers were jailed because of their protest and sang songs to keep themselves and other imprisoned protesters positive and committed to their cause. Supporters of the Albany Movement who did not publicly demonstrate diligently worked behind the scenes making signs, fixing meals, and giving monetary donations.

In an effort to squelch the growing influence of equality protests and events, Albany sheriff Laurie Pritchett encouraged police officers to not use violent reproach against protesters in public spaces or in front of media. He contacted jails in the surrounding counties of Mitchell, Baker, and Lee counties to cover the overflow of protestors in Albany's jails. Over 1,000 protestors or supporters of Albany's movement were jailed. When Martin Luther King and Abernathy returned in the summer of 1962 for sentencing on their December convictions, they chose to be jailed instead of paying fines. Pritchett organized for King's and Abernathy's fines to be paid so that both were released from prison unwillingly. After continuing unsuccessful efforts through August and being jailed once more, King left Albany feeling defeated. Albanians, however, felt successful. Albany's black community rallied to support Thomas Chatmon, a successful black businessman and director of voter registration for the Albany Movement. Votes for Chatmon resulted in a runoff election. The following spring, all segregation laws were removed from Albany civil codes.

Using Albany as a guide, King continued his fight for civic equality by staging demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama. Members of SNCC expanded to other areas of southwest Georgia, including Americus and Camilla, calling for the end of legal segregation. C. B. King continued the fight for social equality in legislation and other civic venues. He unsuccessfully ran for the House of Representatives in 1964, the first African American to do so since Reconstruction. He later was supported by black legislators to run for governor in 1969. In 2002, Albany's newly constructed courthouse was named after the late civil rights attorney. A scholarship for minority aspirants in law was

also established in his honor. Slater King continued to advocate literacy and integration efforts in southwest Georgia. After an untimely death in 1969, an adult learning center he designed was named in his honor. Bernice Johnson Reagon continued the legacy of the Freedom Singers through the establishing the popular gospel group Sweet Honey in the Rock.

As a whole, the Albany Movement has been memorialized in Albany's Civil Rights Museum, opened in 1998. The building was formerly Mount Zion Church, one of the sites of the numerous mass meetings during the movement. A memorial dedicated to participants in the Albany Movement was also erected in 1998. It is located in Charles S. Sherrod Park, named after the SNCC member who helped organize the movement in 1961. *See also* Connor, "Bull"; Montgomery Bus Boycott.

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Regina Barnett

Ali, Muhammad (b. 1942)

Boxing great Muhammad Ali was born Cassius Marcellus Clay, Jr., on January 17, 1942, in Louisville, Kentucky. Recognized by *Sports Illustrated* as the Sportsman of the Century, he is one of the most beloved athletes in the world. Ali was introduced to boxing in 1954 by Joe Martin, who served as his trainer during his amateur career. Although there is a question as to the actual number of bouts he fought as an amateur, there is no doubt that he was one of the most talented amateurs in the country. He was the National Amateur Athletic Union light-heavyweight champion in 1959 and 1960, and also won two National Golden Glove titles in the same weight class. He represented the United States in the light-heavyweight division at the 1960 Olympics in Rome, Italy, where he won the gold medal.

As a fighter, Clay was blessed with extraordinary hand and foot speed. This allowed him to use an unorthodox, but exciting, fighting style. In addition to his ring skills, Clay was an extremely brash and outspoken fighter who creatively, and entertainingly, ridiculed his opponents. Blinded by Clay's showmanship, many came to underestimate the level of his boxing talent. He was a heavy underdog when he defeated Charles "Sonny" Liston on February 25, 1964 to claim the World Boxing Association heavyweight championship.

Upon becoming heavyweight champion, Cassius Clay announced that he was a member of the **Nation of Islam**. Clay had been a devout, but discrete, follower of Elijah Muhammad, the Nation of Islam's leader, since 1962. Had Clay revealed his relationship with the Nation of Islam at the time of his conversion, it is doubtful that he would have ever received the opportunity to fight for the championship. On March 6, 1964, he officially changed his name to Muhammad Ali. Many of his numerous critics refused to acknowledge his

new name. A number of his subsequent fights were fought overseas, because he was extremely unpopular within the United States.

In 1967, Ali received an induction notice from Selective Service, which he refused to acknowledge for religious reasons. He was subsequently convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and was sentenced to five years in prison. Ali was also stripped of his boxing license and his world title. While free on bond for more than three years as he appealed his sentence, Ali began speaking widely on civil rights issues and his opposition to the war in Vietnam. His eloquence and willingness to withstand the consequences of his principled stands led to a growing acceptance of Ali as not just a great fighter, but as an internationally respected leader. On July 20, 1970, the U.S. **Supreme Court** overturned Ali's conviction, and he was able to resume his boxing career.

During the 1970s, Ali had a series of legendary fights with Joe Frazier, Ken Norton, and George Foreman. On September 15, 1978, he defeated Leon Spinks to become heavyweight champion for the third time. His last professional fight was on October 2, 1980, when he was knocked out by Larry Holmes. His final professional record was 56 wins and five losses. He was inducted to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1987. The battering he took during his professional career led to an obvious deterioration of his neurological system.

Over the decades, he has also been active in humanitarian causes around the world, especially in developing countries. His work has been honored by numerous organizations, such as the United Nations and Amnesty International. He was honored by the U.S. government with the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2005. Muhammad Ali's influence continues to be felt through the work of the Muhammad Ali Center, which opened in Louisville, Kentucky, in 2005 with a charge to promote personal empowerment, respect, home, and peace. *See also* Johnson, Jack; Malcolm X; Sports.

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John Russell Burch, Jr.

Amos 'n' Andy

Amos 'n' Andy was one of the most popular and longest-running **radio** entertainment shows in the history of American broadcasting. Despite its popularity and longevity, *Amos 'n' Andy* represented some of the worst stereotypes of African Americans during the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1950s, it became a short-lived **television** series.

Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden were white radio entertainers at station WGN in Chicago in 1925. They created the first nightly radio serial, which was called *Sam 'n' Henry*, and which debuted on WGN in 1926. It was based on the comic strip *The Gumps* and consisted of two blackface minstrelsy characters. In 1927, Correll and Gosden moved to radio station WMAQ and created *Amos 'n' Andy*. In a few months, the success of the show

caught the attention of the NBC radio network, of which WMAQ was a part. With Pepsodent as a sponsor, *Amos 'n' Andy* went national in August 1929. An instant hit, NBC changed the show's time slot from 11:00 PM EST to 7:00 PM EST in order to capture more of the Eastern market. However, due to protests from the Midwest and West, the 15-minute show was rebroadcast at 11:00 PM to accommodate the rest of the nation. At its peak in the 1930s, the show was heard by 40 million people, or one-third of the country.

Correll played Amos Jones and Gosden played Andy Brown, two black men who had migrated to Chicago from Atlanta. Along with an assortment of characters such as George "Kingfish" Stevens, Sapphire Stevens, Ramona Smith (Sapphire's Mama), Madame Queen, Algonquin J. Calhoun, and Lightnin', the show chronicled Amos and Andy's misadventures. Correll and Gosden stayed with NBC from 1929 to 1938. Then they changed to CBS and had a new sponsor, Campbell's Soup. Despite its overt racism, the show was a milestone in radio broadcasting. The popularity of the show certified the triumph of the fledging radio broadcasting industry as a form of mass entertainment. Their success, despite the overt stereotyping, exemplified friendship, a never-give-up attitude, a strong work ethic, and common sense.

February 1943 was the final episode of the original *Amos 'n' Andy*. The show returned in the fall in a half-hour weekly format. It now included a studio audience and a full cast of supporting actors who were primarily African American. The role of Kingfish became more prominent. Many of the shows were written by Joe Connelly and Bob Mosher, who would go on to produce the television shows *Leave It to Beaver* and *The Munsters*. The new weekly half-hour show lasted for 12 years as one of the most popular weekly programs on the air.

In June 1951, *Amos 'n' Andy* debuted on CBS television. Instead of Correll and Gosden, the cast was entirely black: Alvin Childress as Amos Jones, Spencer Williams as Andy, Tim Moore as George "Kingfish" Stevens. Only Ernestine Wade as Sapphire Stevens and Amanda Randolph as Ramona Smith (Sapphire's Mama) were originally from the radio show. The show pioneered the use of filming a television series with a multicamera setup. The hit show lasted through 78 episodes but was a center of controversy. Many in the black community protested the reinforcing of **racial stereotypes** in the show. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) protested most vigorously by citing the show's lack of respect for black people. As a result of the protests, CBS pulled the show from the air in 1953, although it continued in reruns until 1966, when again it was pulled from the air because of complaints from not only the NAACP, but also those in the **Civil Rights Movement**. The *Amos 'n' Andy* radio show was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in 1988. *See also* Humor and Comedic Traditions; Minstrelsy.

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Sanjeev A. Rao, Jr.

Apartheid

The term *apartheid* is a borrowed Afrikaaner, or Cape Dutch, term meaning “apartness,” or “apart-hood.” The term originally referred to an official policy of the Union of South Africa (redesignated as the Republic of South Africa in 1961). Apartheid separated blacks, mostly indigenous South Africans, from whites. White South Africans were roughly divided into two groups, those who spoke English and those who spoke Afrikaaner. Blacks, who constituted almost 80 percent of the population, were divided into 10 tribal groups, of whom the Zulus were the largest. Additionally, there were other divisions in South African society, with people of Indian descent having a status between blacks and whites. So-called “coloureds,” people of mixed-race ancestry, also existed in a status somewhere between that of blacks and whites. People of Far Eastern descent were classified as either Indians or held “honorary white” status, as did most African Americans while in South Africa.

While the term “apartheid” has increasingly been used in the United States to describe **Jim Crow**, the terms are not synonymous. Prior to **World War II**, South Africa employed an official system of segregation and subjugation of its majority black population that was in some ways similar to Jim Crow. However, after World War II, with the British Empire in decline and British policy less inclined to support white minority governments in its colonies and former colonies, white South African leaders sought a permanent solution to what was seen as their “race problem.” Terming earlier efforts to segregate blacks and whites as “Petit Apartheid,” the government of South Africa adopted Grand Apartheid as official policy in 1948. Fearing that whites would eventually be absorbed into the overwhelming nonwhite majority of the country, the new, more far-reaching system of Apartheid stripped most black South Africans of their citizenship, and declared them to be citizens of one of 10 “homelands.” The homelands were created on former black reserves, analogous in some aspects to Indian reservations in the United States. The black reserves tended to be on some of the least productive land in South Africa. Despite the claim of South Africa, the homelands were not granted international recognition as independent states. “Citizens” of these overcrowded, impoverished lands were thus forced to make long commutes by bus to jobs in white areas, or live illegally in officially designated white areas. The status of most blacks in South Africa as foreign workers relieved the South African government of any obligations toward the blacks, such as education, health care, or social programs. Additionally, as official foreigners in South Africa, blacks had to carry passports and work papers, and their movements within South Africa were carefully controlled by the South African security forces.

With the decline of Jim Crow in the United States, and the dismantling of most European overseas colonies, South Africa’s apartheid policy came under increased international scrutiny and condemnation. Black leaders in South Africa were inspired in part by the example of **Mahatma Gandhi** and his Indian National Congress in India, and the **Civil Rights Movement** in the United States. Groups such as the African National Congress, led for many years by Nelson Mandela, fought for decades to end apartheid and white

minority rule of South Africa. Between 1990 and 1994, apartheid and white minority rule was ended, and the so-called Homelands were abolished. *See also* Native Americans.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Appalachia

Appalachia is defined as a 200,000-square-mile-area that includes all of West Virginia, and portions of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. This definition is not based on geography, but rather political gerrymandering, as congressmen pursue federal dollars for their constituents.

Appalachia was transformed from an agricultural folk culture to an industrialized society in the late nineteenth century by timber, mining, and railroad industry magnates and their associates. The industrialists justified their exploitation of the region's timber and mineral resources by portraying residents of Appalachia as ignorant and violent feudists who were obstacles to economic development. The industrialists bought huge tracts of land within the mountains in order to hoard natural resources, thereby leaving little land for families to work. The shortage of land forced many families to move to communities run by the industrialists. The industrialists relied on three groups for their workforce: poor whites, immigrants, and African Americans. The industrialists endeavored to keep the three groups isolated from each other and intentionally fostered conflicts between them in order to impede union organizing. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), which was created in 1890, helped bridge the ethnic and racial divides between these groups by recruiting members strictly as laborers, thereby depriving the industrialists of treating some segments of their workers differently from other groups. The UMWA was one of the first labor organizations in the country to put African Americans in leadership positions.

During the New Deal era, the federal government enacted programs such as the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) that remade portions of the Appalachian region. The TVA was originally intended to control flooding along the Tennessee River, provide economic opportunity to the people of the Tennessee Valley, and provide electrical power. The TVA ultimately devoted its energies to providing cheap electrical power in order to fuel the economic growth in the South. The people of the Tennessee Valley saw their homes and communities inundated with water. Since their farms were flooded, the people were forced to find jobs that offered wages. Many African Americans were incorporated into the TVA workforce, but many were given menial jobs. Federal government officials, along with the TVA's administrators, generally refused to address racial issues within their programs because they needed the support of powerful Southern congressmen who insisted on racial segregation.

While much of Appalachia mirrored the racial segregation that was evident throughout the South, activists within the region were working to address civil rights issues. Beginning in the 1950s, the Highlander Folk School's leadership decided to confront segregation in the South directly by creating networks of activists who came together at workshops hosted by the organization. Among the participants in the workshops were **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, Andrew Young, and **Rosa Parks**.

Although race relations continue to be a challenge within Appalachia, as the region continues to mirror the attitudes found throughout America, there has been an effort to demonstrate that Appalachia is not solely the domain of whites. Through identification as "Affrilachians," people of African descent rightfully demonstrate that their ancestors were also instrumental in creating Appalachian history and culture. *See also* Great Retreat.

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John Russell Burch, Jr.

Arkansas

Arkansas is in the Southern United States and is bordered by Tennessee, **Mississippi**, Missouri, Oklahoma, **Texas**, and **Louisiana**. It became the 25th state to join the Union in 1836. However, its incorporation into the United States was initially short-lived. In 1861 Arkansas became one of only three states west of the Mississippi to cede from the Union, to join the Confederate States of America, and to fight in the Civil War against federal forces. This action boldly signifies that Arkansans have historically viewed themselves as Southerners, even though the state serves as something of a borderland between different regions of the country. Indeed, many aspects of the history of the state, including slavery, the advent of **Jim Crow**, and the eventual move to dismantle both of these institutions, place it firmly within the Southern tradition.

The Establishment of Jim Crow

Prior to the Civil War, Arkansas was the sixth-largest producer of cotton in the United States. The cultivation of the crop was dependent upon the efforts of slave laborers. In the decades leading up to the Civil War, the slave population swelled from less than 5,000 in 1830 to more than 110,000 in 1860. Plantation owners exercised political power disproportionate to their numbers. Most white Arkansans owned small farms and few, if any, slaves. Most plantation owners resided in the eastern part of the state. However, in the mountainous northwest, very few Arkansans owned slaves, and many resented the influence that slave owners held in state and national politics. In fact, during the Civil War, pockets of strong Union sentiment were present in the northwest part of the state, and as many as 10,000 men fought for the Union during the conflict.

Nonetheless, as elsewhere in the South, after defeat in the Civil War, white Arkansans tried to extract the easiest terms of surrender possible and to reassert the same power structure established before the Civil War. Maintaining white supremacy was seen by many as the linchpin of an attempt to maintain elements of their prewar identity. Right after the war, Arkansans passed laws designed to define narrowly the meaning of freedom as described in the Thirteenth Amendment, which outlawed slavery.

For a brief time period, known as **Reconstruction**, these repressive measures were rolled back. The **Republican Party**, backed by powerful allies in Washington, DC, and bolstered by the Union army that continued to occupy the state, came to power in the state. The Republicans passed a number of progressive measures—including founding educational institutions and building railroads and other much-needed infrastructure. Most importantly, the government in Reconstruction Arkansas sought to protect the civil rights of the former slaves, who had been granted citizenship with the Fourteenth Amendment. Furthermore, the Fifteenth Amendment gave black men the right to vote.

This trend towards greater democratization was short lived. By 1872, Democrats had regained control over the state government and quickly curtailed the rights of the freedpeople. As early as the 1870s, laws appeared mandating separate educational facilities for whites and blacks, setting the stage for legalized segregation in other areas as well. Jim Crow was further codified during the 1890s as laws were passed with the intention of restricting the freedoms granted to the former slaves and to unambiguously restoring white supremacy.

In 1891, a new election law stated that only election officials could mark the ballots of illiterate voters, opening the door for greater voter intimidation and fraud. In 1892, the Arkansas General Assembly passed a measure creating a poll tax, which further disenfranchised numerous black would-be voters along with some poor whites. An 1891 law, similar to those passed elsewhere in the South, called for separate coaches for white and black passengers riding streetcars. A 1903 version of the law somewhat liberalized this policy by mandating white and black sections of the streetcar rather than separate coaches. Nonetheless, black passengers in Little Rock, Pine Bluff, and Hot Springs staged a several-weeks-long boycott of the streetcars in protest against the legislation.

Although the strike provides evidence that African Americans protested the growth of segregation and disenfranchisement during the 1890s in Arkansas, the time was not yet ripe for an effective challenge of these inequalities. Increasingly, black Arkansans found themselves excluded from the political arena. By 1893, there were no blacks serving in the state's General Assembly. The growing trend toward racial separation and the willingness of whites to use coercive measures—including **lynching**—to enforce segregation caused many in the black community to turn inward.

Middle-class women joined clubs, including the Mothers League, founded in Pine Bluff in 1893, and the Ladies Relief and Missionary Corps, founded in Fort Smith in 1898. These and other clubs combined a social agenda with charitable activities. Black women's clubs throughout the South adopted the motto "lifting as we climb" and attempted to cure a wide range of social

problems in the black community—ranging from inadequate health care and hygiene to poor access to education.

Many black men focused their energies on economic advancement, clinging to **Booker T. Washington's** model of racial uplift in realms outside the political arena. Black entrepreneurs created a thriving business district centered around Ninth Street in Little Rock. One of the most significant structures on the street was headquarters of the Mosaic Templars, a fraternal and mutual aid organization founded by two former Arkansas slaves in 1882. At its height in the 1920s, the organization had over 100,000 members.

Black Exploitation and Protest in the Plantation Sector

Most African Americans did not live in urban areas, however. Most lived in rural Arkansas, where they continued to grow and harvest cotton as they had before emancipation. Most blacks longed to own their own land and, like many Americans, associated land ownership with freedom. However, land was not redistributed at the end of the Civil War, and most blacks lacked the capital to purchase farms of their own. The freedpeople and plantation owners struck up a compromise of sorts, in which African Americans would farm and inhabit small plots of land, which they could cultivate working family units. This gave them the semblance of independence. At the end of the growing season, the black farmers would pay the landowners for the use of the land with either cash or a portion of the crop. Gradually, more and more white Arkansans began to work as sharecroppers too, but in general, blacks were poorer than white farmers and worked on smaller, less productive plots.

This system had the potential to be exploitive. Some plantation owners deliberately fixed their books so that their croppers would end the year in debt, regardless of how the harvest turned out. Others charged high interest rates on the annual loans that croppers would have to acquire in order to survive in a cash-poor economy, assuring their continued economic vulnerability. Some planters also interpreted Arkansas law in such a way as to suggest that indebted sharecroppers could not leave their place of employment while they owed money. This interpretation left some blacks mired in debt peonage, indicating that some white Arkansans were determined to revisit the institution of slavery well into the twentieth century.

There was a documented case of peonage in Arkansas as late as 1936, when Paul Peacher, an Arkansas planter and town marshal of the small Delta town of Earle, arrested eight black Arkansans and accused them of “vagrancy.” T. S. Mitchell, mayor of this town with a population of 2,062 and a justice of the peace, ordered the incarcerated men to pay a \$25 fine or spend 30 days in jail. The eight men lacked the necessary capital to pay their fines and were ordered to work off both their fines and their 30-day sentences on Peacher’s farm.

The case caught the attention of the national media. Responding to this national humiliation, Governor J. Marion Futrell freed the eight men after 20 days, and Peacher was brought to trial. A Crittenden County jury was unwilling to convict Peacher and quickly returned a “not guilty” verdict.

However, Peacher's case did not fare quite as well when it reached a federal grand jury in Little Rock. The jury indicted Peacher for violating an 1866 law designed to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment, which had ended slavery, levied a \$3,500 fine, and sentenced him to two years in prison. Despite this stern warning, Peacher's jail term was quickly transformed into probation as long as he paid the fine. Peacher was easily able to do so thanks to many of his fellow white Arkansans, who quickly raised in excess of \$5,000 to pay not only his fine, but his legal fees as well. This incident reveals that most white Arkansans were not yet ready to see blacks regain the legal protections they had lost at the end of Reconstruction.

An even more notorious incident had taken place in Elaine in 1919, when a group of black sharecroppers gathered together to form the Progressive Farmers and Household Union in the hopes of collectively bargaining for better terms from the local planters at the end of the cotton season when they sold their crops. Local whites became fearful when they saw blacks beginning to organize. Whites soon began to form posses to put down what they labeled as a black insurrection. In one of the greatest tragedies in Arkansas history, at least 100, and perhaps more, black Arkansans were massacred.

Despite this attempt at forming a labor union, black Arkansans working in the agricultural sector continued to fight for economic justice. Many joined the **Southern Tenant Farmers' Union**, a biracial organization founded in Tryonza in 1934. Although STFU members too faced violent reprisals from local landowners, they achieved some modest successes and were able to attract the attention of the national media to the plight of the sharecropper.

Although some black Arkansans remained attached to the land and interested in pursuing a career in agriculture, regardless of the difficulty, many began to migrate to urban areas, and increasingly to the north. They left seeking a better racial climate and industrial jobs, particularly as the nation geared up for **World War I** and **World War II**. Those who stayed behind eventually became displaced from the cotton fields as plantation owners began to mechanize and to reduce their need for a large labor force. Simultaneously, as planters began to loosen their grip on the region's sharecroppers, local African Americans began to make greater strides in the area of civil rights.

The Civil Rights Movement Comes to Arkansas

In 1918, members of the black elite in Little Rock founded a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which started out small but began to grow in size and in militancy in the coming decades. NAACP members L. C. and **Daisy Lee Bates** founded the *Arkansas State Press*, a black newspaper, in 1941. They drew attention to many of the issues facing local blacks, including **police brutality** and various kinds of discrimination. Increasingly, Daisy Bates became interested in securing black access to equal education, and she entered the national spotlight in 1957, when she became an advisor to the nine young people who valiantly integrated the city's Central High School that year.

Arkansas, despite incidents in its troubled history such as the **Elaine Massacre**, was known for relatively harmonious race relations in the middle decades

of the twentieth century. It certainly was not known for the same kind of sustained racial violence and intimidation associated with, for example, the state of **Mississippi**. Thus it came as a surprise to many of the state's inhabitants—both white and black—when Little Rock became the site of one of the first dramatic showdowns between the forces of Southern massive resistance and civil rights advocates.

The Little Rock school board came up with a token plan for integration in order to give lip service to the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which declared that segregated schooling was unconstitutional. The white citizens who endorsed this modest plan were surprised when, in September 1957, Governor Orval Faubus called out the state's **National Guard** to prevent nine hand-selected students from entering the school. After a showdown with federal authorities, the students were allowed to enroll in the school. Eight out of nine students managed to make it through the tumultuous 1957–1958 school year despite being the victims of protracted campaign of harassment by many of the students and their parents.

Arkansas became the subject of national and international ridicule as pictures of a racist, jeering, spitting white mob were contrasted with the well-dressed, demure black students. The crisis in Little Rock revealed that race remained a contentious issue among Arkansans despite the veneer of civility that had been carefully crafted to hide those fault lines. The incident was a milestone in the history of the **Civil Rights Movement**. The intervention of the **federal government** showed that Washington could be used as a powerful, albeit reluctant, adversary against Jim Crow. The ability of the **Little Rock Nine** to overcome adversity and persevere even in the face of virulent white resistance inspired activists all over the South and helped jump-start the Civil Rights Movement, which was about to transform Arkansas and the rest of the South.

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Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Armed Forces

The armed forces of the United States had a mixed record in dealing with African Americans and **Jim Crow**. While blacks served in parts of the American military prior to Jim Crow, from 1866 until the Korean War, the military upheld segregation. Units and installations were rigidly segregated, usually with few recreational facilities for black soldiers. In general, the military is a conservative institution, and naturally resistant to change. Southerners have often been overly represented in the officer corps, and the military as a whole tended to accept Jim Crow as a matter of course. American military leaders traditionally have attempted to resist what they saw as attempts by politicians to use the military for domestic social agendas. The professional ethos of the

American military officer includes subordination of the military to civilian control and the avoidance of political involvement; however, the military often uses its allies in Congress to avoid policies or missions that the military hopes to avoid. When ordered to desegregate in 1948, each branch took a different approach, with mixed results.

Blacks fought in almost all American wars from settlement to the present. During the colonial wars, free blacks often served in colonial regiments, especially those from areas with few black slaves. While General George Washington originally attempted to keep blacks out of the Continental army during the War for Independence, political pressure from Northern colonies and dwindling recruitment forced him to allow blacks in, where in general they served in the same units as white soldiers. After the Revolutionary War, blacks were not allowed to serve in the regular army, but some continued to serve in militia organizations in some states, and the crews of naval vessels were largely integrated, although the officers were all white.

Despite often-heroic conduct of black soldiers during war, the achievements of blacks, and even their presence in battle, was largely forgotten by society after the end of war. Use of black soldiers in American wars brought short periods of celebrations for the units that performed heroically, followed by increased repression and later denial of black military contributions when wars ended. Any shortcomings were magnified and applied to all black soldiers. During peacetime, the very idea of black participation was usually purged from public memory. Maintaining the fiction of black absence from American military history was necessary for Jim Crow. The right to vote has long been tied to military service in republics. Only by denying the presence of black men in the wars of the United States could they be denied the vote. To have acknowledged that black men traditionally performed their duty of defending the nation would have brought a concurrent moral obligation to allow them the vote.

In 1866, Congress allowed for the first time blacks to serve in the regular army, in four segregated regiments. These four regiments—two infantry and two cavalry—were later known as the “Buffalo Soldiers,” although the black soldiers at the time did not use that term except as an insult. They constituted about 10 percent of the regular army until the turn of the century. The black regiments were stationed on the frontier, and were not used in the South during Reconstruction. The creation of the black units was originally a liberal idea, a reward for the faithful service of blacks in the Union army during the Civil War. Black soldiers were paid equally to white soldiers—one of the only places in American society where this was true—although very few blacks were allowed into the officer corps.

The high tide of racism in the military ran from the 1890s through **World War II**. Despite the professional service of the black regular army regiments and the state-raised black volunteer regiments during the Spanish-American War, black soldiers were increasingly subjected to Jim Crow-style restrictions and humiliations. The regular army expanded after the Spanish-American War, but no additional black regiments were formed, meaning that blacks formed a decreasing percentage of the regular army.

Excerpt from Adam Clayton Powell, Sr.'s *Patriotism and the Negro* (New York: Beehive Printing Company, 1918), pp. 6, 9.

Powell argued that African American patriotism and service to a grateful nation must result in the abolition of Jim Crow laws.

Colored men are not only acquitting themselves like men on the battle front but they are doing their whole patriotic duty at home and they are doing it willingly at home and they are doing it willingly and enthusiastically. Because of their unquestioned loyalty and devotion to America they are often sent to guard our munitions plans and other public buildings, including the White House. President Wilson can sleep soundly and safely when colored men are his sentinels. There have been found German spies among and traitors in all other American groups but there is not even the slightest ground for suspicion that there are any German spies among Negroes or that their group has any vital connection with German propaganda. The colored man is an unhyphenated one hundred percent American. No question mark has ever been placed before his patriotism. His leadership may be disputed along many other lines but when it comes to loyalty to America, his group is the undisputed leader. . . .

The thinking colored men and women are naturally asking what will be the civil, industrial and political status of their race in this country when the war shall have been fought to a victorious conclusion; will they be jim-crowed, segregated, disfranchised and lynched as there were before shouldering arms for WORLD DEMOCRACY and WORLD LIBERTY? No, not unless our country is going to put itself in the position of a monumental hypocrite and a despised ingrate. I cannot persuade myself that I shall live to see my country assume such an illogical and ridiculous attitude. To give colored people anywhere in the United States anything less than what we are fighting for in Europe, would be to place America in the unenviable position that Germany now occupies in the eyes of the world. No patriotic, liberty-loving American would stand for this.

Racism within the army created the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure of black soldiers in battle. The most notorious example was the black 92nd Division during World War I. The division suffered from little training, equipment shortages, no artillery, and uneven officer quality. Many of the white officers assigned to black units were racists, in the belief that they "knew how to handle blacks." Thrown into battle on unfamiliar terrain, two battalions from the division failed in combat, while others performed well. The failure of some elements of the 92nd was projected to the entire division, and then to all black soldiers. The failure of the 92nd was cited as "proof" that blacks were naturally cowards and unfit for combat. As a result, most black combat units were redesignated to perform manual labor, especially as stevedores. The "natural coward" stereotype was also used to justify the exclusion of all but a token few from the officer corps. This stigma would last through the Second World War.

Blacks had supported the United States fully during World War I, partially in hope that such service and loyalty would be rewarded after the war with increased political and social acceptance. Instead, in the years after the war, blacks suffered the worst oppression and violence since Reconstruction. During World War II, black leaders had to use political pressure to ensure that black men served in combat arms—infantry, armor, artillery—as well as the air force and Marine Corps. Blacks had the irony of having to fight politically in order to be able to fight and perhaps die against the Germans, Italians, and

Japanese. But black leaders sought to avoid the results of World War I, using the slogan of the **Double V** for a while, to emphasize victory over America's enemies abroad and over Jim Crow at home. While blacks served loyally throughout the war, they continued to serve in segregated units, and with relatively few black officers. Pressure was building for desegregating the armed forces, but military leaders were able to hold off any radical changes in the structure of the military until after the war ended in 1945.

The watershed occurred with President **Harry S. Truman's Executive Order 9981** in 1948, which desegregated the military. Truman had been especially bothered by a photo of a black victim of a lynch mob, whose U.S. Army uniform and sergeant's stripes were plainly visible on the lifeless body. All the services, with the exception of the Coast Guard, hesitated at implementing the order, but Truman's insistence forced them to accept integration as inevitable and accommodate themselves to it. The Air Force simply never created separate black units when it became an independence service in 1947. The war in Korea brought actual integration to the Army and Marine Corps, and by the late 1950s, the military was satisfied that it had segregated smoothly and created a model the rest of the nation could follow.

In retrospect, much of the integration was superficial. Basically, the military allowed black men into white organizations, where they were expected to follow white rules or suffer the consequences. Still, for many blacks, the military did provide a sort of haven from Jim Crow. Colin Powell, later a four-star general and the nation's first black chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recalled that as a young officer stationed in Georgia in the early 1960s, he was able to go on base and eat at the officers club, and escape the world of Jim Crow that existed off base.

However, large-scale U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam during 1965–1973, following immediately on the heels of the **Civil Rights Movement**, exposed serious racial problems in the armed forces. The military, which believed that it had solved all problems of integration, found itself beset by racial violence. Various programs that allowed better-educated, middle-class whites to avoid military service meant that the average soldier became poorer, less educated, and younger as the Vietnam War dragged on. And increasingly, the average soldier was less white, as the draft took in larger numbers of poor whites, blacks, and Hispanics to make up for the decrease in middle-class draftees. Among black soldiers too, their average age and education dropped during the war, although less so than among whites. Racial tensions began to break down unit cohesion by 1969, when soldiers began forming covert **Ku Klux Klan** and Black Panther groups in the military. The Air Force, although it was a far whiter branch than the Army, saw itself as immune to race problems, but four days of racial turmoil on Travis Air Force Base, May 21–24, 1971, served to alert the Air Force that it still had a long way to go. Ironically, the unpopularity of the Vietnam War among middle-class whites meant greater use of black soldiers in frontline roles than in any previous war. Vietnam broke the tendency to confine blacks to rear-echelon support roles, as had been common in the World Wars. With Jim Crow crumbling, and blacks voting in higher numbers, the impetus to keep blacks from direct combat disappeared.

By the end of direct American involvement in the Vietnam War in 1973, Jim Crow was officially dead, although racial divisions continued. Concurrent with the end of the direct involvement of the United States in Vietnam was the creation of the All-Volunteer Force. The government would no longer draft men into the military. With the prestige of the military at an all-time low, recruiting sufficient white men proved impossible, and for the first time ever, the military began to actively recruit black men, and eventually Hispanic men and even women. The military began a myriad of programs to address racial issues within the ranks. For many nonwhites, the armed forces became an attractive career, although the ratio of black enlisted personnel to officers remains much higher than that of whites. *See also* National Guard; Veterans Groups.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Armstrong, Louis (1901–1971)

Louis Armstrong is considered the foremost jazz musician of the twentieth century. In addition to popularizing the art of the solo, Armstrong was one of the first scat singers. (Scat singing involves the singer replacing improvised nonsense syllables for the words of a song, and the singer tries to sound like a musical instrument.) Overall, Armstrong was a famed jazz pioneer, entertainer, and Broadway and film star.

Armstrong was born in poverty in New Orleans, Louisiana, on August 4, 1901. He learned to play the bugle and cornet at the Colored Waifs Home, where he had been sent for firing a .38-caliber pistol on New Year's Eve 1913. Dropping out of school in the fifth grade, Armstrong played in various New Orleans clubs and saloons. His childhood nickname was "satchelmouth" due to the large size of his mouth. The moniker was later shortened to Satchmo, a name that stuck with him the rest of his life.

In 1921, at the age of 21, Armstrong migrated to Chicago to join Joe "King" Oliver, his mentor who had given him his own coronet while Oliver played in New Orleans. Oliver's style, called Hot Jazz, referred to his style of collective improvisation (rather than solos). In 1924, he joined the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra in New York City. The band was the most popular African American band of the 1920s.

A year later, he changed from the coronet to the trumpet and created his own ensembles, the Hot Five and the Hot Seven. His first recordings were "My Heart" and "Cornet Chop Suey." These early recordings of Armstrong's groups are considered among the finest jazz recordings of all time. The recording of "Muskrat Ramble" became a top-10 hit in July 1926. Over a three-year span, Armstrong's recordings gained him worldwide acclaim, and thus he began his rise to fame. The recordings were especially noteworthy for their improvisations. With his Louis Armstrong and His Stompers, formed in

February 1927, Armstrong hit the top 10 with “Hotter than That” in May 1928. In September of that year, he scored again with “West End Blues.” This song eventually became one of the first recordings named to the Grammy Hall of Fame.

By 1929, he appeared on Broadway in an all-Negro review, *Hot Chocolate*, in which he introduced the Fats Waller tune “Ain’t Misbehavin.” “When You’re Smiling” became his first number-one record in 1929. Armstrong began working in films and continued to do so through the 1960s, appearing in more than 40 films and television movies. His film credits include *Pennies from Heaven* (1936), *Cabin in the Sky* (1943), *High Society* (1956), and *Hello Dolly* (1964). He usually played himself and usually performed a song or two in his film appearances.

In the 1930s, Armstrong reached his greatest popularity with a plethora of hit songs, including “All of Me,” “I’m in the Mood for Love,” “You Are My Lucky Star,” “When the Saints Go Marching In,” “Hobo, You Can’t Ride This Train,” and “Body and Soul.” Despite his “sandpapery” voice, Armstrong was the consummate entertainer, performing nightly and often with other stars. In addition, he often performed in front of royalty, such as the king and queen of England on several occasions.

The first solo star of jazz, Armstrong had a tremendous influence on a multitude of musicians as varied as Billie Holiday, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, and Wynton Marsalis. Before **World War II**, Armstrong performed with several big bands, including the Guy Lombardo orchestra. He highlighted New Orleans standards such as “Muskrat Ramble” and “When the Saints Go Marchin’ In” and novelties such as “I’ll Be Glad When You’re Dead, You Rascal You.” He worked with Ella Fitzgerald and Bessie Smith. After 1947, he worked as leader of a group that included jazz greats Jack Teagarden, Earl Hines, Joe Bushkin, and Cozy Cole.

In 1951, his album *Satchmo at Symphony Hall* reached the top 10 of the LP charts and he attained his first top-10 single in five years with “(When We Are Dancing) I Get Ideas.” The B-side of the record was “A Kiss to Build a Dream On,” which was used in the film *The Strip*. Later In 1993, this song gained popularity when it was used in the film *Sleepless in Seattle*. “Satch Plays Fats,” a tribute to Fats Waller, became a Top-10 long-playing album in 1955. Armstrong then began a series of recordings with Ella Fitzgerald entitled *Ella and Louis* in 1956. Despite a heart attack in June 1959, he continued to play worldwide.

Armstrong continued playing in the 1960s and even scored a number-one hit record with “Hello Dolly” in 1964. Four years later, he topped the UK charts with “What a Wonderful World.” The song became a hit in the United States only in 1987, when it was used in the film *Good Morning, Vietnam*, and introduced a whole new generation to the wonders of Satchmo.

He passed away on July 7, 1971, in his sleep. He won a Grammy in 1965 for best male vocal performance for “Hello Dolly” and a lifetime achievement Grammy in 1972, and was inducted into the **Rock and Roll Hall of Fame** in 1990 as a forefather of rock music.

Like all black entertainers of this time period, Louis Armstrong encountered the ugly and harsh realities of Jim Crow. He was forced to use separate

restaurant and hotel facilities. For the most part, Armstrong usually ignored the racism around him. Unofficially, he was known as “America’s Ambassador of Goodwill” and always seemed to be smiling. As a result of this persona, many African Americans criticized him for being an “Uncle Tom” and not standing up for his rights and his people. Quite to the contrary, Armstrong was a proud man and spoke out when he felt it was necessary. For example, in 1957, Governor Orville Faubus of **Arkansas** refused to obey the U.S. Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and integrate schools, and instead he called out the **National Guard** to prevent nine black children from entering the all-white, Little Rock Central High School. President Dwight D. Eisenhower initially did not get involved. To this, Armstrong said “The way they are treating people in the South, the government can go to hell!” In addition, he cancelled a State Department–sponsored trip to the Soviet Union. In 1965, Armstrong was performing in Copenhagen when civil rights marchers were brutally beaten in Selma, Alabama. Upon seeing the news footage of this on **television**, Armstrong told a reporter, “They would beat Jesus if he was black and marched” concerning the brutality that he had just witnessed. For a number of years, Armstrong did not play in New Orleans because of the racism and segregation there. He returned to play in New Orleans only in 1965 after the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**.

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Sanjeev A. Rao, Jr.

Arnett, Benjamin W., Jr. (1838–1906)

Benjamin W. Arnett, Jr. was a teacher, clergyman, and politician during the nineteenth century. He was born in Brownsville (Fayette County), Pennsylvania; the exact date of his birth is unknown. He was of mixed ethnic heritage. His father, Benjamin Arnett, Sr., was a free man and minister in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, and built the first AME church in Brownsville. He attended a one-room school for African American children in Brownsville, where his uncle, Ephram Arnett, was the teacher. Arnett was sent there by his father in order to learn to read and write. As a young man, he held a variety of jobs: wagon boy, steamboat laborer, and waiter.

A tumor on his leg caused it to be amputated when he was 20. Since he could no longer do physical labor, he needed to find a new line of work. He studied to be a teacher and received his teacher’s certificate in December 1858. He was the first African American teacher in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. During the 1864–1865 school year, Arnett was a school principal and teacher in Washington, DC. He then returned to Brownsville, where he would teach until 1867.

Arnett followed his father into the AME church. While in Washington, Arnett became licensed to preach in the AME church. After returning home to Pennsylvania, he decided to devote his life to the church, giving up teaching. In 1867, he was assigned as a minister to the AME church in Walnut Hills, Ohio. While in Walnut Hills, he was ordained as a deacon. This would be the first in a number of assignments for Arnett. He would serve congregations in Toledo, Ohio (1870–1873), where he would be ordained an elder in the church; Cincinnati, Ohio (1873–1876), Urbana, Ohio (1876–1878), and Columbus, Ohio (1878–1880). While living in Toledo, Arnett was the first African American foreman of a jury that included whites.

He also began advancing in the church hierarchy. In 1876, he was elected assistant secretary of the Ohio Annual Conference to the General Council of the AME. In 1880, he became the General Secretary of the Ohio Annual Conference to the General Council. In that same year he was elected financial secretary of the AME General Council, a position he would hold for eight years. He became a trustee (eventually serving as president of the Board of Trustees) of Wilberforce University, the nation's oldest private African American university (founded 1856).

After two decades of service to the church in Ohio, Arnett was elected bishop, the highest office in the AME. He would serve as a bishop in South Carolina (1888–1892); in a district covering Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and the northwestern United States (1892–1900); in a district covering Ohio, California, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1900–1904) and in the first Episcopal district (1904–1906).

Politics

Arnett became active in politics. Known for his rhetorical skills, he was called upon to campaign for **Republican Party** candidates. In 1864, he joined the National Equal Rights League, the leading civil rights organization of the day, and was active in the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League. In 1867, he was elected secretary of the National Convention of Colored Men, held in Washington, DC. Arnett mixed his faith and politics. In 1879 he became chaplain of the Ohio State Legislature, and served as chaplain of the Republican State Convention the following year. In 1896, he served as chaplain of the Republican National Convention.

In 1885, encouraged by the faculty of Wilberforce College to run for the Republican Party nomination to represent Greene County in the Ohio House of Representatives, he was elected by a margin of eight votes and served one term (1886–1887) in the legislature. He was the first African American to represent a majority-white district in the United States. As a legislator, he wrote legislation for the repeal of Ohio's "Black Laws," which limited the freedom and rights of the state's African American residents. Arnett was particularly concerned that African American children did not have the same educational opportunities as white children. The law was changed to require the state to provide equal opportunities to all children, regardless of race. He also secured state funding for Wilberforce by sponsoring legislation that created a

state-funded “normal and industrial department” (which would become Central State University).

He befriended William McKinley, who was then a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. He served as the chaplain of the Republican convention that nominated McKinley for president, and presented the future president with the Bible with which he would take the presidential oath of office in 1897. Arnett was described, in Logan and Winston (1982), as the most influential Negro in McKinley’s White House.

Notwithstanding his stature, Arnett still faced discrimination. While visiting Boston in 1896, Arnett was denied entry to a number of hotels, despite state laws prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations. This led to a resolution by the Massachusetts State Senate and Massachusetts House of Representatives in which they expressed their “severest reprobation of such discrimination.” Arnett also faced criticism from **W.E.B. Du Bois**, who decried President McKinley’s unwillingness to send troops in November 1898 to Wilmington, North Carolina, to break up a race riot where 22 blacks were massacred by white Democrats anxious to reestablish their domination of state government. Du Bois believed that Arnett should have urged McKinley to send federal troops to the city.

Arnett died on October 9, 1906, in Wilberforce, Ohio. *See also* Wilmington Race Riot.

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Jeffrey Kraus

Art

Since the early colonial era, African Americans have been engaged in a culture of visual arts. The populations of enslaved Africans arriving in the Americas contained a number of skilled artists, and other artists soon emerged from new generations of African Americans born in the New World. Until the late eighteenth century, however, the conditions of enslavement severely limited the ability of black artists to practice their craft. Artistic free blacks in the Americas were generally restricted from practice by their race and class.

As a result, art produced by African Americans in this period is generally limited to simple works that could be produced using easily available materials shaped by traditional African artistic traditions, such as wood and bone carving. While African American art would develop significantly in the centuries following this era, this type of folk art would continue to be a popular outlet for nonprofessional black artists into the modern day and would, in fact, develop into a artistic tradition of its own that eventually came to intersect with more technically sophisticated fine art.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, however, free and enslaved African Americans began to find work in artistic professions. Most black artists in this era were either employed in or, in the case of enslaved blacks, contracted to professions that combined labor with creative skill. Such professions included

printmaking, producing wrought iron, stonemasonry, cabinetry, engraving, and producing carvings for furniture or architectural elements.

Very few training or market opportunities existed for African Americans in visual art mediums such as painting and sculpting. Even fewer such opportunities existed for artists working with explicitly African American themes, and the small handful of black artists that did find work in the fine arts produced portraits and landscapes in the popular styles of contemporary white artists. In a trend that continued throughout the **Jim Crow** era, those African American artists and art students of financial means frequently used these funds to relocate to Europe, where they were more able to acquire training and find a market for their work. While some of these artists returned to the United States, especially during and after **World War II**, many did not.

The Early Jim Crow Era

Little changed for black artists in the first few decades following emancipation. Free blacks in the North wishing to pursue employment in the fine arts continued to face the same barriers to success that had challenged them before the war. Newly freed blacks in the South not only faced these same difficulties, but were also more likely to find themselves facing economic hardships and racial persecution that left little time for the development of artistic skills for which no market existed. Moreover, while Northern black artists could occasionally find training in white art schools, Jim Crow laws in the South barred Southern black artists from this type of education.

As a result of these conditions, most black artists in America came from and worked in and around Northern cities. Black artists in the South tended to be either folk artists or centered around those few emerging black colleges that offered art programs, but the racial politics of the American South often led graduates of these programs to follow fellow artists to Northern cities or to Europe. Likewise, African American artists possessing the skills to teach at these institutions frequently taught only for a short time, as the career opportunities that these establishments offered were frequently outweighed by the conditions of life in the early Jim Crow South.

Regardless of geographic location, in the years leading up to the early twentieth century, most professional African American fine artists continued to work in popular styles and mediums indistinguishable from works produced by white artists of the day. During the late 1860s and 1870s, Robert S. Duncanson, an African American painter working in the Ohio River Valley area, produced landscape paintings in the style of the Hudson River School, a romantic style that dealt in lush pastoral scenes and natural settings.

Despite the difficulties facing black artists and the lack of a market for works of art dealing with black America, the impact that emancipation had on African American artists was undeniable. The first few black artists to begin exploring these themes, both explicitly and implicitly, began to emerge in this era. Henry Ossawa Tanner was one of the most successful black artists of this type. During the late nineteenth century, Tanner, who was raised by middle-class parents in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, studied under the prominent American artist Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in

Philadelphia. While Tanner also produced mainstream landscape works devoid of any overt racial content, he also used his training to paint representations of African American life.

While Tanner briefly taught art at Morris Brown College, a black college founded in 1881 by former slaves in Georgia, the difference between opportunities for skilled black artists in America and Europe was too great to resist, especially after a failed attempt at opening a photography studio in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1891, Tanner left behind the limited art market and segregation of the American South to move to France, where he would later become a very prominent, award-winning artist.

While the development of any African American themes in fine art represented a significant milestone, some artistic representations of African American life were more political than others. Edmonia Lewis, a sculptor and a contemporary of Duncanson, moved from western New York to study art at Oberlin College, an Ohio institution that, around 1835, became the first in the nation to regularly admit black students. After leaving Oberlin, Lewis continued her studies on her own and with the guidance of other individual artists in Boston and Italy.

Like other African American artists, Lewis worked in a style popularized and practiced by white artists, in this case, neoclassical sculpture. Lewis appropriated these artistic conventions to produce sculptures exploring the themes of black emancipation, the oppression of women, and the subjugation of Native Americans. These themes were drawn from Lewis's own racial and gender identity, but, decades later, some activists in the **Civil Rights Movement** and the New Left would begin to conceptualize these various gender and racial issues as part of a broader, intersecting struggle for human civil and social equality that encompassed issues of race, class, and gender.

The Great Migration

Beginning in the very late nineteenth century, African Americans, particularly those living in the Jim Crow South, began to take part in a relocation process now known as the **Great Migration**. Blacks living in rural America began moving to more densely populated regions of the country. While many of these moves occurred within the confines of the South, others looked to escape the legalized segregation and racial oppression of the Southern states by relocating to Northern cities, where informal segregation and discrimination could sometimes allow for greater social and economic opportunity.

Over the course of the early twentieth century, these various migrations led to the construction of urban black communities, which operated as support systems for African Americans in environments where few other resources were available. It was not long before these communities began to produce black entrepreneurs, who established businesses and services to cater to these communities. Those who succeeded became members of the black middle class. Prior to the early twentieth century, middle-class African Americans made up a very small portion of the black populace and were a largely Northern population, but in the years leading up to 1920, this group increased significantly in size in both the North and South.

The establishment of strong black communities, combined with the growth of a potential market for African American–themed artwork, provided the opportunity many black artists needed to further develop the emerging genre of African American art. A generation of black painters and sculptors emerged to cater to wealthier African Americans who desired portrait work or to memorialize and commemorate the achievements of prominent African American individuals. Many of the most successful African American artists of this era dealt in portraits and busts, as African Americans who became successful during the early twentieth century were eager to establish their status by adopting popular white markers of respectability, including portraiture and art collecting.

Notable black artists working in this medium included the painters John Henry Adams, Jr., and Edwin A. Harleston, and sculptors May Howard Jackson and Isaac Scott Hathaway, a Kentucky sculptor who left the South to acquire training, but returned to help found the ceramics department at Tuskegee University. Hathaway continued to celebrate prominent African Americans through sculpture throughout his long career, and in 1946, he became the first African American to design a coin for circulation in the United States, a 50-cent piece featuring **Booker T. Washington**.

Other African American artists created works whose depictions of everyday life celebrated black America and a shared African heritage, and critiqued continued sociopolitical disenfranchisement. For example, the sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller produced works that symbolically or allegorically dealt with contemporary African American issues as well as common themes beginning to emerge in African American art, such as shared heritage and cultural rebirth. Other artists, including the painters Edward Mitchell Bannister, a Canadian artist who later relocated to New England, and William Harper, a former student of Henry Ossawa Turner, avoided overt representations of race, but used moody, evocative landscape painting to convey the emotional experience of black life in America.

The communities and economic opportunity that followed Great Migration also afforded nonprofessional African American artists with a greater freedom to utilize their talents, often exploring themes echoed in African American fine arts. While many of these artists worked in obscurity, the historical and artistic value of some of these artists' works has led to their rediscovery in the modern day. These artists include Isaac Hathaway of **Arkansas**, whose paintings of prominent African American public figures now hang in a number of black colleges and institutions, and Harriet Powers, a former slave and Southern seamstress. Powers's remaining quilts are now considered to be excellent examples of the ways in which African textile arts were carried on and developed in the United States.

The Art of the Harlem Renaissance

With increased African American relocation to urban centers such as Philadelphia, New York City, Washington, DC, Detroit, and Chicago came the development of Northern social networks of black intellectuals, writers, musicians, and visual artists. This led to a flowering of African American cultural

expression broadly known as the **New Negro** movement. The black artistic community of Harlem, New York, was the most vibrant and productive example of this movement, which is better known today as the **Harlem Renaissance**. Art produced during this era continued emerging traditions already evident in African American visual arts.

While the imagery and techniques associated with African American fine art would change and evolve over the course of the twentieth century, it was during the Harlem Renaissance that most black artists began incorporating modern art movements with traditional African arts and African American folk art. Similarly, these works displayed an increasingly political black social consciousness, features that would come to occupy prominent roles in later expressions of African American visual arts culture in both the North and South.

Aaron Douglas, for example, was one of the most well-known painters of the Harlem Renaissance. Born and educated in Kansas, Douglas painted murals for the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem, and for Southern black educational institutions Bennett College in **North Carolina** and Fisk University, a Tennessee school where Douglas once taught art. While Douglas's style would change in later years, these early murals were painted in a distinctive manner suggestive of traditional African sculpture and dance.

New generations of African American artists also benefited from greater opportunities for professional training than in years past. As black communities began producing ranks of African American middle-class professionals, mainstream art schools in the North became more willing to accept black students. In some Northern cities, supporters and patrons of African American arts also helped to establish foundations and institutions like Cleveland's Karamu House and St. Louis's Peoples' Art Center, which were meant to support the movement and foster the development of young artists.

While legal restrictions made such integration impossible in the South, a growing number of older and newly founded black Southern colleges responded to improved prospects for African American artists by establishing art departments. The black colleges of Howard University, Lincoln University, Langston University, Southern University, and Morgan State University all featured well-developed art departments that both employed and produced many successful African American artists.

While these departments did much to foster the development of Southern black artists, they were frequently not enough to keep budding artists in the South. After Richmond Barthe, a Missouri artist, failed in his attempts to integrate a New Orleans art school, he chose to leave the South entirely, and, in 1924, left for training in Chicago. Afterwards, over the course of a long and successful career in the arts, Barthe went on to sculpt images of black leaders and movements intended to evoke the powerful nature of these individuals and communities, and their capacity to rise up against the systems of oppression that bound them.

While most prominent African Americans working as professional artists during the Harlem Renaissance were found in the North, many used their status and ability to comment on conditions of African American life in the

South. This knowledge was frequently firsthand and inspired by earlier lives under Jim Crow, or time spent working or studying in the departments of art departments in southern black colleges.

Southern artists like Palmer C. Hayden and the prolific multimedia artist Sargent Johnson, both of whom moved to Harlem, used their talent and newfound artistic visibility to turn out works intended to communicate the brutality and oppression of the Jim Crow South, while celebrating the endurance and efforts of black cultural traditions in America. For many of these artists, such artistic endeavors were a smaller part of a larger activist endeavor, as was the case with Augusta Savage, who moved to New York from Florida, and was a noted civil rights activist and accomplished sculptor.

African American Art in the 1930s and 1940s

The economic hardships that swept the nation during the Great Depression had particularly devastating effects for black communities, and these effects were often most extreme in Southern black communities, where the more general economic discrimination of the North was intensified by a system of legal segregation that further limited employment opportunities, business opportunities, and customer bases for black entrepreneurs. These difficulties were exacerbated by an overall increasing level of national racial intolerance that, especially in the South, often manifested itself in rising rates of white-on-black violence, murder, and physical intimidation.

While the Northern cities of the Harlem Renaissance era had drawn many black artists out of the South, with its more limited opportunities, these troubling new developments of American life pushed many African American artists out of the United States altogether. While this had been a popular option for many African American artists prior to the **Great Depression**, this became an increasingly prevalent trend as living conditions for African Americans deteriorated and the market for African American art shrank.

For those skilled black artists who remained in America, a grim social, political, and economic environment was sometimes accompanied by new artistic opportunity. At the national level, the Federal Arts Program of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a **New Deal** program designed to reinvigorate the economy through federal funding, provided resources for African American artists from many backgrounds. For professionally trained artists in the fine arts, federal funding provided African American artists a historically unique opportunity to produce largely unmarketable, but historically and artistically valuable, radical critiques of American racism and powerful expressions of a distinctly African American social and political consciousness. Using this funding, painters and sculptors like Ernest Crichlow, Elmer W. Brown, Dox Thrash, Hughie Lee-Smith, Rohan Crite, and many others responded to the racial politics of America, particularly in the South, by releasing artwork depicting the poverty, oppression, and violence faced by urban and rural African Americans.

Those black institutions and associations that survived the Great Depression also served as an important resource for African American artists. While these organizations had historically been among the foremost collectors,



Sculpture of lynched man hanging by a rope. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-84482.

exhibitors, employers, and trainers of African American art and artists in earlier decades, the dire circumstances in which many African Americans found themselves during the 1930s and 1940s lent a new sense of urgency and importance to this role. As a result, major collections of African American art began to be assembled at many black Southern colleges and universities, including Atlanta University, which in 1942 began the Atlanta University Art Show, a yearly exhibition that has since gained significant renown.

One goal of WPA programs was to preserve and support uniquely American traditions that were threatened by economic hardship and other deprivations, and new artistic responses to the events surrounding the Great Depression favored mediums and styles with a populist appeal or celebration of the common man. As a result, federal funding often provided new opportunities for African American artists working without formal training in traditional black folk art styles, whose style had sometimes been appropriated by African American fine artists like Jacob Lawrence, a successful and well-known painter, but who had previously received little recognition on their own.

Black folk artists that became the focus of newfound appreciation during this time included William Edmonson, a stone carver from Tennessee who, in 1937, became the first African American artist to be featured in a one-person show at the New York Museum of Modern Art. Other folk artists that rose to prominence in the 1930s and 1940s as a result of federal funding included the self-taught painter Horace Pippin, an artist from southeastern Pennsylvania whose works celebrated black achievements and individual successes while documenting the historical and contemporary challenges of enslavement and segregation.

As a combined result of all of these factors, the geographic distribution of African American artists underwent a significant transformation, although Northern cities continued to be a common home and popular attraction for black artists. However, black artists looking for employment in the arts in the United States increasingly found themselves working in the South, despite its charged racial atmosphere and Jim Crow laws.

Market and training opportunities for African American artists in the North had considerably decreased, while the cultural weight of the art departments of Southern black colleges had risen significantly. In addition, the rising prominence of rural folk artists, many of whom were found in the South, further added to the geographic importance of the South, already a central thematic subject, as a source of African American artwork.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Black Arts Movement

After World War II, improved economic conditions in America allowed black communities to regain some of the economic power that had been lost

during the Great Depression. While some Northern blacks had been able to participate in movements for African American social and civil equality during the 1930s and 1940s, such organized endeavors had often proved too difficult and dangerous in the South during these decades. However, with the economic recovery that took place in the late 1940s and early 1950s came the reinvigoration of Southern black communities and remobilization of black activism.

Black artists that had been active producers of racially charged artwork in America during the 1930s and 1940s continued to develop these themes in conjunction with direct engagement with black activist association. Meanwhile, many African American artists that had fled to Europe in the 1930s and 1940s returned during this time, bringing with them training and experience with new artistic schools of modern art, which they used to produce work that directly engaged with issues of civil rights, adding a new element of abstract, expressionistic representation to an artistic tradition that had previously dealt mainly in various styles of realistic representation.

One example of this type of art can be found in the paintings of Hale Woodruff, a painter from Illinois who traveled to France in the 1920s and 1930s to study art at the Academie Scandinave under Henry Ossawa Turner. After his return to the United States in the 1930s, Turner initially taught at Atlanta University, but later found employment outside the South, and moved north to teach art at New York University in the mid-1940s. Turner is best known for a series of three murals commissioned by Talladega University, which depict the mutiny of the slave ship *Amistad* and are intended to convey the central role that the struggle for freedom has played in African American history.

Initially, abstract works by African Americans were produced by artists trained outside the United States, but as these artists returned to America and took up positions in black or integrated colleges, abstraction became a popular motif for many African American artists, including Sam Gilliam, a Tupelo, Mississippi, artist who studied art at the University of Louisville after its integration in 1950. In the early 1960s, Gilliam became known for his colorful, abstract works whose designs suggest both the modernism of contemporary abstract art and the geometric lines of traditional African crazy-quilts.

As the Civil Rights Movement gathered support, a broader African American culture celebrating blackness and black sociopolitical consciousness emerged. During this period in the 1960s, the black artistic communities that had begun to develop in the late 1940s and early 1950s came to be known as the Black Arts Movement, a diverse school of art that blended new mainstream artistic styles with distinctive African imagery that was often political in nature.

Many of this movement's leading figures were those black artists whose sponsorship by the WPA in the 1930s and 1940s had first led to the production of radical, racially charged protest art, as was the case with Hughie Lee-Smith and Charles White. White was a Chicago painter and muralist who left the United States for Mexico in the 1940s, but returned after 1945 to teach art at Howard University. Smith and White were joined by other artists such as Romare Bearden, a multitalented man whose past included achievements in sports and music as well as in various mediums of visual arts. In the 1960s,

Bearden introduced collage to the African American fine arts, which he used to advocate for black civil rights.

These older artists, along with a younger generation of African American artists inspired by this fusion of art and political activism, produced moving paintings, murals, and sculptures that incorporated earlier popular themes of African American art with images of contemporary significance, such as boycotts, sit-ins, racial segregation, and black protestors' violent treatment at the hands of whites. *See also* Advertising; Racial Stereotypes; World's Columbian Exposition.

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Skylar Harris

Asian Americans

The term "Asian Americans" is used to define individuals of Asian descent who possess American citizenship. Historian and Asian American Studies scholar Yuji Ichioka first created the term in late 1960s during the **Civil Rights Movement** to replace derogatory terminology used to define Americans with Asian ancestry.

The first known Asians arrived in the United States in 1763, when a group of Filipinos known as the **Louisiana** Manila Men developed settlements in Louisiana. These individuals failed to attain U.S. citizenship, as the Naturalization Act of 1790 only granted citizenship to free whites. The discovery of gold on the West Coast in 1848 and the subsequent California Gold Rush resulted in the first large-scale arrival of Asians in the country. The majority originated from China and found work in the Western territories as miners and launderers. With the significant increase in the number of Asians in mining towns and growing resentment of their presence, Western states began to enforce discriminatory laws targeting individuals of Asian origin, such as California's 1850 Foreign Miners Tax law, which solely applied to Chinese workers.

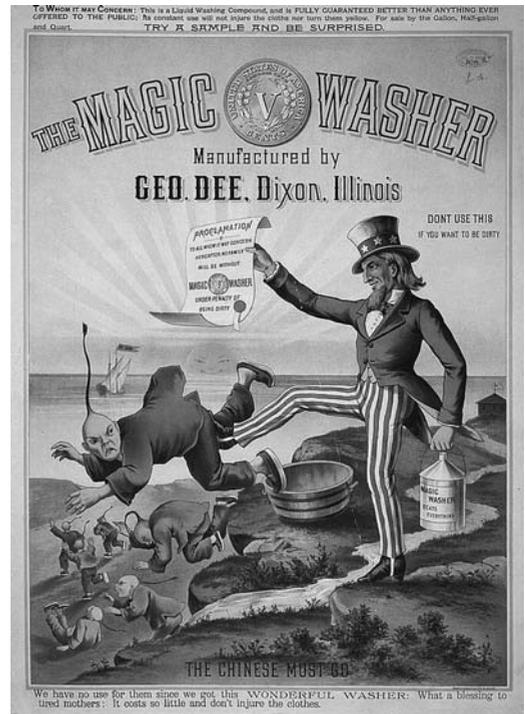
The construction of the transcontinental railroad between 1863 and 1869 led to another significant wave of Asian immigration. The Chinese became a source of cheap labor in the construction of the Pacific Railway connecting the eastern railway system to the developing western territory. Asian immigrants also began to arrive in the American South shortly after the Civil War. Viewed as labor replacement for newly freed African American slaves, Asians found work on former plantations and farms throughout the region. Many of them, primarily from China, settled into the Mississippi Delta in the late 1800s. While some found work on land owned by whites, many of the

Mississippi Chinese supported themselves by opening small grocery stores in rural communities predominantly serving African American customers, as whites often refused to provide them with business.

Hostility towards Asian immigrants emerged throughout the South and the West as the economy declined in the 1870s. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 became the first substantial discriminatory law mandated by the **federal government** targeting Asian Americans. The Act prohibited Chinese from immigrating to the United States. In addition, the law excluded Chinese already living in the country from attaining U.S. citizenship. **Jim Crow** laws in the South also limited the rights of Asians living the United States. Numerous Southern states amended Jim Crow legislation to extend segregation to include Asian Americans. Like African Americans, Asians living in the country faced limited freedoms and segregated social and economic spaces. The most prominent amendments came in the form of miscegenation laws that prohibited whites from marrying Asians or mixed individuals who possessed one-eighth or more Asian blood.

Conditions for Asian Americans continued to remain difficult in the early to mid-twentieth century as federal, state, and local governments implemented further legislation aimed to limit their rights. Attempts to separate Asian Americans from white communities became prevalent throughout the United States, particularly in the South and the West. Between 1901 and 1947, the California state government enacted laws that created segregated communities for Asian Americans. A proposal to segregate schools in San Francisco in 1905 and the subsequent protests from Japanese Americans set off an international conflict between the United States and Japanese governments. Discussions between the two nations resulted in the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 that essentially banned Japanese from traveling to the United States, while the United States agreed to cease discriminatory practices against Japanese students in schools. The agreement allowed the immigration of wives, children, and parents of Japanese Americans already living the United States.

Most Asians coming to the United States entered the country through immigration stations along the West Coast. Angel Island in the San Francisco Bay was one of the most prominent stations. The station processed over 100,000 Chinese immigrants in 30 years. With severe restrictions already in place with such acts as the Chinese Exclusion Act, many of these immigrants remained on the island for years while their papers were processed. The newly arrived Chinese faced poor living conditions while waiting for their papers.



Cartoon advocating innovation in household cleaning and deportation of Chinese Americans in 1886. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-DIG-pga-02758.

Excerpts from Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882, pp. 1, 3

An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese.

Whereas in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or having so come after the expiration of said ninety days to remain within the United States.

SEC. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on such vessel, and land or permit to be landed, any Chinese laborer, from any foreign port or place, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought, and maybe also imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

SEC. 5. That any Chinese laborer mentioned in section four of this act being in the United States, and desiring to depart from the United States by land, shall have the right to demand and receive, free of charge or cost, a certificate of identification similar to that provided for in section four of this act to be issued to such Chinese laborers as may desire to leave the United States by water; and it is hereby made the duty of the collector of customs of the district next adjoining the foreign country to which said Chinese laborer desires to go to issue such certificate, free of charge or cost, upon application by such Chinese laborer, and to enter the same upon registry-books to be kept by him for the purpose, as provided for in section four of this act.

SEC. 12. That no Chinese person shall be permitted to enter the United States by land without producing to the proper officer of customs the certificate in this act required of Chinese persons seeking to land from a vessel. And any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States shall be caused to be removed there from to the country from whence he came, by direction of the President of the United States, and at the cost of the United States, after being brought before some justice, judge, or commissioner of a court of the United States and found to be one not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States.

SEC. 13. That this act shall not apply to diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese Government traveling upon the business of that government, whose credentials shall be taken as equivalent to the certificate in this act mentioned, and shall exempt them and their body and household servants from the provisions of this act as to other Chinese persons.

SEC. 14. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 15. That the words "Chinese laborers", wherever used in this act shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

Approved, May 6, 1882.

The passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which included the **Asian Exclusion Act**, became the most extensive federal legislation restricting Asian immigration. The law placed immigration quotas on foreign nations and excluded citizenship to aliens. The language used in the legislation defined any individual from an Asian nation as an alien ineligible for U.S. citizenship. The law was the result of growing concerns over immigration following **World War I** and the increasing discrimination against Asians living in the United States. Many Americans viewed Asian Americans as a threat to economic

opportunities and American values. Asian immigration essentially ceased for 40 years, until the Immigration Act of 1965 lifted quotas.

The debate over segregated schools and Asian Americans returned to national prominence in 1927, when a **Mississippi** case involving a Chinese student was sent to the U.S. **Supreme Court**. Gong Lum, a Chinese grocer from Rosedale, Mississippi, wanted his daughter, Martha, and her friend Chew How to attend the community's white school rather than the African American school. Lum wanted the best education possible for his daughter, and the Rosedale consolidated high school had higher-paid teachers and better resources than the school for African Americans. Lum's attorney argued that Martha was pure Chinese rather than a member of the "colored race" or of mixed blood, entitling her to attend the white school.

Upon hearing the case, the Mississippi State Supreme Court ruled that separate schools should be maintained for white and nonwhite children. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court in November 1927. The Court ruled in favor of the State of Mississippi, stating that the separate-but-equal rule established in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case also applied to children of Chinese descent. As a result of the ruling, some families sent their children to other states with schools that would possibly accept Asian students. Other communities created schools specifically for Asian American children. One example was the private Chinese Baptist Mission School established in Cleveland, Mississippi, in 1936. The school became one of the first in the United States that specifically accepted Asian American students. The state provided two white teachers for the school, while the Delta Chinese hired a Chinese teacher from California. While schools such as the Chinese Mission School provided educational opportunities for Asian American children, many still faced segregated school systems that prevented them from enrolling.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 was a landmark event for Asian Americans as the attack and the United States' subsequent entrance into **World War II** resulted in the internment of over 100,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. Numerous government officials believed that a larger-scale domestic attack was imminent. American outrage over the attack led to increased suspicions of Japanese Americans as a domestic threat. On February 19, 1942, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** signed Executive Order 9066 into law, which declared areas of the United States as military areas and allowing military leaders to exclude or remove individuals deemed to be a threat. As a result, the military forced hundreds of thousands of Japanese and Japanese Americans from their homes in the Western states and placed them into internment camps and relocation centers across the United States.

The experiences of the interned Japanese Americans varied, but were typically difficult. Conditions at several of the camps and relocation centers were poor, as families were forced to live in crowded barracks surrounded by armed guards and security fences. Some of the interned renounced their American citizenship, sparking an increase in anti-American sentiment. Others hoped to show loyalty to United States by volunteering for the **armed forces**. Although the U.S. Army accepted volunteers from internment camps, they forced hopeful enlistees to serve in segregated units. The most decorated unit comprised

of Japanese American soldiers was the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which fought in the European and African campaign. Many returning Japanese American veterans faced hostility and met anti-Asian sentiment upon their return to the United States.

Internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans ended in 1945 after the Supreme Court determined that it was unconstitutional. Military officials began releasing Japanese Americans from camps and relocation centers on January 2, with the final internment/relocation camp closing in 1946. Hostility toward Japanese Americans continued as they attempted to return to their lives prior to being removed from their homes.

After the end World War II and **Japanese internment**, Asian Americans became more involved in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. They worked to garner equal rights for African Americans and Asian Americans while combating established discriminatory laws and practices. The development of Asian American Studies in academics helped bolster support for Asian American rights. American historian and former UCLA professor of ethnic studies Yuji Ichioka formally introduced the term “Asian American” in the late 1960s into the critical vocabulary. The aim was to counter more derogatory terminology such as “Oriental” to describe Asians and Americans with Asian ancestry.

The Asian American population in the United States underwent substantial growth following a series of federal legislations in the mid-twentieth century and culminating with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act eliminated naturalization restrictions, allowing immigrants from Asian nations to finally achieve full citizenship. However, the law did not remove quotas, as only 2,000 immigrants from the Asia-Pacific triangle were allowed entrance into the country per year.

The most sweeping legislation affecting Asian immigrants since the Immigration Act of 1924 was the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Created to revise previous discriminatory laws enacted by the federal government, the new law lifted restrictions and quotas for relatives of American citizens. One of the main goals of the new bill was to promote family unification and to provide support for the economic and social needs of Asian American communities. Asian Americans living in the United States dramatically expanded in the following years. Between the years 1970 and 2000, the number of Asian Americans jumped from less than 1 percent of the national population to nearly 4 percent.

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Frank Cha

Asian Exclusion Act

The Asian Exclusion Act was a component of the Immigration Act of 1924 (or the National Origins Act) signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge on May 26, 1924, which prohibited individuals from Asian nations from immigrating to the United States. The law established quotas for each nation, restricting the number of individuals allowed to come to the country. The number of admitted immigrants from each nation equaled 2 percent of that nation's population living in the United States based on the 1890 census. However, the U.S. Supreme Court defined Asians as "aliens ineligible for citizenship," essentially preventing them from immigrating to the country altogether.

The Act served as the culmination of prior federal legislation that narrowed the definition of eligible immigrants and drastically reduced the flow of Asians into the United States. In 1904, Congress barred Chinese immigration with amendments made to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement limited Japanese immigration, while the 1917 Asiatic Barred Zone Act restricted Asian Indian immigration. The Asian Exclusion Act provided each nation with a quota of 100 immigrants per year. However, the law deemed Asians ineligible for citizenship, allowing only individuals of non-Asian descent to immigrate.

Growing concerns over Asian nations gaining social, economic, and political influence was an integral reason for the immigration restrictions. By the end of **World War I**, Japan emerged as an international power, causing the U.S. government to reconsider their foreign relations strategies and immigration policies. Domestic apprehension over Asians living in the United States also became a major factor in the creation of the Asian Exclusion Act. Chinese and Japanese immigrants were a source of cheap labor in Western and Southern states in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. By 1920, many Americans viewed the Asian labor force as a threat to the job market and economy opportunities. The Asian Exclusion Act aimed to ease Americans' concern over the increasing presence of Asians both in the United States and abroad.

While the Immigration Act of 1924 prevented new Asians from becoming citizens, the law also created hardships for those of Asian descent living in the United States. Stereotypes became more prominent in popular literature, music, and film as they depicted Asians as lazy, disloyal, sly, and careless. Many viewed Asians' emphasis on familial ties as a danger to the American values of individualism and self-sufficiency. Hostility towards Asians also manifested into physical violence, including mob attacks, murders, and **lynching** crimes. With the growing antagonism resulting from the Asian Exclusion Act, many Asians withdrew from the public. They sought refuge by forming tightly knit Asian communities, particularly in Western states such as California and Oregon. Civic groups such as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) began to form in the early 1930s in order to provide Asian citizens with valuable resources to protect their interests and safety. These communities and organizations also helped Asians learn to assimilate to American culture in hopes of preventing further hostility.

The passage of the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 lifted the ban on Asian immigration established by the Asian Exclusion Act. Quotas and restrictions placed on immigration remained intact until the passing of the Nationality and Immigration Act of 1965, which became the most sweeping revision to the discriminatory regulations established by the Asian Exclusion Act. *See Also* Asian Americans; Japanese Internment.

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Frank Cha

Associated Negro Press

Inaugurated March 21, 1919, the Association Negro Press (ANP) represented the lifelong quest by founder Claude Albert Barnett to deliver credible and ethical news coverage to its member papers, organizations and the public. Claude A. Barnett was born in Sanford, **Florida**, on September 19, 1890. His parents, Williams and Celena Anderson Barnett, migrated to Chicago in 1891. Barnett developed early impressions about entrepreneurship and business by observing Richard Warren Sears, a founder of Sears, Roebuck and Company, for whom he worked as a youth. Sears also hired him to work in a Sears store in the grocery department. Barnett was inspired by the education he received at Tuskegee Institute in **Alabama**, the college's emphasis on business enterprise, and the institution's leader **Booker T. Washington**. Barnett graduated from Tuskegee with a degree in engineering, but gained employment as a postal employee. The seeds for launching a national press service were germinated during Barnett's employment with the postal service in the "bum case" division. He observed the types of printed material that featured news and advertising distributed through the mail. Barnett saw an opportunity to sell photographs of prominent black newsmakers of the day. He began the Douglas Specialty Company in 1913 for mail-order distribution of his portraits and purchased advertising to promote his service.

In 1916, Barnett and his partners opened Kashmir Chemical Company, a cosmetics production and distribution firm. He travelled and used advertising to market his products, and his relationship as an advertising sales person with the Chicago *Defender*, a prominent black newspaper, created a network of print advertisers and potential news contributors. Bolstered by his "network" of contributors and inspired by the relative success of his other business enterprises, Barnett began operation of the ANP in 1919. ANP was housed in the Kashmir Chemical Company on Clark Street in Chicago. News was gathered, typed, and printed on a mimeograph machine for distribution to the ANP network through the postal service. The ANP inaugural staff primarily consisted

of Barnett as director, Nahum Daniel Brascher, who served as assistant editor, and several stenographers and typists. The ANP offered two levels of membership to its subscribers, Class A for larger papers, and Class B for other entities. He initially charged a membership fee of \$25 for Class A members and \$15 for Class B members. For a weekly fee of two dollars, Class A members received two news releases per week and Class B members received one news release for one dollar a week. Class A news releases were typically distributed on Monday and Friday. Class B releases were sent out on Friday.

Despite his untiring effort to deliver quality news to ANP members, Barnett's reliance on reciprocal sharing of news items and stringers often left him frustrated when the contributions were not forthcoming. Members were often slow in paying their membership and subscription fees, and this detrimentally affected ANP's operating budget. Further, segregation often impeded ANP's ability to obtain press credentials or gain access to some news venues. For example, in 1933, Barnett was forced to hire John Spivak, a white reporter, to cover the Scottsboro Boys trial in Decatur, Alabama, because blacks, other than the defendants, were barred from the courtroom.

Barnett's desire to operate a news bureau in Washington, DC, was also difficult because of limited funding needed to sustain a staff in that location. After **World War II**, ANP had an international reach. Several notable black public figures served as writers or correspondents for ANP, including Roy Wilkins, who became executive director of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and black journalist Percival Prattis.

ANP ceased operation in 1964 because of mounting debt and Barnett's failing health. In 1965, Alfred Duckett acquired ANP and then relocated the service to New York City. In 1969, the service was renamed Black Press International (operated under the auspices of *Muhammad Speaks* in Chicago), then called Associated Negro Press International in 1970. Barnett died in 1967.

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Carol Adams-Means

The Atlanta Compromise

The so-called Atlanta Compromise derives its name from the famous speech by **Booker T. Washington** at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta in September 1895, where the eminent black educator and leader addressed a racially segregated audience and advocated that African Americans focus on economic advancement rather than social and political equality. In other words, according to Washington in the Atlanta Compromise, African Americans would accommodate themselves to segregation and disfranchisement.

Reflecting the worsening situation facing African Americans in the 1890s—the rise of **Jim Crow**, **disfranchisement**, **lynching**, and economic hard times—Washington firmly believed that African Americans should focus on learning

trades and skills and thus build up the black community. Washington was heavily influenced by the educational and sociological theories of the day and the education he received at Hampton University in Virginia. Washington bought into the notion that industrial education and self-help would lead to success. At the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, from 1881 onward, Washington put these ideas into practice with much success. For example, the graduates from Tuskegee played key roles at the local level in scores of black communities across the South and built up successful black businesses and prosperous farms. At Tuskegee, black students learned new farming techniques and skills that stood them in good stead for the future.

Although Washington was well known in the South by 1895, mainly through good press and close relations with leading white politicians as well as the fine reputation of Tuskegee, it was the Atlanta Compromise that brought Washington national acclaim. In his brief speech to hundreds of onlookers, including the governor of Georgia, Washington contended that African Americans should be given a chance to succeed in business and commerce, that African Americans had shown great loyalty to whites over the generations and therefore deserved the opportunity to be successful. He urged those who complained about the slow nature of change to focus on small improvements and the future, even if the pace of transformation was gradual. He believed that justice, peace, and economic opportunity would lead to a new era of prosperity for all in the South—black and white. Washington argued that cooperation between the races did not threaten segregation at all and, in the most famous quote from the speech, he postulated: “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.” In a nutshell, this was the Atlanta Compromise—accommodation with racism and Jim Crow and disfranchisement—for economic success. Washington also believed that economic prosperity would eventually lead the way to civil and political rights. Whites and African Americans in the crowd cheered the speech and rushed to congratulate Washington.

The Atlanta speech and Compromise propelled Washington into the position of the national spokesman and leader of African Americans in the United States—Frederick Douglass had died earlier in the year. All across the nation, scholars, politicians, and industrialists praised Washington and his ideology. It has been noted that Washington gained ascendancy because his ideas reflected the time. For the next 20 years, until his death in 1915, Washington and the Atlanta Compromise dominated race relations in the United States. At the time, most whites in the South and North and most African Americans supported the tenants of the Atlanta Compromise. Millions of dollars from Northern philanthropists poured into the coffers of black colleges and businesses that adhered to industrial education and self-help programs. Washington became known as the Wizard of Tuskegee—indeed, the institution served as the model for the Atlanta Compromise. Washington built close relations with Republicans, particularly Theodore Roosevelt, as well as wealthy industrialists, such as John D. Rockefeller.

In private, Washington did not always follow the Atlanta Compromise of accommodation with racism and the second-class status of African Americans.

Indeed, Washington often completely opposed his professed public pronouncements. It is clear that he rejected white racism. He spoke of his opposition to segregation, his outrage against lynching, and the illegality of disfranchisement. He supported black defendants (in private) with monies in cases dealing with discrimination. He lobbied hard for positions in the **federal government** for qualified black aspirants. However, due to his accommodationist approach, conciliatory attitude, and public deference to whites, these efforts were kept secret from most African Americans and whites.

The Atlanta Compromise made Washington the leading spokesman for African Americans, and his accommodationism made him very popular within the black community. This approach to racial progress at a very difficult time for African Americans did yield success—for example, increased spending on black schools and more black colleges in the South, as well as increased black business activity throughout the South. However, criticisms of the Atlanta Compromise did emerge. The voice of opponents in the 1890s was muted; perhaps the most famous black opponent at this time to the Atlanta Compromise was Bishop Henry McNeal Turner. However, a more determined opposition to accommodationism formed as the new century dawned. It was clear to many black intellectuals and white liberals that the Atlanta Compromise did not lead to increased opportunities for African Americans. Successful black businesses and businessmen were often the target for racial violence—for example, in the Atlanta Riot of 1906—and the lives of the majority of African Americans were one of poverty and lack of opportunity. Self-help did not seem to work for many. Thus from 1900, the voices of opposition grew. William Monroe Trotter, a black leader from Boston, criticized Washington's ideology as delusional. The most famous critic was **W.E.B. Du Bois**, who advocated full civil rights and integration immediately and that African Americans needed to build up a talented tenth of well-educated men and women to lead the fight for equality. The death of Washington in 1915 and the changing nature of race relations in the United States also heralded the passing of the Atlanta Compromise and the policy of accommodation. The Atlanta Compromise had become discredited. A new approach of integration and full civil and political rights, exemplified by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, took the place of the Atlanta Compromise.

For 20 years, the Atlanta Compromise and accommodationism with racism was the leading black ideological and pragmatic position in the age of Jim Crow. Although it is now discredited by most scholars and civil rights activists, it is clear that the Atlanta Compromise both reflected the mood and beliefs of time and also enabled many African Americans to cope, economically, during the nadir of race relations in the United States. Washington's belief that African Americans should build up their own communities and support one another in economic advancement holds true today. Washington never agreed with the white racists who believed in the natural inferiority of blacks. Washington always believed in equality and advancement. He espoused hard work, self-help, and Christian morality. But his belief that this could come while civil and political rights remained on the back burner was misguided at best, and perhaps a product of black powerlessness at the height of Jim Crow.

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James M. Beeby

B

Back to Africa Movement

The Back to Africa Movement, which dates back to the early 1600s, was a plan that attempted to return African Americans to Africa. Supporters of the movement believed that a return migration to Africa would provide African Americans the opportunity to establish an economic base, escape the discriminatory system that existed in America, and reconnect culturally with their heritage. Some of the most vocal early supporters included the wealthy African American philanthropist and ship captain Paul Cuffee, who in 1815 used his own funds to establish a colony in Sierra Leone, and the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States, which was later renamed the American Colonization Society (ACS).

The ACS made its first attempt to begin a return migration to Africa in 1820 when it sent a group of 86 African American workers and their families to establish a settlement on Sherbro Island off the west coast of Africa. The settlement eventually failed because of the settlers' exposure to diseases in the swampy land's unhealthy conditions and their lack of acceptance from the native people. In 1821, the ACS purchased a second piece of land that was 36 miles long and three miles wide from the Dey and Grand Bassa people. The land was used to establish the country of Liberia. The remaining settlers on Sherbro Island were relocated to Liberia, and the ACS continued to transport new settlers to the country.

In 1827, several slave states began to invest in Liberia. They organized themselves independently of the ACS and established colonies in an effort to transport free African Americans to the country. They believed that by transporting freed men and women, they could silence or limit any attempts to encourage enslaved African Americans to seek freedom. Due to the pooled efforts of these and other groups, approximately 11,000 African Americans were relocated to Liberia before the movement ended.

The failure of the Back to Africa Movement of the 1800s is attributed to a variety of factors. It began with the ACS's difficulty in finding enough funds to cover the cost of transportation, land grants, and other expenses that were associated with their voyages. It also suffered from the competing interest of pro-slavery supporters who were trying to remove the threat of a slave revolt,

racist separatists and prejudiced individuals who believed African Americans were worthless and should be transported out of the country, and the views of prominent African Americans such Frederick Douglass who adamantly opposed returning to Africa.

The Back to Africa Movement regained momentum during the early 1920s as Marcus Garvey and other Black Nationalists advocated the return of African Americans to Africa. Garvey believed that a return migration to the motherland was the only way that people of African descent around the world could gain economic stability and respect. Garvey's views were adamantly opposed by many well-educated African Americans, such as **W.E.B. Du Bois**. See also Black Nationalism.

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Barbara A. Patrick

Baldwin, James (1924–1987)

James Arthur Baldwin, author, activist, and critic, was born to Emma Birdis Jones August 2, 1924, in Harlem, New York. Though Baldwin never knew his biological father, he was adopted by David Baldwin at three years of age. Baldwin's strained relationship with his stepfather was the core influence for the pseudo-autobiographical *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1955), a story of the religious and spiritual development of a young black man in Harlem, New York. A religious fanatic, David Baldwin would often force his beliefs on young James. At the age of 14, Baldwin became a preacher but later denounced religion after moving to Greenwich Village in New York City. Focusing on his literary craft, Baldwin began to write stories, essays, and reflections on his life. While developing his writing, Baldwin also began to recognize and acknowledge his **homosexuality**. In order to escape racial and sexual intolerance, Baldwin moved to Paris, France, where he would spend the majority of his life.

Though he spent most of his time abroad, Baldwin was very active in the **desegregation** movement in the American South. He would eloquently speak out against the racial injustices blacks faced during the mid-twentieth century. In *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), Baldwin called for the racial injustices in American societies to cease. In the "Autobiographical Notes," Baldwin criticized the body of literature available about black society and culture. "From this point of view, the Negro problem is nearly inaccessible. It is not written about so widely; it is written about so bad," Baldwin wrote (6). Because of the lack of quality literature for and about African Americans, Baldwin used his own experiences as a black man and molded them into a literary art, both fictitious and critical. At the climax of the **Civil Rights** and Black Power movements, Baldwin released two powerful collections of essays—the best selling *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961) and *The Fire Next Time* (1963). In these collections, Baldwin analyzed the race relations between blacks and whites

and demanded racial justice and tolerance. The critical and biting essay “Down at the Cross” critiques the growing severance between Christianity and the Nation of Islam. Baldwin argues the need to eradicate the oppression of blacks through the joining of both religious camps. After returning to Europe and a vicious attack by Eldridge Cleaver in *Soul on Ice*, Baldwin’s insight of black American struggle was questioned.

Baldwin ignored his critics and continued to write. Heavily represented in the nonfiction genre during the 1960s and 1970s, Baldwin also continued writing works of fiction. Several novels were released during this time period, many focusing on and critiquing America’s outlook on racial relations. *Another Country* (1962) focused on the role of race in interracial friendships. *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974) looked at the relationship between black men and women, and the role of family against the socially oppressive system faced in Harlem, New York.

Baldwin returned to the United States in 1983 to accept a teaching position at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst in the African American Studies Department. After his tenure at Amherst, Baldwin spent his remaining days in France, where he died in 1987 at the age of 62. *See also* Ellison, Ralph; Naylor, Gloria; Toomer, Jean.

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Regina Barnett

Basketball

Basketball, a team sport invented by James Naismith at the YMCA in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1891, was an important venue for interracial team sports competition throughout the twentieth century. Designed as a way to encourage physical fitness during the winter months, the first game of basketball involved players dribbling a soccer ball in a gymnasium and shooting at peach baskets suspended at either end of the playing floor. Over time, the sport developed its own equipment, and its rules evolved considerably. Although the sport started in the northeast, it quickly made its way across the country, spreading rapidly through the network of nationwide YMCAs. African American players, although initially restricted in many ways from playing with or against whites, gradually changed the contours of the game and came to dominate the sport nationwide.

Basketball was originally intended as a sport for whites interested in the tenets of “Muscular Christianity,” a nationwide fitness movement that linked personal health to godliness. However, basketball quickly became popular with African Americans as well. Edwin B. Henderson, a black Harvard graduate, was a key figure who promoted black athletics, including basketball, as a way to uplift African Americans. Henderson helped establish interscholastic athletics leagues for black high schools in the mid-Atlantic region in 1906, setting an example that would be mimicked nationwide, and published pro-athletic articles in national publications (such as *The Crisis*) from the 1910s through the 1960s. Women’s schools also founded basketball teams for their

students, although rules were often changed to limit the amount of running and jumping required of players. In men's colleges, the first intercollegiate conference for black schools was the Central Interscholastic Athletic Association, formed in 1916 by Hampton Institute, Shaw University, Lincoln University, Virginia Union University, and Howard University. The popularity and success of this conference, which featured schools in the Maryland–Virginia–North Carolina region, inspired other black schools to set up their own conferences, since competition against white schools was strictly prohibited across the South (and, indeed, in many schools across the nation). There were some black players on majority white schools in the North and West (such as Paul Robeson at Rutgers College from 1915 to 1919), but they were few and far between.

Professional options for black players in the early years of the game were limited as well. Because professional leagues struggled to stay afloat, professional barnstorming teams were black athletes' best chance of making a living playing basketball. Particularly important were the New York Renaissance (usually called the "Rens") and the Harlem Globetrotters, whose differing trajectories suggest the limits to integrated basketball competition in the first half of the twentieth century. The Rens, run by African American Robert L. Douglas, were an all-black team that first gained fame in the 1920s. Playing against both black and white teams, the Rens were remarkably successful, consistently defeating the top club teams in the nation, and even winning over 90 percent of their games in one stretch of the 1930s. Players such as Charles "Tarzan" Cooper excelled on the court, and the Rens won a tournament of professional teams in 1939, beating an all-white team from Wisconsin to claim a "national championship" of sorts. However, the team faced financial troubles in later years, as white teams hesitated to play them for fear of being embarrassed, and arenas refused to give the team a healthy share of the box office because of the team's racial makeup.

In contrast, the Harlem Globetrotters, a team run by white Jewish entrepreneur Abe Saperstein, enjoyed considerable financial success from the mid-1920s through the 1950s. By incorporating "clowning" in their performances, the all-black Globetrotters were more palatable to white audiences, who could fall back on stereotypes of African Americans as intellectually feeble. As a result of their comedic performances, and the presence of a white manager, the team earned considerably more money, and had many more opportunities, than the Rens. Although the Globetrotter players were well paid in comparison to other black players, it was also clear that Saperstein pocketed more money than anyone, and many players resented his exploitation of their athletic abilities and his paternalistic attitude towards them. Still, the Globetrotters team was the best professional opportunity for black basketball players until the late 1950s, when the National Basketball Association (NBA) welcomed more black players into the league and provided better financial compensation to its players.

Although the game of basketball evolved in a number of ways over the years, African Americans, including the members of the Rens and the Globetrotters, played the game in a distinct fashion that ushered in sweeping changes when integrated competition began. First, black players tended to

play a more improvisational style than whites, borrowing from **jazz** a sense of individual virtuosity. Second, black players also played a faster version of the game, often pushing the ball up the court more quickly than their white counterparts. African American coach John McLendon, who learned the game from Naismith while a student at the University of Kansas, played a particularly important role in speeding up the game and emphasizing the fast break. McLendon was a highly successful head coach at North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham (now known as North Carolina Central University), Hampton Institute, and Tennessee A&I (now known as Tennessee State) in the 1940s and 1950s. He also coached Tennessee A&I to a national championship in the 1957 National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) tournament, the first time a sports team from a black school had ever won a national championship in interracial team competition. The innovations developed by McLendon and others changed the game from one focused on set plays with little player movement to one in which players constantly maneuvered on the court, looking for space to receive passes. Black players also made the game more vertical, jumping high into the air to retrieve missed shots and “dunking” the ball through the hoop for easy scores.

The innovations black players brought to the game infiltrated the broader culture, as the walls of segregation crumbled at the professional and collegiate levels. Although some of the early struggling professional leagues featured integrated teams in the 1940s, the NBA, which eventually became the most successful professional league, had exclusively all-white teams when it officially organized in 1949. However, one year later, Boston Celtics owner Walter Brown selected Chuck Cooper, a black player from Duquesne University, in the second round of the college draft. The Washington Capitals then selected Earl Lloyd of West Virginia State in the ninth round, and the New York Knicks purchased the contract of Nat “Sweetwater” Clifton from the Globetrotters. Since Cooper was the first black player drafted into the NBA, Lloyd the first to play in a game, and Clifton the first to sign a contract, all have some claim as the first black player in the league. Gradually, more African Americans were able to enter the NBA, although many of the early players complained in later years that they were told by coaches to focus on defense and rebounding, leaving the more high-profile role of scorer to white players.

At the collegiate level, black players gradually became more prominent members of previously all-white teams, starting on the East Coast, where black players helped lead the City College of New York to the NCAA championship in 1950. Other important black players who starred for integrated teams in the 1950s included Bill Russell and K. C. Jones, who led the University of San Francisco Dons to back-to-back NCAA national championships in 1955 and 1956; Wilt Chamberlain, who led the University of Kansas to a runner-up finish in 1957; and Oscar Robertson, who starred for the University of Cincinnati in the late 1950s. Texas Western (now known as the University of Texas at El Paso) featured the first all-black starting five to win an NCAA championship when its squad defeated the all-white team from the University of Kentucky in 1966. Another important moment occurred in 1963, when the all-white Mississippi State team defied a court order by appearing in an NCAA tournament against the integrated Loyola University of Chicago team.

Although traditionally white Southern schools were more intransigent in their stance against black athletes, stars such as Charlie Scott at the University of North Carolina debuted in the late 1960s, and all college teams were integrated by the mid-1970s.

Over time, African Americans came to dominate the sport at the collegiate and professional levels, changing the style of play in the process. Some have lamented the damage done to black basketball powerhouses as a result of integration, as schools such as Tennessee A&I and others find it difficult compete for the top African-American players. Evidence of exploitation of black college players—such as Texas Western’s stars, who were essentially given a free pass on schoolwork—also have caused some to worry that integration has neglected the educational uplift often emphasized at black schools. These issues continue to be debated into the present day. *See also* Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Sports.

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Gregory Kaliss

Bates, Daisy Lee Gatson (1913?–1999)

Daisy Lee Gatson Bates is best known for her role in the struggle to desegregate Little Rock’s Central High School in 1957. She and her husband, L. C. Bates, also published the newspaper the *Arkansas State Press*, which served the local Arkansas black community. Both Daisy and L. C. Bates were active members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as well.

Daisy Lee Gatson was born in the sawmill town of Huttig, Arkansas, and was raised by adoptive parents Susie Smith and Orlee Smith, who was an employee at the local mill. The greatest trauma of Gatson’s childhood took place when she learned that her birth mother had been raped and killed by three white men. Gatson was incensed that these criminals had not been brought to justice. In her autobiography, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, she suggests that this and other childhood experiences propelled her into her future role as a civil rights activist.

When Gatson was 15 years old, she met L. C. Bates, a traveling insurance salesman. After a lengthy courtship, the couple moved to Little Rock in 1941, where they founded the *Arkansas State Press*. The weekly newspaper proved to be a powerful advocate on behalf of the black community, as it publicized instances of police brutality and other injustices faced by black Arkansans.

Daisy Gatson and L. C. Bates married on March 4, 1942. While working for the newspaper, Bates also began taking classes at nearby Shorter College and

Philander Smith College. She also became increasingly involved in the local chapter of the NAACP and was named president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches in 1952.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that the enforced segregation of schools unconstitutional in the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. Afterward, Bates channeled the majority of her energy towards securing the integration of public schools in her native Arkansas. Most famously, she became a confidant, mentor, and spokesperson for the group of students known as the **Little Rock Nine**, who integrated the city's working-class Central High School.

Although the local school board designed a very limited plan for integration, ultimately allowing only a handful of handpicked black students to enter the large urban high school, their plan was still met with stiff resistance. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called out the Arkansas **National Guard** to prevent the black students from physically entering the school. After a showdown between federal and state authorities, President Dwight D. Eisenhower used federal troops to make sure that the court-mandated integration would take place. However, even after the Little Rock Nine were reluctantly admitted to the school, the drama was not over. Large crowds of angry whites gathered outside the high school to heckle the black students, and a dedicated group of white members of the Central High School student body waged a yearlong campaign of harassment in an attempt to force the black students to withdraw.

During this ordeal, Bates met regularly with the students, frequently serving as a liaison between them, the national NAACP, the press, administrators of the high school, and the school board. She ultimately paid a high price for her visibility. Bates was the victim of constant threats, and her home was attacked by angry segregationists on more than one occasion. In addition, the crisis in Little Rock adversely impacted the Bates' newspaper. Many businesses withdrew their advertisements as a form of protest against the Bates' activism. Because of the ensuing economic hardship, the couple was forced to close the *Arkansas State Press* in 1959.

In the aftermath of the events in Little Rock, Bates became well known, one of the few prominent women to be frequently included in the pantheon of civil rights heroes. Capitalizing on her fame, in 1960, she published her well-received autobiography, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*. In 1963, she spoke at the Lincoln Memorial at the **March on Washington**. Bates continued her activism when she moved to Mitchellville, Arkansas, becoming an advocate for the poor through the aegis of a federal anti-poverty program. In 1984, she realized one of her long-held dreams when she reopened the *Arkansas State Press*, managing the paper for four years before selling it in 1988.

For the rest of her life, she remained a beloved civil rights icon and participated in a wide variety of ceremonies honoring the Little Rock Nine and other pioneers of the movement. Bates died of a heart attack on November 4, 1999, but her legacy was not forgotten. Streets have been named after her as well as an elementary school. Perhaps most dramatically, the state of Arkansas has declared the third Monday of every February a holiday in her honor. *See also* Civil Rights Movement.

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Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Baton Rouge Bus Boycott

The Baton Rouge Bus Boycott in 1953 was the first bus boycott in the American South that attempted to end segregation on city buses. The boycott served as an illustration of what could be achieved through peaceful resistance. The methods adopted in Baton Rouge were taken up by the bus boycott that occurred in Montgomery, **Alabama**, in 1955, which many historians view as the beginning of the **Civil Rights Movement** in the American south.

African Americans made up the vast majority of bus passengers in Baton Rouge, **Louisiana**, yet they were consigned to seats on the back of the bus while the first 10 rows of all city buses were reserved for white passengers. Frequently, seats on the front of the bus remained empty while African Americans went toward seats in the rear. A fare increase served as the spark for the protest. Shortly after the city council instituted the increase, which of course hit African Americans harder as they were the buses' primary passengers, Baptist minister T. J. Jemison spoke against the city council's fare increase and proposed ending segregation on Baton Rouge buses. The city council on March 19, 1953, instituted Ordinance 222 for Baton Rouge buses that allowed blacks to sit in the front seats so long as they did not take any seats in front of white passengers. In addition, African Americans had to enter the bus from the rear rather than the front.

Despite the city council's change of policy, bus drivers failed to observe the new rules. Reverend Jemison tested the new policy by refusing to give up his seat when ordered to by a driver. The driver then took the bus to the police station, but given the city council's ordinance, the police failed to take action against Jemison. Given the decision of the city of Baton Rouge's authorities, the bus drivers then chose to go on strike to protest Ordinance 222. The Louisiana Attorney General found the Baton Rouge ordinance to be in violation of state segregation law, whereupon the strike ended.

In reaction, Jemison and the African American community of Baton Rouge formed the United Defense League, which on June 19, 1953, called for a boycott of the Baton Rouge public transportation system. The United Defense League grew out of the African American churches. Church buildings also served as nightly meeting places during the bus boycott. At these meetings, money was raised for the boycott and the United Defense League organized a system of rides for those engaged in the boycott, though many chose to walk. The United Defense League politically united the African American community of Baton Rouge. The United Defense League and the city of Baton Rouge quickly reached an agreement, and the boycott ended on June 24, 1953. Despite Jemison and the United Defense League's agreement, many people who had engaged in the boycott were disappointed with the settlement, which

preserved segregated seating and reserved the first two rows for white passengers, though the back seat was also reserved for African American passengers. Still, despite the limited achievements of the boycott, the methods adopted in Baton Rouge would be utilized in Montgomery in 1955 and later boycotts. *See also* Don't Buy Where You Can't Work Campaign; Montgomery Bus Boycott; Resistance.

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Michael Beauchamp

Beaumont, Texas, Race Riot (June 15–16, 1943)

One of several race riots in the United States during **World War II**, the Beaumont Race Riot proves unique because of its connections to segregation in the South. Wartime anxiety, the forced integration of public facilities, and stereotypical rumors about African American men all combined to spark a mob that caused great damage to Beaumont's African American community, left several people dead, and more injured.

Like many cities in the early 1940s, Beaumont benefited from the boom in defense industry production following the outbreak of war. Located near the Gulf of Mexico, Beaumont grew in particular thanks to local shipbuilding operations, with Pennsylvania Shipbuilding being the largest company in town. Beaumont's population swelled from 59,000 in 1940 to nearly 80,000 by 1943. On the heels of the **Great Depression**, the promise of work drew many new white and black residents from neighboring counties and Southern states where official and de facto segregation dictated behavior. Throughout the South, Jim Crow not only meant separatism in public space and facilities, but also denied African Americans access to the best and highest-paying jobs. After President **Franklin D. Roosevelt's** Executive Order 8802 prohibited racial discrimination in the defense industry in 1941, the federal workplace slowly began to integrate. At Pennsylvania Shipbuilding and other shipyards, African Americans began to compete with whites for semiskilled and skilled jobs, which fueled racial animosity in the long-segregated defense industry.

Adding to the tensions emanating from the shipyards, Beaumont's resources proved ill prepared to handle so rapid an influx of people. Available housing became scarce, and blacks and whites suddenly found themselves competing for affordable housing and living in close proximity. Services such as health care and public spaces like parks became rapidly integrated by necessity due to lack of facilities. Violence repeatedly erupted on overcrowded buses as African Americans began to ignore traditional Jim Crow seating rules that required they ride in the back of the bus. By June 1943, tensions were boiling over, and the city established altogether separate bus services to avoid further violence. Furthermore, rumors of espionage and food ration shortages due to the population boom only served to heighten anxieties in the Beaumont area.

Adding to the already tense environment, the **Ku Klux Klan** planned to hold a large regional meeting in Beaumont on June 29. The highly publicized event would occur 10 days after Juneteenth, an annual African American celebration held to mark the abolition of slavery in Texas. The event organizers hoped that Juneteenth would draw attendees from throughout East Texas. On June 5, violence almost erupted when the daughter of a white worker at Pennsylvania Shipbuilding was allegedly raped, beaten, and stabbed by a black man. Police shot a 24-year old defense worker at the scene, and a small mob gathered at the hospital intent on **lynching** the young African American. Officials managed to disperse the would-be rioters by telling them that the worker would soon die of his wounds.

On June 15, the wife of another shipyard worker told police that a black man had broken into her home and raped her. Rumors spread quickly at Pennsylvania Shipyards, and some 2,000 workers bent on violent revenge left the yard to gather at the City Hall, imagining that the police held a suspect in custody. Along the way, the mob recruited several thousand more spectators and participants until the crowd numbered approximately 4,000 people. When the woman could not identify an assailant from the men held in jail, the crowd began to selectively attack African American businesses downtown before spreading into north and central residential neighborhoods. The mob continued to burn and loot businesses, and turned on any person they came across; the riot lasted through the night on June 15 and into June 16. Rioters ransacked over 100 homes in all and injured 50 people. Three people died during the riot—two black and one white—and one African American man died several months later from injuries sustained at the hands of the mob. Beaumont Mayor George Gary sent in the Eighteenth Battalion of the Texas State Guard late on June 15, and 206 people were arrested.

Very early on June 16, acting Governor A. M. Aikin, Jr. sent 1,800 state guardsmen, 100 state police, and 75 Texas Rangers to Beaumont. Aikin declared martial law and placed a curfew of 8:30 PM over the entire city. All roads leading into Beaumont were closed. Public facilities were closed, local bus service was suspended, and no state buses were allowed to stop in Beaumont. Juneteenth was cancelled by the city in its entirety, and African American defense workers were not allowed to go to work at the shipyards. By June 20, the last day of martial law, a military court had reviewed all of the cases for those arrested in the rioters. Of the more than 200 arrested, all but 29 were acquitted. Those rioters formally charged, mostly with either assault or arson, were turned over to city authorities. Further investigation revealed no evidence of sexual assault. In the weeks following the riot, approximately 2,000 African Americans left Beaumont permanently.

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Belafonte, Harry (b. 1927)

Although immortalized in the collective consciousness of popular culture for his signature tune the “Banana Boat Song” and its popular lyric “Day-O,” musician, actor, writer, and entertainer Harry George Belafonte, Jr., has become equally noted for his tireless efforts as a social activist over the span of his five-decade-long career. Born in Harlem, New York, on March 1, 1927, Belafonte was raised by his mother. For a time in his early youth, the family lived in the village of Aboukir in his mother’s native homeland of Jamaica. Spending his formative years abroad, life in Jamaica served as a cultural reservoir for Belafonte, as his artistic prowess would later develop in part from his exposure to the native music heard across the island. In his teenage years, Belafonte returned to New York City to attend high school, yet dropped out to enlist in the U.S. Navy, serving a tour of duty during **World War II**. Upon his return to New York City in the late 1940s, Belafonte began to explore fully his artistic side and embarked on an acting and musical career with the American Negro Theatre troupe. Performing on stage, Belafonte secured his status as a gifted performer in his first Broadway musical *Almanac*, winning the Tony Award, and establishing himself as a marketable and multi-faceted entertainment talent.

Belafonte has continued over the years a long-standing recording and acting career that has included numerous awards and honors. His 1956 album *Calypso* became the first album in recording history to sell over one million copies in its initial release. Belafonte also worked in several films, securing his role as an internationally known, crossover talent. With his fame, Belafonte became an outspoken opponent of racial discrimination, and over the years, he has been affiliated with a number of humanitarian and civil rights causes. Belafonte’s fame initially occurred during the height of **Jim Crow** segregation, and this legalized discrimination informed Belafonte’s artistic and humanitarian ideals. Artistically, Belafonte chose roles that focused on the issues of racism, such as Robert Wise’s 1959 film *Odds Against Tomorrow*. A critic of Southern racist politics, Belafonte also boycotted the South from 1954 to 1961, refusing to play for segregated audiences. Belafonte also refused roles that catered to racial stereotyping and turned down roles such as *Porgy and Bess* in accordance with his ideals. Inspired by his mentor, activist and performer Paul Robeson, Belafonte worked throughout his career to focus his art from a perspective that would champion the cause of civil rights and racial equality.

Belafonte has been politically active throughout his career. As a long time associate and friend of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, Belafonte used his fame and money to help finance the modern **Civil Rights Movement**, bailing out King on occasion and providing monetary support for a variety of organized events, including the 1963 **March on Washington**. Belafonte was also appointed by President **John F. Kennedy** to serve as a cultural advisor to the Peace Corps, traveling to a number of countries as an ambassador of goodwill to foreign nations. Although awarded honors and prizes for his efforts, Belafonte has been a long-standing critic of American foreign policy, issuing attacks on various administrations as recently as that of George W. Bush and the Iraq War.

Belafonte continues his efforts to this day, using art to influence politics and pursuing causes that reflect his humanitarian ideals. *See also* Black Entertainers Against Jim Crow; Caribbean.

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Kevin Strait

Berea College v. Kentucky (1906–1908)

Berea College, located in Berea, **Kentucky**, was founded to educate former enslaved African Americans and poor Appalachian whites. In 1859, the college obtained its charter from the state. However, no classes were offered at the facility until 1866, after the Civil War ended. Initially the college was started as an independent, nonsectarian Christian institution by John G. Fee, an evangelical, abolitionist minister from Bracken County who had moved to the area when he received several acres of land from Cassius M. Clay, a fellow Kentucky abolitionist. Because the college held close ties with numerous Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist churches, between 1855 and 1859, the institution merely functioned as a nondenominational mission school.

Simultaneously, the founders of Berea introduced a completely integrated curriculum to try to attract men and women, as well as African American and Caucasian students, to its facility. However, before the college could implement its educational plan, the fear of abolitionist-led uprisings, similar to John Brown’s assault on the federal armory in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, led many local citizens to organize a grassroots group that forced Fee and his supporters to leave the city of Berea. It was not until the early years of Reconstruction, on March 6, 1866, when Berea opened an integrated elementary school, with the enrollment of three African American female students, that Fee returned and the college quickly enacted its integrated educational plan. The following year, the first completely integrated class, taught by Ellen P. T. Wheeler, the wife of a missionary Fee had known during his visits to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, was offered at the institution.

In 1869, Edward Henry Fairchild, a graduate of Oberlin College, became the first president of Berea College. Under his leadership, several buildings were constructed and an enormous endowed funding campaign was started, led by money donated by the American Missionary Association as well as various private donors. During these years, Berea’s enrollment also flourished with its highly ambitious educational philosophy that rested on the creation of an entirely integrated and socially equal instructional experience for all races, from kindergarten through college. For example, from 1866 to 1889, at least half of Berea’s student body was African American. However, in late 1889, with the departure of President Fairchild, the educational environment of the institution began to change. For instance, with the appointment of William Goodell Frost as Berea’s third president, more emphasis was placed on the

Excerpts from *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 1908, pp. 1, 3, 10-11

On October 8, 1904, the grand jury of Madison County, Kentucky, presented in the circuit court of that county an indictment, charging:

The said Berea College, being a corporation duly incorporated under the laws of the state of Kentucky, and owning, maintaining, and operating a college, school, and institution of learning, known as "Berea College," located in the town of Berea, Madison county, Kentucky, did unlawfully and wilfully permit and receive both the white and negro races as pupils for instruction in said college, school, and institution of learning.

This indictment was found under an act of March 22, 1904, whose 1st section reads:

"Sec. 1. That it shall be unlawful for any person, corporation, or association of persons to maintain or operate any college, school, or institution where persons of the white and negro races are both received as pupils for instruction, and any person or corporation who shall operate or maintain any such college, school, or institution shall be fined \$1,000, and any person or corporation who may be convicted of violating the provisions of this act shall be fined \$100 for each day they may operate said school, college, or institution after such conviction."

The ruling, read by Justice Brewer [excerpt]

There is no dispute as to the facts. That the act does not violate the Constitution of Kentucky is settled by the decision of its highest court, and the single question for our consideration is whether it conflicts with the Federal Constitution. The court of appeals discussed at some length the general power of the state in respect to the separation of the two races. It also ruled that 'the right to teach white and negro children in a private school at the same time and place is not a property right. Besides, appellant, as a corporation created by this state, has no natural right to teach at all. Its right to teach is such as the state sees fit to give to it. The state may withhold it altogether, or qualify it. . . .

There is no force in the suggestion that the statute, although clearly separable, must stand or fall as an entirety on the ground the legislature would not have enacted one part unless it could reach all. That the legislature of Kentucky desired to separate the teaching of white and colored children may be conceded; but it by no means follows that it would not have enforced the separation so far as it could do so, even though it could not make it effective under all circumstances. In other words, it is not at all unreasonable to believe that the legislature, although advised beforehand of the constitutional question, might have prohibited all organizations and corporations under its control from teaching white and colored children together, and thus made at least uniform official action.

Justice Harlan, dissenting [excerpt]

The capacity to impart instruction to others is given by the Almighty for beneficent purposes; and its use may not be forbidden or interfered with by government,-certainly not, unless such instruction is, in its nature, harmful to the public morals or imperils the public safety. The right to impart instruction, harmless in itself or beneficial to those who receive it, is a substantial right of property,-especially, where the services are rendered for compensation. But even if such right be not strictly a property right, it is, beyond question, part of one's liberty as guaranteed against hostile state action by the Constitution of the United States. This court has more than once said that the liberty guaranteed by the 14th Amendment embraces "the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all his faculties," and "to be free to use them in all lawful ways." If pupils, of whatever race,-certainly, if they be citizens,-choose, with the consent of their parents, or voluntarily, to sit together in a private institution of learning while receiving instruction which is not in its nature harmful or dangerous to the public, no government, whether Federal or state, can legally forbid their coming together, or being together temporarily, for such an innocent purpose. If the common-wealth of Kentucky can make it a crime to teach white and colored children together at the same time, in a private institution of learning, it is difficult to perceive why it may not forbid the assembling of white and colored children in the same Sabbath school, for the purpose of being instructed in the Word of God, although such teaching may be done under the authority of the church to which the school is attached as well as with the consent of the parents of the children.

recruitment and retention of poor white Appalachians, not the enhancement of the institution's integrated educational curriculum and overall plan. Soon, segregated classrooms and dorms began to appear. Also, the percentage of African American students who enrolled and continued their education at Berea College declined greatly.

On October 8, 1906, a grand jury in Madison County, Kentucky indicted Berea College for violating the state's Day Law. The Day Law, proposed by State Representative Carl Day, of Breathitt County, Kentucky, in 1904, made it illegal to educate African American and Caucasian students in the same facility. Despite its conviction, Berea continued to challenge Kentucky's Day Law in court until the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Berea College v. Kentucky* (1908) that the Commonwealth of Kentucky had the right and authority to alter any educational charter it issued. Moreover, the Court also noted that Berea still had the ability to educate any students who enrolled at its institution, just not at the same time or place. *See also* *Historically Black Colleges and Universities*; *Williams v. Mississippi*.

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Eric R. Jackson

Bethune, Mary McLeod (1875–1955)

Mary McLeod Bethune was one of the most prominent educators and civil servants of the twentieth century. "The First Lady of the Struggle," as she was known, worked indefatigably to guarantee the right to education and freedom from discrimination for African Americans. She was the 15th of 19 children born to former slaves in Maysville, **South Carolina**, on July 10, 1875. Growing up on her parents' farm, where she picked cotton, Bethune did not attend school until she was 11 years old at the Presbyterian mission school in Maysville. Then she attended Scotia Seminary, an African American girls' school in Concord, **North Carolina**, and subsequently attended the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago.

Upon receiving her degree, she taught at the Presbyterian mission school in Maysville and then the Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia, in 1896. At the Kindell Institute in Sumpter, South Carolina, she met Albertus Bethune, whom she married. In 1904, she opened a school for African American girls in Daytona Beach, Florida. Starting with five girls and her son, she began the school with virtually nothing: crates were used for desks, charcoal for pencils, and crushed elderberries for ink. To raise money for the school, she and her students held many bake sales. As the school developed, Bethune sought financing help. She was able to get James M. Gamble, of Proctor & Gamble

Mary McLeod Bethune, “Certain Unalienable Rights”

Bethune explains the role of African American women in defeating Jim Crow. The entire essay is reprinted in *What the Negro Wants*, ed. Rayford Logan (New York: Agathon Press, 1969), 248–58.

Negro women and their organization have a tremendous responsibility and opportunity to offer leadership and support to this struggle of the racial group to attain improved cultural status in America. We have always done a full part of this job. Now, with large numbers of our men in the armed forces and with considerable numbers of new people who have migrated into our communities to take their power in war production, we have a bigger job and a greater opportunity than ever. Our women know too well the disintegrating effect upon our family of low economic status. Discrimination and restriction have too often meant to us broken homes and the delinquency of our children. We have seen our dreams frustrated and our hopes broken. We have risen, however, out of our despair to help our men climb up the next rung of the ladder. We see now more than a glimmer of light on the horizon of a new hope. We feel behind us the surge of all women of China and India and of Africa who see the same light and look to us to mark with them. We will reach out our hand to all women who struggle forward—white, black brown, yellow—all. If we have the courage and tenacity of our forebears, who stood firmly like a rock against the lashings of slavery and the disruption of Reconstruction, we shall find a way to do for our day what they did for theirs. Above all we Negro women of all levels and classes must realize that this forward movement is a march of the masses and that all of us must go forward with it or be pushed aside by it. We will do our part. In order for us to have peace and justice and democracy for all, may I urge that we follow the example of the great humanitarian—Jesus Christ—in exemplifying in our lives both by word and action the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?

in Cincinnati, Ohio, to become a benefactor. He would contribute to the school until his death.

In 1923, her Daytona Literacy and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls merged with the all-boys Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, Florida, to form a coeducational high school. In 1924, the school became affiliated with the Methodist Church. In 1931, it became Bethune-Cookman College, a junior college. Bethune-Cookman became a four-year college in 1941. Bethune was president until 1942 and from 1946 to 1947. By 2007, the school achieved university status. As of 2007, the school had an enrollment of close to 3,000 students and an endowment of over \$37 million.

As President of the **National Association of Colored Women**, Mary McLeod Bethune was also a leader of the National Council of Women. In 1927, at a luncheon she hosted, Bethune met **Eleanor Roosevelt** and began a lifelong friendship. As a result of this contact, Bethune was named director of Negro Affairs in President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**'s National Youth Administration (NYA) in 1936, a position she held until 1944. This organization, a part of Roosevelt's second **New Deal**, helped youth obtain employment. Thus she became the highest-ranking African American in the Roosevelt Administrations. She also was part of Roosevelt's **Black Cabinet**, an informal group of prominent African Americans that included Ralph Bunche, Eugene K. Jones, Rayford Logan, and Truman K. Gibson, Jr. Their goal was to plan strategy and set priorities regarding African Americans for the Roosevelt administration.

She was a champion of civil rights and pressed for antilynching legislation and abolition of the poll tax. During **World War II**, she also served as a special assistant to the secretary of war and assistant director of the Women's Army Corps (WAC). She left government in 1944 when the NYA disbanded. As president of the National Council of Negro Women, a position she held until 1949, she attended the founding conference of the United Nations. Even in her retirement, she spoke out on civil rights issues until her death on May 18, 1955. She was buried on the campus of Bethune-Cookman College.

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Sanjeev A. Rao, Jr.

The Birth of a Nation (1915)

After a private screening of the **D. W. Griffith** film *The Birth of a Nation* in early 1915, President Woodrow Wilson reportedly declared, "It is like writing history in lightning. My only regret is that it is all so terribly true." Wilson, a trained historian whose scholarship was cited in the film, identified with the power of the new medium of film and the popular perception of Congressional **Reconstruction** as a chamber of horrors were accurate. The film propagated Southern memories of this tragic era outside the South and validated the institution of **Jim Crow** as a necessary form of racial control.

As early as 1911, **Thomas Dixon** pursued a screen adaptation of his novel *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (1905). The novel was a best-seller when it was published, and Dixon had already adapted it into a successful stage play. He dramatized Southern memories of Reconstruction as a fatal error committed by Radical Republicans who unleashed freed slaves upon their former masters. In particular, Dixon emphasized the dire threat that the so-called hypersexual black brute posed to white women. According to the popular Southern narrative, whites, left with no other option, formed the Ku Klux Klan to restore order and preserve the purity of their race. The tale legitimized measures Southern legislators and lynch mobs took at the turn of the century to separate the races and suppress "lawless" and "uppity" blacks. Dixon proposed that Northern and Southern whites should reforge the nation free of this black menace. He hoped to spread these memories to millions more through the burgeoning film industry.

Dixon's original plan for the film version failed to materialize, but he found enthusiastic partners when he met producer Harry Aitkin and director D. W. Griffith. Griffith had recently broken free of the Biograph Company, where he had established his reputation making one-reel films. However, Griffith displayed a determination to also break free of the small production scale typical of films in the early twentieth century. His films grew longer and more costly. In 1914, he left Biograph and joined Aitkin. Like Dixon, Griffith was a Southerner; born in Kentucky, the son of a Confederate veteran, the director credited his father with passing on tales of the Civil War and Reconstruction

that inspired the film. Contrary to this assertion, Dixon provided the film's historical perspective. Griffith developed the technical innovations that brought the past to life for millions of moviegoers.

The Birth of a Nation introduced audiences to the troubled history of the biracial nation created by slavery. Its tale of Reconstruction depicted an era in which a white nation was born. The film began with a brief scene depicting a slave auction that places responsibility for the race problem squarely upon the shoulders of Northern slave traders and the abolitionists who wished to liberate the Africans. The film then shifted attention to the intersecting lives of the Southern Camerons and Northern Stonemans. The Stoneman boys visited the Cameron plantation in Piedmont, South Carolina, an idyllic setting in which whites presided over loyal, content slaves. The young men were friends before the war, yet they enthusiastically marched to war out of a sense of duty to their homelands. The conflict shattered the old Southern order, and Piedmont's whites suffered from poverty and the constant threat of Union raids. As the war neared its end, Ben Cameron and Phil Stoneman met on the battlefield. Ben proved his honor by assisting a wounded Union soldier and charging enemy lines despite the futility of the action. Wounded in battle, Ben awoke in a military hospital, where he awaited execution for the crime of treason. Phil's sister, Elsie, comforted him, and the pair began a romance that eventually sealed the reunion of North and South. However, Elise's father, Austin Stoneman, obstructed that reunion by crafting a vengeful policy designed to destroy the Southern aristocracy and uplift the freed slave. Stoneman's reign of terror is temporarily checked by President Abraham Lincoln, who expressed his compassion for the South by pardoning Ben and resisting Stoneman's plot. The assassin's bullet doomed the South, conferring control of Reconstruction to Stoneman, who oversaw his work of his mulatto protégé, Silas Lynch, in Piedmont.

Lynch initiated a reign of terror in which ex-Confederates were stripped of property and political rights as their former slaves were elected to the state legislature. During this minstrel session, black legislators, among them actors in blackface, drink, squabble, practice graft, and finally pass a bill permitting interracial marriage. The town of Piedmont suffered under the boot of black federal soldiers. The freedman Gus stalked young Flora Cameron. Unable to escape him, Flora chose to commit suicide rather than succumb to the black beast rapist. Her death inspired the emergence of the **Ku Klux Klan**, led by her brother, Ben. The Klan initially sought to administer justice for Flora's death; by the end of the film, the Invisible Empire restored white supremacy in Piedmont.

The film's ending emphasized the racial reunion of North and South. Lynch seized power from his mentor and unleashes the black militia upon the unreconstructed Camerons. Phil Stoneman realized that his true loyalty lies with his Southern brethren and comes to the aid of his former adversaries. Austin Stoneman underwent a similar conversion and embraces the Southern cause when he discovered that his mulatto protégé intends to marry Elsie. The film concluded with a double marriage of Phil and Margaret and Ben and Elsie, signifying the reunion of Northern and Southern whites.

The film attracted protest wherever it was screened. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) organized protests across the country. The organization challenged the violent outbursts against blacks that the film's negative portrayals of the race might inspire. Municipal governments and censorship boards also opposed the film. Griffith protested that those who denied his film a permit violated the First Amendment's protection of the freedom of speech. Dixon capitalized on the White House screening as well as another screening for the Cabinet and the Supreme Court to defeat the film's opponents. In response to those critics who questioned the film's representation of Reconstruction, Dixon offered a reward to anyone who could disprove the film's historical perspective.

Millions saw *The Birth of a Nation*, and the film affected audiences in a variety of ways. NAACP fears proved valid; several white men assaulted black men they encountered after viewing the film. In addition, the film's release provided William J. Simmons the opportunity to fulfill his goal to revive the Ku Klux Klan. In November 1915, Simmons led a group to the top of Stone Mountain, outside Atlanta, where they set fire to a cross, signifying the return of the Klan. The novelist and the director both denounced this Second Klan, although they deserved credit for inspiring its rebirth. The film's ability to teach millions about Reconstruction was its most significant impact. Moviegoers learned that the suppression of the freed slave during Reconstruction required the formation of the Klan. They also understood that in the absence of social controls once provided by slavery, Southern whites required a new system to manage the former slaves. The film educated audiences outside the South that all Americans shared an interest in the purity of the race, and Jim Crow presumably achieved this goal.

The Birth of a Nation continued to attract audiences decades after its release. As civil rights activists demanded the fulfillment of federal promises made during the period Dixon and Griffith damned, the film became a rallying cry for Southern whites who resisted this Second Reconstruction. *The Birth of a Nation* still provided powerful images in defense of Jim Crow. *See also* Racial Stereotypes.

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J. Vincent Lowery

The Black Cabinet

Officially known as the Office of Negro Affairs, the Black Cabinet, or "Black Brain Trust," was a group of African American public policy advocates informally established during the first term of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**. Originally created under the direct auspices of Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, the Black Cabinet came to serve the U.S. government from the early to mid-1930s and sporadically, and often unofficially, during the following

decade. Consisting of a number of associates with diverse expertise in fields ranging from law, education, and political science, the Black Cabinet boasted as many as 45 members in 1935 and worked within the departments of the executive branch towards strengthening **New Deal** agencies to provide federal relief and civil justice for African Americans in the midst of a racially segregated nation.

The Black Cabinet originated largely as a response towards the racially polarizing effects of **Jim Crow** segregation, as well as the lingering outcome of the **Great Depression** and its ravaging consequences for the African American community. Stemming from the stock market crash of 1929, rural African Americans were devastated as cotton prices dropped dramatically from 18 cents a pound to six cents a pound. As more than two million African American farmers went into enormous debt, a number of Southern black sharecroppers left the fields for the cities of the North in order to find work. Occupying largely menial jobs such as train porters, maids, sanitation workers, and cooks, African Americans competed directly with whites, leading towards increased economic and racial tensions within the tumultuous and segregated environment of the United States.

Although largely neglecting the plight of African Americans during the first half of his first term, President Roosevelt began to take notice and acted to address the instability that resulted from this cultural convergence. To work within his New Deal programs, Roosevelt sanctioned the Black Cabinet to directly address the issues of African Americans in the age of the Depression. President Roosevelt's motives for endorsing the Black Cabinet were numerous in their design. Inspired by the words and actions of black orators such as Sojourner Truth and the grace and dignity of Marian Anderson, an African American singer who performed for state functions in spite of segregation, First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** became an effective antilynching activist and advocate for ending Jim Crow segregation. The First Lady also served as a primary influence on President Roosevelt, compelling him towards the cause of racial justice as well as addressing the social, economic, and political inequalities of Jim Crow segregation. President Roosevelt's authorization of the Black Cabinet was a controversial yet distinctly political move. The creation of a Black Cabinet conflicted directly with the interests of southern Senators, angering those who were to serve as potential allies for Roosevelt as he doggedly pursued his New Deal plan for Depression relief. However, the formation of the Black Cabinet effectively secured Roosevelt's growing interest in acquiring the African American vote, as the Cabinet came to represent among African Americans a viable and concerted effort to integrate blacks within the working political, economic, and social spheres of mainstream society.

The Black Cabinet worked directly with various government programs for farm subsidies, wider employment opportunities, and better housing and education options for poor and disenfranchised African Americans. The Black cabinet also worked within the judicial branch to effectively challenge Jim Crow's grip on the legal system. Among its more prominent members were Ralph Bunche and **Mary McLeod Bethune**, both of whom served successfully as international representatives of the U.S. government. Other members included the National Urban League's Eugene K. Jones, and Robert Weaver,

who would become the first U.S. secretary of Housing and Urban Development. The Black Cabinet ended upon President Roosevelt's death in 1945. *See also* Democratic Party.

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Kevin Strait

Black Codes

The Black Codes was the term applied to laws enacted throughout the former Confederate states between 1865 and 1867. The Black Codes set out the specific rights of blacks following the end of the Civil War; in practice, they were used to restrict and control the activities of black people in these states, particularly in relation to their labor. The Black Codes were gradually ended by the actions of the **federal government**, including through the Freedmen's Bureau, and the establishment of **Reconstruction** governments. The creation of new state constitutions erased the Black Codes from the statutes. Nonetheless, the motivation that underlay the Black Codes survived and continued to shape the development of black-white relations in the years after Reconstruction. The Black Codes were distinct from the **Jim Crow** laws that succeeded them after Reconstruction, although both sought to limit the behavior of black people, and there were significant similarities.

In the chaos that followed defeat in the Civil War, the South struggled to make sense of its new reality. Of particularly grave concern to the white South was the position of blacks, particularly those who had recently been emancipated. Across the former Confederate states, whites were concerned that blacks would take revenge for **slavery**, and rumors of uprisings like those fermented by free blacks in **Haiti** were rife. At the same time, many former slave-owners believed that blacks owed them gratitude and loyalty for the perceived benefits extended to them in slavery. Many planters felt betrayed when freed slaves left their plantations; the return of former slaves to a plantation was a source of particular satisfaction, an apparent endorsement of the benevolence of Southern slavery. Nonetheless, former slaves were at pains to distinguish between their slave lives and their new freedom; although most were polite and courteous to former masters, they now expected the same in return, a courtesy which many whites were loath to extend. Blacks who continued to live on plantations often preferred to create new houses, rather than to live in former slave quarters, and few were keen to establish close relations with former masters.

While concerns over the potential for black revenge and the loss of the Southern way of life were tangible, at the heart of the South's concerns was that emancipation would lead to the loss of the majority of the region's agricultural labor force. The antebellum Southern economy had relied on slave labor, and without that workforce, Southern agriculture was stymied. After the Civil War, many whites assumed that former slaves would leave the South,

as, indeed, many did, draining the region of agricultural labor. More, however, remained in the South, and this raised different anxieties. Antebellum attitudes persisted, and fears that blacks were naturally inclined to idleness and vagrancy increased doubts over their willingness to work without coercion. Many farmers were reluctant to plant a crop when they did not know whether there would be a labor force to harvest it. While many whites complained that blacks were indolent and reluctant to work, it is perhaps more true that blacks recognized the parallels between paid agricultural work and slavery, and were reluctant to enter into agreements whereby they would work on the same plantation as they had during slavery, growing the same crop for the same planter.

Whites failed to acknowledge this fear. Agricultural labor was considered to be the only purpose for which blacks were fit, and most whites assumed that the natural inclination of black people was to idle, unless put to work specifically. The prospect of using white labor on a large scale was never considered seriously; indeed, a more serious prospect was the importing of Chinese labor or other immigrants, such as Germans and Irish. However, such ideas were contrary to Southern orthodoxy, and, in any case, the preference of the white South was for the slave labor force to be reestablished in freedom. The example of the West Indies, where former slaves had taken up small plots of land, causing the decline of the plantation system, was further reason to ensure that blacks were compelled to work on large plantations. However, the need for a guaranteed labor force, even more than the need to reinstate antebellum social and cultural norms, was the key determinant in the creation of the Black Codes.

Despite emancipation and its attendant fears, many Southerners assumed that the patterns of antebellum life would be reestablished quickly. Slavery may have been abolished, but white people continued to believe that blacks were inferior and should be subordinate to white society, and thus expected to retain control over their activities. Moreover, the abolition of slavery and the presence of so many freedmen threatened to undermine both the traditional Southern social structure and the South's main economy. Many arguments that had been used to defend slavery were once again brought to bear. Emancipation was derided as a Northern folly that had misjudged the disposition of blacks and given them unrealistic hopes and ambitions. Southerners argued that the North understood nothing of the black character, which was inherently unsuited to freedom without the paternalistic framework of slavery, or some other form of white supervision. Blacks, particularly those who had been emancipated recently, would struggle to survive. Thus, they contended, it fell to the South to once again intervene to provide the necessary direction required by black people.

Presidential Reconstruction made it easy for Southern state legislatures to pass laws that placed blacks into a twilight world between slavery and freedom. The Black Codes set out the rights of blacks, but they also established pernicious labor requirements that severely limited their freedoms. Northerners accused Southern states of attempting to reestablish slavery, but the Black Codes, while impinging on many aspects of freedmen's lives, never went that far. Instead, freedmen in the South found themselves in an awkward position

between the full freedom that they expected upon emancipation and the complete subordination of slavery. The Black Codes were a stern response to concerns in the aftermath of the Civil War, but they drew on diverse legal precedents. The slave codes and the laws that had governed the behavior of free blacks during slavery were easy models to reach for. So, too, were the codes that had been implemented in the British West Indies after the abolition of slavery there. Other existing laws, particularly vagrancy statutes, were used in the formulation of the Black Codes.

The first Black Codes were introduced in **Mississippi** and **South Carolina** in late 1865, and these two states had the most far-reaching codes. As well as being the first, they were also amongst the harshest, since the lack of agricultural labor would be hardest felt in these states. The Mississippi Black Codes applied to anyone who was one-eighth or more black. In setting out the rights of blacks in Mississippi, the Black Codes recognized slave marriages, allowed black people to own property (although with limitations on where they could own land), make contracts, sue and be sued, and be witnesses in cases in which a black person was involved. However, the Black Codes also set out that Mississippi blacks could not hold public office, serve on juries, or bear arms. Interracial marriage and cohabitation was forbidden. As in other former Confederate states, blacks were not given the vote. Mississippi also reenacted laws that had formerly applied to slaves, but extended them to all blacks.

The specific details of the Black Codes in each state differed, but across the South as a whole, the purpose and operation of the Codes was the same (in **North Carolina**, no formal Black Codes were passed). The Black Codes set out particular rights and freedoms that could be expected by blacks, but these were in essence restrictive measures that underlined the fact that the South intended to maintain the distinction between the races, with blacks in a position of impotent subservience. The Black Codes left no doubt that former slaves had become not free men, but free blacks, while the position for blacks who were not freedmen invariably became worse. This was most true in relation to labor, where states sought to ensure an adequate agricultural workforce. In all Southern states, the Black Codes were expressed in such a way that freedmen had little choice but to enter into agricultural labor contracts, and despite protestations to the contrary, there was no doubt that the white South considered blacks to be suitable for nothing other than field work.

Nonagricultural work was not closed to blacks, but was severely restricted, even for those who were not freedmen. In South Carolina, a license was required, along with a certificate signed by a local judge to guarantee the skill and moral character of the bearer. Furthermore, the employment opportunities of blacks in South Carolina were limited by a tax of between \$10 and \$100 for anyone who wished to engage in an occupation outside agriculture. This tax applied to all blacks and had a damaging effect on the well-established black artisan community in places like Charleston. In Mississippi, blacks who wished to engage in "irregular" work required a certificate. In conjunction with laws that prevented them from renting or leasing land outside towns or cities, and the refusal of the Freedmen's Bureau to provide relief rations to blacks who refused to sign labor contracts, these requirements left agricultural labor as the only option for blacks in several Southern states.

In seeking to protect the interests of planters in Mississippi, anyone who sought to entice a contracted black worker to break his or her contract could be imprisoned or fined \$500. Various other aspects of the Black Codes served the same purpose. Blacks who broke labor contracts would forfeit wages already earned, and could be arrested by any white person. While protecting employers, this also severely limited the options available to black workers, who, despite their freedom, were denied economic mobility and were faced with little choice other than agricultural labor. The parallels with slavery were clear, and in most states, these were underlined by codes of behavior expected of black agricultural workers, and the definition of the hours of work from sunup to sundown. In South Carolina, the line between slave labor and free labor was blurred further through references to “masters” and “servants” on employment contracts. The Freedmen’s Bureau rarely sought to prevent such obviously biased contracts, not because it favored the planters, as some blacks suggested, but because it viewed them as a temporary measure required to establish blacks in free labor.

The primacy of the South’s concerns over labor, as well as its conviction that it could continue to intervene in the lives of blacks, was demonstrated amply by the introduction of apprenticeships. Apprenticeships allowed planters to compel black children to work for them if they were orphaned or were not being supported by their parents. Courts had the power to bind a child to an apprenticeship, for which the consent of the child’s parents was not required. Former slave masters had first option on such children, and much about the system perpetuated white beliefs that they had the right to control the lives of blacks. The apprenticeship system was abused widely, and many children were bound into apprenticeships by Southern courts against the wishes of their parents. Since these children were bound under apprenticeships, planters were not required to pay them, further compounding the system’s similarities to slavery. The apprenticeship system was a particular source of angst for freedmen, many of whom petitioned the Freedmen’s Bureau and other federal officials for the return of children bound to such contracts.

In all states, blacks were required to have legitimate employment; those who did not were considered vagrants and could be fined or jailed. Vagrancy laws worked in conjunction with restrictions on the employment opportunities of blacks to further ensure a ready supply of agricultural labor. In many cases, people arrested under vagrancy laws were forced to work to pay off fines, thus further perpetuating the South’s manipulation of free blacks for its own labor needs. In Mississippi, the vagrancy laws were expanded to include any black person who had run away, was found drunk, considered wanton in conduct or speech, had neglected his or her job or family, handled money carelessly, or was considered to be idle or disorderly. Similarly, anyone unable or unwilling to pay a new tax, the purpose of which was to support poor blacks, was considered a vagrant. Blacks were required at the beginning of each year to present written evidence of employment for the forthcoming year, or risk being classed as vagrants. In Alabama, vagrancy laws extended to runaway or stubborn servants and children, workers who worked too slowly, and workers who failed to adhere to the terms of their employment contract.

The introduction of the Black Codes established particular limitations to the employment opportunities available to blacks. As white Southerners sought to tighten their control over the means of production and force blacks into labor contracts, they also restricted activities and freedoms that had existed during slavery and that gave blacks some means of economic independence. In some states, hunting and fishing, as well as the grazing of livestock, were banned by the Black Codes. Some states ended the free ranging of livestock, requiring instead that animals be grazed on fenced land; such laws excluded those who did not own land from keeping animals. Other states banned blacks from owning guns and dogs, or imposed taxes on them. All of these laws were designed to further separate blacks from the ability to provide for themselves, compelling them ever further into agricultural labor contracts.

Other laws that supported the spirit and letter of the Black Codes were introduced across the South. Tax laws were reformed, ostensibly to assist planters amidst concerns over the availability of labor, so that even the largest landowners were required to pay only extremely small taxes—as small as one-tenth of 1 percent in Mississippi. At the same time, high poll taxes were applied to freedmen. As with many crimes during this period, failure to pay was punishable by enforced labor. Those who did not pay the tax could be hired out to any planter willing to pay the outstanding tax. This system led to the development of peonage—whereby people (predominantly black) were required to work to pay off a debt. The peonage system was open to abuse by planters, and many blacks found themselves in virtual slavery, forced to work to pay off debts with no way of knowing how much they still owed, or even if they had paid the debt in full. Thus, the Black Codes were part of a system designed to keep blacks powerless and economically dependent.

Despite emancipation, Southern institutions continued to be set against blacks. The Black Codes expressly set out the rights that blacks could expect. In most Southern states, blacks were now able to testify in court, although often they could not sit on juries. This did not change the way in which justice was served, and courts routinely found in favor of white people and against black people. In cases in which whites were accused of crimes against blacks, typically the accused were acquitted. Where whites were found guilty, sentences tended to be lighter than those given to blacks for similar crimes, and in several states, including Mississippi, South Carolina and **Louisiana**, convicted blacks could be whipped, but convicted whites could not. Just as during slavery, the murder of a black person by a white person was rarely punished: of 500 whites tried for the murder of a black person in **Texas** between 1865 and 1866, none were convicted.

Although the Black Codes provided a range of laws intended to ensure an adequate agricultural workforce, planters continued to experience labor shortages, particularly through workers being attracted elsewhere by better conditions. In response, some planters tried different means of keeping workers on the land. This included paying laborers a share of the crop instead of a monthly wage, in the hope that workers would remain on the plantation until the crop was harvested, lest they lose what they had already earned. This system was ripe for exploitation, and many laborers complained that they were given a smaller share of the crop than that to which they were entitled. This

system would develop into **sharecropping**, which would be used to keep many blacks landless and poor during the Jim Crow years. Indeed, aspects of many of the Black Codes were identifiable in Jim Crow laws.

The Black Codes were aimed primarily at ensuring that the South maintained an adequate agricultural labor force, but few Southerners were willing to accept that freed blacks should have access to the rights they assumed would be theirs upon emancipation. Many states created Black Codes that went beyond controlling the employment status of free blacks. In Louisiana, the behavior expected of agricultural workers bore strong resemblance to slavery. Bad work, failing to obey reasonable orders, and leaving home without permission were considered acts of disobedience, as were acting impudently or using bad language to or in the presence of the employer or his family. A sliding scale of punishments existed for transgressing these rules.

Restrictions were also imposed outside of work. In the town of Opelousas, Louisiana, freedmen needed the permission of their employer to enter town; any black person found without a pass after 10:00 at night was subject to imprisonment, and no black person was allowed to have a house within the city. In most parts of the South, large gatherings of blacks were forbidden for fear of fomenting sedition or inciting riots. In Mississippi, Black Codes made it a misdemeanor for blacks to engage in a host of activities, including making insulting gestures, preaching the gospel without a license, and selling alcohol. Similar restrictions were imposed by Black Codes throughout the South.

Black Southerners did not allow the Black Codes to go unchallenged. In Mississippi, freedmen petitioned the governor to assure him of their desire to work and to point out that they had no desire to rise up against former masters. The Mississippi petition asked the governor for clarification of the status of blacks in the state, given the apparent contradiction between the abolition of slavery and the terms of the Black Codes. In South Carolina, too, blacks requested recognition of their status as free men and asked for equal treatment. Despite the moderate language of such petitions, they were easily ignored by Southern legislatures in which planters had significant influence, but such petitions were noticed in the North and were a key factor in Northern criticism of the Black Codes.

The Black Codes were short-lived as a legal entity. The large number of laws enacted throughout the South, and their openly prejudiced nature, made them an easy target for the Freedmen's Bureau and the federal government. From their introduction, many Black Codes had been struck down throughout the South, mainly as a result of being too blatantly discriminatory. From their inception, the Black Codes had provoked ire outside the South. Northerners considered them to be a barefaced attempt to recreate slavery and so contrary to the spirit of emancipation that many people, even those who did not necessarily support civil rights for blacks, demanded that the South respect the ideology of free labor. The pleas of Southern blacks for evenhanded treatment and recognition of their status were well publicized in the North, and helped to galvanize support for action.

Even within the South, there had been some concern over the Black Codes, at least over the speed and severity with which they had been applied, if not necessarily their purpose. In 1866, several Southern legislatures had reduced

the severity of some Black Codes, largely as a response to the failure of the anticipated outward migration of former slaves, but also in response to concerns that their continued operation would attract unwanted Northern intervention.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866, which defined citizenship and established the civil rights of citizens, and the Fourteenth Amendment, were intended in part to check the effects of the Black Codes. The establishment of full Congressional Reconstruction from 1867 onward saw the formal end of the Black Codes throughout the South, and Reconstruction governments removed the remains of the Black Codes from the statutes. Of particular significance, and as a reminder of the extent to which the Black Codes had been driven by a desire to control black activity in the labor market, the last vestiges of controls over black employment opportunities were removed.

Black children could no longer be apprenticed to an employer without parental consent. Perhaps the most insidious example of the Black Codes, vagrancy laws were rewritten to remove many existing definitions that had been used to ensnare innocent blacks, and it was no longer permissible to put someone to work to pay off a debt. Reconstruction laws also relaxed statutes concerning the enforcement of labor contracts, removing, for example, punishments for enticing a black laborer to break his or her contract.

Nonetheless, the Black Codes continued to have effect in many parts of the South, even when they had been abolished officially; this was particularly true where the Freedmen's Bureau and other federal officials had little presence. While the rescinding of many Black Codes prevented them from being acknowledged and advertised publicly, they often continued to be exercised. Vagrancy laws were particularly persistent, and blacks who refused to enter into a labor contract or who broke such a contract could still expect to be punished as though the Black Codes remained untouched.

While the legal instruments of the Codes had been dismantled, the spirit that had driven them remained. Throughout the South, arguments continued to be put forth that blacks would not work without being compelled to do so, lacked the skills and temperament to work for themselves, and, perhaps most significantly for planters, were required as agricultural labor to sustain the Southern economy. It is undeniable that the Black Codes and their application were driven by more than a desire to maintain the Southern economy. Nonetheless, the demands of Southern agriculture and the influence of planters allowed the Black Codes to continue being applied, legally or otherwise, in the face of black protests and Northern condemnation.

The Black Codes sought to continue to hold blacks in a state of powerlessness and dependence on whites. The need for labor was urgent, but arguments to suggest that blacks would not work unless compelled to do so were largely fallacious and a convenient prop for the white South, which also wanted to perpetuate antebellum socioeconomic patterns. That the Black Codes reached into areas of black life beyond work was a clear indication that the South refused to recognize the freedom of blacks and expected to continue to treat them as they had during slavery. After Reconstruction's end, the Jim Crow laws that were instituted throughout the South bore many similarities to the Black Codes, particularly those that sought to keep blacks as a landless servile

class. Although short-lived, the underlying impetus of the Black Codes belonged to a deep-rooted racial ideology that continued to shape the lives of Southern blacks well into the twentieth century. *See also* Ku Klux Klan; Miscegenation; Racial Customs and Etiquette.

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Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr

Black Entertainers against Jim Crow

With the organized challenges by groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the **Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)**, and their personal defiance of **Jim Crow** in their daily lives, African Americans embraced a rich cultural life of basically nonviolent protest against white supremacy that permeated all parts of black life. This cultural defiance manifested itself in African American musical forms, such as ragtime, the rural-based blues, black **gospel music**, and urban-based **jazz**. Together, these black musical expressions constituted a veritable revolution in American music, especially once the recording industry began to market black music to white consumers.

Black audiences had always avoided the demeaning minstrel shows and their so-called "coon songs" that appealed to whites in the years after the Civil War. Instead, blacks expressed themselves musically in their church spirituals and hymns, as well as folk music and small group performances at picnics and in music halls in black neighborhoods. This tradition of African American spirituals reached a national and international audience with the renowned Fisk University Jubilee Singers, who performed spirituals and slave songs for audiences of both races in Europe and the United States beginning in 1871. Towards the end of the century, black music began to take on a more popular form rooted in music halls frequented by white and black patrons in New Orleans and other towns along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Out of this background emerged a unique form of music called ragtime, which was popularized by the black musician Scott Joplin and based on banjo-syncopations transferred to the piano, thus blending African rhythms to European harmonies. Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag," named after a brothel in a small Missouri town, sold over one million copies as sheet music at the turn of the century.

By 1920, jazz had replaced ragtime in popularity, especially among urban audiences. Unlike ragtime, which was confined to the piano, jazz drew upon plantation band music, minstrel shows, riverboat performers, and folk tunes of Irish and Scottish origins. Far less composed than ragtime, this new African

American music used brass, reeds, and drums instead of banjos, pipes, fifes, and violins. It was a new kind of music, originating in New Orleans and then traveling up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago. Its most famous early practitioner was Ferdinand Pechet, who later changed his name to Jelly Roll Morton. Although it was not music with a message of protest as such, jazz reflected the unique experiences of African Americans, presenting energy and exuberance that defied white expectations and preference for simpler black musical fare. Jazz was an in-your-face type of music that burst onto the public scene in parades, funerals, outdoor concerts, and social clubs. The fact that jazz first appeared in the “red-light” New Orleans district of Storyville, the site of Congo Square in slave times (where enslaved and free blacks were allowed to congregate on Sundays to play their music and sing) is indicative of its roots in a black culture untouched by white standards or Jim Crow.

The most defiant form of African American musical expression came from the rural bottomlands and delta regions of **Mississippi** and **Texas**. It was a genuine folk music in which a black proletariat or working class of desperately impoverished sharecroppers and agricultural workers sang about the pain and desperation of their lives. Accompanied by a guitar, harmonica, or washboard, the singers expressed feelings and emotions that spoke of resolution, fatalism, fortitude, and escape. By 1920, a handful of blues singers, such as W. C. Handy (the father of the blues), Gertrude Pridget (Ma Rainey), and Bill Johnson had become household names in the “juke joints” of Mississippi and the rural South. It was not the music of the black middle class, nor do any of its songs speak directly of Jim Crow, poll taxes, segregation, or protest. Rather, the blues speak of coping with a life made miserable by the cult of whiteness and the impoverishment of living as penniless sharecroppers or down-and-out black migrants to Northern and Southern cities. A typical lyric expresses desperation, anguish, and the hope for change, such as the following:

I've got the blues before sunrise, with the tears standing in my eyes,
It's such a miserable feelin', a feelin' I do despise.

The blues is a lowdown achin' heart disease,
It's like consumption, killin you by degrees”

The sun's gonna shine in my back-door some day
My back-door some day . . . mmm,
The sun's gonna shine in my back-door some day,
And the wind's gonna change, gonn' blow my blues away

Blacks also found great pride and a sense of collective action in the achievements of black sports figures (Jack Johnson, Jesse Owens, Joe Louis, and Jackie Robinson) and black entertainers and performing artists (Billie Holiday and Paul Robeson) who stood proud and often defiant in the face of Jim Crow discrimination. The sultry Holiday gained international celebrity when she put a haunting poem about lynching to song. The lyrics of “Strange Fruit,” first performed in an integrated jazz club, captured the numbing horror that every

black American understood all too well, using the metaphor of fruit hanging from a tree to represent the lynching of blacks.

Like Holiday, Paul Robeson, the great athlete, singer and Shakespearean actor, used his art and celebrity to challenge Jim Crow at every opportunity. His stage debut in 1924 outraged white audiences when he appeared along with a white actress as an interracial couple in a Eugene O'Neill play. His 1928 rendition of "Ol' Man River" in the London production of the musical *Show Boat*, and a series of concerts in which he sang black spirituals, enabled him to speak his mind about Jim Crow on stages all over America and Europe. By 1935, he was urging black Americans to turn to Africa for their spiritual identity. His concluding words in his 1935 essay, "What I Want from Life," linked his personal dignity to his African heritage: "Meanwhile, in my music, my plays, my films, I want to carry always this central idea—to be African. Multitudes of men have died for less worthy ideals; it is even more eminently worth living for."

In 1910, when Jack Johnson knocked out the white boxer Jim Jeffries, a former champion who had come out of retirement as the "Great White Hope" to beat the undefeated and arrogant black champion, black Americans savored the victory. They did the same in 1938, when Joe Louis beat the German Max Schmeling at Yankee Stadium in New York. A blues composer sang these words in homage to Louis:

It was only two minutes and four seconds poor Schmeling was down on his knees.
He looked like he was praying to the Good Lord to have "Mercy on me please."
If I'd had a million dollars I'd've bet every dime on Joe,
I'd've been a rich man this very day and I wouldn't have to worry no more.

Holiday, Robeson, and countless blues musicians and jazz artists complemented, were nurtured by, and participated in a burst of African American literary creativity in the 1920s known as the Harlem Renaissance. Based in Harlem, New York, which was the new world for thousands of black migrants from the South, the movement produced what its exponents called a New Negro poetry and literature that emphasized self-respect and defiance. This Harlem literature rejected sentimentality, romanticism, escapism, dialect, and caricature. It used ordinary but standard American speech to expose black feelings about racism, segregation, and discrimination. The words of Claude McKay's poem, "If We Must Die," written shortly after World War I, set the tone for what followed. McKay's poem urged blacks to die fighting if they were to be killed.

McKay's poem was only the beginning of hundreds of poems, novels, short stories, and essays that established black Americans as authentic literary and artistic voices during the 1920s. The level of originality and sophistication presented by these writers, artists, and musicians empowered all blacks and allowed them to stand tall and proud in the face of ongoing white resentment and repression. These achievements also took on a life of their own, apart from the larger white community, even as they became popular within the white community. Black intellectuals and artists began to debate the purpose

of black art, music, and literature as a means of challenging Jim Crow. For many, the goal of defiance should be the goal of all black artistic expression. Others, however, began to see black creativity as being timeless, above the struggle with white supremacy and beyond the control of outside forces.

By 1930, although black cultural life involved much more than protest and defiance, its major thrust shouted out the rage African Americans felt about the injustices they daily suffered in a Jim Crow America. And yet, there is a sweetness and optimism that comes through much of the literature and the poetry, that speaks of great humanity. Much of the appeal of the blues to blacks, for example, is its optimistic “looking up on down” that enabled blacks everywhere to take hope in the struggle itself. *See also* Belafonte, Harry; Black Hollywood; Poitier, Sidney.

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Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Black Hollywood (1930–1950)

Race Movies

In the spirit of **Jim Crow** with its “separate but equal” mentality and the allure of making money, over 200 movies aimed exclusively for black audiences, often called race movies or ghetto movies, became staple fare in the 300 to over 650 segregated black movie houses throughout the United States in the 1930s and 1940s. While most African Americans were portrayed as typically lazy, jive shucking, and submissive in most white Hollywood films, these all-black cast films allowed blacks to perform in roles otherwise denied them.

Whites controlled most of the distribution, production, and viewing of these all-black cast movies. The segregated theaters played white Hollywood films 80 percent of the time and “race movies” the rest of the time. These films attempted to present a mirror image of mainstream Hollywood movies, but were really a pale imitation. The popularity of these films can be traced to the Jim Crow segregation of the time, blacks wanting to see blacks on the screen, and relatively low ticket prices. For example, *The Motion Picture Herald* in 1947 calculated that exclusively black theaters charged anywhere from 22 to 30 cents per show during the week and an additional five cents on weekends. Often, these films had banal plots and included the standard derogatory ridicule of blacks. Usually, these films cost less than \$5,000 to produce and were either full-length movies or long shorts.

The race films were quite profitable, but usually for white producers such as Jack and Bert Goldberg. For example, the Goldbergs alleged that their grosses were twice their costs of production. The greatest cost of production was the salaries of the black actors and this also contributed to great profits. Leading

black actors and actresses usually made \$100 a week, and supporting cast members earned \$60 a week during the 1940s. In the 1930s, the rates were lower. The largest distributor of these films was Sack Amusement Enterprises, headed by Alfred N. Sack, a white Texan who would open one of the first foreign film theaters in Texas after **World War II**. The demise of race films occurred in the mid-1950s primarily because of the start of the **Civil Rights Movement** and the incorporation of more blacks into mainstream Hollywood films.

The most popular of these films (just as with white Hollywood movies) were musicals. These were usually long shorts or quickies that primarily filmed vaudeville shows with some of the top black singers and entertainers of the time, such as Count Basie, Bill “Bojangles” Robinson, Lena Horne, and Cab Calloway, among others. One of the most successful all-black movies was *Harlem Is Heaven* (1932), with Bill “Bojangles” Robinson backed by Eubie Blake and his Orchestra. Some of the other notable of these films included Lena Horne in *Cabin in the Sky* (1943); *Stormy Weather* (1943); *Jivin’ in Be-Bop* (1947), with Dizzy Gillespie; *Hi-De-Ho* (1947), with Cab Calloway; and *Ebony Parade* (1947), with Count Basie, Cab Calloway, and Dorothy Dandridge.

Another main genre was the cowboy picture, a main staple of mainstream white Hollywood. The highest grossing picture of this genre was 1938’s *Harlem on the Prairie*, starring Herbert Jeffrey (called the “Gene Autry of black westerns”), Mantan Moreland, and Connie Harris. It was the first all-black movie patterned on the typical Hollywood oater formula. Other notable films included *Two Gun Man from Harlem* (1938), *Harlem Rides the Race* (1939), *The Bronze Buckaroo* (1938), and *Look-Out Sister* (1946).

Just like white Hollywood in the 1930s, gangster films for black audiences were quite popular. *Dark Manhattan* (1937) was the first all-black cast picture with a modern setting. Other black gangster films of this time period included *Moon over Harlem* (1937) and *Straight from Heaven* (1939). Many of these films, however, received much criticism even within the black community for depicting and glorifying crime and the rackets.

Another popular category of the race movies between 1930 and 1950 was sports movies. These films sought to capitalize on the fame of famous athletes. While very stiff and somewhat crude, these films did portray a positive image for African Americans, even if these films were sometimes fawning. Boxer Joe Louis appeared in films such as *The Spirit of Youth* (1938) and *The Fight Never Ends* (1947), which also included Ruby Dee and the Mills Brothers. Other athletes such as Kenny Washington, an All-American football star from UCLA and a teammate of Jackie Robinson, starred in *Crooked Money* (1940). Henry Armstrong, welterweight and lightweight boxing champion, headlined *Keep Punching* (1939) along with Alvin Childers, Canada Lee, Arthur Wilson, and Francine Everett. Many actors and actresses appeared in these films. Monte Hawley, Francine Everett, Louise Beavers, Mantan Moreland, and Flourney Miller were most often the most used actors.

Directors of these films included Edgar Elmer, Sam Newfield, Jed Buell, and Arthur Leonard. While most of these movies were directed by whites, two black directors stand out: Spencer Williams and Oscar Micheaux. Williams

had a long career in film starring in many westerns such as *Harlem on the Prairie*, *Bronze Buckaroo*, and *Harlem Rides the Range*. *The Blood of Jesus*, a black religious movie, was written and directed by Williams in 1941. His other directing credits included *Brother Martin*, *Servant of Jesus* (1942), *Marching On!* (1943), *Of One Blood* (1944), *Go Down, Death!* (1944), *The Girl in Room 20* (1946), *Dirty Gertie from Harlem U.S.A.* (1946), *Juke Joint* (1947), *Beale Street Mama* (1947), and *Jivin' in Be-Bop* (1948). In the 1950s, after the decline of race movies, Williams appeared as Andy in the television series, *Amos 'n' Andy*.

Oscar Micheaux was the most productive black filmmaker in American cinema. He created 44 feature-length films between 1919 and 1948. He was a successful independent producer of black silent films in the 1920s, and he was the first African American to produce a feature-length film, *The Homesteader* (1919). With the arrival of sound, he was able to transition to talkies. His *The Exile* (1931) was the first sound feature-length film produced by an African American. Micheaux was extremely controversial, as he took on subjects such as racism and interracial marriage as he attempted to boost a positive image of African Americans. Two of his most controversial films were *Veiled Aristocrats* (1932) and *God's Step Children* (1937). Both films dealt with the subject whereby blacks tried to pass themselves off as whites. In *Veiled Aristocrats* (1932), Lorenzo Tucker, known as the "Black Valentino," played by John Walden, is a lawyer who returns to his hometown of Fayetteville. His sister Rena (Lucille Lewis) wants to marry a dark skinned Negro, while her mother wants her to marry a light-skinned man. She disregards her brother and mother and returns to her lover.

God's Step Children (based on the movie *Imitation of Life*, with Claudette Colbert) dealt with a mulatto woman (Alice B. Russell) who abandoned her blackness. Even the black community criticized the film so that Micheaux had to withdraw the film from circulation. In 1986, Micheaux was given a Golden Jubilee Special Award by the Directors Guild of America. Currently, the Producers Guild awards its Oscar Micheaux Award yearly to a person who in the guild's view has overcome difficult obstacles and made a significant creative producing contribution. Winners have included Quincy Jones, Tim Reid, and Gordon Parks. Micheaux has been given a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame on Hollywood Boulevard.

White Mainstream Hollywood and African Americans

Blacks usually appeared in stereotypical subservient roles in the silent era of mainstream Hollywood movies. Lincoln Perry, better known as Stepin Fetchit, was the first black movie star beginning with the silent movie, *In Old Kentucky*, in 1927. It was his role as shiftless, lazy person that reinforced the stereotypical role for many blacks in Hollywood films. He would continue this role into the talking picture era primarily as comic relief in many white Hollywood movies such as John Ford's *The World Moves On* (1934), Shirley Temple's *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934), Will Rogers's *David Harum* (1934), and *Charlie Chan in Egypt* (1935).

The Ten Picaninnies was a forerunner to Hal Roach's *Our Gang* series—sometimes referred to as *The Little Rascals*. It was first produced in 1922

and reached its greatest popularity in the 1930s with sound. Hailed as being one of the first (and few times) that blacks and whites were portrayed as equals on the screen at the time, the *Our Gang* series is viewed today as another African American stereotype, with its use of fractured dialect and hair standing on end or having a black child turn white. It followed the Stepin Fetchit role but through children.

With the advent of sound in the late 1920s, African Americans continued to have roles in white Hollywood productions. However, most roles remained minor in character and usually deferential. Popular entertainers such as **Louis Armstrong**, **Duke Ellington**, Ethel Waters, and the Mills Brothers often appeared in white Hollywood films, but were usually relegated to “as themselves” in the film credits. There were a few notable exceptions to this. Eddie “Rochester” Anderson, while playing the role of a valet-chauffer, provided a foil to Jack Benny. Often Anderson would outwit Benny. Anderson played such an equal role opposite “his boss” Dennis O’Keefe in the movie, *Brewster’s Millions* in 1945 that the film was banned in Jim Crow Mississippi.

Paul Robson, Rutgers graduate and All-American football star, was the most successful and noteworthy African American in mainstream Hollywood during this time period. Between 1925 and 1942, he appeared in over a dozen films. His most enduring and famous roles were in the film adaptation of Eugene O’Neill’s play *The Emperor Jones* (1933) in the title role and as Joe in the film version of Jerome Kern’s *Showboat* (1936). The song “Ol’ Man River,” which Robeson sung in the movie, became his theme song. Proud and outspoken (some would say vain and arrogant), Robeson was eventually blacklisted for his various political stands especially his support of communism.

In 1939, Hattie McDaniel won an Oscar for her role as the domestic Mammy in the epic *Gone with the Wind*. While this represented a gain for African Americans, as McDaniel was the first African American Oscar recipient, the film, nevertheless, did not portray African Americans in a positive light. For all the wit, humor, and sense that the Mammy role showed in the film, it was negated by such stereotypical performances as Butterfly McQueen’s high-pitched voiced obsequious role as “Prissy,” a domestic slave. *See also* Minstrelsy; Racial Stereotypes.

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Sanjeev A. Rao, Jr.

Black Like Me and John Howard Griffin

In late 1959, John Howard Griffin (June 16, 1920–September 9, 1980), a white author, writer, and journalist, traveled through **Louisiana**, **Mississippi** and **Alabama** disguised as an African American. His account of the journey was serialized in *Sepia* magazine and published in 1961 as *Black Like Me*,

the title of which comes from Langston Hughes's poem "Dream Variations." Griffin's stated reason for the trip was to investigate suicide among black men in the South, but his real reasons were more complex. In experiencing life as a black man, he believed that he was bridging a gap between white society's perception of the black experience and the reality to which few white people were exposed. Griffin also regarded the journey as a challenge to his own beliefs and to his understanding of his own culture and, indeed, his own self.

Griffin was born into a middle-class Texas family, whom he regarded as "genteel southerners." His family considered themselves above the brutal racism of many white Southerners, but Griffin was nonetheless raised in an air of prejudice in which blacks were considered to be different from whites and therefore inferior. This sense of the otherness of black people would stay with him for many years, and would be both a motivation for and a theme of *Black Like Me*. For much of his life, Griffin wrestled with his own attitude to race and that of white society. At age 15, he traveled to France to take up a place at the Lycee Descartes in Tours. There, he prided himself on the fact that he shared the classroom with black Africans—something that would not happen in Texas—yet he was uncomfortable with their presence in the dining room, which his white peers accepted unquestioningly. Griffin reconciled this by accepting the French attitude to race as a cultural difference. When the Nazis invaded France, Griffin helped to smuggle Jews out of the country and recognized the Nazis' persecution of the Jews as groundless and inherently wrong, although he did not see parallels with the treatment of blacks in the United States.

While serving in the Army Air Force during **World War II**, Griffin was tasked with studying a remote island tribe, to ensure that they would ally themselves with the United States and not the Japanese. Griffin was fascinated by the islanders' society and fully immersed himself in their way of life, although he regarded them as he had black people in Texas, and as a white man considered himself to be superior. He accepted that the islanders had knowledge and skills that he lacked to survive on the island, but concluded that this was merely a cultural superiority, borne from their knowledge of that specific way of life. As nonwhites the islanders were "other," just as blacks were in the United States, and he remained convinced of the inherent superiority of white people.

After the war, Griffin returned to Texas. His eyesight had been damaged in a bombing raid during the war, and in 1946, he lost the use of his eyesight completely. Griffin did not allow his blindness to restrain him: during this period he married, had two children, and published two novels. Arguably the most important event of this period was that Griffin came to realize that he could judge people only by how he interacted with them, not by their skin color. Moreover, as a blind person, Griffin himself became the "other" that he had always considered black people. In 1957, Griffin's eyesight returned, and in 1959, he decided to undertake a trip into the South, disguised as an African American, an idea that had gestated during his sightlessness.

Griffin darkened his skin by using medicine typically used to treat vitiligo and exposing himself to sunlamps for up to 15 hours each day. In facing his own racial attitude, Griffin was anxious about confronting his own image

with different colored skin. He was particularly concerned by what his new appearance would mean for his relationship with his family, and wondered whether their racial prejudice—however mild—was so deep that they would be unable to accept his new self. Indeed, Griffin's first glimpse of himself as a black man forced him to confront his own racial prejudices; so stunned was he by his transformation, Griffin struggled to reconcile his appearance with his own sense of self. This loss of self is a recurring theme throughout the book.

Griffin began his journey in Louisiana in November 1959. During his time in disguise, one of Griffin's stiffest challenges was to stop thinking as a white person and to experience life as a black Southerner. He was skeptical that he would pass as an African American, not least because he believed that he did not have typically African American features. Griffin soon realized the diversity of face shapes, eye colors, and bone structures in the African American community, and he was accepted unquestioningly as an African American by everyone he encountered. Griffin disclosed his identity only to Sterling Williams, a black shoeshiner whom Griffin had befriended in New Orleans before he made his transformation. Although Williams accepted that Griffin had to be the white man to whom he had spoken several times in the past few days, he continued to doubt that Griffin was, in fact, white. Nonetheless, Williams became Griffin's mentor in entering into black life.

Griffin's account of his experience reveals his horror at both the nature of the black ghetto and the open racism he encountered from almost every white person he met. He struggled to cope with the character of black life he experienced, even though he recognized that this was a reality forced upon black people by **Jim Crow**. The poverty and desperate situations in which he found himself regularly led him to despair and doubt about his ability to complete the trip (indeed, on at least two occasions, Griffin took brief breaks from his journey, spending time with P. D. East, a liberal white Mississippian, in his home in Hattiesburg, and an Episcopalian priest in New Orleans). Many of Griffin's bleakest moments were a result of his treatment at the hands of white people, and he encountered regularly the humiliation that attended the daily experiences of black Southerners.

Trying to find work, he was rejected out of hand, often told bluntly that he would not be hired because of his race. His experiences of segregation—often *de facto*—saw him moved on in public spaces and making use of inadequate separate facilities. On a bus journey into Mississippi, he was prevented from leaving the bus to use the bathroom at a rest stop and came to recognize these humiliations in the faces and behavior of the black people he met. His encounters with white men often revealed their level of sexual depravity and fascination with the sex lives of black people. On one occasion, he was tacitly, but clearly, threatened with murder. In particular, he was stunned by the racism he encountered from white women, having believed strongly in the inherent virtuousness of Southern womanhood.

Griffin's experience left him despairing for white people who subjected blacks to a reality that was founded entirely on prejudices based on skin color. Griffin found that by the end of his trip, he had become reconciled with his appearance and his place in society as a black man. While he had not

lost his sense of self as he feared he might, he had been transformed by his experience—he recognized that he had started to look and think differently, hardening himself against the next expected indignity. With black skin, he found that he struggled to talk to his wife, having assimilated the understanding that black men did not address white women. Just as Griffin’s entry into black society had been anxious, so was his reentry into white society. However, just as he found that he was immediately accepted as black because of his skin color, so he found that his white skin instantly gave him access to all that had been denied him as a black man.

Although *Black Like Me* received generally positive reviews, and entered the best-sellers list, *Negro Digest*—the only black publication to review the book—was lukewarm, wondering whether a white man could truly understand what it meant to be an African American in the South. The publication of *Black Like Me* led to Griffin and his family being subjected to death threats to the extent that they spend nine months living in Mexico during 1960 and 1961. In the years following its publication, there was strong media interest in the book, and Griffin became a spokesman on race issues for much of the rest of his life. Until his death in 1980, Griffin continued to write and lecture on the question of race in various contexts, including the Christian faith. *See also* Passing.

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Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr

Black Nationalism

Jim Crow laws explain the various ways in which American society was divided based on skin color and ancestry. Jim Crow laws also show how public facilities were regulated and how resources were distributed unevenly to American citizens. African Americans through black nationalism confronted Jim Crow laws and institutionalized racism and practices that were perpetuated by white power structures. They include unequal access to **education** and wealth as well as systematic attempts to deny nonwhites of their civil liberties and human rights. Black nationalism can be viewed from three angles: as a form of mobilization in opposition to white supremacy, as a platform for promoting black aesthetics, and as a call to all people of African descent to create a separate homeland and country without whites. This radical philosophy also called for economic independence for all black people.

Black nationalism is the process in which people of African descent—individuals, groups, and institutions—responded or continue to respond to the legacy of **slavery**, Jim Crow laws, neocolonialism, apartheid, racial prejudices, discrimination, and all forms of white supremacy. Black nationalism also speaks to the idea of promoting black racial pride, black cultural identity, and African heritage. In African American history, black people have mobilized in different eras to defy notions of white power and black servitude as well as notions of white civilization and black “primitiveness.” Through these

processes, black nationalism was able to change the ways in which whites and blacks interacted socially, politically, and economically.

The tradition of black nationalism and resistance dates back to the time of the transatlantic slave trade, when African slaves resisted attempts to capture them as slaves and how those who were captured unified on slave ships to fight their captors. Other forms of black nationalism emerged when Africans rebelled during their tenure as slaves in plantations in the New World—North America, South America, Central America, and the **Caribbean**—to register their protest against bigotry. Jim Crow laws, on the other hand, had their origins in racial ideologies that were developed during and after the introduction of chattel slavery in Africa and the institutions of slave plantations in the Americas. Jim Crow laws can also be traced through eugenics projects—the idea that the white race is endowed with positive hereditary qualities while the nonwhite race is bestowed with negative human attributes. Advocates of eugenics believe that a better human stock could develop through breeding or through the process of wiping out the weaker race. Institutional racism is built on the premise of eugenics and has provided justifications for Jim Crow laws or other forms of white supremacist projects. To look at it from another angle, the binary system created by oppression and resistance have defined contacts and relations between whites and blacks since their first contact.

During the period of slavery, African American slaves mobilized strategically based on their shared racial and African ancestral history, and through these efforts, they created a form of racial consciousness that served as a recipe for future black nationalism. Resistance by pioneers of the African American struggles against slavery and different forms of racism created a racial pride that has continued since the time of Nat Turner, the African American slave who initiated slave rebellions to challenge white supremacy and exploitations. Other resistance that was led by abolitionists such as Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass are all part of a tradition that developed at the height of white supremacy in America. Others have credited **Marcus Garvey**, the founder of the United Negro Movement Association (UNIA) in the 1920s, as one of the major architects of black nationalism in the twentieth century because of the ways in which he mobilized millions of black people all over the world to resist Jim Crow laws and all vices of white supremacy.

Also, black nationalism appeared in different shapes after the demise of slavery—especially in the post-Reconstruction era. At the height of Jim Crow laws in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, several international events such as the Spanish-American War, World War I and World War II, and decolonization campaigns also energized and radicalized black nationalism, giving it a stronger foothold. These mobilization strategies brought to the fore contradictions between Jim Crow laws and attempts to enforce democratic ideals in other parts of the world. For instance, African American soldiers who fought on the side of Europeans to liberate them from other oppressive regimes or ideology such as Nazism returned home to face racial segregation under Jim Crow laws. The **lynching** of African American war veterans gave additional meaning and impetus to the lasting effects of Jim Crow laws and the severity of racial hatred in America. Black nationalism

in the early 1900s was also prompted by terror that was created by the **Ku Klux Klan**—a white supremacist group that was based mostly in the Southern belt of the United States. Ku Klux Klan members not only infused racial hatred, but they employed intimidations and lynching to silence any African American racial mobilization and to stifle black nationalism in America.

World events continued to spur black activism and militancy around the globe. In the 1930s, black organizations such as the Council on African Affairs (CAA) which was founded by African American leftists such as Paul Robeson, **W.E.B. Du Bois**, Alpheus Hunton, Max Yergan, and others energized black nationalism during the Italian-Ethiopian crisis (1934–1937).

The CAA also served as a political bridge that linked both black nationalism in America and others on the African continent as well as the African diaspora—especially the Caribbean and Europe. Domestically, the CAA worked alongside African American—towering institutions such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the 1930s to challenge Jim Crow laws in labor unions, corporate America, and educational institutions. These institutions became advocates for African Americans who left the agrarian South to industrial regions in the North during the great migration eras and around the period of the Great Depression. On the national front, the success of the CAA paved a way for international black radicalism, such as the Pan African Congress in Manchester, England, in 1945. The African diaspora conference brought black nationalist leaders such as Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and scores of leaders from the Caribbean to forge new alliances to strengthen black nationalism worldwide.

Vigorous crusades that were promoted by the Council on African Affairs, the NAACP, and other campaigns by black nationalists leaders around the globe in the 1930s through the 1950s bore many fruits abroad. These groups challenged Jim Crow laws in the United States and contributed to the demise of colonialism in Africa and Asia. Domestically, the surge of black nationalism at both home and abroad influenced the development of different forms of black activism.

The germination of civil rights groups and student sit-in movements were all motivated by black consciousness that continued to increase in the mid-1950s. Most civil rights groups, including the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** were adherents of **Mahatma Gandhi**'s nonviolent approach—a strategy that **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and other religious-based black nationalists also subscribed to during this era. Although these groups opposed Jim Crow laws to its core, they spoke against any group that used violent means to end white oppression. Resistance by African American women, including **Rosa Parks** and other women leaders in the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** (1955–1956) also shows how Jim Crow laws was resisted in various public spaces.

Black nationalism to some degree also gave birth to black radical groups such as the Black Panther Party, one of the most assertive organization in the history of black nationalism. The expression “Black Power” became synonymous with resistance against white oppression. Black Power also emphasized the creation of a separate black nation in North America as a form of rebellion

against Jim Crow laws. The Black Panther Party was formed by Huey B. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, in 1966. The Black Panther Party emerged at the height of the Civil Rights Movement, and although they shared a lot in common, they differed enormously on strategies for toppling Jim Crow laws.

Leaders of nonviolence groups and the Black Panther Party did not agree on how to end white oppression; yet, the two groups worked side by side to challenge Jim Crow laws. Although black nationalist traditions were tainted by numerous violent clashes between the police, the **National Guard**, and the **Federal Bureau of Investigation**, as well as government propaganda between the 1960s and the 1970s, the Black Panther Party remained popular because the party appealed to the consciousness of most young African Americans who remained marginalized in American society.

The Black Panther Party's emphasis on self-defense attracted many men and women into the party because they were able to express their freedom and manhood through their dress code and the use of arms. Specifically, the Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program exposed flaws in Jim Crow laws. They included lack of employment, unequal housing facilities for whites and blacks, poor health care systems for nonwhites and **police brutality**. The Black Panther Party also provided clothes, food, free health services, and numerous resources to minimize the plight of poor people in the country. Adherents to self-defense, such as **Malcolm X** and Robert F. Williams, influenced black nationalism and radicalism in many ways because they held similar views about strategies for reforms in America. Despite resistance by the federal government, the Black Panther Party forced the federal government to act by making social reforms.

Black nationalism is expressed in other ways. In terms of aesthetics, it generated notions of black pride, black beauty, and black religiosity. Disciples of this form of black nationalism use the "black body" to make political and cultural statements. For example, the use of Afro hair, the celebration of African cultural holidays such as *Kwanzaa*, the use of African names, the wearing of African clothes and ornaments, and the folding of the fist are all expressions of "Black Power." Other forms of black nationalism were visible in the works of literary writers or poets such as Amiri Baraka (formerly known as LeRoi Jones). Musicians such as James Brown also used music as a forum for advocating black pride and black beauty. *See also* Back to Africa; Garvey, Marcus; Nation of Islam.

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Kwame Essien

Blues

The blues emerged in the rural segregated South, and particularly in the Mississippi Delta, in the early years of the twentieth century. African American blues pioneers such as Henry Sloan (1870–?), “Blind” Lemon Jefferson (1893–1929), and Charley Patton (1891–1934) developed a raw interpretive style that contrasted sharply with the compositional structures of ensemble playing featured in contemporaneous traveling shows. Performers could collaborate, but the performance featured a singer, self-accompanied on guitar, or in more urban venues, on piano. A few professional traveling musicians like Gertrude “Ma” Rainey (1886–1939) and W. C. Handy (1873–1958) quickly incorporated and adapted the style for ensemble performance, but retained the harmonic structure of the blues and, importantly, the individual voice of the lyric.

Blues developed out of a musical tradition that included the work songs of antebellum slavery, but blues is by no means a continuation of that tradition. Metrically, the work songs follow the rhythms of labor; the subject of the songs is often quite literally the work at hand. Blues, in contrast, utilized a distinctive 12-bar pattern, often with a simple verse pattern in which the first line of lyrics repeats in the second line and a third line concludes. Musically, the blues employed a scale with flatted thirds and sevenths, although in vocal and instrumental performance, there were extraordinary and subtle variations. The subject matter of blues is the individual, alone or in relationships. It is the individual at leisure—loving, fighting, drinking, crying—not at work.

Likewise, blues music draws upon the call-and-response traditions of African American spirituals, but has little use for the spiritual content. Occasionally, God might be called upon, but not to bring salvation—spiritual or worldly—but simply to witness the trials of the individual suffering. Nor is there a parallel in African American spirituals to the boast of Robert Johnson (1911–1938) of a personal encounter with the devil in “Cross Road Blues” or “Me and the Devil Blues.”

The early blues musicians of **Mississippi** and Southern states to the west would have been identified as “songsters,” and their repertoire also included popular dance tunes and ballads. Charley Patton was such a versatile and prolific musician that when he recorded for the Paramount label in 1929, several recordings were released pseudonymously so that he would not so dominate the catalog that year. His two-part “Prayer of Death,” a more traditional spiritual, was released under the name “Elder J. J. Hadley.” Even so, his distinctive vocalizations and complex guitar playing mark the rise of a new style of music. Most blues musicians learned from one another, playing in “jook” joints or informal dances in all-black sections of rural communities. Others took to street corners, working individually or in small groups for tips, learning techniques and songs from one another. In addition to Paramount, the Okey record company recorded a number of early blues artists, and these recordings, released as “race records” and intended for sale primarily in African American communities, further expanded the market for the new music and attracted other musicians to the style. These early recordings were particularly important in the careers of female artists, who, unless they were employed full time

as musicians in traveling shows, were less likely than their male counterparts to reach wide audiences.

More important even than the musical innovation was the radical individualism of the blues. The feelings and experiences of an individual blues composer were in themselves significant and offered a challenge to the racist underpinnings of the Southern social order in the early decades of the twentieth century. The racial hierarchy of the Jim Crow South precludes the individual case. Exceptions were outlaws, and extraordinary measures were available to guarantee their elision. The blues singer, in contrast, expressed feelings that mattered to a person and, by expressing the worst of them, could undermine the stereotype of the African American content with his or her lot. The artist also expressed an autonomy that challenged racial strictures. A man with the “walkin’ blues” asserted the right to go anywhere he wanted. A female artist could assert her sexual independence. Even songs about fighting and killing asserted a right to one’s own black body that would have been unachievable a half-century earlier.

Recent scholars have criticized blues artists for avoiding important social issues, for creating complaint songs rather than protest songs. W. C. Handy, often described as the “Father of the Blues,” for his popular success in composing music based on blues patterns, generally avoided controversy both in his lyrics and in his professional life. But his most famous composition, “St. Louis Blues,” opens with the line, “I hate to see that evenin’ sun go down.” The song is the lament a woman abandoned by her man, but Handy in his autobiography offered another context: “More than once during my travels in the North and South I had passed through towns with signs saying, ‘Nigger don’t let the sun go down on you here’” (Handy 1941, 86). Handy also reported that he left the South for good after an experience in Memphis. A lynch mob had murdered a young man named Tom Smith, putting out his eyes with hot irons and burning his body. The killers tossed the skull into a crowd of African Americans that had gathered at the square on Beale Street, which subsequently would be named for Handy. “They’d look for me on Beale Street, up and down the river, along the Yellow Dog and the Peavine, but I would not be there,” he wrote. “Somebody else would have to play” (Handy 1941, 178).

In a region where African Americans could face lengthy jail time for minor or fictional offenses, blues artists often sang of life behind bars. The narrator of an Alger “Texas” Alexander (1900–1954) song complains that he is falsely accused of murder and forgery even though he can neither read nor write (Oliver 2006, 107). Another Texan, Sam “Lightnin’” Hopkins (1912–1982), who had firsthand experience in the matter, addresses his jailer in one song, asking vainly for a key to his cell (Oliver 2006, 108).

Mississippi’s infamous state penitentiary, Parchman Farm, housed at least two important bluesmen. Musicologist Alan Lomax (1915–2002) recorded inmates there in 1939, including Booker T. Washington “Bukka” White (1909–1977), composer of “Parchman Farm Blues.” In “Country Farm Blues,” Edward James “Son” House, Jr. (1902–1988) recalled an experience that echoed the cruelties of slavery. Arbitrary and harsh treatment were so common as to hardly merit comment, but House warned listeners that any

who were unlucky enough to find themselves at Parchman Farm likely would endure whippings that would scar them long after their release (Spottswood 2001).

Blues artists could not afford to address openly the most egregious injustices that Southern society offered, at least not in a venue that might include a white audience. In the Jim Crow South, a singer who sang about **lynching** likely would be lynched. With cautious producers, recorded blues were even less likely to venture a critique of the social order. But there are cases of allusion, such as a variation of a traditional blues lyric “Hesitating Blues,” recalled by blues artist Sammy Price (1908–1992). Price reported that following a lynching in Robinsonville, Texas, near the town of Waco, people began singing a new version of the song with a verse that threatens a labor boycott in response to the mob’s actions. There is even a subtle revision of the “hesitation” of the original song, suggesting a threat to the white establishment. The promise to “get you” in the original no longer has an apparent romantic connotation, but now promises something more revolutionary. The contextual change would be evident only to an audience familiar with the lynching and sympathetic to the possibility of an African American’s violent response.

The critique of white-on-black violence was coded, but even with recorded music, a change of color in the lyrics could make the message plain. Erreal “Little Brother” Montgomery (1906–1985) recorded “The First Time I Met You” in 1936. The only characters in the song are the narrator and “Mr. Blues.” An inattentive audience might hear Mr. Blues as a personification of the singer’s feelings, but in Montgomery’s song, the character’s actions betray another allusion. The blues, and then Mr. Blues particularly, chase the narrator through the woods. They chase him into his home and harm him. The narrator ends the song begging Mr. Blues not to murder him. A black audience would know that every African American in the South was obliged to address every white adult male as “Mister.” This is not just a singer trying to shake off a depressive gloom. It is a black man confronted with the real dangers of a white mob.

Other artists sang about tragic events that affected black communities in particular. Songs that highlighted the suffering of African Americans during the flooding of the Mississippi River in 1927 rarely dealt explicitly with racism, but the unequal treatment of black victims in the floods would have been a part of an audience’s response to those songs. Sippie Wallace’s (née Beulah Thomas, 1898–1986) “Flood Blues,” **Bessie Smith’s** (1894–1937) “Backwater Blues,” and Charley Patton’s “High Water Everywhere” catalogued the sufferings of folks whose homes were destroyed when the levees failed. Black audiences knew that black men were conscripted at gunpoint for relief work, and that mob violence against African Americans increased following the floods. Patton’s “High Water Everywhere,” recorded in 1929, pointedly observed that the homes of African Americans were most likely to be in the flood plain. The hill country, safe from the floodwaters, was off limits to African Americans.

Blues musicians accompanied, physically and musically, the Great Migration of African Americans out of the rural South to the cities of the North in the decades including the two World Wars. On occasion, the farewell critique

of the Jim Crow South was explicit, as in the case of Charles “Cow Cow” Davenport’s (1894–1955) 1929 recording, “Jim Crow Blues,” about leaving the Jim Crow South for Chicago. Other artists were more cautious. In “L&N Blues,” Clara Smith (1894–1935) sang in 1925 about going the other direction, but she makes the point that in returning to the South, she will have to relinquish her Pullman berth for less comfortable accommodations.

In Northern cities, particularly in Chicago, blues artists extended their craft and found a wider audience. Race records were advertised prominently in the *Chicago Defender*, the nation’s premier African American newspaper. There was also a greater opportunity for employment for blues artists, both as musicians and as laborers. With urban life came changes in the music, although the radical, subversive individualism that characterized its earliest formulations remained at its core. Exchanging their acoustic guitars for electric, a new generation of blues artists reached a wider audience than their rural predecessors. Muddy Waters (né McKinley Morganfield, 1913–1983), a migrant from Mississippi, became an internationally acclaimed star, although many of his first white fans were young musicians in England rather than in his home country. The urban music scene that finally embraced blues music in the decades following World War II was by no means color-blind, but it was a far cry from the music’s roots in Jim Crow Mississippi. *See also* Rhythm and Blues; Rock and Roll.

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James Ivy

***Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954)**

Bolling v. Sharpe was one of several racial segregation cases of public schools decided on May 17, 1954. Issued the same day as *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed racial segregation in the public schools of Washington, DC. It ruled that racial segregation was inherently unequal and violated the Constitutional rights of African American students. Like *Brown*, *Bolling v. Sharpe* signified federal judiciary protection of African Americans’ access to integrated schools and equal educational facilities.

When the Consolidated Parents Group from the Anacostia section of Washington petitioned the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to open John Phillip Sousa Junior High as an integrated school in 1949, the school board rejected their petition and allowed only whites to enroll. On September 11, 1950, the Consolidated Parents Group, a minister and community leader named Gardner Bishop, and activist Nicholas Stabile attempted to

enter 11 African Americans students to the junior high school. When the school's principal blocked them, Sarah Bolling and two other parents filed a suit against C. Melvin Sharpe, president of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, to permit the African American students admittance to the school. The case was named after Bolling's son, one of the 11 African American students, Spottswood Thomas Bolling Jr.

In 1951, the District Court of Washington, DC, dismissed the complaint based on the previous ruling in *Carr v. Corning* (1950) that segregated schools were constitutional in Washington. A year later, the U.S. Supreme Court decided to hear the case because it presented significant constitutional issues. James Nabrit, a law professor at Howard University, represented the parents and argued that school segregation was completely unconstitutional. He further challenged the Board of Education to show any reasonable basis for school segregation solely on race or color. George Edward Chalmers Hayes joined Nabrit as legal counsel in the latter part of 1952, when *Bolling v. Sharpe* became one of the five U.S. Supreme Court cases of segregation in public schools. Four of the cases *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Briggs v. Elliott*, *Davis v. Prince Edward County School Board*, and *Gebhart v. Belton* were consolidated, but *Bolling* remained separate since the District of Columbia is not a state.

The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously decided that racial discrimination in the public schools of Washington, DC, denied African Americans due process of law as provided in the Fifth Amendment. When writing the majority opinion, Chief Justice Earl Warren found that the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment must be extended to include equal protection as in the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Unlike in the *Brown* decision, the Fourteenth Amendment could not directly apply to *Bolling* because it had been adopted to protect individuals at the state and local level. Since Washington, DC, is not a state, Warren adapted the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause into the Fifth Amendment because it applied to the **federal government's** authority over the area. With the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of "liberty" to African American students, racial segregation in the Washington, DC, public schools was declared unconstitutional. *See also Brown v. Board of Education*, Legal Groundwork for.

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Dorsia Smith

Brooklyn Dodgers

The Brooklyn Dodgers, a major league baseball team formerly in Brooklyn, New York, integrated major league baseball on April 15, 1947, when **Jackie Robinson**, the first African American in baseball since the nineteenth century, took the field. The Dodgers were not the first team in Brooklyn, but the club established in 1883 became the historic Dodgers franchise. After several name

changes and participation in different leagues, the team in Brooklyn joined the National League in 1890. In 1913, the team changed its name to Dodgers, a shortening of the nickname Trolley Dodger, and moved into Ebbets Field, where they would play until 1957. The Dodgers were the heart of the city, and later borough, of Brooklyn. In 1958, the Brooklyn Dodgers moved to California and became the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Like the rest of major league baseball in the first part of the twentieth century, the Dodgers supported baseball's color line. Since the 1880s, team owners participated in a "gentleman's agreement" and did not hire African Americans or other players of color in any capacity. First the major leagues, and then the minor leagues followed this unwritten rule. This policy forced several African American players off teams in the nineteenth century. Individuals tried to challenge the color line, but did so without success until Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson. Wesley Branch Rickey was born December 20, 1881, in Portsmouth, Ohio. Branch Rickey, as he was known, graduated with a BA from Ohio Wesleyan University and a law degree from the University of Michigan. Rickey played baseball in college and professionally in the minor leagues. He also coached before moving into management. Rickey worked as an executive for major league baseball teams and established an extensive minor league farm system while working for the St. Louis Cardinals, an innovation copied by other teams. In 1942, Rickey became the president and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers. In 1950, Rickey moved to the Pittsburgh Pirates, where he ended his career in baseball.

Jack Roosevelt Robinson was born in Cairo, **Georgia**, on January 31, 1919. When he was a child, his mother moved the family to Pasadena, California. Robinson attended Pasadena City College and transferred to the University of California, Los Angeles, where he lettered in four sports. In 1942, the army drafted Robinson. After completing Officer Candidate School at Fort Riley, Kansas, the army commissioned Robinson as a second lieutenant. The army transferred him to Fort Hood, **Texas**. In November 1944, Robinson received an honorable discharge from the army. The discharge came after a court martial in which Robinson went to trial on a charge of insubordination after refusing to move to the back of a bus on base. He was found not guilty. In 1945, Robinson played a season for the Kansas City Monarchs, a Negro League team.

On May 7, 1945, Dodgers General Manager Branch Rickey announced a plan to create the Brooklyn Brown Dodgers, a team in the United States League, a new **Negro League**. Rickey sent scout Clyde Sukeforth to evaluate Jackie Robinson and wanted to meet with him. On August 28, 1945, Rickey and Robinson met in New York City. The Brown Dodgers served as a distraction from Rickey's plan to integrate the Brooklyn Dodgers. Rickey signed Robinson to a contract of \$600 a month with a \$3,500 signing bonus. On October 23, 1945, Branch Rickey held a press conference announcing the signing of Jack Roosevelt Robinson to a Dodger contract. For the 1946 season, Branch Rickey sent Jackie Robinson to the Montreal Royals, the Dodgers AAA-level minor league affiliate. The Dodgers also signed pitcher John Wright, who accompanied Robinson to Montreal so he would not have to room alone. Robinson and Wright reported to **Florida** for spring training in

1946. Segregation laws, the reaction of teammates, and injury made spring training a difficult one for Robinson and Wright.

Robinson debuted as a Dodger on April 15, 1947, and integrated major league baseball. Robinson faced taunts and threats from fans, his own teammates, players, coaches, and managers from other teams. To aid in the success of the experiment, Robinson had agreed to Rickey's request not to respond to critics in any way for the first three years. In 1947, the members of the Baseball Writers Association of America voted Robinson rookie of the year. John Wright, having returned to baseball in the Negro Leagues, did not leave Robinson alone for long, as other black players joined the Dodger system in subsequent years. Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe, who played on the Nashua Dodgers in Nashua, New Hampshire, in 1946, moved up to Brooklyn in 1948 and 1949. In subsequent years, dozens of players followed Robinson onto major league rosters. Some teams were slow to integrate, however, and it took until 1959 for all 16 major league teams to sign and field players of color.

Both Rickey and Robinson were elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. Robinson was elected in 1962 as a second baseman and Rickey, posthumously, in 1967 as an executive/pioneer. Rickey died in 1965. Robinson died in October 24, 1972, 10 days after speaking at the World Series. The Dodgers retired Robinson's number 42 in 1972. In 1997, to honor the 50th anniversary of the integration of baseball, all of major league baseball retired Jackie Robinson's number, the only number to receive such an honor. *See also* Sports.

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Amy Essington

Brown v. Board of Education

Brown v. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954. Two years earlier, *Brown* along with four other companion cases—*Belton v. Gebhardt (Bulah v. Gebhardt)*, Delaware; *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497, D.C.; *Briggs v. Elliott*, South Carolina; *Davis v. Prince Edwards County School Board*, Virginia—were filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attorneys—Thurgood Marshall, Robert Carter, Jack Greenberg, Charles Bledsoe, Charles Scott, John Scott, and James Nabrit—on behalf of plaintiffs challenging the legality of *de jure* or state mandated racial segregation of black and white children in public schools.

By 1949, at least 17 states—Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia—and the District of Columbia had enacted laws requiring the racial segregation of public school children. Four other states—Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming—provided for a local option in determining

whether to segregated public education. Wyoming was the only state that did not exercise this option.

In Delaware (*Belton/Bulah*), a 1935 state law required that “[t]he schools provided shall be of two kinds; those for white children and those for colored children. The schools for white children shall be free for all white children between the ages of six and twenty-one years, inclusive; and the schools for colored children shall be free to all colored children between the ages of six and twenty-one years, inclusive . . . The State Board of Education shall establish schools for children of people called Moors or Indians.” This dual system of public education was contested because of the inferior conditions of the black schools.

In *Bolling*, the Court concluded that:

the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools [Note: *Bolling* was decided on the same day as *Brown*]. The legal problem in the District of Columbia is somewhat different however. The Fifth Amendment, which is applicable in the District of Columbia, does not contain an equal protection clause as does the Fourteenth Amendment which applies only to the states. But the concepts of equal protection and due process, both stemming from our American ideal of fairness, are not mutually exclusive. The ‘equal protection of the laws’ is a more explicit safeguard of prohibited unfairness than ‘due process of law,’ and, therefore, we do not imply that the two are always interchangeable phrases. But, as this Court has recognized, discrimination may be so unjustifiable as to violative of due process. . . . In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government. We hold that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the *Fifth* [emphasis added] Amendment to the Constitution. For the reasons set out in *Brown v. Board of Education*, this case will be restored to the docket for reargument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court.

In *Briggs*, Article 11, Section 7 of South Carolina’s 1895 constitution required racial segregation of its public schools. According to the language of this article, “[s]eparate schools shall be provided for children of the white and colored races, and no child of either race shall ever be permitted to attend a school provided for children of the other race.” Similarly, Section 5377 of the 1942 Code of Laws of South Carolina made it “unlawful for pupils of one race to attend the schools provided by boards of trustees for persons of another race.” The emphasis in this case was on inequities—facilities, transportation, and teachers’ salaries—that existed between white and black public schools.

Even though *Davis* was one of *Brown*’s companion cases, this case differed from the other cases in that the *Davis* challenge was initiated by a 1951 student protest against the disparities that existed between white and black public schools in the state of Virginia. The NAACP later joined the students to challenge various disparities.

The *Brown* plaintiffs brought suit to enjoin “a Kansas statute [Kan. Gen. Stat. 72–1724 (1949)] which permit[ed], but d[id] not require, cities of more

than 15,000 population to maintain separate school facilities for Negro and white students.” This case was brought on behalf of 20 black children who were denied admissions to public schools reserved for white children.

Brown was not the first legal challenge to racially segregated public education for white and black children. It is instead the most successful and well-known challenge to this form of segregation because of the final decree of the U.S. Supreme Court. The earliest challenge to segregated public schools dates back to 1849 in *Robert v. the City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198. In fact, the *Brown* Court noted that “the [application of the separate-but-equal] doctrine apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 206 (1850), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality. [As a result], [s]egregation in Boston public schools was [not] eliminated [until] 1855.”

Between 1881 and 1950, many lawsuits were filed challenging the constitutionality of racially segregated public schools. These lawsuits were as follows:

- 1881 *Elijah Tinnon v. The Board of Education of Ottawa, KS* (26 Kan. 1)
- 1891 *Knox v. The Board of Education of Independence, KS* (45 Kan. 152)
- 1903 *Reynolds v. The Board of Education of Topeka, KS* (66 Kan. 672)
- 1906 *Richardson v. The Board of Education of Topeka, KS*
- 1906 *Cartwright v. The Board of Education of Coffeyville, KS* (73 Kan. 32)
- 1907 *Rowles v. The Board of Education of Wichita, KS* (76 Kan. 361)
- 1908 *Williams v. The Board of Education of Parsons* (79 Kan. 202)
- 1916 *Woodridge v. The Board of Education of Galena, KS* (98 Kan. 397)
- 1949 *Webb v. School District No. 90, South Park Johnson County* (167 Kan. 395). There were also challenges to racial segregation in higher education (See *Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky*).

Since this decision, there have been two other *Brown* decisions—*Brown II*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955), and *Brown III*, 84 F.R.D. 383 (D. Kan. 1979). In *Brown II*, the Court ruled that “the cases are remanded to the District Courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis *with all deliberate speed* (emphasis added) the parties of these cases.” *Brown III* was brought by attorneys requesting that the courts revisit *Brown I* and *Brown II* to determine whether Kansas’ public schools had been desegregated. The U.S. Supreme Court denied the appellants a *writ of certiorari* and remanded the case for implementation of the Tenth Circuit’s ruling on behalf of the *Brown III* plaintiffs. Years later, magnet schools were built in an effort to eliminate the remaining vestiges of segregation in the public schools of Topeka, Kansas.

What distinguished *Brown* from previous attempts to integrate public education was the role played by the NAACP in working with community activists and parents in order to initiate class action lawsuits in specific localities. Beginning in the 1920s and specifically under the leadership of Walter White, the NAACP began developing a strategy to challenge the constitutionality of

Excerpt from *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, pp. 1, 3, 5

Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment—even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors of white and Negro schools may be equal.

- (a) The history of the Fourteenth Amendment is inconclusive as to its intended effect on public education.
- (b) The question presented in these cases must be determined, not on the basis of conditions existing when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, but in the light of the full development of public education and its present place in American life throughout the Nation.
- (c) Where a State has undertaken to provide an opportunity for an education in its public schools, such an opportunity is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.
- (d) Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal.
- (e) The "separate but equal" doctrine adopted in *Plessy v. Ferguson* has no place in the field of public education.
- (f) The cases are restored to the docket for further argument on specified questions relating to the forms of the decrees.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN delivered the opinion of the Court [excerpt]

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

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

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, *supra*, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

legally mandated racial segregation. In the 1930s, Charles Hamilton Houston replaced White and later became director of counsel for the NAACP. It was Houston's experience with Jim Crow laws during his military service that served as an impetus in his attack on segregation. Thus, the NAACP viewed *Brown* as the first of many steps toward the goal of integrating every aspect of American society.

Brown reached the Court in 1951 but was not argued until December 9, 1952. Rather than providing a ruling in 1952, the Court scheduled reargument of the case. This reargument was scheduled for December 8, 1953. In preparation for reargument, the justices asked the lawyers to consider five specific questions. Three of these questions focused upon the applicability or lack thereof of the Fourteenth Amendment to the issue of racial segregation, and two questions focused upon the procedures and timetable for possible integration of public education. The attorneys were asked to address the following questions:

1. What evidence is there that the Congress which submitted and the State legislatures and conventions which ratified the Fourteenth Amendment contemplated or did not contemplate, understood or did not understand, that it would abolish segregation in public schools?
2. If neither the Congress in submitting nor the States in ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment understood that compliance with it would require the immediate abolition of segregation in public schools, was it nevertheless the understanding of the framers of the Amendment:
 - (a) that future Congresses might, in the exercise of their power under section 5 of the Amendment, abolish such segregation, or

- (b) that it would be within the judicial power, in light of future conditions, to construe the Amendment as abolishing such segregation of its own force?
3. On the assumption that the answers to questions 2(a) and (b) do not dispose of the issue, is it within the judicial power, in construing the Amendment, to abolish segregation in public schools?
 4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment:
 - (a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographical school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or
 - (b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems not based on color distinctions?
 5. On the assumption on which questions 4(a) and (b) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4(b),
 - (a) should this court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;
 - (b) if so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;
 - (c) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;
 - (d) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases, and if so what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?"

Prior to the reargument of *Brown*, Chief Justice Fred Vinson died and was replaced by Earl Warren. Warren eventually persuaded fellow justices of the importance of rendering a unanimous decision in the *Brown* case. On May 17, 1954, the Court issued a unanimous decision on behalf of the *Brown* plaintiffs.

When presenting their arguments in *Brown*, the attorneys relied upon the doll experiment of Professor Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie Clark to support their inferiority complex thesis. Professor Clark found that black children were consistently more likely to prefer a white doll to a black one, which they classified as “bad” or “looking bad.” The attorneys successfully employed the contention relied upon by Attorney Robert Carter in *Westminster School District of Orange County v. Mendez*, 161 F.2d 774 (9th Circuit 1947), to convince the Court that racially segregated public schools resulted in black children feeling inferior to their white counterparts and experiencing psychological harm. In agreement, the Court stated:

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: “[s]egregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the

sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.”

In addition to their emphasis upon an inferiority complex thesis, the *Brown* attorneys challenged the “separate-but-equal” doctrine established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). This strategy forced the Court to determine whether black and white public schools were in fact equal under the Fourteenth Amendment and allowed plaintiffs’ attorneys the opportunity to address the relevance of the Fourteenth Amendment to the case.

Interestingly, the Court’s interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment in *Brown* differed considerably from its interpretation of this amendment in *Plessy*. Unlike the *Plessy* Court’s application of the separate-but-equal doctrine, the *Brown* Court opined that

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868, when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896, when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws. Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

Therefore, the *Brown* Court concluded “that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate-but-equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.”

Even though the Court ruled that the “segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race . . . deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities,” it failed to order states to immediately desegregate public schools. Instead, the Court once again asked *Brown* attorneys to address questions focusing on the implementation of his desegregation order. Of course, the attorneys argued that the integration of public schools should occur immediately rather than in “gradual adjustments” or increments. Therefore, in 1955, the Court issued a directive in *Brown II*

requiring lower federal courts to “enter such orders and decrees consistent with [its] opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis *with all deliberate speed* (emphasis added) the parties of these cases (*Brown I*).

White segregationists used the Court’s “with all deliberate speed” phrase as a loophole in their efforts to delay the implementation of *Brown*. As a result, in many localities, integration of public schools did not occur until many years after the *Brown* decision. Despite obstacles—the infamous actions of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, enactment of school closing laws, repeal of compulsory attendance and student placement statutes, “freedom of choice” student plans, and passage of anti-NAACP laws—encountered in the implementation of the *Brown* ruling, the significance of this decision cannot be exaggerated.

This ruling had a far-reaching impact on civil rights in the United States and led to the eventual dismantling of Jim Crow laws throughout the United States. The Court’s declaration in *Brown* that the separate-but-equal doctrine adopted in *Plessy* did not apply to the field of public education resulted in efforts to eliminate all forms of segregation—the initial and ultimate goal of the NAACP. As a result, post-*Brown* attention has focused on segregated housing, public accommodations, public transportation, voting, and employment. See also *Brown v. Board of Education*, Legal Groundwork for.

Further Readings: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955); *Brown v. Board of Education Orientation Handbook* (Brown Foundation for Educational Equity, Excellence, and Research, 1996–2003), available at <http://brownvboard.org/research/handbook/overview/overview.htm>; Ogletree, Charles J., Jr. *All Deliberate Speed: Reflections on the First Half Century of Brown v. Board of Education*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004; Patterson, James T. *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001; *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

Olethia Davis

***Brown v. Board of Education*, Legal Groundwork for**

In a series of Supreme Court decisions that paved the way for black students to pursue graduate degrees at state universities, lawyers working for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) laid the groundwork for extinguishing the legal basis for Jim Crow segregation in other public arenas. The architect of the NAACP’s legal strategy was **Charles Hamilton Houston**, who has since become known as “The Man Who Killed Jim Crow.” Houston, a graduate of Harvard Law School, eventually became dean of the Howard University Law School. Houston trained a significant portion of the nation’s black lawyers during the middle of the twentieth century.

Houston considered the U.S. Supreme Court’s “separate but equal” doctrine, established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), to be the legal foundation of Jim Crow. Houston’s strategy was to undermine incrementally this doctrine in a series of lawsuits brought by NAACP lawyers beginning in the 1930s, and culminating in 1954 with *Brown v. Board of Education*. Houston aimed

Excerpt from the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, 1865

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

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

to demonstrate that “separate but equal” doctrine led to inequality, and thus violated the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection under the law. Houston’s primary target was segregation in the American education system.

One of the NAACP’s first significant victories was *Pearson v. Murray* (Md. 1936). Donald Gaines Murray, a black graduate of Amherst College, was denied admission to the University of Maryland Law School. Future U.S. Supreme Court Justice **Thurgood Marshall** served as Murray’s attorney. Marshall had also been denied admission to the same school years before, and had instead obtained his law degree from Howard University.

Maryland argued that it could meet the requirements of “separate but equal” doctrine by providing scholarships for black students to fund their graduate education at out-of-state schools. The trial court held that the legislature’s appropriation for the scholarship fund was obviously inadequate to support the population of black law students in Maryland. Nor could black students study Maryland law and court procedures at out-of-state law schools. The state appealed the case to Maryland’s highest court, which affirmed the lower court’s ruling in favor of Murray. The court required the University of

Maryland Law School to admit black students. Because the NAACP prevailed in Maryland's Supreme Court, thus ending the litigation, the court's judgment was not binding outside of Maryland.

In 1938, the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*. Lloyd Gaines, a black student represented by the NAACP, complained that Missouri had no grounds to exclude him from the state university's law school, because Missouri provided no alternative state law school for him to attend. He argued that this condition thus violated his Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection. The Court agreed, and held that states that provide a public legal education to white students must also make a comparable education available to black students as well. However, this did not end segregation nationwide. The decision permitted states to continue to maintain segregated graduate schools by creating additional law or medical schools for blacks. Thus states could avoid Fourteenth Amendment challenges by fulfilling the requirements established by *Plessy's* "separate but equal" doctrine.

Ada Lois Sipuel, a black student, applied to the School of Law at the University of Oklahoma, and was turned down on the basis of race. Oklahoma had no alternative state-funded law school that admitted blacks. In *Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1948), the U.S. Supreme Court held that in such circumstances, states must admit black applicants to white law schools. Thus the Court upheld and extended *Gaines*.

With *Gaines* and *Sipuel*, Houston and the NAACP legal team had successfully established that black students had an equal right to a legal education at state universities. Their next challenge was to overturn the "separate but equal" doctrine that segregated white and black law students into separate schools. They came close to accomplishing this by winning *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). Herman Sweatt, a black mail carrier, applied to the University of Texas Law School and was denied admission on the grounds that the Texas Constitution prohibited racially integrated public education. There were no other law schools in Texas that admitted black students. Thus Texas was in violation of the rule set in *Gaines* and *Sipuel*.

The Texas trial court attempted an end run. The court set aside the case for six months, to give the state time to create a law school for blacks (which eventually developed into what today is Texas Southern University). Sweatt complained that the makeshift facility—a few rooms staffed by underqualified teachers—was clearly unequal compared with the University of Texas Law School.

The Supreme Court agreed with Sweatt, and overturned the lower court in 1950. The Supreme Court held that if a state establishes separate black schools, they must be "substantially equal" to the comparable white schools. The Court held that the new black law school was clearly inferior on objective criteria. It also held that intangible factors must also be considered, such as the graduates' isolation from the broader population of future lawyers. These intangibles were a component of the new doctrine of substantive equality, along with the objective criteria used to evaluate schools. Thus, in *Sweatt*, the principle of "separate but equal" was seriously undermined. The court now held states to the "equal" part of the rule, which states had been evading for decades. As a result, segregation was effectively eliminated with regard to

higher education at state law schools, because funding two fully equal law schools made segregation too expensive to be practical, and because the intangible aspects of substantive equality were nearly impossible to recreate in a segregated system of graduate education.

The Supreme Court heard another significant case in Oklahoma the same year, in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950). A retired black professor, George McLaurin, had successfully sued the University of Oklahoma for admission into the school's PhD program in education, after the university denied his admission on the basis of race. Because Oklahoma had no other state-funded graduate school in education, the court forced the university to admit McLaurin. The university reluctantly complied, but relegated McLaurin to segregated facilities within the university. He was required to sit at a designated desk in an anteroom next to his classroom, and was not permitted to sit in the classroom itself. He was given another designated desk on the mezzanine in the library, and was not permitted to study on the main floor. In the school cafeteria, he was forced to sit at a designated table and eat at a separate time from the white students.

The U.S. Supreme Court held that such restrictions violated McLaurin's Fourteenth Amendment rights under the equal protection clause, because they prevented McLaurin from interacting with other students in a meaningful fashion, thereby impinging on his education. Thus the Court overturned segregation within the facilities at state universities, and established the principle that students of different races must be treated equally.

The cases discussed in this article were at the core of the NAACP's attack on Jim Crow. While the NAACP attacked segregation in other cases outside the arena of graduate education, the education cases incrementally undermined the "separate but equal" doctrine. Education cases in general were highly symbolic, in that the issue of segregation in public schools tended to inflame emotions among Southern whites more so than any other aspect of Jim Crow, save interracial sex and marriage. The cases outlined in this article created the groundwork for the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. By establishing the necessary precedents for *Brown* at the graduate school level, the NAACP lawyers prepared the way for the Supreme Court to drive the final nail into the coffin of the "separate but equal" doctrine in *Brown*.

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Thomas Brown

***Buchanan v. Warley* (1917)**

Buchanan v. Warley was a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court decision that prohibited racial segregation in residential areas. By upholding the rights of African Americans and whites to sell residential property to each other, the case marked the first exception to segregation laws permitted under *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Lauded as ensuring the personal and property rights of

African Americans, the *Buchanan* decision is considered as the legal precursor to the renowned case prohibiting segregation in public schools, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

In 1914, the city of Louisville, Kentucky, enacted a state law that prohibited African Americans and whites from residing in areas where members of another race were the majority. Charles H. Buchanan, a white real estate agent, sued William Warley in 1916 for breach of contract. Warley, the president of the Louisville chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and an African American purchaser, stated that their contact was void because the Louisville ordinance prevented him from buying the home. He refused to pay the full price for the property and withheld \$100 from the \$250 amount. Since Warley could not use the property as a residence, he further claimed that the ordinance prevented him from benefitting from the property's full value.

After the Kentucky Court of Appeals upheld the Louisville ordinance, Warley appealed the decision and the case moved to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916. Represented by Moorfield Storey, the first president of the NAACP, Warley finally prevailed. Storey argued that the ordinance denied the legal rights of African Americans, had adverse social consequences for African Americans and whites, and prohibited landowners the right to sell their property to whomever they wanted. In 1917, the Supreme Court unanimously found that the Louisville ordinance violated the Fourteenth Amendment because this law entitles African Americans to have property without state discriminatory practices based on race. The decision, written by Justice William Rufus Day, also stated that race as a motive for the Louisville ordinance was insufficient to make the law constitutional and laws cannot deny rights protected by the Constitution. The Court separated its decision in *Buchanan v. Warley* from its previous ruling of legalizing racial segregation in *Plessy v. Ferguson* and *Berea College v. Kentucky* (1908) by finding these cases equitably apply the separate but equal provision of the Fourteenth Amendment.

While *Buchanan v. Warley* prevented many cities from limiting black migration in residential areas and placing fixed boundaries on black neighborhoods, the case was faulted for drawing too much attention to upholding property rights rather than the equal protection of human rights. The case also promoted buyers and sellers of property to have private restrictive covenants, which effectively created residential segregation by race and did not legally violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Even with these criticisms, the *Buchanan* decision garnered awareness to the fundamental rights of African Americans set forth in the Fourteenth Amendment. Most importantly, the case signaled the emergence of the protection of the liberties and rights of African Americans by the U.S. Supreme Court.

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Bureau of Indian Affairs

Before the American Revolution, **Native Americans** benefited somewhat from protections afforded them through treaties made with the English. With the prospect of a war becoming more and more likely, in 1775, the Second Continental Congress established the Department of Indian Affairs, whose objective was to obtain treaties and to insure tribal neutrality during the upcoming war. The department was separated into a northern, central, and southern division. Subsequent to the war, the U.S. War Department was officially formed with one of its major responsibilities being Indian relations. Most politicians in the late 1700s and early 1800s retained the idea that Indian and American cultures were essentially incompatible; however, they did have faith in the fact that Natives had the skills necessary to adapt and fit in to American culture. Congress passed four Trade and Intercourse Acts, which dealt entirely with Indian affairs. These four laws instituted a factory system in which trade goods were provided at a fair price so that the Indians would be able to trade easily with Americans, and thus become further assimilated into American culture.

President Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) realized that the factory system was not an enduring solution due because some Indian tribes were unwilling to stop hunting and gathering, and thus he felt that they would never be truly civilized. For this reason, in 1822, the factory system was terminated. Without the approval of Congress, John C. Calhoun, the secretary of war, established the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1824. This action took the War Department out of almost all responsibilities for daily issues concerning Indian affairs, while still maintaining all its authority. Calhoun made past superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas McKenney chief of this new office. McKenney and his two assistants took over the job of passing vouchers for expenditures, apportioning funds for civilizing Indians, settling disagreements between natives and white settlers over land, and dealing with all correspondence related to Indian affairs that had previously been directed to the War Department.

McKenney quickly realized that in order to be successful in carrying out his new responsibilities, he would have to have the power to enforce the actions of the BIA. On March 31, 1826, he brought a bill to Congress to establish an Office of Indian Affairs that was completely independent from the secretary of war. This bill would make the Office of Indian Affairs an official body that would have the ability to take action on its own, while still serving under the secretary of war. The bill failed to pass through Congress twice, and it was not until 1931 that the BIA was legitimately created as an entity unto itself.

The creation of an independent BIA was expected to streamline the handling of Indian policy. The belief that Indians could be absorbed into white culture was abandoned, and a new idea was adopted to force the tribes off their land. In 1825, this removal policy was formally placed into the hands of the BIA, and by the 1830s, it was implemented. A determined effort from the BIA and the U.S. government led to vast numbers of Indians being forced off their lands and pushed further west. The consequences were particularly devastating in the Southeast, where many tribes were moved hundreds of miles moved to

their new homes. The most infamous event concerning these removals dealt with the Cherokee Indians.

Traditionally located in present-day Virginia and West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, western North Carolina, South Carolina, northern Georgia, and northeastern Alabama, the Cherokee were a considerable tribe thriving as hunter-gathers. The Cherokee had not attempted to assimilate into white American civilization. They had their own written language, their own newspapers, and had even adopted their own constitution. In an effort to resolve their problems legally, the Cherokee brought their case to the U.S. Supreme Court where, in an unprecedented decision, they were awarded ownership of their ancestral lands. Chief Justice John Marshall concluded that the Cherokee were “a domestic dependent nation and that Georgia State law had not applied to them.” The vast majority of the nation, however, did not share the opinion held by the Supreme Court. Non-Indian sympathizers, such as President Andrew Jackson, declined to enforce any of the Court’s rulings. The Cherokee were forced to move from their land, often at American gunpoint, and thousands died in the process. The 1,000-mile march west became known as the Trail of Tears because the ancient Indian way of life was completely wiped out in the process of moving the Cherokee.

The BIA also participated in ethnic cleansing. The demand for more land by white settlers soon focused the government’s attention to the West, where the recently displaced Indians were now settled. The BIA worked directly with the government to spread diseases, wipe out the buffalo population, and kill of countless numbers of women and children. The Native Americans found themselves feeling hopeless and thought that fair treatment should be given to them by the BIA. However, the BIA did not act in response to their cries for help, but instead set out to eradicate Indian culture altogether.

In 1849, Congress moved the Bureau of Indian Affairs into the Department of the Interior, and by 1867, the BIA became more and more involved with the affairs of the Indians. The BIA had become the governmental body officiating over all of the Indian territories, and it took full authority in assaulting their way of life. The agency did not allow Indians to speak any language but English, and banned all Indian religious ceremonies. It also outlawed any kind of Indian government. The biggest prejudices that were a result of the BIA were felt by Indian children. These young Indians were abused physically, emotionally, and spiritually in boarding schools that attempted to make them ashamed of who they were at a young age. The malicious treatment of Indians and the indignity they endured caused suicide, alcoholism, and depression to become normal characteristics of Indian societies.

The BIA had acceded to the will of the people in the devastation of the Native Americans’ way of life. It would not be until the early twentieth century that the **federal government** began to realize the dreadfulness of their actions in attempting to destroy Indian culture, and to protect it. The BIA changed into an institution dedicated to helping and advancing the Indian cause. When the Meriam Report was published in 1938, for the first time, the shortcomings of the services provided to the reservations were recognized. This report started an era in which the BIA and the government worked hard to improve Indian life socially, economically, and psychologically. By 1960,

the BIA expanded to embrace forestry, agriculture extension service, range management, and land acquisition in an endeavor to improve the Indian's plight. The federal government later incorporated the education of Indian children into the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Education).

Throughout the 1970s, Congress continued to pass laws that helped improve the situation of Native Americans. Included in these are the Self-Determination Act, the Health Care Improvement Act, and the Indian Child Welfare Act. Today, the BIA is making an effort to modify its stance from one of management of tribes to one of aid and support to tribes. One of the most vital facets of the modern BIA is that of its over 10,000 employees, 95 percent are Native American. In September 2003, the head of the BIA publicly expressed regret for the agency's "legacy of racism and inhumanity." It was perceived by all as admission of past misdeeds and a commitment to a better future. The final words of this act of contrition articulated the aspirations and expectations of the BIA and Native Americans in years to come, "The Bureau of Indian Affairs was born in 1824 in a time of war on Indian people. May it live in the year 2000 and beyond as an instrument of their prosperity." *See also* Apartheid; Dawes Severalty Act.

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Arthur Holst

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Canada

The institution of slavery existed in Canada when it was both a French and a British colony. When Britain abolished slavery in 1833, it ended in Canada as well, though slavery had declined significantly in Canada since the passage of the Upper Canada Abolition Act in 1793. Blacks had fled to Canada since the creation of the United States. Thousands of African Americans who fought for the British during the American Revolution settled in Nova Scotia. After the War of 1812, another wave of blacks immigrated to Canada, people who had fled to the British lines in the Chesapeake. They too settled largely in Nova Scotia. Given its proximity and the decline of the institution of slavery in Canada, the dominion became the primary outlet for blacks fleeing slavery and discrimination in the United States. Canada refused to extradite fugitive slaves, and the United States recognized this in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842. These black immigrants to Canada were attracted by economic opportunities, and many African Americans found work on Canadian railroads. In the latter half of the nineteenth century African American immigration to Canada was encouraged by the rise of Jim Crow in the southern United States after the end of Reconstruction.

Canada did not have the same rigid Jim Crow system as the South of the United States. By law, black citizens in Canada had full legal rights; they could vote for and serve in public office, own land and engage in contracts, testify in court, and serve on juries. A number of black officeholders, both elected and appointed, served in western Canada. Despite this equality in law, however, there was widespread prejudice against blacks, exacerbated by the poverty and social problems associated with refugees. Much like the northern United States, segregation existed in Canada, though there were few Jim Crow laws in existence that mandated these practices. Railroad cars, bars, and theaters were segregated spaces in Canada. In 1850, the Common School Act set up separate school systems for the two races in the Canadian west. The lack of acceptance in Canada led many black refugees from the United States to immigrate back to the United States on the conclusion of the Civil War.

In the twentieth century, the immigration of blacks from the United States to Canada continued, though the Canadian government unofficially

discouraged it. Discriminatory practices persevered and most blacks in Canada were segregated in shared public spaces, lived in segregated ghettos, and educated in inferior schools. Discrimination in employment and in housing was prevalent. A number of groups emerged to combat this system of inequality. Black Methodist and Baptist churches provided the first organized vehicles for protest. Black sleeping car porters organized to achieve equality in promotion from the railroad companies. In 1906, the Niagara Movement began in Ontario to end this system of inequality, and in 1924, the Canadian League emerged, which would eventually evolve into the Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In addition, a number of local groups formed, like the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People. As in the United States, gradually after **World War II**, the civil rights movement of Canada began to deconstruct segregation. A series of court decisions outlawed discriminatory practices in education and in housing, and in 1960, Canada passed the Bill of Rights, which outlawed discrimination on the basis of race. The provinces followed suit in passing their own civil rights legislation. Due to the activities of civil rights groups in protesting mistreatment and demanding full civil rights legislation, African Canadians in the latter half of the twentieth century began to enjoy far greater opportunities in housing, education, and employment, though racial tensions and prejudices still exist. *See also* New England.

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Michael Beauchamp

Caribbean

The “Caribbean” refers to the group of islands also known as the West Indies, located in the Caribbean Sea. This sea takes its name from the Carib Indians, a group of Amerindians located in the region before European conquest. As a result of European colonization, many of the Carib Indians were exterminated. Today, the Caribbean islands refers to Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, the Barbados island group, and the Lesser Antilles, and several smaller islands located around the Caribbean Sea. All of the islands in the Caribbean were European colonies at one time. Since citizens of the Caribbean speak a host of different languages and dialects, it comes as no surprise that individual nations derive their own sense of national identity. While **Jim Crow** became a systemic problem of racial segregation in the United States, remnants of such discrimination took shape in the Caribbean under a host of numerous disguises. Efforts to explain Jim Crow politics in the Caribbean become difficult because classifications of racial hierarchy often operated through de facto segregation, which differs from the de jure segregation in the United States. Despite these distinctions, the appearance of racial identification in the Caribbean draws parallels to the United States, as racial identification determines one's access in society.

The term Jim Crow most often refers to the southern United States, where laws were enacted to restrict and prohibit the freedoms of African American citizens. The systematic disenfranchisement of African Americans began with the slave trade, yet the end of the Civil War ushered in new types of laws known as the **Black Codes**. These laws were established in the 1860s to restrict the civil rights and liberties of African Americans in the South. Since many of the racial hierarchies that exist in the Caribbean are considered de facto forms of segregation, it becomes problematic to assert the existence of Jim Crow. However, a comparative look at the issues of racial discrimination in select regions of the Caribbean illuminates similar issues of racial superiority that speak to the inferiorizing of African diasporic identities.

While many issues of racial discrimination in the Caribbean parallel those of **Latin America**, strains of Jim Crow make appearances outside the United States. In the Caribbean, race commands very nuanced life perspectives. Despite the absence of de jure segregation practices, the Caribbean still manifests similar types of racial discrimination that infringe upon individual lives.

One particular example of racial strife in the Caribbean becomes apparent when examining the relations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, located on the island of Hispaniola. When considering the racial divide between these two countries, it is important to explore their histories to ascertain why these racial tensions persist. One of the most significant events in Dominican history was the 1801 slave revolt by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti. L'Ouverture conquered the eastern two-thirds of the island, then known as Santo Domingo, which helped to abolish slavery and secure autonomy for all of Hispaniola. Interesting enough, it was this specific revolt in Hispaniola that inspired Nat Turner's 1831 slave revolt in the United States. This brief historical reference helps to demonstrate the similarities of racial tensions that arise in the United States and the Caribbean. Although aspects of racial discrimination remain prevalent in the United States, the distinctions of racial privilege are more pronounced in the Caribbean. While the United States operates on a black/white binary, the Caribbean *derives* a multifaceted approach to race by acknowledging numerous aspects of identification, such as skin tone, physical features, and geographical location. Despite these perceptions of race, numerous issues continue to disrupt the lives of many people in the Caribbean.

When considering the vast array of cultures, languages, customs, and beliefs contained within the Caribbean, it is necessary to make distinctions about race, which most often predetermine one's access to opportunities in a given society. Although similar strands of racial identification speak to both Latin America and the Caribbean, subtle differences exist. Insofar as racial classification seeks to label groups of people under a single definition, it becomes important to raise awareness about the effects of such practices and the toils on human lives.

As mentioned earlier, the tensions between Haiti and the Dominican Republic span back in time, and the reality of present-day conflicts speak to early demarcations of race. Haitian American author Edwidge Danticat chronicles one such event of racial tension in her novel *The Farming of Bones* (1999). In this novel, Danticat explores the violent killing of thousands of Haitians in the 1937 massacre under the direction of the Dominican president Rafael

Trujillo. Trujillo ordered his army to murder Haitians residing on the Dominican border. Using historical fiction, Danticat explores the tensions that arose against Haitian immigrants in the Dominican Republic and the marked racial categories that speak to the belief in Dominican racial superiority. This superiority complex held by many Dominicans rests on the light-skinned appearance many Dominicans share. In relation to their Haitian neighbors, citizens of the Dominican refer to themselves as mulatto rather than embrace a black label. When considering the propaganda and policy waged by Trujillo's presidency, it comes as no surprise that ideas of racial superiority remain today.

While similar issues of racial subjugation arise across the Caribbean, the experiences differ depending on the country of origin. In Cuba, the plight of Cubans of African descent also illustrates similar traces of segregation. While the multitude of Caribbean experiences cannot be defined specifically with reference to Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba, these countries do shed light on the pervasive nature of racial discrimination throughout the region. While race shapes the contours of individual identities, it also unveils a system of displacement, alienation, and confusion. Individuals can either accept their positions as second-class citizens or resist labels of difference. The social stigmas attributed to race give rise to more subtle forms of discrimination that disrupt the lives of ordinary citizens on the basis of skin color. The complexity of race implies a deeply rooted structure of privilege woven into the fabric of daily life, which makes it difficult to forget, erase, or excuse. In Cuba, class politics also inform and fuel the divide of racial groups. While the internalization of skin tone creates tensions for light-skinned people, it also offers more opportunities for social mobility. The pervasive nature of poverty leaves many Afro-Cubans with few options to change their situation. Whereas the laws of Jim Crow in the South were legally mandated practices, attitudes towards Afro-Cubans operate through the guise of social codes that work to restrict their access in society.

While stereotypes inform and reinforce societal ideas about race, they only represent one type of influence used to subjugate racial minorities. The testimonial *Reyita: The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century* (2000) uses personal life experiences to recount the lives of Afro-Cubans throughout the twentieth century. Although this work functions as a memoir of sorts, it sheds light on the disparities Afro-Cubans endure as a result of their skin color. In part, one of the most surprising aspects of the testimonial involves the narrator's discussion of racial politics in Cuba and the preoccupation with whiteness or "lightening the race." Similar ideas ring true in the United States, as the emergence of skin-bleaching creams encouraged African Americans to lighten their skin. For Reyita, the possibility of social mobility stands at the forefront of her efforts. In choosing a white husband, Reyita recounts the range of opportunities that her children can access, including education, employment, and a better quality of life. In the testimonial, Reyita sheds light on another marginalized member of Caribbean society by discussing the plight of women. By discussing her own journeys through life, Reyita paints a broader picture of the everyday obstacles Afro-Cuban women endure as a result of their racial makeup. Through this work, one can better

understand some of the issues affecting Afro-Cubans throughout the course of the twentieth century and their efforts of resistance.

While racial tensions in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba do not speak to the whole of the Caribbean, they do shed light into the disparities of racial classification that arise for peoples of African descent. The exploration of class, geography, nationality, and language adds more depth to discussions of racial identification and acceptance in the Caribbean.

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Lauren Chambers

Carver, George Washington (1864–1943)

George Washington Carver was an African American botanical researcher and educator born into slavery in Missouri. He was owned by a German American immigrant, but when Carver was just a young child, he was kidnapped together with his mother and his sisters by Confederate night raiders. When his owner found them, only George was still alive, although this is a much disputed version of what really happened. After the abolition of slavery, Carver and his brother were raised by his former owner and his wife as if they were their own children. The master’s family taught him to read and write and encouraged him in his intellectual vocation.

After a failed attempt to enter Highland University in Kansas, where he was rejected because of his color once his application had already made it through, Carver entered Simpson College in Iowa. In 1891, he went to Iowa State University (then called Iowa State Agricultural College) and became its first African American student. Carver was praised by his teachers. He excelled in his major areas, botany and bacteriology. At the time, Iowa State Agricultural College had several prestigious professors who later would become advisers to U.S. presidents. Some of Carver’s outstanding professors were James G. Wilson and Henry C. Wallace. Seeing his potential, Joseph Budd and Louis Pammel persuaded him to stay at Iowa State Agricultural College to pursue a master’s degree. Upon finishing it, Carver received several job offers and accepted **Booker T. Washington’s** invitation to lead the Agricultural Department at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. He entered the institution in 1896 and would remain there until his death in 1943. He served the institute for 47 years, although his stay was not always a peaceful one. Carver threatened to resign several times and was resented by some members of the faculty because of certain privileges he enjoyed. When Carver arrived at Tuskegee in 1896, the institution had limited means, but that was not an obstacle for him. Carver constructed much of his equipment using junk material and everyday objects.

Carver traveled throughout the South showing farmers how to improve their techniques and giving them advice. He and his students spent most of

their weekends demonstrating to farmers how to manage their farms, prepare foods, and rotate crops. This initiative became known as the Agriculture Movable School. Carver also wrote agricultural pamphlets (such as *Twenty-Nine Ways to Cook Cowpeas, Ten Choice Wild Vegetables, and One Hundred and Five Ways of Preparing the Peanut for Human Consumption*) and regularly published a newspaper column entitled “Professor Carver’s Advice.”

One of Carver’s most famous accomplishments was his study and promotion of peanuts as an alternative crop to cotton. In the aftermath of the American Civil War, the Southern soil was exhausted because of cotton monoculture. Carver proposed peanuts and sweet potatoes both as a source of food for farmers and as a way to regenerate the soil. Carver succeeded in producing more than 300 products out of peanuts, such as metal polish, shampoo, sauces, and washing powder.

During his life, Carver received many recognitions for his work. He was appointed to the British Royal Society of Arts in 1916; he received the Thomas A. Edison award, the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP (1923), the **Franklin D. Roosevelt** Medal for Outstanding Contribution to Southern Agriculture in 1939, among others. Carver was also active in the eradication of illiteracy among blacks and whites and toured the South with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from 1923 to 1933.

Carver continued to receive honors after his death. In 1977, he entered the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, and in 1990, he was added to the National Inventors Hall of Fame. Carver died in 1943 after complications resulting from a bad fall down a flight of stairs. He was buried next to Booker T. Washington.

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Laura Gimeno-Pahissa

Catholicism

The first Africans to arrive on the land that would become the United States were Catholic, with the founding of St. Augustine, **Florida**, in 1565 by the Spanish. The slave codes of the Spanish, French, and Portuguese mandated that slaves be baptized and instructed in the Catholic faith. Even with the universalism of Catholic theology however, the church often did not treat black Catholics equally, even before the period of **Jim Crow**.

The earliest black Catholics were not given the opportunity to accept the faith of their own free will; instead, they were coerced to adopt the religion of their masters. Instruction in the faith as well as worship was very sporadic due to the generally scattered population of Catholics. The most concentrated groups of black Catholics in the United States, both slave and free, were

located in **Louisiana** and Maryland. In some instances, they worshiped in the basement of the church, and in other areas, they worshiped in integrated congregations, although with separate seating and communion. Since 1796, black lay people have assisted others and also created mutual aid societies in their congregations.

It was the black lay leadership who began to criticize the racism within the church, starting with the black Catholic lay congresses from 1889 to 1894. Although most parochial schools were integrated and provided an excellent educational alternative for African American children, they could only attend these schools until age 12. Catholic higher education was closed to African Americans until 1915 with the founding of Xavier University, a black Catholic institution in New Orleans, and integrated higher education for Catholics did not exist until the 1940s.

Another area impacted by Jim Crow was the hierarchy of the church that resulted in the lack of opportunities for African Americans to live a religious life. The first order of black nuns, the Oblate Sisters of Providence, was founded in 1829 in Baltimore and recognized by Pope Gregory XVI in 1831, over objections by some in the local community and the archbishop. The primary mission of these sisters, as well as later orders such as the Holy Family Sisters of New Orleans, was to provide religious education for African American children. Both of these orders gave the opportunity to black Catholic women to live a religious life when other convents would not accept them because of their race. An integrated convent was attempted in nineteenth-century **Kentucky**, the Sisters of Loretto, but it failed quickly due to the racism of the time, both within and outside the community. For black priests, there were even fewer opportunities. Due to the Jim Crow climate, African American men were not allowed to attend seminary in the United States. Instead, men wishing to dedicate their lives to God had to study overseas and be ordained in Europe. There did exist mixed-race priests since the mid-nineteenth century, such as the Healy brothers; yet they were not publicly identified as black and often passed as white. The first African American priest was Alexander Tolton, ordained in 1886. The first black priest ordained in the United States was Charles Uncles in 1891. Most African American priests had a very difficult time in their vocation due to the limited congregations in which they could be placed, the view being that a black priest could not oversee a white congregation. Many ended up serving in foreign mission fields. U.S. seminaries did not begin to accept African Americans until 1910, and St. Augustine's Seminary opened in 1920 in Mississippi specifically to train African American men. The slow growth of Catholicism among African Americans can be tied to the general failure to develop the talents of black men and women of faith. By the late nineteenth century, parishes were segregated by race and ethnicity.

During the **Civil Rights Movement**, the reaction of the church was mixed, often based upon the local leadership. In 1947, Archbishop Ritter of St. Louis, Missouri, desegregated the parochial schools in the archdiocese and excommunicated any Catholics who opposed his ruling. Similarly, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans also excommunicated segregationists and put one of his

parishes under interdict because they did not allow a black priest to officiate mass. While some Catholics were in the forefront of this movement, other leaders in the church were focused upon maintaining the status quo. The Catholic Church made declarations against racism in both 1958 and 1968. With the end of de jure segregation, Catholicism has continued to struggle with the legacy of Jim Crow. The first African American bishop was not ordained until 1973, and the first archbishop only in 1988. In the 1960s and 1970s, several offices were opened, such as Diocesan Council for Black Catholics, Black Catholic Lay Congress, and the African American Pastoral Center, in order to address racism in the church and to make African Americans feel welcome. *See also* Churches; Freemasons; Islam.

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Julieanna Frost

Chicago Race Riot of 1919

The Chicago Race Riot of 1919 was the most destructive race riot of the early twentieth century. The violence began along the shores of Lake Michigan, adjacent to Chicago's South Side, as a black teenager named Eugene Williams and his friends maneuvered a makeshift raft past a "white" beach. Rock-throwing whites attacked them, and Williams drowned. Fighting quickly broke out among whites and African Americans. Between July 27 and July 31, mobs of angry whites and blacks battled with fists, knives, and guns. Order was ultimately restored, but the costs were high: 23 African Americans and 15 whites had been killed, while another 573 were injured, including 342 blacks. Hundreds more lost their homes as a result of arson. As the boundaries of Chicago's black communities rapidly expanded during the era of the **Great Migration**, white-black tensions over access to public spaces and white anxieties about the growth of the African American population sparked the riot.

The riot unleashed many years of pent-up frustrations among whites and African Americans in Chicago. Throughout the early twentieth century, whites struggled to limit black access to schools, housing, trolleys, parks, and beaches. These tensions escalated during **World War I**, as more than 330,000 African Americans moved from the Jim Crow South to Northern cities in order to take advantage of expanding wartime job opportunities. With its many factories, Chicago was a key destination. The black population of the city doubled during the 1910s, reaching 109,000. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, which published a study of the riot in 1922, pointed to whites' unease about the expanding African American presence in the city's factories and public spaces. For example, black employment in 62 Chicago factories increased by more than 1,000 percent between 1915 and 1920, and some whites complained the large meatpacking firms

intentionally brought in blacks from the South and were subsequently responsible for the city's racial tensions. On the street cars, which transported black and white workers into the South Side meatpacking district, white office workers complained about having to share the elevated trains with grimy African American stockyard workers. Other whites complained about rural blacks from the South—the newest element of the city's growing population—who were supposedly guilty of talking too loudly, wearing grubby clothing, and taking up too much space in the seating areas of the trains. During the era of the Great Migration, urban life was crowded, contested, and racially charged.

Tensions among whites and blacks reached a crescendo during the summer of 1919. On July 27, as African Americans and whites spent a hot summer day on adjoining beaches in the vicinity of 29th Street on the South Side, Eugene Williams and his companions drifted on their raft near the "white" beach. On shore, whites loudly voiced their anger at Williams and his friends, and they began throwing stones in the boys' direction. One of the rocks, said to have been thrown by a man named George Stauber, struck Williams in the forehead and knocked him into Lake Michigan. Nearby, African American men and women who witnessed the attack tried to move into the water to help him. However, the mob of whites impeded their efforts and the boy drowned. The African Americans then tried to convince a white policeman, Dan Callahan, to arrest the man who had thrown the rock, but he refused. Tensions worsened quickly: the black men and women who witnessed the attack began berating and assaulting Stauber. Whites rushed to his aid, and the rioting was underway. The violence rapidly expanded throughout the entire South Side.

The beatings, stabbings, fire bombings, and gunshots tore through the Chicago streets for five days. The experiences of individual riot victims point to the unpredictable nature of the violence. To illustrate: A roving gang of white teenagers battered Frederick Smith, a 33-year-old African American and wounded World War I veteran of the Canadian army. Since he was a decorated soldier of the recent war, Smith believed the mobs of whites would not bother him. He was mistaken. Luckily, army officers at a nearby recruiting station rescued Smith from the gang. On the first night, as violence accelerated, white gangs attacked street cars as they carried African Americans home from work, dragged them into the streets, and beat them mercilessly. A white policeman named John O'Brien exchanged gunfire with a group of armed black men, resulting in the death of one African American. O'Brien himself was wounded, along with two others. But even those who remained behind closed doors were not safe. As the shooting of guns crackled in the streets near Charles Cromier's home, a stray bullet crashed through the front window and struck the man in the head. Guy Hubblestone, a daring Irish taxi driver, warned a journalist who wanted to tour the riot scene that several cabs had come out of the embattled neighborhoods with bullet holes in the roofs. Despite the obvious danger, Hubblestone audaciously agreed to take the reporter into the South Side. After four days of rioting, the chaos eventually began to subside when Governor Frank O. Lowden ordered the Illinois militia into the city of Chicago. Periodic clashes still occurred in the coming days, however.

The Chicago Race Riot of 1919 did not occur in a vacuum. There were numerous confrontations between whites and African Americans in the United States during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1921, major riots erupted in Southern cities and towns such as Atlanta (1906), Brownsville, Texas (1906), East St. Louis, Illinois (1917), Charleston, **South Carolina** (1919), Longview, Texas (1919), and Tulsa, Oklahoma (1921). Riots struck Northern cities and smaller communities as well: New York City (1900), Springfield, Ohio (1904), Greensburg, Indiana (1906), and Springfield, Illinois (1908). The violence of the summer of 1919, however, was so widespread that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) secretary and *New Negro* author James Weldon Johnson described those stressful months as the “**Red Summer.**” Even Washington, DC, experienced racial violence in 1919. For four days in July, members of the U.S. military—Marines, soldiers, and sailors—roamed the streets of the city and viciously assaulted African Americans on sight. Blacks fought to defend themselves. Between June and December 1919, there were an estimated 25 race riots in the United States, and these clashes led to 120 deaths.

In response to the alarming destruction of Red Summer, some civic leaders suggested that Chicago's racial tensions could be resolved only by adopting a Southern approach to race relations. Chicago authorities quickly proposed a system of formal segregation for the city. Newspaper editorials endorsed the idea. In the city council chambers, Alderman Terence F. Moran introduced a resolution that called for the racial segregation of public accommodations. However, the resolution did not pass. Despite the terror produced by the riot, tension and mistrust would continue to overshadow race relations in twentieth-century Chicago and the United States as a whole. As an October 7 editorial in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* noted, “Both north and south have had enough violence. Both may have more.”

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Gregory Wood

Children's Literature

Children's literature socializes youth and directly transmits the ideas and values of the dominant society. In the absence of modern media forms, children's literature in the past served as the primary educational and entertainment for children for generations. In America, where dominant values have deep roots in **Jim Crow** segregation, children's literature has reflected these values, featuring either grossly stereotyped and racist images or complete exclusion from America's larger history in popular literary works for children. These books had a tremendous effect on both black and white youth. Whites learned of their “natural” superiority to blacks, while black youths saw themselves

depicted as social inferiors while simultaneously lacking positive characters with whom they could relate. Maintained and reinforced Jim Crow segregation of children and created new generations of racist and prejudiced children, both in the North and South because could not see similarities between blacks and whites.

Like attitudes of the time, children's literature, both before and after the Civil War, was rooted in white supremacist attitudes and paternalistic romantic racialism. This ideology promoted the idealization of blacks as meek, docile, and childlike buffoons who needed white guidance in a world in which they would never be social or intellectual equals. Many children's books written prior to the Civil War had the dual function of educating youth as to both religious and patriotic values. Children's books written by abolitionists differed somewhat from other children's books, as they frequently condemned slavery and the ownership of human beings as property as a sin. However, few preached black equality to whites or contained elements of black humanity. Books often juxtaposed blacks with whites, both children and adults, to show that white children were more intellectually capable as youth than black children and adults. Like a variety of popular forms, children's literature depicted blacks and black culture as less intelligent and valuable than whites and their culture.

Pre-Civil War Books

Prior to the Civil War, children's books, when they addressed slavery and Africans at all, justified slavery by featuring blacks as minstrel figures, black submission, and white heroes as they took on the burden of Christianizing and civilizing blacks through slavery. Children learned that slavery was a benevolent institution promoting natural class stratification among whites, with blacks as a perpetual servant class. As the Civil War drew near and became a reality, blacks in children's books appeared as innately mentally inferior individuals who loved their masters and both dreaded and were confused by concepts and the realities of freedom.

Often depicted as the comic humor of the books, blacks were subjects of ridicule and condescension, particularly compared to the rational intellect of whites. Many authors were cautious about moving blacks beyond slavery, even if it was abolished, and about their dependence on whites for direction and judgment. As such, blacks never appeared within the political process or as equal citizens. In addition to denigrating blacks, these books frequently depicted Native Americans as savages and perpetuated inferior roles for women.

Featured prominently in these books was the mammy figure who was kind, loving, and dutiful to white children, but vicious to their own children. This symbolized black women's "correct" role as servants and caregivers to whites, but unfit and lacking compassion towards their own children. Critiques of slavery never appeared as direct confrontations of the system, but only of the few deviant malicious slaveowners while simultaneously exalting the multitudes of virtuous slaveowners.

The most well-known books of this period were Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (often considered an abolitionist book) and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*. Both books featured a Sambo-like character, dependent on whites and unable to reason on their own—Jim (in *Huckleberry Finn*) and Uncle Tom (in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*)—as companions to white children, thereby placing black adults on either an equal or lower intellectual level than white children. In addition, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* featured many characters who later became prominent stereotypical images of blacks on the minstrel stage, including Sambo, a brutish black figure working hard to ensure his master's sovereignty and power, and Topsy, an ignorant black child prone to social deviance.

Some exceptions to overtly prejudiced works existed during this era. Egalitarian works denounced slavery by featuring its negative aspects, such as family breakups, the middle passage, the inhumanity of slave trading, the disparity of opportunities between black and white children, blacks' vulnerability in every aspect of social life, and the sin of holding humans as property. In addition, they tended toward strong black characters but often alongside minstrel figures, making them ambivalent at best for the nation's youngest citizens.

Post-Civil War Books

While the end of slavery ushered in a brief, but unprecedented, era of freedom for blacks during **Reconstruction**, children's books did not follow suit. Instead, they continued to champion the Confederate cause of black subservience that ultimately provided **Ku Klux Klan** recruiters with youth well prepared for their white supremacist ideologies. Books centered around black inferiority, serfdom, the properness of white domination, slavery as a benign and blissful institution rather than forced labor, and an absence of images of black equality, or any form of reparation or repayment for generations of unpaid labor. As individuals, blacks relied on instincts rather than logic because of their animalistic nature, either docile or brutish. Plantations existed as humane and desirable "universities" that provided blacks with sufficient food, clothes, and lodging, as well as **education** to step up the ladder of civilization, particularly through Christianity. These books taught children of the value and logic of maintaining blacks' position outside of America's social and political mainstream forever. A commonly addressed theme was blacks' confusion with freedom. For example, books featuring Uncle Remus, an old black plantation slave, were set on a plantation and included a number of black folk tales but depicted them using all of the **racial stereotypes** of the age. Remus was often used to articulate reasons for maintaining black inequality, slavery-like relations between blacks and whites, and promoting disenfranchisement.

A variety of images and themes presented white children with a wide-ranging sense of black inferiority and white supremacy that cemented perceived differences between each group. Blacks were depicted as simpleminded, sentimentally attached to their homes and masters during slavery, believing in "overwork" as freedmen, having a distaste for work, and being immoral, unreliable thieves who were prone to fighting. They were childlike, lazy

clowns whose culture lacked merit or value, while simultaneously they were menaces to society as alcoholic thieves. In other stories, blacks appeared as loyal slaves and nostalgic throwbacks to a better time and place (much like they did in minstrel shows). Vigilante terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan appeared as noble protectors of Southern culture against Northern opportunists and the black menace.

Another popular genre, particularly for boys, featured adventure stories about whites in Africa encountering ugly, thieving, savage, and cannibalistic Africans (with the exception of those who had been Christianized), which justified European imperialism, white difference, and superiority. These books explicitly stated that tribal groups were uncivilized and had never developed anything of value, thereby completely ignoring historical civilizations in Timbuktu, the Kush River Valley, and along the Nile River.

All of these ideas communicated to young readers blacks' inability to reason and the futility of supplying them with education, a growing national institution and the subject of considerable pre- and post-Reconstruction congressional debates. Blacks' speech was often jumbled stereotypically slave dialect with misplaced and mispronounced words, suggesting mental deficiencies and incomprehension of political process or ideas. In addition, books that featured caricatured depictions of black politicians as bumbling, inept, and inarticulate, raggedly dressed former slaves who could neither understand nor exercise political thought or even speak correctly. These books sustained the color line without any possibility for upward mobility or political participation in the forms of voting or jury duty. Simultaneously, the similar messages appearing in both North and South, along with the absence of debates about the war, served to unify Northern and Southern white political thought.

History Textbooks for Children

American history textbooks used throughout the country until the 1970s portrayed blacks as childlike, cheerful, affectionate, fearful, superstitious, lazy, shiftless, irresponsible while slaves, had low moral ideas and undeveloped conceptions of family life and so accepted their fate as slaves, and then looted, raped, and were rude, licentious, and irresponsible during Reconstruction. These texts simultaneously posited American superiority based on freedom and equality while denigrating and neglecting Africans and their descendents. Textbooks never addressed the evils of slavery or the newly freed slaves' struggles for autonomy and democracy or the continuing existence and consequences of American racism. Many protested that these images completely distorted reality, adopted special textbooks, and offered special courses.

While blacks played pivotal roles, as a group and as individuals, in the founding and building of America, depictions of blacks in public school curriculum, like that in children's literature, alternated between complete absence and utter misrepresentation. While legal debate, economic independence from Great Britain through cotton production, and the physical erection of many of the nations' landmarks, including the White House, all relied on black labor, they were (and continue to be) largely absent from school textbooks. When

blacks did appear, they existed without voices and as companions to whites who dominate American history. In discussions of the populace, blacks were invisible, and readers 100 years later might assume that they did not exist as slaves in America. For example, one textbook noted that by the time of Andrew Jackson, "every man was a voter," highlighting blacks' inhumanity as both slaves and free men. Instead, America's heroes, builders, and main characters were white, Christian, usually English, men.

When blacks did appear in the curriculum, it was on inferior terms, paralleling the messages that appeared in children's literature. Myths of white superiority and black savagery were perpetuated in vivid detail through revisionist history taught to young school children. As in literature, slavery was depicted as a positive experience for blacks during which benevolent slaveowners civilized the savage and backward men and women from Africa. Children learned that after slavery, ignorant blacks refused to work and whites, seeking to protect the white countryside and white women from black aggression, developed patriotic organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. These terrorist organizations were necessary, argued these books, because blacks did not understand the meaning of their freedom. Stories of the Underground Railroad, efforts to escape slavery, and rebellions against owners did not occur according to this American history. Foolish blacks fell victims to carpetbaggers during Reconstruction, always depicted from the white Southerner's point of view, when ignorant, illiterate former slaves with no knowledge of governance attended congressional sessions barefooted, and plundered state budgets.

Through these depictions, stereotypes containing all of the most common misconceptions of blacks appeared as legitimate knowledge to children of all races. Children learned that blacks were lazy, ignorant, and alternately passive in their social situation but potentially aggressive and dangerous to white society. Not only were these ideas communicated through discussions of history, but also in descriptions of blacks, using these terms as descriptive adjectives. Pictured in complete caricature, blacks appeared barefooted, lounging about playing musical instruments, singing and dancing, and happily picking cotton. Blacks were commonly referred to as "niggers" and "darkies." Blacks in history books remained passive in the face of their oppression and never resisted their situation or individual circumstances. In this version of American history, slave rebellions, such as those of Nat Turner, did not arise from desires for freedom or attention to concurrent historical rebellions, such as in Haiti, but were orchestrated by Northern whites for political gain.

Blacks' Children's Literature and Texts

Blacks knew of and understood the implications of children's literature and revisionist history books to their own and white children. Throughout the North and South, blacks introduced literature and curriculum of relevance to their community to counteract these books, particularly the overtly racist but ubiquitous McGuffey readers. Black-written texts featured accurate representations of blacks' role in American history. These authors linked black history with American citizenship and argued for historical knowledge of blacks to promote racial solidarity.

To challenge dominant ideologies and depictions of black inferiority, black teachers and writers worked in a variety of ways to ensure that their children were accurately educated. Seeking to remove negative images that blacks encountered of themselves in the curriculum, scholars engaged in exhaustive campaigns to provide the community's children with knowledge of their cultural history and achievements while simultaneously seeking to remove discriminatory images that existed in American curricula. Blacks consistently fought to remove these images and include their own histories. But given most public schools' and school boards' resistance, blacks deeply interested in their own history created texts to counteract whites' doctrines of black inferiority and instill pride and group solidarity in black children.

Black teachers played a critical role as they alone often determined what would be taught in the classroom, particularly in Southern segregated schools, thus necessitating their own interest in black history if it was to be incorporated in the classrooms. Beginning in the 1800s, these works not only documented the realities of black history and contributions to American history, but also issues completely absent from white history books such as voting rights, distribution of power, and representation in American society.

Formal African American answers to discriminatory and revisionist curriculum began with Edward Augustus Johnson's *A School History of the Negro Race in America* (1891). Charles Edward Russell worked with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to revise textbooks used by black and white children in the 1930s and 1940s. Black historians such as Johnson, and white scholars Willis Mason West and Albert Hart, published histories of African Americans in America. This paved the way for scholars such as **W.E.B. Du Bois** and, most famously, Carter Godwin Woodson to create and disseminate accurate representations of black culture, history and life.

Black-written and published literary works and school readers challenged books that communicated to children that blacks were unable to think rationally or work hard and were instead ignorant, irrational, anti-intellectual, clown-like docile figures while whites benefited from moral and intellectual superiority. Books such as *Floyd's Flowers* (Rev. S. Floyd, 1905, 1920 and 1922, Georgia), *A Booker T. Washington School* (Emma Akin, late 1930s, Oklahoma) and *My Happy Days* (Jane D. Schackelford, 1944, Indiana) appeared in the early twentieth century through **World War II** for use in the Southern states where the authors taught. These readers contained stories and poems that allowed black children to see realistic depictions of black children and leaders to accurately educate them about their history through stories featuring virtuous and curious children, extensive reading lists, and colorful pictures. Like many books and people of these years, the books supported accommodationism and efforts to inculcate a middle-class respectability



"God would be displeased with the three girls for their meanness," 1964. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-120151.

(through lessons about showering, for example) while other times they challenged the social order by critiquing characters such as *Little Black Sambo*.

The largest change in attention to black history came with Carter Godwin Woodson's founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, where he remained at the helm until he died in 1950. Woodson and Negro History Week revolutionized the study of black history by first developing it as an independent field and then working to ensure that all black students encountered these ideas in some form in the schools. Proponents of an Afrocentric curriculum drew explicitly on Woodson's historical work and pedagogical ideas, particularly those found in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (2000 [1933]). Perhaps his most famous work, this book focused on the harmful effects of the traditional curriculum and expressed a new pedagogy for black students that sought to counteract the negative effects of white curricula that taught black children that they were inferior and educated them to be subservient and passive members of American society.

To accurately portray and understand the role of blacks in America, Woodson engaged in exhaustive research to this end and, to encourage other scholars to contribute as well, founded the *Journal of Negro History* in 1917, and later the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1937. Exploring the education of blacks in America, the black church, prominent and professional men and women of African descent around the world, migration to America, and the history of peoples of the African continent, Woodson's contributions were usually disseminated only during Negro History Week, which he also founded. Believing that schools "miseducated" black students, Woodson demanded in numerous letters, speeches, and articles in black newspapers that black-oriented curriculum including history, literature, and art and culture, be implemented in the schools. Woodson thought that schools taught blacks to be inferior and subservient and the only way to counteract this was to teach students to take pride in their history and not look to whites to emulate. *See also* Minstrelsy.

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Melissa F. Weiner

Churches

The history of black churches and legalized discrimination predates both the mid-nineteenth-century minstrel show, from which the term "Jim Crow" was derived, and the U.S. Supreme Court's legalization of "separate but equal" in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). It is tied to the complex relationship between racial oppression and black resistance to it, as well as in the quest among blacks for self-determination and valuation.

Black churches of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mounted their first collective act of resistance by embracing their own interpretation of the Bible, one distinct from that of white slaveholders. Slaveholders contended that the system of slavery reflected divine order. They based their supposition on “the Hamitic curse,” according to which Africans were the descendants of Ham, the son whom Noah had cursed for mocking rather than covering Noah as he lay naked in a drunken stupor. Noah vowed that Ham would serve his brothers, Shem and Japeth, for failing to conceal his shame. The Hamitic curse laid the foreground for white slaveholders to stress biblical passages in the Old and New Testaments that seemed to sanction slavery and separatism, or verses that implied a hierarchy privileging whiteness and condemning blackness. Blacks, by contrast, embraced passages and narratives that emphasized liberation and egalitarianism, particularly the Exodus in the Old Testament, and New Testament themes of redemption and inclusion. Despite the theological differences expressed over time in the proliferation of black churches and denominations, black Christians reflected a collective commitment to autonomy and valuation by establishing religious organizations that addressed their spiritual, social, and political needs, and afforded them unprecedented opportunities to develop leadership skills, musical gifts, and myriad talents.

African American resistance to racism and appreciation for autonomy is readily expressed in the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). In the aftermath of the American Revolution, Richard Allen precipitated the first wave of independent black religious expression among mainline worshippers by establishing the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1793 in Philadelphia. Allen and a fellow worshipper were told that a room in which they prayed was off-limits to blacks. Allen responded to discriminatory treatment by establishing a church where African Americans could worship freely. Although Allen’s vision unfolded in a barn, by 1816 it had engendered the first independent black denomination in the country, one that by the dawn of the twentieth century claimed congregations throughout the United States, Africa, and the **Caribbean**. The separation Allen initiated was based on social as opposed to theological differences and was a harbinger of the commitment to social justice and uplift remained important tenets of the Black Church from the birth of the AME onwards.

Subsequent willing separations of blacks from predominantly white churches and denominations occurred after the Civil War, when thousands of African American Southerners, especially Baptists and Methodists, initiated a grand exodus from white congregations. From the late nineteenth century onwards, blacks continued to form denominations independent of white hierarchy and control. The seven largest independent black denominations include the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church, Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc. (NBA), National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated (NBCA), Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC), and the Church of God in Christ (COGIC). The establishment of all but the COGIC and PNBC predated the legal birth of Jim Crow.

In the immediate aftermath of slavery, black churches focused on education, which they believed offered the surest defense against poverty and exploitation. They worked to establish educational institutions to serve newly emancipated African Americans. By 1952, independent black denominations had established numerous church-affiliated **historically black colleges and universities**, including Wilberforce (AME), Paul Quinn (AME), Tyler College (AME), and others. These institutions were springboards for a variety of social, civic, and self-help organizations. They were also cauldrons of social and political activity, where members were encouraged to engage in the political process. For example, members of the AME church in Florida played a key role the election of black political officials during Reconstruction.

Black Methodist, Baptist, and Pentecostal women were indispensable parties to projects initiated by their respective denominations. They helped raise funds for educational institutions, mission projects, orphanages, convalescent homes, and other social outreach efforts at home and abroad despite their persistent encounter with various degrees and expressions of gender discrimination within the polities they served. The long-term impact of their involvement and the complexity of the projects they initiated usually depended on the general economic and educational standing of the church or organization to which they belonged. Generally, the richer and more educated the church, the more sophisticated the outreach.

When African American members of the various denominations traveled to state and national conventions, they had to make prior arrangements to live in the homes of blacks residing in the area of a given convention. Within the COGIC, for example, members attending conventions would agree to attend the services in shifts. Some attended the night services and slept during the day; others attended the daytime meetings and slept during the night. Regardless of the position held within the denominations served, blacks were expected to respect the rules of Jim Crow. Just as members endured the day-to-day indignities of Jim Crow, independent black denominations were barred from joining predominantly white religious organizations.

This unyielding backdrop of racism and bigotry helped precipitate the **Great Migration**, a period during which individuals, families, and sometimes even entire churches decided to leave the South. Black pastors, sometimes following their members, headed to the Midwest and West, where all hoped to find greater social, political, and economic opportunity. Black Southerners in migration helped create the progressive social era that emerged with the election of **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, whose



White-only churches were some of the strongest supporters of segregation. Demonstration outside a Fort Worth, Texas, church, 1956, after their church was sold to an African American congregation. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-116729.

administration set the stage for future civil rights reform. Black churches in Chicago were challenged to establish a variety of programs to assist new arrivals. Churches and denominations that offered adequate responses to the needs of migrants experienced phenomenal growth during the Great Migration. Those that failed to adapt to the changing needs of Chicago's black migrant community experienced notable decline.

The **gospel music** tradition was one of the most dynamic examples of cultural creativity and resistance to emerge during the Jim Crow era. Black church musicians and songsters, particularly of Pentecostal and Baptist traditions, began to shy away from the accepted repertoire of sacred music approved by leaders of mainline churches, who at the turn of the century generally sought to facilitate black assimilation into American culture. This new generation of church musicians opted to compose songs that reflected the cultural and spiritual experiences of African American Christians. Using fast-paced rhythms and expressive lyrics, they treated a variety of themes in their songs, including struggle and triumph, suffering and healing, and, perhaps most importantly, power, especially the transcendent nature of divine power.

Black churches of the Jim Crow era experienced perhaps some of their greatest triumphs and trials during the **Civil Rights Movement**, when ministers, churches, laymen, and organizations responded to the call for civil rights. Baptist ministers and others founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in response to the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**, with **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, serving as the first president of the organization. Although black Baptist ministers were at the forefront of the movement, members and individual churches affiliated with the Church of God in Christ (COGIC), the largest predominantly black Pentecostal organization, made important contributions to the pre-civil rights and civil rights efforts as well.

Mamie Till Mobley, the mother of **Emmett Till** and a member of Robert's Temple COGIC in Chicago, fueled the movement when she permitted *Jet* magazine to publish a photograph of her son's mutilated remains. Mason Temple COGIC in Memphis, Tennessee, the headquarter church of the COGIC, organized musicals and political rallies in support of the Sanitation Workers Strike. Suggesting the role Martin Luther King thought the COGIC organization might play in the continued struggle for justice, it was at Mason Temple COGIC that King roused the audience with his famous "mountaintop" address, the last speech he gave before his assassination.

In essence, black churches of the Jim Crow era provided refuge against the social, political, and economic storms confronting blacks throughout the period of legalized discrimination. Churches fostered important opportunities for blacks to exercise leadership and organizational skills as they established churches, schools, and organizations to address the needs of the communities they served. They also provided critical space for aspiring soloists, groups, and musicians to nurture and hone their creative musical gifts despite the opposition. *See also* Catholicism; Islam; Nation of Islam; Preachers.

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Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Cinema

Films depicting the era of **Jim Crow** or produced during its time tended to reinforce white supremacy until a more nuanced portrait began to emerge following the victories of the modern **Civil Rights Movement**.

For all of its pioneering impact in graphic realism and establishing cinema as a competitive choice for entertainment, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) attested to a virulent racism and its hold upon the former Confederacy. This silent epic chronicled the evolution of two families (one Northern and one Southern) from their cordiality in the antebellum years through the maelstrom of the Civil War and the onset of Reconstruction. Relying upon an exaggerated portrayal of corruption and ineptitude among Reconstruction officials as well as depredations against white women by blacks, the film treated the formation of the **Ku Klux Klan** as a reasonable response. White supporters of reform in the South appeared merely as craven opportunists willing to make any alliance that secured power. The film's only suggestion of evenhandedness was found in the brutality of white Southerners punishing blacks. President Woodrow Wilson, a proponent of segregation, enjoyed the production during a private screening at the White House. Despite temporary successes by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in banning the film in some metropolitan areas, director **D. W. Griffith** helped cement a façade of the genteel Old South united in a quixotic pursuit of the "Lost Cause."

Following *The Birth of a Nation*, the cinematography of the South remained mired in the plantation myth as the sole motif around which to shape a production. The plantation was often depicted as a bucolic refuge from the clamor, filth, and degradation of urban life. This agrarian world appeared run by noble landowners and worked by docile slaves. Such fabled portrayals paralleled the lack of serious scholarship on the region's turbulent political, social, and economic conditions.

The early cinematic forays into Southern life were shallow in their portrayal of blacks and romantic to the point of being maudlin. A partial explanation lies with the impact of the **Great Depression**, fostering a desire for escapism

and nostalgia. *Hearts in Dixie* (1929) was Hollywood's first all-black feature film with its sketches of African American life. But the fawning Stepin Fetchit rendered the plotline surreal and reflected a society still preoccupied with a hierarchy of race. The film culminated in a grandson being shipped North for schooling so as not to end up like his lazy, ignorant father. *So Red the Rose* (1934) bombed at the box office due to its blatant pro-Confederate bias, as exemplified by slaves exhorting Southern troops to battle. Thanks in part to this debacle, studios began rejecting Civil War projects, such as the eventual hit *Gone With the Wind* (1939). The romanticization of the small-town South was evident in *Steamboat 'Round the Bend* (1935) starring Will Rogers, with Stepin Fetchit adding comedy relief. *The Littlest Rebel* (1935), designed primarily to showcase child star Shirley Temple, promoted the imagery of blacks as the idiotic, slavish Sambos. Such productions left no room for a textured examination of Southern culture, as the Civil War seemed little more than the product of harmless miscommunication.

Stepin Fetchit built one of the most contradictory, controversial, and successful careers in entertainment history. A master of physical comedy, he managed to become a millionaire during the Great Depression of the 1930s, playing the unmotivated, dim-witted "coon" that has rankled African Americans ever since. Yet, the black community has gradually recognized him as an innovator, paving the way for other actors of color.

Born Lincoln Perry, he briefly wrote for a newspaper before developing a two-man vaudeville act for white audiences featuring a character known as "The Laziest Man in the World." As he ventured into solo performances, his soon-to-be infamous stage name stuck. Despite the widespread belief that this monicker formed a contraction for "step and fetch it" in the spirit of the subservient "Tom" persona (from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe), Perry linked the name to a racehorse. Scholars have differentiated the Stepin Fetchit character from a "Tom" by noting its more rebellious characteristics as a "coon," that is, a black who feigns slothfulness and ignorance to resist white repression and disrupt economic activities. Integral to the "coon" persona was speaking in apparent gibberish that blacks appreciated as insults aimed at the pretensions of white society. Many whites accepted Stepin Fetchit as a mainstream characterization of African Americans. Yet, he found a way to turn the situation to his advantage. In a case of life imitating art, Perry grew adept at adopting the "coon" persona when auditioning for roles while imitating the Stepin Fetchit character during rehearsals. If he found particular lines offensive, he would omit or mumble them so as to discourage their survival in the script. He succeeded in frustrating paternalistic whites by confirming their low expectations. As segregationists consolidated their post-Reconstruction gains, entertainment offered one of the few avenues for blacks to wage this subtle form of rebellion. Even in *Steamboat 'Round the Bend*, Stepin Fetchit maintained a screen presence on a par with Rogers. Wasting his fortune by the late 1940s, Perry no longer could land roles in "white" cinema. Boxer **Muhammad Ali** took up his cause in the 1960s and added him to his entourage. Perry joined the **Nation of Islam** that promoted the black nationalism of the era. Because of the visceral reactions of many black viewers to Stepin Fetchit's seemingly degrading roles, his appearances have often been

excised from films, even if doing so created plot confusion. But in *Amazing Grace* (1974), Perry made his final showing with a scene and soundtrack that acknowledged the contributions made by his often-overlooked generation of African Americans.

Based upon Margaret Mitchell's sweeping novel of the Civil War, *Gone With the Wind* emerged as an international hit and the most popular film of the South ever produced. Scarlett O'Hara (played by the British actress Vivien Leigh) had to decide between the dashing, scandalous Rhett Butler (Clark Gable) and the faithful, aristocratic Ashley Wilkes against the backdrop of a war that would consume her Georgia plantation. Ultimately abandoned by Butler and unfulfilled by Wilkes, Scarlett grew to accept that the antebellum South could be no more. Integral to the plot was a celebration of the land that numerous Americans still down on their luck could appreciate.

The mobilization of resources necessary for a global war on fascism created opportunities for black empowerment and weakened white supremacy in the South. Proud of their military service and contributions to defense production, African Americans were poised to assume leadership roles in a burgeoning Civil Rights Movement. President **Harry S. Truman**, in a modest attempt to reorient the **Democratic Party** with its powerful Southern wing, desegregated the Armed Forces in 1948 and banned discrimination in federal employment.

Hollywood responded slowly but steadily to a changing national mood on race. Although the most obvious caricatures disappeared from post-**World War II** films, a dearth of positive black roles was evident. In the 1950s and 1960s, most black characters were limited to productions in which race figured prominently in the plot. Films that featured primarily black actors were designed solely for black audiences. Only gradually were "color-blind" parts, such as black policemen and professionals, created for movies without a racial focus. Over time three categories emerged for films with African-American stars or costars: mainstream productions, serious films with the potential for "crossover" appeal, and projects aimed at resonating solely with black popular culture.

Despite a trend towards progress, *Song of the South* (1946) enraged the black community, as the normally astute Disney Company employed James Baskett as Uncle Remus to amuse and enlighten a young white boy. In the eyes of many African Americans, the "Tom" stereotype had been resurrected. The film, based on Joel Chandler Harris's folk tales, was designed to recapture an earthiness and dignity amidst the impoverished.

Stimulated in part by revulsion over the Holocaust, the postwar period saw the rise of "social problem" films that confronted questions of race among other contested issues. *Intruder in the Dust* (1949), adapted from William Faulkner's novel, showed an African American veteran (Lucas Beauchamp) returning home to Mississippi only to be accused of murdering a white man. An unlikely alliance composed of a white teenager, his African American friend, the white boy's lawyer uncle, and an elderly white spinster proved Beauchamp's innocence and spared him a **lynching**.

For much of the 1950s, the ideological fixation with anticommunism engendered by the Korean War and McCarthyism militated against racially based

films and the awarding of key roles to African Americans. But films on the South contributed to a growing trend towards probing the darker side of human nature to include portrayals of a violent lust for power, explicit sex, and moral decay.

In the wake of the civil rights triumphs of the 1960s, a series of films on the South proved more honest in their portrayal of white excesses, even if sometimes promoting stereotypes of their own. The earliest of these productions reflected the genre of “blaxploitation” that cast slaves as inveterate plotters in the spirit of the Nat Turner rebellion and whites as sexual predators with no redeeming qualities or conflicted emotions. This era marked the appearance of the strapping “buck” as the dominant characterization of black men by whites. This persona served as an embodiment of lingering anxiety over racial and sexual aggression. Michael Caine starred in *Hurry Sundown* (1967) as a soulless Southerner so hellbent on purchasing his cousin’s farms that he provoked a mob of whites into destroying a dam that flooded nearby farms, including one that belonged to his wife’s feeble, African American nurse. The film was notable for its employment of a largely black cast.

A predominantly black production with a more sophisticated treatment of Southern life was *Black Like Me* (1964), starring James Whitmore as a Texas journalist who went undercover with darkened skin to get the scoop on life for blacks. Despite unconvincing special effects, the film displayed the virtually unrelenting hostility of Southern whites as Whitmore found himself incredibly moved by the smallest degree of kindness. Although the production dodged many of the thornier questions of race relations in America, *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner* (1967) highlighted the ascension to mainstream status of Sidney Poitier. He played a world-renowned surgeon residing in Switzerland whose betrothal to a middle-class, white woman threw both families into an uproar. With the couple planning to live overseas, all of the pressing racial issues of the time were completely irrelevant to the story, for which Poitier took a good deal of criticism from the black community for accepting only saintly roles.

Yet that same year, Poitier contributed to the Best Picture Oscar for *In the Heat of the Night*. He played a Philadelphia homicide detective wrongfully arrested for murder by a prototypical sheriff (Rod Steiger) while visiting Mississippi. Much to the consternation of both men, they were ordered to collaborate in identifying the killer. The two solved the crime while gradually learning to understand and respect one another.

As a concurrent trend, other productions presented the harmless stereotype of the Southern “good ’ol boy” content with fast cars, moonshine, and outwitting hapless police officers. In *Thunder Road* (1958) Robert Mitchum’s character, Lucas Doolin, rejoined the family’s bootlegging business after service in the Korean War.

Based on a novel by Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1963) reflected the maturation of the white South beyond its segregationist past. Gregory Peck played a lawyer (Atticus Finch) almost singlehandedly defying racism in a small Southern town by defending an African American accused of raping a white girl. Although he lost the case and his client was killed in an “escape”

attempt, Finch won the respect of local blacks. Peck won an Academy Award in this portrayal of a rural community in the Great Depression making its painfully slow transition to racial equality.

By the early 1970s, Hollywood retreated from civil rights projects as the movement splintered and a white backlash grew evident in electoral politics. With the exceptions of *The Man* (1972) and *The Klansman* (1974), television would lead the way with progressive advocacy until the 1980s.

Mississippi Burning (1988) provided a powerful account of the circumstances surrounding the disappearance of three civil rights volunteers (one black, two white) participating in the Mississippi Summer Project in 1964, whose bodies were eventually found in Neshoba County. But the film's focus on two FBI agents, played by high-profile actors Gene Hackman and Willem Dafoe, relegated the contributions of black activists to obscurity.

Ghosts of Mississippi (1997) traced the long-overdue justice provided to the family of slain NAACP leader Medgar Evers, through the conviction of his white supremacist killer. But the film avoided any serious treatment of the racial conflicts of the early 1960s by focusing on the retrial decades later. See also *Black Hollywood*; Poitier, Sidney; Television.

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Jeffrey D. Bass

Civil Rights Act of 1875

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 could have been a step forward in attempting to ensure that all U.S. citizens would be able to use public accommodations without discrimination. This legislation was controversial for its granting of a fuller place in American society for African Americans. The first part of the Act stated:

That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

However ambitious and noble the aims of the law may have been, there was minimal enforcement of the Act after its passage. This was especially true after the withdrawal of federal troops from the South and the collapse of **Reconstruction**. Moreover, the lack of enforcement of the law was indicative of the deep historical chasm over race and rights that had come to a head in the Civil War and that did not disappear in the post-Civil War period.

This division in American politics was represented in the debates and negotiations of earlier versions of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a leader of the Radical Republicans, had originally proposed a bill to protect the rights of African Americans in public settings of all kinds, including schools and churches, in 1870. That bill faced considerable opposition from less radical Republicans who feared the loss of political power in Congress. The bill also found substantive opposition from Southern senators and representatives who disagreed with the bill's wide-sweeping integrationist policy. As such, the bill was not taken up by the House of Representatives at that time even in a watered-down form. Sumner reintroduced the bill in 1873, which was voted for by the Senate after Sumner's death in 1874. The House of Representatives took it up and passed it in a form that dropped the sections that would have made segregation in education illegal. The actions by Congress were that of a lame-duck legislature that had lost control over the House of Representatives in part because of Republican support for the bill and other Reconstruction efforts. Yet, the legislative victory of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was a hollow one without effective enforcement in the regions of the country most plagued with racial prejudice and institutionalized injustice.

There was occasional and inconsistent enforcement of the law, but even when citations and penalties were issued, they were often challenged in court. Five such cases arose in which African Americans did not receive the same treatment as other persons by private entities, including theaters, hotels, and other facilities. Those businesses appealed the enforcement of the law on the constitutional ground that Congress could not pass a law that would control their private business decisions. Although Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause and specifically to prevent the kind of discrimination that was apparent in these cases, the **U.S. Supreme Court** sided with business owners and held that Congress' power did not reach into the world of discrimination in private business.

The lone dissenter was Justice **John Marshall Harlan**, who found the case to be an end run around the congressional intent of the law and the Fourteenth Amendment. Further, he saw the case as a matter of a poorly written law, in that the legal basis cited by the majority implied that states had no interaction or regulatory interest in business, when in fact they did have such an interest through the issuing of permits and licenses for business establishments. Therefore, claiming that the Fourteenth Amendment only had bearing on state action and had no bearing on private business action was fallacious. At the time of the decision, there was little public outrage, but in succeeding generations, the words of Justice Harlan resonated as a marker of another missed opportunity for the advancement of social and political equality in the United States.

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Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first piece of federal legislation designed to expand and protect the rights of African Americans since the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1875**. Since early in the twentieth century, the **federal government** had been on a collision course with the aspirations of black Americans. After the end of **Reconstruction**, numerous local and black organizations had been formed to fight the pervasive effects of **Jim Crow**, the lack of economic opportunity, disfranchisement and the rise in **lynchings**. The most prominent of these was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The NAACP was an interracial organization that was dedicated to dismantling Jim Crow and advancing black rights. Formed in 1909 and led by **W.E.B. Du Bois**, its *modus operandi* was to work within the judicial and legislative system. The organization saw its first major legal victory in 1915 when the **U.S. Supreme Court** overturned Oklahoma's grandfather clause in the case of *Guinn v. United States*. Other legal victories followed, alarming whites who were terrified at the idea of racial equality. In response, the **Ku Klux Klan**, which had disappeared after Reconstruction, returned. Moreover, there were race riots in large Northern urban cities, several of them in response to Jim Crow practices in housing and public accommodations. These riots coincided with the return of African American soldiers from **World War I**. The veterans, who had enjoyed more freedom, especially in France, were less inclined to return to a society in which they were segregated at every turn.

World War II brought still more change. Segregation was so rampant that **A. Philip Randolph**, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threatened to bring 10,000 African Americans to **March on Washington** in order to protest Jim Crow practices in the armed forces and in **New Deal** programs. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, pushed by black agitation and his wife, **Eleanor Roosevelt**, was forced to sign Executive Order 8802, which prohibited discrimination in the employment of workers in the defense industry. To ensure compliance with the Order, the administration created the **Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC)** and gave it the power to investigate complaints filed against contractors. The armed forces, however, remained segregated until President **Harry S. Truman** signed **Executive Order 9981** in 1948.

The assault on Jim Crow practices continued into the late 1940s and the 1950s. The decision in *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (1948) ordered the university to provide African American students with the same legal education it provided for white students. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the Supreme Court struck down the separate but equal practice in law school admissions; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950) segregated instruction facilities and practices for black students. The culmination of the fight against Jim Crow practices in educational facilities was **Brown v. Board of Education** (1954). President Dwight D. Eisenhower disagreed with the decision in *Brown* and refused to bring the prestige of his office to bear. Southern lawmakers reacted swiftly to the *Brown* decision, distributing the Southern Manifesto, a document explaining its campaign of massive resistance

against the decision. In response to the call, **White Citizens' Councils** and vigilante groups sprang up across the South, and the Southern states' governments provided support for those groups working to halt integration.

Two monumental events thrust the cause of civil rights to the forefront of the political agenda. On December 1, 1955, blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, began a **boycott** of the city buses that lasted more than a year after **Rosa Parks**, a black seamstress and civil rights worker, refused to give up her seat to a white man. In June 1956, a federal court ruled that racial segregation on buses was unconstitutional; the Supreme Court concurred in November 1956. The boycott ended on December 20, 1956.

On September 4, 1957, Governor Orval Faubus defied a federal court order and used the Arkansas **National Guard** to block the entrance of nine black students into Central High School in Little Rock. President Eisenhower was lukewarm to the cause of civil rights; on several occasions, he expressed the belief that legislation to enforce them would cause more harm than good. But he had met with Faubus and requested his cooperation with the court order, and Eisenhower was angry about the challenge to federal authority. On September 14, 1957, the President sent a battle group of the 101st Airborne Division of the U.S. Army to escort the students into school; they stayed on the job for the entire academic year. It was the first time since Reconstruction that a president of the United States dispatched federal troops to a state.

In the wake of Supreme Court decisions, and in response to growing demands by civil rights organizations, Congress began to contemplate civil rights legislation. Some northern congressmen supported a bill that would expand and protect voting rights and allow the U.S. attorney general and federal judges instead of all-white juries to intervene when those rights were violated. Lyndon B. Johnson, then Senate Majority Leader and a Democrat from Texas, knew that a strong civil rights bill could not get through Congress. His presidential aspirations, however, ensured his support of some type of bill. While most southern congressmen were against a bill, they understood that supporting one might forestall further civil rights gains and possible interference in state affairs by the federal government. After arduous negotiations and a filibuster led by South Carolina Democratic Senator Strom Thurmond that lasted more than 24 hours, the jury trial portion of the bill was dropped, and the bill passed.

The bill established the Commission on Civil Rights that was empowered to study race relations in the country, and created a civil rights division within the Department of Justice. It also gave the attorney general the power to file lawsuits on behalf of African Americans who suffered voting discrimination in federal elections. The bill did virtually nothing to increase the number of blacks registered to vote. Indeed in the 1960 presidential election, fewer blacks were registered to vote than in the presidential election of 1956. Moreover, violence against blacks who fought for civil rights continued. After a spate of bombings of black homes, churches, and schools, President Eisenhower lent his support to the passage of another civil rights law.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 sought to further protect black voting rights by permitting federal district judges to appoint voter referees in areas where local authorities refused to register black voters. Moreover, local authorities were

required to maintain voting records for 22 months so that federal officials would have ample time to investigate alleged violations of the Act. Finally, in an effort to quell violence related to the execution of federal court orders, the Act made it illegal to interfere with them by threatening violence. While neither piece of legislation was directly related to related to Jim Crowism, they served as important precursors to the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** that outlawed racial discrimination in public facilities.

See also Little Rock Nine.

Further Readings: Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954–63*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988; Burk, Robert Fredrick. *The Eisenhower Administration and Black Civil Rights*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1984.

Marilyn K. Howard

Civil Rights Act of 1964

Not since **Reconstruction** had there been such a muscular and sweeping federal law designed to protect African Americans. It is similar to the **Civil Rights Act of 1875** in that the major portion of the Act is designed to provide and guarantee equal access for blacks to public accommodations and transportation; it also gives the federal courts the authority to hear cases brought under the Act.

During **World War II**, African Americans had embraced the concept of the **Double V Campaign**: victory against fascism abroad and against racism at home. Post World War II, the **Civil Rights Movement** had accelerated, buoyed by favorable rulings from the **U.S. Supreme Court** and high-impact civil rights battles in Montgomery, **Alabama**, and Little Rock, **Arkansas**. By the 1960 presidential election, the fight for black civil rights was in the forefront of the nation's conscience for the first time in nearly 100 years.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon was the Republican nominee; his opponent was the Democratic junior senator from Massachusetts, **John F. Kennedy**. Both men understood the importance of the Civil Rights Movement. Moreover, Nixon had worked to help pass the **Civil Rights Act of 1960** and had met with **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, to discuss civil rights; he even had the support of the beloved Jackie Robinson. Kennedy was viewed by black Americans with suspicion because he was Catholic, and although he was the chairman of the subcommittee on Africa, his civil rights record was perceived as thin to nonexistent.

Both men had opportunities to establish their civil rights credentials during the campaign. On February 1, 1960, four black students from North Carolina A&T College conducted a sit-in at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter. The sit-in movement spread throughout the south. On October 19, King was arrested along with a group of students while conducting a sit-in at an Atlanta department store. The charges connected with the sit-in were dropped, but on October 25, King was transferred to the notorious Reidsville State Prison. A pregnant Coretta Scott King contacted Harris Wofford, the civil rights coordinator for the Kennedy campaign, and Wofford spoke to **Robert F. Kennedy**, who was managing the presidential campaign of his brother. Robert

Kennedy convinced his brother to call Coretta King, and he contacted the Georgia governor and the judge assigned to Martin Luther King's case. King was released, and Kennedy was seen as a hero in the black community. Richard Nixon had refused to comment on the situation.

Kennedy soon found that it would be difficult to stay away from the civil rights issue. The socialist Michael Harrington led demonstrations for civil rights outside the arena where the convention was held. The Democrats inserted a mild civil rights statement in the Democratic platform, and Kennedy found himself answering questions about civil rights for the duration of the campaign.

The administration, which had no plan for civil rights legislation in spite of Kennedy's ringing campaign rhetoric, repeatedly found itself scrambling to control a movement they did not understand. Less than six months after being elected, an integrated group of civil rights activists dubbed the Freedom Riders decided to test the Supreme Court decision in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960), which had outlawed segregated facilities in interstate travel. When they arrived in Anniston, Alabama, they were beaten by a white mob and their bus was firebombed. The Kennedy administration was forced to act, and Robert Kennedy, now the U.S. attorney general, convinced the Interstate Commerce Commission to write regulations prohibiting Jim Crowism in interstate bus terminals. In November 1961, the regulations went into effect.

In January 1961, **James Meredith** applied to the University of Mississippi, which had never admitted a black student. Supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Meredith sued; on September 25, 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Meredith admitted. Two weeks later, Governor Ross Barnett blocked Meredith's admission. A riot broke out on September 30; Kennedy was forced to send federal troops, and two people were killed. Meredith began class the next day.

The summer of 1963 proved pivotal in the Civil Rights Movement. On June 11, Alabama Governor George C. Wallace appointed himself the registrar and stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to block the admission of two black students, Vivian Malone and James Hood. Kennedy federalized the **National Guard**, and the students were admitted. That same day, the Kennedy administration sent a civil rights bill to Congress, and the president spoke on national television that evening. He defined civil rights as a moral issue and urged Americans to ensure that the promise of America was available to all its citizens. The next evening, Mississippi field secretary **Medgar Evers** pulled into his driveway after meeting with the NAACP. He was assassinated as he stepped out of his car, carrying a stack of shirts emblazoned with the logo "**Jim Crow Must Go.**" Evers had worked in Mississippi for years and had attempted to enter the University of Mississippi in the 1950s. In the weeks preceding his death, he was heavily involved in boycotts of local businesses; his home was bombed and he had received numerous death threats.

Birmingham, Alabama, one of the most segregated cities in the south, was the target of massive demonstrations against Jim Crow business practices in the spring of 1963. After being arrested, King wrote his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail," in which he decried white moderates who encouraged

David Brinkley and Freedom Riders, 1961

Brinkley did not support the freedom riders, though he did believe that blacks deserved equal rights and treatment. His remarks were captured in Paul Jones, "Brinkley Takes Stand Against 'Freedom Riders'" *Atlanta Constitution*, May 26, 1961.

I always thought David Brinkley was the best newsman on television—and now I know it.

Brinkley's keen judgment, his sardonic humor and his devotion to his job and to the welfare of the country are at one evident.

Throughout the 1960 presidential conventions, Brinkley separated fiction from fact, put people, places, and things in their proper perspective.

His reports on the Washington scene which comprise the most important part of the Huntley-Brinkley Report are concise, newsy, spiced the Brinkley pepper with the Brinkley pepper of wit which has helped make him one of the most respected men in TV journalism.

Brinkley said something during a Wednesday news program which heightened my esteem of the man.

"What follows," he said, in reporting on the "Freedom Riders" excursion through Alabama and Mississippi, is opinion, clearly labeled:

"It is time for those so-called 'Freedom Riders' to stop this. They are accomplishing nothing whatsoever, and, on the contrary, are doing possible harm.

"Aside from physical injuries done to dozens of people, all this is humiliating the United States around the world. There is no doubt the Negro in the South needs and deserves better schools, better jobs and a better deal in many respects. But this kind of exhibition now in progress is not going to get this for them.

"On the contrary, it is more likely to inflame Southern opinion still further and make these advances even more difficult than they already were.

"And we can't help believing that schools, jobs and the right to vote are a lot more important than who should swear at the bus station. That particular aspect of segregation certainly could wait until last.

"The bus riders are, of course, within their legal rights in riding buses where they like, but the result of these expeditions are of no benefit to anyone, white or Negro, the North or the South, nor the United States in general. We think they should stop it."

Brinkley's comments were in sharp contrast to those made the other day by Dave Garroway, who allowed anger to overshadow good judgment when the audio portion of a report on the "Freedom Riders," which originated in WSB-TV, failed because of technical difficulty.

Garroway muttered something to the effect that news was being "censored" by the South before being released for consumption in the North.

Garroway's statement was not only incorrect—it was inflammatory.

WSB-TV informed both Garroway and NBC-TV. An apology was made on the Today show on the following morning by Frank Blair, Today newsman. Garroway should have made it.

The most significant thing about Brinkley's comment was the statement, in the beginning, that "What follows is my opinion, clearly stated."

blacks to wait for their rights to be handed to them. In response to the arrest of King, and with the leadership of the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**, schoolchildren joined the demonstrations, which were quickly renamed the Children's Crusade. Hundreds of children as young as six skipped school to participate; they were met by police commissioner "**Bull**" Connor with fire hoses, police dogs, and mass arrests. The Kennedy Justice Department intervened, and on May 10, the city of Atlanta capitulated. It agreed to establish a biracial citizens committee, desegregate downtown businesses, and release the protesters on bond.

The conscience of the nation was again shocked and sickened by an incident that resulted in the murders of four young girls. On August 28, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church was firebombed by the **Ku Klux Klan**, claiming the lives of Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carol Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley. The church had long been a gathering place for civil rights workers. The apogee of that violent year in civil rights history was the **March on Washington**, held on August 28. President Kennedy had been fearful that the march, which drew an interracial crowd estimated at 250,000 people, would descend into chaos in that violent summer and that it would endanger passage of his civil rights bill, which he sent to conference and which faced tough opposition. Instead, it was an entirely peaceful demonstration and undoubtedly showed Congress that the American people supported the dismantling of Jim Crow.

As summer turned into autumn, opposition to the bill increased and it appeared that it might not pass. On November 22, Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, and African Americans had little confidence in the new president, Lyndon B. Johnson, a Southerner. Yet in his first message to Congress, Johnson urged it to pass the civil rights legislation as a memorial to the slain president. Johnson, helped by liberal Republican congressmen, labored mightily and the bill, which had for months been stalled in the rules committee of the House of Representatives, was reported out on February 10, 1964, and sent to the Senate. It was next destined for the Judiciary Committee chaired by ardent segregationist James O. Eastland. A clever parliamentary maneuver by Mike Mansfield, the Senate Majority Leader, bypassed the Judiciary Committee and sent the bill to the full Senate on March 30, in spite of a 14-hour filibuster by Robert C. Byrd, the Democratic senator from West Virginia. On July 2, President Johnson signed the landmark bill into law.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 dealt the death knell to Jim Crow in the United States. Title I prohibited unequal application of voter requirements, although it did not bar literacy tests. Title II, the heart and soul of the bill, ended discrimination in public accommodations engaged in interstate commerce; Title III barred that practice on account of race, religion, or ethnicity by state and city governments. Title IV encouraged the desegregation of public schools and gave the United States attorney general the authority to file suits to force desegregation. The focus of Title V of the bill was procedural changes with the operation of the Commission on Civil Rights, including requiring hearing notices be published in the *Federal Register* and gave those testifying before committee the right to be accompanied and advised by counsel. Title VI outlawed discrimination by private companies that receive federal funding and provided for the loss of that funding if violations occurred. Finally, Title VII prohibited covered employers from discrimination based on race, sex, color, national origin or religion.

Passage of the law did not immediately end Jim Crow practices. Congress passed the law under the authority of the commerce clause in the U.S. Constitution instead of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment so that the law would have the broadest possible reach. The first challenge of the law quickly appeared in the case of *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* (1964), giving the Supreme Court an opportunity to uphold

Excerpt from Civil Rights Act of 1964, pp. 3–4

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

SEC. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action:

(1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence;

(2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station;

(3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment; and

(4) any establishment (A)(i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment.

(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); (2) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (2) of subsection (b), it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce; (3) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (3) of subsection (b), it customarily presents films, performances, athletic teams, exhibitions, or other sources of entertainment which move in commerce; and (4) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (4) of subsection (b), it is physically located within the premises of, or there is physically located within its premises, an establishment the operations of which affect commerce within the meaning of this subsection. For purposes of this section, "commerce" means travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States, or between the District of Columbia and any State, or between any foreign country or any territory or possession and any State or the District of Columbia, or between points in the same State but through any other State or the District of Columbia or a foreign country.

the constitutionality of the Act. Heart of Atlanta Motel refused to admit black patrons, and based its refusal on what it read as a Fifth Amendment right to do business as it saw fit without government interference or just compensation. Furthermore, counsel for the motel it argued that the Act had violated the Thirteenth Amendment right to be free from involuntary servitude by forcing it to rent rooms to African Americans. The Supreme Court ruled that because interstate travelers used the motel, it was part of the fabric of interstate commerce, and that Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution gave Congress broad authority to regulate such; that the Fifth Amendment did not prohibit a reasonable regulation of commerce, and that since no property was taken from the motel, its owners' rights to just compensation and due process had not

been violated. It also reasoned that the Thirteenth Amendment was meant to apply to slavery and the conditions it created. Thus, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was held to be constitutional.

It took more than a decade for Jim Crow to be dismantled, and on occasion, incidents of it continue to surface. But the importance and scope of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 is such that it is on the list of the National Archives 100 milestone documents in American history.

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Marilyn K. Howard

Civil Rights Movement

Lasting for more than a century, the Civil Rights Movement is the ongoing attempt by African Americans and their allies to secure the freedoms promised to them after emancipation at the end of the Civil War in 1865. The movement was initially aimed chiefly at removing several concrete obstacles posed by white supremacy—including the barriers of segregation and disenfranchisement, discrimination in various spheres of life, and the ongoing threat of racial violence. Activists were successful in achieving many of their most tangible goals. Important legislation in the mid-1960s outlawed segregation and granted federal protection to black voters. However, many argue that racial differences still exist in American society, particularly in the economic realm, where many blacks remain disproportionately impoverished. Many also point to the fact that African Americans are underrepresented in many areas of American life, including the political arena, but overrepresented, for example, in the **prison** population as evidence that unequal treatment still exists. Those who accept this point of view would argue that the Civil Rights Movement is still ongoing until greater equality has been achieved.

Segregation and Disenfranchisement

At the end of the Civil War and during the **Reconstruction** period following the war, blacks and whites, Northerners and Southerners, struggled to define what the outcome of the war should mean for the defeated South and also what emancipation should signify for the newly freed people. Above all else, the former slaves desired their own land. Like many other nineteenth-century Americans, they craved the self-sufficiency that an agrarian lifestyle seemed to offer. Despite some very tentative experiments with land redistribution, opposition to this proposal was severe, and the vast majority of the former slaves found themselves working as employees rather than yeoman farmers as they had desired.

Even though substantial economic reforms of this kind were deemed impractical, members of the **Republican Party** advocated for black rights in

the political and social realm. Passed in relatively short succession, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution freed the slaves, granted the status of citizen to the freed people, and guaranteed the right to vote for black men. (Black women were not technically enfranchised until the twentieth century, along with white women.)

African Americans eagerly seized upon the freedoms promised to them as they struggled to rebuild lives for themselves. They searched for family members from whom they had been separated, set about building institutions such as schools and churches, and participated wholeheartedly in the political process. This unique historical moment was short-lived however. By 1877, white Southerners had regained control of the governments of every former Confederate state and quickly and systematically set about returning blacks to a state that resembled slavery as nearly as possible in the post-Emancipation era.

In the 1890s, legislation was passed in every Southern state mandating segregation in public facilities, particularly streetcars. With *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court vouched for the constitutionality of these laws, enshrining the notorious “separate but equal doctrine” into American legal tradition. Separate accommodations were legal as long as the respective facilities were equal, according to this doctrine. Sadly, most Southern states were much more devoted to ensuring that the former stipulation was met rather than the latter. Facilities for blacks, ranging from restrooms to public schools, were chronically underfunded and generally inferior to those available to whites.

White Southerners also began to search for ingenious ways to deprive blacks of their constitutionally guaranteed right to vote. Many had been frightened away from the polls due to the terrorist tactics of organizations such as the **Ku Klux Klan** and their allies. During the 1890s, disenfranchisement legislation such as literacy tests and poll tax laws further reduced the number of blacks casting ballots. In some regions, such as the state of **Mississippi**, a viable black electorate was almost completely eliminated. During this era, violence against blacks, including frequent **lynchings**, was socially acceptable and used as a form of social control to prevent blacks from reasserting demands for protection of their civil rights.

Early Racial Uplift Strategies

In this hostile climate, African Americans struggled to find ways to successfully protest. They were increasingly confined to a separate social sphere, mired in poverty, and barred from the ballot box. Any overt attempt to fight against these inequalities might result in violent attacks on the black community, or more subtle but no less coercive attacks on their livelihood through the loss of employment.

One of the most prominent black leaders to arise during this period was **Booker T. Washington**. Washington was born a slave but overcame great personal obstacles not only to gain an education but also to found the Tuskegee Institute, a school for blacks in Alabama. Washington’s first students literally built the campus brick by brick. The Tuskegee curriculum emphasized

vocational skills rather than a liberal arts education because Washington sought, above all else, to be practical. He gave a famous speech in Atlanta in 1895, which became known as the **Atlanta Compromise**, where he urged blacks to abandon the fight for civic equality for the time being and instead to concentrate on economic advancement. The speech was well received by both blacks and whites. Although some black intellectuals were frustrated at Washington's seeming willingness to forsake civil rights issues, others believed his strategy was a practical one in the unremittingly hostile racial climate of the early twentieth century.

Black women, too, sought opportunities to uplift the black community without directly attacking Southern white supremacy. Many clubs sprang up throughout the nation, which aimed to help the most vulnerable members of the community and to promote middle class values on topics ranging from hygiene to child care. Some black women also promoted the cause of temperance. In 1895, the **National Association of Colored Women** was founded and adopted as their slogan the phrase "Lifting as We Climb." One hope implicit in that motto was that aid to black community was but one phase on a larger road to the restoration of black civil rights.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

In 1909, an interracial group of activists concerned about the abysmal state of race relations gathered to form the nation's oldest civil rights organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Most of the early members of the group were white, but prominent African Americans including the great intellectual **W.E.B. Du Bois** and the crusading journalist **Ida B. Wells-Barnett** were among the founders. The organization quickly established an office in New York City and branches around the country.

Du Bois created the official magazine of the organization, *The Crisis*. In addition to critiquing the racial climate in the country, the journal also published the works of many prominent black writers, including Harlem Renaissance luminaries **Langston Hughes** and Countee Cullen. Du Bois strongly believed that art could be used as a political tool in the struggle for civil rights, both by demonstrating the quality of African American creative and intellectual work and by dramatizing the plight of those reduced to second class citizenship.

One of the earliest goals of the NAACP, which was ultimately never met, was to secure legislation to make lynching a federal crime. Although such a bill was never passed, the organization helped decrease the number of incidences of lynching in the South by documenting them and by educating the public about the horrors of racial violence.

The NAACP employed a variety of tactics to agitate for social and political equality, and these activities signaled a growing African American militancy that continued to accelerate in the coming years. However, the organization became most famous for using the legal system to achieve their goals and to wage countless battles against discriminatory practices.

Activism during the Great Depression

Many Americans, black and white, became politically mobilized during the desperate years of the **Great Depression**. Labor organizations grew in size and in militancy as workers sought to protect their rights. Left leaning political groups, including Communists and Socialists, increased their membership as suffering Americans began to suspect that capitalism had failed them. In 1934, white and black sharecroppers in Arkansas collaborated in a rare showing of interracial solidarity, forming the **Southern Tenant Farmers' Union** to advocate for fair treatment by Southern planters.

Most blacks did not get swept into the realm of radical politics, but the vast majority did change their political affiliation during these years. Democratic President **Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal** programs were designed to promote greater government intervention in the inner workings of the economy and to provide direct relief for the needy. Roosevelt demonstrated at most a tepid concern for the welfare of black citizens, and discrimination was banned in many government programs. Inevitably, blacks continued to receive unequal treatment, including being paid lower wages, receiving fewer relief dollars than their white counterparts, and finding themselves excluded from some government initiatives altogether. Nonetheless, the African American electorate shifted its alliance away from the Republican Party, which had been their first political ally in the fight for civil rights.

Although most blacks were barred from voting in the South, Northern blacks emerged as an important group able to occasionally swing elections and gain concessions from politicians. African Americans capitalized on their growing political clout, and an unprecedented number received government appointments, working in various New Deal and Cabinet offices. Prominent blacks such as **Mary McLeod Bethune** and **Ralph Bunche** advised the Roosevelt administration on issues involving their community, becoming known as the "**Black Cabinet**" and foreshadowing the greater role that blacks would play in **Democratic Party** politics in the coming years.

The Turning Point of World War II

As the U.S. mobilized to enter **World War II**, African Americans participated in the war effort in a variety of ways, and these patriotic activities made many even more reluctant to accept their role as second-class citizens. Many blacks left the rural South and migrated to cities and to other regions of the country to work in defense industries. Although they still grappled with differential treatment, blacks also sampled greater racial tolerance and earned higher wages than had been possible in the agricultural South.

Furthermore, blacks comprised one-eighth of the U.S. armed forces. Although they were disproportionately relegated to noncombat positions, many engaged in warfare. Some, like the Tuskegee Airmen, received a degree of fame. Many blacks were angered at being asked to fight against fascism abroad, while tyrannical conditions also existed at home. Many soldiers self-consciously fought a **Double V campaign**, seeking to promote democracy and freedom abroad and in the United States.

A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a black labor union, urged President Roosevelt to end discrimination in defense industry jobs. He ingeniously threatened to organize a **March on Washington** in protest should the President refuse. Roosevelt was eager to avoid a mass demonstration and thus in 1941 issued Executive Order 8802, which outlawed discrimination in defense industries and set up a government agency to investigate allegations of inequitable pay. This action demonstrated to African Americans that the executive branch of the **federal government**, though hardly an outspoken champion of black rights, could be coerced into aiding in the cause of liberation. In 1948, President **Harry S. Truman** responded to continued pressure from Randolph and others and issued **Executive Order 9981**, which ended segregation in the U.S. military.

Meanwhile, membership in the NAACP surged during the war years. During the 1940s, the organization claimed nearly 400,000 members. Enthusiasm for the cause of civil rights was bolstered by an important victory with the 1944 Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright*, which put an end to the all-white Democratic Party primary. This decision gave Southern blacks greater access to the political process than they had had since Reconstruction and encouraged many to attempt to register and vote. White Southerners responded violently to this new black militancy, beating blacks who were wearing their military uniforms and, in several documented cases, shooting black veterans who attempted to vote. However, despite this strenuous opposition, the most dramatic phase of the Civil Rights Movement was about to be launched.

School Desegregation

Beginning in the mid-1930s, the NAACP legal department, under the leadership of Charles Hamilton Houston, began waging an intense battle to force Southern states to improve public education for blacks and to end segregation in schooling altogether. Strategists determined that an assault on education at the graduate level would be more palatable to the courts and to the public at large, so they began their attempt to dismantle segregation at that level, winning an important victory in 1950 with *Sweatt v. Painter*. Heman Sweatt had been denied admission to the law school at the University of Texas. Forced to comply with the *Plessy* decision, which mandated separate but equal accommodations, the state created a makeshift black law school. Undaunted, Sweatt continued to pursue his case. Although the court stopped short of overturning the *Plessy* verdict, the unanimous ruling agreed that Sweatt had been denied equal access to education and effectively outlawed segregation at the graduate level.

The *Sweatt* decision foreshadowed the monumental *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling (1954), which struck down the doctrine of separate but equal, declaring segregation in the school system illegal and providing a legal foundation for the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement. A follow up decision in 1955, which has become known as *Brown II*, mandated that desegregation should progress “with all deliberate speed.”

Excerpts from *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), pp. 1, 3–4

Petitioner was denied admission to the state-supported University of Texas Law School, solely because he is a Negro and state law forbids the admission of Negroes to that Law School. He was offered, but he refused, enrollment in a separate law school newly established by the State for Negroes. The University of Texas Law School has 16 full-time and three part-time professors, 850 students, a library of 65,000 volumes, a law review, moot court facilities, scholarship funds, an Order of the Coif affiliation, many distinguished alumni, and much tradition and prestige. The separate law school for Negroes has five full-time professors, 23 students, a library of 16,500 volumes, a practice court, a legal aid association and one alumnus admitted to the Texas Bar; but it excludes from its student body members of racial groups which number 85% of the population of the State and which include most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, judges, and other officials with whom petitioner would deal as a member of the Texas Bar. Held: The legal education offered petitioner is not substantially equal to that which he would receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School; and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires that he be admitted to the University of Texas Law School.

W. J. Durham and Thurgood Marshall argued the cause for petitioner. With them on the brief were Robert L. Carter, William R. Ming, Jr., James M. Nabrit and Franklin H. Williams.

Price Daniel, Attorney General of Texas, and Joe R. Greenhill, First Assistant Attorney General, argued the cause for respondents. With them on the brief was E. Jacobson, Assistant Attorney General.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE VINSON delivered the opinion of the Court. [excerpt]

The University of Texas Law School, from which petitioner was excluded, was staffed by a faculty of sixteen full-time and three part-time professors, some of whom are nationally recognized authorities in their field. Its student body numbered 850. The library contained over 65,000 volumes. Among the other facilities available to the students were a law review, moot court facilities, scholarship funds, and Order of the Coif affiliation. The school's alumni occupy the most distinguished positions in the private practice of the law and in the public life of the State. It may properly be considered one of the nation's ranking law schools.

The law school for Negroes which was to have opened in February, 1947, would have had no independent faculty or library. The teaching was to be carried on by four members of the University of Texas Law School faculty, who were to maintain their offices at the University of Texas while teaching at both institutions. Few of the 10,000 volumes ordered for the library had arrived; or was there any full-time librarian. The school lacked accreditation.

Since the trial of this case, respondents report the opening of a law school at the Texas State University for Negroes. It is apparently on the road to full accreditation. It has a faculty of five full-time professors; a student body of 23; a library of some 16,500 volumes serviced by a full-time staff; a practice court and legal aid association; and one alumnus who has become a member of the Texas Bar.

Whether the University of Texas Law School is compared with the original or the new law school for Negroes, we cannot find substantial equality in the educational opportunities offered white and Negro law students by the State. In terms of number of the faculty, variety of courses and opportunity for specialization, size of the student body, scope of the library, availability of law review and similar activities, the University of Texas Law School is superior. What is more important, the University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater degree those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school. Such qualities, to name but a few, include reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige. It is difficult to believe that one who had a free choice between these law schools would consider the question close.

Moreover, although the law is a highly learned profession, we are well aware that it is an intensely practical one. The law school, the proving ground for legal learning and practice, cannot be effective in isolation from the individuals and institutions with which the law interacts. Few students and no one who has practiced law would choose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of views with which the law is concerned. The law school to which Texas is

willing to admit petitioner excludes from its student body members of the racial groups which number 85% of the population of the State and include most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, judges and other officials with whom petitioner will inevitably be dealing when he becomes a member of the Texas Bar. With such a substantial and significant segment of society excluded, we cannot conclude that the education offered petitioner is substantially equal to that which he would receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School.

It may be argued that excluding petitioner from that school is no different from excluding white students from the new law school. This contention overlooks realities. It is unlikely that a member of a group so decisively in the majority, attending a school with rich traditions and prestige which only a history of consistently maintained excellence could command, would claim that the opportunities afforded him for legal education were unequal to those held open to petitioner. That such a claim, if made, would be dishonored by the State, is no answer. "Equal protection of the laws is not achieved through indiscriminate imposition of inequalities."

In most instances, Southern states balked at this order, using every tactic at their disposal to halt or delay integration. In 1956, 101 congressmen from the South signed a "Southern Manifesto," which declared the *Brown* decision an abuse of federal power and articulated their intention to thwart the court's ruling. In 1957, Little Rock became the first large Southern city to take the court's edict seriously by quickly designing a plan for token integration of the city's school system. Local whites even rebelled at the thought of nine, hand-selected black students entering a high school populated by nearly 2,000 whites. In response to public sentiment, Governor Orval Faubus called out the **National Guard** to prevent integration and backed down only when President Dwight D. Eisenhower called out federal troops to enforce the *Brown* ruling.

Although some communities integrated peacefully to avoid becoming a public spectacle, massive resistance did not end there and manifested itself even at the university level. In 1962, federal marshals escorted **James Meredith** to his first day of classes at the University of Mississippi. In what has been called the "Battle of Ole Miss," more than 3,000 whites rioted in protest. The next year, **Alabama's** Governor George Wallace physically blocked the door of the state's university to prevent two black students from entering.

Despite this resistance, African Americans persevered in their campaign to open the schools. Brave students, ranging from youngsters in elementary school to middle-aged adults returning to school, endured campaigns of physical and verbal abuse and continued to assert their right to equal access to education, inspiring African Americans throughout the South to fight for open access in other areas of life as well.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Emergence of Martin Luther King, Jr.

One of the most fateful events of the civil rights movement occurred on December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks, an assistant tailor and civil rights worker, refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Parks was sitting in the first row of the section of the bus designated for blacks, but the bus was full and the driver ordered her to

relinquish her seat to a white passenger who was standing. Weary of the continual burden of racial discrimination, Parks bravely remained seated until she was ejected from the bus and taken to jail.

Although this was not a premeditated action on Parks's part, it was not a completely spontaneous one, either. Blacks had been protesting segregation on public transportation ever since laws mandating separate seating began to appear in the 1890s. The Women's Political Council (WPC) had been protesting conditions on city buses for more than a decade before Parks's courageous stand. Prior to her arrest, Parks was already engaged in the struggle for civil rights, having worked as a secretary for the local branch of the NAACP and having already received training in nonviolent resistance at Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

Quickly after Parks's arrest, members of the local NAACP and the WPC began mobilizing. Jo Ann Robinson, leader of the WPC, mimeographed and distributed flyers calling for a one-day boycott of the bus system. The black community responded so enthusiastically that the boycott was extended indefinitely. Despite ongoing reprisals from the white community, the black citizens of Montgomery persevered and were rewarded for their efforts when the Supreme Court declared segregated seating on public transportation unconstitutional in 1956.

The success of the protestors in Montgomery helped jump-start other civil rights activities throughout the South. It also catapulted **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, the charismatic young minister of Dexter Street Baptist Church, into the national spotlight. Local residents elected him to serve as a leader of the newly formed civil rights group the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and to help spearhead the protest.

It soon became clear to King and to those who admired him that the young pastor had found his calling. He and a group of black ministers founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957. King was elected leader of the new organization, which was dedicated to spreading the freedom struggle throughout the South. King was an eloquent speaker who inspired masses of people with his intellect and his unflinching belief in the power of nonviolent resistance and of Christian love. He quickly became one of the most visible faces in the movement, appearing on the cover of *Time* magazine as its "Man of the Year" in 1963 and being awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964.

This fame came at a high personal price, and King had a grueling schedule as he traversed the South, giving speeches, leading marches, and spending time in jail. The SCLC was a key player in one of the most notorious civil rights battlegrounds, Birmingham in 1963. At the invitation of minister and local activist Fred Shuttlesworth, the SCLC came to Birmingham in 1963 and helped organize sit-ins, demonstrations, and a boycott of local businesses. Although the city was granted an injunction forbidding protest activities, King defied the court order and was arrested and put into jail, where he penned his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail." He defended civil disobedience and the righteousness of his cause and implored local ministers to join him in the struggle. Despite King's eloquence, the city resisted the protestors' demands, spraying teenage and schoolaged protestors with fire hoses and attacking them with police dogs.

However, due in large part to the presence of the media and an outraged public, local officials ultimately conceded to many of the protestors' demands.

However, in one of the most gruesome displays of white resistance, the Ku Klux Klan bombed the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on September 15, 1963, killing four young African American girls and demonstrating that the struggle had not yet been won.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Although King was certainly the best-known individual civil rights leader, his organization, the SCLC, and the venerable NAACP were by no means the only civil rights organizations active in the South. For example, the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** organized an interracial "Freedom Ride" in order to test the 1960 Supreme Court decision in *Boynton v. Virginia*, which declared that segregation in bus terminals, waiting rooms, restaurants, rest rooms, and other interstate travel facilities was unconstitutional. Unsurprisingly, the riders were met with violence as they traveled through the South, and Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** was forced to intercede to ensure the safety of the riders.

CORE also was active organizing local blacks in the rural South, training them in the art of nonviolent social protest. This was an approach also favored by the youthful members of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**. SNCC was founded in 1960 and was directly inspired by a sit-in at a whites-only lunch counter at Woolworth's in Greensboro, North Carolina, earlier that same year. Four college students refused to leave until they were served and sustained the protest for several weeks, inspiring similar actions throughout the South. Capitalizing on the enthusiasm of these student protestors, then executive director of the SCLC, Ella Baker, called for a meeting of young people at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Baker advised the students to form their own organization rather than to channel their energies into existing civil rights groups. Although the young people admired King, some resisted the idea of hierarchical leadership, favoring instead a more democratic, group-centered organization. Headquartered in Atlanta, the group eventually established several smaller field offices in Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Unlike King and the SCLC, which came into towns for relatively brief periods to stage demonstrations and then left, SNCC members actually relocated to the communities they sought to serve. Many lived communally in what became known as Freedom Houses. SNCC's best-known project was located in Mississippi, widely to be considered one of the most segregated and dangerous states. Volunteers operated Freedom Schools, where they tried to enhance the educational opportunities available to black children. They staged demonstrations and launched voter registration drives. In one of their most ambitious moves, SNCC and other activists working in the state created the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and elected their own slate of delegates whom they attempted to have seated at the 1964 Democratic Convention in place of the all-white Democrats from Mississippi.

Another ambitious SNCC initiative, the brainchild of legendary organizer Bob Moses, was the Mississippi Freedom Summer. In 1964, nearly 1,000 volunteers, the majority Northern, white college students, streamed into Mississippi to aid in a voter registration drive. During that tumultuous summer, at least 85 civil rights workers were beaten, 35 were shot at, and 4 were killed. Seventy black homes, businesses, and churches were bombed or burned, and at least 1,000 people were arrested. The presence of so many upper middle-class white students in the Deep South proved titillating to the media, which covered their activities enthusiastically and won greater empathy for the cause of African American civil rights in the process.

Civil Rights Legislation

Slowly, President **John F. Kennedy** began to believe that civil rights legislation was inevitable. Activists wished to seize on that sentiment from the president and to shore up widespread congressional support for such a bill, so they revived A. Philip Randolph's proposal from the 1940s to stage a massive March on Washington to demand support for the movement. Kennedy, like Roosevelt before him, was initially against the demonstration, but black leaders remained undaunted and eventually secured Kennedy's reluctant approval. On August 28, 1963, approximately 250,000 people gathered by the Washington Monument to show their support for the movement. The day featured speeches by John Lewis of SNCC and Martin Luther King, Jr. among others, and music by musicians ranging from Mahalia Jackson to Joan Baez. As stirring as the rally was, it alone was not enough to ensure passage of civil rights legislation.

Kennedy, to the shock of the nation, was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. His successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, drew on his tremendous skills as a politician to appeal to the sympathies of a nation in mourning. He urged Congress to pass the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** in honor of the slain leader. Signed into law on July 2, 1964, the bill outlawed discrimination in public facilities and employment and authorized the federal government to enforce school integration. One of the major goals of the movement had been achieved.

The issue of voting rights remained unresolved, however. Demonstrators, including King and many SCLC members, planned a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965. On March 7, 1965, more than 500 protestors began their journey only to be brutally beaten by the policemen on horseback as they tried to cross the Edmund Pettis Bridge in an assault that the media began referring to as "Bloody Sunday." Once again, Johnson seized on the national mood, convincing an outraged public to support the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which authorized the federal government to oversee voter registration in the South, effectively restoring the franchise to the regions' black citizens.

Black Power

Thus by 1965, civil rights activists had achieved two of their most tangible goals. Voting rights had been restored to African Americans, and segregation

was ended. Life for black Southerners changed dramatically and almost immediately. However, blacks living in other regions of the country, who were victims of a more subtle kind of racism than that practiced in the South, saw little or no change in their living conditions or in their access to opportunities. In 1965, outraged black residents of Los Angeles responded violently to the arrest of a resident of their neighborhood. Releasing pent-up frustration about police brutality and other forms of discrimination, residents of the Watts section of the city rioted for five days. Thirty-four people were killed, 1,000 were wounded, and \$200 million worth of property was destroyed. Racial unrest of a similar nature erupted throughout the country after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968.

Many activists began to realize that the important civil rights legislation of the 1960s removed only the most outward vestiges of discrimination and did not even begin to solve more systemic problems such as access to opportunities, and, perhaps most importantly, did not tackle the problem of poverty, which many began to see as a civil rights issue. Furthermore, although desegregation was one of the most cherished goals of the struggle, many protestors became weary of being threatened and beaten and wondered if being integrated into such a society was really a worthy goal. Many attempted to solve these dilemmas by continuing to organize and by expanding their protest activities to include antipoverty programs and a variety of other causes including opposition to the Vietnam War.

Others began to, in some sense, turn inward and to focus on new ways to empower the black community. Some of this sentiment is captured in the phrase, "Black Power," which was popularized by SNCC members Stokely Carmichael and Willie Ricks beginning in 1966. Many advocates of the Black Power position advocated black economic and political independence as a means to combat existing racism. Many drew their inspiration from the slain former **Nation of Islam** leader **Malcolm X**, who had always held an ambivalent attitude toward the goals of the mainstream civil rights organizers. Groups such as the Black Panther Party, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966, sought various ways to protect, educate, and serve their communities. For example, they developed free breakfast programs for needy children and attempted to guard individuals from **police brutality**. Cultural nationalism too became a part of the Black Power platform, as individuals began making choices in hairstyle, clothing, and music that emphasized their African origins. Many artists attempted to develop and nurture a unique black aesthetic.

The first hundred years of the civil rights movement did not end all inequalities between white and black citizens, but black activism did impact nearly every facet of American life. Various groups including women, **Native Americans**, homosexuals, Latinos, and **Asian Americans** seized on lessons learned from the black freedom struggle, channeling these insights into organizations and protest movements of their own. *See also* Little Rock Nine; Montgomery Bus Boycott.

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Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Civilian Conservation Corps (1933–1942)

In an attempt to ease the devastating levels of joblessness during the **Great Depression**, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** proposed a series of legislative acts to Congress. One of these acts, *the Emergency Conservation Work Act*, passed by Congress in 1933, formed the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The Department of Labor recruited young people to the CCC to be employed on public works projects, primarily in rural areas. These work projects varied across the country but mainly focused upon erosion control, forestry, flood control, recreation, wildlife, transportation, and structural improvement. Initially only single, physically fit unemployed males between the ages of 18 and 25 whose fathers were on relief were accepted into the CCC. These young men could enlist for a six-month period and reenlist for up to two years. They would work 40 hours each week at \$30 per week, with most of that wage sent home to family or held in escrow for the enlistee until leaving the CCC. In addition to providing jobs, an underlying reason for the CCC was to give young men in urban areas something to occupy them to keep them out of trouble, such as turning to crime or radicalism in response to the Depression. Courses were also offered, ranging from basic literacy and vocational skills to college-level courses. Later in 1934, young women were recruited in small numbers, and by 1935, the age range was expanded to between 17 and 28. A series of residential camps were created in each state, as well as the territories of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, to house the CCC members. These camps, which eventually numbered 4,500, were under the control of the War Department and run in a quasimilitary manner. During its existence, approximately three million men and 8,500 women served in the CCC.

The act that established the CCC forbade discrimination based upon race. All enrollees received the same pay and benefits. Black membership was set proportional to their population at 10 percent, and they could not serve in camps outside their home state. Approximately 250,000 African Americans and 80,000 **Native Americans** served during the life of the program. The CCC camps were integrated until July 1935, when the War Department reversed the policy, claiming complaints from locals around the camps. In addition to these complaints, there was also violence within some integrated camps between various ethnic and racial groups. Also, many administrators of the army and CCC held racist views. Neither of these realities was used as a public reason for segregation. There were at least 150 all-black camps, and although most Native Americans enrollees did not live in camps (instead living and working around their home reservations), there was at least one separate

camp for Native Americans, Camp Marquette in Michigan; there they lived on the camp and worked in the area near the camp.

Civil rights activists, such as NAACP leader Thomas Griffith, complained about the **Jim Crow** policy, yet CCC Director Robert Fechner replied that segregation was not discrimination. Quite a few others in FDR's administration vehemently disagreed, like Harold Ickes. Jim Crow also impacted minorities in that many states ignored highly qualified applicants in preference of white applicants. African Americans were also overlooked for supervisory positions within the CCC. In September 1935, President Roosevelt ordered Fechner to appoint a few more African Americans at CCC camps on National Park Service properties. Fechner ignored the order and leaked Roosevelt's mandate to some prominent white Southern Congressmen. In the culminating uproar, Roosevelt revoked the demand. A more welcoming approach to minorities did not exist until 1941, when recruitment was more encouraged because of dropping enrollment among whites, due to their taking jobs in the developing wartime industry. With the rapid mobilization toward war, by 1942, the CCC program ended. *See also* Armed Forces; National Guard; Works Projects Administration (WPA).

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Julieanna Frost

Cold War

One feature of American standing in the Cold War was the argument that democratic capitalism represented a better world order than Soviet-style communism. **Racism** and **Jim Crow** undercut that claim. American leaders found it difficult to attack Soviet injustices and demand equality and the rule of law worldwide when African Americans endured systematic segregation throughout much of the nation. Facing Soviet propaganda that declaimed such hypocrisy, and fearful it would alter the status of the Cold War enabling the Soviets to lure African, Asian, and Middle Eastern states into their orbit, American politicians made halting efforts against Jim Crow and racial inequality. The Cold War thus acted as one factor influencing politicians to support domestic racial reform. At the same time, the Cold War limited the framework of those reforms. The focus for politicians was as much diplomatic as domestic, so symbolism that undercut Soviet rhetoric often was favored over substantive reforms that actually attacked segregation. Over the course of two decades, the Cold War thus both constrained and encouraged the fight against Jim Crow.

The impact of domestic racial issues on the global scene arose during **World War II**, when the Germans and Japanese made note of racial conflict in America. The segregation of the U.S. Army, violence at Southern encampments between African American soldiers and local whites, and the internment of Japanese Americans all served as fodder for the Axis. The Japanese and Germans used these issues as propaganda designed to destroy the morale of

African American soldiers. Those propaganda efforts had little impact on the battlefield, but when the soldiers returned from overseas, many began to demand the democracy at home for which they had fought abroad. Most Southern states determined to prevent such a domestic revolution, and reinforced the already entrenched system of Jim Crow.

The Soviet Union, the nation's new enemy, readily picked up on the domestic racism and growing desire of African Americans to oppose it, and used both as propaganda against the United States. The administration of President **Harry S. Truman** quickly realized the danger of such propaganda. In 1946, Secretary of State Dean Acheson issued a study of the damage domestic racism had on American diplomacy. In 1947, Truman's Presidential Committee on Civil Rights issued a report entitled *To Secure These Rights*, in which it argued that the nation needed to address civil rights issues not simply because discrimination was morally wrong, but because of the damage done to foreign relations.

Truman agreed with these assessments and, in public speeches, continually stressed the need for civil rights reform as a part of the nation's Cold War struggle. While he occasionally invoked morality, Truman consistently placed civil rights within the international arena. That placement proved especially prophetic when dignitaries from developing countries visiting the United States encountered American-style racism. In 1947, **Mahatma Gandhi's** physician was barred from a restaurant. In November of that year Haiti's Secretary of Agriculture Francois Georges traveled to **Georgia** for a conference. Although he had a reservation, the hotel refused to allow him to room or to dine with his fellow conference attendees. Georges returned to Haiti rather than endure the indignity. The foreign press railed against such outrages, and the nation's moral standing sank.

African American leaders viewed such treatment, and the mingling of civil rights with diplomacy, as an opportunity. In 1947, **W.E.B. Du Bois** authored a document entitled *An Appeal to the World*, which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) issued to the United Nations (UN). In it, Du Bois argued that Mississippi, not the Soviet Union, threatened the United States, and that Theodore Bilbo (former governor and U.S. senator from Mississippi) and John Rankin (U.S. congressman from Mississippi) were greater dangers than Stalin. When additional African Americans spoke out, the State Department revoked their passports and worked with host countries to cancel international appearances. Thus, Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, **James Baldwin**, and Josephine Baker faced harassment and interruptions in their careers as a result of their efforts to protest a Jim Crow America.

Fearful that this domestic unrest and the furor over the treatment of diplomats would aid the Soviets, the Truman administration issued a rebuttal to Du Bois's essay and sent African American leader and executive secretary of the Council on African Affairs Max Yergen on an international goodwill tour. Truman also appointed the first African American ambassador when he stationed Edward Dudley in Liberia. When such efforts failed to improve the nation's image abroad, Truman made more substantive attempts to help African Americans. In 1948, he desegregated the military, and in the years leading up to the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, his Justice

Department filed numerous *amicus curie* briefs that pointed out the negative impact segregation had on the nation's ability to wage the Cold War.

Despite these achievements, in 1949, the American ambassador to the Soviet Union noted that the Soviet press continued to pound away on the topics of segregation, racial violence, and the lack of social equality. The continuation of this racial injustice, the Soviets explained, proved that the U.S. Constitution did not guarantee liberty, but rather enabled capitalists to exploit racial divisions for their own economic gain. Faced with such enduring criticism, in 1950, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., dubbed racism America's diplomatic Achilles heel.

In 1951, the United States Information Agency (USIA) created a pamphlet for American ambassadors designed to help them depict American race relations in a positive manner. Entitled *The Negro in American Life*, this work portrayed the nation's racial history as one of redemption. The pamphlet did not hide the legacy of racial strife, but rather depicted it openly as a means of showing how far the nation had advanced. It also made clear that only the openness of American society allowed for such a frank depiction of the nation's past. The pamphlet thus created an overly optimistic picture of race relations that served to offset the overly negative image created by Soviet propaganda.

The outbreak of the Korean War made the claim of racial improvement difficult to sustain. During the war, the Soviets continued to denounce the United States for its segregation, and rhetorically asked how the nation could force black soldiers to fight for the freedom of foreigners when they had no freedom at home. Domestic events helped prove this point, as in July 1951, when 3,000 people rioted to prevent the integration of a Cicero, Illinois, neighborhood. By this point, ordinary Americans realized the damage such events had on diplomacy, and one citizen wrote to the *New York Times* to suggest that every rioter deserved an Order of Lenin for the harm they caused the nation.

The Truman administration responded to these wartime developments with a new propaganda campaign that moved a step beyond the USIA report. The Voice of America (VOA), American diplomats, and federal writings admitted that the task of racial reconciliation was not complete and that segregation remained, but tried to depict the racial issue as a sectional problem, not an American one. Racism, in other words, was not a deeply held American ideal, but rather a Southern flaw that could be corrected. As a part of this new campaign, Nobel Peace Prize winner Ralph Bunche and Edith Sampson, a member of the American delegation to the UN, travelled abroad extensively to sell the concept and shore up the nation's image.

The Truman administration thus sought to undercut Soviet propaganda with a few well-placed reforms and a mass of counterpropaganda. President Dwight D. Eisenhower had a similar path in mind when he succeeded Truman in 1953. Eisenhower had little interest in civil rights and actually testified against desegregating the military. At the same time, he understood the damage racism inflicted on America's international image and recognized the need for at least symbolic improvements. Thus, between 1953 and 1955, the president desegregated the public areas and schools in Washington, DC.

Although a step forward, Eisenhower took it for the image desegregation provided rather than for larger moral or ethical principles.

The same was true when the **U.S. Supreme Court** issued the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in May 1954. The Eisenhower administration quickly used it to counter Soviet propaganda. The VOA announced the decision in 34 languages worldwide, implied that it had ended segregation forever, and suggested that race relations thereafter would be perfect. The *Brown* decision did not end racial strife in America, however, and the Soviets continued to pummel the nation with propaganda that focused on the white backlash known as “massive resistance.”

While American diplomats pointed to the *Brown* decision and the peaceful settlement of the 1955 **Montgomery Bus Boycott** as evidence that the political system was working to end Jim Crow, the refusal of Southern states to desegregate and the continuing racial discord remained problematic. The **Emmett Till** case, in particular, created a powerfully negative international reaction and served as evidence of the nation’s dilemma. NAACP Chairman Channing Tobias understood as much when he claimed the Till jury deserved a Soviet medal for its role in undercutting the nation’s standing. A year later, in 1956, the failure of **Autherine Lucy** to integrate the University of Alabama provided additional fodder for Communist propaganda as yet more evidence of “massive resistance.”

The most problematic development during the Eisenhower administration emerged in 1957 with the **Little Rock Nine** crisis. The Soviets quickly broadcast news of the violence surrounding the effort of the nine African American children to integrate Central High School. The Soviet paper *Pravda* carried a headline declaring “Troops advance against children!” while *Izvestia* described the event as a “tragedy” that displayed the “façade” of American democracy. The Soviets also mockingly included Little Rock in the itinerary of cities over which Sputnik orbited. The mass coverage led the American magazine *Confidential* to suggest mockingly that Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus was a Communist agent, since his actions had provided the Soviets with such a useful Cold War tool.

This international outrage was one of the reasons Eisenhower, who was loath to intervene, finally did so. In his September 24, 1957, speech on the crisis, he made specific note of the damage events in Little Rock had on the nation’s standing and the use being made of them by the Communists. Once Eisenhower sent in federal troops, he ordered diplomats to explain the crisis as an aberration that was being attended to by the full power of the **federal government**. They were to present Little Rock within the context of continued gains for African Americans and as a part of the ongoing struggle for racial equality, a struggle supported by the Eisenhower administration. The Soviets were unconvinced, however, and Radio Moscow presciently noted that the president and American diplomats seemed more interested in the international impact of Little Rock than with the underlying causes of the crisis.

Beyond these domestic issues, Eisenhower faced an additional diplomatic reality that forced him to confront American racism. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev sought to extend Communist influence into the nonaligned world and, by the late 1950s, was using Jim Crow to woo African, Asian, and Middle

Eastern nations to the Communist fold. In 1957, Illinois Senator Paul Douglas responded to this Soviet effort by explaining that not only was every riot, bombing, and racial clash immoral and antithetical to the nation's founding, but each crisis assisted Khrushchev in his effort to broaden the Soviet sphere of influence. Douglas was not alone, and the fear that the nonaligned world might accept Communist guidance because of American racism permeated the nation.

In spite of that fear, Eisenhower did little to affect civil rights and left a festering domestic and diplomatic situation for President **John F. Kennedy**. The new president considered the need to win the Cold War as his primary mission, but he also understood that the Soviets would continue to use racial unrest in their effort to win support in the colored community of the world. Kennedy thus determined to control and moderate the **Civil Rights Movement** so it did not interfere with his diplomacy. Proof of this came when he backed down from a campaign pledge to desegregate the **National Guard**. Faced with a crisis in Berlin in 1961, Kennedy refused to order integration, and explained that he could not risk a "social revolution" in the military while he was on the brink of nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

The violence surrounding the Freedom Rides of 1961 further threatened his control. Kennedy was upset with the Rides because he was on the verge of a summit meeting with Soviet leader Khrushchev in Vienna. Kennedy feared that his already weakened position, due to the Bay of Pigs fiasco, would be weakened further by the violence in Anniston and Birmingham, **Alabama**. When the Rides continued into Mississippi, the Kennedy administration convinced Senator James Eastland to find a peaceful solution by warning of the dangers of sending a weak, young president to the Vienna summit. Mississippi officials acquiesced to Kennedy's wishes and arrested the Riders without violence, thus allowing Kennedy to meet Khrushchev without this millstone around his neck. The damage had already been done, however, as Soviet papers played up the Freedom Rides as further proof that racial violence was a way of life in America.

In 1962, Kennedy faced another threat with the effort of **James Meredith** to integrate the University of **Mississippi**. In his address to the nation in the midst of the crisis, Kennedy appealed to the citizens of Mississippi for calm by noting that the eyes of the world were on them. When his appeal failed and he was forced to send in federal marshals, Kennedy, like Eisenhower before him, wanted to display to the world that the federal government would go to great lengths to enforce the law of the land. Kennedy thus hoped to control the story so that the enforcement of federal authority would overwhelm the images of racial violence. After the fact, administration officials believed they had achieved this goal, and claimed that during the ensuing Cuban Missile Crisis, several African nations had refused to allow Soviet planes to refuel on their territory due to Kennedy's handling of events in Mississippi.

Events closer to Washington caused Kennedy further concerns, however, and laid the foundation for a potentially more damaging international spectacle. With the explosion of independence movements in Africa in the early 1960s, large numbers of African diplomats appeared in Washington, DC, as ambassadors, and in New York City as representatives to the United Nations.

Many of those diplomats experienced great difficulty finding acceptable accommodations in the DC area, and the White House soon learned that only eight of 200 apartments available for rent in the capital were open to blacks. As Kennedy feared, the Soviets exploited the issue by offering to rent apartments for African ambassadors who might otherwise have been refused. At the same time, many African diplomats faced the humiliation of being denied service at hotels and restaurants on Route 40 between Washington and New York City. The problem came to a head in June 1961 when Ambassador Adam Malik Sow of Chad was denied service and then physically abused at a Howard Johnson's along Route 40. Fearing the Soviet Union again would exploit this treatment to win the support of African nations, Kennedy searched for a solution. He first angrily asked why African ambassadors simply did not fly from Washington to New York to avoid the problem. More usefully, he created a Special Protocol Service Section of the State Department. Led by Pedro Sanjuan, the Section's goal was to convince restaurant and hotel owners along the route to desegregate. Sanjaun visited every restaurant on Route 40, but after nine months, fewer than half of the 70 restaurants had complied. Only in January 1963 did Maryland pass a law forcing desegregation of public accommodations, thus alleviating the problem.

Violence in Alabama, however, soon subsumed this accomplishment. In response to the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference's** effort to demonstrate in Birmingham, Sheriff "**Bull**" Connor called out attack dogs and water hoses and arrested thousands of peaceful demonstrators. The images offered the Soviets yet another propaganda tool. According to USIA studies, Soviet radio spent one-fifth of its news coverage in late April and early May 1963 on the violence in Alabama. Not only did Birmingham offer the Soviets an opportunity, it also potentially threatened America's standing in Africa. In May 1963, leaders of the various African states met in Addis Ababa, **Ethiopia**, to create a series of resolutions setting a framework for the continent's standing in the world. On the second day of the conference Ugandan Prime Minister Milton Obote issued an open letter to President Kennedy protesting the treatment of blacks in Alabama. He tied the treatment of African Americans to imperialism and colonialism, and portrayed the American civil rights struggle as part of the larger worldwide battle for the rights of people of color. Many in the Kennedy administration feared this letter would lead African nations to break relations with the United States and potentially turn to the Soviets. No such break occurred, but the fear once again reinforced the connection between civil rights and the Cold War.

Realizing that his government simply had been reactive to events that threatened the nation's standing, in the summer of 1963, Kennedy became proactive and began work on a civil rights bill. In trying to sell the bill to Congress, the administration noted that the Soviets continued to use racial issues in the global struggle and that passage of the bill would provide a diplomatic benefit. As Congress debated the bill, the **March on Washington** occurred. Kennedy knew this march posed dangers, but also offered a propaganda opportunity. If the march was peaceful, it would offer further proof of the strength of the American system, which allowed people the free

expression of their opinions. When the march did go off peacefully, Kennedy encouraged diplomats to compare the United States, where the government allowed protest, with the Soviets, who brutally crushed all dissent. The problem was that the civil rights bill remained tied up in Congress, and only days after the march, a bomb explosion at a Birmingham church killed four black girls. Although Kennedy met with **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and issued a statement denouncing the attack, the violence and the failure to achieve civil rights legislation again demonstrated that the struggle against Jim Crow was not over.

For Kennedy, the struggle was more about the Cold War than about moral integrity, yet his administration oversaw a number of civil rights victories. After the Kennedy assassination, Lyndon B. Johnson carried on and expanded his predecessor's policies. He also carried on the practice of viewing civil rights through the prism of diplomacy. That view helped Johnson exploit the landmark **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. Soviet papers covered the congressional debate over the Act, and noted the Southern intransigence with glee. Once the Act passed, however, the Johnson Administration used it against the Soviets as evidence of the nation's racial progress.

Tragically, events soon threatened to subsume that progress once again. The June 1964 murders of Freedom Summer activists Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner in Neshoba County, Mississippi, drew massive international coverage. More trouble erupted in July, when racial violence exploded in New York City. For a decade, American efforts to counter Soviet propaganda had explained racism as a regional problem. The riot, which began after a white police officer shot a black teenager in Harlem, proved the fallacy of that claim. To make things worse, civil rights activists sent a letter to the UN asking it to bring the issue of violence before the Security Council and suggesting the use of UN peacekeeping forces in Mississippi. At the same time, **Malcolm X** appealed to the international community to pressure the United States toward racial reform. The USIA tried to depict the violence and the African American protest to it within the context of continued racial progress, but the world was skeptical.

The spasm of racial confrontation continued in March 1965 in Selma, Alabama. Surprisingly, the violence at the Edmund Pettis Bridge received only minimal worldwide coverage. USIA studies contended that the reasons were the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Johnson's open and uncompromising promise to bring civil rights to the nation. According to a USIA report, earlier foreign editorials had condemned the United States for allowing racial violence to occur. By 1965, however, the international community condemned the violence, but not the United States. As a result, instead of seeing Selma as a symptom of national pathology, the world purview was that it was the final spasm of white racism. In other words, racial strife no longer threatened the nation's standing. Instead, the international community acknowledged the American position that the federal government supported equality, that racism was an aberration not part of mainstream society, and that democracy was the system best suited to facilitate racial reconciliation. Even the Soviets accepted this changed paradigm.

The passage of the **Voting Rights Act in 1965** offered the United States another opportunity to enhance this new worldview, but only five days after Johnson signed the bill into law, more racial violence erupted with the Watts riots and the onset of the “long, hot summers.” Despite the urban chaos, the new paradigm held. The connection between domestic racial issues and international affairs thus had diminished considerably, despite the obvious fact that serious racial problems remained. In 1966, the USIA explained that this diminished reaction did not mean the world had changed its view on how the nation treated African Americans. Most people worldwide continued to hold a negative impression of the nation’s racial issues. What had changed was that this impression no longer affected the overall image of the United States. Racism had become a blot, rather than the defining national characteristic.

Proof that the nexus between the Cold War and Jim Crow had collapsed for good was more evident by 1968. The assassination of Martin Luther King and the ensuing violence received wide international coverage, with the Soviet press contending that the nation was on the verge of civil war. The focus of the foreign press, including the Soviets, however, was on the issue of violence in America, not race. The same was true with international coverage of the Vietnam War. Unlike the coverage of the Korean War, by 1968 the foreign focus on the war in Vietnam was the nation’s militarism rather than the disproportionately high number of African American soldiers who saw combat or the fact that the United States was once again fighting a people of color.

This changed international perspective, combined with détente and the thawing of the Cold War under Nixon, gave the federal government less incentive to push for racial reform. At the same time, the major legal issues had been addressed, and the goal became implementation. Struggles over how to implement racial equality found little international interest, and by the end of the 1960s, the world abided by American claims of racial improvement.

Although the impact of the Cold War on the struggle against Jim Crow waned by the late 1960s, during the previous 20 years the two issues were linked intimately. The need to address foreign criticism served as one powerful factor in pushing the federal government to support civil rights reform. Once that criticism waned, however, federal support for change diminished as well. The Cold War thus helped instigate the campaign to end American segregation, but it also helped constrain the depth and breadth of that campaign according to diplomatic needs. *See also* Communist Party.

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Gregory S. Taylor

Cole, Nat "King" (1919–1965)

Pianist, singer, composer, and entertainment personality, Nat "King" Cole was born Nathaniel Adams Coles on St. Patrick's Day in 1919. The son of a church deacon who moonlighted as a part-time butcher and a traveling organist, Nat was one of 13 children in a crowded and financially strapped home in rural Montgomery County, **Alabama**. Raised in a Baptist family, Nat's formal musical training began during his early childhood, as his mother schooled him in a variety of gospel and European classical music. These diverse styles served as Nat's initial musical influence and worked to inform the emergent artistic sensibilities of the future legend. Showing a natural talent for the piano, Nat gave his first public performance at the age of four and regularly accompanied his family's church choir in his preteen years. Nat's training continued as the Coles family moved to the Bronzeville neighborhood of Chicago. Once in the North, young Nat expanded his musical repertoire, as he explored the popular sounds of blues and jazz through the works of **Louis Armstrong** and particularly the piano playing of Earle "Fatha" Hines. Inspired by these artists, the teenaged Nat embarked on his own professional musical career that began in the mid-1930s and lasted until his death in 1965.

Adopting the stage name Nat Cole and later acquiring the nickname "King," Cole paid his dues on the jazz circuit in the United States and abroad and effectively established his reputation as a master pianist and preeminent musical talent. After relentless touring with a number of bands, Cole was sought after for a number of gigs and became a perennial popular selling artist. Cole pierced the walls of superstardom, however, when he began to predominantly showcase his voice as his crooning, subtle style entered the households of millions of Americans, black and white, through radio and record. Cole's emerging popularity from radio hits such as 1940's "Sweet Lorraine" and 1943's "Straighten Up and Fly Right" strengthened his mainstream appeal and allowed Cole a flourishing career throughout the forties and fifties. By the 1950s, Cole's popularity afforded him a lavish lifestyle, as Capitol Records acknowledged his success by christening their circular shaped office building as "the house that Nat built." However, Cole was a popular black icon in the midst of **Jim Crow** segregation, and the artist routinely found himself within the focus of politicized debate.

The year 1956 was a harrowing time for Cole. Seen in part as a reaction to the landmark cases against Jim Crow segregation, including 1954's *Brown v. Board of Education*, Cole was physically attacked by white supremacists that overtook the stage at an April concert in Birmingham, Alabama. As a result, Cole refused to play in the South again. Civil rights leaders such as **Thurgood Marshall** expressed disappointment that Cole did not vehemently denounce his attack. Cole, however, became more politically visible after the incident as he took the stage at the Republican National Convention in August. Cole was a natural choice due to his augmented celebrity as he became the first African American to be featured on his own radio and television program. The shows were quickly cancelled due to a lack of sponsorship; however, his breaking of the unofficial color boundary in television was significant for the overall cause of civil rights. Cole also expressed his support for **John F.**

Kennedy at the Democratic National Convention of 1960 and at various functions during the campaign. With his election, Cole counseled President Kennedy on the issue of civil rights using his celebrity to popularize the cause to those in political power. Cole continued his career until his death from lung cancer on February 15, 1965. *See also* Black Entertainers against Jim Crow; Poitier, Sidney.

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Kevin Strait

Colored Farmers' Alliance

The Colored Farmers' Alliance (CFA) was one of the largest black organizations in American history, with a membership of about one million—though this number is in dispute and difficult to verify. Indeed, one leading scholar argues that the number was probably close to 250,000. However it does appear that the membership peaked from about 800,000 to 1,200,000 members. Evidence on the CFA is fragmentary at best, but it is clear that it had a large and active membership and a strong cadre of leaders who organized the black community in an attempt to improve the lot of African American farmers at the end of the nineteenth century, during a period of economic stagnation in the rural South. The CFA preached self-help and cooperation. The CFA existed from the late 1880s into the 1890s. The CFA was an independent organization connected to the Southern Farmers' Alliance—with a separate leadership and dues-paying members. Reflecting the times and the racism of whites, the two organizations did not formally unite with one another; rather, they would meet in separate conventions. However, the organizations would cooperate on economic matters—to help farmers, black and white. In addition, at the national level there was a great deal of communication and planning between the various groups.

The CFA formed in Texas in 1886, and its rank-and-file members were African Americans in the South who farmed their own land or more commonly were sharecroppers and tenants. The foundation of the CFA came at a farm in Lovelady in Houston County, Texas. The CFA quickly spread outwards across the South and, more often than not, it followed the rapid expansion of the Southern Alliance across Dixie. The CFA focused its recruiting and organizing activities in rural areas, such as the black belt, but exchanges also existed in southern cities such as New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, and Norfolk. The Alliance emphasized both economic and political education for farmers at a time when farmers faced deteriorating conditions, such as rising freight costs, rising interest rates, the crop lien, declining prices for cash crops, such as cotton, and debt peonage. These problems affected all small farmers, but African Americans faced even greater problems—fewer African Americans owned land, and those who did often had the poorest land. The overwhelming majority of black farmers either rented poor-quality farms at high prices or worked as sharecroppers. If this was not bad enough, to compound these problems,

African Americans had to deal with racial injustices, discrimination in the prices of goods and availability of credit, and white hostility to success. Advocating “producerism”—that is, that the producer deserves the fruit of his or her work—the Alliance quickly found an attentive audience and a massive following for its mission to improve the lives of the common farmer. The Alliance was the last (and largest) in a long line of farming organizations in the second half of the nineteenth century, including the Grange and the Agricultural Wheel.

Traveling lecturers in the CFA educated black farmers on the need for economic cooperation to alleviate the worst effects of the farm crisis. For example, buying in bulk to offset high freight rates, using fertilizers and practicing modern farming techniques, as well as building exchanges where farmers could buy products at reduced costs, were all remedies advocated by the CFA. Indeed, in exchanges black and white farmers often cooperated with one another. The exchanges often failed, due to lack of money and poor planning, but the cooperative element installed a movement culture based on producerism that ultimately radicalized many farmers into independent political action. By early 1888, the CFA was so large that it needed to procure a federal charter and after a convention at Lovelady, the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union was born.

Not surprising, perhaps, the CFA also quickly entered the political realm. Although it began as a nonpartisan organization, the CFA voted and campaigned for politicians who were sensitive to the needs of farmers and who promised to effect change. At this time, the Bourbon **Democrats** largely ignored the pleas of small farmers and paid even less attention to the plight of black farmers. Still, the CFA educated and organized African Americans to use their votes effectively and strategically.

The success of the CFA in the Southern states reflected the nature of local politics and conditions on the ground as well as the activism of local leaders. For example, **North Carolina** witnessed a strong CFA due in part to the foundational work of the Knights of Labor and the indefatigable leadership of Walter Patillo. Patillo was a black Baptist minister from Granville County and he quickly rose to position of lecturer and secretary of the North Carolina CFA with close associations with leading white Alliance leaders, such as state president Elias Carr. Patillo worked very hard to educate black farmers and organize them in local cooperatives and also in politics. It is highly probable that other such leaders and close relationships existed in other states in the South.

Reflecting the racism of the times, the national leader of the CFA was Richard M. Humphrey, a notable white Texas Allanceman and farmer. He was originally from **South Carolina**, but by the mid-1880s, he was a leading member of the Alliance in Texas—he was present at the founding of the CFA in Lovelady in 1886. Humphrey was a Confederate veteran and Baptist preacher who built a career as an ally with black congregations in East Texas. Humphrey had a long history of political activism, running as a congressional Union Labor candidate in Texas. Although Humphrey was the titular head of the CFA, it appears that much of the local leadership held the power to effect change and increase membership. As the CFA grew, it absorbed other black



Outside an African American store in Georgia in 1941. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USF33-020958-M2.

farming groups including, in 1890, the Consolidated Alliance led by Andrew J. Carothers, another white leader from Texas.

Many white members of the Southern Farmers' Alliance held negative views of African Americans—most white Southerners at this time were racist and believed in the inferiority of blacks. In addition, many did not believe in black leadership and feared a return to black power and the days of **Reconstruction**. As a result, in several states, such as **Alabama, Virginia, and North Carolina**, the state leadership of the CFA was white. But in other states, such as **Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi**, the CFA

leadership was black. For example, Frank Davis, the black leader of the CFA in Alabama, was well respected and held some power. Most of the local leaders within all the Southern states were African American, and they worked to organize black farmers as best they could.

In each state, the CFA organized suballiances at the local level. Although evidence at the local level is sparse, it does appear that the CFA followed the same organizational structure of the white Alliance—it was a secret fraternal organization that welcomed women, met regularly, discussed issues facing farmers, and welcomed traveling Alliance lecturers. The suballiances across the South organized local cooperatives and exchanges and attempted to improve the lot of the local farmers. However, perhaps in part to avoid white violence or reprisals, most of the local CFA activities were covert. Many cooperatives failed in economic terms, but they provided leadership opportunities in the black community and fostered a movement culture that aided in the politicization of the black belt in the 1890s.

As the CFA rapidly expanded in size and scope by the end of the 1880s, it faced increased hostility from entrenched Democrats who were both unsympathetic to the plight of farmers and opposed to African Americans. Economic and political unions between organized labor and farmers were ridiculed by Democrats. In some locations, Democrats attacked and even killed CFA leaders. The Mississippi Delta witnessed one such terrible incident. In addition, Republicans also opposed the formation of the Alliance because they worried that the CFA would weaken the GOP in elections—this was a justified fear. Thus it appears that in Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia, black Republican leaders stymied the CFA at every turn.

In late 1891, as conditions for black farmers worsened, particularly in the cotton economy, the CFA debated supporting a cotton pickers strike. The CFA's national leader, R. M. Humphrey believed a strike across the South was the only way to improve pay and conditions for black farmers, and so he worked with other CFA members to organize the Texas CFA to strike. These developments were kept from the white Southern Farmers' Alliance. However, the strike was poorly planned and executed and occurred only in a few isolated places in Texas, South Carolina, and **Arkansas**. The CFA did not have the

funds to mount a strike and the merchants were too powerful. Violence also followed; for example, in Texas, 15 strikers were killed. The planned strike outraged the southern white leadership of the Alliance, and they refused to back any attempts at striking. In Georgia, for example, the Alliance opposed the strike. The strike was a complete failure. The strike debacle exacerbated internal problems within the CFA, and by the end of 1891, the organization was in terminal decline.

As the Alliance moved towards political insurgency in 1892—culminating in the formation of the People's Party—the CFA and its members faced a choice: either support the Populists or remain within the **Republican Party**. The CFA's leader, Humphrey, supported the People's Party and urged African American members to join the nascent party. From the evidence, it seems that in many locations, African Americans voted or campaigned for the Populists in 1892; for example, John B. Rayner became a black Populist leader in Texas, while in North Carolina, Walter Patillo supported the Populists. However, a larger number of African Americans stayed with the party of Lincoln. Even if many black members of the CFA supported the Populists' economic and political platform, they could not abandon the Republican Party.

Following the formation of the People's Party, the Alliance witnessed a period of rapid decline, due in part to the internal divisions within the Alliance, the fallout over outright political action, and the worsening economic situation facing farmers across the South. The CFA mirrored this decline. Indeed by 1892, the CFA was an empty shell, with little or no power. Black farmers now faced worsening economic conditions as rates of tenancy and **sharecropping** increased and foreclosures and debt peonage abounded. As the 1890s continued, African Americans faced political disfranchisement and **Jim Crow**. The Colored Farmers' Alliance was no more. By the end of the 1890s, the numbers of African Americans owning farms decreased, and many began to move to cities in the South, move out West to look for work, and later many began the Great Migration northwards as industrialization and urbanization took a hold of the United States. The heyday of black farming was over.

For a brief time, African Americans worked together in the CFA and achieved some notable victories, but these successes proved short-lived. The CFA was the largest black organization in the history of the United States, and from the evidence, it is clear that it helped to organize black farmers to cooperate with one another and to alleviate some of the problems facing agrarians. *See also* Segregation, Rural.

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James M. Beeby

Communist Party

The relationship between Communism and the American **Civil Rights Movement** is complicated and often misunderstood. Since the earliest writings of Karl Marx, Communist thinkers realized that any division within the proletariat would preclude a socialist revolution. At the same time, they believed economics was the prime motivating historical factor. As a result of these beliefs, Communists had a difficult time fathoming the racial divisions within the American working class and struggled to develop a revolutionary program for the nation. Only slowly did Communist theorists realize that racism and racial segregation had to be addressed before any proletarian revolution could emerge. This realization caused a new problem, however, as segregationists used Communist support for civil rights to buttress their claims that integration threatened the nation's very foundations. The consequence of this complicated relationship is that Communism acted as a polarizing factor in the Civil Rights Movement that both facilitated the attack on **Jim Crow** and reinforced segregationist opposition.

In *Das Kapital*, Karl Marx wrote, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." He thus understood that Jim Crow divided the American working class, undermined proletarian unity, and prevented the emancipation of the working class and the ensuing socialist revolution that would remake the world. Marx also realized that the American bourgeoisie feared these developments and sought to avoid them by exploiting Jim Crow and other preexisting divisions of race, nationality, and religion. To destroy that bourgeois effort and benefit workers of all races, he advocated abolition and supported the Union in the Civil War. With the surrender of the Confederacy and the ratification of the **Reconstruction**-era amendments, Marx perceived the end of the racial divide and believed the emergence of an integrated, free labor society would portend the onset of a socialist revolution.

The imposition of segregation, however, proved that the white American bourgeoisie would not hand the proletariat control of the nation without a fight. Jim Crow laws emerged that prevented African Americans from improving their socioeconomic standing and continued to separate the working class according to race. Lenin failed to offer an intensive analysis of this newly configured racial question in the United States, but segregation concerned him. He made scattered references to race and the American South in his writings, often noting the segregated and prison-like atmosphere in which most blacks lived. In his 1917 essay "Statistics and Sociology," Lenin made a rare specific assessment of race in America when he argued that the unique factors facing African Americans resulted in their being an "oppressed nation." What that meant in practice, however, he failed to explain.

Two years later, American leftists formed what would become the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), giving Lenin greater reason to examine the United States and the unique factors surrounding African Americans. By 1921, Lenin's study led him to the realization that African Americans were a potentially revolutionary group. He scolded American Communists for their lack of black members and demanded that the party make a concerted effort to increase minority membership. American

Communists followed Lenin's admonition and began to make specific reference to segregation a part of their rhetoric. Party leaders explained that before African Americans could gain better wages and living conditions, they first had to end Jim Crow. As long as they lacked equal access, Communists noted, African Americans would never make social, political, or economic progress.

By the mid-1920s, the CPUSA moved beyond rhetoric and began to support specific civil rights achievements. In 1925, the party created the American Negro Labor Congress (and later the League of Struggle for Negro Rights), which demanded the end of segregation and **lynching**, and the full enfranchisement of African Americans. The Communists also campaigned for the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, which would have imposed harsh punishments on participants in a lynching. In 1928, American Communists continued their campaign against segregation when the CPUSA published its national platform, which included calls for full racial equality, the abolition of Jim Crow laws, enfranchisement of African Americans, integration of schools, juries, unions, and the military, a federal law against lynching, the end of chain gangs, and equal job opportunities and pay.

Although these efforts achieved little in the way of undermining segregation, they won black support. In 1921 the CPUSA made its first substantive gains when Cyril Briggs and members of the **African Blood Brotherhood** joined. This addition did little to change the fact that the party remained overwhelmingly white; but the membership drive continued, and by 1931, the CPUSA was 7 percent African American, with that number rising to 10 percent in 1932 and 11 percent in 1935. The Communists achieved these gains not only by their advocacy of civil rights, but also by explaining the historical connection between poverty and discrimination, providing educational opportunities, and offering the potential for rapid advancement within the organization regardless of race. The rise of African Americans within the movement was especially noteworthy. Otto Huiswoud became the first black member of the Central Executive Committee in 1927, James Ford was the party's vice presidential candidate in 1932, 1936, and 1940, and Harry Haywood served on the CPUSA Central Committee from 1927 to 1938 and in the Politburo from 1931 to 1938. Countless others served in lower positions, and all enjoyed a new sense of empowerment and the hope for a more equitable future under Communist leadership.

As the CPUSA struggled to gain black members and fight Jim Crow, Stalin rewrote the Communist stance on race. In 1928, he took Lenin's vague description of African Americans as an "oppressed nation," and expanded it into the "theory of self-determination." According to this theory, American racism was so deeply entrenched it could never be overcome. As such, the only solution was for African Americans to govern themselves in an autonomous republic. Stalin determined that the Black Belt of the American South, the lands stretching from coastal Virginia through eastern Texas, would be the site of this new African American nation.

American Communists obeyed Stalin, dropped the calls for racial equality, and began to espouse the "theory of self-determination." The party did so in spite of the fact that most African American Communists opposed the policy as one that sidetracked the movement from its real goal of bringing social,

political, and economic equality to the working class. James Ford claimed the policy widened the divide between the races, weakened the potential for a proletarian revolution, and thus did the bidding of the bourgeoisie. Otto Hall, another leading African American Communist, also rejected the idea and maintained that blacks wanted integration into American society, not further separation from it. Faced with such opposition, the CPUSA subtly ignored the “theory of self-determination” for most of the 1930s and instead continued more substantive efforts to win black support through vocal campaigns against Jim Crow.

Among the important campaigns the party undertook in the 1930s was its struggle against legal lynchings, most notably their support for the Scottsboro Boys. In 1931, **Alabama** authorities arrested nine young black men and charged them with rape. They were convicted and sentenced to various terms in prison without any real evidence or defense. The CPUSA, along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), fought this travesty of justice and worked to free all nine, although the last remained in jail until 1950. The party made a similar effort to save one of its own. In 1932, **Georgia** authorities arrested Angelo Herndon on charges of “insurrection” after he distributed Communist pamphlets in Atlanta. Convicted and sentenced to 18 to 20 years in prison, the CPUSA led his appeal all the way to the **U.S. Supreme Court**, which in 1937 overturned the verdict. While the specific purpose of each campaign was to save individual lives, the broader goal was to ensure equitable treatment for African Americans in the judicial system. Although segregation remained in the broader world, Communists hoped their efforts would bring a modicum of equality to the courtroom.

By 1934, the party was determined to help African Americans before they reached the penitentiary, and organized a massive campaign urging Congress to pass the Bill for Negro Rights. The bill demanded the full enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, the execution of those convicted of lynching, and the removal from office of any public official who denied African Americans equal rights. Although the bill failed, the party continued to pressure the **federal government** to enforce the laws equally. This demand for equity also affected the Communist view of the **New Deal**. The CPUSA opposed the unequal distribution of New Deal dollars and attacked the racism and segregation in many of the Depression-era programs. The segregation in the Civilian Conservation Corps and the unjust treatment of sharecroppers under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration especially outraged party members. To combat the later problem, the Communists created the Sharecroppers Union to force landowners to pay croppers part of the federal subsidies provided by the domestic allotment program. These campaigns achieved little, however, as African Americans suffered severely during the Depression.

In spite of that suffering, the Communists viewed fascism as a greater threat, and put most of their race focused efforts on hold during **World War II**. Some campaigns, however, remained intact. The Communists denounced segregated military units and training facilities, and joined others in comparing such treatment to Nazi Germany. They also supported **A. Philip Randolph** and his

March on Washington campaign which demanded an increase in the hiring of black workers in industries receiving federal money.

At the end of World War II, Communists reenergized many of their prewar programs and continued to demand social, political, and economic equality for African Americans. During this period, however, the Communists found themselves part of a larger and more cohesive drive against Jim Crow. The desegregation of Major League Baseball in 1947 and the military in 1948, both of which the CPUSA had long demanded, served as precursors to the desegregation of the nation's public schools under the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. Communists were early advocates of the ruling and applauded the decision, but remained wary. Throughout the South, party members protested when desegregation failed to take place, and when it did occur, they watched to ensure that black students were not simply provided access, but treated as equals. The Communists were pleased with these reforms, but their impact on actively effecting the changes was minimal.

The CPUSA had little time to enjoy these developments, however, as they soon faced the onslaught of McCarthyism. During the early 1950s, the Red Scare devastated the organization, drove away members, and undermined the civil rights activism of those who remained. Although the McCarthy era was over by the mid-1950s, the fear lingered, and the tradition of Communist support for desegregation gave resonance to claims that the incipient Civil Rights Movement was a Communist plot. According to segregationists, Communists used the struggle against Jim Crow as a new means of infiltrating and undermining the nation. The reality was far different, yet as American Communism lay prone, it became a tool for those who opposed integration.

This negative association of Communism and civil rights began as early as 1947, when **Mississippi** Congressman John Rankin declared that all racial disturbances were part of a Communist plot. In 1949 the House Committee on Un-American Activities followed suit when it held "Hearings Regarding Communist Influence of Minority Groups" to expose Communist ties to the Civil Rights Movement, to undercut civil rights in general, and to steer potential participants away from the movement.

When segregationists picked up the Communist association more formally in the 1950s the attacks became ever more brazen. Among the most famous was the claim that **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was a Communist. Segregationists noted with glee that in 1957, King addressed the Highlander Folk School, which many deemed a Communist training school, and a picture of him at the school with an arrow denoting the person beside him as a Communist became a popular billboard throughout the South. Even the federal government accepted the allegations. J. Edgar Hoover and the **Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)** long wanted to tap King's phones, but Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** refused, fearing the impact that news of the tapping would have on the black vote. In February 1962, however, he agreed to taps on King aide Stanley Levison, whom Hoover claimed was a member of the Communist Party. Robert Kennedy secretly urged King to cut ties with Levison, which he agreed to do, although he continued to communicate with Levison through intermediaries. Faced with what he believed was King's duplicity, in October

1963 the attorney general gave the FBI permission to bug King's home in Atlanta and his office at the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**.

In 1965, the Justice Department expanded the campaign against the Civil Rights Movement when it approved the tapping of **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** phone lines. Approval came only after Hoover claimed the Communist Party had infiltrated the group as a means of gaining control of the entire Civil Rights Movement. SNCC had a long standing policy of accommodating anyone, including Communists, which led to widespread acceptance of Hoover's assessment. When SNCC came out against the Vietnam War in January 1966, many saw the move as further evidence of Communist control and justification for Hoover's wiretapping.

In 1967 the FBI took the struggle a step further and inaugurated a COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) campaign to disrupt the Civil Rights Movement. Hoover justified the program by claiming Communist infiltration, and sent agents to penetrate various civil rights organizations, gather evidence, and undermine the struggle from within. He also continued his campaign against King. When violence erupted in Newark and Detroit after King came out against the Vietnam War in 1967, Hoover assured President Lyndon B. Johnson that King was being manipulated by Communists. The assessment became such a popular conception that many Americans believed the race riots were a Communist plot.

These attacks forced civil rights groups to expel suspected Communists and to couch their calls for reform as part of the larger struggle against Communism. Many groups pointed out that segregation was a blot on the nation that aided Soviet propaganda and weakened our standing in the **Cold War**. Supporting civil rights, they argued, was patriotic and served as one of the best ways to fight Communism.

Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia rejected this contention, and, in his book *You and Segregation*, asked why Soviet rhetoric should cause the United States to integrate. "Who cares what the Reds say?" he asked, and suggested that the United States should support its traditions, including segregation, without regard for Soviet propaganda. Other politicians followed suit. Vice President Hubert Humphrey believed the Communists sent agents to Selma, Alabama, in 1965 to stir up violent confrontation, while Alabama Governor **George Wallace** compared the Selma march to Communist tactics in China, Cuba, and Vietnam. Some critics hedged a little and complained that while integration was not actually Communism, it was "Communism in nature." Others justified segregation by noting that from the Southern perspective integration was subversive to the social order and was supported by the CPUSA, a subversive organization. In each case, critics hoped to discredit integration by linking it with Communism, while justifying segregation by linking it to anti-Communism and patriotism. This strategy ultimately failed, because the linkage was specious and the fear of Communism soon waned, but by forcing civil rights groups to address the issue of Communist infiltration segregationists hindered the process of integration. The process continued, however, and the nation slowly moved to heal segregation's legacy.

The complex relationship between Communism and Jim Crow lingered throughout the civil rights struggle. Early Communist theorists adapted their

ideology to the unique racial situation in the United States, while American Communists supported racial equality to achieve their ultimate goal of a socialist revolution. That revolution never materialized, but a revolution in American race relations did. Communists thus played a role, albeit a minor one, in the campaign against segregation. This role, however, also stimulated opposition and created additional roadblocks for the Civil Rights Movement as segregationists attempted to conflate Communism and integration. Communism thus facilitated the struggle against Jim Crow by providing sustained support for desegregation and civil rights, while it simultaneously created a sinister association with the Red menace that segregationists used to undermine and obstruct the struggle for racial equality. *See also* Labor Unions; Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

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Gregory S. Taylor

Confederate Flag

The banner widely recognized as the flag of the Confederacy is one of the most controversial symbols in America. The flag consists of a blue Saint Andrews Cross, or diagonal cross, on a slightly wider white Saint Andrews Cross, against a red background. On the blue cross are 13 white stars. The use of the flag by the **Ku Klux Klan** and other white supremacist groups makes it offensive. However, this flag never served as the flag of the Confederate States of America, and the military used several versions of the battle flag. In the early twentieth century, Confederate heritage societies standardized the flag and popularized its use as a symbol of regional pride, states' rights, and white supremacy. In the middle of the century, the battle flag became a symbol of massive resistance to the **Civil Rights Movement**. Many white Southerners believed that they faced the same struggle the Confederate generation endured. Although the Civil Rights Movement succeeded, some states continued to display the flag, inspiring heated debates about the history and symbols of the South. Critics of the flag's display on public grounds argued that it symbolized the legacy of slavery, segregation, and disfranchisement. In essence, "Whites Only" signs disappeared, but the Confederate flag remained.

After the Civil War, the Confederate battle flag represented an important symbol of Southern identity. In 1865, Father Abram J. Ryan penned "The Conquered Banner," a poem that advised Southerners to accept the defeat of

the Confederacy through the metaphor of the furling Confederate flag. Although other Southerners refused to furl the flag and accept the costs of defeat, federal military commanders banned its display during **Reconstruction**. After the Compromise of 1877 restored home rule in the South, the flag became an increasingly pervasive symbol of regional identity. Confederate heritage societies honored the dead and marked the southern landscape with monuments to the Lost Cause. The United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected monuments to promote regional pride and transmit lessons on racial and social hierarchy to the children of the South. The Confederate battle flag was an important part of this campaign; Southern boys and girls learned that the flag symbolized the Confederate defense of states' rights and white supremacy.

After **World War II**, the children who were raised to revere the Confederacy displayed the flag as a symbol of their resistance to the Civil Rights Movement. In 1948, the States' Rights Democratic Party, often referred to as the **Dixiecrats**, utilized the flag as a symbol of the party's commitment to states' authority over matters of race. In parts of the South, the Dixiecrats inspired supporters to purchase battle flags in record numbers. The Dixiecrats failed to prevent the reelection of Democrat **Harry S. Truman**, but their campaign popularized the use of the Confederate battle flag as a symbol of massive resistance. White southerners formed **White Citizens Councils** across the region and employed the flag as a symbol of their constitutional, economic, moral, and racial arguments in defense of segregation. Students at the University of **Mississippi** waved the flag in protest against the enrollment of African American James Meredith in 1962. The flag was a prominent symbol of the Confederate spirit at the University of Mississippi, but it assumed greater importance as the **National Guard** and federal officials protected Meredith in his attempt to enter the university. The Ku Klux Klan employed the flag at its rallies, establishing an association between the flag and racial terrorism. A variety of Southerners waved the Confederate battle flag, but they all unfurled the flag as a symbol of their defense of the racial status quo.

Southern state leaders also employed the flag as a symbol of their resistance to federal action on behalf of African Americans' civil rights. Mississippi established the precedent in 1894 when the legislature incorporated the battle flag into the state banner. The decision followed the introduction of **Jim Crow** legislation that eventually swept the South. Sixty years later, the U.S. **Supreme Court** overturned Jim Crow schools in its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). The Georgia state legislature adopted its plan to resist the ruling and blended the battle and state flags in the same session. The **South Carolina** legislature raised the flag over the state capitol building in 1962, claiming that the flag was raised to commemorate the Civil War centennial. The centennial provided an opportunity to interpret the Civil War as a precedent for their struggle to preserve states' rights over matters of race. On the day Alabama Governor George Wallace met Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at the University of **Alabama** to discuss integration, the flag was raised over the dome of the capital building. In this context, the flag symbolized Wallace's determination to preserve state sovereignty against the threat of federal intervention.

Despite the failure of massive resistance, the Confederate flag continued to be a pervasive symbol throughout the South. African Americans who gained a political voice as a result of the civil rights movement challenged the symbol at the turn of the twenty-first century. Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina endured controversies over the states' use of the battle flag. Defenders argued that the flag represented a distinct Southern heritage, while critics suggested that it symbolized the desire to oppress African Americans in slavery and freedom. The controversy surrounding the battle flag was part of a larger public debate about expressions of Confederate heritage in public spaces. As one of the most visible symbols of white resistance in the South, the Confederate battle flag's removal was an important part of the modernization of the Southern landscape. Those who defended the flag as symbol of Southern tradition often struggled to respond to the assertion that it represented white supremacy.

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J. Vincent Lowery

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

During the spring of 1942, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), initially called the Committee of Racial Equality, was founded by a group of blacks and whites on the campus of the University of Chicago. **James L. Farmer, Jr.**, Bernice Fisher, Joe Guinn, George House, Homer Jack, **Bayard Rustin**, and James R. Robinson are credited with the establishment of CORE. The initial leaders of CORE were George Houser, a white student, and James Farmer, the Race Relations Secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR).

Many of CORE members were also members of FOR, its parent organization founded in 1914. Like CORE, FOR was a pacifist organization concerned with promoting justice with nonviolent civil resistance based upon the philosophical teachings of **Mahatma Gandhi**. Consequently, CORE members embraced such nonviolent disobedience techniques **assit-ins**, picketing, jail-ins, and freedom rides to fight **Jim Crow** laws.

The earlier membership of CORE consisted mainly of white college students from the Midwest. To date, "[m]embership in CORE is open to anyone who believes that 'all people are created equal' and is willing to work towards the ultimate goal of true equality throughout the world." Therefore, CORE's mission remains "to bring about equality for all people regardless of race, creed, sex, age, disability, sexual orientation, religion or ethnic background." In pursuing its aim, CORE seeks to identify and expose acts of discrimination in the public and private sectors of society.

CORE's mission statement continues, "CORE is the third oldest and one of the 'Big Four' civil rights groups in the United States. From the protests against

‘Jim Crow’ laws of the 40s through the ‘Sit-ins’ of the 50s, the ‘Freedom Rides’ of the 60s, the cries of ‘Self-Determination’ in the 70s, ‘Equal Opportunity’ in the 80s, community development in the 90s, to the current demand for equal access to information, CORE has championed true equality. As the ‘shock troops’ and pioneers of the civil rights movement, CORE has paved the way for the nation to follow” (CORE official Web site).

CORE began organizing sit-ins in 1942 to protest segregated public accommodations. Their first sit-in occurred at a coffee shop in Chicago. These sit-ins were the first such nonviolent resistance activities in the United States. Based upon the success of this technique, CORE is credited with desegregation of public accommodations in cities in many Northern and border states. It was this success that resulted in CORE turning its attention to the segregated South.

In 1947, George Houser and Bayard Rustin organized a two-week Greyhound and Trailways bus journey, referred to as the Journey of Reconciliation, to the South in order to test the U.S. Supreme Court’s *Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, 328 U.S. 373 (1946), ruling that forbade racial segregation of bus passengers engaged in interstate travel. In 1944, 10 years before the arrest of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Irene Morgan, a resident of Baltimore, Maryland, was arrested and incarcerated in Virginia for resisting arrest and refusing to give up her seat on a Greyhound bus to a white person.

CORE sent a team of eight white and eight black men on the Journey of Reconciliation through the states of North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Members of the team were Louis Adams, Dennis Banks, Joseph Felmet, George Houser, Homer Jack, Andrew Johnson, Conrad Lynn, Wallace Nelson, James Peck, Worth Randle, Igal Roodenko, Bayard Rustin, Eugene Stanley, William Worthy, and Nathan Wright. The members were arrested several times for violating state imposed Jim Crow bus statutes. Despite the members’ arrest, the Journey of Reconciliation marked the beginning of an arduous national campaign against racial segregation.

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, CORE began focusing on segregated public accommodations in the Deep South by engaging in similar nonviolent disobedience tactics as those used in northern cities. CORE also launched several voter registration drives for black southerners. CORE member Bayard Rustin served as an advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

In response to Southern resistance, CORE organized student sit-ins in 1960 and provided assistance to college students throughout the country in their attempts to challenge racial segregation. These sit-ins successfully ended racial segregation of restaurants and lunch counters in some Southern cities. CORE also targeted other segregated public facilities such as parks, beaches, transportation, swimming pools, theaters, libraries, churches, and museums.

On May 4, 1961, CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized Freedom Rides throughout the Deep South. These Freedom Rides were similar to the Journey of Reconciliation. The Freedom Rides tested the *Boynton v. Virginia*, 364 U.S. 454 (1960), ruling that

extended the *Morgan* decision to bus terminals used in interstate bus service. The original participants were six whites and seven blacks who rode buses from Washington, DC, to New Orleans, Louisiana. Over a thousand people participated in these rides. Despite violent attacks and incarcerations, CORE maintained its overall mission and continued to grow as an organization. Additionally, the Freedom Rides were viewed as having some measure of success because the Interstate Commerce Commission passed new regulations to desegregate bus terminals.

In 1963, CORE played an instrumental role in the **March on Washington** and in President **John F. Kennedy's** Voter Education Project. One year later, CORE, in collaboration with SNCC and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), organized the Freedom Summer campaign in Mississippi. The purpose of this campaign was to increase black voter registration and to promote civic literacy in Mississippi. CORE, SNCC, and the NAACP formed the Mississippi Freedom Party and established 30 Freedom Schools in order to teach civic education.

The participants of Freedom Summer experienced a rash of violence. In fact, three members of CORE—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—were killed. Ironically, their deaths resulted in Freedom Summer receiving national publicity. Hence, one year later, President Lyndon B. Johnson requested passage of his **Voting Rights Act**. Despite opposition, in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was successfully passed.

By the mid-1960s, as CORE began opening chapters in the North and West, it experienced both an ideological and membership shift. During this time period, CORE membership became increasingly black and its ideology shifted more toward "Black Power." The ideological change was welcomed by the new national director Floyd McKissick, even though it alienated some of CORE's previous allies.

In 1968, Roy Innis became the national director of CORE. Innis restructured the organization and improved its financing health. He also promoted what was considered a less radical approach than McKissick and involved the organization in black economic development and community self-determination efforts—**Black Nationalism**.

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Olethia Davis

Connor, "Bull" (1897–1973)

Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor was a long time police commissioner of Birmingham, **Alabama**, who supported segregation. Connor was born on July 11, 1897, in Selma, Alabama. While he enjoyed popular support among Birmingham's white voters, he was not well known outside of the city. This

changed in May 1963, when he ordered the use of fire hoses and police dogs to deter citizens who were protesting the condition of civil rights for African Americans in Birmingham. This display of violence catapulted the nation's attention to the **Civil Rights Movement** at a time when the movement was in need of political support.

The confrontation in Birmingham was in stark contrast to the movement's previous stage in Albany, Georgia. Connor's tough stand against integration was in contrast to that of the local Georgia sheriff Laurie Pritchett, who, for the sake of expedience, allowed demonstrators to protest without incident. Connor was very much a product of his environment. Having been raised in Alabama's Black Belt region, strict social segregation of black and white citizens was a way of life. Many white citizens in Birmingham held similar beliefs, although many were not considered to be members of higher socioeconomic status. These citizens gave Connor a political base that supported a longtime career in public service, including six terms as police commissioner.

Segregation was the law of the land as far as many white citizens of Birmingham were concerned. In his inaugural remarks in 1957, upon winning the post of Commissioner of Public Safety, Connor publicly stated he would protect segregation by any legal means. This was reflected in many aspects of daily life in Birmingham. The city was often described as the most segregated large city in the nation. For example, in 1960, it was the only city, with at least 50,000 citizens, with an all-white police force. When federal courts ordered public parks and golf courses in Birmingham to integrate, Connor had them closed rather than face an end to segregated facilities.

While Connor will be remembered primarily for his role of violence against civil rights marchers in May 1963, he will also be remembered for things he did not do. Primarily, he seldom took action against individuals who perpetuated violence against African Americans in Birmingham, especially those who were involved with the Civil Rights Movement. Connor could be counted on to look the other way when violence was taken against black citizens in Birmingham. One of the most notorious moments was allowing an attack by members of the **Ku Klux Klan** against Freedom Riders as the bus stopped in Birmingham.

After serving two terms as president of the Alabama Public Service Commission, Connor suffered a severe stroke and died March 11, 1973. *See also* Albany Civil Rights Movement; Police Brutality.

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James Newman

Cooper v. Aaron

Cooper v. Aaron was a significant **U.S. Supreme Court** decision during the tumultuous period of school integration efforts in the United States in the mid-twentieth century. In *Cooper v. Aaron*, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously on September 12, 1958, for integration to proceed immediately at

Little Rock Central High School in **Arkansas**. Following the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, whereby the Court officially denounced the institution of “**separate but equal**” facilities in public education and called for desegregation in public schools, this case placed itself in the middle of a period of racial upheaval in the Little Rock school system, the state of Arkansas, and nationally as well.

In the year before the *Cooper v. Aaron* ruling, the Little Rock school board voted to admit African American students to Central High School beginning in the fall of 1957 in compliance with the *Brown* decision. A select group of nine African American students, sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and who came to be known as the “**Little Rock Nine**,” enrolled under the new desegregation plan. Immediately before the students could begin the fall term in September, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus ordered the Arkansas **National Guard** to prevent the entrance of the nine students, claiming that public disturbances and violence would prove too great a disruption to the school and to other students. Although the students were eventually allowed to attend school, the year at Central High following this initial refusal of entry was marked by widespread tensions throughout the community. Beyond confrontations involving the nine African American students with other white classmates, civic strife was rampant as segregationists “citizens’ councils” clashed with antisegregation demonstrators including “The Council of Church Women” and NAACP supporters. Governor Faubus’s refusal to obey the school boards decision prompted President Dwight D. Eisenhower to federalize Arkansas’ entire national guard and reluctantly order the U.S. Army’s 101st Airborne Division into Little Rock to protect the students’ entry. At the end of the school year, Little Rock school officials asked for a delay on implementing desegregation from the federal district court; U.S. District Judge Harry Lemley granted the delay until January 1961.

The NAACP appealed this decision, and in August 1958, the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis reversed the delayed integration order. Following this decision, the Supreme Court, for only the fifth time in four decades that the high court was to meet in an off season, took up the Little Rock desegregation case in an extraordinary session. In September 1958, in *Cooper v. Aaron*, the Court affirmed in a six-paragraph decision the judgment of the Court of Appeals and ruled unanimously for integration to proceed immediately at Central High School. The ruling cited that under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, no state can withhold constitutional rights from its citizens, even in the face of the chaos and violence ensuing from the situation in Little Rock. Importantly, this decision stated that governors and state legislatures must uphold U.S. Supreme Court decisions, as dictated by the supremacy clause of the Constitution.

In Little Rock, the governor and school board remained embroiled in the process of desegregation in public schools. Immediately after *Cooper v. Aaron*, and in an effort to prevent desegregation at any cost, Governor Faubus, along with almost unanimous support from the legislature, signed into law six segregationist bills that allowed for the temporary closing of all schools within the Little Rock school district. This sentiment was confirmed

by the community, as 72 percent of citizens casting ballots in a special Little Rock School District election on September 27, 1958, voted against racial integration and to shut down all public schools in favor of private schools that could more effectively prevent biracial education. Responding two days after, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a clarifying opinion on *Cooper v. Aaron* that reaffirmed its ruling in *Brown* as “the supreme law of the land” and attempted to define as illegal “evasive schemes for segregation” such as those promoted in Little Rock.

Cooper v. Aaron was an important step in the enforcement of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, and as a polarizing event that contributed significantly to race relations, it garnered national and international attention in the establishment of, and debates over, civil rights in the United States.

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William A. Morgan

Cooper, Anna Julia (1858–1964)

Anna Julia Cooper was an African American educator, essayist, orator, and activist. She dedicated her life to improving opportunities for black women in employment and education, refuting stereotypes about their promiscuity and laziness, arguing for the vote, and exposing the economic and political reasons for the widespread lynching of African Americans. Her book of essays, entitled *A Voice from the South, by a Black Woman of the South* (1892), anticipates twentieth-century feminism by discussing class and race issues that divided African American women and other women of color from white women, and by describing the reasons why women deserved more equitable treatment in their homes and communities than society currently offered them. Her contribution during the **Jim Crow** era rests in how she kept African American women’s lives at the forefront of discussions of race relations and social justice, and in how she modeled ways that privileged African American women could guide the less advantaged of their race. In an era when the voices of African American male leaders such as Alexander Crummell and **W.E.B. Du Bois** dominated discussions of racial progress, Cooper’s writings and speeches expressed value for the opinions of intellectual African American women like herself, and she denounced the double standard within the race that praised and supported the accomplishments of black male leaders yet ignored or devalued how black women leaders were effecting positive changes for their people.

Cooper shared the mixed-race heritage that is often recounted in biographies of black Americans born in bondage. Hannah Stanley Haywood, her mother, was a slave in Raleigh, North Carolina, and her father, most likely

Fabius J. Haywood, the son of a prominent lawyer, was her mother's white master. She had two older brothers, Andrew and Rufus. In 1877 she married George A. C. Cooper, a Bahamian who was studying for the Episcopal ministry, but he died two years later. She had met George at St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute, a teacher training school in Raleigh, where she had enrolled at the age of nine and distinguished herself for excelling in the math and science courses normally reserved for men. After graduation and before her marriage, she had taught at St. Augustine's. She entered Oberlin College in 1880, where she continued to pursue the so-called "Gentleman's Courses," to earn a BA in math in 1884 and an MA in the same subject one year later.

Following brief stints at Wilberforce University and St. Augustine's to teach classical languages, math, and German, in 1887 she was hired by the elite M Street High School in Washington, DC (later renamed Dunbar High School), the only African American high school in the city. From 1901 to 1906, she served as principal of M Street, at a time when it was rare for formerly married women to remain in the profession, and for any woman to become a high school principal. Cooper defied the racism and sexism of the Board of Education by offering students advanced college prep courses instead of giving them only vocational training, before she finally was asked to resign. She returned to M Street as a Latin teacher in 1910, and 15 years later, she earned a PhD in history from the University of Paris-Sorbonne.

Both on the public and private levels, Cooper dedicated her energies to confronting those who practiced racism and sexism and creating opportunities to insure the advancement of her people. For example, in 1902, she cofounded the Colored Settlement House in Washington, DC, which she would manage well into the 1930s. The first of its kind in the city, the House offered summer camps for children, daycare programs, and other social services. Since the white YWCA would not admit African American women, in 1905 she was instrumental in cofounding the nation's first all-black YWCA, the Phillis Wheatley YWCA, in the District of Columbia. Characteristically critical of racism among white feminists, Cooper participated in a protest against the omission of black women speakers from the World's Congress of Representative Women at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition. Her outspokenness resulted in the organizers of the Congress inviting six African American women, herself among them, as speakers. On a personal note, in 1915, she adopted and raised her younger brother Andrew's five grandchildren when they became orphaned. Another instance of where the lines between her community activism and her family life blurred was in her establishment in 1930 of the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School in honor of her mother, for black adults with learning disabilities. She ran the school concurrently while serving from 1930 to 1940 as president of Frelinghuysen University, a night and weekend school for African American adults.

Cooper's adult years coincided with a period in late nineteenth-century American history called race uplift, which emphasized the obligation of middle- and upper-class African Americans to help improve the lives of their poorer and more ignorant brothers and sisters. Yet, uplift was more than a nationalist, self-help movement. During Jim Crow, it also meant to shift the

attitudes of whites who thought that blacks, especially the descendants of slaves, were unworthy and incapable of assuming the full privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Cooper's contribution to race uplift was to recommend that black families and communities could focus on such goals as gaining an education, pursuing thrift and hard work, and putting Christian beliefs into practice in order to attain material success and social acceptance.

Cooper also seized the moment to criticize problems within the race that held African Americans back from full parity within American society. For example, in her essay in *A Voice from the South* called "The Higher Education of Women," she spoke out for recognition of what she called "the feminine factor," the calming and loving influence that women contributed to humanity, and against the prejudice in black communities that made many distrust whether college education for women was worthwhile. Another attitude adjustment that she thought both blacks and whites would benefit from was to reject collectively the stereotype of black women, especially poor Southerners, as promiscuous and hypersexual. This perception, which had been used to rationalize the rape and sexual abuse of black women in slavery, had been resurrected during the post-Reconstruction years to defend Jim Crow policies and to justify racial violence targeting black women. Scholars like Cooper understood that this stereotype had little basis in the realities of impoverished black women's lives as wives and mothers, and that instead it was a form of social control and intimidation. In her 1886 speech to a group of black Episcopal ministers, "Womanhood a Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of a Race," Cooper called upon African American men to shield poor black women from such slurs upon their reputations and to lift them out of the poverty and ignorance that made them vulnerable to such accusations.

Cooper's feminism was also dominated by her interest in places where the concerns of white women and women of color overlapped, and her conviction that by working together they could eradicate oppressions they shared in common. In public, she criticized white club women and suffragists for recognizing the oppression black women experienced, yet remaining complicit in that oppression by keeping their groups segregated, spreading stereotypes, and marginalizing black women in their campaign to attain the vote. In "What Are We Worth?" from *A Voice from the South*, she applauded social efforts to alleviate poverty and illiteracy among "'our working girls'" but scornfully questioned why Northern white women and other reformers usually assumed that such women were white. In "Woman Versus the Indian," also from her book, she singled out the provincialism of Southern white women for scrutiny. She chastised a Kentucky women's group called Wimodaughsis (an acronym for "Wives, Mothers, Daughters, and Sisters") for refusing to admit a black teacher, and she challenged respectable Southern white women to be more proactive in eliminating racism by influencing white men to extend civil treatment to black women on public conveyances and in public facilities. *See also* National Association of Colored Women; Racial Stereotypes.

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Barbara McCaskill

Cosmetics

The role that cosmetics played in African American life in the era of **Jim Crow** owed much to slaves' interactions with beauty culture prior to the Civil War. While enslavement dramatically limited the ability of men and women to engage in any extensive physical adornment, both sexes practiced some forms of cosmetic enhancement using what limited materials were available. Using a blend of traditional African beauty techniques and new practices developed in the Americas, enslaved men and women applied homemade beauty products and special hairstyling techniques to augment their appearances. In a system designed to negate the individuality and personal freedom of the enslaved, such attention to personal grooming could serve as a means of reasserting one's identity and control over the body.

Some slaves had more extensive experience with beauty culture and cosmetic enhancement, however. Both enslaved and free blacks were sometimes employed as beauticians, hairdressers, and barbers for well-off whites. For some free blacks, such employment could be fairly lucrative. In an environment in which there were few well-paying jobs for African Americans, a number of black stylists and beauticians were able to use their earnings to buy others out of slavery or to establish organizations for African Americans that would become central to black communities after emancipation.

African American Beauty Culture in the Nineteenth Century

Given the importance of cosmetics and beauty preparations to enslaved African Americans, it is not surprising that emancipation brought a dramatic increase in African Americans' participation in beauty culture. This was particularly true for black women. While white standards of physical appearance held the physical attributes of both black men and women in low regard, black women had been especially marked by this discourse, and thereby were refused any social claim to beauty or femininity. As African American women's access to cosmetics and other personal care items expanded, the ability to care for and control one's appearance quickly became a central feature of the way African American women created and defined their new identities as free women.

Prior to the late nineteenth century, most cosmetics for most American women were home preparations or the products of very local manufactures.

In the years leading up to the twentieth century, however, national changes in production and consumption helped to establish the development of a large-scale cosmetics industry. Despite the relatively limited purchasing power of African Americans, early cosmetics companies recognized the desire of black women to participate in beauty culture. Encouraged by customer demand, black migration to urban areas in the North and South, and the growth of a black middle class, nineteenth-century cosmetics companies developed and marketed products for African American consumers.

While most of these companies were white-owned, some African Americans who had been employed in the beauty industry prior to emancipation were able to use their skills to establish black-owned cosmetics companies. Regardless of business ownership, however, cosmetics produced for black consumers were largely similar. Early commercially produced beauty products for African Americans relied on a racial discourse that continued to regard black physical attributes as ugly or pathological, and linked these features to African Americans' low socioeconomic status and political disenfranchisement. Rather than being designed to enhance natural features, these products promised to help black men and women achieve an appearance that mimicked white standards of beauty, particularly by lightening dark skin and straightening kinky or curly hair.

African American Beauty Culture in the Twentieth Century

The early twentieth century saw a further expansion of the African American cosmetics and beauty industries, which was part of a larger general development of black-owned businesses and African American entrepreneurship. As African Americans continued to migrate to urban centers in the North and South, the formalized segregation of Jim Crow and informal racial segregation in the North encouraged the growth of black communities. These communities often supported black-owned businesses created to cater solely to an African American base of customers. The growing number of black-owned businesses was accompanied by a continued growth of the black middle class.

Many African American leaders promoted this type of entrepreneurship and community-building as a means of improving the conditions of life in America for blacks. African American activist **Booker T. Washington** was among this group, and in 1900, Washington founded the National Negro Business League to promote African American entrepreneurship and support black-owned businesses. As a result of the support of Washington and others, the success and number of black-owned cosmetics companies rose dramatically in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Along with this expansion came increased economic opportunity for African Americans and the foundation for a growing movement for African American social justice and black identity.

The African American Cosmetics Industry in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Anthony Overton, a child born into slavery in 1865, was one of the first very successful African American cosmetics manufacturers. After a number of

disappointments in other professions, Overton founded the Overton Hygienic Manufacturing Company in 1898. The popularity of this company's products led to the Overton line's establishment as the first black-owned line of products to be sold in F. W. Woolworth's, a popular national chain store. Like many black business owners in the cosmetics industry and other trades, Overton used his success to contribute to African American organizations and institutions. Additionally, the Overton Hygienic Manufacturing Company only hired black employees, and Overton personally helped to finance *Half-Century* magazine, an African American publication that helped to promote black women's associations.

While Overton was one of the earliest success stories in the African American cosmetics industries, this field soon came to be dominated by African American women, who proved to be uniquely adept at identifying and responding to the complicated physical anxieties and social meanings of cosmetics shared by other black women. One of the early female large-scale manufacturers of cosmetics for black women was Annie Turnbo Malone, who began her career in 1900 marketing a formula to promote hair growth, but whose business expanded to become Poro, an international company with customers in the United States, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean.

One of Malone's biggest competitors was a former employee, **Madam C. J. Walker**, who was born Sarah Breedlove to former slaves in Louisiana in 1867. Walker's early life was a difficult one. Like Malone, Walker was orphaned as a young child. Unlike Malone, Walker's life was marked by physical abuse, intense poverty, and very limited education. Like many African American women with few appealing economic choices, Walker was attracted to a career in the African American beauty industry, and began working for Poro as a sales representative in 1903. Within three years, Walker had founded Madam C. J. Walker Preparations, which, like Poro, sold facial treatments, powders, and other cosmetic treatments created for and marketed exclusively to African American women.

As black women became influential manufacturers of African American beauty products, and as African American engagement with social justice issues increased, the nature of cosmetics for black consumers began to change. While hair products and treatments continued to be a cornerstone of African American beauty culture, both Walker and Malone refused to include hair-straightening products in their cosmetics lines, choosing instead to focus on the manufacture of products designed to care for and enhance the natural beauty of African American hair.

Other notable cosmetics companies founded by African American women include the Apex Beauty System, founded in 1920 by Sarah Spencer, which later made Spencer one of the first African American millionaires in America. Madame N. A. Franklin expanded a 1915 beauty salon into a chain of salons and, eventually, one of the first major lines of cosmetics to include face powders intended to flatter, rather than lighten, darker skin tones.

Like Overton, many African American women who founded cosmetics companies used their success as a sociopolitical tool, using their sometimes substantial wealth to contribute financially to African American activist organizations. In 1917, Walker founded the Madam C. J. Walker Hair

Culturists Union of America. That same year, Malone founded Poro College, a school for aspiring African American beauticians. Spencer likewise founded beauty schools in the United States and in international locations. In addition to providing support for African American stylists and beauticians, these institutions also acted as important sites of black consciousness and activism. Agents of the Madam C. J. Walker Hair Culturists Union of America staged letter-writing and petition campaigns to protest **lynching** and demand a presidential response to race riots in East St. Louis, while Poro College temporarily housed the National Negro Business League.

In addition to active support of black racial issues, manufacturers and distributors of cosmetics for African Americans provided economic opportunities that were not available elsewhere. While few relatively blacks were able to become successful founders of their own cosmetics company, a great many African Americans, women in particular, were able to find employment in such companies, which provided a much-desired alternative to the grueling, low-paying agricultural and domestic work that most black workers faced.

Cosmetics and Controversy in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Despite the employment opportunities that careers in the cosmetics industry offered to African Americans, and the potential that cosmetics offered black women for reclaimed femininity and self-actualization, many African Americans from all socioeconomic classes were troubled by black beauty culture. Some of these concerns were similar to those shared by entrepreneurs like Walker and Malone, as the continued market popularity of skin-lightening creams and hair-straightening treatments struck many black Americans as a troubling sign of continued racism in physical culture and a lack of pride in African American identity among consumers.

Other critics of African American beauty culture feared that, in the process of using personal adornment to forge their identities, black women risked neglecting internal personal development in the form of education, social activism, and moral development. Furthermore, while the economic hardships of the Great Depression forced many black-owned businesses to close, black consumption of cosmetics and beauty aids dipped only slightly, causing many African Americans to worry that the funds of black communities were being misspent.

Cosmetics and Activism in the 1950s and 1960s

Despite the concerns of critics of the African American cosmetics industry, the popularity of black beauty culture only increased into the latter half of the twentieth century, as did the power and status of African American stylists and cosmetologists within black communities. Much of this power and status was derived from the relative economic freedom these careers bestowed. While most African Americans relied on whites for employment or customers, beauticians, cosmetologists, and hairdressers remained one of the few categories of business owners catering exclusively to a black clientele. As such, these individuals were able to participate in civil rights activities and the growing **Civil Rights Movement** without fear of economic retribution. As a result of

this freedom, beauty shops and salons became popular public spaces within which black activists could organize, recruit, and hold meetings. Staging such activities worked to the benefit of visitors to salons and beauty shops as well, as it allowed black activists to mask their engagement with the Civil Rights Movement as the mundane, seemingly apolitical act of personal grooming.

As black communities and the African American beauty industry became increasingly activist and political, many symbols of African American beauty and black femininity changed or took on new meanings. The most dramatic change that occurred within the cosmetics and beauty industry during this era centered on hair treatments, one of the industry's most important products. Despite the objections of many early twentieth-century African Americans and some black manufacturers of cosmetics, the popularity of straightened hair for black women only increased throughout the 1940s, becoming a standard marker of black female beauty and feminine respectability by the 1950s.

In the years following 1960, with the growth of the Civil Rights Movement, some black men and women, particularly young and educated black men and women, rejected hair-straightening treatments, choosing instead to wear their hair as it grew naturally, in a style that became known as the Afro. For those who wore it, the Afro served as a political statement and an assertion of black pride and beauty that extended beyond activism and became part of one's physical appearance. Like generations of African Americans before them, those who adopted the Afro used personal adornment as a means of creating a sociopolitical identity to make a statement about black personhood in America. While this look initially required little assistance from cosmetics companies or salons, it was not long before a market arose to provide products and services designed to enhance the appearance and upkeep of the Afro hairstyle. *See also* Advertising.

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Skylar Harris

Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill

The Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill was an important and controversial bill calling for the **federal government** to take an active role in ending lynching in the United States. Senators Edward Costigan of Colorado and Robert Wagner of New York introduced the bill into Congress on January 4, 1934. Under the bill, any state officer who failed to exercise diligence in protecting a person under their care from a lynch mob or who neglected to arrest

persons involved in a **lynching**, could themselves be subject to federal imprisonment for five years and a \$5,000 fine. The Costigan-Wagner Bill received support from several members of Congress; however, the bill never passed. Southern opposition managed to defeat it in 1934, 1935, 1937, 1938 and 1940.

The Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill was not the first antilynching bill proposed and failed in Congress. The history of failed attempts to pass a federal antilynching law goes back to the 1890s, when racist Southerners took control of the **Democratic Party** and redeemed the South. Southern redemption came at the high cost of black lives. Blacks were lynched in record numbers by whites, many for crimes they did not commit. Lynching became a tool used by racist white Southerners to scare the South's black population into submission, while opening the door to several new laws that infringed on their legal rights. These new laws, known as the **Jim Crow** laws, created an atmosphere of segregation, discrimination and disfranchisement.

Racism in the South became so oppressive that blacks began to migrate to the North. The Northern migration of blacks between 1914 and 1950 is known as the **Great Migration**. During this period, over one million blacks migrated to the North in hopes of escaping the Jim Crow South. As a result, racial tensions rose in the North. In the summer of 1919, the racial tensions in the North turned violent with several race riots. These race riots dispelled any notion that racism and violence were uniquely Southern problems. Blacks soon realized that racism and violence could be found in most parts of the nation.



The NAACP used an effective form of advertising, the banner, to publicize the violence of lynching and advocate for antilynching legislation. New York City headquarters, 1936. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-110591.

In the midst of all of this racial violence, a campaign to end lynching across the United States began. The campaign was led by black women who called themselves the Anti-Lynching Crusaders. The goal of the Anti-Lynching Crusaders was to raise money to support the passage of an antilynching bill introduced into Congress in 1918 by Congressman Leonidas Dyer of Missouri. On January 26, 1922, the Dyer Bill made history. It became the first antilynching bill to pass the House of Representatives. However, the bill never made it through the Senate. In 1923, the Dyer Bill was reintroduced into Congress. Once again, the bill was defeated in the Senate.

By 1930, the antilynching campaign picked up again when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) announced it would lead a national campaign to end lynching across the United States. The NAACP enlisted the help of two U.S. senators, Edward Costigan of Colorado and Robert Wagner of New York. The two senators agreed to draft and introduce a new antilynching Bill in Congress. The Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill would punish any law officer who did not protect a person from being lynched.

At the time that the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill was being introduced in Congress, America was experiencing the worst economic depression in its history and embarking on a presidential election. In 1932, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** became president of the United States. In 1933, he initiated a series of programs, called the **New Deal**, to end the economic hardships of the **Great Depression**. The president geared the New Deal programs to big business, agriculture, and labor. During this time, Roosevelt did not try to pass any legislation regarding race relations in the United States because he was fearful that white Southern Democrats would not support his New Deal programs. Thus, the president did not support the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill. The bill was introduced in Congress several times, but without the support of the president, it never passed. *See also* Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); Police Brutality; Prisons.

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Sharlene Sinegal DeCuir

Country Music

Country music grew out of the musical interchange of folk styles between whites and blacks in the southern United States beginning in the seventeenth century. This musical exchange was over time influenced by other racial and ethnic groups, as is evidenced by the wide variety of forms of country music, such as western swing, honky-tonk, bluegrass, rockabilly, Cajun, country pop, and alternative country. Even with these multicultural influences, country music is often still identified as rural, “white” music. This is directly tied to the effects of segregation.

In the early 1920s, U.S. recording companies were seeking new markets to exploit for both songs and audiences. One region identified was the South.

Due to the **Jim Crow** environment of this area, it was decided to break the market into two segments, “race” records for blacks (later to be termed rhythm and blues) and “hillbilly” records for whites (later to be termed country), even though musicians of both races mentored each other and exchanged material across the color line. For example, early “hillbilly” artist Jimmie Rodgers performed folk songs from black railroad workers and recorded with **Louis Armstrong**. Certain styles of country music borrowed directly from African American musical traditions, such as western swing borrowed from **jazz** and bluegrass from **gospel music**. Other early white performers who acknowledged the important influence of black musicians to their art included Hank Williams, Bill Monroe, and the Carter Family.

Country songs, on the whole, have very rarely directly commented on race relations. There exists a body of songs lamenting the situation of biracial women, such as “My Pretty Quadroon,” “Darling Allalee,” and “Yellow Rose of Texas.” The general gist of these songs is that a white man falls in love with a mixed-race woman but can never marry her. During the era of civil rights activism, there were underground racist country songs available primarily by mail order from independent companies like the Conservative Label and Reb Rebel Label. Mainstream country music did not produce any such songs.

The first African American country star was DeFord Bailey. He was a popular and regular performer on the Grand Old Opry from 1926 to 1941, playing his harmonica. Even though he was well received by white audiences, Bailey still ran into difficulties common to black artists touring during this period in finding public accommodations and meals. A few country performers included black musicians in their backup bands in spite of Jim Crow, such as Roy Acuff and Wanda Jackson. However, the first black country artist to front his own band was not until 1966, with Charley Pride.

Charley Pride has been one of the most successful country artists ever, yet it is telling in how he was initially signed and marketed by RCA. Chet Atkins discovered Pride and pressured RCA executives to sign him without meeting him first. When his race was discovered, the executives did not place his picture on his first album, *Country Charley Pride*, or send out any publicity photos because they were afraid of the reaction of their main audience, white, conservative, rural people. Radio stations played his music, and the audience positively responded before knowing about Pride’s race. Although recognized as breaking the color line of country music, there have not been other black country artists who followed or matched the success of Pride. One reason for this is due to the legacy of segregation and how it influenced the creation of the country music industry and its audience. *See also* Blues; Rock and Roll.

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Julieanna Frost

Cruse, Harold (1916–2005)

Harold Cruse's book, *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967) created a political and cultural controversy when it was first published. Some scholars believed that the publication initiated what for many would be a cultural revolution in the manner in which both the role of intellectuals and the role of culture in a people's political struggles would be assessed and analyzed. Cruse's critique of the role of black intellectuals was the latest attempt to cogently define the role and obligations of thinkers whose astute knowledge of society would assist a subjugated people in their quest for freedom and liberty. **W.E.B. Du Bois** raised the issue during the last decade of the nineteenth century with an article on the "Talented Tenth" and an assessment of the role of an American Negro Academy, which was featured in his *Souls of Black Folk* (1968 [1903]), and the theme would persist with him until his death in 1963. **Booker T. Washington** and Du Bois sparred over the role of intellectuals, and Washington saw these intellectuals as part and parcel of a Northern black elite network that sought to destroy him.

During the **Harlem Renaissance**, Alain Locke and others wrote and spoke of the role of intellectuals under the rubric the "New Negro," and from the 1920s and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, thinkers such as Allison Davis and **E. Franklin Frazier** expounded on the roles, obligations, and responsibilities of black intellectuals. The tone and tenor of the positions by Du Bois, Miller, and Locke were essentially positive; that of Davis and Frazier, largely negative.

Cruse's discussion of the crisis in black intellectual life struck a chord among black thinkers and intellectuals for a variety of reasons. First, his testimonial of his involvement in the Communist movement and his exit from the movement in the 1950s coincided with the opening of the **Cold War** and the beginning of liberation movements and struggles in Africa. Along with these came the shocking revelations by former members of Communist parties such as Richard Wright and others, in the book *The God that Failed* which they revealed the deceit they and others employed while members of the **Communist Party**.

Among other reasons, Wright, Cruse, and Harry Haywood left the party because the party viewed any focus on black cultural or political matters as "racial chauvinism" or "bourgeois nationalism." While a party member, Cruse wrote reviews for the *Daily World*, the party's newspaper, and wrote four plays, although none was produced. What is of interest here is that while Cruse was breaking away from the party, his *Crisis* book would be released at a time when another generation of black thinkers and intellectuals, having lost faith in the American political system, would again turn their heads towards Marxism, Marxist-Leninism, and even Maoism.

The release of the *Crisis* book coincided with the beginning of the antiwar movement, Black Student Movement, the height of the popularity of Students for a Democratic Society, and the hippie movement. His book asked: How can black Americans carve out of the American landscape, during this time of national and international crisis, a movement and place where they

can begin to lay a foundation for a cultural structure that would accrue a degree of power for the collective black world? Cruse's premises were based on the existing cultural realities: that black music and dance had been and continue to be America's greatest contributions to the world; that Black America, given its size and socioeconomic situation, would probably never develop the political or economic clout to the extent that actual power will flow from black political and economic institutions.

Cruse contended that the only area in which this power is possible is in the cultural realm, where blacks are already the artists, producers, and creators. What is currently lacking, according to Cruse, is a cultural theory which would help guide the structure and direction of a cultural model. Throughout his books and articles, Cruse argued for the creation of an overarching theory of black life, and believed that the paucity of any theoretical underpinning to black life by black thinkers has stranded black thought philosophically; hence, the focus on activism, and a lack of emphasis in explaining "why" blacks want to move in a certain direction, and "why" blacks should be moving there. He did not abhor activism, but he simply believed activism without a theoretical foundation led to intellectual sterility and result in action for the sake of action.

In this line of thought Cruse followed the logic of Alexis de Tocqueville, who charged the entire American nation with being theoretically lazy and averse to probing the complexities of theory as a guide to action. Because blacks lack a theoretical guide to black community life, Cruse contended, they were more susceptible to accepting the theoretical positions others have developed in order to explain their own realities and goals. This is the crux of Cruse's complaints against black intellectuals: they blindly followed, no doubt as he once did, a Marxism without reflexion.

Having himself been what he would call a victim of a lockstep Marxism, and having weaned himself away, Cruse was now impatient with others who were still trapped in the Marxist juggernaut and seemed to adjust Hobbes's "war of all against all" thesis into a "war of one against all" thesis. He waged relentless intellectual warfare against Marxists, socialists, Garveyites, liberals, Jews, integrationists, nationalists, Pan-Africanists, and religionists. He believed they were guilty of duping black intellectuals, who were naïve and innocent. His ire towards socialists, Jews, liberals, and integrationists existed because he believed that under a cover of the need for political and ethnic alliances, intellectuals were less mindful of their heirs and their community needs, and they sought to build cross-cultural alliances before they stabilized their intracommunity activities and structures. At times, he appeared to be arguing for segregation, but he was not. He simply asserted the American mosaic as a persisting reality in which ethnic and racial groups fought for power and status. The groups that were better organized internally and structurally were in a better position to dominate others. In this scenario, Cruse clearly agreed economically with the approach of Booker T. Washington, and he cited Washington profusely in all of his books; the central thesis of Washington, which Cruse accepted, was the idea of group self-help and community control.

Cruse was sometimes labeled a conservative because he believed in self-help and community control. Cruse was a cultural and political nationalist, and some of the most insightful articles on third-party ventures by blacks during the late 1970s were written by him. Cruse's case study of political and culture in Harlem in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, which he wrote for the *Crisis*, was revealing for what it signified about black intellectuals, the cast of social and political characters at that time; and the place and the political and cultural milieu of the time was revolutionary, for never before had a black author presented the public with cultural and political views in which the writer sought to explain the theoretical genesis of the ideas. In addition, never before had the sociology and politics of black intellectuals been written about, and never before had an intellectual treatise with so much fire and venom been written by a black and directed towards other blacks, except perhaps for E. Franklin Frazier's *Black Bourgeoisie* or George S. Schuyler's *Black and Conservative*. That the book was subjective was less of a problem, since Cruse was simply relaying as facts his assessment and interpretations of past events. Cruse's book was an important guide in this direction, but it was an interpretation of events and personalities of his day. Cruse continued to be important because he pointed to the untouched dormant possibilities in black life. Having been well grounded in Marxist theory, Cruse kept, as he recommended, the logic and methodology of Marxist thought, threw out the capitalist, proletariat, and bourgeois models and used the Marxist edifice and scaffolds to house a black cultural nationalist foundation. What Cruse sought to do in the cultural realm could be done by black intellectuals in the sociological, historical, and psychological realm, that is, constructing models that best describe the black reality.

Cruse spoke and wrote frankly with a forthrightness and willingness and ability about issues of major concerns to black communities. There was a sting to his writings, but he took this trait from his Marxist training, in which ideological struggles against class enemies required one to go for the jugular. As a Marxist, he was trained for ideological warfare, in which one sought to annihilate and destroy one's opponents. This was one of the features he kept after he left the party. His Marxist background gave him the tactics he would later use against all the groups he attacked. Cruse did not spend time getting a degree from a university. Had he done so, he may not have written a book with historical errors, but he might not have written a book that prompted people to think and reflect, and act, on the ideas contained within its cover. *See also* Black Nationalism; Garvey, Marcus.

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Rutledge M. Dennis

Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education (175 U.S. 528)

In 1899, *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* was brought before the U.S. Supreme Court as a class action suit. The case authorized complete racial segregation of American public schools.

J. W. Cumming, James S. Harper, and John C. Ladeveze, the plaintiffs in the case, were all persons of color and were residents, taxpayers, and landowners in Georgia. They were suing on behalf of themselves and all others who would be affected by the case's outcome. The case was about a \$45,000 tax that the Richmond County, Georgia, Board of Education had imposed to be used as provisions for the county's public and private schools. Cumming, Harper, and Ladeveze argued not in opposition to the tax, but that the tax money was being illegally appropriated for the benefit of the white population exclusively.

Under the law, the board was not authorized to levy any such tax that supported a high school system for white students, but not one for black students. The petitioners argued that being taxpayers, landowners, and citizens entitled them and their children the same advantages as white citizens and their children. The Supreme Court's decision in the case stated that due to the fact that there were many more black children than white children in the area, the

Excerpts from *Cumming v. Richmond County [Georgia] Board of Education (1899)*, pp. 1, 2, 6

The plaintiffs in error, Cumming, Harper, and Ladeveze, citizens of Georgia and persons of color, suing on behalf of themselves and all others in like case joining with them, brought this action against the board of education of Richmond county and Charles S. Bohler, tax collector.

In the petition filed by them it was alleged—

That the plaintiffs were residents, property owners, and taxpayers of Richmond county, the defendant board being a corporation created under an act of the general assembly of Georgia of August 23d, 1872, regulating public instruction in that county empowering the board to annually levy such tax as it deemed necessary for public school purposes;

That the board was not authorized by law to levy any tax for the support of a system of high schools in which the colored school population of the county were not given the same educational facilities as were furnished the white school population;

That at least \$4,500 of the tax of \$45,000 was being collected and when collected would be used for the support of such system of high schools:

That the board had on hand the sum of \$20,000 or other large sum, the proceeds of prior tax levies, in trust to disburse solely for legal educational purposes in the county, and would receive from the tax levy of 1897 and from other sources large sums in like trust, and that it was the owner and had the custody and control of school fixtures, furniture, educational equipments and appliances generally, holding the same in like trust; and,

That although the board was not authorized by law to use any part of such funds or property for the support and maintenance of a system of high schools in which the colored school population were not given the same educational facilities as were furnished for the white school population, it was using such funds and property in the support and maintenance of its existing high-school system, the educational advantages of which were restricted wholly to the benefit of the white school population of Richmond county to the entire exclusion of the colored school population, and that by such use of those funds and property a deficiency for educational purposes would inevitably result, to make which good additional taxation would be required.

Justice Harlan, reading the unanimous decision [excerpt]

There is no complaint in the petition that there is any discrimination made in regard to the free common schools of the county. So far as the record discloses, both races have the same facilities and privileges of attending them. The only complaint is that these plaintiffs, being taxpayers, are debarred the privilege of sending their children to a high school which is not a free school, but one where tuition is charged, and that a portion of the school fund, raised by taxation, is appropriated to sustain white high schools to which negroes are not admitted. We think we have shown that it was in the discretion of the board to establish high schools. It being in their discretion, they could, without a violation of the law or of any constitution, devote a portion of the taxes collected for school purposes to the support of this high school for white girls and to assist a county denominational high school for boys. In our opinion, it is impracticable to distribute taxes equally.

The appropriation of a portion of the taxes for a white girls' high school is not more discrimination against these colored plaintiffs than it is against many white people in the county. A taxpayer who has boys and no girls of a school age has as much right to complain of the unequal distribution of the taxes to a girls' high school as have these plaintiffs. The action of the board appears to us to be more a discrimination as to sex than it does as to race. While the board appropriates some money to assist a denominational school for white boys and girls, it has never established a high school for white boys, and, if the contention of these plaintiffs is correct, white parents who have boys old enough to attend a high school have as much right to complain as these plaintiffs, if they have not more. Without, therefore, going into an analysis of the different clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, we content ourselves by saying that, in our opinion, the action of the board did not violate any of the provisions of that amendment. It does not abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor does it deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without "due process of law, nor does it deny to any person within the state the equal protection of its laws."

board was unable to provide everyone with an education. The court contended that the board's funds are so small compared to the child population that it could either sufficiently educate a handful of white students or no one at all.

In the end, the Supreme Court ruled that it had no authority to interpose in the decisions of the state courts. A few years prior to the Cumming case, the Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that the constitutionality of racial segregation was validated under the "separate but equal" doctrine. Although this case did not deal directly with education, the impact of the decision carried over to the Cumming case. In *Cumming v. Richmond*, the court was content with the county's defense that it did not have the money to support a high school for black children.

Cumming v. Richmond was a landmark case in the struggle for equal rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The case emphasized the lenience of the Supreme Court in defining what exactly was meant by "separate but equal." Separate but equal would continue to be the standard in U.S. law until it was superseded by the Supreme Court's decision *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

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Arthur Holst

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Dahmer, Vernon (1908–1966)

Vernon Dahmer's advocacy for African American voting rights in **Mississippi** was vital to the development and success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the state in the 1960s. Born in 1908 in Forrest County, Mississippi, Dahmer (pronounced DAY-mer) rose to economic prominence after **World War II** in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. He employed his considerable resources to secure and safeguard voting rights for African Americans. An owner of several successful businesses in Hattiesburg, including a sawmill and grocery store, Dahmer personally registered blacks to vote and paid the two-dollar poll tax for African Americans too poor to afford the fee. Dahmer also led the Hattiesburg chapter of the NAACP, taking under his wing young men from NAACP and the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** and helping them set up their operations in Mississippi.

Dahmer always insisted that receipts be issued for payment of the poll tax. The receipts were part of a larger plan for reestablishing the franchise for African Americans in Mississippi. Until the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** outlawed poll taxes and other disenfranchisement schemes, Mississippi required voters to provide a record of their paid poll taxes before they could register. A poll tax receipt automatically qualified voters, black and white, for registration. Some white registrars refused to accept the poll tax receipt, however. Dahmer's leadership in the NAACP branch in Hattiesburg allowed him to report the cases of illegal and discriminatory treatment to the Board of Elections, the main branch of the NAACP, and other civil rights organizations. Steadfast in this extremely dangerous activism, Dahmer's defense of African American political rights made him the target of death threats by terrorist groups and economic pressure from white business leaders in Hattiesburg.

In January 1966, the group of white men, led by the Samuel Bowers, the Imperial Wizard of the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, firebombed Dahmer's house as he and his family slept inside. The attackers gathered with their weapons in the front yard of the house, cutting off one escape route of the family. Dahmer warded off the attackers and fired his shotgun from inside until his family broke down the back door and fled. He collapsed outside his burning house,

his blackened skin hanging from his skeleton and his lungs badly seared. Dahmer's 10-year-old daughter, Bettie, also suffered severe burns. That evening at the hospital, Dahmer remained adamant that African Americans in Mississippi use their voting rights to end **Jim Crow** in Mississippi. Before succumbing to the irreversible damage to his lungs and skin, Vernon Dahmer's last words were, "People who don't vote are deadbeats on the state."

Fourteen men, including Samuel Bowers, were arrested for arson, murder, and conspiracy. All of the defendants had ties to the KKK or were members of the terrorist organization. Five defendants were convicted or pled guilty, and were given life sentences. They were set free after serving less than 10 years. The ringleader of the plot, Samuel Bowers, and his closest associates in the KKK, escaped prosecution for 30 years. Three of the 1968 trials against Bowers ended when the juries could not unanimously reach a verdict. Samuel Bowers returned to Laurel, Mississippi, and for several years, lived 30 miles away from Dahmer family.

Spurred by Dahmer's widow, Ellie, the district attorney of Forest County, Mississippi, reopened the case against the leaders of the plot in the late 1990s. In 1998, three men were indicted in the bombing of Dahmer's home and the murder of Vernon Dahmer: Samuel Bowers, the Klan Imperial Wizard; Charles Noble; and Deavours Nix, former member of the Klan. Nix died before trial, and in 1999, the jury could not reach a verdict in Noble's trial. Samuel Bowers had already served six years in the federal penitentiary for the 1964 murder of Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Earl Chaney, three activists in the voting registration drives in Mississippi. In 1998, after four mistrials a jury found Samuel Bowers guilty of firebombing of Dahmer's house and of Dahmer's murder. Bowers died in prison in 2006. Vernon Dahmer, Jr., said that his father spent his life working for the voting rights of African Americans in Mississippi, despite never having the opportunity to vote.

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Nikki Brown

Dawes Severalty Act (1887)

The Dawes Severalty Act, or General Allotment Act of 1887, was the most significant assimilation-oriented Indian legislation of the nineteenth century. Eastern reformers and Western congressional delegations promoted the law as a means of solving the "Indian Problem" of having surviving Native American cultures and tribal nations within the jurisdictional boundaries of the United States. The act contained provisions for allotting reservations into individual homesteads, granting citizenship to **Native Americans**, and selling surplus

tribal lands to non-Indians. Along with educational programs, proponents of the bill hoped it would destroy Indian tribalism and culture, paving the way for eventual Native American integration into the larger American society.

The Lake Mohonk Conference of the “Friends of the Indians,” a largely non-Indian group of Eastern philanthropists and legislators, was the driving force behind the Dawes Act. These well-intentioned reformers, led by educator Merrill E. Gates and Massachusetts Senator Henry L. Dawes, believed the legislation would prove the magic tonic to turn nomadic tribal Indians into land-owning “civilized” American citizens. The law culminated a century-long drive by Indian advocates to integrate native peoples into the American “Melting Pot.” It was a clear reversal of previous federal removal and reservation policies that treated tribes as sovereign nations and segregated them from American society. As planned, land ownership would transform communally oriented Indians into individualistic, acquisitive Americans who would abandon indigenous cultures and come under U.S. law as full citizens. The legislation passed in 1887 because it harmonized the humanitarian goals of Eastern reformers with Western legislators’ desire to open “unused” tribal lands to white settlers. Advocates proclaimed the Dawes Act the “Emancipation Proclamation” for Native Americans, hoping it would solve the “Indian Problem” once and for all by mainstreaming them and freeing them from the control of the **federal government**.

Although Henry L. Dawes’s name adorns the 1887 legislation, Texas Senator Richard Coke was the unsung originator and champion of the allotment idea. As passed by Congress, the law contained several interlocking provisions designed to assimilate Indian individuals and tribal nations. Revealing the paternalism common to the era, the act went into effect over the objections of the majority of Indian tribes, although the Five “Civilized” Tribes of Indian Territory and several smaller groups secured exemption from it. The Allotment Act gave the U.S. president authority to survey reservations into 160-acre homesteads for male heads of households, 80-acre plots for unmarried males over 18 years of age, and lesser tracts for orphaned boys. Under the treaty’s provisions, certain tribes received different allotment sizes from what the general law provided. Under the Dawes Act, unallotted reservation lands were classified as “surplus” and sold to non-Indians, with the proceeds held in trust by the federal government for education and other civilizing programs for enrolled tribal members.

Advocates envisioned the rapid dissolution of tribal governments, entities reformers believed hindered Native American assimilation by coddling and controlling members. In the interim, however, legislators hoped to shield individuals from unscrupulous land speculators until they were ready for full citizenship. The law required a 25-year waiting period before allottees received full title and citizenship. During this period, the allotment was tax-exempt, held in trust by the U.S. Treasury Department. In the thinking of policy makers, Native Americans would not receive automatic citizenship; rather, they would have to prove their ability to manage their financial affairs and take up civilized, Christian ways. Revealing the racial presumptions of lawmakers, when the Five “Civilized” Tribes later were brought within the allotment regimen, mixed-blood members of under one-half Indian blood were exempt

Excerpt from Dawes Severalty Act (1887), pp. 1–2

An act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been, or shall hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the same for their use, the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized, whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reservation, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:

To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;

To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;

To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and

To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section: *Provided*, That in case there is not sufficient land in any of said reservations to allot lands to each individual of the classes above named in quantities as above provided, the lands embraced in such reservation or reservations shall be allotted to each individual of each of said classes pro rata in accordance with the provisions of this act: *And provided further*, That where the treaty or act of Congress setting apart such reservation provides for the allotment of lands in severalty in quantities in excess of those herein provided, the President, in making allotments upon such reservation, shall allot the lands to each individual Indian belonging thereon in quantity as specified in such treaty or act: *And provided further*, That when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, an additional allotment of such grazing lands, in quantities as above provided, shall be made to each individual.

Sec.2. That all allotments set apart under the provisions of this act shall be selected by the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agents shall select for each orphan child, and in such manner as to embrace the improvements of the Indians making the selection. Where the improvements of two or more Indians have been made on the same legal subdivision of land, unless they shall otherwise agree, a provisional line may be run dividing said lands between them, and the amount to which each is entitled shall be equalized in the assignment of the remainder of the land to which they are entitled under this act: *Provided*, That if any one entitled to an allotment shall fail to make a selection within four years after the President shall direct that allotments may be made on a particular reservation, the Secretary of the Interior may direct the agent of such tribe or band, if such there be, and if there be no agent, then a special agent appointed for that purpose, to make a selection for such Indian, which election shall be allotted as in cases where selections are made by the Indians, and patents shall issue in like manner.

Source: Native American Document Project, <http://www.csusm.edu/nadp/index.html> (accessed July 25, 2008).

from the trust provisions under the assumption they were competent to manage their affairs. Full-bloods and other high-blood quantum individuals remained under the control of federal bureaucrats, treated as incompetent minors under federal law.

The Dawes Act failed in its major goals save one: opening surplus reservation lands to non-Indian settlers. It did not bring about the disappearance of American Indian tribes or the full assimilation of Native Americans into the mainstream as individuals. The law's originators misjudged the readiness and willingness of most tribes to abandon centuries-old cultures. Western groups

such as the Nez Percés and Jicarilla Apaches subverted the allotment policy, utilizing the law to strengthen tribal governments and protect their homelands. The Navajos and others with marginal lands avoided the breakup of their reservations. Despite these exceptions, as allotment proceeded on most reservations, desperate Indians sold their homesteads, lost them in tax foreclosures, or were defrauded by unscrupulous land agents. Rather than emancipating Indians from the control of federal officials, tribes lost two-thirds of their remaining estate (roughly 90 million acres of a previous total of 138 million acres), resulting in further dependency on the federal government and impoverishment of most indigenous societies. Those that did retain lands often found their allotments woefully inadequate to support family farming. Over time, heirs subdivided parcels into smaller and smaller sections that proved unproductive.

Although many supporters of the Dawes bill had good intentions, states used the tax-exempt status of Indian lands as an excuse to deny providing Indian schools, improving roads, and providing allottees access to local courts. Subsequent leasing provisions thwarted reformers' goals by allowing non-Indians access to allotted lands and natural resources. An amendment to the Dawes bill, the Burke Act of 1906, led to widespread competency hearings that lifted trust protections and tax exemptions from thousands of Indian allottees. With these changes to the original 1887 law, Native Americans routinely lost the very homesteads that reformers hoped would transform them into American citizens. Government mismanagement resulted in allottees receiving a paltry percentage of the revenue from resources derived from their former homelands.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the humanitarian impulse behind the Dawes Act was all but forgotten. Paternal concern for Indian welfare transformed into a Western-oriented program aimed at wresting native lands from their indigenous owners. The law's optimistic goal of full assimilation was replaced by a pessimistic design to integrate the remaining Indians into the lowest wrung of American society. The Dawes Act brought about one of the darkest eras for Native Americans. U.S. policy makers, however, later acknowledged the failure of the law, abrogating it and replacing the legislation with the landmark Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, a bill that ushered in the modern era of Indian tribalism and sovereignty. *See also* Apartheid; Asian Americans; Hispanics/Latinos; Japanese Internment.

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Mark Edwin Miller

Democratic Party

A bastion of support for maintaining the repressive conditions of the **Jim Crow** South, the Democratic Party turned almost completely around from

Reconstruction to the mid-1960s into a vehicle for the empowerment of Southern blacks and the use of federal power for social advocacy.

The end of Reconstruction in 1877 signified the dominance of the Democratic Party in the South despite its defeat in the recent Civil War. With Congress deadlocked over resolving the disputed presidential election of 1876, a tacit agreement stipulated that, in exchange for the triumph of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, the new president would evacuate the remaining federal troops from the former Confederacy and offer no obstacles to the assumption of political power by Southern Democrats. The latter group vowed (despite its already obvious propensity for violence) to respect the civil rights embodied in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, but gradually subverted their intent. The South was fast deteriorating into a one-party political system, with most Northerners inclined to emphasize other issues than the divisive question of race relations.

The rise of the Southern Alliance in the 1880s threatened the regional hegemony of the Democratic Party. This agrarian-dominated movement appealed to small farmers frustrated by vast market forces beyond their control and institutions unresponsive to their needs. At a time when *laissez-faire* economic principles seemed to apply only to those without lobbying influence in Washington, the Alliance promoted government intervention with such measures as adjusting the money supply and providing warehouses to store crops until prices climbed to more favorable levels. Some Democrats paid lip service to the movement while hoping that they could retain its support without delivering on its demands. Southern farmers agonized over whether to compete independently in politics. The resulting People's Party (1891) anticipated a fusion of blue-collar and agricultural workers to attack entrenched power in government and make the political process viable for the entire American public. In reality, support for the People's Party proved strongest in the South and West among farmers, with little progress among eastern industrial workers. Eager for any opportunity to wield power, Southern Republicans banded together with Populists in **North Carolina** to control the general assembly. Leery of a political realignment, Democrats across the South responded to this challenge with a combination of co-optation and the tried-and-true practices of fraud and violence.

As the 1896 presidential campaign commenced, reformers in the Democratic Party secured the nomination of William Jennings Bryan on a platform highlighting the monetarization of silver as a boon for cash-starved farmers and enough class-based rhetoric to encourage the downtrodden. This maneuver left the Populists torn over whether to nominate Bryan themselves in the hope of participating in a reform-focused coalition, continue to merge with Republicans, or maintain their distinctive identity and sense of mission. Although Bryan supported the subtreasury plan of supplying government warehouses and low-interest loans for farmers, he chose a fiscally conservative running mate to unify his party. The Populist convention, fractured over a strategic vision, nominated Bryan while tapping a radical Georgian, **Tom Watson**, as the vice presidential candidate. This paradoxical choice left Bryan scarcely able to present a coherent and consistent message to voters. Although many Southern Populists had set aside old anxieties and prejudices to rally

both black and white farmers, Democrats capitalized on lingering fears to undermine this crusade in political utopianism. Following Bryan's defeat at the hands of the Republicans, many Populist leaders reverted to habit with denunciations of Jews, Catholics, and blacks. The path stood clear for Southern Democrats to imitate the **Mississippi Plan** (1890), whereby poll taxes, literacy tests, and residency requirements could disenfranchise the black population without violating a narrow interpretation of the Fifteenth Amendment. With these barriers in place, Southern Democrats celebrated their progressive credentials thanks to a new primary system that included the secret ballot, direct election of U.S. senators, the standardization of voting procedures, and a crackdown on corruption. Of course this expression of democracy could function only with the virtual exclusion of African Americans. With blacks evicted from the political process by the early twentieth century, the **Republican Party** ceased to be an effective regional force and existed primarily to provide federal patronage in the event that one of its own occupied the White House.

As Southern Democrats solidified their gains, poor whites perceived their salvation in the heyday of the one-eyed, irascible demagogue, "Pitchfork" **Ben Tillman**. Although a race-baiter of the most outrageous variety, he emerged as a champion of the white underclass. His nickname stemmed from a promise to impale President Grover Cleveland (a fellow Democrat) for a lethargic response to an economic downturn plaguing the Southern economy. He honed his political survival skills through manipulating the racially motivated violence of the 1870s and the Southern Alliance of the ensuing decade. Tillman organized a political machine that catapulted him into the governor's mansion in **South Carolina** from 1890 to 1894 and ultimately to the U.S. Senate. He served as inspiration for notable politicians of the New South, such as James Vardaman of **Mississippi** and Jeff Davis of **Arkansas**. In a moment illustrative of the passing of a torch between generations, one of **Strom Thurmond's** proudest childhood memories was of meeting Tillman.

The ascendancy of **Franklin D. Roosevelt** in 1932 owed itself in no small part to Southern Democrats, who turned out in droves for him and backed much of his legislation in Congress. As Southern blacks migrated northward in search of industrial jobs during **World War II**, their traditional allegiance to the Republican Party weakened considerably. In a step away from the states' rights heritage of the party, Southern Democrats cautiously began to appreciate the **federal government** as a positive force for economic development. A future Democratic president, Lyndon B. Johnson, ran the National Youth Administration in **Texas** as a showpiece for the possibilities of FDR's **New Deal**. Mindful of Southern seniority in Congress and the unusual instability of the times, the president avoided the sort of social policy that might have eroded the foundation of the Jim Crow South.

Despite his respect for white southern prerogatives, FDR's greatest challenge from within his own party originated from the meteoric Louisianan, Huey Long. While governor from 1924 to 1928, he overhauled his state's economic infrastructure and uplifted its poor like no politician of the Depression era. In the process, he ran roughshod over the Louisiana constitution and oversaw a political machine potent enough to allow him to continue running the

state even after he occupied his U.S. Senate seat in 1932. Originally a New Dealer, Long grew to argue that the president's measures constituted a half-hearted effort to produce anything beyond superficial reform. His Share Our Wealth Plan included fantastic promises of government stipends for struggling Americans and likely encouraged FDR to introduce a social security plan in 1935. Angling for a presidential bid the following year, Long distanced himself from the White House in the hope that he could divide the Democratic vote nationally while making a sufficiently prominent name for himself to triumph in the next campaign. He seemed the one politician who could surpass Roosevelt at his own game of connecting with the masses. Gunned down in 1935 by the relative of a political rival, Long lost an opportunity to test the national mood for its willingness to embrace radicalism.

Upon FDR's death in 1945, President **Harry S. Truman** was personally moved to address black grievances. But with a Congress dominated by conservatives after the 1946 midterm elections, he was loath to take dramatic action. Confining himself to matters well within the purview of the executive branch, Truman established a Committee on Civil Rights and issued executive orders desegregating the military and mandating fair employment practices in the federal government. The Democratic convention of 1948 witnessed a deterioration of sectional relations. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota spearheaded an effort to include a vigorous civil rights plank in the party platform. Congressman Sam Rayburn of Texas failed to engineer a mass walkout by Southern delegates, but 13 percent of them departed the proceedings. Shortly thereafter, roughly 6,000 Southern Democrats convened in Birmingham to form the States' Rights Party (dubbed the "**Dixiecrats**") with South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond atop its ticket. Thurmond ran a vitriolic campaign linking racial integration with communism as anxiety over the emerging Cold War gripped the U.S. public. Despite South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi going for Thurmond, Truman won an improbable victory that emboldened Northern Democrats to elevate the importance of the civil rights issue. As a measure of Southern disaffection, Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower took five and six states, respectively, in his successful presidential campaigns of the 1950s. Yet his effort to desegregate a Little Rock high school in 1957 cemented the distrust of segregationists for the Republicans. Estranged from both parties at the national level, Southern Democrats retained their stranglehold on local organizations and political offices.

The 1960 presidential campaign heightened Southern Democratic suspicions surrounding their party. In a highly symbolic move, **John F. Kennedy** worked through his brother, **Robert F. Kennedy**, to save **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, from incarceration and the prospect of a sentence at a Georgia labor camp. The leader of the Southern Caucus, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, pointedly avoided endorsing Kennedy or even remaining in the country during the final weeks of the campaign. Nevertheless, buoyed by the presence of Texan Lyndon B. Johnson, on the ticket, Kennedy carried a majority of white Southern voters. His advantage was much stronger in the electoral college than with the popular vote. Although Kennedy skirted civil rights questions for most of his tragically short presidency, he reacted forcefully when

confronted in the spring of 1963 with scenes of beleaguered civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama, facing attack dogs and high-pressure water hoses. In what turned out to be the final months of his life, the president put Southern segregationists on notice and introduced meaningful civil rights legislation that Lyndon Johnson would expand on and shepherd through Congress after Kennedy's death.

Johnson represented a bundle of contradictions as he approached race relations in America. He was deeply committed to eliminating the mutually reinforcing scourges of poverty and racism even while he bandied about epithets in his phone conversations with Southern leaders. With an eye towards the stature of his mentor's New Deal, Johnson showcased a Great Society that would include racial equality. Capitalizing on sympathy for a fallen president, he successfully urged Americans to make the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** a tribute to Kennedy's legacy. As Johnson prepared to run for a term of his own, Governor **George Wallace** of Alabama hit the trail with a broader message of states' rights than Thurmond had employed before him. For Wallace, civil rights advocacy formed just one of a wide variety of abuses of federal power that he believed would resonate with voters beyond the South. In 1963, he had prompted the federalization of the Alabama **National Guard** with his threat to bar entrance to the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa should two recently admitted black students attempt to enroll. But Wallace dropped out of the race when it became clear that the Republicans would nominate ultraconservative Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. With such a polarizing opponent, Johnson could select Humphrey as his running mate and still position himself as relatively centrist.

The Democratic convention was marred by a dispute over the credentials of rival Mississippi delegations. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) argued that it was the only Democratic organization from its state that actually supported the national party, since white Democrats clearly preferred Goldwater. Making both an exhaustive legal case and a poignant emotional appeal, the MFDP seemed assured of bringing its status to a floor vote in Atlantic City. But Johnson thwarted the effort by compelling Humphrey to broker a "compromise" whereby the MFDP would provide only two delegates to the convention. MFDP activists, such as the outspoken **Fannie Lou Hamer**, rejected the token gesture in a move symbolic of the growing militancy of blacks in the Civil Rights Movement and their distrust of white liberals. Although progressive in his personal views on race, Goldwater vehemently opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as an infringement upon states' rights. During this campaign, Thurmond switched his party affiliation to Republican and barnstormed the South on Goldwater's behalf. Although Johnson won in a landslide, he sparked a tectonic shift in the Southern political landscape. His opponent took five Deep South states as many segregationist Democrats transferred their allegiance. As Johnson subsequently backed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** with his exhortation that "we shall overcome" (quoting a popular civil rights song), the Republicans secured the white Southern vote. But the milestones achieved by the Civil Rights Movement and its political allies began to return Southern blacks to the polls as the South rediscovered legitimate, two-party competition.

Although the Democratic Party would experience severe divisions over race, gender, and the Vietnam War in the coming years, it no longer could be so intimately associated with excesses dating back to Reconstruction. While some segregationists, such as Richard Russell and Ernest “Fritz” Hollings, remained in the party, it could console itself with a degree of credit for translating the sacrifices of civil rights advocates into concrete legislation.

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Jeffrey D. Bass

Desegregation

Desegregation efforts across the United States varied from quiescent events to violent confrontations. Many public schools across the United States were never truly integrated. When *Brown v. Board of Education* became law, in 1954 and 1955, the white racist power elite, along with their economic and political allies, sought ways to soften desegregation efforts in many areas of the South. Immediately after the *Brown* decision, widespread attempts were made to begin desegregation. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) encouraged black parents to send their children to “white” schools. There were also mass demonstrations in Washington. In 1959, thousands of signatures were presented to Congress and the president calling for a program to ensure the “speedy integration of schools.” The legal, political, and social struggle by anti-integration activists blunted the *Brown* decision in a number of ways. Racist Southern school board members, supported by their allies in the state governments, brought multiple suits challenging the *Brown* decision, thereby creating escape routes to get around the intent of the decision. In many areas around the country, social trickery, intimidation, and violence were used to maintain segregation or blunt the intent of the *Brown* decision.

The **Montgomery Bus Boycott** of 1955, and the violent desegregation of Little Rock Central High in 1957, began an extended series of legal actions, protests, demonstrations, and violence. In many cases desegregation methods depended upon the extent of business involvement and the type of business interests at stake. The battle over Southern school desegregation, from 1954 to 1963, represents the initial phase of desegregation efforts in the United States that was never completed through quiet diplomacy or straightforward methods.

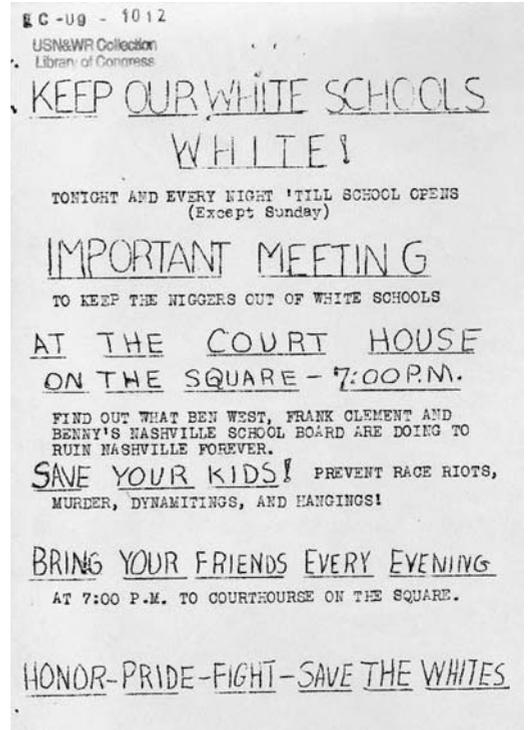
Beginning in Topeka, Kansas, the landmark 1954 U.S. **Supreme Court** decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* declared segregated schools were unequal and therefore unconstitutional. The decision in *Brown* brought much significance to the racial paradigm and the structure of U.S. society. Though the *Brown* decision did not begin the **Civil Rights Movement**, it provided the political fire and legal impetus for social action. While the *Brown* decision

did not end segregation, it provided a legal cornerstone by which social action could be launched. However, the court decision raised questions as to how much authority it had over entrenched institutional and traditional racism that was embedded into the social fabric of society in a racial matrix that appears to have permanence in American society.

Racist opponents of desegregation would employ a number of tactics. In the late 1950s, rather than integrate its schools, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors in Virginia voted to prevent integration by closing all of its schools. As a result, the majority of the county's black students were denied a formal education from 1959 through 1964. Community leaders challenged the closing of the schools in the courts. In an important U.S. Supreme Court case, decided in *Griffin v. Prince Edward County* in 1964, the court ruled that local authorities had to fund public education and reopen the schools.

In New Orleans, Louisiana, and San Antonio, Texas, the politicians and white business owners were afraid the negative publicity of segregated facilities would have a deleterious economic impact on their respective cities and the tourist industry. This development caused a "gradual and quiet form of integration" that blunted the sincere efforts to desegregate public schools and facilities. In Texas, the gradual desegregation efforts produced a pattern of destruction of institutions under the desegregation formula that most Texas public schools implemented. This formula sought to characterize Mexican American students as "white" for the purposes of maintaining segregation. Despite the fact that Texas is a large state, segregation patterns in the African American community was consistent across the state. Black institutions separate from whites was the preferred societal arrangement by racially minded whites, but as African American communities began to question the **Booker T. Washington** model of vocational education, whites began to fear the potential of black institutions and the thrust for academic curriculum. It thus became important to historically bury and physically demolish black institutions in neighborhoods that benefited from their existence.

One of the outcomes of integration was development of methods to destroy black historical institutions, or to pave over them with other histories. This can be described as the colonial matrix of erasure. Erasing black history has been particularly successful in areas of the country where the white business elite sought to quietly integrate public facilities. Even before *Brown* became law, San Antonio and other cities implemented "gradual formulas" of integration in the central business district, but did not officially challenge segregation



Handbill protesting desegregation of public schools in 1957 Tennessee. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-108148.

in the suburbs and in white schools. This method would protect business interests in the central business district of a city and maintain segregated schools in the white areas.

Nashville, Tennessee, did not experience racial and political violence or massive protests during the heyday of the Civil Rights Movement. In fact, Nashville, like San Antonio, was a “leader of school desegregation” in the South with superficial integration formulas before the *Brown* decision. Despite progressive breakthroughs, full desegregation of the schools was far from a reality in cities like Nashville, San Antonio, and Houston in the mid-1950s. Black residents of Nashville filed suit against the Nashville Board of Education in 1955, while blacks in San Antonio protested the gradual formula laid out by the San Antonio Independent School District.

The result of the Nashville lawsuit was what came to be known as the 1957 “Nashville Plan.” This plan was similar to attempts across the United States to integrate the public schools by use of the “gradual” integration of schools by integrating elementary grades each year, starting in the fall of 1957 with elementary grades. For the most part, black children who were moved for integration purposes to white schools did not report to their assigned campus on the first day of school. Those who did comply were met by angry white mobs. There is no evidence that any white children assigned to the traditionally black schools reported to their assigned campuses. By the late 1960s, most schools were still either mostly white or mostly black. This gradual integration strategy became but another delay tactic, by white school board authorities, to prevent full integration.

With the demographics of segregation being that of physical location, many whites argued that patterns of housing segregation prevented full integration. Housing and economic racial patterns, sent in place over centuries as a result of slavery, and reinforced by *Jim Crow*, set up patterns that would permanently place African Americans in lower economic brackets and in poor communities. With poor black families being forced into areas with poor housing stocks, whites began to leave inner cities and the poor behind as black populations increased. Burned into the collective conscience of white Americans was the idea that blacks were inferior and prone to criminal activity. Thus, “white flight” posited the idea that forced busing of the children reduced the quality of education and corrupted white standards of race separation.

The idea of forced busing would be ill fated as many whites refused to allow their children to attend schools with black children. Predominantly African American educational institutions lacked full-time and subject-qualified teachers, basic classroom furniture and school supplies, books, and an atmosphere conducive to the type of education to which whites were accustomed. Whites knew that their children would not receive a quality education at any black institution, especially since white racial paradigms of concentrating on vocational training at the expense of academics was the model set in place after the Civil War.

While some hailed these gradual integration efforts as a success, many blacks began to realize that the result would be the closure of neighborhood schools. These schools, with long black historical connections, brought the community together over many years. Black educational institutions were

demolished or moved, resulting in the erasure of cultural histories and traditions that linked African Americans together. Along with this destruction came even further erosion of the social matrix of survival that blacks had come to rely upon against the racist onslaught of society during the Jim Crow era and before.

In Tuscaloosa, **Alabama** in 1956, Autherine Lucy attempted to enter the University of Alabama. She would be assaulted by violent angry white mobs and was finally expelled. The state of Alabama would not give in to federal law even as late as 1963, when Governor **George Wallace** blocked African American students from the university until the **federal government** intervened. In Little Rock, Arkansas, the school board integrated Central High School in 1957, but diehard segregationists protested it until federal troops arrived to enforce the law. The governor would close all the high schools in the city, forcing the African American students to take correspondence courses or go to out-of-state institutions. The school board reopened the schools in the fall of 1959.

In 1958 in Richmond, Virginia, the governor prevented integration, in defiance of the Supreme Court, by closing schools in Charlottesville, Norfolk, and other areas of the state rather than allow black students to attend traditional white schools. In 1962 in Oxford, Mississippi, **James Meredith** filed legal actions to attend the University of Mississippi in 1962. Meredith would be successful, but this would trigger violent protests by segregationists, led by the **Ku Klux Klan**. Governor Ross Barnett's anti-integration efforts inspired extremist racist elements to gather on campus in 1963, armed with weapons and explosives that erupted in violence, killing several people and wounding many others before federal troops move in to restore order. Meredith was finally admitted under federal protection.

Over time, as racist elements realized that they would not be able to halt the progress being made, many white citizens organized against desegregation laws, even the ones promoting a gradual approach. The fear of white resistance pushed white lawmakers into political boxes. While individual whites protested, and school boards remained quiescent, white parents began pulling their children out of the public schools and enrolling them in private schools that began to spring up across the country in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of these private schools continue to be segregated both racially and along class lines even to this day. Still, other whites moved outside of the city limits, or into the suburbs, to avoid busing plans or to avoid the population increase of blacks into their traditional areas.

Because so many white parents had taken their children out of the public schools, and away from inner city districts, the full integration of all public school facilities was never achieved. In other areas of the country, housing stock in older neighborhoods began to deteriorate, and with it came rental properties in which property owners paid little attention to neighborhood concerns. As housing stock decayed, there was a corresponding increase in "white flight."

Violence against integration efforts would not end, and patterns of hatred and segregation would be revealed in graphic media images in the North. In 1965, a decade after the desegregation of Southern schools, school segregation

in the North became national news. As a consequence of extreme segregated neighborhoods in the North, violence erupted in Boston. The NAACP, in seeking to end educational segregation, supported black parents by confronting the Boston School Committee and Louise Day Hicks, who stood fast in her claims that Boston's black public schools were not inferior. Black parents took the Boston school committee to court, and on June 21, 1974, federal district court judge W. Arthur Garrity ruled that the school committee had purposefully maintained two separate school systems. The solution that Judge Garrity imposed was that students were to be bused citywide to integrate the system.

With racial polarization accomplished as a result of segregated housing patterns in the black community of Boston (Roxbury), and in the white community of South Boston, school board members and city politicians announced their desire to overturn Judge Garrity's decision. During the crisis, black students were threatened by rock-throwing, jeering white mobs in South Boston as busses rolled through the white areas of Boston. Organized opposition to the busing order included boycotts of schools to which blacks were being bused. White resistance continued under the leadership of Hicks until 1977.

Many Texas school districts were able to avoid these types of problems by never integrating at all under the guise of a "gradual formula." For example, Sam Houston High School in San Antonio, which was mostly white, was integrated by "white flight," while Phyllis Wheatley High School, the African American school, would go through a series of name changes and busing methods that only produced new forms of segregation. The *San Antonio Register*, the oldest black newspaper in San Antonio, reported that on March 30, 1954, that City Councilman Henry B. Gonzalez, later to become a U.S. congressman, made a motion for the City of San Antonio to officially desegregate all "municipally-owned facilities," even before the *Brown* implementation decision. However, this accomplishment would have mixed blessings.

The motion passed, but this did not end segregation in San Antonio, nor did it prevent the exclusion of blacks from city boards and commissions. It was a gesture designed to induce quiescence (planned quietness) by piecemeal approaches that were never to be implemented. Despite the fact that a progressive Mexican American made the motion, white support was needed to pass it, and along with that support was no commitment to desegregate public schools in the white community and surrounding suburbs. Additionally, the desegregation of municipally owned buildings affected mostly the downtown area, where city officials could benefit from the move in sparing merchants negative publicity in the tourist industry. A "gradual desegregation process" was set in place, which was only partial desegregation between blacks and Mexican Americans—a racial strategy of control, for the white schools remained untouched for the most part.

The San Antonio branch of the NAACP was aware of this attempt at a gradual integration plan being proposed by the San Antonio School District. In September 1955, the local NAACP branch expressed its opposition, as was reported in the *San Antonio Register* of September 16, 1955: "The San Antonio branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this week voiced its opposition to the 'gradual' system of integration

projected, this fall, by the San Antonio Independent School District, and petitioned the school board, Wednesday, to reorganize all San Antonio schools on a non-discriminatory basis.” The *Register* again reported on October 28, 1955, of **Thurgood Marshall’s** (an NAACP attorney at the time) speech to a crowd of more than 800 people at St. Paul Methodist Church in San Antonio. Marshall stated, “Gradual desegregation merely provides Negrophobists with an opportunity to mobilize their forces and to plan ways and means to circumvent the Supreme Court decision.”

Marshall’s understanding of the racial maneuvering was prophetic. The federal government demanded desegregation, but the white business leaders and their political allies found a way around it. Although public facilities would be “officially” integrated in most Texas cities, the public schools would continue to be segregated. “Integration” in San Antonio would not come officially until 1967–1968, when the building of HemisFair, a San Antonio–based World’s Fair, prompted concerns about tourist dollars being lost and economic instability that could be caused by militant action and negative publicity. In the central business district and in tourist publications, HemisFair ’68 was touted as a “cooperative symphony of harmony” by city officials. The process of partial integration was facilitated by raw economic concerns and white fear, which were all the more easily accomplished with a racist political structure called the Good Government League (GGL). With the ability to manipulate integration schemes, a “voluntary integration” could be said to be accomplished.

The GGL, with the economic interests it had in the World’s Fair, opened a small crack in the segregated door, a door that they controlled and wrote the agenda for. Given the racist politics of former San Antonio Mayor Walter McAllister, there was no doubt in the black community that altruistic reasons for integration in San Antonio were never present in the thinking of whites. Integration in most of Texas followed this pattern. *See also* Beaumont, Texas, Race Riot; Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work Campaign; Executive Order 9981; Little Rock Nine.

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Mario Marcel Salas

Detroit Race Riot of 1943

There were 243 instances of racial violence in 47 American cities during 1943, including Los Angeles and New York City, but the two-day race riot in Detroit was the largest and most devastating. The riot began at a city park located on a small island in the Detroit River, and dangerously spilled over into the city itself. As a result of the rioting, 34 people died, 25 blacks and 9 whites, and 675 were wounded. Property damage reached \$2 million; more than 1,890 had been arrested. Wartime competition among whites and African Americans for access to defense industry jobs, as well as increasingly

scarce housing, limited public recreational spaces, and crowded public transportation, precipitated the racial tensions that produced the riot.

African Americans and poor whites from Southern states, as well as rural whites from the Midwestern countryside, all came to Detroit to find work during the war, and the bulging population of the city deepened tensions among the races. Racial hostilities reached the breaking point on the afternoon of June 20, 1943. On Detroit's Belle Isle, a popular public park, nearly 100,000 whites and African Americans sought refuge from the summer heat by enjoying the day on the island's many beaches and shaded picnic areas. However, following a tense period of racial conflicts in the city over housing and public recreation in 1942 and 1943, angry groups of black teenagers ventured throughout Belle Isle and harassed numerous whites. As skirmishes unfolded throughout the afternoon and into the evening, the violence congealed into open race war. The fighting rapidly escalated on the Jefferson Avenue bridge, which linked the park and the city, and the riot spread into Detroit itself. Rioting continued on Belle Isle and in Detroit until roughly 2:00 AM, June 21, when an understaffed Detroit police department was finally able to scatter the mobs.

While the riot appeared to be over, it was actually just beginning. False rumors—spread by whites and African Americans—precipitated the second phase of the violence. In Paradise Valley, an ironically named black enclave near Woodward Avenue, a young African American man named Leo Tipton stormed onto the stage of the Forest Club, a popular night spot. He announced to the large crowd that a black woman and her baby had been thrown from the Jefferson Avenue bridge by white mobs and drowned. The rumor was false, but its effect was devastating. The crowd at the Forest Club poured into the streets of Paradise Valley. Angry African Americans attacked white-owned stores on Hastings Street, the main thoroughfare in the neighborhood. The mob also assaulted whites in their cars as they tried to drive past, dragging passengers into the streets and violently beating them. Nine whites died. The violence and the casualties continued to increase as members of the Detroit police fired randomly into the crowds of black men and women. Seventeen African Americans were killed.

Simultaneously, another untrue rumor circulated among whites in the vicinity of Woodward Avenue that a group of black men had attacked and raped a white woman on Belle Isle. All along Woodward, large white mobs estimated to be in the thousands assailed blacks on sight, tearing their way through theaters, stores, and the crowded street to search for victims. As the white mobs circulated, police officers remained in the background and did nothing. As night fell on June 21, the white mobs gathered in Cadillac Square in downtown Detroit, preparing for a rampage in Paradise Valley.

Local authorities responded hesitantly. The Detroit mayor, Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., initially hoped local and state police, along with the state guard, would be enough to quell the violence, but the worsening crisis ultimately forced him to ask the **federal government** for troops. Late in the evening on June 21, two military police battalions marched from the outskirts of Detroit to the riot scene with their rifles and bayonets at the ready. As troops moved through Paradise Valley and down Woodward, the mobs finally began to

dissolve. Slowly, quiet came to the city. The many casualties and the extent of the property damage made Detroit neighborhoods look more like the battlefields of Europe or the Pacific—rather than the celebrated “Arsenal of Democracy.” Paradise Valley and Woodward Avenue were in ruins.

Accusations and conspiracy theories proliferated in the days after the riot, as authorities, residents, and outside observers struggled to identify those responsible. Their various allegations reflected the long-standing resentments of various social groups and wartime fears of subversion. African Americans pointed to the sinister and enduring influence of the **Ku Klux Klan**, the Black Legion, and other white racists, while many whites in Detroit blamed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and “Communists” for inciting black violence. Southern white observers complained that First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** and the Committee of Fair Employment Practice (FEPC) were responsible for the riot, arguing that their reckless calls for social equality among blacks and whites created the turmoil. Still others claimed that a fascist “fifth column” caused the violence in an attempt to embarrass the United States and hinder wartime production.

There were much deeper sources of racial violence in Detroit, however. Whites had long opposed black migration to the city, using violence and discrimination in an effort to marginalize the African American population. In 1925, for example, white mobs attacked a black physician, Ossian Sweet, and his family as they attempted to move into a new house in a “white” neighborhood. During **World War II**, whites worried extensively about competing with blacks for jobs and homes in an increasingly crowded city. In 1942, as the African American population of Detroit began expanding dramatically, black families confronted white picketing and violence when they tried to take up residence in a new government housing project, the Sojourner Truth Homes, which was situated in another predominantly white section of the city. During June 1943, only a couple of weeks before the race riot, African Americans confronted a massive “hate strike” at Packard Motors, where thousands of white men walked off the job in opposition to only a small number of black promotions. As African Americans battled for victory both in the war against fascism and for racial justice at home, many whites worried about the erosion of white privilege. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**’s Executive Order 8802, the creation of the FEPC, and the allocation of the Sojourner Truth Homes to African American families distressed many whites in Detroit. In southeastern Michigan, white apprehension about the changing status of African Americans could be heard in frequent complaints about the shadowy “bump club”: whites believed that many black men were members of a secret group of especially assertive African Americans, whose purpose was to “bump” and harass whites on crowded buses and streetcars. Throughout the period between **World War I** and **World War II**, white demands for the residential and occupational separation of African Americans and whites, white anxieties about an expanding black population, and African American determination to struggle against harassment were the explosive foundations of racial strife in Detroit.

Despite the terrible bloodshed and costly damage to property, the Detroit Race Riot of 1943 was not the end of racial tensions in the city. Persistent

racial discrimination and inequalities in employment, housing, and public space continued to define daily life in metropolitan Detroit; and deadly rioting would once again occur in 1967. *See also* Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC); Zoot Suit Riots.

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Gregory Wood

Discrimination

Simply stated, discrimination can be described as differential treatment of people based solely on their membership in a socially distinct group. Discrimination naturally follows from the belief that some groups are superior to others and has its base in **racism**. In the United States, discrimination is generally associated with the concept that whites are superior to other racial and ethnic groups in general and blacks in particular.

In the United States, discrimination has been both personal and institutional. The latter general took one of two forms: *de jure segregation* and *de facto segregation*. The former was most commonly associated with the Southern states, although it existed all over the country. This is segregation by law; that is, *de jure* segregation is codified. Every state in the country had laws that denied slave and free blacks access to public accommodation, jobs, the legal system, and the franchise. This discrimination was based on racial prejudice. *De facto* segregation is that based on custom or practice and not spelled out in the law. The particular practices in question are so dominant that individuals and institutions follow them. To understand the development of discrimination, it is necessary to go back to the first contacts between whites and Africans in the New World.

It is generally agreed upon that the first black Africans landed in Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in the New World, around 1619; there is no known record of exactly when they arrived or from where they came. It is known, however, that the 32 Africans were servants to several planters. Their status was that of unfree, but not slaves. In this respect, they were much like indentured servants; once they had met the terms of their contracts, they would be free. They could not be considered slaves because the English had no law for slavery. Furthermore, the Africans had at some point been converted to Christianity, and Christian could not be slaves. The English called them *negroes*, which they borrowed from the Spanish with whom they traded; “negro” is the Spanish word for “black.”

While the English did not consider the Africans slaves, they did treat them differently from white indentures. However, various economic and cultural factors augured a shift in the Africans’ status. First, Africans who lived and worked in British colonies in the Caribbean were treated as slaves. Moreover, by the middle of the seventeenth century, fewer whites were willing to come to

the New World as indentured; this meant that the English found it increasingly more difficult to purchase the labor of white men and women, and made African labor cheaper. The English had long made distinctions about the intrinsic worth of various racial and ethnic groups, so it took no great leap to move from thinking that the Africans were lesser than whites to chattel slavery. Those who purchased slaves often noted in the bills of sale that it was a lifetime condition tied to the status of mothers. Thus, racial discrimination became institutionalized in the British colonies. Black women worked in the fields; white women, inside. Black workers did not have surnames, could not carry weapons or convert to Christianity. Whites began regulating sexual relationships, which had been somewhat fluid, with blacks, whites, and Indians, fining whites who committed fornication with Africans. By the 1640s, skin color became the common denominator with regard to slavery, and by the 1660s, chattel slavery had found a comfortable place in the Chesapeake area of the English colonies.

Beginning in 1664, the **New England** colonies began enacting slave codes that defined the status of slaves and the rights of their owners, and beginning in 1705, the Southern colonies followed suit. Generally speaking, the codes used race or color as the defining characteristic—Negro, Moor, Indian, mulatto—and gave masters total control over their slaves. The **Virginia** slave code was one of the most strict. It exempted baptism into the Christian faith as an acceptable reason for granting slaves their freedom, declined to punish masters who beat or killed their slaves while disciplining them, made teaching slaves to read a crime, and expressly forbade slaves to carry firearms.

Despite nearly total control over slaves, masters lived in fear of slave rebellions. In 1663 in Gloucester County, Virginia, a group of slaves revolted, and in 1712 a slave rebellion was crushed. On September 9, 1739, slaves gathered at the Stono River in **South Carolina**. Led by an Angolan slave named Jemmy, they marched through the town shouting “Freedom” and carrying a banner with the word on it. Upon arriving at the Stono Bridge, they robbed a store of guns and ammunition and killed two shopkeepers. They continued marching to Spanish Florida, which was known to welcome escaping slaves. During their journey, they picked up more followers, burned seven plantations, and killed almost two dozen whites. William Bull, the lieutenant governor of South Carolina, came upon the march and fled back to town to warn plantation owners. The next day, the militia caught up with the group; 44 slaves and 20 whites were killed. The remaining slaves were decapitated, and their heads were used as one-mile markers from the battlefield to neighboring Charles Town. While the uprising was repressed, it also caused tremendous fear in white communities. Not only was there a slave revolt, but some whites had joined it. Clearly, it had to have raised doubts in the minds of slave traders and owners alike. A people who were inherently inferior because of their color plan had organized and kept secret a frightening demonstration of power and will. Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676 only heightened their fears.

Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy English gentlemen, led a group of whites in an armed uprising over Indian policy in Virginia. Bacon also invited blacks to join, which made his movement one based on class rather than race. Colonial leaders were frightened by the thought that blacks and whites might join

together to press their economic issues. They determined that the purchase of white indentures was too high a political price to pay. Enslaving Africans was now seen as a way to stem white class consciousness.

One by one, lawmakers in the colonies that were dependent upon slave labor moved to tighten their control. Thus the seeds of discrimination were deeply planted in British North America. Involuntary servitude based on race and handed down in perpetuity became the preferred policy of dealing with blacks. After Bacon's Rebellion and into the early years of the eighteenth century, colonial legislatures increased their control over virtually every aspect of blacks' lives. The response of blacks, slave and free, varied from acquiescence to protest to armed insurrection.

Whites missed an opportunity to undo decades of discrimination before, during, and after the Revolutionary War. Thomas Jefferson's diatribe against King George III and slavery had been deleted from the *Declaration of Independence* to satisfy the Southern colonies. The ideas that sparked the Revolution—the natural rights of man, self-government, and the right of the people to change or abolish governments with which they disagreed—appeared to have been forgotten. As America expanded and capitalism took root, the egalitarianism of the Revolutionary period became a distant memory.

The French Revolution in 1789 was a portent for whites in power. Especially troubling was the redistribution of property, for in America, property rights were sacrosanct. Furthermore, the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory allowed for the possibility of land ownership for those who had yet to achieve it, and no doubt this would entail the expansion of slavery. Thus, only the most morally committed could afford to criticize slavery.

Free blacks were aware of this dichotomy. In addition to racial discrimination, they faced the very real fear that they could be captured and sold into slavery. Historians now recognize that there were vibrant and dynamic free black communities in the North and upper South, especially in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, but slavery had in some ways stunted their growth. These communities were of paramount importance to African Americans, for they served as the means through which they could maintain their African heritage. The autonomous communities also served as an important and much-needed buffer from the harsh realities of a wider world that deemed them inferior.

Against this backdrop, whites had to find new rationales for slavery and discrimination against free blacks. They first confronted the Enlightenment-era theory that racial differences were the result of nature but of different environments. Proponents of slavery begin to espouse the theory that God had predetermined that the white man was superior and that blacks were a species apart. Indeed, even Thomas Jefferson, the fierce defender of freedom, had concluded that blacks were both physically and mentally lesser beings. The U.S. Congress reaffirmed the theory of white superiority; in the last decade of the eighteenth century, it passed laws excluding blacks from U.S. citizenship and barred their enrollment in state militias. It would take a civil war and three constitutional amendments to overturn their handiwork.

In response, black communities created their own social institutions, including benevolent societies, schools, and churches. These institutions provided

free blacks with a number of important services, including help for the poor and needy and burial expenses. Especially important was the black church, for it represented virtually the only independent organization blacks had and provided important leadership opportunities, especially for black men. There had for some time during this period been separate black churches, but they were not independent of the larger white bodies. This changed in 1792 when, in response to decades of discrimination, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones left the white-controlled Methodist body and established an independent black Methodist congregation.

During this same time period, whites in Great Britain raised legal questions about the institution of slavery; British law recognized no such institution. Most active in these circles were the Quakers, and they founded an abolitionist organization in Great Britain in 1783; its original purpose was to outlaw the slave trade. After years of agitation, the British Parliament passed the Slave Trade Act on March 25, 1807; it made slavery in the British Empire illegal and levied a fine of 100 pounds per slave against anyone caught trafficking in human beings. In spite of the Act, the slave trade continued to flourish because it was so lucrative and the demand for slaves was so high. Abolitionists then reorganized in 1823, forming the Anti Slavery Society in order to end the institution of slavery. The Slavery Abolition Act, passed on August 23, 1833, outlawed slavery in the British colonies. All slaves in Great Britain were emancipated on August 1, 1834 and were rendered indentured in an apprenticeship system. That system was abolished in 1838 and slave owners in the Caribbean were paid twenty million dollars in compensation.

As in Great Britain, it was Quakers who took the lead in the United States; they formed the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage in April 1775. The society disbanded during the Revolutionary War, but was reorganized in 1784 with Benjamin Franklin as its leader. Other Revolutionary leads had spoken out against slavery, including John Adams and Benjamin Rush. Thomas Paine even published an article against the institution entitled *African Slavery in America*, printed in March 1775.

By 1804, abolitionist activism had succeeded in wiping out slavery in the northern colonies, although so called “permanent apprentices” could still be seen as late as 1860. Additionally, Congress outlawed the international slave trade on January 1, 1808.

From 1800 through 1822, five slave uprisings in the American colonies emerged, including those led by Gabriel Prosser in 1800 and Denmark Vesey in 1822, and all but one was suppressed. However, they struck fear in the hearts of slave masters, and free blacks were looked upon with increasing suspicion and dread. The result was ever more draconian laws against slaves. For example, in the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion, South Carolina declared a 10-year moratorium on the importation of slaves and banned slaves from being educated or earning money. But sentiment against slavery was growing and becoming ever more public and troublesome. Abolitionists stepped up their efforts to eradicate slavery in the South. Their work angered slave owners, who banned the mailing of abolitionist materials and prohibited the sale of abolitionist literature.

Free blacks also worked for the cause of abolitionism. David Walker published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* in which he called for a slave uprising, and a few white abolitionists supported him. In what to whites must have looked like an affirmative response to Walker's appeal—although there is no evidence that Turner or any of his followers had seen or read it—Nat Turner led a slave revolt in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831 that was stunning in audacity. It struck terror in the hearts of whites, whether or not they owned slaves.

Turner was a somewhat privileged slave—he had learned to read when he was a child and spent his adult years memorizing the Bible—in Virginia who became a leader among his fellow slaves and a lay preacher. Influenced by religious visions of eradicating slavery, he executed his vision on August 21, 1831. He and about seventy associates killed 57 whites before the revolt was stamped out the next day. Turner and 17 of his followers were charged with treason and insurrection, found guilty, and hanged. Terrified whites retaliated; killing more than 100 blacks whom they thought had supported Turner. Turner's boldness earned him the status of a liberator and was a turning point for abolitionists, some of whom agreed with his actions, and slave owners. It also presaged the militancy that would heretofore mark the abolitionist movement.

As they did after the Revolutionary War, whites who studied race espoused the doctrine of white supremacy even more fervently, cloaking it in a pseudo-science that allowed them to go on discriminating against African Americans, slave or free. Violence against blacks, abolitionists, Native Americans, and, with victory in the Mexican War, people of Spanish descent increased. The apogee of that discrimination was the Civil War.

The war heightened discrimination against blacks, for it provided the Confederacy a rallying point from which to defeat the Union and expand slavery. As they had in other wars, blacks volunteered on both sides, and at first, both sides rejected them. Many slaves walked away from the plantations from the beginning of the war, but there was no Union policy to deal with them. In 1861, Congress passed the First Classification Act; it allowed them to seize Confederates' property, including slaves, by force and to free slaves pressed into service by slaveholders. At Cabinet meetings in July 1862, President Abraham Lincoln discussed abolishing slavery, convinced it was the key to winning the war and saving the Union; still he dithered, unsure of his course. Finally in September, he issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, providing that anyone still enslaved on January 1, 1863 in states or parts of states in rebellion would be freed. Moreover, it provided for the enlistment of black men in Union forces from that day hence. Although technically, the Emancipation Proclamation did not free any slaves, it undermined the institution and helped to bring about the defeat of the Confederate forces.

As usual, black Union soldiers were met with discrimination. They served in separate all-black units commanded by white officers and were subjected to harassment from their fellow soldiers. They often went without sufficient supplies. Relegated to the duties of cooking, construction, and burying the dead, they received lower pay than white soldiers. Once allowed into the Union army, they fought in virtually every remaining campaign of the war, and their casualty rate was disproportionately higher than that of whites. Still, black

soldiers generally acquitted themselves well; the famed 54th Massachusetts Regiment immortalized in the 1989 movie *Glory* is a depiction of their loyalty to the Union and bravery in battle.

Confederate commanders faced the same dilemma, and they desperately needed the relief that the infusion of black soldiers would provide. Southerners' prejudice against blacks ran so deeply, they could not reconcile themselves to the idea. Allowing black men to join the Confederate forces would undermine the doctrine of white supremacy they had held so dear for more than 100 years. It was not until March 1865 that they relented, and the black soldiers' entry was too little, too late. The following month, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union general Ulysses S. Grant, and the war was over.

After the Civil War, blacks expected that the discriminatory laws that had so long ruled their lives would no longer do so. Their governmental allies passed a host of laws to ensure that would be the case. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, often called the Civil War or Reconstruction amendments, banned slavery, defined citizenship, guaranteed due process and equal protection of the laws, and banned discrimination in voting, respectively. The **federal government** also created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands as a temporary agency that was to assist slaves in making the transition to freedom. In 1870, the Enforcement Act outlawed disguises and masks—it was aimed at white vigilante groups who had begun to terrorize freedmen—and protected blacks civil rights. The **Ku Klux Klan Act** of 1871 made it a federal crime to interfere with an individual's right to sit on a jury, hold office, vote or enjoy the equal protection of the laws. Finally, the **Civil Rights Act of 1875** banned discrimination in public facilities.

For several years, Congress used the power of federal troops to uphold these laws. But by the beginning of the 1870s, Congress began to retreat from its promise to protect black civil rights. After the presidential election of 1876, Reconstruction was dismantled.

Moreover, in a series of cases, the **U.S. Supreme Court** took away the role of the federal government in protecting the rights of African Americans. In the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883), the Court ruled that Congress had no authority to prevent so-called private acts of discrimination. This invalidated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) ruled in an 8–1 decision that as long as segregated facilities were equal, they were constitutionally permissible. Finally in *Williams v. Mississippi* (1898), the Court approved the use of poll taxes and literacy tests that had been used to disfranchise African Americans. In the wake of this decision, thousands of blacks were removed from the voting rolls, and black lawmakers all but disappeared. Blacks were left to fend for themselves, and de jure segregation became official public policy in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy.

Many of the Southern states held constitutional conventions in 1890 and 1900, where they further elevated the concept of white superiority to the extreme. Buttressed by the claims of pseudoscientists who claimed to have discovered biological differences that accounted for the superiority of whites and the inferiority of blacks, they separated textbooks, banned the mere discussion

of racial equality, and segregated sporting events and houses of prostitution. Moreover, violence, especially **lynchings**, became an accepted tool in the enforcement of segregation in the North and South. No area of life was untouched by racial discrimination.

The uplift movement in the late nineteenth and the birth of new civil rights organization in the early twentieth century saw blacks increasingly challenge institutional discrimination in the United States. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) played a pivotal role in these efforts. Several important victories in the fight against discrimination were won. For example, in *Guinn v. United States* (1915), the Supreme Court invalidated the grandfather clause in voting; and in *Moore v. Dempsey* (1923), it overturned some criminal cases in which blacks had been excluded from juries. A series of cases involving discrimination in colleges and universities portended the end of racially segregated schools.

Social forces in American society also had an important impact in dismantling discrimination. Natural disasters and mechanization in the South drove hundreds of thousands of blacks to migrate to northern urban areas. This further stressed race relations as whites and blacks jockeyed over jobs and housing, and in the 1910s there were a number of race riots during which blacks defended themselves by armed resistance. The **Harlem Renaissance** and the Chicago Renaissance, periods of great cultural flowering, proved that blacks had a viable culture worth teaching and preserving, and that many whites were attracted to it. In response to labor shortages and a decline in immigration during both world wars, blacks took jobs in factories where they earned better wages; this in turn helped stabilize families and provided a boost up the socioeconomic ladder. Finally, black veterans who had helped make the world safe for democracy returned to the United States determined to take their rightful places in American society.

It was the development and maturation of the modern day civil rights movement, however, that was most critical in the fight to end discrimination. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) outlawed segregation in public schools, and it was only a matter of time before de jure segregation began to crumble. The 1950s and 1960s were a time of feverish activity against discrimination. Nonviolent direct action, including demonstrations, boycotts, and sit-ins, attacked segregation in public accommodations, and in response, the federal government passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which banned discrimination in public accommodations. Further demonstrations and prodigious work to register black voters culminated in the passage of the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**. A final vestige of de jure segregation, that of discrimination in public housing, was addressed in the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Although federal legislation wiped out de jure segregation, de facto segregation remains a problem, especially in the North. Millions of African Americans resided in large urban ghettos, where they lived in substandard housing. Suburbanization gave millions of whites a way to circumvent the *Brown* decision, trapping blacks in segregated schools in much the way they were prior to *Brown*. African American children are more likely to attend all-black or majority-minority schools, score lower on standardized tests, be tracked into special education programs, and drop out of high school.

The disappearance of low-skill, high-wage manufacturing jobs from central cities has wreaked havoc with blacks' economic status. As industries left the cities for the suburbs or overseas, blacks, particularly black men, lost jobs. Blacks tend to have less education and fewer skills than whites; this, coupled with continued discrimination in employment, means that blacks earn less than whites. Even highly educated blacks sometimes suffer from discrimination in the job market.

In response to the difficulty in eliminating de facto segregation and a tacit acknowledgment that in spite of federal legislation, America has yet to become a colorblind society, the federal government established policies and goals in the 1960s and 1970s to ensure that blacks and other minorities had access to employment and educational opportunities; this became known as **Affirmative Action**. The doctrine recognizes that due to hundreds of years of discrimination, much of it enforced by law, that it would not be sufficient to legally end segregation; some positive means of assisting those trapped by discrimination based on race or color are needed. Affirmative Action became very controversial and as is often labeled reverse discrimination. *See also* Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960; Jim Crow; Segregation, Residential; Segregation, Rural; Segregation, Suburban.

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Marilyn K. Howard

Disenfranchisement

Depriving African Americans the right to vote, or disenfranchisement, was a significant feature of **Jim Crow** politics for almost a century. It began in the late nineteenth century as a means to curtail the political advantages African Americans had gained during **Reconstruction**. After the Civil War, three constitutional amendments were ratified to ease the transition from slavery to freedom: the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment granted former slaves the right to citizenship, and the Fifteenth Amendment granted black men the right to vote. These three Reconstruction amendments were contested by the former Confederate states because African Americans were no longer under whites' control. This period of relative freedom and equality lasted for about a decade, until Southern states repealed all the Reconstruction Acts created by radical Republicans, the party once headed by Abraham Lincoln. By the mid-1870s, the **Democratic Party** had regained much of their former congressional power with the support of a new administration. White Southerners sought redemption for the loss of the Civil War, and their most pressing concern was, as one historian puts it, a "struggle for mastery" once again over African Americans.

In a move to return to the white supremacy status quo, disenfranchisement was a political process that took only a few decades to accomplish. The history

of black suffrage began when the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870. Only a small percentage of free blacks, primarily in the North, had voting privileges prior to then. During Reconstruction, African Americans took full advantage of their voting rights by supporting Republican officials, particularly electing other blacks to office. High-ranking black Republicans during this period included state legislators, governors, and U.S. senators. Congressmen Robert Smalls from **South Carolina** and John Lynch from **Mississippi** as well as **Louisiana** Governor P.B.S. Pinchback were among the many black politicians elected by black voters during the 1870s and early 1880s. Such victories were short-lived, as white Southerners began manipulating the elections in various ways. Black voters were often verbally harassed or physically assaulted to prevent them from casting their ballots or even reaching the polls. Violent threats and terror campaigns for voter intimidation usually occurred without legal intervention.

Some African Americans would refuse to be intimidated despite such warnings. If they did succeed at casting their votes, however, white election officials often destroyed these ballots. Black voters were usually unaware that their votes were not counted under such conditions. “Ballot box stuffing” was yet another deceptive tactic used to disenfranchise African Americans.

This practice of “counting out” the intended votes of African Americans for an opposing candidate or using phony ballots against the candidate supported by a black majority were ways of “stealing” the vote. This second phase in the history of black suffrage was an age of “Redemption,” when white Southerners schemed to regain political control of once Republican-dominated governments.

White Democrats were determined to find other ways of effectively disenfranchising blacks that would prevent them from even registering to vote. They drew a fine distinction between having “the *ability* to vote at *elections*” and “the *right* to vote” at all. The latter option was a more permanent solution to the “race problem” attributed in part to black suffrage. All the political, social, and economic advancements African Americans had made in just a few years since slavery antagonized white supremacist ideas about natural social order. The rallying cry of “Negro domination” signaled the fears of white Southerners in regard to the power wielded by the black vote in support of the **Republican Party**. African Americans were never in control as white Southerners imagined, because segregation laws upheld white hegemony. Blacks were



Political cartoon ridiculing extralegal disenfranchisement efforts, 1879. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-127750.

deemed social inferiors with little or no civil rights to protect. Yet, the idea of blacks ruling whites inspired a revolution. The specter of “Negro domination” could only be replaced by another political obsession, “white supremacy.” Complete disenfranchisement resolved the ideological conflict of race by restoring white supremacy.

By the 1890s, Southern states began to deprive African Americans of their voting rights by creating stringent voting restrictions. Property qualifications were required in **Alabama, Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina**; the registered voter had to own as much as \$300 or more in real estate or personal assets. **Poll taxes** were imposed in Tennessee, **Arkansas, Florida, Texas**, and several other states with property qualifications. A third common voting restriction was an education qualification. Literacy tests were administered to prove if a potential voter was capable of understanding his rights. Often these tests included reading and interpreting passages from the U.S. Constitution. Sometimes the election officials would read an article or constitutional amendment and ask the applicant to explain the passages. Such practices were common in Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, North Carolina, and Virginia. Not all of the voting restrictions were effective in just eliminating black voters, but some whites could also be disenfranchised too. Therefore, “saving clauses” were often included in voting restriction proposals as loopholes for whites who would be otherwise disqualified by property, poll tax, and educational qualifications. The “grandfather clause” was intended as a nonracial requirement that nevertheless limited black suffrage; it stipulated that any son or descendent of a (Confederate) soldier or any one who had the right to vote prior to 1867 would then inherit his ancestral voting rights. This law of inheritance did not always prevent African Americans from voting, considering the documented participation of black soldiers in both the Union and Confederate armies during the Civil War. Nevertheless, the grandfather clause did eliminate a majority of black voters who were themselves descended from former slaves. Some African Americans just faltered under considerable pressures of disenfranchisement. They would not vote at all or would sell their votes altogether. These two forms are not technically forms of disenfranchisement, since the individual was not prevented from voting but instead chose not to do so. However, the employment qualification and character assessments were two notorious forms of voting restrictions found in Alabama. The black voter would have to prove that he had suitable employment and then that he was of “good character.” Both qualifications were judged by a white election official and therefore subject to his discretion.

African Americans responded to the motives and means of disenfranchisement with their actions and words. In record numbers, they continued to vote despite the fraudulent election schemes. Less educated blacks would sometimes be accompanied to the polls by others to insure a fair chance at voting. Most African Americans believed that voting was a basic right of U.S. citizenship and were determined to maintain their civil rights at all costs, even to their personal safety. Writer Charles Chesnut participated in the public

debates about the second-class citizenship status being forced on African Americans. In his article, "The Disenfranchisement of the Negro" (1903), Chesnutt challenged the constitutionality of the various voting restrictions imposed in Southern states. He therefore criticized the **federal government** for being influenced by white Southerners: "Not only is the Negro taxed without representation in the [South], but he pays, through the tariff and internal revenue, a tax to a National government whose supreme judicial tribunal declares that it cannot, through the executive arm, enforce its own decrees, and, therefore, refuses to pass upon a question, squarely before it, involving a basic right of citizenship" (92). Chesnutt believed that the federal government could have taken action by using congressional regulations, under the Fourteenth Amendment, to prevent Southerners from "a district where voters [had] been disfranchised" from ever holding office. Thus, white Southerners' political power would be just as limited as disenfranchised African Americans. The black press also responded to voter manipulation by castigating the perpetrators. The *Richmond Planet* and *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (a Methodist paper in New Orleans), for example, featured editorials about black disenfranchisement that was occurring throughout the South. Between 1902 and 1905, the *Baltimore Afro-American Ledger* led a series of campaigns against the move to segregate public transportation, as an additional consequence of disenfranchisement. It circulated few successful petitions and organized boycotts that would allow blacks to retain at least an illusion of political power.

"Restoration," or the third phase in the history of black suffrage, was completed by the early twentieth century. The black vote was eliminated by amendments to state constitutions. Southern states held conventions to revise their suffrage requirements that could circumvent federal election laws. The Democrats secured their political power through voting manipulation and intimidation. They had also manipulated public opinion against black suffrage as a challenge to white supremacy. Only when organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began to take action did white supremacists lose some footing. By the 1930s and 1940s, organized by the NAACP, black voter registration drives once again appeared as the modern **Civil Rights Movement** began to take shape. Medgar Evers and other activists challenged the election of racist demagogues in Mississippi and Georgia. It was the black vote that secured the presidential election of **Harry S. Truman** in 1948. As evidenced in Truman's administration, civil rights **legislation** was reintroduced to the national public. African Americans staged massive protests against racial **discrimination** and segregation throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Militant opposition to racial oppression and support of voting rights was signaled by **Malcolm X's** speech "The Ballot or the Bullet" (1964) to a gathering in Cleveland. Black disenfranchisement, one of the last vestiges of Jim Crow, would finally be overturned by the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** when federal authorities would regulate voter registration and blacks could free access to the ballot. *See also* Black Codes; Nadir of the Negro; *Williams v. Mississippi*.

“**Would Frighten White Women Voters with a ‘Black Menace.’**”

The article insists that by extending the right to vote to black women, an entire black menace will follow, bringing with it intermarriage and a coarsening of Southern culture.

In speaking before a democratic audience of Norfolk on Wednesday night, W. E. Cardwell, of Richmond, referring to the Negro vote as the "black menace," had the following to say:

"If the Democrats of Norfolk have not seen the handwriting on the wall, we of Richmond have. The paramount issue in the South is not the League of Nations, but the program that grows out of the new duties imposed upon women by universal suffrage. If the white women of the South don't know whether they are Democrats or not, it is high time they were learning, for the white women of the South will be the first to suffer humiliation if Democracy is defeated. And if the women don't hurry up and decide whether they prefer white or black supremacy, the Republicans will have the battle won before the women get through being advised as to what they are politically."

The old-time political bugaboo is not likely to have much affect upon the intelligent white women voters. They realize that the principle of everybody up and nobody down is likely to be more effective in solving the problems of the South than the old time principle of all white folks up and all Negroes down. It is the demagogue such as Cardwell who has kept the South in the mire of political and economical slavery throughout the past generations. By spending all their time trying to keep the Negro down the white men of the South have neglected the greatest opportunities for the South's advancement, hence, the North and West have outstripped it in progressiveness, commercial and political supremacy. The white women voters are in open defiance of the old self-seeking politician and declare they will vote for principles and not for parties.

The action of the lady members of the city Democratic committee who resigned rather than be gagged is evidence that the newly enfranchised white women are not going to follow blindly the worn-out political traditions of by-gone days.

Source: *Norfolk [Virginia] Journal Guide*, September 20, 1920.

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Sherita L. Johnson

Dixiecrats

In 1948, a group of conservative Southern Democrats formed the States Rights Democratic Party to oppose the reelection of President **Harry S. Truman** because of his proposed civil rights program. Committed to the maintenance of white supremacy and **Jim Crow** segregation, party members were nicknamed "Dixiecrats" by **North Carolina** journalist Bill Weisner.

For over a decade, conservative Southern Democrats had increasingly felt alienated from their national party largely due to **Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal** reforms. As the Democratic organization recast itself as a progressive party committed to special interest politics, conservative Southerners became disenchanted with the liberal course of the **Democratic Party**. This sense of alienation reached a tipping point when Truman introduced a legislative package designed to improve the political and economic position of African Americans in the South. On February 2, 1948, the president sent a special message to Congress proposing a 10-point civil rights program, including an antilynching measure, abolition of the poll tax, a permanent fair employment practices committee, a Justice Department civil rights bureau, and the abolition of segregation in interstate commerce.

Truman's pronouncement came just before a scheduled meeting of the Southern Governor's Conference. Meeting in Tallahassee, **Florida**, the assembled state executives publicly deplored the president's proposals but refused to endorse **Mississippi** Governor Fielding L. Wright's call for Southerners to bolt the Democratic Party. Although they refused to formally break with their party, the executives adopted a resolution proposed by **South Carolina's Strom Thurmond** to reconvene in 40 days if the party refused to abandon Truman's civil rights program.

Meanwhile, on May 10, 1,000 Southern Democrats met in Jackson, **Mississippi**, to force the national party to reject President Truman's civil rights program. Governors Wright, Thurmond, and Ben Laney of Arkansas dominated the proceedings, which called for the national party to reject Truman, nominate a presidential candidate who was committed to states' rights and white supremacy, and defeat any candidate who failed to repute civil rights. If these demands were not met, the conference agreed to reconvene in Birmingham, **Alabama**, after the Democratic convention to discuss additional resistance.

As a show of defiance, Governor Fielding Wright led his fellow Mississippi delegates out of the convention hall vowing to nominate a states' rights candidate for president. Six thousand delegates convened in Birmingham on July 17 to offer a Southern alternative to Truman. Strom Thurmond was nominated to head the States' Rights presidential ticket, while Mississippi's Fielding Wright ran for vice president. Recognizing that they had little chance of winning the White House, instead Thurmond and the Dixiecrats hoped to prevent either Truman or the Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey from garnering an electoral majority. This would then require members of the House of Representatives to decide who would become the next president of the United States. Southern support would be required in order for anyone to achieve a majority in the House so the Dixiecrats believed they could force the presidential choice to abandon civil rights and therefore protect Jim Crow segregation in the South.

The Dixiecrats were far more of a reactionary protest movement than a formal political party, but nevertheless they dominated the Democratic Party machinery in Alabama, Mississippi, **Louisiana**, and South Carolina. As a result, Thurmond, rather than Truman, was listed on the ballot as the Democratic nominee in those states. This political sleight-of-hand undoubtedly contributed to the Dixiecrats winning a majority of votes in those

The Southern Manifesto: Declaration of Constitutional Principles, 1956

White Congressmen refused to support integration of schools, printing their case in the *Congressional Record*, 84th Congress, 2nd session (March 12, 1956).

The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The Founding Fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. They framed the Constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the foundations of government against the dangers of temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public officeholders.

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal Judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the 14th amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the system of education maintained by the States.

The very Congress, which proposed the amendment subsequently, provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

When the amendment was adopted in 1868, there were 37 States of the Union. Every one of the 26 States that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same law-making body, which considered the 14th amendment.

As admitted by the Supreme Court in the public school case (*Brown v. Board of Education*), the doctrine of separate but equal schools "apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a State constitutional guarantee of equality." This constitutional doctrine began the North, not in the South, and it was followed not only in Massachusetts, but also in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other northern States until they, exercising their rights as States through the constitutional process of local self-government, changed their school systems.

In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14th amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal public facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in *Lum v. Rice* that the "separate but equal" principle is "within the discretion of the State in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14th amendment."

This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, custom, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children should not deprive common sense, for parents.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public-school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the States.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the States and to the people, contrary to established law, and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those States, which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by a lawful means.

We appeal to the States and people who are not directly affected by those decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them, may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the served rights of the States and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision, which is contrary to the Constitution, and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our States and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

Source: Congressional Record, 84th Cong., 2nd sess. (March 12, 1956).

four states. In addition to winning in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Thurmond and Wright carried 12 counties in **Georgia**, three counties each in **Arkansas** and Florida, and two in Tennessee. However, they received only one-fifth of the popular vote, which was not enough to throw the election into the House of Representatives. Consequently, Truman defeated Thurmond in the rest of the South and easily won the presidential election.

In 1949, the Dixiecrats attempted to create a permanent organization, but they were unable to maintain unity as many returned to the Democratic fold, including Strom Thurmond. For those who could not abide rejoining their former affiliation, they turned to the conservative wing of the **Republican Party**. Welcomed with open arms, former Dixiecrats helped transform the GOP into a mirror image of the pre-New Deal Democratic Party. What was left of the organization limped along for a couple of years, but never became a viable third party.

Although the Dixiecrats failed to prevent Truman's reelection, conservative Southerners in congress did succeed in blocking his civil rights program. In addition, the Dixiecrats' virulent defense of white supremacy emboldened white Southerners to oppose any federal legislation designed to dismantle Jim Crow segregation. Former Dixiecrats played conspicuous roles in white resistance to the struggle of African American Southerners to achieve social and political equality. Therefore, the Dixiecrats were an important factor in the white South's stubborn refusal to abandon the discriminatory customs and laws of Jim Crow segregation.

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Wayne Dowdy

Dixon, Thomas, Jr. (1864–1946)

Thomas Dixon was one of the most influential commentators on the so-called Negro Problem in the early twentieth century. He reached millions of Americans as a minister, lecturer, novelist, and playwright. Dixon chose his career path based upon his desire to speak to as many people as possible. Dixon’s message evolved from a promotion of the Social Gospel into a virulent form of racism that defended **Jim Crow** and promoted sectional reunion in the interest of American imperialism.

Born in Shelby, **North Carolina**, in 1864, Dixon later reflected upon the profound influence that the era of **Reconstruction** had upon him. Dixon’s father and uncle both served in the **Ku Klux Klan**; tales of their escapades provided Dixon with his first lessons about the need for eternal vigilance in defense of white supremacy. Dixon’s formal education reinforced these memories. After graduating from Wake Forest College, he studied with Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins University. Adams introduced Dixon to the Teutonic Germ Theory, a scientific theory that claimed that the Teuton alone was predisposed to democratic government and represented the highest stage of evolution among the races. This theory bolstered Dixon’s childhood lessons and offered an intellectual defense for the racist rhetoric he popularized in the early twentieth century.

After dabbling in the theater, politics, and the law, Dixon followed his father and brother to the pulpit. By 1898, Dixon had achieved notoriety as the minister at his People’s Church, a nondenominational church in New York City. He utilized his position to promote civic and social reforms and the American imperial endeavor in the **Caribbean** and the Pacific. Dixon’s sermons reflected contemporary arguments for war that privileged the authority of the white American male.

Dixon left the pulpit in 1899 in search of larger audiences on the lecture circuit. In 1901, he attended a performance on Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. After the play, Dixon devoted his time and energy to correct Northern misconceptions of the South, which he attributed to Stowe’s lingering influence. In 1902, he published his response to Stowe, entitled *The Leopard’s Spots: An Historical Romance of the White Man’s Burden, 1865–1900*. The novel introduced readers to Dixon’s view of the so-called Negro Problem. *The Leopard’s Spots* depicted the trauma that emancipation and Radical Reconstruction inflicted upon the vanquished South. Dixon repeated the

well-worn Southern tale of hypersexual freedmen and corrupt politicians who jeopardized the stability of Southern society and the purity of the white race. In order to secure office, these politicians stripped ex-Confederates' political and social authority and transferred that authority to ignorant freedmen. Dixon presented readers with the possibility that these freedmen used this authority to satisfy their sexual desire for white women. The Klan temporarily preserved white supremacy, but **North Carolina's** Fusion government revived the promises of political and social equality that assured black men's sexual access to white women. The novel concluded with the Spanish-American War and the Tar Heel state's Democratic revival of 1898, which, Dixon proposed, restored the proper racial order in the South, repaired relations between whites, and set the nation on the path to imperial supremacy. Dixon claimed that this outcome had been ordained by God; any deviation from that path jeopardized the nation's divine privilege. By delivering this message in the genre of historical romance, Dixon provided an emotional and historical justification for segregation and lynch law. Despite publishers' conservative predictions, *The Leopard's Spots* became a best-selling novel, and Dixon enjoyed even greater influence over the national awareness of the Negro Problem.

Despite the abundant evidence of Dixon's virulent racism, he claimed to be a friend of the black community. He argued that the community's leaders misled its members by making foolish promises about rights and opportunities. Dixon argued that the demands made by intellectuals such as **W.E.B. Du Bois** for the immediate fulfillment of blacks' constitutional rights ignored the natural state of the races: whites were vastly superior to blacks, who would never be able to achieve the necessary level of development to claim the political rights of the Teuton. Dixon claimed that blacks must accept their inferior position, return to Africa, or suffer whites' violent retribution for violating the natural racial order. For this reason, Dixon also questioned the teachings of **Booker T. Washington**. Dixon correctly recognized that Washington's industrial education philosophy represented a gradualist version of Du Bois's proposal. Dixon believed that Washington instilled false hope in his students. Dixon never clearly defined the position the African American would assume in America; in fact, he became an increasingly vocal proponent of a colonization scheme to send all blacks to Africa.

In 1905, Dixon published *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, the second installment in his Reconstruction trilogy. The novel repeated Dixon's earlier condemnation of the Reconstruction governments and his praise of the Ku Klux Klan. The novel blamed the tragic era of Reconstruction on Thaddeus Stevens, although his fictional counterpart is ultimately manipulated by his mulatto cohorts. In both novels, the mulatto symbolized the fate of the nation if the Radicals' program is fulfilled. The vigilance of virile Southern whites prevented that doom. In order to reach an even larger audience, Dixon adapted the novel to the stage and toured the nation. Dixon accompanied the production and frequently took the stage to defend the play's treatment of the error of Reconstruction and the black threat.

Dixon's critics took the opportunity to speak out against his message. In particular, black sociologist Kelly Miller and novelists David Fulton and

Sutton Griggs challenged the popular and scientific foundations of Dixon's racism. Dixon's ability to merge the Southern racial perspective and national concerns about immigration, radicalism, and expansionism assured that few white Americans would be swayed by his black critics.

Dixon continued to comment on the contemporary Negro Problem, but he searched for a new medium through which to deliver his message. The burgeoning film industry provided the opportunity to reach millions of Americans who never read Dixon's novels. Dixon eventually found an interested party for his adaptation of *The Clansman* at the Epoch Producing Corporation. D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) revolutionized the filmmaking process and presented Dixon's message in an emotionally charged, realistic fashion. The film attracted protest from whites and blacks across the country who objected to the film's historical vision and its virulent racism. Critics correctly warned that the film might inspire white retribution for the mythic black beast rapist that the film presented on the screen. Dixon diffused this protest by calling upon a former classmate for assistance. Dixon scheduled a screening of the film at the White House for Johns Hopkins graduate and President Woodrow Wilson. Word circulated that Wilson approved of the film and its interpretation of the past, and Dixon and Griffith overcame the censorship campaigns waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The film's impact proved lethal. Reports circulated that audience members attacked black men they encountered outside the theater. *The Birth of a Nation* advised white men that all black men posed a threat to white womanhood and must be suppressed in the interest of racial purity. The film extended Dixon's influence even further. By 1915, the national memory of Reconstruction bore his signature. Americans understood Reconstruction as a mistake and that freedmen were unprepared for the freedoms that Radicals offered. In this light, Jim Crow merely preserved the natural racial order; African Americans required the careful supervision of whites and seclusion in order to preserve racial purity and peace.

When the second Ku Klux Klan appeared in November 1915, founder William Simmons claimed the order was the resurrection of the Klan that Dixon had praised. Dixon denounced the order for its lawlessness and claimed that there was no need for another Klan after the restoration of white supremacy in 1898. However, he provided the intellectual foundation for Simmons's order by blending contemporary notions of vigorous manhood and racial supremacy into a vision that resonated in a society supposedly besieged by immigrant hordes, effeminate radicals, and black terrors.

In 1939, Dixon published his final novel, entitled *The Flaming Sword*, which explored the same issues the Klan claimed to address. Dixon warned readers that race mixing and Communism threatened to destroy America. He identified Du Bois as one of the chief architects of his feared mythical Marxist mulatto nation. Dixon proposed that white America would only survive if the nation immediately adopted a colonization policy and transported Du Bois's insurrectionists back to Africa. Dixon's warnings fell on deaf ears, and *The Flaming Sword* failed to capture an audience as **World War II** ensued.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, few Americans enjoyed more influence over the public imagination on racial matters than Thomas Dixon. By

the time of his death in 1946, Dixon had drifted into obscurity. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, he legitimized Jim Crow and Judge Lynch; when he repeated the same warnings decades later, no one expressed interest in his racial radicalism. African Americans had already taken the first steps toward the fulfillment of the promises of Reconstruction. Their efforts invalidated Dixon's racial perspective, and *The Flaming Sword* only attracted racial extremists. Nevertheless, Dixon's earlier novels convinced northern audiences that Jim Crow laws were necessary to preserve the Southern racial order, insulating the institution from criticism during the first half of the twentieth century.

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J. Vincent Lowery

Domestic Work

Few trades within the American workforce were as difficult or possessed as little control over working conditions and wages as domestic work in the early twentieth century. While the roots of domestic work stretched back to **slavery** in the antebellum South, it was in the decades after **Reconstruction** that household service carried a broad stigma for its low pay, poor working conditions, and lack of personal autonomy. Domestic work also demonstrated the social idiosyncrasies of **Jim Crow**. Black domestics were caught in the contradiction of what has been called "public segregation and private integration." White employers imposed a peculiar strain on black houseworkers by enforcing widely held beliefs about black inferiority on one hand, and relying on black women's labor to maintain households on the other. As domestic workers migrated into Northern urban communities, the nature and the conditions of domestic work improved substantively. By 1960, domestic workers had become some of the most loyal and steadfast members of the **Civil Rights Movement**, as the elimination of institutionalized black subservience lent greater visibility and respect to the household labor of African American women.

1890 to World War I

Prior to 1890, most white families in the North and South preferred to employ white immigrant women as domestic workers. The **federal government** attempted to persuade white housewives to hire former slaves as domestic workers in the postbellum years. The influx of immigrants from England, Ireland, Germany, Russia, and Italy provided a steady stream of laborers. It was the tremendous growth in manufacturing in American cities in the 1870s and 1880s—garment making in New York, toolmaking in Pittsburgh, fabric processing in **New England**, meatpacking in Chicago—that drew

female immigrants into other fields of work. Domestic work was not typically filled by native-born white women; if they worked outside the home, it was usually as office workers and clerks in department stores.

After 1900 and through the 1960s, domestic work was primarily associated with African American women. Over 40 percent of black women worked as domestics across the country, a job that was second only to agricultural work for its low pay and poor conditions. One significant problem in prewar domestic work was that the term “domestic” implied several different types of work—cooking, laundering, table serving, general serving, personal shopping, sewing, ironing, nursing, and child rearing. But the laborer received only one wage for the myriad forms she completed. Employers throughout the North and South discouraged labor unions, lending considerable autonomy to employers, who defined the terms and conditions of domestic labor. An anonymous black domestic in Georgia in 1912 compared her work to virtual slavery in an interview to the weekly *New York Independent* newspaper: “I frequently work from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. I am compelled by my contract, which is oral only, to sleep in the house. I am allowed to go home to my own children . . . only once in two weeks, every other Sunday afternoon—even then I’m not permitted to stay all night. . . . I am the slave, the body and soul of this family. And what do I get for this work—this lifetime bondage? The pitiful sum of ten dollars a month!”

The work was grueling, unpredictable, and sometimes dangerous, consigning domestic work near the bottom of the economic ladder. Prior to 1915, the most common complaint from domestic workers was the low pay. In some Southern states, workers earned as little as 50 cents per day. In a field that was largely unregulated and unstandardized, black domestics worked long hours in isolation, had little personal time, and were paid, on average, \$8 to \$10 per month across the United States—if, that is, they were paid on time. A significant problem reported by domestics was that employers often paid less than they promised or paid later than the agreed date. Finding good child care also perplexed black domestic workers with their own children, since day-care facilities for working women were scarce until the 1920s.

Families also expected black domestics to “sleep in,” or live and work on the job, which diminished the domestics’ personal time and space. Older and married domestics often resisted the constraints on their labor, because they had responsibilities to other family members and to their communities. But, older and married domestics were not hired as frequently as young, single women, who averaged about 70 percent of all domestics between 1900 and 1920. Older African American women were more likely to work as



Young laundress in Rhode Island, 1902. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LCDIG-ppmsca-12060.

laundresses in the South, while younger African American women, if they had no children, were more likely to sleep or live in and undertake many more household responsibilities.

Sexual abuse and unwanted attention from members of the employing family were also dangerous hazards of domestic work. Sexual abuse and exploitation of domestic workers remained vastly un- or underreported. White husbands, fathers, and sons carried an enormous influence in the family and community, particularly the Southern communities. The working relationships between the heads of households and the servants were rarely questioned in public, which gave the employer the benefit of the doubt. Domestic workers and household servants who bore the children of white employers were not only cast out of the employing family, but they were also stigmatized within black communities for bearing biracial children out of wedlock.

1914–1918

Middle-class African American women, in organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), attempted to professionalize domestic work after the turn of the century. Nannie Burroughs founded the National Training School for Women and Girls in 1909 to provide standardized classes and to unify domestic workers in a recognized community. Eva Bowles, the secretary of Colored Work for the YWCA, criticized white employers for bilking household servants out of promised wages or time off, which led to hostility and mistrust between black domestics and white families. Bowles stressed that white, middle-class housewives would have to impose on themselves a strict business model and change their attitude if the working relationship with domestic workers had any chance to improve. It was a shift in labor relations that white employers were reluctant to make prior to 1915.

The outbreak of World War I in Europe led to a significant shortage in European immigrant labor in the United States, which, in turn, led to a leap in the number of native-born white women and men in the entering manufacturing industries. Considerable improvement in working conditions for domestic workers materialized as these shifts brought labor shortages in service industries. With more workers in demand, domestics had greater control over wages, hours, and type of employment. During the war years, southern domestics on average commanded raises from \$2.50 per week to \$10 per week. They also demanded that the terms of service be recorded in a written contract and that they would have to work no more than 10 hours per day, with breaks for lunch.

Black domestics in World War I also explored other labor markets. The **Great Migration**, the tremendous relocation of 500,000 African Americans from Southern states to Northern cities, affected domestic workers as well. More than a third of Atlanta's domestic workers had left their profession between 1900 and 1920, from 214 in 1900 to 136 in 1920; the cities of Nashville and Richmond experienced similar falloffs in the number of available domestics after the war. Even New Orleans, the only Southern city with a thriving domestic workers' union, lost a substantial number of domestics, with

“Colored Maid Has Family Guessing” (1919)

This article illustrates the social and cultural gulf between African American domestic workers and their white employers.

Efforts at Friendliness Fail to Increase Her Vocabulary

Once more we are spending our evenings cooking dinners and washing dishes. We decided we would try taking our dinners out for a while and do without a maid, but soon every one began to tire of it and long for some home cooking. So I started out to lasso another girl for general housework.

Just why every response this time came from colored girls I do not know, unless they would rather go home at night so as to be with those of their own kind. But without exception it was the unmistakable drawl which greeted my "hello" over the telephone.

And they were much more respectful. Evidently there are a great many people who will not employ colored help, for invariably the first question was:

"Do you object to a colored girl?"

I did not object to a colored girl. I would be glad to get any kind of a girl, if she could cook and keep seven rooms clean.

I don't know why people object so strenuously to colored help. My experiences have been no worse with them than with white help. They are not so afraid of work and not so fearful that they might do something out of their regular line of work.

I had found out from experience that no girl could be depended upon to come and see you if she said she would, or to appear if you hired her. So I made a vow that I would tell every one to come and see me and hire every one to come the next morning and start to work.

I hired six girls that afternoon. Mother was aghast as she overheard me calmly telling the sixth one to come and start to work.

"What do you think I am going to have in the morning," demanded mother. "a reception?"

"Don't worry, mother dear," I soothed her. "None of them will come and we will still be maidless."

But I was mistaken. One did come. And you can bet we treated her like a guest.

She was a young colored girl, very neat, with large eyes that looked at you with a baby stare. She had just come from St. Louis and brought a letter from her former employer stating that Lily had been in her service for a year, that she had trained her until she was a model servant.

Lily was tractable. She was in the house a whole day and in that time in spite of repeated efforts, all she would say was "Yes, ma'am," and "No, ma'am."

When you told Lily to carpet sweep the rugs, wipe up the floors and dust the rooms, Lily did it. She moved so quietly and systematically and with such a vacant look on her face that I felt as if she were an automaton. She was just as human as a vacuum cleaner, only she made less noise.

It was a slow process showing Lily where the more than one spoon went, that there was a difference between a meat fork and a salad fork, and that the water glass went on a certain dolly. She would look at you and smile. She was willing to understand, but lacked the ability.

I thought I would try to make friends with her. But I only appeared to confuse her.

Then I happened to think of a hat I had grown tired of and decided to try what a small gift would do toward melting the ice.

That night Lily went out with the hat done up in a piece of newspaper, hugged tight to her breast. I began to congratulate myself.

But that was the last we ever saw of Lily.

Source: Tuskegee Institute News Clipping File.

121 in 1920, down from 157 in 1900, a change of 23 percent. When African American women moved northward in search of better jobs, they considered switching to industrial and manual labor, such as meat packing and tobacco processing. Most of the wartime employment found by black women offered

higher pay than domestic service, but the work required of extensive training and the working conditions were negligibly better. For women who chose to stay in domestic service, the increase in pay and living in a city with a higher standard were enticing options. Thus, after World War I and throughout the 1920s, domestic service in the North was dominated by Southern migrant women.

The Depression and World War II

The **Great Depression** brought about an economic catastrophe in the United States that left nearly one-quarter of Americans without gainful employment. For African Americans, the number of unemployed after 1931 was greater than 25 percent and in some cities, like Detroit, nearly 70 percent of African American women were unemployed. Across Northern cities, African American migrants found that their new jobs were not at all secure. Prior to the Depression, nearly 30 percent of African American women worked as farmers, and 36 percent worked as domestic workers. At the height of the Depression, 34 percent of African Americans had no means of financial support, with little prospect of finding relief.

Domestic work was among the hardest-hit trades in the Depression. Middle- and working-class white women, who had shunned domestic work since the 1900 in favor of better-paying clerical and manufacturing employment, returned to domestic work during the Depression. In turn, African American women were pushed out of work, and left to find employment on a day-to-day basis or depend on their community or charities for relief. The labor phenomenon of the “slave market” appeared in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Chicago, all cities with growing populations of black migrant workers. In the slave market, groups of black women waited on street corners in downtown areas or their neighborhoods for a wealthy white woman to drive up and offer day labor. The desperate times gave the white employer the power to fix the terms of the labor—how much the domestic earned, how long she worked, and if she was allowed to go home after the work was completed. In most cases, the pay for day-work only covered lunch or transportation. To cut costs, some household servants even lived in with their employers, a practice that had been abandoned in the North by 1920. The gains in personal autonomy and wages that domestic workers fought for after World War I and the 1920s had evaporated during the Depression.

The **New Deal** attempted to relieve the burden of most Americans in complete financial ruin. For the most part, however, the difficulties facing domestic workers went unresolved. Part of the problem was that many of the New Deal’s most popular programs—the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, the **Agricultural Adjustment Act**, and the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**—either did not address the service sector or were left to individual states to administer. Local officials usually had little interest in extending relief to poor blacks, who competed directly with out-of-work and poor whites for financial relief. The Social Security Act did not provide for pensions for farmers, domestics, or waitresses. Though African Americans voted to reelect President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**

in 1936 and 1940, this was largely due to the popularity of **Eleanor Roosevelt** and the success of other New Deal programs that fought illiteracy and increased the number of college graduates.

World War II ushered in a return to greater control over working conditions and wages in domestic work. The demands on the defense industry boosted the need for defense workers. As in World War I, in World War II, white women moved into better-paying positions in defense work. The demand for household servants materialized again, and African American women returned to domestic work. African American women enjoyed other labor options at the outbreak of World War II; however, 64 percent of black women returned to domestic work in 1941. As wages rose and working conditions improved, African American women bargained heavily for even more autonomy, including a set number of working hours, days off, and the purchase of labor-saving devices.

Post World War II

In the North and South, domestic work after World War II became much less stigmatized, isolated, and invisible. Though white working women were encouraged to return to housework after World War II, the demand for domestic workers remained steady in the late 1940s and 1950s. Many white women entered the “pink” collar trades as secretaries, teachers, nurses, and librarians, and they hired domestic workers to help maintain their households. Federal programs after World War II encouraged black women who were laid off from wartime factories to resume domestic work.

However, the difference between domestic service at the beginning of the twentieth century and at its midpoint was that domestic work was a recognized professional trade. Though domestic workers still received few wage and pension benefits, the work itself was no longer hidden in the murky intersection between the public and private spheres. African American working women’s experience as domestic workers cast a long shadow over their political and community activism, to such an extent that the postwar Civil Rights Movement was directly informed by the legacy of domestic service. Furthermore, Jim Crow was under attack from several standpoints in the 1950s, facilitating an increase in opportunities to African American women to control their labor. Indeed, the rising visibility of domestic work coincided with the steady deterioration of Jim Crow. Though it is a profession overwhelmingly dominated by women of color, the stigma and lack of opportunity associated with domestic work, and by extension, all African American women’s labor, continues to slowly evaporate. *See also* Labor Unions.

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Nikki Brown

Don't Buy Where You Can't Work

“Don't Buy Where You Can't Work” was an economic campaign developed in 1933 in Washington, DC, by three men, John Aubrey Davis, Belford V. Lawson, Jr., and M. Franklin Thorne of the **New Negro Alliance**. The campaign urged blacks not to buy merchandise from white-owned stores that did not employ blacks. By doing so, blacks would be able to use their economic strength to force white-owned businesses to hire black workers.

On Thursday, October 24, 1929, the United States experienced the worst economic disaster in its history. The day before, the stock market crashed, leaving much of the economy in chaos and leaving Americans with an uncertain future. However, no future seemed certain to blacks, who before the Depression occupied the lowest socioeconomic status in the United States. By 1933, the Depression was at its worst. Poverty and unemployment soared as people constantly got laid off work. Blacks suffered the most, because they got fired from traditionally black jobs in the service industries like porters, bellhops, bag boys, and waiters. These jobs were now reserved for whites.

The New Negro Alliance decided to do something about the high unemployment rate in the black community. The three founding members formed an alliance composed of black people organized for the mutual improvement of the community. The “Don't Buy Where You Can't Work” campaign was the tool that the Alliance used to get their demands heard. The tactics used by the New Negro Alliance to enforce their “Don't Buy Where You Can't Work” campaign included picketing and boycotting of white-owned businesses. The campaign proved so powerful that it spread through several black communities in the United States, forcing white-owned businesses to hire blacks or lose their business.

Not all white-owned businesses complied with the demands of the campaign, and some businesses still refused to hire black workers. These businesses complained that the Alliance had no right to boycott and picket businesses for whom no one in the Alliance worked. In 1938, the Sanitary Grocery Company filed an injunction against the New Negro Alliance, arguing that the picketing and protesting of the grocery store by the Alliance caused interference in the grocery store's ability to select employees. On March 2, 1938, the New Negro Alliance's lawyers, including Bedford Lawson, one of the New Negro Alliance founders, and Thurman L. Dodson, argued against the injunction. The case made it all the way to the **U.S. Supreme Court**. On March 28, 1938, the Supreme Court ruled that the Alliance did in fact have the legal rights to picket and boycott a business regardless of whether or not anyone who picketed worked.

The “Don't Buy Where You Can't Work” campaign was a huge success. The campaign allowed white-owned businesses to feel the collective economic pressure of the black community. It also provided the basis of the *New Negro Alliance v Sanitary Grocery Company* lawsuit, which became a landmark case safeguarding the right to picket and boycott against discriminatory hiring practices. *See also* Affirmative Action; Executive Order 9808; Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC).

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Sharlene Sinegal DeCuir

Double V Campaign

As the United States entered **World War II**, much of black America was divided in its enthusiasm to sacrifice for a nation that treated African Americans as second-class citizens. It was only a generation earlier, during **World War I**, that **W.E.B. Du Bois** had urged African Americans to “close ranks” and support the war effort to, in President Woodrow Wilson’s words, “make the world safe for democracy.” While Du Bois initially believed that African American service in the war would prove to white America both their patriotism and their worthiness of equal citizenship, he, along with the rest of black America, was bitterly disappointed with the nation’s response. Instead of earning acceptance and gratitude for the contributions of the 380,000 black men who served in the war, and the hundreds of thousands of African Americans who worked in war industries and bought war bonds back home, black America was instead met with unprecedented racial violence in the summer of 1919, an invigorated **Ku Klux Klan**, and a general unwillingness to pursue any change in the racial status quo.

Two decades later, black leaders were determined to be more aggressive in pushing the U.S. government to improve civil rights if it wanted black support for the war effort. In 1940, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** appointed William Hastie as his “Aide on Negro Affairs” and promoted Benjamin O. Davis to brigadier general following pressure from both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League. The next year, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, outlawing discrimination in government and defense employment following **A. Phillip Randolph’s** threatened “**March on Washington**.” Randolph and other black leaders also lobbied the President, unsuccessfully, for the end of segregation in the **armed forces**, but were successful in opening up opportunities in the service previously off-limits to African Americans, most notably the flight training program at Tuskegee, Alabama. The Marine Corps also accepted its first black recruits in 1942, and the army increased the number of African Americans admitted to officer training programs. Nonetheless, many black leaders, remembering the failure of the nation to reward black America for its service in World War I, were hesitant to urge African Americans to follow the flag in a war against fascist racism in Europe and Asia while fighting in a **Jim Crow** army and being denied many of the basic tenants of American democracy at home.

The black press, long the nation’s watchdog for racial violence and an outspoken critic of the country’s discriminatory policies, found itself in a delicate position with the entry of the United States into World War II following the bombing of Pearl Harbor. If it came out in support of the war effort, it risked

not heeding the lessons of World War I by failing to pressure the United States to improve life for black Americans at a time when the nation needed them most; however, if it criticized the government at a time of war, it risked being labeled as unpatriotic and unsupportive of the tens of thousands of African American men and women who had already answered the call to service.

This dilemma was solved in January 1942 by James G. Thompson, a cafeteria worker at the Cessna Aircraft Corporation in Wichita, Kansas. In a letter to the editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the nation's most widely-circulated black newspaper, he wrote:

Being an American of dark complexion . . . these questions flash through my mind: "Should I sacrifice my life to live half American?" . . . "Would it be demanding too much to demand full citizenship rights in exchange for the sacrificing of my life?" "Is the kind of America I know worth defending?"

I suggest that while we keep defense and victory in the forefront that we don't lose sight of our fight for true democracy at home.

The V for victory sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries which are fighting for victory over aggression, slavery and tyranny. If this V sign means that to those now engaged in this great conflict, then let we colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within. For surely those who perpetrate these ugly prejudices here are seeking to destroy our democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis forces.

In response to Thompson's letter, the *Courier* instituted the "Double V" campaign, demanding a war to end fascism abroad and Jim Crow at home. Beginning with its February 7, 1942, edition (the first following Thompson's letter), the paper exposed the contradictions inherent in the country asking its black men and women to fight against Nazi racism abroad while being subjected to American racism at home, and demanded that African Americans serving their country abroad receive full citizenship rights when they returned. To promote this message, the paper adopted a design for its masthead. Under the word "Democracy," an eagle sat between two large letter Vs, one on top of the other, on a banner that said "Double Victory," while beneath the banner read "At Home—Abroad."

Over the coming weeks, the paper actively promoted the "Double V" campaign. *Courier* columnists wrote pieces prodding the black public to agitate for equality, while numerous letters and telegrams from readers voicing their support for the campaign were published. The *Courier* also began a weekly photo layout of people from around the nation smiling and making the "Double V" sign with their fingers. Soon, the photos began to include famous African Americans who were supportive of the "Double V" campaign, such as Adam Clayton Powell and Marian Anderson, and even included some prominent whites, including Humphrey Bogart and Thomas Dewey, who flashed the "Double V" sign. "Double V" lapel pins were found on men's coats, women sported "Double V" hairdos, "Double V" posters were printed, and the *Courier* even began running a weekly "Double V Girl of the Week." Other African American newspapers picked up on the "Double V" campaign as well, giving it greater exposure and making it a nationwide effort.

The *Courier*, like almost every other black newspaper in the nation, made it clear that it fully supported the war effort and encouraged all African Americans to do the same. Indeed, emphasizing patriotism was central to the “Double V” campaign, as the black press wanted to both promote the loyalty of black Americans to the United States while exposing the contradictions of asking people to fight for the preservation of freedom abroad when it was denied to them at home. The black press also regularly celebrated the achievements of African Americans in the service, which were almost universally overlooked by the mainstream white media.

Despite its unflappable support for the war effort, the “Double V” campaign disturbed members of the **federal government**, who believed it might undermine support for the war among African Americans. The U.S. military banned the *Pittsburgh Courier* and other black newspapers from base libraries, and even confiscated the papers from some newsboys. Most notably, **Federal Bureau of Investigation** Director J. Edgar Hoover sought to indict black publishers for treason because of their support of the “Double V” campaign; his efforts were foiled, however, by the attorney general’s office, which refused to pursue the indictments.

The *Courier* officially abandoned its “Double V” campaign in 1943, as photos and telegrams supporting the campaign began to dwindle, but the paper, along with most of the black press, continued to pursue the ideals of victory against fascism abroad and victory against racism at home throughout the war years. Despite its relatively short run, the impact of the “Double V” campaign in raising black consciousness to the contradictions of being asked to sacrifice for a nation in the name of freedom and democracy while being denied those benefits themselves was incalculable, and helped contribute to the resolve of African Americans to agitate for change in the postwar era.

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Thomas J. Ward, Jr.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1868–1963)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois served as the main nineteenth-century spokesperson for the classical liberal curriculum that emphasized the intellectual development of black leaders. Du Bois used literature and his role as leading social critic to present higher education, electoral politics, and later self-segregation as the answer to true black mobility. He accused proponents of industrial education of abiding by an educational ideology that taught men to live for money rather than knowledge and often condemned teachers for their roles in stifling black aspirations. Du Bois firmly believed that blacks needed to participate in higher learning in tandem with politics and economic self-sufficiency to counter the negative images and stereotypes commercialized

and commodified during the **Jim Crow** era. The scholar used his educational gifts to discredit the negative conceptualizations of blackness that justified discrimination and urged blacks to recognize their ability to empower themselves through cooperation. Du Bois often criticized **Booker T. Washington**, founder of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, who argued in favor of industrial education.

The young Du Bois recognized early in life his distinctiveness from his peers in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. At age 16, he graduated from high school and delighted at the opportunity to enter the world of academia. Because African Americans at the time were barred from most white institutes of higher learning, Du Bois put his aspirations to attend the prestigious Harvard University on hold. He enrolled at Fisk University, a historically black college founded by the American Missionary Association. For two summers during his matriculation at Fisk, Du Bois received his first major immersion in Southern black culture as a schoolteacher in Tennessee's public system. After Fisk, Du Bois studied at Harvard and completed classes toward a doctorate in economics at the University of Berlin but was encouraged by a withdrawal of financial support to complete his degree at Harvard, where he had earned a BA and MA in 1890 and 1891.

At Harvard, he completed and soon published his dissertation on the African slave trade, and was graduated in 1895 as the first African American PhD holder from Harvard. He accepted a professorship at Wilberforce in Ohio, a historically black college founded by leaders in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as he completed his dissertation. While there, he married Nina Gomer, one of his students. The new couple soon left Ohio for the University of Pennsylvania, where Du Bois would establish himself as the premier sociologist in African American culture. His study on Philadelphia's seventh ward was the first scientific examination of blacks in an urban city. From the pages of *The Philadelphia Negro* came the class-based ideology of the talented tenth.

Du Bois envisioned an educated leadership that would work to uplift the masses of blacks from the poor conditions many faced. His own educational gifts led to his sojourn from the poverty he and his mother had faced in their small hometown. During his 13-year tenure at Atlanta University and beyond, Du Bois's life, specifically his work organizing the **Niagara Movement** was one embodiment of his talented tenth ideal. This short-lived conference gathered Washington's opponents to collaborate on the best strategies for empowerment and protection from Jim Crow discrimination and planted the seeds for the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. From the outset, Du Bois viewed the governing body of the NAACP with suspicion. He thought that blacks themselves, not white philanthropists, should lead in decision making. As editor of the NAACP's monthly magazine, *The Crisis*, Du Bois constantly raised awareness of civil rights abuses against African Americans.

Du Bois used literature to illustrate the brutality and harmfulness of using racial difference as a barrier to opportunity. His writings often provided vivid descriptions of **Jim Crow** accommodations, including the segregated counters,

smoky trains, chain gangs, and ever-present contempt for Negroes who adhered to middle-class sensibilities. In *Souls*, he describes this realization of being ostracized from larger society by a veil of suppressed identity. Du Bois first became aware of the effects racial prejudices had on blacks when an elementary classmate refused his visiting card. Although the idea of a divided African and American self was not new, Du Bois's conceptualization highlighted a "twoness" not like the tragic portrayals of his predecessors. Du Bois was heavily influenced by Alexander Crummell, a leader in the nineteenth-century **Back to Africa Movement**, and used him as one example of how African Americans lived behind a veil.

The ideology of Jim Crow was so perverse that even histories written during the period and afterward separated whites and blacks. Du Bois was one of the first historians who attempted to overturn the negative image of black women by reinterpreting their historical roles. He reimagined the mammy image, but even his portrayal remained mythical. The **Reconstruction** era, a period of time from the end of the Civil War to the withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1877, was another such topic that Du Bois's contemporaries distorted. The lack of attention white authors paid to black subjects created a need for Du Bois's text. He worked to present the history objectively, without the taint of theories on white supremacy that portrayed Negroes as loyal servants of the Confederacy who fought to defend slave society or as corrupt politicians who catered to the needs of Northerners. In 1935, he published *Black Reconstruction*, a book that reinterpreted Reconstruction to highlight the gains that did come about for blacks and whites. Foremost among those gains was the establishment of a public school system in the South.

Published manuscripts were but one avenue of Du Bois's activism. His position as editor of *The Crisis* also served as a vehicle for dismantling Jim Crow. As the mouthpiece of the NAACP, this monthly publication found heavy circulation among African Americans. Blacks who continued to migrate to Northern cities in search of jobs and to escape Southern racism found comfort in the radical magazine's forthright denunciations of U.S. hypocrisy. The magazine also worked as a counter to the power of the Tuskegee machine.

Like Booker T. Washington, Du Bois actually suggested segregation as one solution to racial discrimination. He voiced some of the same ideas Washington posed at the 1895 Cotton States International Exposition. He saw great value in Negroes working together, be it in all-black schools, churches, banks, and communities. Du Bois entreated blacks to build an economic base while refusing to accept the prejudices leveled at black communities. Unlike Washington, however, Du Bois fully embraced the electorate and saw politics as a necessary weapon in the fight for civil rights. He called for blacks to use politics, their consumer power, and intelligence to build their own economic nation. This seemed the only solution to overcome the prejudices that led to inequitable distribution of public goods. He admitted that exposure to diversity of peoples would benefit mankind, but questioned white Americans' ability to transcend the mythic racial stereotypes and hierarchy of races used as justification for the second-class citizenships African Americans received.

By the 1930s, Du Bois increasingly supported the separation of blacks from whites, echoing some of the sentiments of the period's black nationalists. In

arguing for the benefits of segregation, Du Bois pointed to the example of Bishop Richard Allen. His refusal to accept segregated worship demanded by white officials at St. George's Methodist Church as more free blacks attended led to his founding the largely all-black African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816. Like nineteenth-century antilynching activist **Ida B. Wells-Barnett**, Du Bois chastised those blacks who remained indifferent to the plight of others of their race and encouraged them to understand that the nature of racism in American society left little room for silence or passive acceptance of a lesser life. Rather than waiting on white-led humanitarian efforts to address racism, he knew that it would take a concerted effort by blacks themselves to inch closer toward equality.

Du Bois held what historians now understand as elitist sensibilities that sometimes led to damning characterizations of the masses of blacks in the South. In *The Philadelphia Negro* and articles in the *Southern Workman*, Du Bois denounced Southern cabins as crippling environments, even though this defined the living arrangements for most Southern blacks. While he favored migration to growing urban centers in the North because of the more positive examples of black advancement, Du Bois deplored the poor neighborhoods that developed and noted that segregation compromised the black home because it forced many to live in crowded rooms with poor facilities. Although Northern cities did not shield African Americans from discrimination and poor accommodations, they did become hubs for early civil rights activism and centers of a heightened black political consciousness.

The Pan-African Conferences marked Du Bois's efforts to raise consciousness on the plight of Africans worldwide. It also introduced him to the founder of the United Negro Improvement Association, **Marcus Garvey**, who also worked toward black unity. The two shared the vision of empowered peoples of African descent, but Garvey's flamboyant styles and methods contrasted starkly to Du Bois's intellectual style. At the Fifth Pan-African Conference, Du Bois gained the title "Father of Pan-Africanism." His activities outside of the United States increasingly raised the ire of officials set on maintaining America's image as a beacon of freedom and democracy. Du Bois's embrace of some communist ideals made him even more threatening to America's leaders now facing the Red scare of the **Cold War**. Du Bois would take the ultimate stand against Jim Crow by living out the last years of his life in Ghana, a newly independent African nation.

Du Bois died on August 27, 1963, the day before thousands of African Americans gathered at the nation's capital to continue the battles that would finally affirm the unconstitutionality of Jim Crow legislation. These activists en masse continued a legacy of activism epitomized by Du Bois. Dignitaries and heads of countries expressed condolences to a man whose vision of an empowered nation of colored peoples touched the sensibilities of people of African descent worldwide. By the end of his life, the scholar and activist had written 16 nonfiction books, five historical novels, two autobiographies, and a plethora of articles, all of which portrayed blacks as positive contributors to worldwide progress. Each of these works slowly etched away at slavery's legacies of racism and segregation. *See also* Atlanta Compromise.

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Christina L. Davis

Dunbar, Paul Laurence (1872–1906)

Paul Laurence Dunbar, widely recognized as the first nationally and international acclaimed African American poet to support himself solely by his writings, was born in Dayton, Ohio, the son of Joshua Dunbar, a plasterer, and Matilda B. Murphy, a laundry worker. Dunbar’s literary career began when he won an Easter poetry celebration at his church at the age of 12. He further developed his writing style and prose as editor of his high school newspaper and leader of the debating society. As a teenage and young adult, Dunbar occasionally contributed his poems and some biographical sketches to the *Dayton Herald* and the *West Side News*, a local newspaper published by Orville Wright. After the completion of high school in 1891, Dunbar had aspirations of becoming a lawyer. However, because of the lack of funds to pay for law school, as well the need for money to take care of his mother, who had been a widow since Dunbar was 11 years old, he decided to accept a position of an elevator operator at the Callahan Building in Dayton that paid him \$4.00 a week, and wrote poetry during his spare time.

Dunbar’s first break as a poet came in 1892 when he was asked by a former teacher to deliver the welcome address at the Western Association of Writers Annual Meeting, held in Dayton. One of the attendees of this event, poet James Newton Matthews, several weeks later, wrote very highly about the great talent and abilities that Dunbar possessed. Soon, Dunbar began to receive various invitations from local, regional, and national newspaper editors to submit his poetry to their particular publication.

In 1893, Dunbar approached the United Brethren Publishing House to print his first volume of poetry. Initially, his request was rejected, but William Blacher, the company’s business manager, later decided to take a chance on Dunbar and persuaded the press to print 500 copies of the volume at minimum cost. Titled *Oak and Ivy*, the collection sold widely, especially after Dunbar set out on a small but potent reading tour in selected cities in Indiana and Ohio.

In late 1893, partly based on the success of his first volume of poetry and partly because he wanted to experience life in a large city, Dunbar moved to Chicago. Living in the city, he wrote articles for the *Chicago Herald* on the World Columbia Exposition, became a clerk for Frederick Douglass, and later obtained a position as a freelance writer for the *Chicago Record*. Despite these employment and poetry successes, Dunbar missed Dayton and soon moved back. Upon his return, Dunbar’s dream to become a great poet and novelist almost came to an end when a local attorney and childhood friend offered him a lucrative job as a law clerk. However, at this point in his life, Dunbar

had discovered that his zeal for studying the law had disappeared. So, he again became an elevator operator and a part-time writer.

By 1895, Dunbar had written enough poems to publish his next volume titled *Majors and Minors*, which was privately funded and published by H. A. Tobey, an entrepreneur from Toledo, Ohio. This collection, which contained works that used both standard English and black vernacular, at the time was considered Dunbar's finest work. More importantly, however, in 1896, literary critic William Dean Howells's lengthy and glowing review of *Majors and Minors* in *Harper's Weekly* raised Dunbar's career to new heights. Quickly he, under the management of Major James Burton Pond, embarked on a multicity national reading tour to promote his next book, a volume of 97 previously issued works titled *Lyrics of Lovely Life* (1896). Dunbar also went on a short reading tour to help sell this collection abroad.

When he returned to the United States, Dunbar was offered and accepted a position as an assistant librarian at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. Meanwhile, many publication companies and literary magazines were waiting, with much anticipation, for the appearance of his next work. He did not disappoint his audience with his first novel, *The Uncalled*, published by *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in 1898. This same year, he produced a collection of 12 short stories in a book titled *Folks from Dixie* and a hit Broadway musical, coauthored with Will Marion Cook, titled *Cloridy: Or the Origin of the Cake Walk*. During this period of this life, Dunbar also began to have some minor health problems that forced him to eventually resign from his position at the Library of Congress. Nevertheless, he continued to write. For example, in 1899, he published two more collections of poems, *Lyrics of the Hearthside* and *Poems of Cabin and Field*, and started a reading tour to support these volumes. But, when his health deteriorated so quickly, the tour came to a sudden halt. His physician believed that Dunbar was suffering from pneumonia, but later he changed his diagnosis to his having the early stages of tuberculosis. Soon, Dunbar became a near alcoholic to ease the pain. Dunbar also discontinued all of his reading tours.

During the early 1900s, still in much pain and suffering, Dunbar still was able to publish several more important pieces, such as *The Love of Landry* (1900), *The Strength of Gideon and other Stories* (1900), *The Fanatics* (1901), *In Old Plantation Days* (1903), *Howdy, Honey, Howdy* (1905), and *Lyrics of Sunshine and Shadow* (1905). In 1898, Dunbar married Alice Ruth Moore. They had no children, and by 1902, they were divorced. After a brief stay in Chicago, in 1903, Dunbar returned to Dayton to live with his mother and eventually died of tuberculosis in 1906. *See also* Van Der Zee, James.

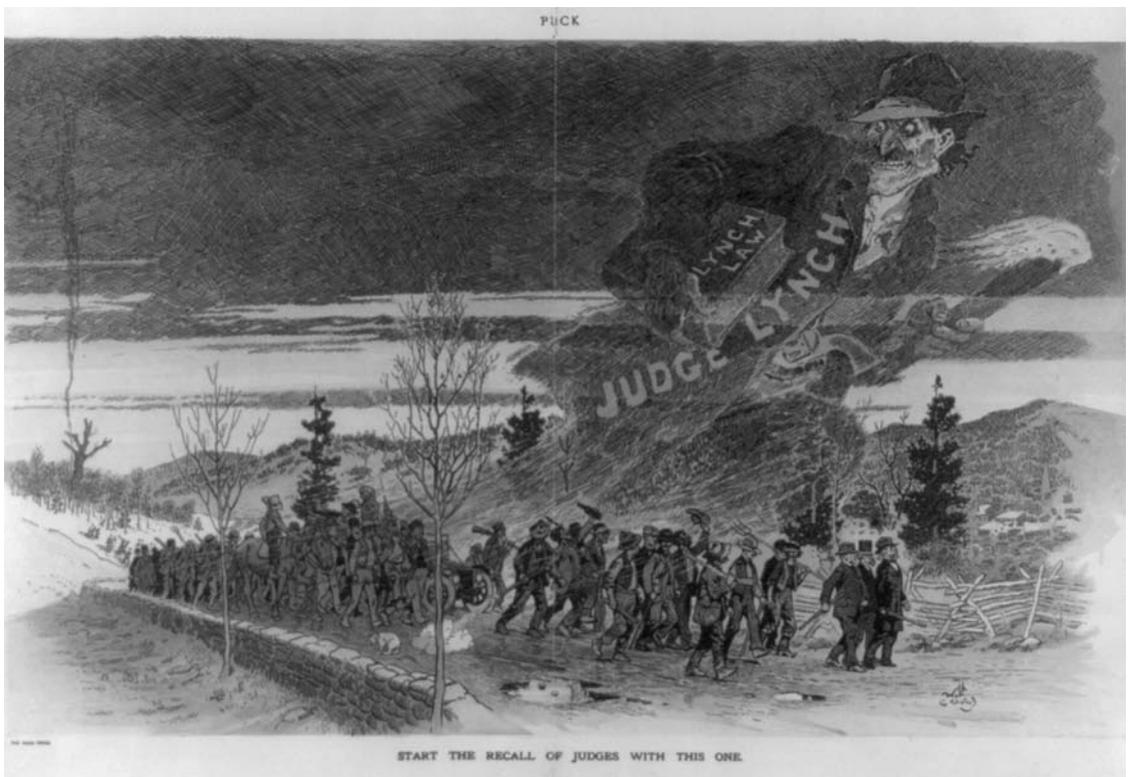
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Dyer, Leonidas C. (1871–1957)

An early ally of the antilynching movement and a long-time associate of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer was born near Warrenton, Missouri, in 1871 and made his political career as the Republican representative for St. Louis's 12th District. Dyer was elected in 1911, and he served the predominantly black constituency of the 12th District until 1933. A veteran of the Spanish-American War (1898–1901), Dyer in 1912 lobbied for the creation of a monument honoring African Americans in the army and navy.

The East St. Louis Riot of 1917 spurred Dyer to draft, and later promote, federal antilynching legislation. One hundred people died and the entire black district of East St. Louis was destroyed in three nights of violence, reducing the industrial, working-class quarter to ashes and rubble. The riot also led to a tremendous increase of African American residents in the 12th District. The NAACP and *Ida B. Wells-Barnett* led separate investigations into the causes and the aftermath of the East St. Louis riot, and Dyer urged the House of Representatives to make public the findings of these investigations.

In the years between 1918 and 1923, Dyer became known as the primary Congressional force behind antilynching legislation. The NAACP, particularly Executive Secretary James Weldon Johnson had cultivated a close relationship



Dyer worked to unseat judges in the court of lynch law. From *Puck*, vol. 71, February 21, 1913. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-49515.

with Dyer, which heavily influenced the language of the antilynching bill. At the NAACP's urging, Dyer's bill made it illegal to kill any person by mob violence, accused or unaccused of a crime. The NAACP rightly argued that any black person could be lynched, sweeping aside the false justification that mobs only took necessary action against men who were dangerous criminals. The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill made it a crime for a group of three or more persons to attack any person or people without legal authorization. Local and state officials who failed to prosecute mobs were subject to imprisonment and penalty of \$5,000. The county where the lynching took place was subject to a fine of \$10,000. Most importantly, the Dyer Bill increased the power of the **federal government** to step in where the state had refused to prosecute racial violence.

The closest the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill came to passage was in late 1922. The branches of the NAACP petitioned for African American support of the bill across the nation. African American clubwomen also lent their considerable resources to the cause. Former president of the **National Association of Colored Women (NACW)** Mary Talbert and her organization, the Anti-Lynching Crusaders, raised several thousand dollars in donations for a general fund dedicated to the Dyer Bill's passage. After much internal debate, the **Republican Party's** control of the House of Representatives led to the bill's passage in the House, with a sizeable margin of 230 votes to 119 votes. But the bill ran into fatal opposition in the Senate. Southern Democrats, led by Senator Pat Harrison of **Mississippi** and Senator Oscar Underwood of **Alabama**, launched a series of parliamentary measures, including the threat of a filibuster that eventually scuttled the bill. It was removed from the Senate floor, with little chance of debate, let alone passage, again. Dyer stayed true to a promise to Johnson that he would submit another antilynching bill before the end of the decade. The 1928 incarnation of the antilynching bill met a similar fate.

After his career in Congress ended in 1933, Dyer returned to his law practice in St. Louis. He remained on good terms with Johnson and the NAACP, speaking on behalf of the organization on several occasions in the 1940s and 1950s. Dyer died in 1957 and is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery in St. Louis.

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Nikki Brown

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East St. Louis Riot of 1917

The brutal violence of the East St. Louis, Illinois, Riot of 1917 was the result of rising tensions between white and black residents. White citizens resented black workers who took jobs as strikebreakers and squeezed the already-tight housing supply, while African Americans were dissatisfied with their unequal access to housing, health care, and jobs, as well as exorbitant rents. Tensions erupted into indiscriminate violence on July 2, 1917, in which at least 39 blacks and nine whites died and many more were injured or had to flee the city.

Large numbers of African Americans from the South moved north as part of the **Great Migration** in the early twentieth century. With many men leaving their jobs to serve in the military during **World War I**, Northern cities offered an abundance of jobs, especially in the industrial sector. Blacks hoped to escape Southern segregation and find new economic opportunities outside of exploitative sharecropping arrangements. By 1917, the African American population of East St. Louis, a city of approximately 70,000 people, had exceeded 10,000. Upon arrival in East St. Louis, however, African Americans found continuing segregation at work. White residents resented black workers, who were willing to take jobs that were vacated by striking whites and often worked for lower wages. Additionally, the city's housing shortage placed black and white residents in close quarters, and whites believed that the vast majority of African Americans owned guns and would use them against their white neighbors.

Throughout the spring of 1917, groups of white people attacked African Americans for various reasons. White citizens feared a race war, rumored to begin on July 4, and vowed to fight. A preliminary attack, spurred by stories of a black man shooting a white man, occurred on May 28 following a public union meeting. White rioters beat several black people and demanded that African Americans not be allowed to carry weapons. When black citizens appealed to Mayor Fred Mollman for assistance, he resisted taking action because he feared losing white supporters.

Violence quickly became a daily occurrence. When a carload of whites repeatedly fired at black homes on July 1, black residents eventually fired back

and unwittingly shot two police officers in an unmarked police car. Whites interpreted this accident as evidence of black warfare. Following a meeting at the Labor Temple on the morning of July 2, white laborers and other residents armed themselves for violence. The group began shooting black people on the street, pulled victims off streetcars, and beat pedestrians. While white men perpetrated much of the violence, women and children often joined the abuse of injured African Americans.

The mobs spread throughout the city and conducted several lynchings and attempted lynchings. Rioters frequently attacked anyone who tried to interfere or assist victims, including ambulance drivers and sympathetic bystanders. Fire destroyed more than 200 homes, and crowds waited to beat escaping black residents. The normal **National Guard** was not available due to its being in federal service for World War I, and the state had raised several new regiments for state emergencies, but home guardsmen from the one regiment mobilized in response to the riot did not deal effectively with the rioters and at times even joined the violence. While white rioters inflicted injuries on African Americans, other white people took black people into their homes to hide until the violence had passed. The True Light Baptist Church rang its bell as a warning for African Americans. As many as 7,000 black people fled the city, and many did not return. While the official death count was 39 blacks and nine whites, the *Chicago Defender* claimed that between 100 and 200 blacks died.

Following the riot, the state took only small steps to deal with the riot politically and legally. Twelve black people were convicted of murdering the two police officers. Nine whites served time in the penitentiary for homicide, while the courts found 41 whites guilty of misdemeanors, 27 white people paid fines, and 14 served short terms in the county jail. East St. Louis business leaders called for federal intervention to prevent future violence, but President Woodrow Wilson chose not to get involved. In November 1917, a congressional committee held hearings but did not hand down any indictments. The committee condemned the social situation and political corruption in East St. Louis. The 1917 riot had a lasting impact on the city, as fear of future violence hindered population growth, business prospects, educational integration, and other social relations. *See also* Police Brutality; Tulsa Riot of 1921; Wilmington Race Riot.

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Shannon Smith Bennett

Education

Throughout history, African Americans have struggle for equal rights and opportunities in America. One of the most visible and prominent entities that captures the essence of this struggle is the American education system.

Segregation and inequality in the public school system dates back to beginning of the country's history when states implemented polices that made it legal for African Americans to learn to read or write. The punishment for disobeying the laws ranged from fines and imprisonment to death for both blacks and whites. After slavery ended, **Jim Crow** laws throughout the South continued to limit African American students' access to quality education. Several states, including **Mississippi**, **Missouri**, **Florida**, and **Texas** had laws that prohibited black and white students from attending the same schools, thereby creating a system in which discrimination ran rampant and inequality was socially accepted. Over time, the education system has undergone many reforms that have attempted to limit discrimination and end segregation in public schools. These reforms were slowly implemented, often as a result of the U.S. court system compelling states to act.

Segregation and the Courts

One of the most noted court rulings that had a profound affect on legalizing segregated public schools was *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). In *Plessy*, the **U.S. Supreme Court** ruled that a **Louisiana** law that required the racial segregation of passengers in railway coaches was not racial discrimination on the condition that accommodations were equal in quality. In the same year that the *Plessy* verdict was handed down, the **Georgia** legislature reorganized its department of public education. It gave local school boards of education the authority and responsibility to make arrangements for segregated schools for blacks and whites. The schools were required to be equal, but efforts to ensure that equal and adequate educations were provided went largely unchecked. The states were left to police themselves. Although Jim Crow segregation in education ran rampant throughout the South, open segregation was practiced in other regions of the country.

Prior to the *Plessy* ruling, the Massachusetts Supreme Court had already begin to lay the foundation for segregated unequal school systems with its ruling in *Roberts v. the City of Boston* (1848). The Court unanimously agreed that the city of Boston did not have to allow five-year-old Sarah Roberts to attend an all-white school that was located in her neighborhood. Their ruling noted that segregation school systems existed for the good of all people and was allowed under the U.S. Constitution. This sentiment was further perpetuated in *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899). In *Cummings*, black taxpayers in Georgia unsuccessfully attempted to file a suit against the school board to stop operating a high school for white children until the board resumed the operation of the high school for black children.

Segregated School Conditions

The cornerstone of the segregated school argument was the belief that segregated schools would be equal. In fact, inequality was widespread. In most major cities, there was only one public school open for blacks compared with four public schools for whites. The lack of schools caused major overcrowding issues, especially in the South. Between 1939 and 1940, the average student-teacher ratio in black Southern schools was approximately 40 students to

“Education of the Negroes,” 1899

This *New York Times* article by P. Butler Thomkins emphasized the important of education and middle-class values in rescuing blacks from poverty in Mississippi at the turn of the century.

Several years ago a young colored woman from Atlanta, a graduate of Spelman Seminary, went to teach school in a district where almost the entire population was black, and the story of the wonderful things which she accomplished was told last night at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church by Mrs. William Scott, a lecturer for the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, who is also colored.

"The people were very poor," she said. "They live in wretched shanties, with not enough clothes to cover their nakedness. A man earned only \$6 a month on the plantations, while those who rented land and worked it were sunk in debt. Their crops and their mules and even their shanties were mortgaged, and they paid 33 per cent interest.

The school that this poor girl went to teach was held in a log cabin, the floor was mud, and there wasn't a blackboard or a map or chart in it. Lots of the children walked eight miles to school, and they had no books or slates. The teacher had to hang a slate up for a blackboard.

After a while she called the people together and told them to take no more store orders for their pay. They obeyed, and within a year or two they were out of debt. Then the teacher called them again. "I'm going to have a tony society, like the white folks," she said. "It will be called the 'Hog Society,' and nobody can belong who doesn't own a hog."

There was great hustling among those negroes to get hogs. After a little they all had hogs, but the teacher gave most honor to the negroes who had the most hogs, and in this way she filled her people with ambition. To-day almost every negro family in that locality owns a three-room house and from twenty to sixty acres of land. They have a good school, and the community could not be recognized for what it once was.

The speaker drew a pitiable picture of the poverty of the Southern negroes in many districts, and told of the intense longing they had for education and religion. She quoted public officials of the South to the effect that it was the schools and missionaries alone which had kept the negroes patient, and had saved the country from a negro uprising.

Some men, she said, complained because so much had been spent and so little done in thirty-four years.

"Why?," she exclaimed, "what is thirty-four years in the development of a race? It is scarcely a beginning. It takes twenty-five years to bring up and educate a white man, and fifty years to bring him to his best, and why should the negro be expected to do, in thirty-four years what it has taken the Anglo-Saxon people 1,000 years to accomplish?"

Mrs. Scott closed with an appeal to the Baptists to continue their work of education, declaring that there were no truer nor more loyal American citizens than properly educated negroes.

Source: *New York Times*, July 5, 1899.

one teacher. The average student teacher ratio for white students was about 29 students per teacher.

The salary range for black and white teachers was largely unequal. During the late 1930s, the average starting salary for white teachers ranged from \$75 to \$200 per month. Black teachers earned between \$25 and \$75 a month. Black schools also received considerably lower amounts in funding. States spent an average of \$49.30 on a white student, while only \$17.04 was spent on black students.

The Brown Decision

Although many African American activists had attempted to challenge segregated school systems legally, their efforts had been unsuccessful until the

case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). In the *Brown* case, third grader Linda Brown had to walk one mile through a railroad switchyard to get to her black elementary school, even though a white elementary school was only seven blocks away. Linda's father, Oliver Brown, tried to enroll his daughter in the white elementary school, but the principal refused. Oliver sued for his daughter's right to attend the school. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People agreed to represent the family. Its team of lawyers, led by **Thurgood Marshall**, who would later become a U.S. Supreme Court justice, took the case all the way to the Supreme Court. Marshall argued that segregated school systems were grossly unequal and unconstitutional. In the end, the Court sided with Marshall's argument and denounced the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities for education.

Chief Justice Earl Warren noted that:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group . . . Any language in contrary to this finding is rejected. We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

After announcing the verdict in the *Brown* decision, the Court invited the counsel for both sides to reargue the case during the 1955 term so that Court could decide how to implement the decision. On May 31, 1955, the Court ordered that public schools be desegregated "with all deliberate speed." This order became known as *Brown II*.

Before the first *Brown* decision, segregation had been required in 17 states. After the second *Brown* decision in 1955, the border states of the Old South began to desegregate. In the Deep South states of **Alabama**, Mississippi, Louisiana, **Arkansas**, Florida, and Georgia, as well as in the Upper South states of **North Carolina**, Tennessee, and **Virginia**, the process was very slow. Five years after the verdict was rendered, only 19 school districts out of 1,581 in these states were integrated. Many of these states were using stall tactics to hinder integration.

Several states passed resolutions interposing their authority over the Court. Some state legislatures amended their constitutions to close public schools. Governors such as Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia announced that their states would resist integration of their public schools. When this method did not work, many of the citizens turned to violence in an attempt to keep black students from entering the doors of white public schools. In 1957, the violence reached a boiling point in Little Rock, Arkansas, when Governor Orville Faubus called in the **National Guard** to prevent black students from gaining entrance into Central High School. After a second court order requiring that the students be admitted, Faubus withdrew the troops. The students were then attacked by a mob of angry white citizens. President Dwight D. Eisenhower was forced into action, sending in the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division to protect the students, while also federalizing 10,000 Arkansas National Guardsmen to keep beyond Faubus's control. One year later, in 1958, the

Court was forced to reaffirm its authority in *Cooper v. Aaron*. The Court ruling highlighted the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court, not a state governor, served as the ultimate interpreter of the law. The governor of Arkansas had not authority to supersede a ruling that had been issued by the Court. The ruling further noted that violence or threats of violence could be used as an excuse for denying black children their constitutional rights or delay integration.

In *Griffin v. School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia* (1964), the Court ruled that the Prince Edward County school district could not close its public school in an effort to prevent integration. The Court said that if the county closed its public schools, it would deny the black students the right to equal protection under the law. In *Green v. New Kent County Board of Education* (1968), the Supreme Court issued a ruling on the use by New Kent County, Virginia, schools of a freedom-of-choice plan to help promote integration. The Court found that the use of freedom-of-choice plans, as an integration technique, was not adequate to desegregate schools. In New Kent County after three years of operating under the freedom-of-choice plans no white students had attended a school that was previously black, and over 85 percent of the black students still attended the schools previously reserved for black students. Many of the black students were violently threatened and warned not to try to gain entrance into the all-white school.

In 1964 the court also struck down a statute that gave grants for tuition for white students to attend private schools. In the 1973 decision of *Keyes v. School District of Denver*, the Court expanded *Brown* to include de facto segregated public schools. In *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), the Court ruled that schools were local for the purpose of *Brown*, and further decreed that the liberal judicial test of evidence usually granted in cases involving racial discrimination could not be evoked because suburban schools were involved. The test of evidence, strict scrutiny, required the defendant school district to carry the burden of proof of nonracial discrimination and not the plaintiff.

Busing and Desegregation

In the fall of 1970, the issue of busing as an integration tool took center stage as the Supreme Court heard a case concerning busing in North Carolina. The case arose over the constitutionality of a North Carolina statute, which had prohibited busing or the assigning of children to schools to achieve racial balance. A district court judge had asked the Charlotte–Mecklenburg County Board of Education three times for a plan to achieve a comprehensive integrated school system. After the third request, the judge developed a plan that included busing as a means to integrate the public school. The school board appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court upheld the ruling of the lower judge. This upset the fighters of integration.

Many white American citizens responded to the busing efforts in outrage. In South Carolina, a mob overturned two buses after first surrounding, screaming at, spitting at, and stoning its occupants. Also during the 1972 election year, Richard M. Nixon ran on an antibusing platform. He outlined a plan to eliminate the use of busing as a tool in the desegregation of school districts.

He also asked the Congress to stop the ordering of new school buses until June 1973.

In 1972, Congress joined the president by providing funds to local schools districts through the Educational Amendments of 1972, which barred the use of federal funds for desegregation related transportation; and the Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1974, which required the courts to exhaust all available means before approving busing to effect school desegregation. In 1980, Congress passed a bill that limited the Justice Department's authority to seek busing remedies through the courts, but the bill was vetoed by President Jimmy Carter.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

Efforts to use busing as a tool for integration was not the only method that was applied. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** was another tool that played a very important part in the desegregation of public schools. The Act made the ending of segregated public education a statutory goal. Title II of the Act allowed lawyers seeking desegregation orders to skip the state courts and go directly to the federal courts. It also authorized the U.S. Department of Justice to bring desegregation lawsuits on its own initiative. This relieved black parents from some of the burden they had been forced to assume in previous years.

Title IV required the U.S. Commissioner of Education to conduct a survey of public education at all levels to determine the extent to which equal opportunity in education is denied to U.S. citizens because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Title VI provided for the termination of federal funds from any state or local program administered in a discriminatory manner. The Title states "that no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participating in, or denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Federal agencies were directed to put the provision into effect—if necessary by discontinuing Federal assistance. Title VI of the Act provided the **federal government** with a powerful weapon by approving the withholding of tax money from school districts, which persisted in disobeying the law.

Funds totaling some \$867 million due to Southern and border state schools were threatening to be withheld. Few of these school districts would have been able to function without these funds. During the 1964–1965 school year, the proportion of black students who attended biracial classes was 10.9 percent. In 1965, the first year that Title VI became effective, the proportion rose to 15.9 percent. During the 1966–1967 school year, 24.4 percent of black children in the South as a whole were in desegregated schools. In border states, the percentage was 67.8 percent. In the Deep South, it was 16.9 percent.



Dorothy Counts is taunted as she walks and desegregates Harding High School in Charlotte, North Carolina, 1957. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-117236.

Although these efforts made a major impact, segregation still existed. In the 1966–1967 school year, 65 percent of all first grade black students were in schools that were 90 percent or more black. Approximately 80 percent of white first graders were in schools that were 90 percent or more white.

Integration and Black Teacher Displacement

The integration of public schools led to the demotion and displacement of many black educators. In the states of Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and West Virginia, between 55 and 60 percent of black principals were displaced. North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina experienced a smaller reduction, the proportion ranging between 35 and 37 percent. The reduction in black principals in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Delaware, Florida, and Tennessee ranged from 40 to 45 percent. Approximately 5,000 teachers in 17 states were displaced. Many of the black teachers and administrators who maintained employment were placed in new positions without regard to their expertise, certification, or personnel needs. They also faced discrimination in hiring, promotions, and retention policies. Several teachers filed lawsuits against the school district. In *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School Districts* (1970), the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rendered a decision forcing school boards to develop standards to ensure that all staff members be assessed according to competence rather than race. The court held that in the event of a personnel reduction, the more competent employee would be retained and no new personnel would be hired. *See also* Vocational Education.

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Barbara A. Patrick

Elaine Massacre (1919)

During the first week of October 1919, white mobs and National Guard members attacked, arrested, and killed unknown numbers of African Americans in Elaine, Arkansas, and the surrounding rural area in Phillips County. The terror began late September 30 when a county sheriff and railroad security man broke up a before-dawn meeting of a black sharecroppers' union, the Progressive Farmers and Laborers Household Union, held in a small church in Hoop Spur, outside of Elaine. A gunfight commenced and both white men were wounded, one fatally. Word of the incident and a rumored black

sharecropper insurrection against white landowners spurred white mobs from neighboring counties and from outside the state to descend on area. Estimates of African American deaths range from seven to 856. Five whites were killed. The capital murder cases which followed resulted in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court finding *Moore v. Dempsey*.

Phillips County, located on the far eastern border of Arkansas, on the Mississippi River, was one of the few counties in the state dominated by cotton plantations before the Civil War. In 1919, cotton remained the foundation of the county's economy. African Americans made up the majority of the population and 90 percent of the county's tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Whites made up the majority of large landowners. Although Phillips County had few outbreaks of racial violence after **Reconstruction** and boasted of never having had a **lynching**, race riots and lynchings had occurred in adjacent counties and in **Mississippi**, directly across the river from Phillips County. The region also had a history of organizing among African American farmers since the days of the **Colored Farmers Alliance** in the 1880s.

Much conjecture surrounds what occurred in and around Elaine during the first week in October 1919. The white political structure and judicial system claimed that the secretive Progressive Farmers and Laborers Household Union, armed with a cache of high-powered rifles, planned to kill white landowners on October 6 and seize the land. When the sheriff stumbled across the union meeting, he forced the plan into motion early, motivating union members to attack whites in Elaine. Most historians believe this story to be an after-the-fact rationale to justify the massacre of blacks, because town officials later claimed that they had spies in the secret union who told them about the planned insurrection but did not act. The farmers' union, organized by local African American Robert Hill, consisted of poorly educated sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and a few **World War I** veterans who wanted better contracts with landowners, including itemized receipts to force greater accountability of owners' accounting methods. They organized and hired white lawyer Ocier Bratton from Little Rock to help them in their contract dispute. Little else is known about the union except that the members kept its existence secret, probably to prevent white interference, and, perhaps as a precautionary measure, armed themselves.

After the word of the initial shooting at the union meeting reached Elaine, 600–1,000 armed whites from East Arkansas and Mississippi arrived and attacked blacks indiscriminately. During the violence, mobs burned down homes and stole property from their victims. Although many blacks hid in nearby canebrakes, those with military experience defended themselves, including several members of the union. Elaine town officials responded to the chaos by asking Governor Charles Hillman Brough to send troops and claiming that blacks were attacking the city. Troops from nearby Camp Pike, consisting largely of white **World War I** veterans, arrived on October 2 and restored peace to Elaine by disarming everyone and arresting blacks; however, fighting between troops and blacks in Hoops Spur left perhaps as many as 20 blacks and one soldier dead. Law officers arrested the union's lawyer as well. Robert Hill was arrested later in Kansas, but the state refused to extradite him to Arkansas.

Governor Brough deferred investigative authority to a local group of white planters and city and county officials, called the Committee of Seven. The committee's official report, released October 7, argued that no riot, mob violence, or massacre occurred. Instead, it stressed that an insurrection was put down within the boundaries of the law. On the same day, area African Americans received circulars advising them to go back to work and not talk about the preceding days' events. After his own investigation, Walter White, an assistant field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), challenged the white accounts in numerous articles published by the NAACP magazine, *The Crisis*.

Within a month of the massacre, every African American indicted for a related crime had faced trial and all were found guilty by all-white juries. Of the 122 indicted for second-degree murder and/or nightriding (a charge based on a Reconstruction law used to curtail **Ku Klux Klan** activities), 65 African American men were convicted with sentences ranging from 1 to 21 years, while the other cases were dismissed for lack of evidence. Many of the men accepted plea bargains after being threatened with sentences ending with the electric chair. With few exceptions, the men had white court-appointed legal representation from Phillips County, who failed to ask for a change of venue or put up a viable defense. Twelve men tried separately for capital murder were found guilty and sentenced to death, with juries taking only six to eight minutes to reach a verdict.

Immediately following the verdict, the NAACP and Ulysses Bratton, the father of Ocier Bratton, raised funds and hired new legal counsel, whites George Murphy (who quit after the first year) and Edgar McHaney, and an African American, Scipio Africanus Jones, to have the convictions overturned on appeal. Other black attorneys assisted. Over the next four years, the lawyers used every legal means available to push back numerous execution dates and get postponements to maneuver the cases through the appellate process during a period of rapid Klan growth and numerous lynchings, including two in Phillips County. One 1921 appellate decision divided the 12 men into two groups when it affirmed convictions for six men, known as the Moore defendants, and reversed and remanded the rest, called the Ware defendants, on a technicality. Although both continued to work on both cases, McHaney became the primary counsel for the latter and Jones became the primary counsel for the Moore defendants. However, in preparation for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, attorney and former NAACP board president Moorfield Storey took over the Moore case and removed Jones from the case at the last moment.

In February 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court found in favor of the Moore defendants and remanded the case back to the federal district court on the grounds that anyone tried under threat of mob violence is denied due process. Although only a partial victory for the six black men, *Moore v. Dempsey* was a significant victory for the NAACP because it essentially overturned a previous 1915 decision in the Leo Frank case. Through plea-bargains, which included pleas of guilty, the Moore defendants served a year and a half in prison, not including time served during the trials, and were released in January 1925. After the Ware case was postponed for two years at the

prosecution's request, the Arkansas Supreme Court ruled in favor of the defendants' release based on their right to a speedy trial. *See also* Red Summer; Resistance; Sharecropping.

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Katherine Kuehler Walters

Ellington, Duke (1899–1974)

Widely regarded as one of the most important musicians of the twentieth century, Duke Ellington was a jazz superstar and international celebrity throughout an enormously successful career that lasted over five decades. A composer of reportedly more than 2,000 songs, as well as a bandleader, essayist, and virtuoso pianist, Edward Kennedy Ellington was born April 29, 1899, to James Edward and Daisy, two middle-class African Americans who raised their son with cultivated and refined sensibilities in a northwest Washington, DC, suburban environment. Part of a moderately religious household in which education was held at a premium, Ellington was exposed to the arts and particularly gospel music during his formative years and studied piano at the age of seven from his mother and a few of his neighbors. After years of study, Ellington left school just before graduation to pursue a musical career and began playing professionally in his late teens. As jazz began to take hold of American radio and popular culture, Ellington followed a similar trajectory as he began an illustrious career as a bandleader that announced his arrival as one of America's most recognizable black celebrities.

Ellington's career took off in the 1930s when he was booked as the first African American musician to play at the famous Cotton Club of New York City. It was in this environment where Ellington began his musical experiments, composing long and more complicated works such as his "jungle music" style that emphasized harmony and melody over the rigid rhythmic boundaries of swing jazz that dominated the radio and recording industry. With songs such as "It Don't Mean a Thing (If It Ain't Got That Swing)," "Black and Tan Fantasy," and "Reminiscing In Tempo," Ellington's star continued to rise, taking the artist and his orchestra to numerous cities in America as well as a 1935 tour of the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain. Recognizing his own celebrity, Ellington was the personification of Alain Locke's "New Negro" ideal, as his refined, cosmopolitan character and effortlessly fashionable attire earned him the nickname "Duke," and offered a regal depiction of African Americans in a highly segregated and discriminatory society. As the minstrel show and its derivatives continued to present the dominant visage of African Americans, Ellington's musical contributions and suave demeanor rebuffed the stereotype in a manner that viably and sagaciously critiqued the entire system of Jim Crow. Ellington also wrote articles in the 1930s and 1940s, to speak on behalf of African American artistry in general as

vanguard, serious, and socially relevant work, and rebuke critics who pigeonholed the standards and artistic presentation of his music according to race.

To avoid the disgrace of racist policies in the **Jim Crow** South, Ellington and his band toured on a private train from gig to gig, circumventing segregated hotels and accommodations altogether in their luxury cabs. And although not known as an overtly political artist, Ellington played a variety of fundraisers for a number of humanitarian causes, including several concerts for the “Scottsboro Nine,” a group of young black men falsely accused of raping a white woman in **Alabama** in the early 1930s. Ellington continued his career into the 1960s and early 1970s, working with a number of musicians for a variety of causes. In 1969, Ellington received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and in 1973, Ellington was awarded the Legion of Honor by the government of France. A month after his seventy-fifth birthday, Ellington died of lung cancer and pneumonia. *See also* Armstrong, Louis; Black Entertainers against Jim Crow.

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Kevin Strait

Ellison, Ralph (1914–1994)

African American fiction writer and cultural critic Ralph Waldo Ellison was born March 1, 1914 to Lewis and Ida Ellison in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Named after American philosopher and activist Ralph Waldo Emerson, Ellison was encouraged by his parents to pursue his creative talents. After graduating in 1932, Ellison left Oklahoma to pursue a degree in music at Tuskegee University. Discouraged by the academic atmosphere against the arts, Ellison dropped out of Tuskegee and moved to New York City. In a chance meeting, Ellison met poet **Langston Hughes**, who then introduced Ellison to writer Richard Wright. Introduced to the literary world by Wright and Hughes, Ellison joined the Federal Writers Project and began to write fiction and essays dealing with race, blackness, and identity in American society.

Invisible Man, Ellison’s first novel, was released in 1952. The fictitious account, told by an anonymous African American man, traced his journey of identity in the rural South and urban North. Throughout the novel, the question of race is raised. Ellison’s description of Southern blackness in relation to whites was most intense in the first chapter of the novel. The protagonist, under the impression he was to deliver his high school graduation speech to the prominent white men in the community, was instead forced to fight the “Battle Royal” against other local black boys. Blindfolded, the boys exchanged vicious blows against each other. Ellison’s criticizes the incivility of Southern whites’ convictions about African American masculinity. The brawl displayed the supposed primitivism black males possessed. After the match, the narrator takes part in the crazed scramble for crumpled bills and gold coins on an electrically charged rug. Electrocuted, bruised, and delirious, the protagonist then delivered his graduation speech, being largely ignored by

his white audience. The narrator's heavy citation of **Booker T. Washington's** 1895 Atlanta Exposition Address softened the impact of the speech. Washington, a strong advocate of industrial education, was highly favored in the Southern white community. When the narrator mistakenly recited "social equality" instead of "responsibility," however, the mob reacts violently and demands an explanation. In fear of his life, the narrator stammered through an apology of his mistake and completed his speech. The smallest utterance of any individualized thought was rejected, as Ellison described with the hostility towards the narrator's mistaken reciting of the phrase "social equality." After completing the speech, he is given a thunderous applause and received a scholarship to the state's black college and a briefcase. That night, he dreamt of his seeing his late grandfather at the circus. Ironically, the grandfather only laughs at the inscription "To Whom It May Concern: Keep this Nigger Boy Running." Ellison's underlying criticism of the South's racially abrasive social structure was enforced by the grandfather's amusement at the message. The social obedience displayed by the narrator only allowed him to remain in good graces because of his inability to create an identity of his own.

Ellison's other works, including the collections of critical essays *Shadow and Act* and short stories *Fly Home and Other Stories* also explore race and society. Ellison died in New York City in 1994 at the age of 80. *See also* Baldwin, James; Faulkner, William; Toomer, Jean.

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Regina Barnett

Ethiopia

Ethiopia, which was formerly known as Abyssinia, is an ancient nation and a landlocked country in the Horn of Africa. Located in Eastern Africa, it shares borders with the Republic of Sudan, Somalia, and Kenya. During the 1930s, when many African nations had become victims of Western imperialism; Ethiopia and Liberia remained the only independent states on the African continent. The first attempt by the Italians to colonize Abyssinia in 1896, during the reign of Menelik II, was met with fierce resistance. The defeat of the Italians during the Battle of Adowa not only brought victory to the Ethiopians, but it also altered and challenged views long held by white people and some African nations that European countries were invincible. Additionally, the Ethiopian victory signaled a new warning that black nations were a force to reckon with. The Battle of Adowa also raised new questions about the rhetoric of white supremacy and black inferiority.

African Americans, like Ethiopians, lived under similar oppressive racial conditions as they were limited in terms of their freedom and in terms of citizenship. African Americans and white Americans were given different treatments under **Jim Crow** laws. In the early 1900s, Jim Crow laws in America and colonialism in Africa worked side by side. These two towering vehicles for oppressing black people gained more momentum and defined the ways in which whites and blacks related to each other. And, like Ethiopians who were

invaded by a European nation, African American communities were also invaded by white policemen and members of the **Ku Klux Klan** who saw themselves as agents for enforcing Jim Crow laws.

Sandwiched between white terror and Jim Crow laws, African Americans continued to fight for racial equality and kept a close relationship with Africa through migrations and other avenues of contact. Since the nineteenth century, African Americans' retention of Africa has shifted many times and has been challenged by various sociocultural and political circumstances. Images of Africa have not always been constructive. Between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, some explorers, as well as white and African American missionaries presented Africa as a continent occupied by "savage" and "uncivilized" people. Jim Crow laws, for instance, were based on the premise that people of African ancestry were of an inferior race. During the early half of the twentieth century, as African Americans became more involved in international politics and traveled on many occasions to Africa, the idea of Africans being uncivilized no longer became a major stumbling block in the ways in which they related to each other.

Socially, many African Americans saw Ethiopia as a symbol of black people's ancestral homeland and as the cradle of civilization. African Americans who subscribed to Rastafarian movements described Ethiopia as the land of human origin and perceived Emperor Haile Sellassie as a divine leader. Religiously, African American Christians preached that Ethiopia was a symbol of redemption, the foundation of Christianity and the hope for all oppressed people. Ethiopians were also perceived as sons and daughters of Sheba's race in some Christian circles.

The twentieth century was marked by major transformation in the black struggle for racial equality, for independence, and for black solidarity in the diaspora. In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia for the second time during the reign of Emperor Haile Sellasie. They were successful this time because of their military advantage and the indirect support they received from other European nations, who also perpetuated the genre of white supremacist ideology. Like Jim Crow laws that sought to weaken any progress among African Americans, the invasion of Ethiopia perpetuated notions that people of Africa would remain subjects of white colonial projects and imperialist ventures that sought to amass natural resources, enforce white racial superiority, and destabilize the lives of Ethiopians. For many African Americans who looked up to Ethiopia as symbol of hope and the other remaining sovereign nation in Africa, the fascist invasion created rage and public outburst because of the cultural and religious kinship between these two groups. African Americans from all works of life mobilized their resources and manpower to ensure that Ethiopians maintain their sovereignty. Between 1934 and 1935, black people worldwide also displayed similar racial solidarity and cultural support.

Many African Americans remained steadfast and continued to show solidarity with Ethiopia despite the socioeconomic setbacks as a result of the Great Depression in the early 1930s, which propped up other discriminatory practices and heightened tensions between the rich and the poor in America. However, not everyone showed their support or sympathy for Ethiopians. During this period, two opposing camps developed in terms of ideology: there was

opposition to as well as solidarity for Ethiopia. African American communities became divided over whether to leave behind their own problems at home to side with Ethiopians or distance themselves in order to improve their local conditions under Jim Crow laws. Although African Americans differed in ideology, there still remained some base for solidarity among them.

African Americans who supported mobilization efforts on behalf of Ethiopians perceived the attack on Ethiopia as yet another example of blatant European disregard for human rights, for African people's self-determination, and for the right to protect their sovereignty and cultures. In fact, African Americans who were allies of Ethiopia associated the slaughter of Ethiopians with **lynching** by white Americans and Jim Crow laws as a flagrant breach of international laws. This line of thought argued that racial identity, **black nationalism**, and the oppression of all black people were not mutually exclusive. Religiously, a sizable number of African Americans responded to the crisis in Ethiopia because Ethiopia was a black Christian nation. Therefore, the fear that the ancient African nation was threatened by a European nation struck a highly sensitive emotional nerve and prompted many religious leaders to organize prayer services, fasting and donations for Ethiopians. For example, the Abyssinia Baptist Church in New York raised \$300 and sent the money through the Ethiopian consul in New York to purchase medical supplies for Ethiopians. Indeed, not all African Americans rallied behind Ethiopia despite their common ancestral heritage and their religious and racial history.

Other members of the black American community argued that raising funds and support for Ethiopians could distract African American leaders from dealing with their own domestic problems. As pointed out, this group of African Americans had interest in issues around the world, but was convinced that the problems in their own backyard were getting worse each day and therefore needed more immediate local attention than did the crisis in Ethiopia. A section of the black American community took a step further to dramatize the appalling conditions in black American communities and demanded an immediate response to the domestic crisis. In 1934, Roy Wilkins, a leading member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) expressed that African Americans could not ignore unemployment, lynching, and starvation to focus on problems that were over 5,000 miles away. Others who subscribed to this notion emphasized that socioeconomic tribulations and racial inequalities that were created by Jim Crow laws were troubling enough; therefore, Ethiopians had to support themselves. Oppression under Jim Crow was so destructive and divisive that other civil rights activists openly demanded that African Americans not get involved in problems beyond their borders.

Drawing on biblical verses such as Psalm 68:31, "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God," some Christians in African American communities held on to their faith in Christian teachings. Christian leaders encouraged African Americans to look beyond Jim Crow laws by depending on the divine love of God to redeem Ethiopia from their dilemma. The debate about the crisis in Ethiopia did not end in religious circles. In fact, some African American intellectuals were also drawn into this campaign. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, who had declared almost two decades earlier that the problem of the twentieth

century was rooted in skin color, became more informed about the crisis and its close relations to racism in America. In his analysis of the unprovoked invasion and the subtle ways in which other international institutions responded, Du Bois stated that the League of Nations' Ten Points Plan that was introduced by President Woodrow Wilson after **World War I** to protect the sovereignty of independent nations as well as human rights laws did not include people of African ancestry—Africans under European imperialism and African Americans under Jim Crow laws. European nations, Du Bois pointed out, would have responded to the Italian attack if Ethiopia were a white nation.

Desperate appeals by some African American leaders and activists for unconditional support for Ethiopians also gained a considerable attention. Despite the differences among the rank and file, many blacks in America mounted a vigorous crusade and moved to a new level of intensity in support of the Ethiopians. For instance, in Boston, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities, mobilization campaigns continued. Blacks showed their solidarity and patriotism by signing up to be drafted as volunteers to carry arms in defense of Ethiopia.

The desire by some members of the black community to bear arms and wear Ethiopian military uniforms under an Ethiopian flag, however, was overshadowed by threats by the U.S. government to imprison U.S. citizens who fought alongside Ethiopians during the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. According to the federal statute of 1818 that governed the enlistment of American citizens in foreign army, it is a criminal offense and a misdemeanor for any American citizen to support any country that was not an ally of the United States. Indirectly, these laws sanctioned any laws in Europe that promoted white supremacy worldwide—especially colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.

Despite the successful attempts by lawmakers to prevent African American volunteers from traveling to fight alongside Ethiopians, African Americans such as Colonel John Robinson, Hubert Julian, and other African American activists were able to travel to Ethiopia to defend the sovereignty of an African nation. Other sympathizers of Ethiopia looked for niches to express their rage with Jim Crow laws and other forms of white supremacy. When Joe Louis, a black American boxing legend, fought the Italian boxer Primo Carnera, pro-Sellassie supporters in the black communities used the boxing arena as a platform for settling scores with Benito Mussolini's military, the League of Nations, the papacy, and other Western nations whom they perceived as perpetuating white supremacy on all levels.

Deep-seated hatred for oppression of African Americans, frustrations with Jim Crow laws and resentments for the attacks on Ethiopians surfaced in other ways. The rage expressed by some African Americans did not end after Louis's victory: retribution against Mussolini took another form. Other black Americans who did not find consolation in Louis's victory took the law in their own hands and attacked Italian Americans in Harlem, Brooklyn, and other areas in New York City. Other African Americans mobilized themselves and boycotted Italian businesses and stores throughout the United States to show their disdain for oppressive racial laws both at home and abroad.

The African American press became a formidable organ in disseminating news about the conflict in Ethiopia alongside conditions of African Americans under Jim Crow laws during this time. In the long term, the opportunities that the African American press created allowed members of the community to compare and contrast their oppressive conditions under Jim Crow laws in the 1930s and that of Ethiopians during the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. The involvements of the African American press also created a platform for informing African Americans about the ways in which Ethiopians resisted Benito Mussolini, the leader of the fascist invaders in the early stages of the crisis in 1935. By creating an avenue for polemics, the African American press created a pathway that strengthened the resolve, courage, self-esteem, racial pride, and resilience of African Americans as they confronted Jim Crow laws and other forms of racial oppression in the country. In fact, the Ethiopian crisis made African Americans more informed about international conflicts and revealed the significance of the struggle of African people to their own struggles at home. The similarities between Jim Crow laws and colonialism also created a racial consciousness among African Americans and infused new racial solidarity for confronting white supremacy at home and abroad. *See also Back to Africa Movement.*

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Kwame Essien

Eugenics

Eugenics is a philosophy that advocates improving the human race through selective breeding and related strategies. During the **Jim Crow** era, eugenicists successfully advocated sterilizing individuals thought to be unfit to reproduce. Eugenicists also opposed immigration into the United States by “inferior” races.

Scientific Racism

During the pre-Civil War era, American scientists developed a body of research that has since been labeled “scientific racism.” This was an attempt to classify racial categories and to discern the essential differences between the various categories. These scholars linked race with a host of other characteristics that they thought were inherited, including many cultural and psychological characteristics as well as physiological characteristics. Scientific racism ranked the various races into a hierarchy. People of northern European

descent were ranked as superior on all dimensions. People of African descent were ranked at the bottom of the hierarchy. Thus, a pseudoscientific discourse emerged to justify preexisting racial ideologies.

Social Darwinism and the First Eugenicists

The social philosophical world that spawned scientific racism also included “social Darwinism,” which extended Darwin’s theory of evolution into the social realm. Darwin had theorized that competition between organisms is the basis of biological evolution. Social Darwinism is a conflict theory of society, which seeks to explain social change. It perceives social outcomes as the consequence of competition between individual humans, or between groups of humans.

Social Darwinism formed a basis for the development of eugenics in the 1860s by Darwin’s cousin, Francis Galton. From Darwin’s observations on the heritability of physical traits, Galton theorized that mental ability was similarly heritable. Galton viewed humanitarian institutions serving the poor and disabled as enabling the less fit members of society to reproduce more readily. Galton observed that this could lead to a gradual degradation of humanity. While Galton himself did not approve of governmental interference in human reproduction, Galton’s followers, the developers of eugenics, argued that human breeding should be engineered to encourage reproduction by the more fit members of society and to discourage reproduction by the less fit members.

Eugenics as Scientific Justification for Anti-Immigration Laws

The concerns about Americans mixing with “inferior stock” were not limited to intermarriages between whites and non-European minorities. Eugenicists also distinguished between Anglo-Saxon and Nordic Europeans on one hand, and eastern and southern Europeans on the other hand. Eugenicists believed the eastern and southern Europeans were racially distinct and inferior from the northerners. In 1924, after hearing testimony from leading eugenicists, Congress passed an act that increased restrictions on immigration from eastern and southern Europe. Congress also banned most immigration from Japan and China based on racial concerns.

Eugenics as Scientific Justification for Antimiscegenation Laws

Eugenics derived from scientific racism and provided a pseudoscientific justification for **Jim Crow** and related legislation. Eugenicists fretted about the harmful effects that mixed marriages, known as “race mixing” or “**miscegenation**,” would cause to population health. They were especially concerned about the future of the white race if it became diluted with “inferior stock.” Eugenicists offered such arguments to justify antimiscegenation laws that forbade marriages between whites and nonwhites.

Many scholars have argued that during the Jim Crow era, American society was organized in a caste system. A person’s caste status depended on the racial category into which he was born. All caste societies have mechanisms for maintaining the boundaries between castes. These boundaries are reinforced

by sanctions that prohibit intermarriage between castes, and that prohibit members of different castes from interacting as equals. The ideology of eugenics became part of the foundation of the Jim Crow caste system during Jim Crow's later period, by providing a pseudoscientific basis for the notorious antimiscegenation laws, which prohibited marriages between people of different races, in order to maintain white racial purity. This obsession with the purity of bloodlines derived from eugenics.

The most notorious example of antimiscegenation law was Virginia's *Racial Integrity Act* of 1924. This law required the Virginia Bureau of Vital Statistics to record a racial description of every newborn baby. It also outlawed marriages between "white persons" and "non-white" partners. The state legislature enacted this statute on the same day it passed the Sterilization Act, which permitted the state to sterilize institutionalized individuals deemed to be incompetent—an explicitly eugenicist policy. The same activists and legislators were behind the movement to pass both laws. Virginia's notorious Sterilization Act was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Buck v. Bell* (1927). These two laws were derived from the eugenicist Harry Laughlin's model language for such statutes (1922). Laughlin testified on behalf of Virginia in *Buck v. Bell*, and also supported the Racial Integrity Act. Thus, while the main thrust of the eugenicists was to sterilize those defined as unfit, antimiscegenation was also a subsidiary goal of the movement. The U.S. Supreme Court overturned the antimiscegenation component of Virginia's Racial Integrity Act in 1967 in *Loving v. Virginia*. In 1975, Virginia's General Assembly repealed the entire Racial Integrity Act. In 1979, it repealed the Sterilization Act.

Among the American eugenicists most obsessed with race were Arthur Estabrook and his coauthor Ivan McDougle. Estabrook traveled to Virginia to assist the state with research in support of its Sterilization Act, which was contested in *Buck v. Bell*. While in Virginia, Estabrook and McDougle also conducted extensive research on a mixed-race population near Lynchburg. In 1926, Estabrook and McDougle published their study of these people in *Mongrel Virginians: The Win Tribe*. "Win" was an anagram for white-Indian-negro, referring to the hypothesized racial mixture in this population. Estabrook and McDougle detailed all of the negative traits they had observed among these people, attributing their failings to their "mongrel" heritage. For Estabrook and McDougle, this was a case study that legitimated the eugenicists' warnings about race-mixing. Meanwhile, Estabrook and McDougle discounted the intense poverty and racial oppression that their subjects suffered under Jim Crow.

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Thomas Brown

Evers, Medgar (1925–1963)

Medgar Wiley Evers was the first National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) field secretary in **Mississippi**. During the 1950s and early 1960s, Evers was one of the key activists in Mississippi, and was involved in many high-profile challenges to racial subjugation.

Born in Decatur, Mississippi, on July 2, 1925, Evers' early life was shaped by **Jim Crow**, and these experiences informed his later outlook and activities. The Evers family had a long history of standing up to racial oppression. Evers was named for his maternal great-grandfather, a half-Indian slave who had a reputation for being uncooperative with masters, while his maternal grandfather, the son of a white man, had reputedly shot two white men. Evers's father James instilled both racial and personal pride into Medgar and his older brother, Charles, who himself would become a civil rights activist in Mississippi. James Evers was a public worker and so less susceptible to the seasonal fluctuations of agricultural employment; he owned his own land and built the family home himself, and was therefore not at risk of eviction, as were so many black Mississippians who were tenants of whites. Throughout his childhood, Medgar witnessed his father's refusal to accede to many Jim Crow customs: he refused to step off sidewalks to allow whites to pass and, on one particular occasion, defended himself with a broken bottle against a white storekeeper who had tried to overcharge him. Several white men witnessed this incident, but no repercussions were directed at the Evers family.

Despite his father's defiance, Medgar was nonetheless exposed to the realities of Jim Crow in Mississippi. Friendships with several white children were abruptly severed as Medgar grew older, and while the Evers brothers had to walk to school, white children travelled by bus. In 1934, Medgar and his brother sneaked into a political rally given by Governor Theodore Bilbo, who singled them out and warned the crowd that unless Jim Crow remained in place, such children would grow into adults who demanded the vote. From an early age, Evers developed an attitude to the racial norms of Mississippi that would shape the rest of his life. As children, he and Charles would fantasize about moving to South America, where they would buy land and refuse access to whites, while Medgar's response to the lack of respect shown to local blacks by white traveling salesmen was to let the air out of their car tires.

At the same time as indulging in such childish revenge fantasies, Evers developed an anger at black Mississippians' impotence in the face of Jim Crow. When a local black man was lynched and his clothes left as a reminder to the rest of the community, Evers struggled to understand how such atrocities could occur with no attempt by the black community to intervene or have the perpetrators brought to justice. Evers grew frustrated with black people who accepted the tenets of Jim Crow without challenge, in a way that his father never had. This frustration would stay with him as an adult.

In 1944, Medgar dropped out of the 11th grade to enlist in the army. He was posted to the 325th Port Company, where he served in England and France. As was true for many black Southerners who served in the **armed forces**, this was Evers's first visit out of his home state, and the contrast with Mississippi was stark. Although his unit was commanded by white officers,

Evers found that the entrenched racial attitudes of Mississippi were absent, and his potential was recognized by at least one white lieutenant, who encouraged him to attend college when he returned home. The difference in racial attitudes was particularly noticeable when off duty, and in France, Evers befriended a white family and even dated their daughter. When he returned to Mississippi, however, Evers knew that he could not risk even writing to her, for fear that local whites would find out.

Spurred by their experiences in Europe, Medgar and a group of other black veterans, including his brother Charles, registered to vote, becoming the only blacks on the voters' roll in Decatur. As polling day approached, the Evers family home received both white and black visitors who urged Medgar and Charles not to vote for fear of reprisals. The Evers brothers took these warnings so seriously that on the night before the election, they armed themselves and waited for an expected attack, a familiar Mississippi tactic to dissuade blacks from voting. No attack came, but when the Evers attempted to vote, they were turned away from the polling station by a group of armed white men.

In 1946, Evers enrolled at Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, the oldest state college for blacks in Mississippi. He featured strongly in campus life and participated in a wide range of extracurricular activities. He was a member of the debating team, the campus YMCA, the college choir, and the track and football teams as well as president of the junior class, editor of the 1951 yearbook, and editor of the college newspaper for two years. In his senior year, he achieved honor-roll grades. Evers's achievements saw him listed in the nationally published *Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities*. At Alcorn, Evers met his future wife Myrlie Beasley, whom he married on Christmas Eve 1951.

While at college, Evers's racial attitude continued to harden, and he became increasingly antagonistic towards white people. Nonetheless, despite having spent time in Chicago during 1951, and in spite of his wife's desire to move away from Mississippi, Evers came to see what the state could be like without Jim Crow and became determined to stay and challenge racial subjugation. Evers's commitment to this ideal grew stronger when he and Myrlie moved to the all-black town of Mound Bayou, where he took a job with the Magnolia Life Insurance Company, operated by T. R. M. Howard, a wealthy black doctor and activist who had helped found the Regional Council of Negro Leadership. Evers's job exposed him for the first time to the entrenched poverty of black communities in the Mississippi Delta, and he soon joined the local NAACP branch, joining a statewide network of activists.

Embers of Evers's earlier radicalism still glowed and, inspired by Jomo Kenyatta's Mau Mau rebels in Kenya, he and his brother toyed with the idea of an armed black uprising in Mississippi. Evers ultimately dismissed this notion and instead became more deeply involved with the NAACP. In 1954, he volunteered as a test case to integrate the University of Mississippi and applied to its law school. The NAACP's **Thurgood Marshall** represented his case. After nine months, Evers's application was rejected on a technicality. This had brought him to the attention of the NAACP's national office, and in December 1954, he took up a post as the NAACP's first field secretary in

Mississippi. His wife, Myrlie, acted as his secretary: in the office, Medgar insisted they refer to each other as “Mr.” and “Mrs.”

Evers’s appointment coincided with the rise of massive white resistance to the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling, and over the next few years, intimidation and violence disrupted the network of black activism that had developed in Mississippi. Undaunted, Evers travelled tirelessly throughout Mississippi, organizing NAACP chapters, collecting affidavits from blacks who had been intimidated by the **White Citizens Council**, urging people to sign petitions supporting school integration, and encouraging witnesses of crimes like the murder of George Lee in Belzoni to testify. Evers was involved in many high-profile incidents in Mississippi. During the trial of the alleged killers of **Emmett Till**, Evers scoured the delta looking for witnesses, and ferried reporters around so that they could see for themselves the reality of Jim Crow Mississippi.

By the early 1960s, Evers had become one of the most well-known civil rights activists in Mississippi, to both blacks and whites. This made him vulnerable to segregationists: his Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission file grew increasingly thick, and he was beaten while attending the trial of nine students who had tried to integrate a public library. However, his profile also gave him influence, and the Justice Department investigated the beating, signaling an increased federal interest in Mississippi. Evers’s profile meant that he was involved in a wide range of civil rights episodes in the state, including **James Meredith’s** attempt to integrate the University of Mississippi and a sustained boycott of downtown Jackson in 1962 and 1963. The boycott made him an even more visible target, and after his house was firebombed, he became increasingly concerned about his family’s security. Despite initial wariness, Evers also tried to create links with other civil rights organizations like the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** and **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** during this period, often without the knowledge or approval of the NAACP’s national office.

On June 11, 1963, the same evening that President **John F. Kennedy** gave a televised address in which he announced his attention to bring forward civil rights legislation, Evers was shot dead outside his home by Byron De La Beckwith, a White Citizens’ Council member well known for his hatred of black people. He was shot while carrying T-shirts bearing the slogan “Jim Crow Must Go.” Over 5,000 people attended Evers’s funeral, and he was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. His brother Charles replaced him as NAACP field secretary. Beckwith was tried, although this twice resulted in hung juries and he was freed. In 1990, he was rearrested, and in February 1994, was found guilty of murdering Evers and sentenced to life imprisonment. *See also* Civil Rights Movement.

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Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr

Executive Order 9808

Executive Order 9808 (11FR 14153, December 7, 1946; 1946 WL 3907) was issued by President **Harry S. Truman** on December 5, 1946. Truman invoked Executive Order 9808 (EO 9808) in response to complaints of racial discrimination that surfaced during the administration of his predecessor, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**. During **World War II**, Roosevelt received complaints from blacks that America's efforts to promote civil rights abroad were in conflict with the state of civil rights in America, particularly as it related to the extension of these rights to African Americans. Therefore, in June 1941, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 to forbid government contractors from discriminating against blacks. This executive order also established a **Fair Employment Practices Commission**.

Truman's rationale for invoking Executive Order 9808 rested upon three basic premises:

1. the preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution is essential to domestic tranquility, national security, the general welfare, and the continued existence of our free institutions;
2. the action of individuals who take law into their own hands and inflict summary punishment and wreak personal vengeance is subversive to our democratic system of law enforcement and public criminal justice, and gravely threatens our form of government; and
3. all possible steps be taken to safeguard our civil rights.

In order to accomplish the goal of safeguarding civil rights under Executive Order 9808, Truman established the President's Committee on Civil Rights (hereafter, Committee). This uncompensated, 16-member committee consisted of the following members: Sadie T. Alexander, James B. Carey, Robert K. Carr (executive secretary), John S. Dickey (first vice chairman), Morris L. Ernst, Roland G. Gittelsohn, Frank P. Graham, Francis J. Haas, Charles Luckman, Francis P. Matthews, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (second vice chairman), Henry Knox Sherrill, Boris Shishkin, M. E. Tilley, Channing H. Tobias, and Charles E. Wilson (chair).

The committee was charged with the following tasks:

1. to inquire into and to determine whether and in what respect current law enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by the Federal, State, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people and
2. to make a report of its studies to the President in writing and . . . in particular make recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment, by legislation or otherwise, of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States.

In essence, Truman wanted the committee to investigate possible civil rights violations and recommend procedures to assist in the protection of civil rights for the American people.

Executive Order 9808 imposed an obligatory responsibility on “[a]ll executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government . . . to cooperate with the Committee in its work, and to furnish the Committee such information or the services of such persons as the Committee may require in the performance of its duties.” Additionally, this order required “persons employed by any of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government . . . [to] testify before the Committee and [to] make available for the use of the Committee such documents and other information as the Committee may require.” In October 1947, the committee submitted its final report, entitled *To Secure These Rights*. In December 1947, the committee was dismantled in accordance with the statutory language of EO 9808.

The committee’s report was divided into four main sections—“The American Heritage: The Promise of Freedom and Equality,” “The Record: Short of the Goal,” “Government’s Responsibility: Securing the Rights,” and “A Program of Action: The Committee’s Recommendations.” Within its report, the committee emphasized that its investigation uncovered widespread acts—both individual and sanctioned by law—of civil rights violations. These violations existed in many forms (e.g., poll taxes and other unlawful voting restrictions, **police brutality**, **lynching**, employment **discrimination**, *de jure* segregation or **Jim Crow** laws). The committee concluded that such violations were at odds with the American heritage and the valued principles of liberty and equality. The committee wrote as follows: “Mr. President: Your Committee has reviewed the American heritage and we have found in it again the great goals of human freedom and equality under just laws. We have surveyed the flaws in the nation’s record and have found them to be serious.”

The committee suggested specific measures in order to safeguard the civil rights of Americans. Its recommendations spanned approximately 68 pages of the *To Secure These Rights* report. Recommendations such as the following were suggested by the committee:

1. reorganization of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice (DOJ);
2. establishment of a special civil rights investigative unit within the Federal Bureau of Investigations;
3. establishment of state law enforcement agencies comparable to the Civil Rights Section of the DOJ;
4. establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President;
5. establishment of permanent state civil rights commissions;
6. institution of state and local police training programs;
7. congressional enactment of laws to punish individual violators of civil rights; and
8. congressional enactment of laws imposing penalties against law enforcement personnel involved in police brutality and other forms of misconduct, anti-lynching laws, criminalizing law enforcement’s employment of involuntary servitude, ending poll taxes and other voting restrictions, and abolishing discrimination in the armed forces.

The overall findings of the committee resulted in President Truman sending a special civil rights message to Congress urging the implementation of the committee's recommendations. In response to Truman's request, Southern members of Congress who adamantly opposed expansion of civil rights to African Americans threatened a filibuster. As a result, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 (13 FR 4313, July 26, 1948) abolishing segregation in the **armed forces** and integration of all armed services. *See also* National Guard.

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Olethia Davis

Executive Order 9981

Beginning with the founding of the nation, the role of African Americans serving in their country's military has been hotly debated. At the opening of the American War for Independence, as some Northern colonies began enlisting free blacks into the ranks of their regiments, George Washington declared that no blacks, free or slave, would be permitted to serve in the Continental Army. However, when the Loyalist Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore began enticing slaves with the promise of freedom if they left their masters and joined his "Ethiopian Regiment," at a time when the rebels were having difficulty recruiting men, Washington, though a slave owner, reconsidered his earlier prohibition on black troops, and, on January 17, 1776, the Continental Congress approved the enlistment of black troops into Washington's army. Over 5,000 black men fought for the American cause during the War for Independence, and they fought shoulder to shoulder with white soldiers; there was no segregation in the Continental Army.

Black sailors and soldiers also fought for the United States against the British in the War of 1812. Some, like the New Orleans Free Black Militia who served with distinction under General Andrew Jackson, fought in all-black units, but the policy of segregating troops by race was not official. Indeed, the U.S. Navy, whose force was one-sixth African American during the War of 1812, found it almost impossible to segregate sailors on board ship. The aftermath of the War of 1812 saw a dramatic change in the U.S. government's policy regarding blacks in the military. In 1820, reacting in part to the fear of slave rebellion, the U.S. government announced that "No Negro or mulatto will be received as a recruit of the Army." As a result of the ban on black recruits, the 1846–1848 Mexican-American War was the only major U.S. conflict in which no black soldiers participated, although some African Americans served in the navy during the war.

The policy of not accepting African Americans into the armed forces was still in place when the Civil War erupted in 1861. As George Washington had initially done in 1775, in 1861, Abraham Lincoln declared that the war would be a “white man’s fight,” and that no blacks, free or slave, would be accepted into the Union forces. Pressure from black leaders, most notably Frederick Douglass, combined with mounting losses, convinced Lincoln to accept black troops in 1862. Almost 180,000 African Americans served in the Union armed forces during the Civil War, in segregated units, as it was during the Civil War that the policy of creating separate units for black troops was made official policy. It was the creation of a **Jim Crow** army that would last until the 1950s.

Following the Civil War, black troops were organized into four units: the 9th and 10th Cavalry, and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. Although often relegated to labor battalions, black troops fought with distinction in the West, in Cuba, in the Philippines, and in the World Wars in their segregated units. During **World War II**—a war fought against Nazi racism—the black press, led by the *Pittsburgh Courier* launched the **Double V Campaign**: victory against racism and fascism abroad, and victory against segregation and discrimination at home. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) also continued its campaign, begun during **World War I**, demanding the end to segregation in the **armed forces**, while black leaders repeatedly pointed out the inconsistencies of black troops fighting for freedom and democracy in a Jim Crow army.

Military leadership resisted desegregation, asserting that the army was not designed to be a social laboratory, and that the military would integrate when the rest of American society did. In 1946, the army reviewed its policy towards black soldiers in what became known as the Gillem Board. This committee acknowledged that the army had failed to make the best use of its black manpower during World War II, and recommended that African Americans should comprise 10 percent of the postwar army (the policy actually included creating new all-black units, thereby increasing segregation), that blacks be given equal opportunity for advancement, and that the use of some base facilities (like recreation centers) be integrated. The board did not, however, challenge the army’s traditional policy of segregating troops.

Black leaders such as the NAACP’s Roy Wilkins were outraged by the recommendation of the Gillem Board, as it did not take any meaningful steps to end segregation in the army. Led by **A. Phillip Randolph**, the labor leader whose 1941 **March on Washington Movement** had pressured President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** into signing Executive Order 8802, which created the **Fair Employment Practices Commission**, black leaders began demanding the end of the Jim Crow army. In November 1947, Randolph helped found the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training to push for the desegregation of the military. Black leaders were encouraged when President **Harry S. Truman** issued his Civil Rights message to Congress in February 1948, which, among other things, called for the secretary of defense to end discrimination in the military as soon as possible. But both military leaders and

Executive Order 9981, 1948

Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces.

WHEREAS it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense:

NOW THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed services, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.
2. There shall be created in the National Military Establishment an advisory committee to be known as the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, which shall be composed of seven members to be designated by the President.
3. The Committee is authorized on behalf of the President to examine into the rules, procedures and practices of the Armed Services in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures and practices may be altered or improved with a view to carrying out the policy of this order. The Committee shall confer and advise the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Air Force, and shall make such recommendations to the President and to said Secretaries as in the judgment of the Committee will effectuate the policy hereof.
4. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Committee in its work, and to furnish the Committee such information or the services of such persons as the Committee may require in the performance of its duties.
5. When requested by the Committee to do so, persons in the armed services or in any of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall testify before the Committee and shall make available for use of the Committee such documents and other information as the Committee may require.
6. The Committee shall continue to exist until such time as the President shall terminate its existence by Executive order.

Harry Truman
The White House
July 26, 1948

Southern congressmen balked at the message, and it seemed that no progress on desegregation would come without pressure from black America.

Truman's call in March 1948 for the first peacetime draft in U.S. history provided Randolph with the opportunity he was looking for. Stating that "Prison is better than Army Jim Crow," Randolph pledged to lead black youths in a boycott of any universal military training program if the army was not fully desegregated. He kept the issue in the headlines by leading peaceful protests in major cities throughout the summer of 1948, urging young black men to refuse to register for the draft. While this tactic was not endorsed by all black

leaders, some of whom thought that Randolph's threat would make black America look unpatriotic and therefore perhaps even harm the drive for civil rights, the president took Randolph seriously, especially as 1948 was an election year. On July 26, Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which stated that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin," and that "This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible."

While some black leaders, including Randolph, criticized the executive order as weak in not openly ordering the immediate desegregation of the military, it did signal a drastic change by the U.S. government towards supporting integration instead of segregation. Resistance from both Congress and the military persisted, however. Both Generals Eisenhower and Omar Bradley publicly criticized the president's order, going as far to say that it compromised national defense. Southern politicians also led the charge against desegregation, culminating in the Dixiecrat revolt at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Most insidious were military officers who quietly and simply ignored the order, allowing the racial status quo to continue.

After initial resistance, both the navy and air force implemented desegregation rather quickly and easily in 1949. The army, much larger and more deeply entrenched in its traditions than the other two branches, proved to be much more intransigent. By 1950, army leaders still had made no plans for desegregating the units; instead, they had made only token changes regarding increased training and promotional opportunities for blacks. It took war in Korea to finally bring about the integration of the army. When the United States entered the Korean conflict in June 1950, the army was still rigidly segregated. Indeed, some of the first U.S. troops to reach the Korean Peninsula in the summer of 1950 were the all-black units of the 24th Infantry. While some army commanders attempted to maintain the segregated army, the demands of the war made continuing segregation both impractical and inefficient. Moreover, a number of officers came to believe that the all-black units were inferior to those of whites, and should therefore be eliminated and the white units integrated. While black soldiers condemned this assessment, during the Korean War, the all-black units were phased out as black troops were absorbed by the white units. By the end of the war in 1953, the integration of the U.S. military had finally come about, but the historic all-black units were a casualty of the process. *See also* National Guard; Veterans Groups.

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Thomas J. Ward, Jr.

Eyes on the Prize

Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954–1964) and *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads (1965–1985)* is a 14-part original documentary series that chronicles the **Civil Rights Movement** from 1954

to 1985 developed by executive producer Henry Hampton (1940–1998) and narrated by civil rights leader Julian Bond. Produced by Blackside Incorporated, the award-winning series originally aired as an *American Experience* television presentation on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) network in 1987. Part II initially aired in 1990 on PBS. Bringing the documentary to fruition was a struggle, as Hampton often described the difficulties he experienced in obtaining funding for the project. *Eyes on the Prize* is recognized for its historical contribution to the film documentation of the Civil Rights Movement since it provides accounts by several key figures in the movement. The series received numerous prestigious awards, including the Television Critics Association Award, the George Foster Peabody Award, the Alfred I. duPont–Columbia award, the International Documentary Association award, and an Academy Award nomination for Best Documentary, Features. In addition, it won the Black Independent Producers Award, several Emmy Awards for best TV Documentary, the National Association of Black Journalists award, and others.

Part I, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954–1964)*, features six programs. *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads (1965–1985)* completed the series. The two parts of the documentary have companion books, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954–1965* and *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader: Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle, 1954–1990*.

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Carol Adams-Means

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Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC)

The Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) was a **World War II**-era federal agency created by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** to counter a threat of a **March on Washington** by African Americans opposed to discrimination in the military and in defense industries. It was subsequently replaced by a Committee on Fair Employment Practice (CFEP), which had broader powers than the FEPC.

The FEPC was established by Executive Order 8802, which prohibited discrimination in the defense industry and established the agency to monitor hiring practices. The agency's mandate was to bar discrimination in employment based on race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, and against aliens by any company holding a government contract or subcontract.

The origins of the agency can be traced to a September 1940 meeting between **A. Philip Randolph**, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Roosevelt. Randolph urged the president to promote equal employment opportunities and to desegregate the armed services. When the meeting did not produce a positive response from Roosevelt, Randolph decided that he would bring the case directly to the American people by staging a march on Washington, DC.

Randolph spent months gathering support for his plan and preparing for the march. Concerned about the political impact of the march, Roosevelt met with Randolph two weeks before the scheduled date of the march to urge him to call it off. Randolph's response to the president was that the march would be called off only if Roosevelt issued an executive order. On June 25, 1941, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which made discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin illegal in the defense industry. In response, Randolph agreed to suspend the march.

The role of the FEPC was "to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination . . . take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid," and to make recommendations to other federal agencies for the purpose of carrying out Executive Order 8802. While this was the first presidential action ever taken to prohibit employment discrimination by

government contractors, the agency lacked enforcement authority. The FEPC was established in the Office of Production Management (OPM) and was to consist of a chair and four members appointed by the president. The FEPC was the first government agency in which blacks were all line officers. Prior to this time, blacks were only racial advisors with no line authority.

In January 1942, when OPM was abolished, the FEPC was transferred to the War Production Board (WPB) by Executive Order 9040, and in July, the agency was transferred to the War Manpower Commission (WMC) by a presidential letter to Paul V. McNutt, the chair of the WMC.

The agency was strengthened by Executive Order 9346, issued on May 27, 1943. This new order established a Committee on Fair Employment Practice (CFEP), replacing the FEPC, and placed it under the Office of Emergency Management (OEM). The order broadened the jurisdiction of this agency to include **federal government** establishments, employers holding government contracts with antidiscrimination clauses, other employers who were engaged in production-related activities or the utilization of war materials, and labor organizations whose activities affected those employers. Executive Order 9346 also required all government contracts to include a nondiscrimination clause. The Committee consisted of a chairman and not more than six other members appointed by the president.

The agency decentralized its operations, establishing 13 regional offices between July and November 1943. A 14th regional office was opened in Los Angeles, California, in February 1945. One of the major problems encountered by both the FEPC and the CFEP were widespread work stoppages by white workers who refused to work beside blacks. The agency also found that employers resisted training African American workers or hiring African American women. While being effective in the North, the agency did not attempt to challenge the practice of segregation in the South.

The CFEP's *Final Report* noted that:

The Committee's wartime experience shows that in the majority of cases discriminatory practices by employers and unions can be reduced or eliminated by simple negotiations when the work of the negotiator is backed up by firm and explicit National policy.

FEPC's unsolved cases show that the Executive authority is not enough to insure compliance in the face of stubborn opposition. Only legislative authority will insure compliance in the small number of cases in which employers or unions or both refuse after negotiation to abide by the National policy of nondiscrimination.

After Roosevelt's death, Congress, in July 1945, abolished the agency through the National War Agencies Appropriations Act of 1946 (59 Stat. 473) by not providing funding for its continued operation. While President **Harry S. Truman** and some members of Congress sought to reestablish the agency, Republicans and Southern Democrats blocked their efforts in Congress. While five states (New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Washington) created agencies to combat employment discrimination, the federal government would not have another agency dealing with employment

discrimination until the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1964.

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Jeffrey Kraus

Farmer, James (1920–1999)

James Farmer was a civil rights leader. Along with **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, **Roy Wilkins** of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Whitney Young of the National Urban League, Farmer was considered one of the “big four” leaders of the **Civil Rights Movement**.

Early Life

Farmer was the son of J. Leonard Farmer (1886–1961) and Pearl Marion Farmer. His father was a theologian and Old Testament scholar, and his mother was a teacher. Farmer was born January 12, 1920, in Marshall, Texas, where his father was teaching at Wiley College, the first black college west of the Mississippi River. In his autobiography, Farmer recalls that, when he was three years old, he was shopping in the town of Holly Springs, Mississippi (where his father was on the faculty of Rust College) with his mother. He wanted to buy a Coke from a drug store, but his mother told him that he could not buy it there, because he was black. This incident, he wrote, stayed with him, recurring as a dream well into his adult years.

A brilliant student, Farmer started first grade at the age of four, and entered Wiley College at the age of 14. He graduated from Wiley with a bachelor of science (Chemistry) degree in 1938 and entered Howard University's School of Divinity, from which he graduated with a master's in sacred theology degree in 1941. Farmer was a pacifist, and he objected to serving in a segregated military (President **Harry S. Truman** did not desegregate the military by executive order until July 26, 1948). When the United States entered **World War II**, Farmer applied for conscientious objector status, but found that he was exempt from military conscription because he held a divinity degree.

The Civil Rights Movement

Farmer decided not to become a Methodist minister, as he opposed the Church's policy of segregated congregations. Instead, Farmer went to work for a Quaker organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation as the secretary for race relations, where he worked from 1941 to 1945. In 1942, Farmer helped found, along with George Houser and Bernice Fisher, the Committee of Racial Equality, later known as the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**,

a civil rights organization, in Chicago. CORE was the first civil rights organization to use nonviolent tactics to protest racial discrimination. In May 1943, Farmer led the first successful nonviolent “sit-in” protest against a segregated restaurant at the Jack Spratt Coffee Shop in Chicago.

From 1942 to 1944 and again in 1950, Farmer was CORE’s national chairman. He would serve as national director from 1961 to 1965. From 1945 to 1959, Farmer was a labor organizer. He then served as a program director for the NAACP, until his return to CORE in 1961. In 1961, under Farmer’s leadership, CORE organized “Freedom Rides,” a second “Journey of Reconciliation,” throughout the segregated South in which volunteers traveled on interstate buses, with black passengers sitting in the front and white passengers in the back. When the buses stopped, the black volunteers used the restaurants, rest rooms, and waiting room areas reserved for whites. White passengers traveling on the buses would use the facilities reserved for blacks. In 1947, the organization planned a “Journey of Reconciliation” to test the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Morgan v. Virginia*, where the court held that the segregation of passengers in interstate transportation was unconstitutional. An interracial group of passengers met with harsh resistance. Many were arrested in North Carolina and placed on a chain gang, and the “Journey” broke down.

On the first Freedom Ride, the bus, with Farmer in the front row, left Washington, DC, on May 4, 1961, and was scheduled to arrive in New Orleans on May 17, 1961, the seventh anniversary of the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The purpose of the trip was to challenge the Kennedy administration’s commitment to civil rights. While President John F. Kennedy had received a large number of votes in the African American community, Farmer and other civil rights leaders were skeptical of the president’s support of their movement. They expected trouble on the journey to the South and were hoping to force the administration to act in order to enforce the law.

The first week of the freedom ride had proved uneventful, as the upper South, where the 1947 group had faced resistance, was not the site of any major incidents. On May 14, 1961, the freedom riders split into two groups to travel through Alabama. One group was attacked by an angry mob in Anniston, Alabama, where 200 whites stoned the bus and slashed its tires. When the bus stopped to change its tires, it was firebombed. The second group of freedom riders experienced a similar reception. At the Birmingham bus station, the freedom riders were beaten by an angry group of whites. There was no police protection at the station. At the time, the Birmingham public safety commissioner “Bull” Connor claimed that there was no police presence because it was Mother’s Day. It was later learned that the FBI knew of the planned attack and the police deliberately stayed away, so that the attackers would be unimpeded. While the group wished to continue, the bus company would not provide another bus, and the group had to fly to New Orleans. Farmer, who had left the ride in Atlanta in order to attend his father’s funeral in Washington, saw the picture of the burning bus and had his staff in New York superimpose an image of the Statue of Liberty onto the photograph. This became the symbol of the Freedom Ride.

A new group of freedom riders, members of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**, attempted to resume the journey. Under pressure from **Robert F. Kennedy**, the U.S. attorney general, the Greyhound Bus Company agreed to provide a bus and the Alabama State Police agreed to protect the bus. On May 20, the Freedom Ride resumed. However, there was more violence in Montgomery, as a white mob beat the freedom riders and those who came to their assistance, including John Seigenthaler, a Justice Department official whom Kennedy had dispatched to the scene. After Kennedy sent federal marshals to the city, the ride resumed. In Jackson, Mississippi, the freedom riders (including Farmer) were arrested and jailed. Farmer would spend 40 days in jail. More freedom riders went to Jackson where they attempted to resume the trip, and were arrested. By the end of the summer, more than 300 riders had been arrested.

The freedom ride was never completed. However, Farmer attained his objective. The freedom riders had forced the Kennedy administration to take a strong stand for civil rights. At the behest of the attorney general, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) promulgated regulations prohibiting segregation in interstate bus transportation.

For their efforts, Farmer and CORE received national attention. Farmer started meeting regularly with other civil rights leaders. It was this group that approved **A. Philip Randolph's** proposal for a **March on Washington**, a proposal he had first brought forth in 1941 to pressure President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** to end discrimination in wartime industry. On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 marchers participated, although Farmer did not attend because he had been jailed for disturbing the peace after organizing protests in Plaquemine, Louisiana.

Throughout the early 1960s, CORE volunteers, often under Farmer's personal direction, engaged in sit-ins all over the South in efforts to desegregate theaters, coffee shops, swimming pools, and other segregated places from which African Americans had been barred. Farmer also targeted employment discrimination in the North, conducting sit-ins at New York's City Hall and the New York City office of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller to protest the exclusion of blacks from the construction industry. He also organized picketing at a local hamburger chain that refused to hire blacks.

Later Life

In 1965, Farmer left CORE, disappointed that the organization had moved away from its nonviolent roots and opposed to CORE's decision to oppose the Vietnam War. He believed the organization should not take stands on foreign policy issues. He took a position as a professor of social welfare at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (1966–1968). In 1968, he was the Republican candidate against Shirley Chisholm for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives from a district centered in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn. Chisholm was elected, becoming the first African American woman elected to Congress, and Farmer was appointed by newly elected President Richard M. Nixon as an assistant secretary for administration in the Department of

Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), a post he held for about a year. At HEW, he initiated an affirmative action hiring program.

After leaving government, Farmer served on a number of boards, including the Friends of the Earth, the American Civil Liberties Union, Black World Foundation, the American Committee on Africa, and New Start. He also taught and lectured extensively on civil rights, serving as a visiting distinguished professor at Antioch College (1983–1984) and as Distinguished College Professor of History and American Studies at Mary Washington College (1985–1998). In 1985, his autobiography, *Lay Bear the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement*, was published.

Farmer was also honored for his work in the Civil Rights Movement. In May 1987, Farmer was presented the Hubert H. Humphrey Civil Rights Award by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of nearly 200 civil rights organizations. In 1998, he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award, by President William J. Clinton. Later that year he received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Farmer died July 9, 1999, in Fredericksburg, Virginia. *See also* Double V Campaign; World War II.

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Jeffrey Kraus

Faulkner, William (1897–1962)

Southern author William Cuthbert Faulkner was born in New Albany, **Mississippi**, but spent most of his life in Oxford, the home of University of Mississippi and the cultural center of the state. A writer known for his multigenerational epics of the American South, Faulkner was awarded the Pulitzer Prize as well as the Nobel Prize for literature. Like the character Gail Hightower, the defrocked minister and Civil War obsessive in his novel *Light in August* (1932), Faulkner demonstrated a compulsion with regards to both Southern heritage and the inheritance of white racial guilt and accountability, an obsession he depicted in *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) as violent “gynealotry,” a fixation with heritage and inheritance contained within the graven idol of the white Southern female body. Narrating the fractured memory and uncertain present of his racially ambiguous character Joe Christmas, Faulkner wrote that “memory believes before knowing remembers,” suggesting that the trauma of the past exists prior to sentient acknowledgement of its impact on the living present. Traumatic memories, both personal and inherited, structure his body of work, known for its formalist experiments with narration and temporality.

Born between the end of **Reconstruction** and the beginning of **Jim Crow**, Faulkner's racial politics were neither radical nor retributive. During the **Civil Rights Movement**, he advocated gradual change, arguing that the pride of the

South would neither bend to immediate reforms nor tolerate federal intervention. “As I see it,” Faulkner told a reporter, “the white man had better take charge of [integration] rather than have it thrust on him” (Inge 1999, 147). In an age of polarizing racial struggles, Faulkner defiantly placed himself in the “middle road,” with the added caveat that he would “fight for Mississippi” even if it meant violence against African Americans and the cause of liberty. Despite these political failings, Faulkner’s portrayals of the racist mind are unparalleled; *Light in August* abounds with pathological racists, including the lyncher Percy Grimm who, like his European fascist contemporaries, barely conceals his fusion of sexual and racial paranoia behind the uniform of the state **National Guard**; and Doc Hines, the racial exterminationist who regards blackness as a “pollution and abomination” to be cleansed from the earth (386). His portrayals of and relationships to African Americans were, on the other hand, tempered by sentimentality. *Go Down, Moses* (1942) is dedicated to his family’s servant, Caroline Barr, who cared for him during childhood. Yet, in his dedication, the word “Mammy” precedes her name. Faulkner could also be troublingly patronizing in his assessment of black writers. In 1955, remarking on *Invisible Man* (1953), he praised **Ralph Ellison** as “first a writer” rather than “first a Negro” like Richard Wright who “wrote one good book . . . [then] stopped being a writer” and became a professional black man (Meriwether and Millgate 1980, 185). These assessments evince a willingness to pit black writers against each other, as well as a limited sense of the utility of race as a thematic possibility for black artists.

Representations of black-white relationships in the Civil War and Jim Crow South predominate and, as such, offer narrative opportunities for Faulkner’s theorizations of interracial desire. The taboos against both incest and **miscegenation** are exactly the opposite of one another, yet they are conflated within Faulkner’s novels set in Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. Though this identification between incest and miscegenation exists in Faulkner’s formalistic masterwork *The Sound and the Fury*, it is most evocatively portrayed in *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936) and *Go Down, Moses*.

In *Absalom, Absalom!* young Quentin Compson, resurrected from his suicide in the Charles River in *The Sound and the Fury*, is led by Rosa Coldfield through “an agonizing rehearsal” of the life of Thomas Sutpen, whose marriage, divorce, and abandonment of the racially ambiguous Eulalia Bon create a son, Charles, who enters a love triangle with Henry and Judith, his half-brother and half-sister, conceived by Sutpen with his second white wife, Ellen Coldfield. Returning to Boston to reconstruct Rosa Coldfield’s elisions of the story with Shreve, his roommate at Harvard, Quentin imagines the death of Charles Bon at the hands of his half-brother Henry to be motivated as much by his intention to have interracial sex with Judith as his blood relationship to the two siblings. Henry’s violence conceives of the miscegenation taboo as a “cancel[ing] out [of] potential incest,” because the murder of Bon is a denial of blood-kinship that requires Henry to think of him not as a brother, but as “the nigger that’s going to sleep with [his] sister” (*Absalom, Absalom!* 358; italics in original). Later in the novel, Quentin, face-to-face with Henry, who has lived for nearly 50 years as a hermit on his father’s plantation, is brought into contact with the self he will later kill in the Charles River.

This murder, perpetrated a month after the end of the war and a day before Lincoln's burial, can be seen to signify Faulkner's own sense of the failure of national reunion. For his own part, Faulkner saw little tragedy in the South's loss of the Civil War. Perhaps the fortune of which Faulkner wrote was the historical continuity—preserved as a fetish by Southern apologists and nostalgists—that he felt as the recorder of family and regional history.

The novel in the short story collection *Go Down, Moses* shifts this miscegenation/incest paradigm to the period of Jim Crow, maintaining continuity between the Civil War and Jim Crow periods in the figure of Isaac McCaslin, known as a "Uncle Ike," born in the old age of his parents, slaveholders Buck McCaslin and Sophonsiba Beauchamp. The novel begins with their accidental engagement in the story "Was," in which bachelor Buck is ensnared when he accidentally gets into Sophonsiba's bed while spending the night at the Beauchamp plantation, where the slave Turl has escaped to see his lover Tennie. The story, described as frontier humor and farcical tall-tale by critics, chiefly features a game of poker between the Beauchamp and McCaslin men, with slaves and Sophonsiba's dowry as their stakes. Knowing that Turl will not stay far from Tennie, the men agree that the loser of their game will buy either Tennie or Turl to maintain peace on their plantations. This origin story, recounting the prologue to Ike's conception and birth, introduces the slave Turl, later discovered to be the product of father-daughter incest between Carothers McCaslin and his enslaved daughter Tomey. Revealed in the family ledgers are incestuous bloodlines, as well as the suicide of Tomey's mother Eunice upon discovery of the pregnancy.

Ike McCaslin's discovery of this incestuous miscegenation leads to his repudiation of his birthright and inheritance. Yet, McCaslin's reparative attempts are unsatisfactory, as the African Americans he encounters are uninterested in absolving him of responsibility and guilt. Criticisms of Faulkner have recounted the problem of attributing race abolition to an otherwise unsympathetic character.

The professionalization of African American literary studies in the 1970s and 1980s redoubled interest in William Faulkner, who is frequently said to be the most-written-about writer in the English language with the exception of Shakespeare. However, there is a longer tradition of social critique inspired by Faulkner's oeuvre; since at least Charles Glicksberg's essay "William Faulker and the Negro Problem" (1949), the novels have been read as critiques of Jim Crow **apartheid** in the American South. Early essays like Glicksberg's nonetheless posit a distinction between social critique and artistic mastery. Because of the immense body of criticism on Faulkner, new scholarship has developed fields of inquiry that avoid the problem of repetition.

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Jennie Lightweis-Goff

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

In recent years, the release of government records under the *Freedom of Information Act* (1966) has enabled scholars to study the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in American society. Declassified FBI files on black leaders and organizations helps to put into focus questions of racism, segregation, disenfranchisement, and the role of the **federal government** in containing social movements. The Bureau, which was founded in 1908 as part of the Justice Department (and was simply known as the Bureau of Investigation until 1935), helped to uphold and perpetuate the system of racial segregation and inequality by undermining racial justice movements, monitoring both black and white critics of **Jim Crow**. The FBI aligned with city police to protect the color line and refused to prosecute white vigilante attacks against African Americans. In thousands of battles between freedom workers and Southern segregationists during the rise of the modern **Civil Rights Movement**, the FBI embraced the concept of states’ rights and dismissed white violence as a local problem. For the FBI, racism was respectable and tacitly accepted, and it hired very few black agents to work its investigations.

As the nation’s top law enforcement agency, the FBI’s failure to protect black crime victims set a precedent that local police often followed. For example, the FBI refused to stop the extralegal practice of **lynching** before the 1960s. Even the liberal Democratic president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** refused to support antilynching efforts during the 1930s **New Deal**, in part because of opposition by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. On the question of **police brutality**, the FBI refused to investigate Southern lawmen.

Hoover, who oversaw the government’s surveillance of radical activities during the Progressive Era and then served as FBI director from 1924 to 1972, continued to believe throughout his career that blacks were inferior and harbored a profound animus toward racial justice. He long equated civil rights activism with disloyalty to the nation and narrowly viewed most black resistance as Communist-inspired. He wanted African Americans to remain second-class citizens and subjected many of their leaders and organizations to extralegal “dirty tricks,” including false prosecutions as well as the full

array of surveillance techniques: the use of undercover informers, bugs, taps, mail openings, and burglaries. FBI informants in white groups (such as the **Ku Klux Klan**) were permitted to engage in acts of racist violence.

The FBI's monitoring of critics of Jim Crow included many of the leading black figures of the time. FBI surveillance files on **A. Philip Randolph**, **Marcus Garvey**, **W.E.B. Du Bois**, James Weldon Johnson, **Jack Johnson**, Paul Robeson, **Thurgood Marshall**, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., **Bayard Rustin**, Hosea Hudson, **Malcolm X**, **James Baldwin**, **Mary McLeod Bethune**, **Fannie Lou Hamer**, Ella Baker, Jesse Jackson, Elijah Muhammad, and **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, have been released to the public. While the government viewed these leaders as a threat, they on the other hand believed that the FBI stood against them by protecting white Southern rule.

During the First Red Scare (1917–1920), the Bureau created the category of “subversive” to include “Negro Activities” and “the negro agitation movement.” When black leaders urged “self-defense,” such as fighting back against white rioters, the government labeled it “negro subversion,” a radicalism it sought to monitor and suppress. Investigations focused on Randolph and the *Messenger*; Garvey and the **United Negro Improvement Association**; the **African Blood Brotherhood**; and black Communists. The Bureau also investigated institutions critical of Jim Crow, especially the black-owned press. The FBI monitored the *Chicago Defender*, *Negro World*, the *Crusader*, and *Crisis* magazine. Agents interviewed editors, conducted secret surveillance of some journalists, filed regular reports on the content of articles, and added subscriber lists to their intelligence files. By the early 1920s, Hoover remained convinced that the press incited “the negro elements of the country to riot and to the committing of outrages of all sorts.”

During the interwar years, the FBI investigated such groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Negro Congress, and the American Negro Labor Conference (ANLC). The ANLC met in October 1925 with the specific goal of ending Jim Crow unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) since the exclusion of blacks, with only a few exceptions, posed a major obstacle to black economic advancement. The FBI file is 87 pages, focusing on the six-day event with complete coverage, including founding documents and lists of delegates and leaders. The FBI field office described the inquiry as part of its surveillance of “Radical Negro Communist Activity.” Black Communists in America were perceived as doubly dangerous, as outsiders who demanded justice along both race and class lines. At the height of its popularity during the 1930s and 1940s, scholars estimate that the U.S. **Communist Party** enrolled about 4,000 African American members.

In 1935, the National Negro Congress was formed with A. Philip Randolph as president. The Communist connections of some of its leaders and its effort to unite black labor organizations prompted FBI surveillance from the 1930s to the 1950s. The FBI's NAACP file covers the years 1923 to 1957, with intelligence information on each branch of the organization and with attention to the political beliefs and affiliations of members and leaders. The surveillance included wiretaps on office phones, as well as the use of dozens of undercover informers and confidential sources. The FBI monitored the **Congress of Racial**

Equality (CORE), which had an interracial membership, for its early work for desegregation. When James Farmer, a CORE founder, organized in Chicago what is probably the first series of civil rights **sit-ins** in 1943, the FBI opened an investigation looking for the Red Menace, unwilling to view black protest as a legitimate response to oppression. By linking the issue of Communist subversion to civil rights, Hoover hoped to discredit both.

During **World War II**, surveillance under the Negro Question included weekly reports on “Negro trends” and individuals and groups involved in civil rights activities. The Bureau intensively studied the role of “foreign-inspired agitation” under a program named RACON (Racial Conditions). The Bureau’s RACON file totals about 77,000 pages, with reports from around the nation discussing black loyalty and charges of sympathy for the Axis powers. The FBI concluded that “a number of Negroes and Negro groups” have “acted or exhibited sentiments in a manner inimical to the Nation’s war effort.” Overall, 18 black Americans would be convicted of wartime sedition. The black press continued to pose a threat, according to the government. At a time when the black press enjoyed very high circulation, FBI investigations expanded to include the *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *Amsterdam News*, *People’s Voice*, *Black Dispatch*, *Atlanta Daily World*, and *Michigan Chronicle*. Hoover claimed that black publications were too favorable toward the Japanese and to American Communists and other radicals.

White critics of Jim Crow, whose position against racial segregation often was part of a broader critique of American society, also faced “political policing.” For example, First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** came to the attention of the Bureau chiefly because of her work for racial justice. On the Left, groups as diverse as the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** and the Communist Party denounced Jim Crow and were targeted for being outspoken. The Bureau spied on Orson Welles, Frank Sinatra and other white supporters of antilynching legislation as well as the liberal politicians Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., and Henry Wallace. The Bureau monitored the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist Quaker organization that advocated nonviolent direct action against racism.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the FBI kept a close watch on the Civil Rights Movement. The U.S. **Supreme Court’s** landmark 1954 desegregation case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, had little impact on Hoover’s views of race relations. After the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** of 1955, FBI officials once again expressed heightened concern about Communist influence in the movement, opening new investigations. During the 1961 Freedom Rides to integrate Southern transportation, the Bureau contributed to the violence by informing segregationist police of the riders’ movements, and the FBI was held liable in two civil lawsuits for failing to protect the riders from violent attacks. The volume of political intelligence generated by FBI agents continued to grow. In 1963, Bureau leaders wrote more than 8,000 internal memos on racial matters for distribution to the Justice Department, military intelligence, and other government agencies. The FBI routinely conducted background name-checks on protestors looking for criminal records and radical associations.

At the same time that the FBI fought integration, they tried to preserve disenfranchisement. The Bureau opposed the voting rights campaigns of the early 1960s, sharing the view of white Southerners that granting suffrage would transform a way of life. Once again, the FBI stood on the sidelines when segregationists attacked activists from CORE and the **Student Nonviolent Organizing Committee (SNCC)**, who were trying to register voters. The Bureau forwarded political intelligence on civil rights workers to local police departments, including plans for demonstrations, which helped the police to crack down on protestors.

Young civil rights workers especially came to distrust the federal government, upset at the collaboration with segregationists. The lack of a murder conviction in the June 12, 1963, slaying of **Medgar Evers**, the NAACP field representative in **Mississippi**, outraged the civil rights community. Moreover, when the FBI investigated the September 15, 1963, bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church (the 21st bombing attack against blacks in the city during the prior eight years), it took 12 years to get an indictment against a Ku Klux Klan member. The FBI tried to cover up the role of FBI informers inside the Klan who helped plan the bombing. In Albany, **Georgia**, in 1963, the FBI helped prosecute nine civil rights activists who organized a citywide campaign of civil disobedience. Many activists wondered, as SNCC chairman John Lewis asked, "Which side is the federal government on?" Despite numerous black appeals for protection, federal law enforcement left Southern lawmen on their own to dispense Jim Crow justice.

For nearly a decade, the FBI orchestrated a campaign to smear and harass Martin Luther King, Jr. King's FBI file totals more than 17,000 pages, and a separate FBI file on the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**, which King led, runs more than 13,000 pages. As King's popularity grew, so did the FBI interest to contain him and, hopefully, replace him with a more "moderate" black leader. After the **March on Washington** in August 1963, at which King gave his "I Have A Dream" speech, the FBI classified him "as the most dangerous Negro leader of the future in this nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security." The Bureau intensified its surveillance and warned in secret memos of the coming "social revolution." In October 1963, Attorney General Robert Kennedy approved the FBI's request to place listening devices on King's home phone and at SCLC headquarters. Without Kennedy's approval, the FBI also wiretapped King's hotel rooms while he was traveling. King and the SCLC realized they were being bugged, which further strengthened their resolve to change the society.

Hoover tried to discredit King by secretly leaking material from his FBI file to journalists and politicians. Hoover distributed throughout the government a monograph calling King an "unprincipled man" who "is knowingly, willingly, and regularly taking guidance from Communists." Hoover became obsessed with King's sexual life, looking for information to damage his reputation. Hoover's racist views toward King included the description, "King is a 'tom cat' with obsessive, degenerate sexual urges." The FBI sent tape recordings to Coretta Scott King to try to break up their marriage. The Bureau also spread rumors through the use of anonymous telephone calls and letters. Before King received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, Hoover publicly called

him “the most notorious liar,” and a counterintelligence operation urged him to commit suicide.

The FBI’s role in what was termed “Mississippi Burning” remains a topic of debate. When CORE activists, aided by northern white college students, registered black Mississippi voters during the summer of 1964, the Klan went on a rampage. The Klan’s murder of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman brought national attention, and President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered the FBI to investigate. In this case, the FBI helped achieve select convictions, but the FBI’s political policing toward civil rights “troublemakers” and “agitators” continued to expand, culminating in the establishment of the **Black Nationalism** section of COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) in 1967.

Critics suggest that by grouping surveillance under such categories as “racial matters,” “racial conditions,” or “black nationalist hate groups,” the FBI designated African Americans as special objects of suspicion. Free-speech rights to criticize Jim Crow should not prompt government surveillance and counteractions. When the FBI established its first “White Hate” counterintelligence program in 1964, focusing on the Klan at the urging of the Johnson White House, the FBI’s effort remained secret and did not result in increasing black legal protection.

The FBI considered itself a relatively autonomous entity in the government, without subject to outside oversight. Both Republican and Democratic presidents feared to challenge Hoover, who ran the agency as the “boss.” Hoover grew up in segregated Washington, DC, and never outgrew white supremacist attitudes. For nearly five decades, he directed the FBI to suppress racial justice movements, intent on preserving Jim Crow.

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Ivan Greenberg

Federal Government

The role of the federal government of the United States in creating and upholding **Jim Crow** was more one of negligence rather than active involvement. Although the legislative branch, and sometimes the executive branch, was committed to protecting the civil rights of black people in the decade immediately after the Civil War, judicial branch decisions ended the ability of the federal government to ensure the civil rights of black citizens. Federal inaction allowed Jim Crow to take root and even thrive. With Democrats from the “Solid South” forming a powerful block in Congress, which would always

close ranks in defense of Jim Crow, the federal government took little or no action for decades to protect blacks in the South. From the 1890s until the 1950s, the federal government generally deferred to state laws and practices regarding race. Beginning in 1954, the federal government again began to ensure the civil rights of blacks, including the right to vote. Once blacks were able to vote in the South, Jim Crow was dismantled.

Prior to the Civil War, the federal government took almost no action regarding issues such as law enforcement and civil rights. In the most generally accepted role of the federal government in the United States, state governments were responsible for keeping order and enforcing most laws. Federal authority inside the nation dealt almost exclusively with issues that involved more than one state. Internationally, prior to the abolition of slavery in 1865, the federal government through the State Department pursued two seemingly opposite objectives; the suppression of the international slave trade, and defending the institution of slavery against European criticism. Following the end of slavery in the United States, the State Department was better able to maintain a moral high ground in its opposition to European colonization of most of Africa and Asia.

Following the Civil War, Southern Democrats, who had led the region in secession and war, remained in political control of the Southern states. They then imposed **Black Codes**, which reduced blacks to a condition similar to slavery, and even elected Alexander Stephens, former vice president of the Confederacy, to the U.S. Senate. Republicans in Congress passed the *Reconstruction Acts* in 1867 and 1868, which suspended civil government in the former Confederacy and placed most of the South under direct military rule. The impeachment of President Andrew Johnson weakened the executive branch for a generation, and led to an era in which Congress was the supreme branch of the government.

Part of the impetus for Reconstruction was the Republican need to ensure black men voted, as they would overwhelmingly vote Republican. Republicans controlled Congress, but almost all white Southerners were Democrats. The rise of white terrorist groups such as the White League and the **Ku Klux Klan**, which attempted to use extralegal means to prevent blacks from voting, led Congress to pass the Force Act of 1870 and the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act. With this authority, the federal government aggressively countered white supremacist terrorist organizations. However, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of *U.S. v. Cruikshank* in 1875 curtailed the ability of the federal government to directly protect blacks in the South. Coupled with the end of Reconstruction as part of the Compromise of 1877, the federal government increasingly acquiesced on the rise and maintenance of Jim Crow.

As part of the compromise, the federal government withdrew troops from the South, in return for Democratic backing of Rutherford B. Hayes for president. Northerners were tiring of the continued sectional strife, and the end of Reconstruction was popular in the North as well as in the white South. In general, the federal government, powerless after *Cruikshank*, allowed white Democrats to regain control, and deferred to “Southern sensibilities” on race issues. The Supreme Court ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, which

allowed states to mandate **separate but equal** facilities for blacks, marked the final abdication of the federal government in protecting black civil rights. Unwilling to incur the wrath of congressmen from the South, most agencies of the federal government observed Jim Crow norms of segregation in offices in the South, and in some other sections of the nation.

During the administration of **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, the federal government made a few tentative steps toward alleviating discrimination against blacks, such as with the **Fair Employment Practices Commission**, which attempted to end discrimination in government contracts. The end of federal acquiescence and even enforcement of Jim Crow began slowly but gained momentum in the years after **World War II**. A significant step came in late 1946 when President **Harry S. Truman** issued **Executive Order 9808**, which created the President's Committee on Civil Rights to study the problem of the denial of civil rights to black Americans, and recommend ways to address the problem. Truman took a bolder step in 1948 when he issued **Executive Order 9981**, which forbid segregation in the military.

One agency of the federal government that was increasingly burdened by Jim Crow after World War II was the State Department. The State Department had traditionally been almost entirely white, aside from menial positions such as custodial and food service. Throughout the years of Jim Crow, two ambassadorships were unofficially reserved for black Americans, those for Haiti and for Liberia. This segregation of missions sent to foreign countries severely limited the number of African Americans who could serve as career diplomats. In the decades after the end of the Second World War, the existence of Jim Crow laws became an increasingly difficult issue for the State Department. Decolonialism meant the emergence of several independent black African states. With the onset of the **Cold War** (1947–1991), the United States and the Soviet Union each sought to bring these newly emerging African states into their respective orbit, in part by convincing leaders of newly independent nations of the superiority of their respective social-economic systems. Segregation, especially in the areas around Washington, DC, caused difficulties for representatives from these nations when they sought food, accommodations, or entertainment while in the United States. Thus some elements in the State Department began to lobby quietly for the elimination of at least the most obvious manifestations of Jim Crow, at least in the District of Columbia, Virginia, and Maryland.

However, the Supreme Court would have the greatest impact on dismantling Jim Crow. After a long series of legal challenges to various aspects of Jim Crow, the Supreme Court ruling in ***Brown v. Board of Education*** in 1954, overturned *Plessy*, and ruled that racially segregated schools were unconstitutional. The greatest test of the power of the Supreme Court in the matter of integration of public schools came in September 1957, when Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus mobilized the Arkansas **National Guard** in order to prevent nine black students from attending Little Rock Central High School. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, a social conservative, did not want a showdown over integration. But Governor Faubus's challenge to federal authority enraged the president, and he sent in the 1,200-man 327th Battle Group of the Army's 101st Airborne Division to take control of the situation

and ensure the safety of the black students. At the same time, he federalized the Arkansas National Guard to keep it out of the governor's control.

In retrospect, Eisenhower's response seems limited, compared with the later actions of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in civil rights. But at the time, Eisenhower's actions were condemned across the white South. Southerners saw the use of federal troops in Little Rock as the repeal of the Compromise of 1877, and equated it with the return of Reconstruction. Eisenhower's actions did signify a return to direct action by the federal government in the South in ensuring the civil rights of black citizens. **John F. Kennedy** was a late-comer to the cause of civil rights, but he—and more importantly, his brother **Robert F. Kennedy** as attorney general—increasingly brought the federal court system to bear in the protection of black civil rights. However, the **Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)**, then firmly under the control of J. Edgar Hoover, was unsympathetic to the **Civil Rights Movement**, and instead waged a long campaign to discredit many prominent civil rights leaders. After the death of Hoover in 1972, and reform of the FBI instigated by Congress in the 1970s, the FBI became more aggressive in its targeting of people who attempt to deny civil rights based on race. Eventually, under pressure from President Lyndon B. Johnson, a white Southern Democrat, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which formally returned the federal government to ensuring that the civil rights of blacks would not be denied by state governments or mobs. *See also* Armed Forces.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Federal Writers' Project

President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** established the Federal Writers' Project (FWP) in 1935 to support written work on America's regions and cultures. The FWP joined programs in theater, art, and music as part of Federal Project Number One. Operating under the auspices of the **Works Progress Administration**, this **New Deal** initiative gave jobs to thousands of unemployed Americans during the **Great Depression**. At its zenith, the FWP and its state-level counterparts employed over 7,500 individuals. Its roster included some of the twentieth century's most influential authors, such as Zora Neale Hurston and John Steinbeck. Most FWP field workers, however, were jobless white-collar professionals with limited prior writing experience. While the FWP is best known for its American Guide Series—which profiled states, cities, and regions—it also commissioned extensive African American folklore projects and gathered the oral histories of over 2,000 former slaves. By supporting these and other projects focused on minority experience, Director Henry Alsberg and the FWP's national officials took significant measures to forge a more inclusive national identity.

Despite this progressive agenda, though, African Americans were largely underrepresented among the ranks of FWP workers. In response to pressure from national black leadership, an Office of Negro Affairs was established in 1936 to fight discrimination within the FWP and to oversee projects on African American culture. Acclaimed poet and Howard University English professor Sterling Allen Brown served as this office's national editor from 1936 to 1940. Brown and his colleagues strived to increase the numbers of black FWP workers. Hiring, however, was carried out mostly at the state level, making it difficult for Brown to prevent discrimination. The greatest numbers of African Americans were employed in the Southern states, where they were usually segregated into separate units. Still, many prominent black authors worked for the FWP, including Hurston, Richard Wright, Arna Bontemps, and Ralph Ellison.

The slave narrative collection constituted one of the FWP's most significant accomplishments. The Florida Writers' Project, under the direction of Carita Doggett Corse, sent a sample of interviews with former slaves to the Washington Office in 1937. Impressed with these documents' value and quality, Brown and Folklore Director John Avery Lomax worked together to implement a systematic program for gathering such oral histories. A careful and sensitive researcher, Lomax urged that field workers accurately record the interviews and attempt to build rapport with their subjects. Beginning in April 1937, FWP workers gathered slave narratives in all the Southern and border states. The largest and most successful oral history project took place in Arkansas, where Director Bernice Babcock's staff interviewed over 670 former slaves.

By the spring of 1938, though, the FWP had all but stopped gathering slave narratives. Pressure to complete the American Guide Series shifted focus away from African American cultural initiatives. Plans to synthesize already-gathered materials into publications were largely abandoned as well, except for *The Negro in Virginia* (1940), which benefited from Brown's direct attention and advocacy.

The FWP's federal support ended in 1939, partly due to congressional concerns about its leftist tendencies. Programs persisted at the state level until 1942. In October 1939, the 2,300 slave narratives gathered by FWP field workers were turned over to the Library of Congress. Benjamin A. Botkin, who had replaced Lomax as folklore director in 1938, oversaw their cataloguing and accession. Ultimately, the FWP did much to record African Americans' cultural history, but it also suffered from the many problems of attempting to effect positive change in **Jim Crow** America. *See also* Civilian Conservation Corps.

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Steven E. Knepper

Florida

Jim Crow in Florida followed trends in most other Southern states, yet unique demographic and historical shifts gave unusual aspects to Florida's form of segregation. At the time of the Civil War, Florida was in many ways a frontier state rather than a long-settled state. Most of the white slaveowning class were settled along a narrow band stretching from Jacksonville west along the state's borders with **Georgia** and **Alabama**, while much of the peninsula was thinly populated. Relatively large numbers of tribalized **Native Americans** occupied the Everglades. Although segregationists in Florida proved especially virulent in their support of Jim Crow, as the southern half of the peninsula became more populated with Northerners and Cubans, Jim Crow became increasingly difficult to support politically.

Florida was one of the last states still occupied by federal troops when **Reconstruction** ended in 1877. Florida had been one of the contested states, along with **Louisiana** and **South Carolina**, in the presidential election of 1876 that led to the Compromise of 1877, which removed federal troops from Florida. It also ended the brief period when blacks in Florida had anything resembling civil rights until the 1960s. Florida then became a pioneer in establishing Jim Crow, with laws requiring the segregation of blacks and whites on railroad cars in the late 1880s, before Louisiana's own law that led to the *Plessy v. Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court decision that made "separate but equal" constitutional. Florida followed neighboring states Georgia and Alabama in using poll taxes as the primary method to disqualify most African Americans from voting without inviting challenges based on the Fifteenth Amendment.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Jim Crow became firmly entrenched in Florida, to the point that not only were the schools segregated, but state law went so far as to require that schoolbooks used by black students and those used by white students be stored in separate facilities when not issued to students. White populations in Myakka City and other towns drove blacks out during the **Great Retreat**, when blacks were driven out of towns and areas around the country. In much of the South, such incidents were relatively rare, as blacks represented a sizable portion of the workforce. Its occurrence in Florida demonstrates the different path the state took on some racial issues.

Blacks did not simply acquiesce to these attacks on their rights and dignity. In 1904, **Mary McLeod Bethune** opened a school for black girls in Daytona Beach. Although McLeod and her handful of students originally had to raise their own funds for the school, it eventually found a backer in James Gamble of Procter & Gamble, who contributed to the school for the remainder of his life. But Daytona was then almost a frontier town, south of the main

population belt of Florida, the “Old South” band across northern Florida, and such radical ideas stood a better chance of avoiding direct physical oppression.

On New Year’s Day 1919, African Americans in Jacksonville began a state-wide voter registration drive. Blacks hoped to increase black voters and perhaps revive the **Republican Party** in the state. By November 1920, in the wake of the passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment, around 7,000 black women, plus 1,000 black men, had been registered in Jacksonville. Several thousand other blacks were registered across the state, although Jacksonville remained the center of the movement. In response, white supremacists and ardent Democrats used a variety of means to keep blacks away from the voting booths, from **Ku Klux Klan** violence to harassment by election officials. Often violence was not required, as officials simply threw away registrations of blacks, thereby preventing blacks from voting by denying that they had registered. A more open tactic was to simply declare that blacks were not allowed into “white” voting booths, although no booths were provided for blacks. The level of violence, and more importantly, charges from congressional Republicans that blacks were systematically prevented from voting in the 1920 presidential election based on their party affiliation, led to congressional hearings on the matter. However, Congress ignored much of the racial basis for the discrimination, and little progress came from the hearings. Republicans in Congress were simply not powerful or committed enough to challenge white Democratic control of the South.

The violence against blacks in Florida would reach truly horrific levels in the 1920s, with the most blatant example of what would by the late twentieth century be called “ethnic cleansing” occurring in the first week of 1923, in **Rosewood**, when an allegation of a robbery and rape of a white woman by a black man led first to the torture and lynching of a suspect. The murder did not quench but only fed the bloodlust of the mob, and eventually the town’s black residents were either killed or driven out over several days of violence.

The 1920s were also a time when demographic forces began to challenge the domination of the state by the large landowning white Democrats from the state’s northern tier. On the east coast from Daytona to Miami, the state experienced a land boom that brought in many new residents, mostly from the Northeast and especially from the New York City area. Tourism began its long challenge to agriculture as the state’s dominant industry. While the boom eventually went bust, it did leave a permanent population of Northerners, particularly Jews, from the liberal wing of the **Democratic Party**. They might not challenge the Democratic Party’s control of the state, but they would increasingly, especially after World War II, challenge who controlled the party in the state. In 1937, on the grounds that the poll tax disenfranchised more white citizens than black, Florida abandoned it as a method of keeping blacks from the polls. The fight between liberal and conservative Democrats for the control of the party in Florida would last until the 1980s, but while it remained under the control of the conservatives, the state would officially continue to back Jim Crow. Florida’s Democratic leadership opposed President **Harry S. Truman**’s tentative approach toward protecting civil rights for blacks, but eventually opted against leaving the party to form a new one.

Beginning in 1959, Florida began a profound demographic shift. After Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban Revolution and the new president of Cuba, announced that he was a Marxist, the United States began accepting thousands of Cuban exiles, most of who settled in southern Florida. Technically, these people were not immigrants, but refugees from Communism, and their presence was of propaganda value for the American government. Although many were already middle class, the U.S. government gave them generous aid in settling into American society, and in a few years, most of them became citizens and voters. The overwhelmingly majority of them became Republicans, and Florida became one of the first states of the South to have a true two-party system since Reconstruction.

The collapse of Jim Crow in the 1950s and 1960s was not without violence and struggle in Florida. But the disjointed nature of the state, with its northern belt that more closely resembled the Deep South, its more cosmopolitan southeast coast, and its heavily Hispanic south, prevented the state from officially attempting to keep Jim Crow alive after 1965. Instead, most opposition to integration came from towns and private groups. Demographic shifts more than attitude shifts doomed Jim Crow in Florida. *See also* Cold War; Hispanics/Latinos; Mississippi Plan; *U.S. v. Reese*.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Folk Medicine

The use of folk medicine by African Americans has a long and diverse history that dates back to the earliest years of black slavery in the Americas. Enslaved Africans living in the Americas brought with them a wide variety of healing traditions and medical information, and, as slaves from different regions of Africa were placed together in the New World, these customs and different bodies of knowledge merged, adapting to the environment and natural resources of the New World in order to create new and modified varieties of medical practices.

Given that early African American folk medicine developed as an orally transmitted body of knowledge, and that it developed in multiple locations, specific traditions of African American folk medicine could differ significantly depending upon the region and community where it was practiced. However, due to some broad similarities between healing traditions throughout Africa, some features of folk medicine remained relatively intact in the Americas. The blending of religious and medical practice is the most common and central feature to African American folk healing traditions, and is meant to understand and treat disease at both the spiritual and physical level. As a result, African American folk medicine has generally entailed the combination of prayer or religious practice with herbal cures or other medicinal compounds.

Prior to the Civil War, owners of slaves tended to allow or even encourage enslaved blacks to practice folk medicine, even when other African traditions were discouraged or disallowed, as the internal practice of folk medicine allowed slaveholders to forgo the expense of hiring a physician or other healer. As a result, slave communities tended to make folk healers out of members who displayed a natural talent or special aptitude for healing. A majority of these practitioners of folk medicine were women, a practice that has continued into modern-day African American folk medicine.

After emancipation, folk medicine continued to be a popular form of medical treatment for African Americans. This was partially due to the economic, geographic, and social barriers to acquiring other forms of care, but also owed largely to the fact that, up until the very late nineteenth century, most Americans in need of medical care relied on a combination of folk medicine, home remedies, and a wide array of different types of medical practitioners. There were relatively few regular physicians operating in the United States at this time, and those that were available were heavily concentrated in the cities of the North.

Despite the overall popularity of folk medicine and alternative healers in the United States during this time, African American practitioners of folk medicine were held in very low regard outside the black community as a direct result of their race. This disregard only increased into the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century, as new developments in mainstream medicine began to come into direct conflict with black folk-healing traditions. For example, as mainstream medical thought began to define disease as the result of a solely physical malfunction with no substantial spiritual component, the religious element of African American folk healing became a particular target of abuse. Furthermore, the increasing power of regular physicians in medicine led to the establishment of a number of legal and social barriers and stigmas that made it difficult for alternative and folk healers, black and white alike, to practice medicine.

Despite these challenges, African American use of folk medicine persisted throughout the twentieth century. The ways in which it was utilized during the Jim Crow era depended heavily on the geographic and economic context of those being treated. Poor African Americans—particularly those living in rural areas, which were typically underserved by physicians—were, and continue to be, the most reliant on folk medicine. However, even after African Americans began to migrate to the urban centers of the North and South, and black communities in these regions began producing a substantial middle class capable of paying for medical care, folk medicine retained its appeal for many African Americans, who often used such treatments on their own or as a complement to mainstream medical care.

This practice of employing both mainstream and alternative therapies was a fairly common one throughout America, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century, but often played an especially significant role in the practice of African American medical care. Even among those groups of African Americans who had access to mainstream medical care, there was a significant amount of distrust regarding the white medical community, especially in the South. This distrust was not entirely unfounded, as evidenced by abuses such

as the **Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment**, a long-running study conducted between 1932 and 1972 in Tuskegee, Alabama, in which a group of white physicians used false pretenses to deny almost 400 African American men proper treatment for syphilis in order to study the progressive effects of the disease.

Increasingly over the course of the twentieth century, many African Americans who otherwise may have been drawn to folk healing began to practice forms of mainstream medicine that were particularly open to folk healing as an alternative or supplement. While medical schools for blacks had been established in both the North and South as early as the late nineteenth century, only a few of these schools were adequately supplied. The quality of these schools began to increase significantly as they began to receive funding from members of the black middle class, a population group that grew substantially in number after **World War I**.

These improvements were accompanied by rising, though small, rates of African American acceptance into otherwise-white medical schools in the North. The prominent African American physician Numa Pompilius Garfield Adams, the first African American dean of Howard Medical School, a Washington, DC, institution for black medical students established in 1868, and a 1924 graduate of Rush Medical College, a prestigious and largely white medical school in Chicago. Adams had been deeply influenced as a child by his grandmother, a practitioner of African American folk medicine. Many African American healers chose to forego formal training, however, as legal segregation in the South and racism in the North dramatically constricted the patient bases and working conditions of most practicing black physicians.

In the decades following Jim Crow, African American folk medicine has not only retained its popularity among African Americans, it has also begun to attract popular and scientific attention. Many pharmacies serving black communities, particularly those in the rural South, currently stock mainstream medical treatments as well as traditional folk remedies and popular patent medicines. Meanwhile, the resurgence and growing popularity of holistic, homeopathic, and alternative medicine that began in the last few decades of the twentieth century has drawn a number of traditional African American herbal remedies, including St. John's Wort, to the attention of mainstream patients and physicians. *See also* Health Care.

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Skylar Harris

Folsom, James (1908–1987)

James Elisha Folsom was a two-time **Alabama** governor who took a moderate stand on civil rights issues and segregation during the middle portion of the twentieth century. Folsom was born October 9, 1908, in rural Coffee County, Alabama. He is known as a populist governor who sought to improve the standing of black and white Alabamians. During his campaign for governor in 1946, Folsom earned his nickname, "Big Jim." Standing six feet seven

inches, he towered over most men. A hallmark of Folsom's campaign was "Y'all Come"; the intention was to show an openness of government with citizens. Many disenfranchised black Alabamians interpreted this openness as a sign of taking down barriers of segregation. After his election to the governorship, Folsom pursued policies perceived by many at the time to be liberal regarding issues of race. In particular, his populist agenda involved elimination of **poll taxes** that discouraged many poor whites and blacks from voting and implementing a comprehensive public defender program. He also publicly spoke against the formation of a **White Citizens Council** in Alabama.

Elected governor of Alabama twice, he served from 1947 to 1951 and from 1955 to 1959. As the **Civil Rights Movement** gained steam, Alabama voters signaled a desire for elected officials to take a hard line against complying with federal mandates concerning integration. Despite this growing opposition to the Civil Rights Movement, Folsom promised to work within the legal realms in making the adjustment to integration. During the first year of Folsom's second administration, many of his programs to expand state services were passed by the state's legislature. While enjoying great success with the legislature for his reforms of state government and moderate stand on civil rights issues, subsequent federal court rulings and the Civil Rights Movement began to erode public support for compromise on issues of civil rights.

Folsom's moderate stand on issues concerning race, and his refusal to exploit race relations to achieve his agenda or gain political capital eroded his support base among white voters. In 1962, Folsom was defeated in his third bid for governor by **George Wallace**. Wallace's more aggressive stand against integration propelled him past other candidates and into the governor's office. Although Folsom continually ran for governor, he was never again elected to public office, being relegated to an also-ran in elections during the later years of his life. Folsom spent his golden years managing his insurance business in Cullman, Alabama.

Folsom and his second wife, Jamelle Moore, had seven children. The oldest, James Elisha, Jr., followed in his father's political path, having served as Alabama's governor and lieutenant governor. Folsom died of heart failure on November 21, 1987, in Cullman. *See also* Democratic Party.

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James Newman

Football

Many organized **sports** in the United States have a history of excluding African Americans. Football is no exception. From its origins in a professional league and as a intercollegiate sport, football was almost an exclusively white sport.

Integration in the professional leagues also came slowly. In the premier professional football league, the National Football League (NFL), integration came slowly. The first signs of integrated teams seemed closer to tokenism

than an outright recruitment of talented black athletes. There were several subtle and not-so-subtle slights against black players. For example, many NFL teams did not allow the integration of athletes at dining facilities and boarding during training camp.

The arrival of the American Football League (AFL) hastened the process of integration. In an effort for the upstart league to develop a fan base, the AFL chose to locate many of its franchises in cities that were not home to NFL franchises. In the 1960s, many of the NFL teams were located in states with few or no Jim Crow laws and customs. While this did not prevent slights and other forms of racial **discrimination** from occurring, it did not open the black players to the societal and legal system of segregation that existed in the South.

While the AFL resisted placing franchises in the South, it did place teams in Dallas, whose team shortly moved to Kansas City, and Houston. This move into the South was considered risky because the AFL planned to openly recruit African Americans. To provide funding for the new league, the AFL was able to use a new medium, **television**, and its contract with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to pay players wages comparable with the NFL. Nonetheless, team owners, and many fans, believed the talent level of the AFL would not be up to par with the more established NFL. In an effort to look for competitive talent, the AFL was aggressive in recruiting players from **historically black colleges and universities**. Almost immediately, AFL teams consistently employed more African Americans than NFL teams. Upon merger of the two leagues in 1970, the NFL began to follow suit in employing more African Americans as players.

By 1970, the Jim Crow restrictions that prevented professional football from expanding in the South were erased. The removal of these laws allowed for rapid expansion into an underserved market. In 1965, the only NFL franchise south of Washington, DC, was in Dallas, Texas. By 1993, there were NFL teams in Dallas, Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta, Charlotte, Jacksonville, Tampa Bay, and Miami.

In the college ranks, many large state universities throughout the South did not accept nonwhites and therefore did not have any nonwhite student athletes. This segregation spilled over into football throughout the South. In the segregated system of higher education, African American student athletes had two options; play at a historically black college or leave the South. Many black football players chose to play for historically black universities. Some universities, such as Grambling, in Louisiana, experienced enormous success with talented African American football players. Grambling's head football coach for 57 years, Eddie Robinson, retired with 408 wins, the most of any head football coach in National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) history at the time.

As segregation ended, many of the most talented African American student athletes chose to accept athletic scholarships at traditionally white universities. By the 1990s, African American student athletes outnumbered white student athletes on many team rosters large traditionally white universities playing in NCAA Division I-A.

Opportunities for African Americans in college and professional football have improved greatly. Many major NCAA Division I-A football teams award

a majority of its athletic scholarships to African American players. An overwhelming majority of the players on NFL rosters are black. Despite these gains, the coaching ranks continue to be dominated by whites. While most major college teams have at least one black assistant coach, the overwhelming majority of NCAA Division I-A schools do not have a black head coach. In the NFL, the situation is similar but not as bleak. Currently, the percentage of NFL franchises with an African American as head coach is greater than the percent of African American coaches in the college ranks, but still considerably lower than the percentage of African Americans who are currently playing in the NFL. The NFL has taken several steps to improve opportunities for African Americans to become a head coach. Anecdotal evidence of this exists in that in 2007, the head coaches of both teams playing in the NFL's Super Bowl were black. This was the first time any team playing for the NFL championship had a black head coach. *See also* Basketball; Negro League Baseball; Racial Stereotypes.

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James Newman

Frazier, E. Franklin (1894–1962)

E. Franklin Frazier, who became a renowned sociologist and preeminent scholar, was born Edward Franklin Frazier in Baltimore, Maryland, the son of James Edward Frazier, a bank messenger, and Mary E. Clark. Because his father had taught himself to read and write as an adult, your Frazier quickly learned to use formal education to escape poverty. He also articulated a strong interest in sociology and race relations during this time. This awareness seemingly started as a result of Frazier's daily discussions with his father about the harsh and explosive atmosphere among the African American and white residents of Baltimore and of Atlanta, Georgia, upon numerous newspaper articles and editorials.

After graduating from Baltimore Colored High School in 1912, Frazier entered Howard University, in Washington, DC, on an academic scholarship. Upon the completion of his studies at this institution in 1916, Frazier quickly illustrated his mastery of several languages, literature, and mathematics. Specifically, he taught mathematics at Tuskegee Institute (1916–1917) and English, French, and history at St. Paul Normal and Industrial School in Lawrenceville, Indiana (1917–1918).

In 1919, Frazier enrolled into the graduate program in sociology at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. There, under the direction of Professor Frank Hankins, he became a skilled sociologist by immersing himself in the various methods and theories of the discipline. In 1922, Frazier married Marie Brown. However, no children came from this union. This same year he became the director of the summer school program at Livingstone College

in Salisbury, North Carolina. Five years later, he became the director of the Atlanta University School of Social Work as well as an instructor in the Department of Sociology at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Once he received his MA in 1929, Frazier spent a year as a researcher at the New York School of Social Work and the following year at the University of Copenhagen in Denmark on a university fellowship.

During these years, Frazier also published more than 30 articles on topics such as the African American family, the emergence of African American business leaders, and the development of the black American middle class. Soon he began to be read widely by both black and white Southerners. However, Frazier's readership greatly declined when his research focus changed, and his article titled *The Pathology of Race Prejudice* appeared in June 1927 in an academic journal, where he claimed that racial prejudice and racism were societal pathological norms in the South. Eventually these same views were published in the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Independent* newspapers. As a result, he began to receive many harassing phone calls and death threats. These actions, along with some heated discussions with several close friends, caused Frazier to leave the South.

Upon leaving the region, Frazier entered the University of Chicago as a graduate student and research fellow. In 1929, he accepted a position as a lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Once he completed his PhD in 1931, Frazier became a research professor of sociology in the Department of Social Science. Three years later, he became chairperson of the Department of Sociology at Howard University. He retired as professor emeritus of sociology in 1959 but continued to teach courses in the African Studies Program at Howard University and the School of Advanced International Studies at John Hopkins University until his death in 1962.

Two of Frazier's prestigious publications were *The Negro Family in Chicago* (1932) and *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939), which won him the Anisfield Award for publishing the most important book in field of race relations. However, his most controversial book was *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957), an analysis of the development of the African American middle class from its origin during the time of enslavement to the 1940s, which was shaped by various racial prejudice and discriminatory forces. In general, Frazier concluded in this study that the "black bourgeoisie," or black American middle class, lacking any real economic power and being socially marginalized, had created a moral foundation and value system that was identical to the white upper class rather than the white middle class.

Throughout the rest of his illustrious academic and scholarly career, Frazier received numerous honors, such as serving as the president of the District of Columbia Sociological Society, being appointed as vice president of the African Studies Association, and becoming the first African American president of the American Sociological Society in 1948. All in all, there is no question that E. Franklin Frazier was a pioneer and trailblazer within the field of sociology. *See also* Du Bois, W.E.B.

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Eric R. Jackson

Freemasons

Freemasons are a worldwide fraternity descended from medieval stone mason guilds. While espousing ideals of universal brotherhood, most Masonic Lodges in the United States remained rigidly segregated on the color line from the colonial era through the Civil Rights era. The rise of **Jim Crow** following the Civil War had little immediate impact on Masons, as most American lodges had been practicing segregation since their inception. Only in the late twentieth century did the predominantly white Scottish and York Rite Grand Lodges in the United States begin to recognize members of black Prince Hall Masonic Lodges as fellow Masons.

The Freemasons originated as a craft guild of stonemasons, which rose to prominence with the construction of castles and, especially, cathedrals, during the European High Middle Ages. With the decline of actual working stonemasons in the late medieval period, guilds began admitting "accepted masons," men who joined the guilds and participated in the rituals, but were not actually practicing stonemasons. Eventually, accepted Masons began to outnumber actual stonemasons, and the Masons increasingly became a middle- and upper-class fraternity. Some Masonic teachings, such as that the Egyptian god Osiris, the Canaanite god Baal, and the ancient Hebrew's YHWH, were one god, brought opposition from the Church. By the time of the American Revolution, most Masonic Lodges had adopted many of the ideas of the Enlightenment, and the order became increasingly deistic.

In theory, all lodges within a given area, usually a single country, are under the jurisdiction of a single Grand Lodge. Most European nations each have a single Grand Lodge. However, in the United States, a national Grand Lodge never emerged. Instead, several colonies developed their own Grand Lodges, and the practice continued into the national era, and some states have several grand lodges. However, unlike most other lodges around the world, American lodges early on barred blacks from joining, in part because to have done so would have brought persecution by the powerful slaveholding class, especially in the South.

During the Revolutionary War, British military units occasionally created lodges in the colonies, and unlike their American counterparts, the British military lodges often accepted black members. One of these black members was a man named Prince Hall. Born around 1748, he eventually became a Methodist minister in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Although sympathetic to the Revolution, he and 14 other black men were initiated into a British military lodge, Lodge 441, Irish Constitution, of the 38th Regiment of Foot, in

1775. When the British military evacuated Boston a year later, the black American Masons accepted into the British Lodge were given permission to continue certain Masonic privileges, but not including the right to induct new members. After the war, ties between the black Masons and the English Grand Lodge were reestablished, and the black Americans Masons were granted a charter on September 29, 1784, as African Lodge #459, with Prince Hall as grand master. After the death of Prince Hall in 1807, his name became synonymous with black Masonry in the United States. When all ties between lodges in the United States, black or white, and London were severed in 1813, the Lodge redesignated itself as African Lodge #1.

In general, Lodges practice mutual recognition of Masons raised in lodges under the jurisdiction of other Grand Lodges, under a system based on the Scottish Rite. However, most white Grand Lodges refused to recognize Prince Hall Masons as bonafide Masons. While white Masonic lodges in every state have at least one “Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons,” black Masons in most states come under their respective “Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons.” While the underlying cause was racial prejudice, Masonic tradition prevented the recognition of lodges within the jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge that were not under the Grand Lodge. But since white Grand Lodges excluded blacks from joining, Prince Hall Masons were caught in a Catch-22 on the issue of recognition by white Masons. Thus Jim Crow-style segregation was the rule among American Masonic organizations nationally long before formal Jim Crow became established in the South.

While Masonic organizations throughout the nation became the target of backlash in the early nineteenth century, and many Americans sought to ban all secret societies, the Masons survived and began to flourish again in the twentieth century. While most American Masonic Lodges avoid politics and even overt religious issues, they have tended to provide a subtle network of links that members often find useful in the business and political world. The solid division of Masonic orders on the color line meant that in general, black Masons did not enjoy the benefits of being a Mason in the wider world that white Masons did. Prince Hall lodges did, however, fulfill many of the same roles among blacks as their white counterparts. Prince Hall Masonic Lodges became centers of middle-class respectability within the black community.

Throughout the years of Jim Crow, Lodges remained segregated. Occasionally white men joined Prince Hall Lodges, although white members were rare. Most white Lodges in the North enforced the color barrier, in part because to have allowed in even a few token blacks would have brought about an ending of mutual recognition with most Southern Lodges. With the disassembling of Jim Crow during the **Civil Rights Movement**, and the general ending of overt segregation that followed, black and white Lodges began tentative steps toward mutual recognition. Many Lodges outside of the South dropped the color line as a bar to membership. In June 1996, the Grand Lodge of England reestablished ties with the Prince Hall Masons. In general, Southern white Lodges were the most resistant to extending recognition to Prince Hall Lodges, but some Lodges outside of the South have also met with resistance to integration or mutual recognition from within their membership. However, by the

end of the twentieth century, most historically white Grand Lodges in the United States had extended mutual recognition of Prince Hall Lodges. *See also* Veterans Groups.

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Barry M. Stentiford

G

G.I. Bill

The *Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944*, labeled the G.I. Bill, was passed by Congress after an intensive lobbying campaign by the American Legion. The legislation, signed by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, was a comprehensive set of benefits for soldiers returning from service in **World War II**. The G.I. Bill provided funding for higher education, business and farm loans, money for unemployment, and home loans. The law served the dual purposes of rewarding the sacrifices of a generation of soldiers and providing a significant amount of stimulus to the economy. These public investments paid dividends throughout the postwar boom in terms of economic growth, technological innovation, and increased levels of civic participation.

The impact of the legislation on the United States was dramatic, especially in the area of access to higher education. Although many prominent university presidents (both privately and publicly) expressed reservations about the admission of so many new students whom they would not have previously thought qualified, the students who entered colleges and universities across America on the G.I. Bill graduated faster and with higher grades than many traditional-aged students. In addition to the sociocultural change in the economic makeup of college and university students, this aspect of the G.I. Bill was important in the sheer number of students who entered higher education. In 1946, half of all new college students were veterans, with a total number of over one million students. Over 10 million veterans had used the G.I. Bill's education payments by the mid-1950s. Many flagship and land grant state universities saw their student bodies double and even triple in size in less than a decade.

However, the benefits of the G.I. Bill did not benefit equally all of the men and women who served. Some areas of military service were not covered at all, such as the Merchant Marine, even though they sustained high casualty rates. Women, African Americans, and other minority groups were not able to receive the full benefits of the G.I. Bill because of existing laws and traditions outside the scope of the legislation. Women often had to defer entry into college because of the postwar baby boom, and other women, who would have been able to attend college before the influx of new students, were turned

away. African Americans faced social, economic, and political barriers to the use of their benefits on numerous fronts.

For African Americans, usage of the educational benefits was particularly problematic across the nation, but especially in the segregated South, where African Americans were legally prohibited from attending most colleges and universities. As such, many African Americans struggled to use their benefits in a society still characterized by pervasive racism as it would be many years before *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and even longer before James Meredith's successful integration of the University of Mississippi began to open educational opportunities for all citizens.

In the area of housing, the G.I. Bill benefits for African Americans were also difficult. Many white veterans took advantage of the home loan part of the law and moved to the suburbs. Technically, these loans were available to African American veterans as well, but they faced de facto housing segregation, even in the wake of the elimination of de jure segregation in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948).

The G.I. Bill has continued beyond the postwar era of World War II in various forms for the veterans of the Korean conflict, Vietnam veterans, and other service members when the military became an all-volunteer service in 1973. However, the impact of these succeeding eras of benefits did not have the same, substantial impact of the original legislation. *See also* Armed Forces; National Guard; Segregation, Suburban.

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Aaron Cooley

Gandhi, Mahatma (1869–1948)

Indian civil rights leader Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, into a prominent family in Porbandar, India. His father was the prime minister of the province, and his mother was a devout follower of Jain, which stresses abstinence from worldly pleasures. His mother's religion would have a profound effect on Gandhi throughout his life. His parents arranged for Gandhi to marry Kasturbai Makhanji when he was just 13. After his schooling in India, he attended University College London, where he was trained as a barrister, but he failed to prosper in his chosen profession after his return to India.

Given his lack of success in India, in 1893, Gandhi took his law practice to South Africa. In South Africa, Gandhi experienced a level of prejudice that he had not encountered as a student in London, much less in India. The large Indian community in South Africa had an amorphous social position between that of the whites and blacks there. In most public spaces, Indians were grouped with black Africans as nonwhite and therefore denied access to better seats and accommodations. Indians and blacks in South Africa lived in a highly segregated society. Despite his status as a University of London–

educated barrister, Gandhi still faced daily prejudice. Gandhi was in a real way a member of the British Empire as an Indian, educated in London, who worked in South Africa; but in South Africa, he saw that the British Empire for what it was. When he was ordered to remove his turban in a courtroom, Gandhi instead chose to leave. On another occasion, he was forced to leave a train because he would not leave the first-class car after purchasing a first-class ticket; such accommodations in South Africa belonged to whites. Instead of going to a lesser car, he chose to walk. Gandhi was often refused service in restaurants and inns due to his race. South Africa had a profound influence on Gandhi's life; the injustices he observed and that he endured personally eventually led him to abandon the law in 1904 for the larger cause of human rights, specifically the rights of Indian people within the British Empire at first, though Gandhi throughout his life stressed human equality and mutual respect regardless of religion or race.

In South Africa, Gandhi was instrumental in the founding of the Natal India Congress in 1894. Despite the treatment of Indians by the South African government, Gandhi contributed to British military efforts in South Africa by setting up an ambulance service during both the Second Boer War and the Zulu Rebellion in 1906. In order to combat the racist policies of the South African government, Gandhi turned to the concept of nonviolent cooperation. In South Africa, Gandhi had read widely, particularly in religious texts like the Bhagavad Gita and the Bible, and had come to the decision that nonviolence was the most moral method of resistance, though it required enormous control. Nonviolence also made particular sense given both the condition of Indians in South Africa and the nature of the South African government and the British Empire as liberal democracies. Others in history had used noncooperation and nonviolence as tactics, but Gandhi would use it on a scale and for group rights as it had never been used before. The concept came to Gandhi through his readings of an earlier practitioner, Henry David Thoreau and his concept of civil disobedience, which he had adopted to protest the Mexican-American War, which he viewed as an immoral war to expand the immoral institution of slavery.

Gandhi and the Natal India Congress, through peaceful measures, petitions, letters, and strikes, protested discriminatory practices against Indians in South Africa. Gandhi termed the methods passive resistance, which would eventually evolve into the concept of Satyagraha, which can be translated as truth force. Gandhi had transformed himself into a spiritual leader. In 1906, he adopted celibacy and declared his indifference to the pursuit of worldly goods. These life-changing decisions can be traced back to his mother's religious instruction, but also to decisions on Gandhi's part to serve humanity. He did not believe he could live a life of public service and also take part in worldliness. Despite the peaceful nature of the resistance in South Africa, Gandhi was arrested on numerous occasions given the nature of the protests. Gandhi and the Natal India Congress opposed the Registration Act that would have required that all Asians be registered in the Transvaal. His leadership was of such importance to the movement that he was ordered to leave, and he was arrested for failing to do so in 1908. Ultimately he agreed to voluntary registration, however, which caused a split in the Indian community of South Africa. Gandhi

also protested against the failure to recognize Indian marriages in South Africa as well and the treatment of Indian miners. All of these protests required a tremendous commitment on the part of those involved to not engage in violence despite provocations. The South African efforts also relied to a great extent on the British public opinion in the home country and how it perceived the local government and the Indian protestors.

In 1915, Gandhi returned to India and began another Satyagraha movement against British treatment of Indians in their homeland. By now Gandhi was a celebrated Indian leader and had taken on the title of Mahatma, which means great soul. To be sure Gandhi had been a longtime supporter of home rule in India and involved in the Indian National Congress, but upon his return he took up the causes of oppressed workers in India and the subservient economic condition in which his countrymen were held. These movements eventually resulted in his imprisonment in 1922 for two years. Upon his release, he concerned himself with local improvements and bridging the gap between Muslim and Hindu Indians. In 1928, Gandhi called for Dominion status for India, and in 1929, when the British refusal to grant such a status, he advocated independence for India. In 1930, when he chose to leave his relative seclusion and again become politically active in organizing protests to combat the British monopoly over salt, he was arrested yet again. His arrest resulted in mass civil disobedience throughout India. Gandhi, given his lifestyle and example, had become the most popular public figure from the Indian National Congress. The British released Gandhi in early 1931. The following year, he called for the suspension of civil disobedience, and in turn, he was allowed to attend the Second Round Table Conference in London that dealt with minority rights and left the status of India within the British Empire as a whole much the same. He was imprisoned again shortly after his return. In 1934, he again turned to local industrial development and announced that he had retired from public life.

His retirement proved short-lived, however. During **World War II**, Gandhi failed to support the British war effort, given their continued domination of India. Instead, Gandhi stated that civil disobedience during wartime was an individual choice. Britain and her allies claimed to be fighting to secure democracy, yet they denied the very rights they said they claimed to be defending in Europe to their own colonial possessions. In 1942, Gandhi moved to an even more radical position by founding the Quit India Movement that demanded the British leave, which resulted in his imprisonment yet again. His wife was also imprisoned and died in jail in 1944. The Quit India campaign resulted in mass arrests and violence, and by 1943, the British had suppressed the movement. Many in Britain saw Gandhi's campaign as unjustified and a dangerous distraction given the stakes involved in World War II. With the war at an end and clear promises from the British to end the colonial regime, Gandhi ended the campaign, and the British reciprocated with prisoner releases. The Quit India Campaign may have been instrumental in demonstrating the inability of the British to continue the Empire in India given native resistance to colonial rule.

With independence, a new series of questions came to the fore. Gandhi was deeply opposed to the partition of British India into the two nations of India

and Pakistan, but the British and the Indian National Congress believed that this was the only way to avoid civil war. With the independence of India in 1947, Gandhi continued to strive for respect for all human rights, not just those of people like himself. He was particularly active in attempting to reconcile Muslims and Hindus within India. Hindu radicals were infuriated by Gandhi's stance toward Mohammad Jinnah and his demand that India pay Pakistan what it had promised under the partition agreement despite the Indo-Pakistani War in 1947. A Hindu terrorist, Nathuram Godse, after an earlier failed attempt, assassinated Gandhi during his nightly walk on January 30, 1948 in New Delhi.

Gandhi's interpretation of civil disobedience and his methods in opposing discrimination in both South Africa and within India had a profound effect on later civil rights leaders within the United States, particularly **Martin Luther King, Jr.** Gandhi was able to mobilize a minority group in South Africa to adopt nonviolent methods of civil disobedience and to force the white government there to compromise positions that bettered the conditions of Indians in the region. His example illustrated that through peaceful resistance, the hypocrisy of liberal democracies' adoption of **Jim Crow** laws and other forms of discrimination could be demonstrated and result in changes for the betterment of everyone.

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Michael Beauchamp

Garvey, Marcus (1887–1940)

Although Marcus Garvey made many contributions to the Black Nationalist Movement in America his most noted legacy is his unrelenting support for the **Back to Africa Movement**. Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Jr. was born on August 7, 1887, in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, to the mason/stonebreaker Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Sr., and domestic worker Sarah Jane Richards. His family was of modest means, and Garvey always sought to improve the quality of life for the poor and working-class individuals who were often forgotten by mainstream society. His quest for change began at the age of 16, when he left the Methodist school where he was receiving his education to search for employment. After a series of odd jobs, he became a printer for P. A. Austin Benjamin in Kingston, Jamaica. It was here, during a printers' union strike, that his leadership skills and abilities were first displayed. As the vice president and the Kingston Union and strike leader, he refused to accept financial offers to desert his fellow strikers. Although many of strikers eventually returned to their jobs, Garvey refused to back down on his beliefs. His rebellious protest left him

blacklisted by private printers. He later took a job with a government printing office, and in 1907, he produced one of his first periodicals, *Garvey's Watchman*. While the series lasted for only three publications, it showed Garvey's commitment to addressing the economic exploitation of the poor masses and his desire to improve the plight of black workers.

After the collapse of *Garvey's Watchman*, Garvey joined a political group called the National Club and released a second publication, *The Struggling Mass*. Several political activists and scholars, including Robert Love and J. Coleman Beecher, noted Garvey's commitment to improving the plight of the underprivileged and addressing racial discrimination. They encouraged him to continue pursuing his dreams. In 1910, Garvey left Jamaica and traveled to Central America with the hopes of gaining more experience and financial support for his works.

Garvey's travel led him through many Latin American countries, including Costa Rica, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, Bocas-del-Toro, Ecuador, Chile, and Peru. In each of the countries, he was shocked and outraged at the treatment of poor black Jamaican migrants who had left their poverty-stricken island in search of employment. In 1911, he returned home to Jamaica and began to protest the harsh treatment of blacks, demanding that the British rulers commit themselves to protecting overseas Jamaican workers. When the British leadership refused to adhere to his request, he traveled to England to protest. His protest fell on deaf ears, as the British rulers refused to take any of the actions that were promoted by Garvey.

Although his protest was unsuccessful, Garvey did expand his knowledge base by taking classes at Birbeck College and meeting with black nationalists from around the world. While these encounters and connections further inspired and motivated Garvey to fight for change, none were more inspirational than Garvey's reading of **Booker T. Washington's** *Up from Slavery*. Washington's work caused Garvey to ask, "Where is the Black man's government? Where is his king and kingdom?" On July 15, 1914, after two years in England, he returned to Jamaica to establish a base to oppose the extreme racism that dominated the world.

Movement

Five days after Garvey returned to Jamaica, he established the **Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)** and African Community Leagues (ACL). Garvey's mission for the organizations was to bring together African people and establish an independent and sovereign nation. After the organization was established, Garvey made plans to travel to the United States to meet Booker T. Washington and raise much-needed funds for his work. When Garvey arrived in the country in 1916 he was informed that Washington was deceased. Though disappointed, Garvey decided to continue with his journey and meet with other black leaders and view black institutions in an effort to gain more insight on how to improve the infrastructure of his organization in Jamaica. Although his visit led him to the Tuskegee Institute, in an effort to gain insight on how to open a similar school in Jamaica, and other areas in the United States, he was smitten with the environment in Harlem, New York.

After World War I, Harlem was filled with African Americans who had traveled to the North in search of inspiration and hopes of social change. Garvey began to cater to those needs by working as a soapbox speaker on street corners of Harlem. His valiant arguments for black pride, economic stability, and international programs drew in large audiences. Many of these audiences comprised a large segment of the African American poor and working class who thought that organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League catered the rich and did not adequately represent their views. They clung to Garvey's messages of hope and daring activism of social change and political restructuring.

Garvey's popularity and support from the community led to the establishment of the first American branch of the UNIA in Harlem. Approximately two years after the Harlem branch was established, 38 other branches of the organization were formed in different states.

Marcus Garvey Calls for a Bill of Rights for African American Men, 1920

Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association directly challenged the legal aspects of Jim Crow in their revision of the Bill of Rights. The *Baltimore Afro-American* claimed that Garvey and the movement should adopt a bill of rights "calling on whites to leave America."

Whereas all men are created equal and are entitled to the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness, and because of this, we, the duly elected representatives of the Negro people of the world, invoking the aid of the just and almighty God, do declare all men, women, and children of our blood throughout the world free denizens, and do claim them as free citizens of Africa, the motherland of all Negroes.

We declare that no Negro shall engage himself in battle for an alien race without first obtaining the consent of the leader of the Negro peoples of the world, except in a matter of national defense.

We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro peoples of the world, and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans, and Asia for the Asiatics, we also demand Africa for the Africans at home and abroad. We believe in the inherent right of the Negro to possess himself of Africa, and that his possession of same shall not be regarded as infringement on any claim or purchase made by any race or nation.

We assert that the Negro is entitled to even-handed justice before all courts of law and equity, in whatever country he may be found, and when this is denied him on account of his race or color, such denial is an insult to the race as a whole, and should be resented by the entire body of Negroes.

We deprecate the use of the term "nigger" as applied to Negroes, and demand that the word Negro be written with a capital "N."

We demand a free and unfettered commercial intercourse with all the Negro peoples of the world. We demand that the governments of the world recognize our leader and his representatives chosen by the race to look after the welfare of our people under such governments. We call upon the various governments of the world to accept and acknowledge Negro representatives who shall be sent to the said governments to represent the general welfare of the Negro peoples of the world.

We demand that our duly accredited representatives be given proper recognition in all leagues, conferences, conventions, or courts of international arbitration wherever human rights are discussed. We proclaim the 31st day of August of each year to be an international holiday observed by all Negroes.

Source: "Adopt Bill of Rights Calling on Whites to Leave America," *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 19, 1920.

Organizations

Garvey's UNIA disbursed locations throughout the United States provided the opportunity for him to reach a broader African American audience, build a stronger economic base, expand the mission of the organization, and establish other entities connected to the mission of the group. The UNIA bought and rented property in an effort to build grocery stores, restaurants, laundries, garment factories, dress shops, a greeting card company, and a publishing house.

Three of the more widely noted entities established through Garvey's efforts include Liberty Halls, the Black Cross, and the Black Star Line. Liberty Halls were developed in every city in which the UNIA was located. The entity functioned as a center for political meetings and social functions in the African American community. The Black Cross was a group of African American nurses designed to meet the medical needs of the community. The Black Star Line, a steamship line and one of the more controversial organizations, led to the demise of Garvey's movement in 1925 when he was convicted of mail fraud associated with the ship line. He was sentenced to five years in prison. Two years later, President Calvin Coolidge pardoned Garvey, and he was deported back to Jamaica. Many scholars speculate that the mail fraud conviction was a ploy that was used to silence Garvey's extreme political views and weaken the movement.

Political Philosophy and Ideals

Garvey's political views promoted **Black Nationalism**. He argued that people of African descent should return back to Africa to establish an economic base and develop an ethnic identity. Without a clear understanding of their identity and economic base, the African race of people were doomed to failure. Only in their own separate nations could blacks realize themselves and developed the tools and characteristics needed to gain worldwide respect from other racial groups. Garvey's desire to promote his Back to Africa Movement often alienated many African American leaders. **W.E.B. Du Bois** and **A. Phillip Randolph** strongly opposed his message and tactics, which included meeting leaders of the **Ku Klux Klan** to discuss their support for the Back to Africa Movement.

Garvey believe that once African Americans returned to Africa, they should develop a mixed economic system and a leadership structure in which the ruling minority promoted the interest of the people. These ruling minorities and their families were to be well provided for so that they would not be tempted by corruption. He noted that the leader also should possess the authority to select all top officials. These top officials were to be held to high standards and would be punished with death by stoning if they disrespected the people's trust and engaged in corrupt leadership practices.

Garvey's movement began to lose strength after his imprisonment for mail fraud and 1925 deportation to Jamaica. He died of a stroke on June 10, 1940. On November 15, 1964, Jamaica named him the country's first national hero and placed a shrine for him in the country's National Heroes Park.

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Barbara A. Patrick

Georgia

1880–1920

After the failure of **Reconstruction** and the removal of federal troops from the South, **Jim Crow** gripped Georgia in the 1880s. Separate and unequal, African American schools were characterized by decrepit facilities and poorly paid teachers. African American voters, denied the ballot, were subjected to demeaning tests of intellect and literacy if they attempted to vote or aspired to elected office. Vigilantes and lynch mobs terrorized black Georgians who threatened elite white Southerners with public displays of wealth, activism, or education.

Particularly in the 1890s, and escalating through the 1920s, the state frequently led the nation in **lynching** each year. Hundreds of African Americans fell prey to ritualized violence, most commonly at the hands of all-white mobs that claimed that the accused had either murdered a white person or raped a white woman. One of the most infamous of these spectacles was the lynching of Sam Hose on April 23, 1899. Alleged to have murdered his white boss, the Palmetto, Georgia, farmer was tortured and set afire before over 2,000 people. Spectators toted home Hose's burned body parts, and an Atlanta shop exhibited his charred knuckles.

In addition to this climate of social control, economic peonage, and racial violence, one that may have seemed only slightly improved from **slavery**, black and white Georgians during Jim Crow grappled with poverty. After Reconstruction and through the mid-twentieth century, the state's economy of cotton, peanuts, and other crops was primarily agricultural, and nearly half of Georgia's farm laborers did not own their own land but worked plots they rented as sharecroppers or tenant farmers. They bought equipment, seed, animals, and household necessities on credit, and the bulk profits from what they grew and harvested went towards repaying their debt, which mounted annually. In his book *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), the African American educator **W.E.B. Du Bois** documented how black sharecroppers in the cotton country around Albany, Georgia, struggled with high rents, overworked land, and cheating employers, while descendants of white plantation owners fought repossession and diminishing crop prices.

It would be inaccurate, however, to conclude that Jim Crow meant complete ruination for African Americans in the state. As the nineteenth century waned, they logged successes, particularly in education and religion. For example, in 1883, Lucy Craft Laney opened a school for black youth in Augusta, the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, that lasted 50 years.

Haines's curriculum offered college preparatory courses in languages, math, and science, as well as vocational training. One of its pupils, John Hope, became the first president of Atlanta University. Another Augustan, William J. White, founded a school to train black ministers; the school moved to Atlanta and became known as Morehouse College.

The line between the classroom and the congregation had been porous since slavery, and some of Georgia's most educated African Americans coupled a spiritual calling with political agitation. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, who pastored St. Phillips's AME Church in Savannah during the 1870s and 1880s, served in the state house of representatives during Reconstruction, the brief period when black men in Georgia could exercise the vote without poll taxes, literacy tests, or other impediments. Turner later contributed essays on voting and other civil rights issues to Republican newspapers such as Savannah's *Colored Tribune*. Emmanuel King Love, who led the flock at Savannah's First African Baptist Church from 1885 to 1900, sermonized on lynching and segregation, and he endured a beating in 1889 while attempting to integrate the whites-only section of a Jim Crow railway car.

In 1897, Du Bois began teaching economics and history at Atlanta University. There he inaugurated the "Atlanta Conferences" for the discussion and publication of scientific research about African Americans. Ever balancing a conviction that racism meant to grind down the race with a curiosity about how the race managed nevertheless to excel in so many endeavors, in 1900, he commissioned black Atlantan Thomas J. Askew to photograph members of the city's African American middle class, their homes, and their businesses. Du Bois featured these photographs at the 1900 Paris Exhibit, along with books, art, and other examples of the intellectual enlightenment, material prosperity, and cultural creativity that asserted themselves in spite of Jim Crow's repression. During a time when African Americans were routinely stereotyped as shuffling, dialect-intoning, kerchief-headed "darkies" in stereoscopic views, sheet music, and other visual and literary material encountered by white Georgians, Du Bois's Paris exhibit challenged negative perceptions of black people in the state that he had described in *Souls* as both the spiritual and spatial center of the African American nation and symbolic Ground Zero for the tensions between the races nationally.

However, it was an address in the 1890s, later dubbed "The," that would establish the most influential blueprint for race relations in Jim Crow Georgia—the **Atlanta Compromise**. The speaker, **Booker T. Washington**, was president of Tuskegee University in Alabama, a school to train black students in teaching and vocational skills. His speech, delivered at the Cotton States and International Exposition, before a mixed-race crowd on September 18, 1895, in what is now Atlanta's Piedmont Park, proposed a plan for his fellow African Americans to achieve gradual political parity and more immediate economic security within the social restrictions and climate of distrust created by Jim Crow. To blacks, with the imperative "Cast down your bucket where you are" (Washington 1901, 99), Washington urged a focus on making their labor indispensable in agriculture, domestic service, and skilled trades. By patiently proving their merit as relentless workers and respectable citizens, he argued, they would gradually persuade whites to extend to them political

and civic equality. To whites, Washington requested the understanding that African Americans wanted to intermingle socially with them only insofar as this furthered the nation's economic advancement. He also held whites accountable for taking a more active role in mending the racial tensions that were slavery's legacy. Black colleges and universities in Georgia and the Deep South benefited from the resounding welcome Washington's proposal met from white philanthropists, who demonstrated their support by dipping into their pockets to endow and build institutions for industrial training.

The curtain fell on the first half of the Jim Crow era in Georgia to the same note of racial intimidation and illegal rampages that had opened it. Two days in 1906, from September 22–24, marked the Atlanta Race Riot, when white mobs committed the most heinous violence against black Georgians since the Sam Hose lynching. False newspaper accounts about white women in the city who had been raped by black men triggered the violence. Angry all-white mobs assembled in the downtown section of Atlanta, which had refashioned itself after the Civil War into Georgia's center of commerce and business, and they exploded in rage and revenge. They trashed black-owned business and homes and set them aflame. They dragged protesting African American passengers from trolley cars and beat them. And they fanned into African American residential neighborhoods and exchanged gunfire in shootouts with the homeowners there. By the time the rioting waned on the third day, scores of black Atlantans had been severely beaten or killed.

Like the lynching of individuals, the multiple assaults and murders of the Atlanta Race Riot underscored that a root cause of racial violence was the African American middle and working classes that threatened to compete with whites for jobs and businesses, and the interracial mingling that came with urban growth and undermined notions of white racial superiority. Nor were African Americans alone in their vulnerability to this vigilante justice. On August 6, 1915, a Jewish man from Marietta named Leo Frank was hanged by a lynch mob for allegedly raping and murdering a factory girl and sharecroppers' daughter named Mary Phagan. Phagan had failed to return home from work one day, and her battered body had been discovered in the cellar of the building where she was employed. A brief police investigation had yielded Frank as the prime suspect, and, based on thin and inconclusive evidence, an all-white jury swiftly found him guilty of murder.

After studying court documents and concluding that justice had been miscarried and an innocent man convicted, Georgia's governor at the time, John Slaton, commuted Frank's sentence from execution to life imprisonment. Yet the court of public opinion already had tried Frank and determined that he was a monster, so lynchers, calling themselves the Knights of Mary Phagan, collected the prisoner from his cell in Milledgeville, carted him back to Marietta, and carried out the sentence that their own governor had reasoned was unjust. On Thanksgiving Day 1915, during a ceremony on Stone Mountain, the Knights of Mary Phagan reestablished themselves as the **Ku Klux Klan**, the hate group that had been outlawed during Reconstruction.

Like African Americans, recent European immigrants and Jews like Frank represented a challenge to the job security and business ownership of working-class white Southerners. As Jean Toomer would articulate in his

Cane (1925), a multi-genre meditation on racial politics and the meaning of Southern identity, when rural white Georgians lost their farms and their sense of community because of industrialization and urbanization, blacks, Jews, and others with marked differences in skin color and culture became easy and convenient targets for their despair and frustration. Jim Crow policies ensured their oppression. By the end of 1915, when **D. W. Griffith's** epic film *The Birth of a Nation*, with its drumbeat images of brutish black men attacking fragile white virgins, premiered to sold-out theaters in Atlanta, the specter of the white-hooded posse riding to raise the lynch rope was a customary threat to black Georgians. Emancipation's promise of civic equality lay tattered by the wayside.

1920–1965

The second half of the Jim Crow era in Georgia coincides with the state's ascendancy as an economic, political, and cultural force. These decades are characterized by escalating pressures from members of marginalized races and classes to attain social justice and eliminate poverty, culminating in the **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Georgians who made significant contributions to race relations at an earlier stage of Jim Crow, during the 1920s and 1930s, include **Walter White** and Lillian Smith.

From Atlanta, White, who was so fair in complexion that he could pass for white, used his skin color to investigate racial violence in the 1920s as a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Masquerading as a white man, he infiltrated hate groups and observed race riots throughout the South, gathering information about lynching for the NAACP's campaign to institute national legislation outlawing racial violence and to influence the federal courts to end Jim Crow. He published two books about lynching and its horrors, the novel *Fire in the Flint* (1924) and the nonfiction study *Rope and Faggot* (1929), and in 1929 he earned an appointment as the NAACP's executive secretary, which he held for over 25 years. One example of the lynching crimes that White and other NAACP members documented and pressed President **Harry S. Truman** to investigate took place near the Moore's Ford Bridge in Walton County, Georgia. On July 25, 1946, four African American sharecroppers—Roger and Dorothy Malcolm and George and Mae Murray Dorsey—were kidnapped and taken to this landmark where they were tortured and shot to death. Although Truman responded to the NAACP by ordering the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** to solve the lynching, no one was ever formally charged and brought to justice.

Lillian Smith, who grew up in Clayton, Georgia, also earned a reputation as a civil rights activist through both her community work and her writing. She dedicated her adult life to eradicating prejudice and dismantling Jim Crow, which she did beginning in the 1930s primarily through magazine writing, debates, and conversations with civic leaders and civil rights organizations, and membership in interracial groups, such as the Southern Regional Council, that were committed to progressive social change. She urged influential white Southerners who disapproved of Jim Crow, such as Ralph McGill, the *Atlanta*

Constitution editor, to risk a clear and unambiguous stand against segregation. In 1949, her book *Killers of the Dream* galvanized American readers with its meditation on the crippling physical and psychological impact of Jim Crow policies. Smith's account of the bitterness and ignorance that the system had engendered contrasted widely with the nostalgic depictions of the old South that another Georgia writer, Margaret Mitchell, had imagined to much popular acclaim in her *Gone with the Wind* (1939) a decade earlier.

Instituted in 1942, the interracial, Christian community of Koinonia Farm aspired to realize the integrated society that activist-writers like Smith and White envisioned even while Jim Crow maintained its grasp on Georgia life. The rural southwest Georgia farm, founded by two Baptist ministers, Clarence Jordan and Martin England, was a commune where residents divided chores, ate together, and worked side by side as equals in spite of racial differences. Jordan's antiracist sentiments made Koinonia a target of fire bombings, hate mail, and attempts by local officials to shut it down.

The **Albany Civil Rights Movement** is one of the most exciting and intensified chapters in Georgia's civil rights history. Taking place primarily over an 11-month period between October 1961 and August 1962, residents of this city in southwest Georgia decided that the time had come to end Jim Crow not gradually, but by simultaneously desegregating as many public facilities as they could: libraries, restaurants, bus terminal waiting rooms, grocery stores, schools, and churches. The leaders of the Albany Movement included William Anderson, a black physician; Charles Sherrod and Cordele Reagon, **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** field secretaries; and C. B. King, one of a handful of black lawyers in the state and from an affluent business-owning family in Albany's black community.

Inspired by the success of the 1955 **Montgomery Bus Boycott** and **Martin Luther King, Jr.**'s book about the effort, *Stride toward Freedom* (1958), the organizers of the Albany Movement focused on using nonviolent direct social action as a strategy for exposing the moral deficiencies of Jim Crow and embarrassing segregationists into dismantling the apartheid society. With varying degrees of effectiveness, the Albany Movement attempted to unite civil rights, religious, and civic organizations in the community so as to encourage blacks in the city and neighboring counties to register to vote, and those who joined it employed the power of the dollar to pressure local businesses to welcome the patronage of black consumers. Members of the Albany Movement also perfected the tactic of holding mass meetings in local churches to shore up activists' courage, disseminate information about goals and strategies, and raise bail money and other funds for marchers. The Freedom Singers, four African American students (the SNCC organizer Cordell Reagon; Bernice Johnson, who married Reagon; Rutha Mae Harris; and Charles Neblett) who led the congregation in spirituals and freedom songs at these mass rallies, were invited to tour the nation using their music to rouse the complacent or timid into action.

At the request of the Albany Movement's leaders, King and **Ralph Abernathy** of the Atlanta-based **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**, which King headed, joined the picketers. The Albany Movement organizers counted on the arrests of these high-profile activists to bring further pressure

to bear on city officials to desegregate, but they were undermined by the courtly and respectful manner in which the city's white police chief, Laurie Pritchett, treated both locals and outsiders who had come to demonstrate for social change. What the Albany Movement did convey to organizers of future **desegregation** campaigns was the important leadership role of local residents and community members, who understood deeply how Jim Crow affected them where they lived. And Albany further ingrained King, Abernathy, SNCC, and the SCLC, all centered in Atlanta, as symbols of the national movement for peace, justice, and racial tolerance.

In the fall of 1961, another civil rights milestone occurred with the integration of the University of Georgia, the state's flagship public institution and, as a segregated school, a symbol to many African Americans of Jim Crow's narrow-minded prejudices and blunted opportunities. The applications of qualified African Americans were routinely denied, and the state instituted a policy to pay the tuition at out-of-state schools for black youth who qualified for entrance, rather than admit them for study in their native state. Hand-picked for their character, impeccable manners, and outstanding academic achievements, Charlayne Hunter-Gault and Hamilton Holmes became the first African American undergraduates admitted to the school, assisted by a legal team led by the Atlanta-based civil rights lawyer Donald L. Hollowell. An African American graduate student, Mary Frances Early, also enrolled. *See also* Blues; Great Migration; Separate but Equal; Sit-ins; Toomer, Jean.

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Barbara McCaskill

Gibson, Althea (1927–2003)

The first African American to win one of tennis's grand slam events with her victory in Paris at the French Open in 1956, Althea Gibson eventually won 11 major tennis championships in singles and doubles, shattering the sport's color barrier along the way. Born on April 25, 1927, to sharecropping parents in Silver, **South Carolina**, Gibson moved with her family to New York City as a young girl. A school dropout at age 14, Gibson found her focus when she picked up the sport of paddleball, competing in city tournaments of the New York Police Athletic League. Her success at paddleball eventually led to free

tennis lessons at Harlem's Cosmopolitan Tennis Club, and in 1942, Gibson won the New York State Negro Girls' Open.

At this time, most tennis tournaments were held at private clubs, which excluded blacks from all non-service positions. In keeping with the all-white policies of most clubs, the United States Lawn Tennis Association (USLTA; now the United States Tennis Association) excluded blacks from all of its events, including the national championships. In response to this exclusion, as they did in numerous other instances during the **Jim Crow** era, African Americans created a parallel institution, the American Tennis Association (ATA) in 1916, which held its own tournaments and national championships. Gibson competed in the ATA's national championship for the first time in 1942, and won the girls' singles title in 1944 and 1945. In 1947, Gibson won the first of her 10 consecutive ATA women's singles crowns.

Gibson's performance at the 1946 ATA championships (which, ironically, she did not win), caught the eye of the physician and former ATA national champion Hubert Eaton of Wilmington, **North Carolina**, Eaton and fellow physician Robert Johnson of Lynchburg, Virginia, offered to mentor Gibson. She moved into Eaton's home, which had its own tennis court, and reentered high school in Wilmington. She flourished under the tutelage of the two doctors, who served as her coaches and traveled with her to ATA tournaments. While living with Eaton, she also graduated from high school and went on to college at Florida A&M University, where she majored in physical education and played both tennis and basketball.

Despite her success in both ATA and intercollegiate events (where she sometimes competed against white athletes), the USLTA refused to bend its "whites only" policy and extend Gibson an invitation to participate in its national championship at Forest Hills, New York. Only after an outcry from some prominent white players about Gibson's exclusion from the event, most notably from four-time U.S. champion Alice Marble, did the organization finally relent and offer her an invitation to participate in the 1950 national championship, becoming the first African American to participate in the event. Gibson won her opening match of the tournament before falling to former U.S. and Wimbledon champion Louise Brough, 9–7 in the third set.

Gibson's appearance at the 1950 U.S. championships opened doors to other events previously closed to her, but she initially struggled to duplicate the success she had enjoyed on the ATA circuit. In 1953, she graduated from college and accepted a teaching position at Missouri's Lincoln University. While teaching at Lincoln, she contemplated retiring from competitive tennis, but in 1956, she broke through with victories in both the women's singles and doubles at the French Open, becoming the first black person to win a grand slam tennis event. She followed up her success in Paris with a victory in the women's doubles at Wimbledon and a runner-up finish in the women's singles at Forest Hills later that summer.

Her grand slam breakthrough in 1956 propelled Gibson to one of the great stretches in women's tennis. She won both the U.S. and Wimbledon singles titles in 1957, becoming the first black person to win either event, and was the runner-up in Australia. She repeated as champion in both New York and London the next year, and established herself as the dominant player in the

women's game. Then, in 1958, Gibson stunned the tennis world by announcing her retirement from competitive tennis, having won a total of 11 grand slam events in both singles and doubles. At that time, the major tennis events were reserved for amateurs, so Gibson turned professional and played a series of exhibition matches, often held before Harlem Globetrotters games.

Following her retirement from tennis, Gibson pursued careers in both music and professional golf, with middling success. In 1968, she married W. A. Darben and settled in New Jersey, where she taught tennis. In 1971, she became the first African American inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame in Newport, Rhode Island. Althea Gibson died in 2003. *See also* Sports.

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Thomas J. Ward, Jr.

Gospel Music

Gospel music emerged out of African American Protestant churches in the early twentieth century, with its development and instrumentation reflecting the impact of migration, urbanization, commercialization, and secularization on gospel musicians and their genres.

African American Pentecostals made the earliest contributions to gospel music at the turn of the twentieth century. Charles Harrison Mason, founder of the Church of God in Christ, encouraged early black Pentecostals to celebrate the African expression of their faith, and he made a direct effort to maintain the exuberant worship style of plantation praise houses, where body percussion, the shout, and personal testimony were common. Many mainline worshippers viewed gospel music as undignified and worldly. But those who appreciated it continued to use upbeat rhythms and creative instrumentation, including vocals, guitar, drums, piano, and a preference for the Hammond organ. The chord structures used often approached **blues** and **jazz**.

Many early black gospel musicians figured among the millions of black Southerners who migrated to Northern and Midwestern cities, where commercial opportunities were more prevalent, new instrumentation and styles developed, and secularization was imminent. Pentecostal solo evangelists used gospel music as missionary work in the 1920s and 1930s and created their unique brand of musical evangelism, as Rosetta Tharpe demonstrated. Reared in the Church of God in Christ (COGIC), Tharpe spent her early years traveling and singing with her mother in churches and on city streets to spread the gospel. Tharpe's commitment to musical evangelism and that of other Pentecostal solo evangelists and musicians, including pianist Arizona Dranes and guitarists Ann Bailey and Nancy Gamble, helped to set the stage for the commercialization of gospel music. Thomas Dorsey (Baptist) and Sally Martin (Sanctified) are credited with initiating this process by establishing the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses (NCGCC), an organization that made musicians less dependant on local churches for support.

The commercial interest of large for-profit corporations soon competed with grassroots entrepreneurial efforts of Dorsey and Martin as the appreciation for gospel and race music grew in the postwar years. From 1938 to 1945, the subsequent tension between the sacred and secular was crystallized in the experiences of Rosetta Tharpe. Tharpe sang gospel music, but she privatized her faith, a move that allowed her to perform sacred music in secular arenas like the Cotton Club despite her religious beliefs. Her blend of the sacred and secular was censured from morally conservative black Christians and was the basis for her excommunication from the COGIC. Her success was nonetheless a prelude to the popularity of gospel music and ignited debates over the still controversial union of religion and commerce.

Solo evangelists like Tharpe shared the gospel music stage with an increasing number of gospel soloists and groups from the 1940s onwards, including Clara Ward and the Ward Singers, the Staple Singers, and Mahalia Jackson. Of these performers, Mahalia Jackson gained international recognition and performed at a number of historic events, including the inauguration of President **John F. Kennedy** in 1961, the **March on Washington** in 1963, and the funeral of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, in 1968.

By the 1960s, James Cleveland was crowned the prince of gospel music when he introduced choirs to the gospel music performance with *Peace Be Still* in 1962. Cleveland also established the Gospel Music Workshop of America, which, similar to Dorsey's and Martin's NCGCC, became an important training ground and launch pad for gospel musicians throughout the country from the 1960s onwards. He shared the gospel arena with a number of award-winning gospel quartets, including the Dixie Humming Birds, Five Blind Boys from Mississippi, and Mighty Clouds of Joy.

As American society of the post-civil rights era diversified, so too did gospel music. By the 1970s, some artists remained faithful to the "down home" gospel styles of previous generations and others to semiclassical art forms, as did Houston's Sara Jordan Powell, then a member of the Church of God in Christ. Some secular music artists created a secular gospel known as soul music, which carried sociopolitical messages. Marvin Gaye's *What's Going On* (1971) represents this genre. Some who continued to sing traditional gospel eventually gravitated to the fresh new sound of the contemporary gospel music largely produced on the west coast.

Andrae Crouch was among the first to experiment with new sounds in the 1970s, though his conservative lyrics bore a clear gospel message. Crouch's choices concerned some black Christians, who feared that his contemporary integrationist format did not respect the traditional black gospel sound. While playing for his father's church, Crouch continued to engage the entire gamut of black gospel music expressed through the music styles of holiness churches. Crouch moved away from traditional gospel, creatively fusing country, **rhythm and blues**, jazz, and Latin rock. His songs *Through It All* and *I Don't Know Why Jesus Loved Me* repackaged the traditional gospel message in the new Tin Pan Alley of Hollywood. Crouch further distinguished himself by employing a "hip" approach to his vocal delivery.

As Crouch's music was diverse, it was performed and recorded by a variety of artists, including the late Elvis Presley, the Imperials, and the Jesse Dixon

Singers. Crouch also appeared with Billy Preston, Santana, Johnny Cash, Pat Boone, and Billy Graham. Crouch attracted black and white followers and surpassed the boundaries of his COGIC upbringing. Accordingly, many of his songs have become gospel music classics and are frequently anthologized. The Hawkins Family Singers, of COGIC roots, experienced similar success. Edwin Hawkins earned the distinction of being the first gospel singer to have a single, *Oh Happy Day*, secure the number-one spot on both pop and gospel music charts in *Ebony's* Black Music Poll, the first of which was initiated in 1973.

Sarah Jordan Powell joined the extensive lineup of COGIC-born artists who gained national attention for their contributions to gospel music. She was listed among the nominees of *Ebony's* 1975 annual gospel music awards voting sheet. Previous nominees and their childhood religious affiliations are as follows: Shirley Caesar (Baptist, now COGIC); Rev. James Cleveland (Baptist); Sam Cooke (Baptist); the Dixie Hummingbirds (Baptist), the Mighty Clouds of Joy (Baptist), the Staple Singers (Baptist), and Clara Ward (Pentecostal).

Jordan's earlier nomination for best female gospel music performer along with the successes of the Edwin Hawkins Singers and Andrae Crouch and the Disciples signified a shift in the vanguard of gospel music. The reigning prince of gospel music, James Cleveland, and long-favored quartet groups now shared the spotlight with a new wave of singers who introduced a fresh gospel sound with innovative instrumentation and embellished traditional Baptist harmonic structures with neo-Pentecostal modalities.

In the post-civil rights era, gospel choirs multiplied on white college campuses throughout the country, and reflected the enduring importance of communal worship for many young black college students. Gospel choirs were largely established to help affirm the racial identity of black students as they adjusted to the demands of white society, although tensions existed on some campuses between students embracing Pentecostal-style gospel music and those preferring quieter sacred music expressions.

Gospel music also found expression in the advent of extra-church community choirs. Among the community choirs whose performances placed them at the top of radio music charts in the 1970s and 1980s were Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir of New York, Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singers of Chicago, **Mississippi** Mass Choir, and Southeast Inspirational Choir of Houston, **Texas**, where Yolanda Adams initiated her award-winning career as a gospel music artist. Their continued success brought additional opportunities to perform with Sara Jordan Powell, the legendary Ray Charles, and Twinkie Clark of the Clark Sisters, daughters of Mattie Moss Clark, then head of the International COGIC Music Department.

From the 1980s onwards, gospel music artists embraced a variety of music expressions, including funk, hip hop, jazz, rap, reggae, and broader categories such as contemporary Christian, inspirational, and praise and worship music, where the music of such artists as Nicole C. Mullen, Larnell Harris, and Israel Houghton are respectively featured. Regardless of the genre or category, discussions continue about the impact of secularization and commercialization on the gospel music expression. Kirk Franklin became a national icon of funky

contemporary gospel music in 1993 with the group Kirk Franklin and the Family, and its self-titled album. Franklin's highly-acclaimed *Whatcha Loo-kin' 4* sold one million copies, and his *Kirk Franklin and the Family Christmas* album became a holiday favorite. Kirk Franklin career was launched into enduring fame by his hit tune "Stomp," which he recorded with the group God's Property. Drawing on Pentecostal-Charismatic traditions, Franklin invited his fans to have a "Holy Ghost party" with him to the rhythm of the aforementioned tune. Although Franklin was criticized for the sound and delivery of his music, which some believed was too secular or dance-oriented, Franklin insisted on artistic freedom, as did his predecessors and many of his contemporaries, such as Kim Burrell, Fred Hampton, Mary Mary, Donnie McClurkin, John P. Key, Take Six, BeBe Winans, CeCe Winans, the Winans, and other gospel music artists of the latter twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. *See also* Country Music; Rock and Roll.

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Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Gray Commission

On August 20, 1954, in the wake of the aftermath of the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Governor Thomas Stanley of Virginia appointed a 32-member commission to study the economic and social impact of the ruling on the state and to craft a state response to integration. On September 13, 1954, at the first meeting of the Gray Commission, also known as the Commission on Public Education, Senator Garland Gray was elected chairman and delegate Harry B. Davis from Princess Anne County was elected as vice-chairman.

Governor Stanley had originally promised to appoint a diverse committee of public leaders in education and community affairs. However, in the wake of public and political pressure, Stanley dictated that the commission would be legislative. Thus, of the 32 members, 13 served as Virginia state senators and nineteen served as Virginia house delegates. The legislative makeup of the committee ensured the exclusion of African American representatives, since the legislative body of the Commonwealth included no African American members. Garland Gray's reputation as a staunch segregationist preceded his election as chairman; he had, in fact, directed a meeting of southern Virginia political leaders earlier that June that resulted in the original call (sounded by the city council of Hopewell, Virginia) for Governor Stanley to define the Commission on Public Education as a legislative initiative. Two other significant events occurred at this initial meeting, both of which would reveal the

budding anxiety of the pro-segregation delegates charged with directing the course of the Virginia school system. First, Chairman Gray established a subcommittee, called his executive council, that was heavily stacked with delegates from Virginia counties with large African American populations—counties that would experience the greatest change if school integration was enforced. And second, the entire commission adopted a privacy rule that insisted that the meetings would be wholly confidential. The only exception was granted to public hearings which would be expressly defined by the commission; such a hearing was held once in November 15, 1954 in a mosque in Richmond and was attended by over 2,000 people.

For almost a year after that public hearing, the commission remained fairly inactive. Though the issue of public school integration was rarely absent from the news, most Southern political leaders chose to wait for the Supreme Court addendum to be decided in what would be called *Brown II*. Reargued in April 1955, *Brown II* hinged on the efficacy of integration and the uncertainty of the enforcement power and execution timeline of the original opinion. At the heart of the second hearing stood one major question: What means should be employed to realize fully the Warren Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board*? The implementation decision, announced on May 31, 1955, dictated that integration should occur "with all deliberate speed." The Commission on Public Education met again in August 1955, charged with laying out in detail a proposed solution to the integration debate in the state of Virginia. Their deliberations resulted in a three-point plan, submitted to Governor Stanley on November 11, 1955, that would emphasize local control while providing legal means for white students and their parents to avoid attending school with African Americans.

First, the commission recommended that the state law of compulsory attendance be amended to no longer force white students to enroll in integrated schools. In other words, students would not be compelled to attend school at all if their only option was attending an integrated school; such an act was primarily relevant in rural communities. Second, the report to the governor recommended that a pupil assignment organization be established so that each county could determine how many African American students would be integrated into the white public schools. Thus, the local control option could potentially open the door to integration in some of Virginia's more moderate counties. Finally, Chairman Gray reported that a system of tuition grants, made available by public funds, could be used at private schools, which remained outside of the reach of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The tuition grant aspect of the plan proved the most controversial because it required a change to the Virginia state constitution, which would allow government funds to be spent on private education. Liberals and some moderates in Virginia were concerned that these grants would result in the abandonment of the public school system. And the local control option provoked staunch segregationists who insisted that any integration in any part of Virginia was unacceptable. Support for the plan quickly collapsed as the political leaders of the state, such as U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, implemented the more radical, defiant Massive Resistance plan that eventually resulted in the closing of public schools in several Virginia counties.

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Angie Maxwell

Gray, Garland (1901–1977)

Garland Gray, nicknamed “Peck,” served in the Virginia General Assembly for 29 years as a Democrat from Waverly, Virginia, in Sussex County, where he founded the successful company Gray Land & Timber. He was a key figure in U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd’s political machine. He is most well known for serving as the staunch segregationist chairman of the Commission on Public Education, also called the Gray Commission. Established by Governor Thomas Stanley in 1954, the 32-member legislative commission proposed a state response to public school integration. The plan included (1) an amendment of the Compulsory Attendance Law so that no white parents would be required by law to send their child to an integrated school; (2) a local option plan to allow individual school boards to assign students to their various public schools; (3) a tuition grant program to aid parents in sending their children to private academies. Though the local option aspect of the Gray plan would technically permit integration in more moderate counties, the remaining tenets were attempts by the all-white commission to avoid the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

Submitted to the governor in November 1955, the Gray plan soon came under heavy fire from both white supremacists and liberal moderates. Gray almost immediately turned against the local option aspect of the plan because his fellow segregationists feared the snowball effect of allowing integration anywhere in the state. Gray quickly joined with other Byrd loyalists to support the Doctrine of Interposition, an idea set forth by conservative journalist James J. Kilpatrick in a series of editorials for the *Richmond News Leader*. The Doctrine of Interposition, reminiscent of similar constitutional arguments made on the eve of the Civil War, insisted that the Tenth Amendment protected state autonomy from the **federal government** on issues not clearly enumerated as federal powers in the Constitution. Thus, if those limitations were violated, the state could impose itself between federal mandates, including Supreme Court decisions, and the citizens of Virginia.

The resurrection of this modern version of the Doctrine of Nullification further radicalized Senator Byrd as well as his loyal supporters at home, including Gray. They embarked upon the new Massive Resistance campaign passing legislation to strengthen the governor’s powers over school decisions. Gray was rumored to be Byrd’s choice to replace Governor Stanley in the 1957 election, but Lindsey Almond, who had argued the Prince Edward County, Virginia, integration case before the Supreme Court, secured the nomination. Nevertheless, Gray remained an active member of the Byrd organization, and continued to promote programs that would halt integration in his state. Even as late as 1959, when even Governor Almond began to see

the futility of Massive Resistance, Gray proposed a budget revision that would reallocate all public school funding to the tuition-grant program that had originated in the commission's 1955 report. Gray's integral role in the relentless efforts to maintain segregation through legal maneuverings in the years following the *Brown* decision represents the depth and intensity of Southern, white attachment to the **Jim Crow** system. He retired from the Virginia General Assembly in 1971 and died in 1977.

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Angie Maxwell

Great Depression

The Great Depression was a severe economic downturn impacting the United States and other industrialized countries. Lasting from 1929 through the early 1940s, the period was characterized by bank failures, massive unemployment, and a dramatic decrease in the production and sale of manufactured goods. In the United States, the economic collapse led to a dramatic transformation in the role that the **federal government** plays in regulating the economy. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal** programs sought to alleviate suffering through unprecedented government intervention. Roosevelt's economic policies proved to be a turning point in the agricultural South, as federal funds led to the mechanization of agriculture and to the eventual displacement of many of the region's agricultural workers.

The Great Depression startled many, coming as it did on the heels of the 1920s, a time of reputed national prosperity characterized by an ebullient national mood and unprecedented consumer spending. Although many people did see an upswing in their standard of living during this decade, many of these changes were only surface-deep. Wealth remained unequally distributed, and many Americans, particularly in the South, continued to live in poverty. In order to maintain the lifestyle promoted by the advertisements of the era, many bought luxury items on credit and were ultimately unable to support their lifestyle. Some investors also borrowed money to buy stocks on margin, initially paying as little as 10 percent of the face value in the hopes of paying off these debts as the stock's value increased. Speculation of this kind led to inflated stock prices, whose values could not be maintained, and on October 29, 1929, the bubble burst. The stock market fell in value by \$14 billion in a single day. Industrial production quickly fell by half, and the unemployment rate reached a devastating 25 percent by 1932.

The events on Wall Street and the pain felt by the nation's industrial sector initially meant very little to the inhabitants of the largely rural southern United States. In 1929, Southerners were already suffering from the decline in agricultural prices that followed the end of **World War I** as international production outpaced the demand for agricultural goods. Natural disasters in the form of an infestation of boll weevils, which plagued the cotton producing South,

and the devastating Mississippi River flood of 1927 brought severe damage to the Southern economy well before the onslaught of the nationwide depression.

The federal government dramatically increased its role in regulating the economy and in providing for the needs of its citizens during this era. After his election in 1932, Roosevelt set out to provide needy Americans with the “New Deal” he had promised in his campaign. These government programs were designed to regulate businesses and agriculture, shore up the nation’s banking system, provide relief to the needy, and to reduce unemployment. In theory, many of these programs prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, but in reality, such discrimination continued to occur.

Throughout the country, African Americans were disproportionately impacted by the Great Depression. They were typically the last hired and the first fired. During the height of the Depression, half of black workers were unemployed. Like other workers, African Americans became increasingly radicalized in response to dire economic need and joined labor unions, such as the biracial **Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union**, which was founded in **Arkansas** in 1934, in an attempt to protect their economic interests.

Blacks also suffered disproportionately as they were less likely than needy whites to receive aid—in the form either of payments or of food subsidies. Particularly in the South, blacks who did receive relief typically received less money and food than whites. This was due to the prevailing belief that African Americans were prone to laziness and would not work if given too much assistance. To compound matters, prominent Southern whites generally controlled relief funds and supplies, even those donated by the Red Cross, and were able to use their control over these resources to influence black behavior.

One of the federal programs that most dramatically impacted the South was the **Agricultural Adjustment Act**. Passed in 1933, this bill was designed to increase agricultural prices by limiting production by means of government subsidies to farmers. Southern plantation owners enthusiastically participated in the program, but for the most part, they refused to share New Deal monies with the sharecroppers and tenant farmers who worked on their land. Furthermore, as large landowners began to decrease production, they began to evict unneeded farm workers from the land. The displacement of the agricultural workforce accelerated in the following decades as landowners used federal funds to mechanize agricultural production, further reducing their dependence on individual laborers.

Both black and white farm laborers began to migrate to cities in search of other kinds of work, and many African Americans in particular set their sights on the North. Blacks had begun migrating northward in large numbers to take advantage of opportunities in manufacturing as the stream of European immigrants dried up during World War I. Although many waited out the lean years of the Great Depression in the South, African Americans began migrating again in great numbers as the country mobilized in preparation for **World War II**. In the process, African Americans went from residing primarily in rural areas of the South to becoming a predominately urban population that resided in increasing numbers in the North.

As the 1930s progressed, the South continued to lag behind other parts of the nation on the road to economic recovery. The South failed to measure up

in terms of per capita income. The region's inhabitants also suffered from a lack of access to adequate **health care** and a lackluster commitment to providing quality public education for all Southerners. In 1938, Roosevelt soberly labeled the region "the nation's No. 1 economic problem."

Recovery did come to the nation after the United States entered World War II and the effort to prepare for war jump-started the economy. The South began increasingly to industrialize, and machinery such as tractors and mechanical cotton pickers continued to displace laborers as the dramatic transformation in the Southern economy that began in earnest during the lean years of the Great Depression continued. *See also* Civilian Conservation Corps.

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Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Great Migration

The epic "great" migrations of African Americans to Northern areas and the West from the South during the first half of the twentieth century ultimately impacted America's economic, social, political, and even religious landscape as those blacks sought the proverbial "Promised Land" to escape the searing and relentless **Jim Crow** racism of Southern states. African Americans themselves were greatly impacted demographically and socially, for better or worse, depending on their destinations and the racial climate that was often hostile once they arrived.

From 1916 to 1970, some 6.5 million African Americans came from the South and headed north and west. During one phase of the first migration between 1910 and 1940, about 1.5 million black Americans fled the South for Northern territory. The second mass movement, occurring between 1940 and 1950, involved another 1.5 million people.

As blacks began to move in close proximity to whites in Northern urban areas, causing virulent and widespread white resentment that led to Jim Crow-like responses, including violence and segregation, the black urban population still exploded between 1930 and 1950. Cities such as Pittsburgh and others in the Ohio Valley experienced black population increases ranging from 25 percent to 64 percent. Similar increases were reported in New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, DC.

The changes caused by such mass movements of African Americans from the South—often ignited by substantial Southern **lynching**, riots that led to the destruction of entire black communities, and the determination of whites to hamper or eliminate black economic advancement and suffrage—were at times cataclysmic for both the Southern areas they left and the Northern sanctuaries that blacks sought. The impact nationally was extraordinary.

There had always been migrations of blacks in America, at first to escape Southern slavery during colonial years. The first enslaved Africans brought to American shores by the Spanish during the 1500s often escaped from what

is today **Georgia** and **South Carolina** and traveled southward to the Florida swamps where they allied with the Seminole Indians. Black migrations also occurred just before and after the American Civil War that erupted in 1861 and ended in 1865. During the antebellum period, the movement consisted of forced movement of slaves, fleeing runaway slaves, and freedpersons looking for better opportunities in the North.

Even earlier, during the American Revolution of the late 1770s, blacks who were offered their freedom by the British became “loyal” to the English crown, with many moving to Canadian territory or **New England** states. Some settled in Pennsylvania and New York. There were, however, additional pressures to move to the North. By the 1830s, free blacks in such states as **Virginia** were required to leave within one year of being emancipated. In other Southern states, including **North Carolina**, liberated blacks were prohibited from entering. And in South Carolina and Maryland, there were reports of free blacks being sent back into slavery if they were found guilty of minor infractions. Often, such states would enact restrictive laws as slave rebellions increased or the black population grew, especially in South Carolina. Blacks were required to adhere to strict curfews, limit group communication, and carry passes while traveling. Such laws, or “**Black Codes**” were enforced by marauding white groups, who often evolved into law enforcement authorities or even the militia. By 1850, the notorious Fugitive Slave Act was made law and allowed authorities—and many white citizens—to arrest suspected escaped slaves. In Charleston, South Carolina, if free blacks wanted to work, they had to wear a badge. Growing numbers of blacks began to rebel and to leave Southern plantations. Some scholars contend even that the mass exodus of African Americans during the years leading up to the Civil War was a primary cause of that great conflict.

Even after the Civil War, despite some racial-equality progress during the **Reconstruction** period that ended in 1877 following the departure of federal troops from the South, Southern blacks faced very difficult times. They were relegated primarily to **sharecropping** or tenant-farming jobs that essentially kept them indebted to unscrupulous white landowners who overcharged them for rent, food, clothing, and other necessities.

When limited black progress was made, the white backlash was often devastating. Numerous black preachers and politicians were murdered by white mobs during Reconstruction, while the African American masses also faced unspeakable violence and atrocities by such groups as the **Ku Klux Klan**. Thousands of African Americans were lynched as anger from whites became increasingly exhibitionist to establish a climate of utter terror.

For instance, at the dawn of the first Great Migration on October 21, 1916, Anthony Crawford, the richest black man living in the vicinity of Abbeville, South Carolina, where the Confederacy was conceived several decades earlier, was brutally lynched. Yet, Crawford’s wealth could not save him from a white mob after he was accused that day of insulting a white merchant. He was hanged from a pine tree, and several hundred bullets were fired into his then-lifeless body. There were no subsequent arrests or convictions. Many blacks from the Abbeville-Greenwood area took off for North Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania, following the footsteps of other African Americans who had already departed.

Yet, as blacks fled North during Reconstruction and into the twentieth century, often their job prospects were curtailed by discriminatory labor practices demanded by immigrants from Europe competing with African Americans for skilled-labor jobs, a pattern that would continue as the first Great Migration of African Americans northward escalated in 1917 as America entered **World War I**. That trickle began to stream in the summer of 1916, when the Pennsylvania Railroad sponsored the northern journeys of 16,000 Southern African Americans to perform unskilled labor in the North. Some blacks also found work in Chicago via the Illinois Central Railroad, while others landed employment in the steel mills of Pennsylvania, all important components of the war effort and economy. Many black women followed husbands or partners—who generally ranged from ages 18 to 35—and found work as domestics. Yet, most of the jobs that the men and women found were menial and low-paying, but not as depriving and limiting as the substandard agricultural jobs they had left in the South.

As the number of black migrants grew, white Southerners became so nervous that they even resorted to snatching black travelers from railway stations and trains to keep them in the debilitating south. However, Northern newspapers and letters from home, sometimes with money enclosed, encouraged these travelers to push on. Such letters were often read in Southern churches, linking that first Great Migration to a religious mission. Meanwhile, black community and church leaders were appointed to communicate with various northern industries, as well as such newspapers and periodicals as the *Urban League Bulletin*, *Amsterdam News*, and *Chicago Defender*.

As many of the 400,000 African American soldiers returned from World War I to demand black rights in their Southern hometowns, they were met with certain and often violent racism. The soldiers were particularly angry because many had risked their lives for America overseas, but returned to the boiling kettle of racism and Jim Crow in the United States. Reports of black soldiers being imprisoned or lynched skyrocketed. Memberships in such black civil rights' groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909, and the National Urban League—an organization established in 1910 to fight for black rights in primarily urban areas—began to grow exponentially.

The growth of the black population in major northern cities during the decade between 1910 and 1920 was staggering. Out of necessity, and due to isolation from whites, black communities in those cities became self-sufficient socially and regarding many needed services.

Due to the restrictions placed upon them in terms of housing, work, and various services, blacks established their own institutions and communities. These included churches, hospitals, nursing schools, and colleges. In addition, the black cultural middle class, including doctors, attorneys, teachers, and religious authorities, focused on providing services to the black working class.

Although middle-class blacks and workers seemed to be a cohesive and unified group, there were certainly divisions. Class separation and even racism among African Americans emerged with respect to religion, ideology, politics,

lifestyle, and employment. For instance, some black churches in cities such as Philadelphia reportedly admitted members according to skin tone and professions. Lighter-skinned congregants with middle-class jobs were sometimes accused of excluding darker-skinned blacks who held menial jobs. And sometimes, these dynamics worked in reverse. Meanwhile, such exclusion practices and class separation was monitored in other black organizations, including college fraternities and sororities.

Perhaps the most visible fissure regarding class involved the differences between the black intellectuals **W.E.B. Du Bois** and **Booker T. Washington** during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Du Bois believed that blacks must uncompromisingly demand equal rights, promoting college education and intellectual pursuits for those blacks deemed “talented.” Meanwhile, Washington believed more in accommodation and that blacks should at first be content to deal with segregation, work hard, and accept agricultural and trade jobs while gradually building trust in white America. Both men had many followers, indicating a line of demarcation within the growing black populace.

Simultaneously, white racism proliferated in the South and North. Yet, many African Americans as early as 1833 set their eyes on the West to avoid the South’s racism. Mexican Texas became popular after the third annual Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Color touted it as a destination. Blacks worked as miners, railway workers, and even cowboys in the West.

Furthermore, the abolition of slavery created great opportunity for blacks who opted to move West. African Americans flocked to Texas where the black population during the last several decades of the nineteenth century. Blacks also took advantage of the 1862 Homestead Act that allowed Americans—supposedly irrespective of gender or race—to acquire 160 acres from the **federal government** after paying a small filing fee. Blacks also zeroed in on Oklahoma and its homesteading opportunities. Black ownership of farmland increased dramatically to 1.5 million acres worth about \$11 million.

However, when Oklahoma gained statehood in 1907, such progress was hampered when Jim Crow practices in hiring, education, and voting were instated. Still, by the early 1900s, some blacks had moved further west to the Dakotas and Nebraska, especially in the Omaha area. By the 1920s, those black families began to move to urban centers. Many blacks found work in such booming towns as Las Vegas, Nevada, and Denver, Colorado, despite the comparatively low population of African Americans in such places when sized up with Northern urban centers. However, the largest concentration of blacks out west eventually settled in Los Angeles, many in what is today the South Central area. Meanwhile, the great African American woman entrepreneur, **Madam C. J. Walker**, who was a native of **Louisiana** and moved to Denver before journeying to Indianapolis, settled in New York City in 1916. By then, many black Southern immigrants began to move into Harlem when she amassed a fortune from her black beauty-aid products that allowed her to construct a mansion on the Hudson River.

Although most African Americans could not even dream of Walker’s riches, they began to journey North in prodigious numbers. Although at first Southern blacks could face difficulties getting jobs upon their arrival, large

manufacturing businesses began to use them as strikebreakers who were willing to work for cheaper wages than whites. This created terrific racial difficulties in such urban centers as New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago, as black men moved from agricultural, domestic, and service jobs to the manufacturing sector. Although wages for black men could sometimes be quite adequate—with black Pullman porters taking home as much as \$35 per work week—many black men earned wages so low that their wives were forced to work too.

Yet, somehow, despite the pressures, many black families began to thrive with black churches and other groups providing substantial support. In Harlem, the influx of Southern blacks during the 1920s brought about what became known as the Harlem Renaissance, despite blacks' earlier major contributions to the development of **jazz**, the **blues**, and soul music. The struggles of these people gave the likes of writer Langston Hughes, as well as poets, artists, and musicians, plenty to write about and increased the prominence of such black intellectuals as Alain Locke who would become known as “the father of the Harlem Renaissance.” He published and wrote about many of the developments concerning African Americans during this period that included editing a special edition of the magazine *Survey*, an in depth study of Harlem.

Yet, the 1920s also reflected the diversity of black thinking, politics and social movements, as reflected in the **Back to Africa Movement** of **Marcus Garvey**, a Jamaican-born black activist who believed that blacks should create their own society in Africa. Many Southern immigrants, after realizing the deep racism in the North, began to follow Garvey, despite his ultimate fall due to pressure from the federal government. In fact, many blacks from the Caribbean made America their home during the first and second Great Migrations, often assuming leadership roles because they found black subservience in America so unacceptable—sometimes because they had come from societies ruled totally by their black brethren.

Meanwhile, blacks followed diverse religious leaders—ranging from the evangelistic “Daddy Grace,” or Charles Emmanuel Grace and Father Divine or George Baker to the Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, originally named Robert Poole and born in Sandersville, Georgia. However, as Muhammad undoubtedly witnessed, although the Great Depression of 1929 and the early 1930s certainly severely hurt blacks nationwide, including Southern African American migrants, the new black communities of the North—bolstered by self-sufficient professionals, community cohesiveness, and the mighty church—managed to survive the storm. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal** programs, although they helped many blacks, also hurt many of them.

Like many of his fellow black Southern migrants, Muhammad found work at one of Detroit's auto plants and, by 1931, met “Master Wallace Fard,” who began to develop the black-separatist tenets of the Black Muslim movement. Almost two decades later, the movement would attract the likes of **Malcolm X**, whose father had migrated from the South to Michigan in 1929 before being killed by suspected white supremacists for his black nationalist views as a Baptist preacher. Malcolm's father, Earl Little, had followed the teachings of Marcus Garvey. In fact, Malcolm X's 1940s conversion to the

Black Muslim movement, as well as migration to New York City and rise to power under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad during the 1950s after his imprisonment, coincided with the second Great Migration of Southern blacks to Northern cities.

Black churches of the African Methodist Episcopal and Baptist faiths rose and prolifically expanded, becoming vibrant pillars of the community, shepherding to millions of the blacks in the North and South. Those churches would become the backbone of the spawning **Civil Rights Movement**, soon to be led by the likes of such supremely educated preachers as the Southern-based pastors Vernon Johns and **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, as well as Adam Clayton Powell of New York City and Leon H. Sullivan of Philadelphia. Most of those leaders had Southern roots and many had been educated in Northern schools.

The second Great Migration from 1940 to 1970 started as America entered **World War II** with the influx of blacks to northern and western cities quite notable. For instance, the black population in California continued to rise, primarily nourished by African Americans coming from Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma. Jim Crow racism directed at black World War II soldiers returning from overseas and to Southern locales in the United States helped to reignite the mass migration of blacks from the South. There was major unrest in several Southern states, including Texas, that resulted in the killing and even executions by the U.S. government of black soldiers accused of crimes that ranged from not obeying Jim Crow laws to murdering marauding whites. Furthermore, the dwindling number of agricultural jobs brought on by mechanization—most notably machines that processed cotton—as well as the cotton-producing competition from such countries as India and Brazil, made it necessary for Southern blacks to look elsewhere for work. Simultaneously, the mass industrial mobilization needed to produce war goods during World War II drew many blacks away from the still-inflamed racism of Jim Crow in the South, where lynching was still practiced, although not as much as in the past. The federal government's spending in California grew, attracting many black migrants) as factories producing airplanes, such as Boeing, increased black employment. Black migrants also found work at Pacific Coast shipyards (Dodson and Dioue, 142).

As World War II raged and later, when President **Harry S. Truman** began to integrate the U.S. **armed forces**, the barriers of segregation started to break down a bit in the broader society despite persistent elements of Jim Crow, including the segregation of some public facilities even in the North. Blacks soon began slowly moving towards Truman's **Democratic Party**, despite the antiblack and Jim Crow segregationist pronouncements of such Dixiecrats as **Strom Thurmond** of South Carolina and **George Wallace** of Alabama. Indeed, many African Americans still voted Republican in the South—when they were permitted to vote and not stopped by so-called poll taxes and bogus literacy tests—because white Democrats had consistently backed such racist policies. Furthermore, the party of the “Great Emancipator,” Abraham Lincoln, and many antislavery abolitionists, was Republican. That party had sponsored many newly elected black politicians of the Reconstruction period during the 1870s.

But, as the Civil Rights Movement sped forward during the 1950s, led by the likes of Martin Luther King, Jr., black Southern migrants who had settled in Northern cities changed their voting registration to Democratic. African Americans, many with Southern roots, fervently supported the Democratic ranks after the assassination of King in 1968 and the Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law crucial civil rights acts. They were also pleased with Johnson—although during his early political career in Texas, he campaigned as a conservative with racist overtones—appointing as an associate justice a black NAACP legal warrior, **Thurgood Marshall**, to the U.S. **Supreme Court**. Marshall had tremendous stature in the black community because he had won the landmark 1954 case that outlawed legal segregation in America, *Brown v. Board of Education*. Much of Marshall's career was spent fighting the segregationist laws that many black Southern migrants had endured.

Meanwhile, as the black population in Northern cities exploded, the first African American mayors of major metropolitan areas in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York City, Detroit, Newark, and other cities were elected due to the growing and substantial black pluralities expanding from the 1960s onward. *See also* Great Retreat.

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Donald Scott

Great Retreat

In the antiracist euphoria of **Reconstruction**, African Americans moved almost everywhere across America. By 1890, blacks were living and working in northeast Pennsylvania river valleys, in every Indiana county save one, deep in the northwoods of Wisconsin, and in every county of Montana and California. In that year, the proportion of black Illinoisans living in Cook County, which included the city of Chicago, 26 percent, was less than that for whites, 31 percent.

Then, from 1890 to the 1930s, the **Nadir of the Negro** set in, triggered by three developments: the massacre of Wounded Knee, ending American Indian independence; the new **Mississippi** constitution, which removed African Americans from citizenship yet drew no protest from the **federal government**; and the failure of the U.S. Senate to pass the Federal Elections Bill. At that point, the **Republican Party** largely abandoned its commitment to civil rights.

Throughout the traditional South, whites copied Mississippi by passing laws that took away the voting and citizenship rights of African Americans. Elsewhere, whites took a different tack. White opposition in town after town, county after county—even whole regions—drove out African Americans.

Whites in Liberty, Oregon (now part of Salem), for example, ordered their blacks to leave in 1893. Caucasians used various methods, including social and economic boycotts, making schooling difficult or impossible for black children, and acts by local government such as seizure of black homes by eminent domain. Violence and threat of violence played a key role. Residents in many communities indulged in little race riots that until now have been lost to history. In Anna, Illinois, after a nearby **lynching** of an African American in 1909, whites rioted and forced out Anna's African Americans. Nearby Pincneyville followed suit probably in 1928. Harrison, Arkansas, required two riots before the job was done—in 1905 and 1909. White workers in Austin, Minnesota, repeatedly drove out African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. Other towns that drove out their black populations violently include Myakka City, **Florida**; Spruce Pine, **North Carolina**; Wehrum, Pennsylvania; Ravenna, **Kentucky**; Greensburg, Indiana; St. Genevieve, Missouri; North Platte, Nebraska; Murray, Utah; and many others. Some of these mini-riots in turn spurred whites in nearby smaller towns to have their own, thus provoking little waves of expulsions. White residents of Vienna, Illinois, set fire to the homes in its black neighborhood as late as 1954.

Many African Americans wound up in black neighborhoods in larger northern cities. This Great Retreat went on from 1890 at least to 1940, with isolated retreats occurring as recently as 1954. In its wake, the Great Retreat left a new geography of race in the United States. From southern Florida to northwestern Washington state, the nation is dotted with thousands of all-white **sundown towns** that are, or were until recently, all white on purpose.

The Great Retreat of African Americans was preceded by a dress rehearsal in the West, from the mid-1870s to about 1920, as whites forced Chinese Americans from many towns and entire counties. Chinese fled from almost every county in Wyoming and from at least 40 towns in California. Their retreat from Idaho was especially striking: in 1870, Chinese made up 24 percent of that territory's population, but by 1920, fewer than 600 remained, only 1 percent. Most communities that expelled Chinese Americans also banned African Americans. This "Chinese Retreat" resulted in the concentration of that minority in Chinatowns in Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and a few other cities.

The Great Retreat was even more striking. Many counties drove out their black populations, usually following the lead of their county seats. In 1902, for example, Decatur, county seat of Adams County in northeastern Indiana, drove out its small black population. By 1920, all of Adams County had not a single African American. By 1930, even though many more African Americans now lived in the state, six Indiana counties had no blacks, while another 14 counties had fewer than 10. Sometimes the countywide "cleansing" process took decades. In 1906, a white mob in Greensburg, seat of Decatur County, 50 miles southeast of Indianapolis, rioted, tried to lynch a black prisoner, failed, and beat other African Americans. Black residents fled the town, but whites did not force them from the county; as late as 1920, the census counted 51 African Americans in Decatur County, but whites continued to intimidate them. At some point around **World War II**, Greensburg residents put up a typical sundown town sign that read, "Nigger, don't let the sun set on your back

in Greensburg,” only instead of “Greensburg,” it read “Decatur County,” according to a long-time resident. By 1960, not one African American remained in the county.

County and town statistics paint a dismal picture across the United States. Eleven counties in Montana had no blacks by 1930, and the proportion African Americans were of that state’s population fell from 1.1 percent in 1890 to 0.2 percent. In the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (UP), there were more than 400 African Americans in 1890. By 1930, although its white population had increased by 75 percent, the UP was home to only 331 African Americans, 180 of whom were inmates of the Marquette State Prison. Ironwood, the largest town in the western part of the peninsula, grew so racist that as recently as the 1960s, porters on passenger trains “experienced enough harassment . . . that they wouldn’t step onto the depot platform while the train was in the station,” in the words of the daughter of a track inspector for the Chicago & Northwestern Rail Road. While Oregon’s white population tripled in the four decades between 1890 and 1930, its black population remained constant, and 70 percent of them wound up in Portland, having been banned from Ashland, Grants Pass, Medford, Eugene, Tillamook, and other Oregon towns and cities.

The Great Retreat left large areas of the United States virtually barren of African Americans. Among these are the Ozarks, the Cumberlands, a thick band of sundown counties and towns on both sides of the Iowa-Missouri border, almost every town and city along the Illinois River except Peoria, most of western Oregon, a 4,000-square-mile area southwest of Fort Worth, Texas, and a V-shaped area encompassing more than six counties from Forsyth County, Georgia, north to the Tennessee line. None of these subregions became so white by accident. Consider the Ozarks. In 1890, Arkansas had no county without African Americans, and only one with fewer than 10. By 1930, three counties had none, and another eight had fewer than 10, all in the Ozarks. All 11 were probably sundown counties; six are confirmed. Polk County drove out its African Americans in 1901, for example; Boone (Harrison) in 1905 and 1909. By 1923, William Pickens saw sundown signs across the Ozarks.

The Great Retreat antedated and channeled the flows of the Great Migration. Like the concentration of Chinese Americans in big-city Chinatowns, the Great Retreat resulted in such huge black ghettos as Harlem, Cleveland’s Hough, the South Side of Chicago, and Watts in Los Angeles. The proportion of black Illinoisans living in Cook County, 26 percent in 1890, had risen to 76 percent by 1940, while among nonblacks, just 50 percent did so. Moreover, African Americans did not live across Chicago, but were concentrated in just two areas. At the same time that independent towns and counties were closing themselves to African Americans, so were many suburbs and city neighborhoods. The Index of Dissimilarity, “D,” used by social scientists to measure how segregated a city or metropolitan area is, ranges from 0 to 100. When $D = 0$, integration is perfect: every census tract has the same racial composition. A D of 100 represents complete apartheid: not one black in any white area, not one white in any black area. In 1860, the average Northern city had a D of 45.7—only moderately segregated. Southern cities were even less segregated spatially, with an average D of 29.0. After 1890, hostility ranging from

shunning to violence forced the involuntary retrenchment of African Americans from across many parts of the city to concentration in inner-city ghettos—an intra-city manifestation of the Great Retreat. Already by 1910, Northern cities averaged 59.2 and Southern cities 38.3. By 1940, at the end of the Great Retreat, Northern cities averaged 89.2, Southern cities 81.0. These are astonishing levels of segregation.

The retreat can also be seen in suburban areas. Most suburbs formed between 1900 and 1970. In many places—across the South, of course, but also as far north as Edina, Minnesota, and Dearborn, Michigan—developers had to get rid of African Americans, who already lived where the suburbs were going in, to create the white communities. Americans until recently took this for granted. In Minnesota, a Quaker village already existed where Edina was to be built. Quakers had welcomed African Americans after the Civil War, and many black families lived among them. “Over the ensuing decades,” according to Edina historian Deborah Morse-Kahn, African Americans “became very involved in community life—very often as leaders.” But after **World War I**, developers attached to all deeds for new homes racial covenants like this one:

No lot shall ever be sold, conveyed, leased, or rented to any person other than one of the white or Caucasian race, nor shall any lot ever be used or occupied by any person other than one of the white or Caucasian race, except such as may be serving as domestics for the owner or tenant of said lot.

Before Dearborn incorporated, among the 2,300 people living in Dearborn township in 1870 were 30 African Americans. Incorporated Dearborn’s 2,470 residents in 1920 included just one African American. And so it went, from Long Island to the suburbs of Los Angeles.

As with the Chinese retreat, knowledge of the Great Retreat was lost. Somehow, Americans came to think it “only natural” that mostly rural black Southerners would wind up concentrated in the inner cities of America’s largest metropolitan areas. Conversely, it seemed “only natural” that affluent stock brokers would subject themselves to a 70-minute commute from all-white enclaves in Connecticut and New Jersey to Wall Street.

African Americans never passively accepted the Great Retreat. Better records of racial incidents exist for Wyandotte, Michigan, than for any other community, owing to local historian Edwina M. DeWindt. She collected accounts of attempt after attempt by black workers and families to enter Wyandotte, then an independent city, now a suburb of Detroit. Again and again, whites drove them out. After 1968, when Congress passed what is commonly called the “Fair Housing Act,” African Americans met more success. Wyandotte’s black population rose from 0.04 percent in 1970 to 0.52 percent in 2000. Wyandotte’s experience is fairly general. Since 1970, African Americans have often encountered civility and sometimes even goodwill as they work to reverse the Great Retreat. *See also* Housing Covenants; Segregation, Residential; Segregation, Rural.

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James W. Loewen

Greensboro Four

In the mid-1950s, many people described Greensboro, **North Carolina**, as a unique place because it was seen as a symbol of racial reforms in the New South. However, the city was not different from other places in America where **Jim Crow** laws were enforced by adherents of racial segregation in public locations such as restaurants, dance halls, shops, cinema halls, schools, hospitals, and other public facilities. From the 1940s through the 1960s, as enforcement of Jim Crow laws intensified, black people were constantly kept from having the same access to public facilities as whites.

Jim Crow laws were enforced directly and indirectly all over America, but these race-based practices had a potent presence in the South. In Greensboro, black and white residents did not see Jim Crow laws the same way. For instance, many whites who were privileged by the institution of the racist laws wanted segregation to continue without any legal or social interruption. White merchants enforced the laws by enforcing segregated lunch counters, posting "White Only" and "Black Only" signs in public locations, while white city officials took a neutral position. Black people, on the other hand, wanted an immediate end to the racist tradition.

Four teenagers from North Carolina, David Richmond, Ezell Blair, Joseph McNeil and Franklin McCain, lived most of their life in Greensboro, where they were members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Wing in North Carolina during their high school days. The Greensboro Four, as they became known, witnessed most of these discriminatory practices in their community, especially when they traveled in public buses and visited public places within and outside Greensboro. Through their participation in the NAACP Youth Wing, they became well informed about the effects of Jim Crow laws on their lives, their family, and the black community. Therefore, they decided to take action when they were freshmen at North Carolina Agricultural College (now North Carolina Agricultural University and Technical State University).

Although some African Americans made efforts to desegregate lunch counters elsewhere in the country prior to this time, they were not successful. On February 1, 1960, the four college students started their journey to change how blacks and whites related to each other in public places. There were several places to challenge Jim Crow laws, but they chose Woolworth's, a national chain. The idea was that the success of their approach could create similar demonstrations desegregating Woolworth's stores across the country. According to Franklin McCain, Jim Crow laws in Woolworth's stores in Greensboro allowed black customers to purchase merchandise, but they could not eat with white customers sitting by the counters. Also, blacks could eat

while standing, and work as cooks, but they could not be employed as waitresses.

The Greensboro Four were successful in the **sit-in** movements partly because they employed nonviolent strategies. They were influenced largely by **Mahatma Gandhi's** nonviolent approach and by the examples that were laid down by **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and his followers. Also, the Greensboro Four were mindful of other freedom struggles in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world that fought against different forms of white oppression. For Joseph McNeil, the public protest was racially uplifting and a payment for manhood. To confront Jim Crow laws in a way that would generate white support and sympathy, the Greensboro Four demanded that other students who supported their movement for change adhered to a dress code—dress in suits and ties. The February 1, 1960, Greensboro movement continued for several months and drew more people from the community and nearby colleges such as Bennett College, Greensboro Women's College (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro), and several others. As these and many more students from Duke University, Wake Forest University, and several other colleges in the country targeted other desegregated facilities, Jim Crow laws started crumbling.

The Greensboro Four also gained support from the media as news of the sit-ins rippled across various towns and cities in America. Although the white media criticized the Greensboro Four for creating chaos in public facilities, black newspapers and liberal journalists gave their support to the student's movement. During this tumultuous period, other issues such as **World War II** and the **Cold War** between the 1940s and the 1960s created more problems for the U.S. government as it attempted to spread democracy in Europe and other parts of the world. These international events offered an opportunity for enemies of the United States to criticize the government for its double standards by attacking Jim Crow laws. The Greensboro Four continued their campaigns for desegregating lunch counters until July 26, 1960, when the Woolworth's store in Greensboro finally pulled down the White Only and Black Only signs. Although other merchants resisted desegregation for a fairly long time, Jim Crow laws collapsed around downtown Greensboro and other business centers in the area.

The grassroots student mobilizations triggered by Richmond, Blair, McNeil, and McCain did more than facilitate the demise of Jim Crow laws in Greensboro. Locally, in 1961 and 1962, Greensboro was chosen as the site for the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** and for further attempts to open other desegregated public facilities to blacks all over America. Nationally, the most far-reaching results of the confrontational tactics inspired by the Greensboro Four during the sit-ins contributed to the **1963 March in Washington**, the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, and the passage of the **Voting Rights Act in 1965**.

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Griffith, D. W. (1875–1948)

David Lewelyn Wark Griffith, known as “the man who invented Hollywood” and “the father of the motion picture,” was a pioneer in American cinema best recognized for his landmark epics *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916). Griffith was born on January 23, 1875, in Floyd’sfork (Crestwood) in Oldham County, Kentucky, to mother Mary Perkins Oglesby and father Jacob Wark Griffith. Griffith spent the first 10 years of his life on the family plantation “Lofty Green,” a childhood defined by the charismatic presence of his father, who embodied the lost virtues of the antebellum South. A cavalry hero of the Confederacy and two-term member of the Kentucky legislature, “Roaring Jake” regularly boasted of a noble heritage tracing back to the ancient kings of Wales as well as to the First Families of Virginia. Jacob Griffith’s untimely death in 1885 forced Mary Griffith to move her family to Louisville, where D. W. and four of his siblings subsisted on their mother’s scarce wages as the landlady of a boarding house.

Griffith’s professional career began as an amateur actor and stagehand, working in local theater. In 1897, he began acting (under the pseudonym Lawrence Griffith) with the Meffert Stock Company in Louisville. At the same time, Griffith tested his skill as a fiction writer, poet, and playwright, and earned a modest income selling some of his work to magazines. In 1907, a year after marrying fellow actress Linda Arvidson, his play *The Fool and the Girl*, produced in Washington, DC, was received with negative reviews and considered a failure, bringing Griffith’s career as a playwright to a halt.

In that same year when Griffith and his wife Linda were running out of revenue from *The Fool and the Girl*, the struggling playwright began selling stories to motion picture companies per the suggestion of his friend Max Davidson. Griffith was skeptical, since he was not very familiar with the form of film. As well, the so-called legitimate theater looked down on the motion picture industry as a crude manufacturer of mindless entertainment. Motion pictures became very popular around this time and, unlike theater, catered to a mass audience. Cheap, storefront nickelodeons playing single-reel silent films enabled even those without money and recent immigrants with limited English to partake in the moviegoing experience. Despite his skepticism, Griffith found enticing the possibility of earning a quick and fast five dollars for a simple film treatment.

Griffith pitched his first story to Edwin S. Porter at the Edison Company, the oldest and best-known motion picture company at the time. Recognizing it as a plagiarized version of Puccini’s opera *Tosca*, Porter rejected Griffith’s first script, but offered him an acting role as the hero in *Rescued from an Eagle’s Nest*. This experience marked Griffith’s formal entry into the movie industry, and within the year, he would begin to write and direct successful films of his own.

In 1908, Griffith started to work for Biograph Company and produced his directorial debut, *The Adventures of Dollie*. He soon became production chief at Biograph, writing and directing most of their films with great commercial success. During his tenure at Biograph, Griffith directed more than 400 short films, including his celebrated Civil War shorts. As a playwright earlier in his

professional career, Griffith's scripts revealed an interest in spectacle, lighting, epic storylines, large casts, and big budgets. With the trust of Biograph secured by his reputation of commercial success, he was able to experiment with these inclinations on film. In 1911 Griffith began by making the first American two-reeler, *Enoch Arden*. Two years later, he produced the first feature-length film, a four-reeler, *Judith of Bethulia*. However, before the film was released, tension between the company and the director over his creative and costly impulses prompted Griffith to leave, bringing with him a loyal stock company. Biograph released the picture a year later, securing the rights to all profits.

Griffith's desire to explore the use of big budgets, big sets, large casts, and more reels was met at Harry and Roy Aitken's Mutual Film Corporation, where the director was able to produce five-to-seven-reel flicks as the production chief of the Reliance-Majestic production company. It was at Majestic, the Los Angeles-based studio, that Griffith established Hollywood as the movie capital of the world. Griffith had actually discovered Hollywood while working with Biograph in the filming of *In Old California* (1910). Afterwards, other filmmakers flocked to the Los Angeles suburb for production. While working under the Aitken brothers, Griffith was well aware of the fact that with **World War I** raging across the Atlantic, the European film industry was suffering a curtailment. Griffith wanted to take advantage of this situation and launch the American industry into a position of predominance, both in aesthetic achievement and entertainment possibility. The official relocation of his production center from New York City (Reliance studios) to the West Coast marked the beginning of the modern movie industry.

It was while working with Reliance-Majestic that Griffith produced his most celebrated and most controversial film. A few years prior, Frank Woods had brought a treatment based on Thomas Dixon, Jr.'s, best-selling novels *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman* to Griffith's attention. The novels, which were eventually converted by the author into a highly successful play, featured propagandistic accounts of the South during **Reconstruction** and mythic portrayals of the **Ku Klux Klan's** birth and restitution of the nation to a place of racial segregation.

Enticed by the treatment, Griffith and Woods together began brainstorming ideas for the epic film that would span a record three hours in length and cost a little over \$100,000, a huge sum at the time. Despite its grand scale, no formal script for the film was ever written. Griffith explained that all that existed of the screenplay were scribbled notes on scraps of paper and the ideas gathered in the two writers' minds. Notwithstanding Woods's integral creative role in the production, he never received film credit.

From a formal standpoint, *The Birth of a Nation* is considered to be Griffith's most outstanding accomplishment. With this tour de force, Griffith developed a uniquely cinematic grammar of narrative film through dynamic editing, innovative lighting techniques and unique camera movement. Techniques including fade-ins, fade-outs, close-ups, tracking shots, the iris and mask shot, soft focus, split screen, and flashbacks, some of which Griffith experimented with in earlier films, came together in *The Birth of a Nation* to create an unsurpassed figurative and lyrical complexity. One of the most significant techniques developed in *The Birth of a Nation* is the use of

crosscutting, or parallel editing, in which an alternating juxtaposition of different points of view suggests multiple events happening simultaneously. This technique can also suggest a flashback, or prompt comparison of disparate scenes. Crosscutting has been classically used to create a sense of suspense or tension, as with a chase scene or last-minute rescue, two of Griffith's favorite motifs. Additionally, with *The Birth of a Nation*, Griffith developed a style of acting appropriate for the big screen, a style much more subtle than stage theater which at the time, partly due to the restraints of the form, required exaggeration.

While a remarkable formal accomplishment, *The Birth of a Nation* was also a highly racist film whose stunning iconography indelibly marked some of the most pernicious stereotypes of black people in the American public consciousness and contributed significantly to the climate of racial antipathy and violence of the **Jim Crow** era. In large part, *The Birth of a Nation* was responsible for the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. William J. Simmons, the orchestrator of the Klan's second incarnation (the first being in 1866), specifically referenced Griffith's film as the inspiration for his mission—all the way down to the now infamous Klan regalia.

Like the novels on which the film was based, *The Birth of a Nation* played into the looming "Negro Question" that vexed white Americans in all corners of the nation. Through his metaphorical deployment of virtuous maidens Flora Cameron and Elsie Stoneman, Griffith staged what he called a "ride-to-the-rescue on a grand scale," a ride to save a nation from "social equality," the film's euphemism for miscegenation and integration. Through the elaborate use of pageantry, spectacle, and the familiar imagery of blackface minstrelsy, *The Birth of a Nation* romanticizes plantation culture and instantiates the myth of the happy slave. Most detrimental of all, the film brings into vivid relief the myth of the black rapist, personified by two of the film's villains, Gus and Silas Lynch, played by white actors Walter Long and George Seigmann in blackface. The film's third villain, Lydia Brown, represented the equivalent of the black rapist: the hypersexed mulatta temptress who seduces radical Republican Austin Stoneman. This last stereotype flipped the script from the truth of white men's sexual exploitation and rape of black women to a story of white male victimization under the spell of the powerful and insatiable seductress.

Aware of the potential impact of such a motion picture, African American civil rights organizations rose up in protest against the film's release. When word of the film first reached the papers, the Los Angeles chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attempted to obtain an injunction against the film claiming that it would incite racial tensions that would lead to riots and therefore posed a threat to public safety. The injunction merely delayed the debut from a matinee to an evening screening. The NAACP filed similar injunctions in New York City, where the film was scheduled to debut at the Liberty Theater, and every city in which the film opened. In addition to legal action, the NAACP and other organizations staged protests in cities across the nation. One of the most aggressive protests occurred on Boston Common, where protestors managed to prevent a showing of the film from taking place. The NAACP's attempts to censor

the film were few and far between, but enough to prompt Griffith to write *The Rise and Fall of Free Speech in America* (1916), a defense of his film and free expression.

Despite protests, *The Birth of a Nation* became the most commercially successful movie up until that time, inaugurating the phenomenon of the Hollywood blockbuster. It became the first movie ever to be shown at the White House, screened privately for Woodrow Wilson, whose views on Reconstruction are quoted in the film. As well, even beyond its 44-week continuous run, it continued to tour the country over the next decade.

Griffith claimed not to know the controversial nature of his film and argued that it simply represented a view of history commonly understood by the American public. He would even deny claims that he was a bigot and assert that as a Southerner, he knew and appreciated the qualities of the race he grew up with so intimately. He avowed to critics that his choice of story, in the case of *The Birth of a Nation* and all of his films, has more to do with its dramatic potential than its particular message.

To his credit, his oeuvre suggests inconsistencies in his racial attitudes. For example, a series of Indian films produced in 1909—*The Mended Lute*, *The Indian Runner's Romance*, and *The Red Man's View*—and *Ramona* in 1910 depicted Native Americans as the unfortunate victims of white frontiersmen. While these played into the contemporary stereotypes that romanticized the “noble savage” and the natural environment, these stories sympathized with the Indian, and even glorified interracial relationships. Additionally, *The Rose of Kentucky* (1911) portrays the Ku Klux Klan as a villainous gang that persecutes a white plantation owner for refusing to join their ranks. Still, various interviews with Griffith, as well as the series of Civil War shorts he produced while at Biograph, suggest that the story of *The Birth of a Nation* had been brewing in his consciousness since his early days at Lofty Green.

Griffith's second tour de force, however, was in large part a response to the criticism of *Birth of a Nation* that continued to trouble him. The epic film *Intolerance* (1916) wove together tales of prejudice, hatred, and injustice from four historical epochs—ancient Babylonia, biblical Judea, the French Renaissance, and the modern Progressive Era. This film was an even grander and more elaborate production than *The Birth of a Nation*, and included a more radical use of crosscutting to tell all four tales in a nonlinear fashion. The film's avant-garde aesthetic, however, baffled moviegoers, leading to its commercial failure and the bankruptcy of Griffith's Triangle Studios.

Nonetheless, Griffith continued making films and in 1918 released *Hearts of the World*, *The Great Love*, and *The Greatest Thing in Life*, all films about World War I. After the war, Griffith began experimenting with subtlety, especially in acting and photography, and reduced his reliance on grandiose spectacle. *Broken Blossoms* (1919), a passionate and sentimental film depicting the tragically doomed love affair of a poor, abused Cockney girl and a fallen Buddhist immigrant from China, relies on close-ups, soft focus, and stylized lighting to create a dynamic emotional response.

In 1924, Griffith produced *America* and *Isn't Life Wonderful*, films about the Revolutionary War and World War I, respectively, both proved unsuccessful at the box office and signaled the beginning decline of Griffith's popularity,

success, and career. By this time, Griffith was mostly interested in his filmmaking as art, not as commercial enterprise, and this drove him into conflict with company partners as well as into debt. That same year, he left United Artists for Paramount Pictures, which gave him the money but not the independent filmmaker status essential to his artistic identity. The failure of *Sorrows of Satan* (1926) sent Griffith packing back to United Artists. There, he simply took assignments and lost the creative freedom he once enjoyed.

In 1930, Griffith produced his first talkie, *Abraham Lincoln*, a biographical sketch with some of his characteristic war action footage. Though not a huge success, the film was generally reviewed favorably. His next film about alcoholism, *The Struggle* (1931), lasted only one week in theaters and proved to be a disaster. This final film marked Griffith's withdrawal from the industry. After over a decade of obsolescence, Griffith was found dead in a Los Angeles hotel in 1948.

Before he died, however, Griffith was recognized in 1936 with the Honorary Academy Award for "creative achievements" from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Since then, he has been credited with taking the nascent motion picture industry to the level of art and a legitimacy that would dominate in the twentieth century. To this day, he is considered one of the most important film directors of all time whose creative influence has reached all corners of the globe. *See also* Black Hollywood.

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Danielle C. Heard

H

Haiti

Haiti was the second nation in the Western Hemisphere to achieve independence, having done so in 1804. The nation is unique given its culture and history and was ostracized soon after independence by the international community. To this day, it remains isolated; its French culture separates it from much of the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean, while its long separation from France and the slave rebellion that led to its independence allowed Haitian culture to evolve along a very different path from the rest of the French Caribbean. Despite these differences, however, Haiti did serve as an example to the enslaved peoples of the Atlantic world, and with the institution of slavery's decline, it continued to serve as an example to black peoples of the Western Hemisphere as an independent source of culture, to African Americans in the United States in particular.

Before its independence, Haiti was named Saint Domingue. As part of the French empire, Saint Domingue, along with other Caribbean islands like Martinique and Guadeloupe, was a prized possession. The colony produced more wealth per capita than any other French possession due to sugar cultivation on the island. The Caribbean has the perfect climate for sugar growth, as multiple crops could be obtained over the span of a year. Haiti also produced coffee, cotton, and tobacco for France, but its economy was overwhelmingly based on sugar production.

The French Revolution disrupted the colonial order throughout the French Caribbean and the Western Hemisphere, but only in Haiti did it produce a full-scale slave revolt that resulted in independence. The ideals of the French Revolution, which centered on the revolutionary concepts of liberty, equality, and fraternity, had a tremendous impact in Saint Domingue. The French revolutionary rhetoric revealed the hypocrisy inherent in the colonial relationship between France and Saint Domingue as well as the slave labor system on which Saint Domingue society was based. The social structure of Saint Domingue society was highly structured, with a small minority of white planters at the top, followed by poorer whites, termed *petit blancs*, followed by free people of color, and then slaves. All these different groups, with the exception of some of the great planters, could identify with the ideals of the French

Revolution, but what they thought those ideals should translate into in practice led to divisions on the island. Through a series of battles between and among these groups aided frequently by foreign powers, the largest group, the slaves, came to dominate the island.

By 1804, independence was clearly established, and the island officially adopted the name of Haiti. The wars necessary to establish independence had decimated Haiti's economy. While before the conflict it had been the most valuable possession in the French Empire, it would henceforth be one of the poorest nations in the hemisphere. The economy prior to independence had centered on sugar production based on chattel slavery. With the end of slavery, the seizure of plantations and the division of the former lands into small plots, former slaves turned to subsistence agriculture in order to feed their families rather than for market agriculture. This made sense to individuals who wanted their freedom and independence, but it transformed Haiti from a productive economy into an economy that resembled a medieval peasant society. Many Haitian rulers eventually turned to systems of forced labor to correct this economic problem, though it was never called slavery.

After independence, Haiti also had difficulties with the entire international community. While slavery was abolished on the island, much of the rest of the Western Hemisphere continued to have the practice and feared the example of the Haitian slave rebellion. Consequently, the United States failed to recognize the Haitian government despite the fact that it along with the United States for a period were the only two independent nations in the hemisphere. France failed to recognize the government until in 1833, when Haiti agreed to pay an enormous sum of 150 million francs to compensate French citizens for all the property lost during the Haitian Revolution. This kept Haiti in a colonial economic state, as it had to pay off a large debt precisely when its economy, based on subsistence farming, was least able to afford it. Nonetheless, the nation badly needed foreign recognition for international credibility, so it paid the remuneration.

Refugees fleeing the violence of the Haitian revolution found their way to the United States, often bringing their slaves with them. A large group eventually found their way to Louisiana, but Saint Domingue refugees fled to all areas of the Atlantic world. Southern supporters of slavery in particular believed the Haitian revolution pointed to the dangers slaves posed in all societies and called for harsher slave codes, increased slave patrols, and for an embargo on any slaves coming from the island, which some refugees did bring into the United States. Other American commentators pointed to the decrepit condition of the Haitian people after the abolition of slavery as proof that slavery was in the long-term interest of blacks as they were not fit to look after themselves. Abolitionists, in contrast, viewed the Haitian revolution and violence as a by-product of slavery that would occur wherever the institution existed. Today, it is believed by many historians that Haiti did serve as an inspiration to many revolts in the United States and elsewhere. Haiti officially supported abolition and gave support to Simón Bolívar and other independence leaders in Latin America who promised to end slavery there. Thus, Haiti served as a warning to many in the United States about the need for stronger

systems of control, lest violence erupt and as a consequence harsher slave codes emerged that would be the basis for later Jim Crow laws.

African Americans viewed the Haitian revolution in a far different light. They looked to Haitian independence as a positive good and a black achievement in the new world. Haiti gave many blacks in the United States and elsewhere a sense that New World peoples would be able to form a black nationality of their own, without recourse to African traditions from which they had been partially cut off. It was a place in which blacks could conceivably achieve equality whereas the United States continued to support slavery. Thousands of African Americans actually immigrated to the island over the course of the 1820s, though most would return as Haiti entered into another period of civil war. To be sure, the idea of Haiti as a positive example for others ignored the island's many shortcomings. Nevertheless, the establishment of a nation by black slaves was an achievement, which African Americans in the United States in particular could look to with some pride.

In 1806, Haiti divided for a period into two states. Violence proved to be endemic, and civil wars on the island lasted until 1822. Despite the removal of the large planter class, a hierarchical social system quickly reinstated itself on the island based in some part on racial elements. Those of lighter color had higher positions on the scale in general, though the system was far more fluid than in the United States or most other nations at the time. In the early twentieth century, the United States interceded in Haiti on a number of occasions. In 1915, it invaded the island outright, imposed a constitution, and began improving the infrastructure of the island. The U.S. presence inspired a guerrilla movement, which the United States countered by training a national guard, which would eventually intermittently rule the nation after the Americans left in 1934.

The example of Haiti was instrumental in the creation of stronger **black codes** in the American South over the course of the antebellum period. The example of a successful slave revolt and the creation of a sense of black nationality justified the fears of many whites, particularly in the South, of the dangers of the slave system. As a result, they instituted far harsher slave codes and systems of control, which would perpetuate long after slavery ended. Indeed, the presence of free black communities that could provide leadership to others of their race in both Haiti and in many areas of the Southern United States, like New Orleans and Charleston, was not lost on Southern whites. At the same time though, Haiti, despite its persistent problems since its independence, provided an example for African Americans that slave revolts could succeed and that blacks could participate in public life and develop a sense of black nationality. Haiti was an inspiration for both slaves and blacks throughout the Atlantic world.

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Michael Beauchamp

Hamer, Fannie Lou (1917–1956)

The granddaughter of slaves, civil rights pioneer Fannie Lou Townsend was born into a sharecropping family in Montgomery County, **Mississippi**, on October 6, 1917. She was the youngest of Jim and Ella Townsend's 20 children, and grew up facing the worst ravages of the **Jim Crow** South's discrimination. As an adult, she faced violence and economic ruin when she challenged Mississippi's policies of segregation and disfranchisement, but eventually emerged as one of the most forceful voices for freedom and equity during the **Civil Rights Movement**.

Fannie Lou Townsend began picking cotton at age six on a plantation in Sunflower County, where her family had moved when she was two, deep in the heart of the Mississippi Delta. While the county was predominately black, it was run politically and economically by a small number of powerful whites, most notably Senator James Eastland, who owned large tracks of land in the county and lived in the town of Doddsville. Sunflower County was so identified with the segregationist senator that it was often referred to as "Eastland's Plantation." On Eastland's Plantation, the segregated schools for black children were open only about five months of the year, in order to not conflict with cotton chopping and picking seasons. Townsend received only six years of formal education in her life, dropping out to help her family survive financially, and seemed to be relegated to the lot of most blacks in the Mississippi Delta, working for shares on white plantations.

In 1944, Townsend married Perry "Pap" Hamer, five years her senior, and the two moved to Ruleville, about three miles from the plantation where she had grown up. The two became tenants on the Marlow Plantation and began working for shares. The couple had no children of their own (she was sterilized by a physician in 1961 without her consent), but raised four adopted daughters. The Hamers lived and worked on the Marlow Plantation until 1962, when the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement made its way into the Mississippi Delta and changed Fannie Lou Hamer's life.

"I had never heard, until 1962, that black people could register and vote," recalled Hamer in a 1971 interview. But in the summer of 1962, she attended a mass meeting conducted by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) which included members of **SNCC**, **CORE**, **SCLC**, and the **NAACP**, designed to encourage black citizens of Mississippi to register and vote. The civil rights workers had found little success enlisting volunteers up to that point, as the combination of economic dependence on whites and threats of violence kept most local blacks from trying to register. Hamer, now 44, was inspired to challenge the system and volunteered along with 17 others to go to Indianola to try to register. Upon attempting to register, she had to list her place of employment and pass Mississippi's notorious literacy test. When she was unable to

give the registrar an acceptable explanation of the *facto* laws in Mississippi's constitution, she was told she had failed the test and could not register.

Fannie Lou Hamer's failed attempt to register to vote cost her both her job and her home, as her family was thrown off the plantation where they had lived and worked for 18 years for her challenge to white supremacy. Black-balled along with her husband from other plantations because of her actions, Hamer became a field secretary for SNCC, earning \$10 a week, while often having to live with friends or relatives. Her dedication and sacrifice inspired the young SNCC volunteers, most of whom were less than half her age. She became famous among them for both her bravery and her magnificent singing voice. In 1963, she was beaten mercilessly by police while returning from a voter education seminar, sustaining permanent kidney damage, but refused to yield. The following year, she was part of the founding of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), an interracial group that sought to inspire black Mississippians to register and vote, and to pressure President Lyndon B. Johnson and the national Democratic Party, which voiced support for civil rights, to deal with the contradiction of Southern Democrats who openly resisted civil rights legislation and barred black members from the party. Hamer even challenged Jamie Whitten in the Democratic primary for his congressional seat, allowing her to remark that in 1964, "I cast my first vote for myself, because I was running for Congress. The first vote, I voted for myself."

It was as a delegate for the MFDP that Fannie Lou Hamer emerged on the national stage at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The MFDP sent a delegation of 68 delegates (four of whom were white) to Atlantic City in an attempt to unseat the all-white regular Mississippi delegation, which opposed not only civil rights, but virtually all aspects of the Democratic Party's platform that year. Conversely, the MFDP argued that not only was it the only delegation from Mississippi open to all of its citizens, but that it heartily endorsed all the major planks of the national party. A number of other state delegations supported the MFDP, and the decision was made to allow the members of the MFDP to testify before the credentials committee to plead their case. It was in front of this committee that Hamer gave an emotional appeal to the committee and the nation, describing her beating by police in 1963, and closing by stating, "if the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hooks because our lives be threatened daily because we want to live as decent human beings, in America?"

A national television audience saw the beginnings of Hamer's testimony, but not its conclusion, because President Johnson called an impromptu press conference in an attempt to get her off the air. Johnson, while a supporter of civil rights, did not want any division at the national convention, which was poised to nominate him for election in his own right. He dispatched one of his lieutenants, U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, to broker a deal with the MFDP. A compromise was proposed where two delegates of the MFDP would be seated as at-large delegates, while the other 66 members of the MFDP would be treated as guests of the convention. The regular

Democrats would still be the official delegation from Mississippi, but a promise was made that in 1968, no delegation that discriminated upon race would be seated. A number of black leaders, including **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, Andrew Young, and Roy Wilkins, urged the MFDP to accept the settlement, but the delegation rejected it as an insult. As Hamer summed it up, “We didn’t come here for no two seats.”

Despite not getting what it wanted, the MFDP’s challenge did have wide-ranging effects. It forced the issue of voting discrimination into the national consciousness, helping to set the stage for the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**. It also changed the Democratic Party. As promised, all-white delegations were not allowed at the 1968 convention, but this was in part due to the defections of many Southern whites to the Republican Party as a result of the support for civil rights by Johnson. Finally, Atlantic City had made Hamer a major face of the Civil Rights Movement. In the wake of her performance at the 1964 convention, the uneducated former sharecropper toured Africa and spoke at colleges across the country. In 1968, she served as a delegate at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and was elected to the Democratic National Committee.

Hamer spent the bulk of the rest of her life working to improve the conditions for poor blacks in the Mississippi Delta. In 1969, she founded the Freedom Farm Cooperative back in Sunflower County to provide food for low-income people in the Delta, and she worked to have Head Start programs administered in the black communities of Mississippi. She again ran unsuccessfully for public office in 1971, losing a bid for the Mississippi state senate. She was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1976 and died the following year at age 59.

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Thomas J. Ward, Jr.

Harlan, John Marshall (1833–1911)

U.S. Supreme Court justice John Marshall Harlan was born in Boyle County, **Kentucky**, on June 1, 1833. His family was wealthy, politically connected, and slaveowning. Harlan’s father was a distinguished lawyer who served as a congressman. Harlan’s family standing allowed him to attend Centre College. Thereafter, he studied law at Transylvania University, graduating in 1853. He became active in politics as a Whig and, then, in other parties after the Whig Party splintered. Harlan became a county judge for a time before joining the Union army in the Civil War.

Although Harlan was an ardent Unionist, he believed in the legality of **slavery** so fervently that he threatened to leave the army if President Abraham Lincoln carried out the Emancipation Proclamation. However, he did not leave the service and, after the war, his views on slavery and rights for African

American changed dramatically. Harlan twice campaigned for the governorship of Kentucky; both attempts were unsuccessful. In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes nominated Harlan to the Supreme Court.

John Marshall Harlan served as a Supreme Court justice from 1877 to 1911. His 34-year career on the bench made him one of the longest-serving justices in the history of the Court. Harlan became known for his dissents from the majority opinions of the court, which totaled 361 in all. He was an independent jurist who interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment broadly, leading to impassioned pleas for justice in some of the most famous Supreme Court cases of the day, including the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

In the *Civil Rights Cases*, Harlan was disappointed with the majority of the Court that found the **Civil Rights Act of 1875** to be unconstitutional because the law went beyond the inherent legislative power of Congress. Vociferously voicing his sole dissent, Harlan decried the Court's holding as undercutting the intent of the post-Civil War amendments to the Constitution that sought to equalize the rights of all persons in the United States.

Another landmark case in which Harlan dissented was *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In this instance, Harlan again was the only justice to depart from the majority. He clearly believed that the court's "separate, but equal" standard as a matter of policy and practice would be at odds with the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection. His argument in his dissent for a "constitution [that] is color-blind" marked him as a legal light of hope in a decision that history looks upon with disdain. Presciently, Harlan thought that the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling would eventually be overturned, which it was fifty-eight long years later in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

Harlan is usually thought of a progressive figure on issues of civil rights and equal protections, but in many other cases, less well known than his famous dissents, Harlan registered no objection to the curtailing of rights for African Americans or other minority groups. A prime example of a step back was in *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899), where, writing for the Court, Harlan did not find any "clear and unmistakable" violations of equal protection and deferred to the state and local boards of education to make decisions about access to education. Yet, even with the above caveat, Harlan's erudite and impassioned opinions inspired civil rights pioneers, and his clear and unpopular judgments on controversial cases still have significance into the present day.

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Aaron Cooley

Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance was a flourishing of African American arts and intellectual life centered on Harlem, the predominantly black section of New York City. Music, dance, graphic art, literature, and history that celebrated

black American culture on its own terms flowered during the Renaissance. Beginning while blacks nationwide were experiencing the worst effects of **Jim Crow** and racism, the Renaissance expressed a rejection of the status quo. By the 1930s, during the **Great Depression**, black leaders and intellectuals increasingly focused on economic and political matters rather than the arts, and the movement declined. However, the Renaissance left a powerful legacy of literature, graphic arts, and music that would continue to influence the culture and identity of African Americans.

Scholars of the Renaissance disagree on the exact timeframe of the movement, but generally agree that it began in the years immediately after **World War I**, and ended by the mid-1930s. The war years had been a time of unprecedented black migration to the North, and Harlem became the center of the relatively small yet vibrant black middle class of New York City. Part of the impetus for the Renaissance came from the experience of black men from the New York City area in the First World War. Most of the soldiers from Harlem served in the all-black 369th Regiment, the “Harlem Hellfighters,” which had been “loaned” to the French army, where it performed heroically. The experience of a couple of thousand young black American men, serving far from Jim Crow and American-style racism, and the appreciation and brotherhood showed by the French soldiers and nation, left a strong impression on the veterans, and would later influence the confidence and cosmopolitan aspect of the Renaissance.

For most white liberals, particularly those from the New York City area, the Renaissance was a local phenomenon, a time when trendy whites ventured into Harlem to listen to recent imports from the South such as **jazz** and **blues** in mixed audiences at venues like the Savoy Ballroom or the Apollo. The compositions of J. Rosamond Johnson became widely popular. However, the Renaissance was a much larger and significant phenomenon. The Renaissance was international, with African American cultural influencing, and in turn being influenced by, black communities in the **Caribbean** and France. Jamaican-born poet Claude McKay’s *If We Must Die* (1919) became a powerful statement of identity and the refusal to accept a degrading status. Intellectuals such as **W.E.B. Du Bois** supported the Renaissance through his editorship of *The Crisis*. In his writings, he championed black intellectualism, and explicitly rejected **Booker T. Washington**’s policy of accommodation with white racism. The work of James Weldon Johnson in collecting folktales, as well as his novels and poems, documented a vibrant black culture that had been ignored or disparaged by most white scholars.

The Renaissance marked the maturation of a distinctly African American culture, more urban and secular than earlier black cultural trends. Rather than seeking to emulate the dominant white American cultural norms, African American literature and arts celebrated its distinctiveness. The movement was supported by leading black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. Leaders of the Renaissance were from the generations born after **slavery**, and while their work reflected the legacy of slavery, it also embraced a host of both older and newer cultural influences. Renaissance leaders sought to rediscover

the African origins of black culture, and incorporate Northern, urban, and foreign cultural influences.

The Renaissance did not end suddenly, but rather declined during the 1930s. Several prominent black intellectuals left Harlem and the New York City area, including Du Bois, Johnson, and **Langston Hughes**. The Harlem Riot of 1935, mostly an expression of economic desperation in the depth of the Depression, also took much of the glow off Harlem. However, the legacy of the Renaissance continued in the recognition of African American culture as a force on its own terms, while many of the leaders of the Renaissance laid the foundations for the **Civil Rights Movement** a generation later. *See also* Atlanta Compromise; Great Migration; Randolph, A. Phillip.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Health Care

One of the most devastating effects of discrimination during the **Jim Crow** era was the effect on the health care of African Americans. The combination of poverty and racism put black Americans, especially in the segregated South, in a precarious position regarding their health. Blacks were far more likely than whites to die of ailments such as tuberculosis (TB) and heart disease than whites in the Jim Crow South, because of both poor living conditions and the lack of available medical care. The malnutrition of poor blacks had a tremendous effect on their susceptibility to diseases like TB, and the lack of concern for black health from state governments kept those infected from receiving treatment. For example, while the black death rate for TB was three to four times that of whites in **South Carolina** in the early twentieth century, it took five years before the state TB sanitarium even admitted blacks, and it was not until the 1950s that blacks were admitted to the hospital on a par with whites.

In addition to exclusion from proper care, during the Jim Crow era, many African Americans, especially from poverty-stricken rural areas of the South, rarely sought professional medical care, even if it was available. Doctors were people one saw only when they were “really sick,” many believed, and hospitals were places where people went to die. Others refused to patronize physicians because of the cost involved. “I was really sick enough for a doctor, but I didn’t call one,” recalled one black Southerner. “They say they won’t come less you have money.” Poor people knew they could not afford proper medical care, and therefore did not seek it, resorting instead to patent medicines, folk healers, or unlicensed practitioners when they were ill. Because of both the lack of access and the unwillingness to seek professional medical care, “unknown causes” was a leading explanation for black deaths in many parts of the South well into the twentieth century, as so few African Americans in the South died in a physician’s care.

The use of homemade remedies and “conjure doctors” to supplement health care needs was a legacy of slavery that was still common in many black communities, especially in rural areas, during the Jim Crow era. Many rural blacks went through a type of “lay referral system” in attaining health care, first taking home remedies or patent medicines, then seeking the aid of friends and relatives before moving on to traditional healers, and only turning to the services of a professional physician when a condition persisted.

Midwives were also central to the health care system of African Americans in the Jim Crow era. Well into the twentieth century, the majority of black children born in many Southern states were delivered by midwives. Accessibility, cost, and tradition were the main reasons for the persistence of midwifery in the South. There were very few hospitals open to black patients in the rural South, and even if there was a hospital bed available, few Southern blacks could—or would—pay for a hospital stay for something as “routine” as childbirth. Midwives typically charged less than half of what physicians did to attend to a birth, and were usually more willing to accept payment in kind. The midwife, not the physician, was also the traditional birth attendant in Southern black culture. Many black women expressed a dislike for male physicians delivering their babies, preferring instead to have women attend to births. While a mother was in confinement, midwives also often performed numerous household duties, such as cooking and cleaning, that a physician would not be expected to do. In addition to delivering infants, midwives were often also called in to administer all types of health care—usually, but not exclusively, to women. One woman interviewed by sociologist Charles S. Johnson in the 1930s stated:

When I gets sick, [my husband] don't take me to no doctor. He'll buy medicine and bring it to me . . . Last time I was sick I had stomach trouble and he kept getting me medicine and I got worse, so he got me a midwife and she said my womb had fallen. She fixed it up and I got all right.

While traditional healers continued to care for many Southern blacks during the Jim Crow era, the desire by most Americans to be treated by professionally trained physicians increased dramatically during the early twentieth century. African Americans in the Jim Crow South sought care from white and black physicians alike, although most white physicians treated only those blacks who could pay their fees, while subjugating them to segregated service. “All of the white doctors and white dentists have separate waiting rooms for colored people,” recalled T. M. Bibbs of Cleveland, **Mississippi**. “Most of the time they work out all of the white people and then they get to the colored.” Physician Ranzy Weston remembered that similar practices were used by white physicians in **Georgia**. A white doctor, he recalled, “would see all of his white patients first and then he would see his black patients afterwards. In the meantime some patients did sit up and die; black patients.” While not all white practitioners treated their black patients poorly, Weston believed “white doctors would not give the same type of service to the black patients as they did to the white patients.”

While no public medical school in the South admitted African Americans before the 1950s, in the late nineteenth century, a number of institutions were

founded to train black doctors in the South. However, as a result of medical reforms, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, medical schools for African Americans in New Orleans, Louisiana, Raleigh, North Carolina, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Louisville, Kentucky, and Memphis, Tennessee, all closed their doors, leaving Howard University in Washington, DC, and Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, as the only institutions south of the Mason-Dixon line where African Americans could receive a medical education. While some medical schools outside of the South, most notably Harvard University and the University of Michigan, did accept a limited number of African Americans, up until 1969, Howard and Meharry together annually produced more than 50 percent of the nation's black medical graduates.

Black physicians often tried to exploit the lack of dignity and respect that white doctors showed African Americans as a means to lure those patients into their own offices. South Carolina's black medical leaders publicly criticized the state's African American population as late as the 1950s for "seeking aid from sources where segregated waiting rooms are not much more than broom closets with a few chairs." However, African Americans did have a host of legitimate reasons for choosing white physicians, despite the humiliations of segregated waiting rooms and Jim Crow care. Because of either discrimination or expense, black doctors often could not provide patients with the same services as their white counterparts, as white doctors usually had better-equipped offices with more modern facilities and medicines than did blacks. Some drug companies even refused to sell medicine to black physicians. Outside of Washington and Nashville, there were almost no black specialists in the South before the end of World War II, so African Americans who wanted and could afford specialized treatment had to go to white physicians.

Economic pressure also played a role in the decision of Southern blacks to choose white doctors. Many African Americans went to the doctor their employer told them to go, and, more often than not, white employers steered their employees to white physicians—especially if the employer was paying the bill. "Most of the people are in domestic service and their white bosses and mistresses influence them to use their doctors," bemoaned a black New Orleans physician in the 1930s. The economic pressure of the Jim Crow South that was used to keep blacks out of the voting booths and "in their place" therefore also aided white professionals in competition for the black dollar. White physicians, recalled Mississippi's B. L. Bell in 1939, had an advantage in soliciting black patients because white doctors "can work through the people that the Negroes work for."

Access to hospital care was another factor in African Americans' decision to patronize white doctors. Because black physicians were rarely allowed to treat their patients in Southern hospitals, African Americans often needed to have a white physician in order to receive hospital treatment, even though that treatment would most always be in a segregated, basement ward. "The rural Negro physician is simply unable to practice modern medicine," wrote Milton Roemer in 1949, because "when his patient needs hospitalization he is nearly always compelled to release the case to a white practitioner." Montague Cobb, the dean of black medical history and long-time editor of the *Journal of the National Medical Association*, concluded in 1947 that because of the

lack of facilities and professional opportunities, “the Negro doctor [in the South] tends to retrogress.” Black patients understood this, and therefore, according to Cobb, “the majority of Negro patients will seek medical attention from white physicians, whom they believe better, no matter how badly they are treated or even exploited.”

As a result of discrimination, violence, lack of opportunities, and the migration of Southern blacks from the region, by 1930, 40 percent of the nation’s 3,805 black physicians resided outside of the South, where 80 percent of the nation’s almost 12 million African Americans still lived, and the vast majority of those who remained in the South were located in urban areas. In rural states, the situation was most acute. Mississippi saw its number of black physicians decline from 71 in 1930 to 55 in 1940, and the bulk of those physicians were located in the cities; 56 of the state’s 82 counties had no black physicians at all. Even Southern cities saw a decline in their number of black physicians as the century progressed. For example, New Orleans, once a hub of the black medical community, saw the number of black physicians practicing in the city decline from 50 in the 1930s to only 16 by the mid-1950s.

Even if attended to by a white physician, African Americans were barred from many hospitals in the Jim Crow South, and most that admitted black patients usually did so only in segregated basement wards. In 1910, 30 percent of all hospitals in the South refused black patients entirely; in some states the exclusion rate was much higher. Some hospitals, moreover, regarded black patients, especially indigent ones, as training subjects for white interns and residents, contributing to black distrust of white-run health care facilities.

Excluded from most of the larger, better-equipped hospitals of the South, a number of African American physicians founded their own small, private hospitals and clinics to serve their communities and keep their patients from abandoning them for white doctors. These hospitals were often little more than clinics set up in physicians’ offices or homes, sometimes having only five or 10 beds. Unlike public or nonprofit hospitals, these institutions were often designed to generate income for the proprietor. Most of these small hospitals did not meet the minimum standards set by the American Hospital Association in the early twentieth century in regards to size, equipment, resources, or even cleanliness. Yet, in this time and place, these small clinics met a valuable need for both doctors and patients, especially in the more rural areas of the South. In some areas, in fact, they were the only hospital facilities for persons of any race for dozens of miles in any direction.

By the 1930s, more than 200 small, independent black-run hospitals had opened in the United States. Serving an impoverished clientele with little or no outside financial help, physicians constantly struggled to keep their small hospitals open. Many private black hospitals of the Jim Crow South did not prove to be the moneymaking ventures that their proprietors had initially hoped, but instead consumed not only the bulk of the fees collected but often the physician’s savings as well. Others, like the Burruss Sanitarium in Augusta, Georgia, prospered and grew during the early twentieth century. G. S. Burruss’s private hospital eventually had 27 rooms, modern equipment, and a staff of a dozen black physicians, making Burruss a wealthy man. Despite the fact that, unlike the Burruss Sanitarium, many of the proprietary hospitals

opened by black physicians were ill-equipped, poorly staffed facilities that survived only a few years, they represent an assault on the unjust exclusion of black physicians from white-run public and private hospitals, and serve as a striking example of the self-help mentality of many black physicians who made the tough choice to practice in the Jim Crow South.

In addition to small hospitals built and owned by physicians, African American organizations in some Southern communities built their own hospital facilities. Many of these hospitals were owned and run by fraternal organizations, churches, or independent boards. Two of the most successful black fraternal hospitals were located in the Mississippi Delta towns of Yazoo City and Mound Bayou. The first fraternal hospital opened for Mississippi's black population was the Afro-American Sons and Daughter's Hospital in Yazoo City. Fraternal hospitals provided both inexpensive medical care for the working classes, and private care—without the indignities of Jim Crow—for the black middle classes. Because of the success of society hospitals, a number of fraternal organizations built their own hospitals in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. In addition to those in Mississippi, there were black fraternal hospitals in **Arkansas**, **South Carolina**, and **Florida**. Arkansas alone had four such hospitals by the end of the 1920s, including the 100-bed facility of the Woodmen of the Union in Hot Springs. Other black-run hospitals were administered by black colleges and medical schools, some of which survived even after the medical school folded.

At **Booker T. Washington's** Tuskegee Institute, a hospital was established in 1892 to care for the school's faculty and students and to train black nurses. The hospital expanded after the appointment of John A. Kenney as director in 1902 and began serving the surrounding African American community as well. During the early twentieth century, the hospital was renamed the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital, in honor of the Civil War governor of Massachusetts, and became a center for the postgraduate training of black physicians in the Deep South.

Like Tuskegee, a number of the South's black hospitals also served as training centers for black nurses. These facilities filled a need for both young women looking for a career in nursing, and for physicians who desperately needed black nurses to aid them, as the caste system of the South strictly prohibited white nurses from working with—and taking orders from—black doctors. In Charleston, South Carolina, Alonzo B. McClennan proposed the establishment of a nurse training school in 1896 to Charleston's black medical community, which at that time consisted of six physicians and one dentist. With a great deal of community support, McClennan opened the Cannon Street Hospital and Training School for Negroes in 1897. The hospital and nurse training facility survived until 1949, when it closed because the 26-bed facility did not meet the state's new minimum patient load requirements for a nursing program.

With the aid of philanthropic organizations such as the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Duke Endowment, a number of all-black hospitals, or all-black wings to existing hospitals, were built in the South between the 1920s and 1960s. In Kansas City, Missouri, City Hospital #2 (City Hospital #1 was for whites) was opened exclusively for black patients in 1930, while across the

state in St. Louis, Homer G. Phillips Hospital was opened for blacks in 1937. In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the Kate Bitting Reynolds Memorial Hospital was opened in 1938 for the city's African Americans with both public and private funding. The construction of black hospitals, or the renovation of older hospitals for black patients, was seen by many whites and blacks as an answer to the hospitalization needs of the South's black community, the demands of black physicians for hospital access, and white insistence of racial separation. Many black leaders, however, deemed such facilities as "Deluxe Jim Crow," which only served to make discrimination more palatable to the general public.

Hospital care, even at all-black hospitals, was often an expense black Southerners could not afford in the Jim Crow South, however. Many physicians, white and black, therefore gave of their time and expertise to bring health care and education to African American communities at little or no cost. Some of the public health work done for the African American community was sponsored by private industry, black medical hospitals and schools, or philanthropic organizations, where physicians donated their time and services; still other doctors spent significant sums out of their own pockets in order to fill the glaring public health need of Southern black communities. Public health projects conducted by black physicians serve as a shining example of the self-help movement within African American communities during the segregation era, and is evidence of the desire of many physicians to reach across class lines to aid their less fortunate neighbors.

Booker T. Washington was one of the first African American leaders to understand fully the need for improved public health if Southern blacks were going to be able to lift themselves up and gain equal opportunity in American society. In conjunction with Howard University, the National Medical Association (the African American counterpart to the American Medical Association), the National Insurance Association, and the National Business League, Washington started National Negro Health Week at Tuskegee Institute in 1915 to raise consciousness to proper health care. Negro Health Week was patterned on a program begun in 1913 by the Negro Organization Society of Virginia called "Clean-up Day," which encouraged black communities to improve the sanitary conditions of their homes and schools. Clean-up Day was such a success that the following year, Hampton Institute president Robert Russa Moton sponsored a "Clean-up Week." By the 1930s, counties throughout the United States celebrated Negro Health Week every April, with lectures and demonstrations pertaining to health and sanitation concerns at home and school, and rallies designed to persuade local white health authorities to give more attention to their black citizenry. On the national level, special commissions were appointed in conjunction with Negro Health Week to study a number of diseases as they related to blacks, including a tuberculosis commission, a hookworm commission, and a pellagra commission. Support for the program was bolstered in 1921 with the sponsorship of the U.S. Public Health Service. Twenty years after its inception, Negro Health Week programs were conducted in over 2,000 communities, reaching over a million black families.

Churches were another vital element in the health care delivery system in black communities of the Jim Crow South, as African American churches were

much more than simply religious centers; they were often the center of black society as well. “The church has been the one place that black people had control of,” recalled Reverend William Holmes Borders of Georgia. “Black people never controlled the school. . . . The school belongs to the white folks. So they dictated its use, and you got turned down.” Black churches, however, were “always open.” Because the churches were always open to black physicians and nurses, whereas other public buildings—schools, hospitals, auditoriums, gymnasiums—were not, churches were a natural place to hold health clinics. They were not only large enough facilities to handle the need, but also symbols of black autonomy and self-reliance—owned and operated by the black community, free of white control. Black churches were also centers of communication, especially in the rural areas of the Deep South. In a time before **television**, among poor and sometimes illiterate populations without access to radios or newspapers, the minister was not only the mouthpiece of the Lord, but also the town crier. Ministers announced coming events, like health clinics, and encouraged their congregations to attend. Preachers often participated in health education as well, instructing their flock to get immunized, eat properly, and maintain a clean home. A church also had another great advantage as a community health center—everyone knew where it was located.

Church clinics were founded in many areas of the Jim Crow South. In 1907, physicians from Washington, DC’s Medico-Chirurgical Society opened a free dispensary clinic at the 19th Street Baptist Church. Twelve physicians, along with two dentists and two pharmacists, donated their time to the clinic. The White Rock Baptist Church of Durham, North Carolina, opened a health clinic at its community center in conjunction with the city health department in 1939. The next year a similar program was begun in Jackson, Mississippi, when the Galloway Memorial Church opened a community center in a cottage on its property. A small room was added to the center, and a retired physician donated his office equipment for a health clinic, which was conducted every Wednesday morning for the local community. The state board of health provided a public health nurse, and local black doctors donated their services. Children received free examinations and vaccines at the church clinic, and one day a month was dedicated to prenatal care for expectant mothers.

In addition to free treatment, many African Americans during the Jim Crow era paid for their health care through a variety of methods known as contract medicine. Contract medicine represented any one of a number of agreements that physicians entered into to treat groups of people for a fixed price. Sometimes these were prepaid arrangements; at other times, flat rates were assessed to members of the group for certain medical treatments and procedures. Insurance companies, fraternal and benevolent societies, private clubs, factory and shop organizations, and even some plantations made health care provisions for their members and workers, and physicians competed for the often lucrative contracts to serve these clients. Black physicians in particular saw contract medicine as a means both to build a reputation and secure a steady income. While contract medicine was openly denounced by most American physicians and medical associations, physicians of all races participated in different forms of contract service in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The most common form of contract medicine entered into by African Americans in the Jim Crow South was through fraternal and benevolent societies. Many of these societies were sponsored by local churches, while others were fraternal, neighborhood, or even drinking clubs. New Orleans, for example, had African American benevolent societies as far back as the eighteenth century, but in the immediate post-**Reconstruction** era, they became an integral part of life in black New Orleans. While these clubs provided benefits only for those who were able to pay their dues, it was estimated that as much as 80 percent of the city's population belonged to such groups in the late nineteenth century. Outside of churches, more black New Orleanians belonged to benevolent societies in the early twentieth century than to any other type of voluntary association.

Many of the medical services benevolent societies provided to black communities in the South were eventually replaced by industrial insurance agencies. These companies provided benefits similar to those of fraternal organizations, affording limited protection against sickness, accident, and death, usually for a weekly premium. As African Americans were typically unable to afford ordinary life insurance policies, and white companies were unwilling to insure them at the same rates as whites, the insurance industry created an opportunity for black entrepreneurs. One of the forerunners in the industrial insurance industry was the Sun Mutual and Benevolent Association, organized in the 1880s by J. T. Newman and Constantine Perez in Louisiana. It provided the services of a physician, supplied pharmaceuticals, and offered a burial contract to members. Joseph Hardin ran the Metropolitan Relief Association in New Orleans. Along with Hardin, the Metropolitan employed three other physicians who treated patients for a weekly assessment of 15 cents. The company also had contracts with six drug stores that provided its members with pharmaceuticals.

While prevalent in urban areas, contract medicine was by no means limited to the cities. Plantations were the most common areas that physicians formed contracts for service in the rural South. Carter Woodson found that "Occasionally a Negro physician may be engaged by a rich man to visit his tenants on his plantation from time to time." Daisy Balsley recalled that her father, Robert Fullilove, "did a large plantation practice" in the area around Yazoo City during the early twentieth century. "Those who could bring their patients in from the farms did so," she remembered, but he had to go out to the plantations to treat those who were unable to make it to town.

Throughout the Jim Crow era, black leaders fought for both an end to segregated medical facilities and to improve health care for African Americans. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Medical Association led the charge for change, agitating governmental bodies and the American Medical Association to desegregate, and by bringing lawsuits to enforce desegregation. In 1963, the federal bench handed down the landmark case in the fight for hospital integration in *Simkins v. Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital*. It took the enforcement of the Simkins case, along with the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, to finally bring integration to the South's hospitals. Between 1964 and 1970, most Southern hospitals accepted the integration of both black patients and staff without the application of

federal sanctions. Along with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, another major incentive for southern hospitals to integrate was the advent of Medicare in 1965. This federal program, part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, provided financial support to hospitals for the medical care of elderly patients, costs that had previously often gone uncompensated. In order to qualify for Medicare funding, however, hospitals were required to abide by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which forbade the **federal government** from allocating funds to any institution which discriminated on the basis of race, creed, or national origin. Providing the carrot to the Civil Rights Act's stick, Medicare funding helped sway the last segregated hospitals into compliance with the law by the end of the decade. *See also* Folk Medicine; Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment.

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Thomas J. Ward, Jr.

Hispanics/Latinos

The colonial and historical legacy of Hispanic Latin America is quite different from that of British North America. One key aspect of difference between these two regions pertains to the frequency of **miscegenation**, or sexual relations between persons of different, socially defined races. Miscegenation clearly occurred in North America; however, it occurred far more extensively in Latin America and the Hispanic Caribbean. Persons of Latin American descent are, to varying degrees depending upon the social history of the specific nation in question, a blend of European, African, and Amerindian ancestry. This heterogeneous ancestry is evident in the wide range of physical and phenotypic diversity amongst Latinos. Secondly, the concept of "race" is quite different in Latin America from that of North America. Race in North America is often assumed to denote a person's biological descent, and for centuries, the "**one-drop rule**" of *hypodescent* determined a person's racial classification in the United States. In many parts of Latin America, however, a person's race is not based on biological ancestry but rather overall physical appearance, such as specific skin complexion and hair texture. As a result, many labels exist to describe a person's "race" in Latin America that do not exist in the United States. Nevertheless, upon their migration to the United States, Latin Americans confronted a white-black racial dichotomy that, for the most part, viewed "races" as clear-cut and mutually exclusive. This discrepancy serves as an important basis for the varying experiences with racism that have Latinos encountered in American society. Lighter-complected Latinos found assimilation and socioeconomic incorporation into the dominant, mainstream Anglo-American society much more easily than darker-complected Latinos, whose physical appearance served as a visible

marker of social difference and a basis for exclusion in a racialized American society.

Mexican Americans

Mexican military defeats in the Texas Revolution of 1836 and the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848 crystallized the American ideology of Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy, a worldview that interpreted the enslavement of Africans, destruction of Indians, and conquest of Mexicans as part of a preordained natural order. As a result of the Texas Revolution, Mexican-American War, and 1853 Gadsden Purchase, the United States annexed the present-day states of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Nevada, Colorado, and parts of Utah and Wyoming. This annexation brought Anglo settlers into contact with the Spaniards, Mexicans, and American Indians already living in these territories. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Anglo settlers in California regarded Mexicans as racially inferior “half-breeds” due to their indigenous and African ancestry. Racist stereotypes of Mexicans in the Southwest derived, in large part, from white contempt of Mexicans’ Amerindian heritage and alleged “mongrelization.” In early twentieth-century California, public schools implemented assimilation-oriented Americanization programs in effort to “de-Mexicanize” children. Schools often forbade children from speaking Spanish or bringing Mexican foods to school, stressed dominant Anglo-Protestant values while denigrating Mexican heritage, and prepared Mexican students for a life of manual labor. During the age of “scientific racism,” ushered in by the advent of intelligence testing in the early twentieth century, Mexicans in southern California became associated with a natural propensity towards crime. A 1943 report from the Los Angeles Sheriff’s Department claimed that Mexicans were innately violent and criminal because of their indigenous ancestry, since the Aztecs of central Mexico had practiced human sacrifice.

Mexicans’ racial classification and positioning within the racialized U.S. society during the first half of the twentieth century proved problematic and contradictory. The 1930 census officially designated “Mexican” a race, but the 1940 census counted Mexicans as white. U.S. courts have historically ruled that Mexicans were “white,” and the **federal government** in the mid-twentieth century officially counted Mexicans as “white.” However, there was a sharp disconnection between Mexicans’ *legal* classification as “white” and their social treatment. Despite state recognition as *white*, the general American public socially regarded Mexicans as *nonwhite*. During the so-called **Zoot Suit Riots** of June 1943, for example, white military servicemen attacked and severely beat Mexican American youth in Los Angeles with near immunity, as police primarily targeted Mexican Americans for arrest. Anti-Mexican discrimination in the forms of police brutality, racial profiling, substandard schooling for Mexican American children that prepared them for a life of low-wage, physical labor, and stereotypes of Mexicans as “dirty,” “lazy,” “cowardly,” “criminal-prone,” “violent,” and “hypersexual” became commonplace in the Southwest during the early twentieth century.

The contradictory and ambiguous status of Mexicans and Mexican Americans was reflected in U.S. immigration policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 barred immigration from China, and the Immigration Act of 1924 established quotas to severely restrict immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. The 1924 law also eliminated virtually all immigration from Asia. A primary goal of the 1924 Immigration Act was to preserve the United States as a predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant society. However, Mexicans were exempt from the quotas, and no serious efforts were implemented to restrict Mexican immigration. As a result, immigration from Mexico increased throughout the 1920s, but during the **Great Depression** of the 1930s, roundups and deportations of Mexicans became common in the Southwest, as Mexicans came to be seen as unwanted competitors with Anglos for scarce jobs and governmental assistance. During **World War II**, hundreds of thousands of contract workers from Mexico, known as *braceros*, entered the United States to fulfill so-called labor shortages in the Southwest and Midwest. However, another massive deportation campaign began in 1954 when the unemployment rate in the United States almost doubled. During “Operation Wetback” of the 1950s, over three million Mexicans were deported or persuaded to leave the United States and return to Mexico. Many of those deported were male heads of households who left behind wives and children in the United States, and those deported included U.S. citizens and legal residents, as well as undocumented immigrants. Authorities customarily stopped “Mexican-looking” persons and demanded to see proof of citizenship or legal residency. If people could not prove this on the spot, they were apprehended. Large-scale deportations proved ineffective against illegal immigration from Mexico in the long run, however, because of high employer demand for low-wage undocumented workers in the Southwest.

Mexican Americans responded to anti-Mexican racism with different and opposing philosophies throughout the twentieth century. From the 1920s through the 1950s, for example, Mexican American civil rights organizations often promoted a strong assimilation-oriented agenda as a means of securing full social, economic, and political incorporation into American life. A desire to obtain whiteness factored prominently into this assimilation philosophy, and Mexican American leadership at the time expended great energy, advocating the idea that Mexicans were a white ethnic group (along the lines of Irish and Italian Americans) rather than a nonwhite minority. Organizations advocating such viewpoints overlooked the indigenous and African components of Mexican heritage in favor of Castilian/European roots, and proponents of this “Mexicans-are-white” doctrine themselves often internalized negative stereotypes of *mestizo* (mixed Amerindian and European ancestry) and “Indian-looking” Mexicans. Advocates of this philosophy commonly adopted anti-black prejudices as well, viewing African Americans as less intelligent and expressing support of white-black racial segregation. Such views were not characteristic of all Mexican Americans at the time. Rather, members of the primarily light-skinned, middle-class Mexican American community, which was relatively small in size, most commonly held these views.

During the 1960s, militant Mexican American youth openly rejected a white identity. In its place emerged a new, nonwhite *Chicano* identity that emphasized the importance of *mestizaje* (the mixed racial ancestry of the Mexican people) and *indigenismo* (a strong emphasis on **Native American** heritage). Chicanos refused to accept commonplace anti-Mexican discrimination and launched their own efforts to combat mistreatment and social inequality. These efforts included protesting against substandard quality schools in Chicano communities, **police brutality**, and the Vietnam War.

Puerto Ricans

The United States acquired Puerto Rico in 1898 at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, and the Jones Act of 1912 conferred U.S. citizenship upon all residents of the island. The result of the Jones Act was that all Puerto Ricans were free to move to the mainland United States without immigration restrictions. Shortly after the island came under U.S. possession, Anglo capitalists in Hawai'i recruited Puerto Ricans to work in the sugar cane industry. Many Puerto Rican males already had experience as sugar cane cutters and were already accustomed to the tropical climate as natives of Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans worked alongside Anglos, Japanese, Chinese, and Portuguese immigrants. Employers segregated their workers' living quarters and compensated workers differently on the basis of nationality, to impede collective unity amongst the workforce.

After **World War I**, Puerto Ricans began migrating to the continental United States in significant numbers, and during the 1940s, sizable Puerto Rican enclaves emerged in the urban Northeast, particularly in New York City, Philadelphia, and southern New Jersey. The influx of Puerto Ricans to the mainland United States was prompted by the recruitment of Puerto Rican workers to fill labor shortages in key industries such as manufacturing and agriculture during **World War II**, and government officials in Puerto Rico encouraged migration to the mainland as a way of reducing overpopulation and unemployment on the island. However, some local government officials expressed concern over the recruitment of Puerto Rican workers into their communities and preferred Mexican and other immigrant workers instead. As foreign-born contract workers, immigrants could be deported when their employment ended. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, were U.S. citizens and not subject to deportations or forced removal from communities.

Shortly after World War II ended, Puerto Rican migration to the mainland United States increased dramatically as a result of improved, cheaper airline transportation and the postwar economic boom in the United States. In the 1950s and 1960s, Puerto Ricans continued to migrate to the large urban areas of the Northeast, while others settled in newer areas, including upstate New York, New England, the Midwest, and the heavily agricultural areas of Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, and Adams counties in southeast Pennsylvania. A sizable Puerto Rican community developed in Chicago during this period, but the largest Puerto Rican enclave emerged in East Harlem, New York. In 1958, New York City held its first annual Puerto Rican Parade. Philadelphia's

first Puerto Rican Parade was held in 1964, and Chicago held its first such parade in 1966.

However, Puerto Ricans encountered prejudice, discrimination, and negative stereotypes in their various communities of settlement. In New York City, informal practices of housing segregation often produced adjacent Puerto Rican and African American neighborhoods that resulted in joint experiences with employment discrimination, poverty, poor-quality schools, and racial inequality. Tensions between Puerto Ricans and whites in Philadelphia resulted in a barroom brawl that escalated into a street riot in July 1953. In Chicago during the 1950s and 1960s, police arrested several Puerto Rican residents for trivial offenses such as standing on street corners, and a Puerto Rican community organization lobbied Chicago mayor Richard Daley to address the commonplace police brutality against Puerto Ricans in the city. A white police officer's shooting of a Puerto Rican man incited a three-day riot in Chicago during June 1966 in which protestors squared off with police and burned white-owned businesses. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover resorted to blatant racial stereotyping of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans by stating that neither group was effective at using guns, but both were dangerous with knives.

The controversial but influential "culture of poverty" studies produced by a few high-profile sociologists and anthropologists in the 1960s focused primarily on Puerto Ricans and African Americans. The "culture of poverty" framework attributed conditions of poverty and unemployment among Puerto Ricans and African Americans to allegedly flawed and pathological group values such as "laziness" and "welfare dependency," rather than structural conditions such as deindustrialization, low-quality schools, and the effects of racial discrimination on education, employment, health, and housing. In public perception, "culture of poverty" studies legitimized racial stereotypes by presenting Puerto Ricans and African Americans (instead of social inequality) as "problems" for mainstream American society.

Cubans

U.S. governmental policy toward Cubans contrasted sharply with that toward Mexicans and Puerto Ricans and must be understood within the context of Cold War-era geopolitics. Following Fidel Castro's rise to power on January 1, 1959, after overthrowing Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, Castro established Cuba as a Marxist-Communist society, jailed or executed many who politically opposed him, and sought to align himself politically and militarily with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union represented the United States' primary geopolitical rival at the time, so U.S. anti-Castro policies and activities were intended to thwart Soviet encroachment in the Western Hemisphere and to prevent the spread of Communism throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. War between the United States and the Soviet Union was narrowly avoided in October 1962, after the U.S. government discovered that the Soviet Union was placing medium-range missiles in Cuba.

The **federal government** of the United States, as well as state and local governments, provided generous financial aid and other assistance to Cuban exiles fleeing Communism. These benefits included free transportation to the United

States, small business loans to Cuban entrepreneurs, the first-ever federally funded bilingual education programs for Cuban children in south Florida schools, cash assistance to the needy, job recertification for professionals, and employment in anti-Castro operations within the Central Intelligence Agency. Although Cubans were legally classified as *refugees* rather than *immigrants*, no other national-origin group entering the United States had ever received such extensive government-sponsored benefits. Consequently, Cubans became the most successful first-generation newcomer population in American history.

Despite the U.S. government's staunch support of Cuban refugees, the perception of Cubans among Americans living in south Florida soon turned negative, as Cubans faced growing resentment from both Anglo and African Americans. As the number of Cuban-owned businesses in Miami-Dade County grew and Cubans became concentrated in many middle-class, professional occupations, many Floridians came to view the Cuban refugees as "too successful." To many African Americans, U.S. policy towards Cubans illustrated poignantly the hypocrisy of **Jim Crow** America. Although Cuban refugees in the early to mid-1960s found themselves entitled to a host of benefits, African American citizens still experienced racial segregation and social inequality. **Malcolm X** pointed out this contradictory treatment in his autobiography.

As the Cuban population increased dramatically, the presence of Cuban culture in the form of language, music, food, dance, and arts became more commonplace throughout Miami-Dade County. The rapid growth of the Spanish language, in particular, alarmed many citizens, as it symbolized the Cuban presence and was seen by some as representing a "Latin takeover" of Miami. Years later, these sentiments culminated in the passage of an English-only language referendum in Miami. Furthermore, the influx of Cubans into south Florida influenced the nature of local race relations. Although most Cubans living on the island are of at least partial African descent, the majority of Cuban refugees during the early to mid-1960s were middle-class or upper-class, light-skinned, white persons. Thus, conflict between African Americans and Cubans over access to resources, political power and representation, and the distinct treatment of Cuban and Haitian refugees by the U.S. government often took on the apparent dimension of racial conflict. *See also* Asian Americans.

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Justin D. García

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

The term "historically Black colleges and universities," or "HBCUs," became a descriptor for what had previously been termed "Negro" or "black"



History class at the Tuskegee Institute, 1902. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-64712.

colleges. Colleges thus designated were institutions that existed prior to 1964, and were established specifically to educate African American students. Prior to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, most states with a substantial black population and **Jim Crow** laws maintained at least one “Negro college” or other institution for educating black residents beyond the high school level. The existence of such schools fulfilled, at least in theory, the “**separate but equal**” doctrine. The first Negro colleges were established for generally benevolent reasons in the decades after the end of slavery, but many became bulwarks of Jim Crow, both through their existence as “separate” institutions and through their curricula, which tended to prepare black graduates for the occupations deemed suitable for blacks by white-dominated society. At the same time, Negro colleges became centers of black middle-class respectability and intellectual identity in the South. Students at black colleges often established lifetime networks of mutual support.

Most of the first black colleges were founded without a specific categorization of higher education, and many continued to maintain secondary educational programs as well as collegiate programs throughout their existence. Modern HBCUs offer a wide assortment of programs, from junior colleges to full universities with medical and business schools. The **federal government** recognizes 110 HBCUs. Other modern colleges with a predominantly black student body exist, but they either were founded after 1964, or were formally white colleges that have experienced a demographic shift in their student body.

Most black colleges existed in the South, where Jim Crow laws prevented black students from attending college with whites at either public or private schools. However, a few black colleges existed outside of the South, such as Wilberforce University in Ohio and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. In general, private black colleges were usually founded or largely supported by Northern-based church groups during Reconstruction, whereas public black colleges were usually founded after the establishment of Jim Crow, specifically to thwart legal challenges to all-white public colleges. Some colleges were established from genuine grassroots efforts, such as what became Grambling State University, where black farmers in northern Louisiana created a college for their children. However, Grambling, like some other private black colleges, was eventually absorbed into the state system.

While the establishment of black colleges by states fulfilled the “separate” clause of the “separate but equal” doctrine, black public colleges were funded far below the level of white public colleges and so failed to maintain the “equal” clause of the doctrine. Black colleges were additionally handicapped by the poor primary and secondary education provided for black students at most segregated public schools. But as the ratio for seats for black students at black colleges was far lower than that for white students at white colleges, many black colleges were able to be somewhat selective in their admissions and to maintain a high quality of graduates.

Most black colleges followed **Booker T. Washington’s** model, and focused on subjects that were immediately practical for blacks, such as agriculture and home economics, rather than liberal arts or the sciences. Educating primary and secondary teachers soon became a major role for many of the schools. With the declining acceptance of Washington’s ideas in the 1950s, as well as the rapidly declining percentage of African Americans involved in agriculture, black colleges began shifting toward liberal arts, social work, and business. Black public colleges usually had mostly black administrations and faculty, but many private colleges had white faculties and administrations. Increasingly, private colleges came under pressure from students and alumni to employ greater percentages of blacks in faculty and administrative roles. Howard University in Washington, DC, generally considered to be the most prestigious of the black colleges, received its first black president in the 1920s, but other colleges would take much longer.

The *Brown* decision forced public and private colleges to end racial segregation. Negro colleges were increasingly called historically black colleges and universities. The new term reflected the post-*Brown* reality, as the formerly black colleges accepted students from any ethnic group, while not forgetting their origins as schools for blacks. While the efforts to desegregate previously all-white colleges such as the University of **Alabama** and the University of **Mississippi** received wide publicity, the integration of formerly black colleges passed with little notice. More significant were the efforts of black colleges to be integrated into state university systems. The case of *Geier v. Tennessee* dragged on from its initial filing in 1968 until its conclusion in 2001, when a federal district court ordered the state to dismantle its de facto two-race system. The desegregation of mainstream universities had the ironic effect of

weakening many HBCUs. Top black academic achievers and student athletes were increasingly recruited by formerly all-white colleges. Some HBCUs have been successful in recruiting significant numbers of non-African American students, while others find competing for students more problematic, as a century of financial neglect and the legacy of Jim Crow left a stigma of inferiority for HBCUs. However, most have built on their legacy and have adapted to the competition from mainstream universities, carving out new niches in higher education. *See also* Vocational Education.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Homosexuality

While homosexuality has almost certainly been a feature of African American life since Africans first began arriving in the New World, severe social stigmas and legal restrictions against homosexual behavior has made the early history of African American homosexuality difficult to document. Those records that do reveal evidence of African American homosexual behavior prior to the early twentieth century largely consist of legal records documenting the punishment of African Americans who violated laws against homosexual behavior or come from black newspapers and magazines carrying editorials and articles lamenting the practice and warning readers to avoid such behavior at all costs.

African American society has typically had a very negative view of homosexuality, and of black homosexuality in particular. A great deal of this negative attention can be attributed to African American participation in mainstream American opinion regarding homosexuality, which has historically been anti-gay and has begun to change only slowly in the past few decades. The black church, a central feature in the lives of many African Americans, has historically been especially prone to siding with anti-gay sentiments in mainstream religious culture.

However, some aspects of African American disapproval of black homosexuality reflect concerns and anxieties not shared by mainstream culture, and which are specific to the history of racial inequity in the United States. One such element can be found in white antebellum attitudes about black gender and sexuality, which routinely categorized blacks as inferior to whites based partially on their perceived deviation from idealized white gender norms, a belief commonly used in arguments for the defense of slavery. This assessment, which had proponents in popular and scientific circles, feminized black men on account of their dependence on white slaveholders and their supposed lack of self-control, while attributing features of masculinity to black women on account of their capacity for hard labor. In the years following emancipation, African American men and women were eager to escape these

demeaning interpretations, and, as a result, often found it difficult to accept other African Americans who seemingly confirmed such stereotypes on account of their sexual identity.

Other elements of African American opposition to black homosexuality stem from concerns that public awareness of black lesbians and gay men would undermine the cause of movements for black social and civil rights by linking or affirming racist or homophobic stereotypes like sexual immorality, crime, and moral degradation to the causes of African American activists. A further contribution to African American intolerance for black homosexuality can be found in the widespread belief that homosexuality, and gay male homosexuality in particular, is a characteristic limited to whites, an idea that early organizations for gay rights inadvertently helped to create and sustain through their reluctance to incorporate African Americans in the public eye or into positions of leadership.

The Great Migration

As a result of these many barriers, gay African Americans have often found it difficult to live openly. This first began to change in the 1910s and 1920s, with the **Great Migration**. As African Americans began to move away from the rural South and into urban areas, gay black men and women began to find the economic and social freedom they needed to begin forming communities and publicly embracing their identities. This was especially true in Northern cities such as New York, Chicago, and Detroit. For many homosexual African Americans, participation in these communities provided the foundation for the development of a sense of self that was both equally gay and black, a complicated dual minority identity that many gay African American men and women continue to have a difficult time maintaining.

While this process would have been a liberating one for almost everyone involved, it was particularly freeing for black lesbians. While closeted gay black men had generally been able to survive as single men, economic opportunities for black women in rural and small-town America were even more limited than those faced by black men. While some African American lesbians proved able to pass as male in order to adopt similar lifestyles or to pursue romantic interests, many others were typically forced by circumstance into heterosexual marriages in order to keep up financially. The increased economic opportunity offered by cities allowed many black lesbians to escape this predicament.

With the growth of urban communities for gay African Americans came the establishment of public and private spaces for gay men and women. While some of these spaces were patronized almost exclusively by either whites or blacks, many others were integrated to at least some degree. For gay black men, popular locations included bars, bathhouses, theaters, drag balls, and dance clubs. Bars and clubs for lesbians were also established in these cities, but were frequently less likely to welcome African American patrons. As a result, many black lesbians began hosting gatherings in a more private setting such as a home, speakeasy, or rented hall.

The Harlem Renaissance

The migration of gay and straight African Americans to cities and the formation of strong black communities allowed for more than increased opportunity for gay black men and women. This process also allowed for the formation of a strong community of black artists, writers, and intellectuals. The best-known community of this type formed in Harlem, New York, and produced the artistic and literary movement now known as the **Harlem Renaissance**. This flowering of African American arts and culture proved especially open to gay black men and women, many of whom contributed significantly to the endeavor, as was the case with the biracial lesbian poet and playwright Angelina Weld Grimke and the bisexual Jamaican novelist Claude McKay.

The writer Richard Bruce Nugent was first African American to produce an explicitly gay work as part of the Harlem Renaissance. Nugent's homoerotic short story "Smoke Lilies and Jade" was published in a 1926 edition of *FIRE!!* a controversial and short-lived journal of the Harlem Renaissance. Others soon followed Nugent's example, and writers, gay and straight, from various racial backgrounds began including elements of black homosexuality and bisexuality in their works, as was the case in Wallace Thurman's 1929 novel *The Blacker the Berry*. Other homosexual African American artists and intellectuals also produced significant works exploring the themes of homosexuality and bisexuality. The African American blues singers Bessie Smith, Ethel Waters, Bessie Jackson, and Ma Rainey, all of whom participated openly in homosexual relationships with women, wrote or performed the songs about lesbian relationships.

The 1930s and 1940s

The 1930s and 1940s brought both new opportunity and new challenges to African Americans and homosexuals nationwide. On the one hand, labor shortages during **World War II** provided women with greater opportunity in the job market, and, despite continued discrimination, many black and lesbian women were able to secure jobs that would have been otherwise unavailable to them. In the process, not only were these women able to secure for themselves a greater financial independence, but these workplaces also proved to be an effective source for social networking.

A similar process occurred among gay black men who, like many African Americans at the time, joined the military as part of the **Double V Campaign**. This campaign was a concentrated participation in the war effort on the part of African Americans who saw civic service as an avenue to civil rights. As a result of these social networking opportunities, communities for gay men and women in general had been expanded by the end of World War II, and many of these networks had taken on a national, rather than a local, sense of community.

At the same time, the decades following the **Great Depression** were marked by a heightened degree of racism and sexual conservatism nationwide. Bars and clubs that had openly catered to a gay clientele during the 1910s and 1920s increasingly found themselves the subjects of police raids designed to

shut down businesses and embarrass or intimidate gay patrons. While gay men and women had once been able to live relatively openly in most large American cities, by the 1930s, the generalized discrimination of earlier decades had escalated to present serious social and legal risks that could be especially dire for gay African Americans.

The 1950s and the Civil Rights Movement

While African Americans had participated in various movements for expanded civil rights since colonial times, black activism in the 1950s began to coalesce and gain focus around the issue of **Jim Crow** laws in the South to form what would become known as the **Civil Rights Movement**. While many gay African Americans supported the cause of the Civil Rights Movement, anti-gay sentiment in the black community often made it hard for them to participate in civil rights activism. This was especially true for black lesbians, as African American women were generally excluded from higher leadership positions in the Civil Rights Movement, despite their essential contributions at the grassroots levels and in lower leadership positions. Despite this discouragement, many black lesbians and gay men played important roles in the Civil Rights Movement.

Bayard Rustin is perhaps the most notable example of such involvement. In 1955, Rustin was sent by his close acquaintance and cofounder of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights **A. Philip Randolph** to assist **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, in organizing and carrying on the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**. While Rustin soon became an important advisor to King and the primary planner of the 1963 **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom, King was coerced by the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** into breaking contact with Rustin on account of his open homosexuality. Rustin's role as the primary organizer of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was also a troubled position, and came only after an extended conflict with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) executive secretary Roy Wilkins, after which Rustin was allowed to organize the march, but disallowed from holding the title of march director, which went to a more publicly acceptable figure.

Despite the Civil Right Movement's uneasy relationship with African American homosexuality, the legacy of the movement proved pivotal to the formation of a number of civil and social rights organizations of the New Left, including that of the gay rights movement. African American lesbians and gay men in particular began adapting the collective consciousness and political mobilization that made the Civil Rights Movement so powerful in order to harness such activism for their own cause.

As was the case during the Harlem Renaissance, many leading figures of this movement were artists, writers, and intellectuals who used their public identity as a means of organizing and championing their cause. Gay black writers like James Baldwin, author of the 1956 homosexual love story *Giovanni's Room*, began using their work to explore the ways in which sexual identity could intersect with racial, gender, and class issues. In 1957, the lesbian

playwright Lorraine Hansberry, who would later author *A Raisin in the Sun*, published a letter in the *Ladder*, a lesbian journal, which explicitly linked discrimination against homosexuals to both racist ideology and misogyny. See also *Masculinity, Black and White; Racial Stereotypes*.

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Skylar Harris

Housing Covenants

Housing covenants, also known as restrictive covenants, are legal documents designed to ensure that blacks do not move into white neighborhoods. Rather than deed restrictions, which are enforced by individuals, housing covenants must be agreed upon by some majority of neighborhood residents (usually about 75 percent) after which most others are pressured to comply. These covenants forbid the property owners, as well as their heirs, from selling their property to blacks as well as other racial and ethnic minorities. Because of these covenants, if they sold to a minority person, neighbors had the right to go to court to ensure that property and homes did not change hands and became the property of minorities. Therefore, courts in these cases, for generations, were complicit in ensuring and maintaining **residential segregation** of suburban and urban neighborhoods.

After **World War II**, a number of historical events and practices of the government, realtors, and private citizens resulted in the suburbanization of former white ethnic city-dwellers, particularly white ethnics, and the ghettoization of urban blacks. First, heavy industry and low-skill but high-paying jobs moved to the South and West, while high-paying service-sector jobs located in the suburbs. Second, the government offered housing loans to veterans, while the growth of interstate highways ushered in a new age of suburbs surrounding central cities. Third, as whites left the cities, they sought to ensure that blacks did not follow. Blacks were unable to gain access to low-income loans to buy new homes or improve existing homes through redlining by realtors, resulting in increasing isolation in rapidly deteriorating urban centers. Housing covenants, in conjunction with loan restrictions and urban renewal projects increasingly locked blacks into public housing as their former homes, which had been in redlined areas, were bulldozed. By locking blacks into urban centers, they were also locked into poor-quality social services, education, housing, and job opportunities, thereby perpetuating social and economic inequality and replicating their place in the **Jim Crow** racism of America.

To ensure residential segregation between blacks and whites in urban and newly suburban areas, many realtors and residents used housing covenants forbidding the owners to sell the home or its land to blacks (as well as Jews, Asians, and other racial groups). These covenants appeared throughout the country in cities as disparate as Seattle, Los Angeles, and Chicago as well as nearly all Southern states. While most were directed at blacks, other cities used housing covenants to ensure that Jews, Asians, or Hispanics did not purchase property in white neighborhoods. For example, in Los Angeles, covenants were used almost exclusively to bar Mexicans from entering white neighborhoods.

Housing covenants were developed primarily by members of “neighborhood improvement associations.” Many of these organizations existed to “improve” the neighborhoods by ensuring that blacks and other minorities did not buy homes within them. These covenants were then institutionalized by realtor organizations that encouraged and often required residents to sign to ensure high profits for themselves because of increased house values due to residentially segregated neighborhoods. Conversely, an increase in blacks would lower the values of the homes. Local real estate boards collaborated nationally on the development of model covenants to provide to white homeowners throughout the country as well as conducted citywide drives to ensure all “desirable” neighborhoods were ensured against black encroachment and the maintenance of high property values. Finally, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) advised, encouraged, and then required residents to use covenants if they wanted to gain access to home loans and mortgages.

These covenants, though not written into law, often appeared in conjunction with state laws prohibiting residential proximity between blacks and whites and, therefore, were similar to the **Black Codes** enacted during and after **Reconstruction** that restricted blacks’ rights and liberties. These restrictive covenants coincided with a wide variety of laws, statutes, and municipal codes prohibiting blacks from building or buying homes in white neighborhoods or in the same building that were found in Delaware, Illinois, **Louisiana**, **Kentucky**, New York, **Virginia**, and Washington. Chicago was a leader in using restrictive covenants to ensure that blacks remained on the South Side of the city in what was, and continues to be known as, the “Black Belt.” These legally binding affirmations of black and white difference served to entrench racial attitudes outside of the South, where black and white residential segregation was deeply ingrained in culture and custom, as well as ensure that blacks did not gain access to higher-quality schools, jobs, and public services often found in and around white neighborhoods. They also allowed for the perpetuation of Jim Crow laws and attitudes in otherwise “liberal” places. Therefore, these covenants reveal whites’ real fear of black encroachment on their neighborhoods, in the schools, and in their daily lives.

Blacks’ recognized the insidious nature of these covenants in limiting their access to educational, social, economic, and political opportunity and challenged their constitutionality in a number of cases. The first of these was *Shelley v. Kraemer* initially brought by a black family who purchased a home in St. Louis, Missouri. White neighbors seeking to halt their move into their new home argued that the Shelley’s purchase of the home was illegal due to the

restrictive covenant barring blacks from purchasing the home. The court argued that the covenants were state-sponsored discrimination, but there were no penalties for those who engaged in this practice, and the ruling was effective only when suits were brought to court and the courts enforced the law. As such, they did not forbid their existence, only with using the courts to ensure their enforcement. The rights and racial attitudes of property owners ensured that this practice persisted well into the twenty-first century, as many deeds continue to have these clauses written into them.

The 1948 *Hurd v. Hodge* case reaffirmed *Shelley v. Kraemer*, finding it illegal to fail to sell to blacks in Washington, DC. Congress officially outlawed the practice in the 1968 Fair Housing Act, which also addressed redlining and other discriminatory practices by realtors. The U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed these previous rulings in the 1968 *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer* case based in St. Louis, emphasizing the 1866 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts that barred racial discrimination in all housing, both public and private. In doing so, the Court declared restrictive covenants “a relic of slavery” that perpetuated the badge of slavery suffered by all blacks.

Although ruled unenforceable in the *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision, and reaffirmed numerous times since then by both rulings and Constitutional amendments, housing covenants continue to exist. Restrictive covenants, though repeatedly ruled to be illegal, continue to preclude blacks’ access to suburbs. In 2007, the House of Representatives sponsored a resolution condemning the use of restrictive covenants and urging states to follow California’s lead in complying with existing legislature and rulings (including the Fair Housing Act of 1968; *Shelley v. Kraemer*; and *Hurd v. Hodge*) addressing the issue in proactively removing these clauses from housing documents and urging the Department of Housing and Urban Development to educate the public about these issues and collect data on any continued use of covenants.

Housing Covenants in Levittown

One of America’s most well-known and its first preplanned neighborhood, Levittown on Long Island, New York, offered working-class Americans the opportunity to own homes, but employed housing covenants to ensure that the development would remain white. Built almost entirely during the five years between 1946 and 1951, Levittown comprised nearly 18,000 almost identical homes, which began as an initial 2,000 in Hempstead, spilled into neighboring Wantagh, Hicksville, and Westbury. Many credit Levittown with the beginning of suburban sprawl and the movement away from cities as it fulfilled the American dreams of many families in the 1950s by providing them with affordable homes, plenty of space for children to play, access to good schools, and all the latest appliances.

But Levittown had a dark side for minorities longing to live there. The Levitts, particularly William, enforced racial segregation by restricting the purchase of homes to only whites using restrictive covenants forbidding “any person other than members of the Caucasian race” from living in Levittown homes. After restrictive covenants were outlawed in 1948 and the FHA announced that they would not back mortgages linked to such covenants,

Levitt continued to practice discrimination in renting and selling Levittown homes. Levittown was not integrated until the late 1970s. *See also* Levittowns; Neighborhood Property Owners Associations.

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Melissa F. Weiner

Houston Riot of 1917

The Houston Riot of 1917 occurred on Thursday, August 23, when black soldiers of the 24th Infantry Regiment, stationed in Houston, Texas, retaliated against the beating of two fellow soldiers by local police. One of the two soldiers had been arrested for interfering with the arrest of a black woman in Houston's Fourth Ward. More than 100 black soldiers seized rifles and ammunition, marched into the city, attacked whites, and eventually disbanded. By the riot's end, 19 were injured, including five black soldiers, and 17 killed, only one of whom was black.

The riot constituted the most serious involving black soldiers during **World War I**. It resulted in the largest court-martial held in the United States and established a model for black resistance for the riots of 1919. The riot and subsequent trial were well documented in local newspapers and the black press.

The black soldiers involved in the riot were among troops that had been sent to Houston to protect government property during the construction of Camp Logan. The 600 troops included seasoned soldiers and recent enlistees from various regions throughout the United States, particularly the North. The number of soldiers that arrived in Houston fell short of the 3,000 anticipated, but the events following their arrival were unprecedented.

The War Department had ordered the construction of two military bases in Harris County, Camp Logan and Ellington Field. The Illinois **National Guard** was scheduled to train at Camp Logan, and the Third Battalion of the all-black 24th Infantry was assigned the mission of guarding the construction site. The black infantry regiment traveled to Houston with seven white officers from Columbus, New Mexico.

Black troops encountered racial discrimination upon their arrival. Many of the soldiers had been raised in the South and knew about segregation, but they expected equal treatment given their position as servicemen. Local officials feared that the presence of the infantry would upset the racial climate. Whites feared that local blacks would expect equitable treatment if black soldiers were granted equal treatment. Black soldiers and Houstonians wearied of ongoing harassment by local police. Local blacks endured the restrictions of **Jim Crow**, but the black soldiers stationed in the region did not.

In the aftermath of the riot, 13 of the black soldiers involved were sentenced to death, 41 were given life sentences, four received sentences of two and a half years or less in prison, and five were acquitted. Two white officers faced

courts-martial but were eventually released. No white civilians were brought to trial. African Americans were shocked that those who received death sentences were secretly hanged before the public learned of their verdicts and before the president and secretary of war had reviewed and approved them. Most whites, particularly Houstonians, were satisfied and believed that justice had been served.

The Houston Riot stands out for several reasons. It was a prelude to the riots that later occurred in approximately 25 American communities, including Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois; Chester and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Lexington, Kentucky; Newark, New Jersey; and New York City. Of the riots listed, the Houston Riot was the only one in which more whites died than blacks. None of the four blacks who died was killed by a white aggressor. The Houston Riot was the only one involving black soldiers. It ignited one of the most volatile moments in the history of the U.S. Army, as well as in the history of American race relations. *See also* Armed Forces; East St. Louis Riot of 1917; Executive Order 9981; Red Summer; Tulsa Riot of 1921.

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Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Hughes, Langston (1902–1967)

Langston Hughes was best known for his work as a poet, playwright, novelist, and columnist during the **Harlem Renaissance** in the 1920s and 1930s. First published in the *Crisis*, the official magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1921, Hughes had a rich and unique life of international travel, experiences and publishing. His first published work, the poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" was well received and appeared in his first book of poetry, *The Weary Blues*, published in 1926.

Hughes was born on February 1, 1902, to Carrie Langston Hughes and James Nathaniel Hughes in Joplin, Missouri. Langston's father abandoned his family and fled to Cuba and then Mexico due to increasing racial pressure in the United States. The separation of his parents resulted in his grandmother, Mary Langston, caring for Hughes and giving him the sense of racial pride that would vault his career forward in the coming years. After the death of his grandmother, Hughes moved in again with his mother in Lincoln, Illinois, and then to Cleveland, Ohio, where he attended high school. Hughes graduated high school in June 1920 and convinced his father to pay for his tuition at Columbia University if Hughes promised to earn his degree in engineering. He left Columbia in 1922 after increasing racial pressure forced him to do so. Columbia was followed by a stint on the S.S. *Malone* in 1923, where he traveled to West Africa and Europe. He spent time in Paris before traveling back to live with his mother in 1924 in Washington, DC. As a busboy, Hughes had a fateful encounter with poet Vachel Lindsay, who helped spread the

word of Hughes's talent, which was already being compiled into a book of poetry.

Hughes then attended Lincoln University and earned a BA in 1929. In 1930, he published his first novel, *Not Without Laughter*. The novel is about a boy named Sandy whose family must endure racial inequalities and must deal with their place in society. The **Jim Crow** laws of the United States, enforced between 1876 and 1965, are the “**separate but equal**” laws enacted in the Southern and border states. They stated that African Americans were to use separate schools, trains, buses, water fountains and bathrooms than whites. Hughes countered these laws by confronting racial stereotypes and spoke to other African Americans about their own identity through his works. After 1945, the **Civil Rights Movement** put increasing pressure on the U.S. judicial system to overturn the racist laws. The **U.S. Supreme Court** declared the legal segregation of schools unconstitutional in 1954. Then in 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson pushed Congress to pass the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which overturned the remaining Jim Crow laws. Finally, the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** ended all discrimination in local, state, and federal voting.

Hughes was incredibly influential internationally and in the United States. He was a key figure in the Negritude movement in France, which asked the black population to examine themselves in the light of European colonialism. He influenced countless poets, playwrights, novelists, and other black artists in Harlem during the Harlem renaissance and inspired many blues, jazz, and gospel songs with his poetry. In the 1950s and 1960s, during America's movement toward racial integration, Hughes's work was seen to be racially chauvinistic and ethnocentric. Alternatively, Hughes thought that the Black Power movement was too angry in its methods but agreed generally with its fundamental philosophy.

Hughes died on May 22, 1967, after complications from surgery at the age of 65. Hughes was cremated and his ashes are placed under an African Cosmogram, titled *Rivers*, in the floor of the Langston Hughes Auditorium in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem. *See also* New Negro.

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Arthur Holst

Humor and Comic Traditions

As a characteristic element of black culture, humor has played an important role in the lives and experiences of African Americans since slaves first encountered the New World. Historically, African American comic performances have appeared in slave shanties and on plantation fields, on the minstrel stage and in vaudeville, on the radio and **television**, in films and literature, in nightclubs, barbershops, and salons, in kitchens and living room parlors, and on the

street corner. In short, comedy has always permeated every inch of African American culture, from the spectacular to the quotidian. Humor has historically served the purposes of emotional and spiritual survival and of gaining recognition of black humanity at the same time that it was a source of the stereotypes of black people that would impede this process. Indeed, the blurred line between black humor and black people as a source of humor generates a complex relationship of African Americans to comedy.

African American comic sensibilities originate with traditions of humor carried with slaves from Africa. Clever, ironic speech, signifying, tall tales or “lies,” and animal stories featuring the trickster in various guises, for example, maintained a prominent role in the rich oral cultures of the Western and Central African countries from where the majority of black slaves were taken. While the humor of African comic traditions was reserved primarily for joyous occasions, the humor of black slaves took on a tragicomic tone that reflected the misfortune of chattel slavery. Thus, African American comedy in its earliest form developed in direct response to conditions on the plantation.

The comedy of slaves manifested as both a form of redress and a form of resistance. In 1851, Samuel A. Cartwright wrote in *Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race* of a particular ailment which he called “dysaesthesia aethiopica,” referring to the tendency of some slaves toward “rascality.” Cartwright was observing, albeit through the distorted lens of white racist culture, the comic act of “playin’ the fool” or “puttin on ole massa.” In other words, slaves employed a misleading naïveté and subversively engaged in Sambo-like behavior, completed work at an agonizingly slow pace, stole from the plantation, and were generally duplicitous in order to sabotage the enterprise of forced servitude. Cartwright was not able to understand how this behavior, which he took to be a pathological condition, actually exhibited politically tinged irony, subterfuge, distortion, and contradiction. The comic mask of the slave would continue to resurface in black culture as mode of resistance and as a strategy for negotiating the limits of popular representation.

A staple of the black comic tradition, folktales featuring the trickster slave and powerful but ignorant master recorded in oral literature the comic resistance of those that would be considered nonhuman objects. “John and Ole Massa” tales overtly criticized the culprits of the peculiar institution, and thus were performed in slave quarters for the purposes of entertainment and redress. However, these same tales appeared in disguise as adaptations of traditional African animal tales. Brer Rabbit and Brer Fox stood in for the trickster and the slave master respectively, the camouflage of which enabled these tales to eventually become well known among white Southerners who had constant contact with black slaves and their culture. One such white Southerner, Joel Chandler Harris, famously attempted to transcribe this impressive body of folklore in his collections of “Uncle Remus stories.” Harris’s collections, which feature the happy-go-lucky slave Uncle Remus, brings up the problem of when African American humor comes up against what Ralph Ellison called “comedies of the grotesque,” or those white performances of black culture that served to ridicule black people through crude, racist impersonations and stereotypes. The parallel legacy of black comic traditions that feature blacks as humorous individuals finds its origins on the plantation as well.

The laughter of slaves was originally taken as a threat by whites who, perhaps rightly at times, assumed they were the source of amusement. Additionally, whites publicly expressed undue anxiety at the sound of black laughter, which they found to be unusually raucous and mysterious, so much so that on plantations one might find a “laughing barrel” into which slaves were required to channel their amusement. On the other hand, the sight of the happy-go-lucky grinning and laughing slave became the source of endless amusement for the planter class. Slaves who evinced such a disposition were often prized highly as commodities. The black clown became the target of impersonation within blackface **minstrelsy**, America’s first form of popular entertainment.

Minstrelsy, a burlesque of impersonated black performance and caricature performed originally by white actors in blackface makeup, began appearing as early as the 1820s. The humor of the minstrel stage consisted primarily of one-liners, riddles, quips, gibes, malapropisms, parodic and nonsensical stump-speeches, as well as slapstick comedy and antic humor and centered on the popular myth of the happy slave and a romanticization of the plantation. The minstrel show generally had an established format featuring the interlocutor, a straight man, and the comic “endmen,” Mr. Bones and Mr. Tambo, so named for the instruments they played. The form consisted of a “walkaround” and opening song, followed by the “circle” or comic exchange between the interlocutor and endmen, the olio, and finally a plantation skit or farce of well known play; Harriet Beecher Stowe’s abolitionist novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, for example, was frequently parodied.

With the popularity of the stage performances of Edwin Forrest and British actor Charles James Matthews (known, strangely enough, as the father of American humor), two of the first known blackface entertainers, “Negro impersonation” began to gain prevalence. Around 1828, Thomas Dartmouth (T. D.) Rice invented a caricature that would leave a lasting mark not only on the minstrel imaginary, but also on the entire conception of U.S. race relations for over a century to come. Rice relates the story of having seen a disabled, black stable groom singing to himself and dancing a peculiar dance. Impressed by the spectacle, Rice alleges to have copied the song and dance, and even to have bought the clothes off of the stable groom’s back, bringing song, dance, and character to the stage. Performing the song and impersonation between acts of *The Rifle*, “**Jim Crow**” Rice became one of America’s best known comedians. Likewise, the popular representation of “Jim Crow” soon came to stand in for all black people.

The conspicuous link between popular entertainment and legal apartheid reflects the impact of precarious representations of blackness on the conditions of unfreedom for blacks in the United States. Remarkably, many of the official institutions of apartheid culture find their influence in the minstrel tradition. For example, the Confederate rallying song “Dixie” was written by one of the Virginia Minstrels, Dan Emmett. As well, “Carry Me Back to Old Virginia” by James Bland became Virginia’s state song in 1940.

Between the 1840s and 1850s, minstrelsy sprang up from coast to coast with professional troupes such as the African Melodists, the Congo Minstrels, the Buckley Serenaders, the Ethiopian Mountain Singers, and Bryant’s

Minstrels generating extreme popularity for this form of entertainment. While minstrelsy in its original form began to disappear as early as the 1880s, with the closing down of the Al D. Field Minstrels in 1928 possibly signifying the official end, a few troupes continued to tour into the first couple of decades of the twentieth century. As well, the minstrel show appeared in vaudeville, on the radio, in film, and eventually on television after **World War II**. While minstrelsy is properly remembered for its lasting impact on the misrepresentation of black people, the form is simultaneously responsible for the emergence and popularity of black entertainers and the comic tradition they would instantiate. While the early minstrel stage was racially restricted to white actors, the early white minstrels report being highly influenced by the black performers Signor Cornmeali (or “Old Corn Meal”) and John “Picayune” Butler of New Orleans. Occasionally, black performers found their way into white troupes—for example, when William Henry “Juba” Lane, known as the father of tap dancing, performed with minstrel troupes in the 1840s. Thomas Dilward, or “Japanese Tommy,” a dwarf, also performed with white minstrels in from the 1850s to the 1860s.

Black minstrel troupes, which were less successful than their white counterparts, began to appear around 1855. These troupes catered to both black and white audiences, and in either case to the lower levels of society. The small number of black bourgeoisie strongly protested these performances, while the white gentry expressed distaste in the minstrel show’s lack of refinement. One of the best known black troupes, Brooker and Clayton’s Georgia Minstrels, which eventually became Sam Hague’s Slave troupe of George Minstrels, featured the talented Charles “Barrey” Hicks, Bob Height, and Billy Kersands at different points in time. The Georgia Minstrels were very popular in the 1870s and, over the course of the next few decades, were eventually joined by several other black troupes. F. S. Wolcott’s Rabbit Foot Minstrels would continue to tour through the middle of the nineteenth century, and featured famous black blues singers such as Bessie Smith, Gertrude “Ma” Rainey, Big Joe Williams, Ida Cox, and Rufus Thomas, as well as the comic duo Butterbeans and Susie.

Billy Kersands of the George Minstrels, who had started his own black minstrel troupe in 1885, represents one of the first black comic stars. He was well known for his comic singing, dancing, acrobatics, and drumming, but most of all for his comic facial contortions and unusually large mouth. He was known to put objects, such as billiard balls, in his mouth while dancing, for a thunderous reaction. Other well-known black minstrels include Tom Fletcher, Sam Lucas, Tom McIntosh, A. D. Sawyer, Charles Hicks, the self-proclaimed inventor of the cakewalk Billy McClain, and the prolific songwriter and cerebral comedian James Bland. Starting with these actors, the dilemma of black comedians could be characterized by the fine line between satirizing white stereotypes and contributing to those very stereotypes. What remains true of minstrelsy in the black comic tradition is that it became the arena for black performers to create and test out comic tropes and antics that would remain into the present day.

Into the first part of the twentieth century, servile examples of black comedy continued to fuel performances on the mainstream stage, in vaudeville, in

print, on the radio and in the new medium of silent film. Comic shorts such as *Laughing Ben*, *A Nigger in a Woodpile*, and *Who Said Chicken?* that played in nickelodeon theaters around the turn of the century would establish film as a prominent medium for such examples. While popular black comedians and film stars employed the stereotypes and comic devices of minstrelsy, including the use of blackface, they often did so with hints of subversion. Such has been said of the celebrated comedian and film actor Stepin Fetchit (born Lincoln Theodore Monroe Andrew Perry) and his comic offshoot Mantan Moreland, as well as Hattie McDaniel, Willie Best, and others. As well, the comic duos of Bert Williams (America's first black comic superstar) and George Walker and of Flournoy Miller and Aubrey Lyles perpetuated these "comedies of the grotesque" in the musical theater, even as they were able to experiment and expand their comic repertoire.

At the same time, however, black comedy directed primarily toward black audiences began to reflect pent-up resentment and a more irreverent critique of white racist society. Bombastic performances of mythic "Bad Nigger" ballads and toasts like "Shine and the Titanic," "The Signifying Monkey," "Dolemite," "Stackolee" and those featuring actual African American cultural heroes like the racially controversial boxing champion **Jack Johnson** began surfacing at black, predominantly male venues. As well, the "John and Ole Massa" stories reappeared in the oral literature of this period and replaced animal representations and childish portrayals of the trickster. For obvious reasons, these more overtly critical folktales did not get printed by the mainstream white press in the way that the Brer Rabbit tales did. However, Zora Neale Hurston, Arthur Huff Fauset, and other black ethnologists began accumulating in print such folklore in the context of people's everyday lives.

Some of the best achievements in black comedy during the early decades of the twentieth century occurred through the literature of the **New Negro Movement**, starting with the breakthroughs of **Paul Lawrence Dunbar's** dialect poetry and Charles W. Chesnutt's recasting of Harris' Uncle Remus tales in *The Conjure Woman*. Rudolph Fisher, George Schuyler, and Wallace Thurman presented the culture with satirical novels that leveled the absurdity, on both sides of the equation, of American race relations. The prolific writer **Langston Hughes** eventually gained recognition as a notable humorist with the publication of his novel *Not without Laughter* in 1930 followed later on by the creation of his wartime serialization of "Simple" stories in the *Chicago Defender*. Zora Neale Hurston's literary renderings of the folklore she amassed as an anthropologist, such as those recalled in her celebrated collection *Mules and Men* (1935), brilliantly and hilariously capture the comic sensibilities of traditional African American humor—sensibilities that would continue to shape the acts of black comedians to this day.

African American comedy took a notable turn in the 1950s when the mounting frustration over racial injustice finally came to a head with the mass organization of civil rights struggle in the South and across the nation. Tolerance for popular representations of black people as coons and buffoons finally met its limit. Protests against these portrayals became more regular and more successful due in part to the backdrop of televised atrocities streaming out of the Jim Crow South into the living rooms of white Northerners. Protests

against the *Amos 'n' Andy* television program organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), for example, generated enough pressure to force the show's cancellation after just two seasons in 1953. Continuing pressure would eventually prompt the CBS Corporation to cease all reruns in 1966.

In literature, **Ralph Ellison's** *Invisible Man* paved the way for a new kind of satirical novel that employed African American comic sensibilities to deeply explore the absurdity of American racism and critique the problems of black protest without restraint or fear of censorship. Over the course of the tumultuous decades of the **Civil Rights** and Black Power movements, comedic novels of this sort would be produced by Chester Himes, Ishmael Reed, Charles Wright, Cecil Brown, and others. Similarly during this era, black stand-up comedians with politically charged humor begin to dominate the popular scene. Slappy White, the "father of the integrated joke," Moms Mabley, "the funniest woman in the world," Redd Foxx, with his raunchy nightclub acts, and others unleashed their unrestrained wit on stages along the "chitlin' circuit." In the 1960s, Dick Gregory reached comic superstar status with his cerebral and overtly political humor. Gregory, as well as the collective contributions of comedians of the Civil Rights era, had a great influence on the comic genius Richard Pryor. Pryor, who channeled the entire African American comic tradition in his sharply political stand-up act, set the tone for the comic greats of the last part of the century, including Whoopi Goldberg, Bill Cosby, Eddie Murphy, Chris Rock, and Dave Chappelle. *See also* Black Entertainers against Jim Crow; Black Hollywood.

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Danielle C. Heard



Industrial Workers of the World

The Industrial Workers of the World, also known as the IWW or “Wobblies,” is a labor union with an international membership based on the organizational ideal of promoting worker solidarity, regardless of skill level, and abolishing the wage system.

The union’s founding convention took place in Chicago, Illinois, in 1905. A group of trade unionists, anarchists, and socialists came together in response to a changing labor force, including growing numbers of immigrants and dwindling power to influence wages and working conditions. One of the largest interests in the organization of the IWW was the Western Federation of Miners, whose leader, “Big” Bill Haywood, called for a movement to free the working class from their powerlessness in the face of capitalist production. The growth in technology and urbanization in the American West in the late nineteenth century provided a catalyst to frontier mining workers to join this movement. Other prominent figures present at the IWW’s inception included Eugene Debs, leader of the Socialist Party, and Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America.

Those who gathered at this first meeting were vehemently opposed to the policies of the American Federation of Labor (AFL); this federation, one of the first to bring together **labor unions** in the United States, espoused craft unionism, whereby workers in an industry are organized by their craft or trade. The IWW, on the other hand, promoted industrial unionism, organizing workers of an industry into the same union regardless of skill level and seeking to grant more power to the entire union. In this structure, the regular members would seek better working conditions and pay through direct action, instead of relying upon a small leadership to negotiate with employers. Perhaps an even more important contrast could be found in that the AFL was comprised mainly of white male skilled workers, whereas the IWW welcomed workers of all skill levels who did not fit the AFL’s membership policies, such as immigrants, landless migrant workers, and African Americans. Additionally, as more women entered the work force, they would gain a greater presence in the IWW and other labor unions.

The IWW was most active from this first meeting to the early 1920s. Geographically, in the northwest United States, the union proved to be a vigorous force among migrant laborers who worked in lumber and agriculture. As the IWW grew, its membership expanded from the West among other lumber, textile, and agricultural workers. Across the country, members rallied, held labor strikes, and led parades; mass strikes were also held in Washington State, Nevada, Louisiana, Texas, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. IWW meetings and rallies were often met with antiunion reprisals in the form of arrests, beatings, and city ordinances to stop street meetings. The union fought for free speech rights in response, using civil disobedience and sit-down strikes. However, in the wake of the union's denunciation of the United States' involvement in **World War I** legal repression from the government, in the form of arrests under the Espionage Act and deportation under the Palmer Raids, led to a turning of public opinion that forced many of its leaders, including Bill Haywood, to flee the country; while many of its rank and file were violently persecuted, notably the brutal lynchings of Frank Little and Wesley Everest. Additionally, certain nativist fears of the growing foreign-born population, in combination with suspicion of imported ideologies, such as socialism, exacerbated sentiment against the union, exacting a toll on the IWW's ability to make significant changes in the different industries its members represented.

Ultimately, ineffective organization and repression dwindled the ranks of the IWW, and in 1924, the organization contentiously split into Western and Eastern sections over a number of internal issues. The IWW still has a presence today, with memberships in the United States and numerous other countries, although it has declined from a high of over 100,000 in the early 1920s to just over 2,000 members today. *See also* Communist Party; Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

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William A. Morgan

Intelligence Testing

Intelligence tests in the West emerged almost simultaneously in England, France, and Germany in the late nineteenth century. Researchers invigorated by Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859) were eager to find a scientific way to measure mental ability, with many poised to initiate comparative studies that took a variety of indicators into consideration, particularly race and class. The implications of intelligence testing and the interpretation of test results were far-reaching and fueled heated debates, particularly in the United States, a meritocracy whose democratic ideal had been persistently undermined by social inequality since the nation's inception.

The Western philosophical interest in intelligence emerged in Ancient Greece with Plato and Aristotle, who distinguished cognitive and emotive

aspects of human behavior. Cicero later invented the term *intelligence*, but Plato suggested a correlation between intelligence and social class by arguing that human beings were made of different metals. Those made of gold were poised to be rulers; of silver, executives; and of iron and brass, to cultivate the soil or manufacture goods. Duties in the Republic that Plato imagined were to be assigned according to the innate abilities of those concerned, a pattern of stratification that was achieved in part in modern meritocracy.

By the nineteenth century, pseudoscientific theories claimed to offer valid proof that the races were innately arranged in a hierarchical relationship from greatest to least, with whites, particularly those of English, German, or French ancestry, occupying the first rung and those of African descent occupying the last. According to the pseudoscience of phrenology, the races were distinguished by phenotype and brain size. Such theories were often used to justify European expansion into Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and to offer explanations for slave societies and the colonial and postcolonial relationships emerging from them. Darwin's enduring theory of evolution presented in *Origin of the Species* catalyzed discussions that led researchers to test this theory and imagine its social and political implications. A scientific test to measure intelligence evinced this trend and emerged from a synthesis of scientific investigations in various fields, including statistics, physiology, and modern educational and social psychology, with its emphasis on understanding the cognitive and emotive aspects of human nature.

Philosopher Herbert Spencer, statistician Karl Pearson, and Sir Francis Galton, Darwin's cousin, argued that intelligence could be measured, and that such measurement was related to evolution and genetics. Physiologist Huggings Jackson and others conducted microscopic brain studies, which forwarded discussions by providing a scientific basis for understanding the relationship between brain activity and intelligence. Professor of Psychology Charles Spearman argued that if a cognitive ability existed that allowed an individual to reason well, it should then be possible to test this ability through a series of different problems of varying complexity. Alfred Binet in France and Herman Ebbinghaus in German were creating such tests, but Spearman added that there was a positive correlation between cognitive tests of any kind when they were carried out. Spearman's tests and early versions of the same measured verbal and quantitative skills, the format used in the United States throughout most of the twentieth century.

Objective testing in the United States received its first great impetus with the civil service exam, established in 1883 by the Pendleton *Civil Service Reform Act* and administered first during **World War I**. A primary goal of the exam was to eliminate the spoils system that dominated access to certain federal positions and to enhance expertise by placing federal employees for certain posts on a merit system. The civil service exam in and of itself did not perturb blacks and other minorities, but the interpretation of test results and comparative analysis between black and white averages engendered enduring controversy and divided educators throughout the country.

The Pendleton Act applied only to positions with the **federal government**, but its implications were far-reaching. As many blacks feared, test results were used increasingly to justify, structure, and reinforce inequality. Exams of

similar structure were adopted at state and local levels, with the results impacting access to education and the quality thereof, employment, and general social mobility. In the **Jim Crow** South, many proponents of intelligence testing hoped to find definitive proof that whites were intellectually superior to blacks and other ethnic minorities and therefore innately meritorious of certain social and economic privileges.

Southern blacks, many of whose ancestors had barely transitioned from being property to owning property, were particularly suspicious of intelligence testing. Their collective historical experience with the random administering of tests affirmed that testing was designed to preclude their participation in the political process in the years immediately following the emancipation. Black southerners who attempted to vote were sometimes required to recite the Constitution or to demonstrate reading proficiency before being permitted to vote. Literate black voters were prohibited from voting by the “grandfather clause,” which stated that a person was ineligible to vote if his or her grandfather had been a slave.

But the controversy over comparative intelligence was not limited to the South. The intelligence question even affected whom one could marry in California before *Perez v. Sharp* (1948), when the California Supreme Court declared that antimiscegenation laws violated the Fourth Amendment. Prior to the new ruling, the state had prohibited interracial marriages on the grounds that the correlation between the social environment of poor black children and performance on IQ tests had not been resolved.

Researchers engaged in heated discussions about whether test performance reflected hereditary or environmental influences. Others questioned the purported objectivity of intelligence tests, since cultural expectations regarding what a person should know by a certain age ultimately varied from one social group and context to the next, and since education, exposure to the testing conventions, and economic standing impacted the probability of test-takers’ failure or success. Many were also concerned about the impact that the interpretation of test results would have on access to education, employment, and promotion. In a broad sense, they questioned the inherent conflict in a meritocracy in which the democratic ideal had been only partially achieved.

Historically black colleges and universities of the period responded to concerns about college entrance exams by maintaining open-admissions policies, which welcomed students to earn college degrees regardless of their performance on standardized tests. Other universities developed admissions procedures that took a variety of factors into account, including but not limited to scores on standardized exams, which generally used white, urban, middle, and upper-class subjects as the standard.

The battle over intelligence testing and its ability to predict success continued throughout the Jim Crow era and beyond. Its impact continues to impact access to education by the implementation of tracking and merit-based gifted and talented programs, which largely led to the near re-segregation of American classrooms despite *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which acknowledged the negative psychological and social impact of Jim Crow. *See also* Vocational Education.

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Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Islam

Islam is a worldwide monotheistic religion that holds that Muhammad was the last prophet of Allah (God) and the Quran contains the recorded words of Allah. In Arabic, "Islam" means "submission," with an understanding of submission to Allah, not to humans. Muslims are those who confess to have made such a submission. They believe in Allah's oneness and express this belief through the five pillars of Islam: bearing witness to Allah's unity and the Prophethood of Muhammad, prayer, almsgiving, pilgrimage to Mecca, and fasting during the month of Ramadan.

Islam first appeared in the United States when African Muslims were captured and brought to the United States to be sold into slavery. It is unknown how many enslaved Africans continued to hold Islamic beliefs once in the United States. No community of antebellum Muslims survived due to the difficulty of propagating their religion under the conditions imposed by slavery. Traces of Islam in antebellum America were often limited to individual Muslims, or small communities such as that of the South Georgia islands.

The first known American convert to Islam was Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb (1846–1916). He established the American Moslem Brotherhood in New York, the Moslem World Publishing Company, and represented Islam at the World's Parliament of Religions. His speech at the Parliament exposed African Americans to Islam as an alternative to Christianity. Although Webb did not gather a large following, he influenced later American ideas about Islam by changing his name when he converted and wearing traditional Muslim clothing.

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912) was more successful in connecting Islamic ideas with the plight of African Americans. Blyden ignored the racial divisions found in Islam around the globe and said that Islam was a faith that ignored race altogether. He was the first African American writer to explicitly state that Islam was a more "natural" religion for his race. He believed that Islam would be the most beneficial religion for African Americans because it would allow them to have their own culture and govern themselves, resulting in increased self-respect and pride. He was impressed by the Islamic communities he encountered in West Africa, with their established cultural identity and education systems, and he idealized this community when imagining how Islam could work in African American communities. Blyden used Islam as the basis for a new racial identity, affecting politics and culture.

The Ahmadiyya movement was also influential in linking Islam with African Americans. When the first Ahmadiyya missionary to the United States, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, arrived in 1920, he hoped to establish Islam as a religion crossing racial boundaries. Encountering resistance and racial discrimination,

he ultimately focused on creating a multiracial community of mainly Indians and African Americans. In 1921 he began publishing *The Moslem Sunrise*, which contained articles correcting misconceptions about Islam, and also reported conversions into the community. The Ahmadis also published the first English Quran in the United States as well as additional Islamic literature. Like Webb, the Ahmadiyya movement encouraged converts to take a new name and dress in traditional Muslim clothing. These practices offered African Americans powerful new ways of representing themselves outside of white culture, with new names, dress, and religion. In 1929, Sufi Mutiur Rahman Bengalee became the head of the Ahmadiyya mission in the United States. Under his direction, the movement continued to emphasize African Americans' civil rights, helping to put on a 1931 program called, "How Can We Overcome Color and Race Prejudice?" with over 2,000 attendees. By the 1930s and 1940s the Ahmadiyya movement, while still multiracial, had seen its greatest successes among African Americans. It was one of the country's most important Muslim organizations until it was eclipsed by the **Nation of Islam**. It would not be until later in the twentieth century that significant numbers of traditional Muslims would form communities in the United States. *See also* Ali, Muhammad; Malcolm X.

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Shawntel Ensminger

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Japanese Internment

On February 19, 1942, 74 days following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** signed Executive Order 9066, giving authority to the secretary of war or to military officers under his command “to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any persons to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restriction the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion.” This order set in motion a chain of events that culminated in the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the Western United States, the largest forced migration in American history, and the internment in concentration camps of over 120,000 innocent people, most of them until near the end of the war. However, the story of the internment of Japanese Americans during **World War II** does not begin with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. That travesty was the culmination of decades of discrimination and mistreatment.

The federal census of 1890 reported slightly over 2,000 Japanese immigrants in the United States, although several thousand more would fall under the jurisdiction of the United States with the annexation of Hawai'i in 1898. Those in the continental United States lived mostly in the Western states near the coast, primarily in rural and semirural areas. Most of the Japanese immigrants worked in agriculture or fishing. The anti-Chinese crusades in California that led to the passage of the federal Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 had no immediate effect on Japanese Americans, but it galvanized racist views in the Western states, encouraging those who rejected Chinese immigrants to insist on a similar policy toward other East Asians. During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth, tens of thousands of Japanese immigrated to Hawai'i and to the Western continental states. In 1905, the California legislature passed a resolution calling on Congress to restrict Japanese immigration. The following year, the school board in San Francisco voted to force Japanese children to attend the segregated schools that had been originally constructed for Chinese pupils.

President Theodore Roosevelt was drawn into the controversy. He had developed ties with the leaders of the Japanese government with his participation in the diplomatic resolution of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, and he was keenly aware of that government's objections to the discriminatory policies in California. Nevertheless, he was also sympathetic to the advocates of immigration restriction. In a series of diplomatic communications, Roosevelt negotiated the so-called Gentlemen's Agreements, whereby Roosevelt would oppose immigration restriction and the Japanese government would cease issuing visas to Japanese laborers wishing to immigrate to the United States.

Pressure to exclude Japanese did not cease with that fragile agreement. In 1913, the California legislature passed the Alien Land Law, also known as the Webb Law after its champion, California attorney general Ulysses S. Webb, which prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship from acquiring, possessing, transmitting or inheriting land. The courts had ruled that all East Asians were ineligible for citizenship, but the proponents of the legislation made no secret of the fact that the measure was intended to dispossess Japanese landowners. President Woodrow Wilson opposed the measure, but his efforts to stop it proved futile. Japanese farmers were able to lease land, but they no longer could expect to pass it on to their children, even if those children were native-born American citizens. In some cases, they were able to hold the land in trust for their minor children, but efforts to modify the initial legislation made these arrangements more uncertain as the years passed. By 1920, Japanese farmers held less than 2 percent of the farmland in California through various forms of ownership, trusteeship, or long-term leases. Nevertheless, they still were responsible for 13 percent of the state's agricultural produce. That year, an initiative of the state ballot closed the loopholes that had allowed Japanese immigrants to maintain a tenuous hold on their property, forcing Japanese farmers into tenant farming and sharecropping. Japanese commercial fishermen encountered similar restrictions. Both Oregon and Washington prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship from acquiring commercial fishing licenses. A similar measure was introduced in the California legislature in 1939, and was barely defeated.

The immigrant Japanese, or the *Issei*, were objects of particular suspicion. In the Western coastal states, they tended to live in ethnically segregated communities and were less likely than either their children or other immigrants to assimilate into mainstream American society. Nativists overlooked the fact that the *Issei* were proscribed from U.S. citizenship, and criticized them for disloyalty to their new home on the basis of their alien status. Nativist organizations such as the California Joint Immigration Committee and the Native Sons of the Golden West lobbied for stricter controls on Japanese immigration and further restrictions on the rights of those already in the United States. Newspaper editorials called for extending the ban on land ownership to the *Nisei*, the American-born children of the *Issei*, because they held dual American and Japanese citizenship under Japanese law.

In 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Ozawa v. United States* confirmed the policy that refused citizenship to Japanese immigrants. Two years later, riding a wave of postwar nativism, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924, excluding most immigrants from eastern and southern Europe and effectively

shutting off the last remnant of Japanese immigration. Section 13C of the law restricted from the United States all aliens ineligible for citizenship, a provision that applied in particular to Japanese after the decision in *Ozawa*. President Calvin Coolidge criticized the exclusion, but signed the legislation nevertheless.

After the immigration restrictions of 1924, the nativism that spawned them lost steam, although statutory and social discrimination against both *Issei* and *Nisei* continued on the West Coast. With the invasion of Manchuria by Japanese forces in 1931, the issue again arose. Although Franklin D. Roosevelt's *New Deal* did not explicitly discriminate against Japanese Americans, the actions of local and state officials in the Western states insured that they would not benefit from relief programs. After Japan invaded northern China in 1937, the president's anger at the Japanese government spilled over into suspicion of Japanese Americans. Navy Secretary Frank Knox suggested that the administration consider the necessity of concentration camps should hostilities erupt between the United States and Japan.

When war came to the United States with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, press accounts of Japanese duplicity and collaboration with enemy forces were rampant. Stories of Japanese agricultural workers in Hawai'i cutting huge arrows in fields pointing to Pearl Harbor were reported as fact on the mainland. Secretary Knox toured Hawai'i and reported to the president and to the press that Japanese on the islands contributed essential information to the attackers. He suggested that the president order the removal of all Japanese from Hawai'i. Supreme Court justice Owen Roberts asserted that Japanese spies had aided the strike force.

With the fear of invasion, pressure mounted to arrest or to evacuate Japanese from Pacific coastal communities. The Justice Department drew up tentative plans to investigate and exclude *Issei* living near sensitive and defense-related areas, but before any of those plans could be developed fully, the army was put in charge of the issue. General John DeWitt of the West Coast Defense Command reported to his superiors in Washington that the West Coast Japanese were engaging in espionage and planning sabotage. He also claimed, without evidence, that every ship sailing from the mouth of the Columbia River into the Pacific was being tracked by Japanese ships with information provided by radio communication from the mainland. DeWitt issued a curfew for the West Coast, restricting Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans from traveling more than five miles from their homes or places of work, and that they remain in their homes between 8:00 PM and 6:00 AM. Although immediately after Pearl Harbor he had defended the *Nisei* as American citizens, DeWitt quickly adopted the racist language of the Nativists. "A Jap's a Jap," he told a Senate committee. "It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not."

National news media reported these claims and other equally unsubstantiated rumors of sabotage and espionage. On December 22, 1941, *Life* magazine ran an article with two photographs to help readers to know "How to Tell Japs from the Chinese." Japanese American factory workers and professionals lost jobs as private employers and local governments dismissed them as security risks. In early February, DeWitt requested the authority to exclude

Japanese aliens and American citizens from strategic areas of the West Coast. In response, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, giving DeWitt that authority. Executive Order 9201 the next month created the War Relocation Authority. Milton Eisenhower, the brother of General Dwight Eisenhower, was appointed director, although he resigned after three months and was replaced by Dillon Myer, formerly employed by the Agriculture Department.

The *Issei* were excluded from a large area of the coastal states, and a voluntary evacuation of both *Issei* and *Nisei* began by the end of the month. This effort soon was abandoned, as many *Nisei* showed little willingness to comply, and because state officials in the Western states to which the Japanese Americans would move were openly hostile to the policy. In response, DeWitt on March 27, 1942, ordered the Japanese to end the voluntary evacuation and instead to report to assembly centers that were being constructed for the War Relocation Authority. From there they were sent to 10 relocation camps in Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, California, Idaho, and Arkansas. Two-thirds of the internees were American citizens; one-third were children.

The War Relocation Authority was authorized to help evacuees from the West Coast dispose of or store property, but because of the haste with which the policy was executed and the indifference of many administrators to the plight of the Japanese Americans, most who left behind farms, homes, and cars never recovered them. Sympathetic neighbors, in many cases, stepped in to help Japanese families, but more often farms, and homes were lost to unscrupulous bargain hunters.

The accommodations in the camps varied, but for the most part resembled makeshift military housing with poor ventilation and little consideration for comfort or privacy. Barracks were divided into rooms ranging in size from 20 x 16 to 20 x 25 feet. A family would be assigned a single room and individuals who arrived alone or in smaller groups either would share a room or would be assigned to a room that already housed a small family. Meals were provided in crowded mess halls. Food shortages and spoilage was common, but conditions improved as internees began to grow and prepare their own food, insofar as conditions allowed. Military personnel guarded the barbed-wire-encircled camps, and searchlights kept internees awake at night. Internees were shot in what were reportedly escape attempts, at least one dying from his wounds. At Manzanar, two internees were killed and several others wounded when guards opened fire on a crowd. At Tule Lake, internees were beaten during a work strike.

At the beginning of the war, nearly 5,000 Japanese Americans were in the army. At first the War Department refused to permit any more *Nisei* to join the armed forces, but with the wartime manpower needs, that policy was modified. The 100th Army Battalion, composed of members of the Hawaiian National Guard, and the 442nd Infantry Regiment, recruited from the camps, served with distinction in Italy, France, and the Rhineland during the war. The two units were combined during their service in Italy, and the combined 442nd was the most decorated regiment in the wartime army. At war's end, 33,000 *Nisei* were serving in the military.

Internees eligible for military service were released from the camps through the Loyalty Review Program, established in 1943. The program also made it possible, in theory, for internees to leave the camps and relocate east of the Rocky Mountains. The slow pace of the program, the difficulty of meeting requirements of sponsorship or employment, and confusion over the loyalty oaths rendered it ineffective. Few internees, except those who joined the military, were able to leave the camps under the program until near the end of the war.

The legality of the relocation and internment did not go unchallenged during the war years. Minoru Yasui was an Oregon-born attorney who was arrested in March 1942 for violating DeWitt's curfew order. The trial judge ruled that the curfew was unconstitutional when applied to American citizens, but then stripped Yasui of his citizenship because he had worked for the Japanese consulate in Chicago before the war. In *Yasui v. U.S.* (1943), the Supreme Court reinstated Yasui's citizenship, but reversed the trial judge's ruling that the curfew was unconstitutional. Another internee, Gordon Hirabayashi, also challenged the legality of the curfew order. He was arrested and convicted, and served 90 days on a roadside prison work crew, in addition to five months he spent in jail awaiting trial. In a unanimous decision, the Court held in *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* (1943) that the war powers of the executive allowed for the military curfew. The Court did not address the issue of the discriminatory nature of the order.

Fred Korematsu was arrested for disregarding the evacuation order. He had lost his job as a shipyard welder when the Boiler Makers Union expelled all Japanese American members after Pearl Harbor, and had been rejected for military service, when he decided not to report with his parents to the Tanforan Assembly Center. His efforts to elude authorities ended in May 1942, when he was arrested for refusing to evacuate. The Supreme Court agreed to hear his case and ruled in *Korematsu v. U.S.* (1944) that the evacuation orders were constitutional as a wartime necessity, even though martial law had not been declared.

The only favorable ruling for an internee was the case of Mitsuye Endo. Endo, born in California, had been an employee of the state Department of Motor Vehicles until that agency fired all of its Japanese American employees at the beginning of the war. She had never been to Japan and could not read or write Japanese. Her lawyers petitioned for a writ of *habeas corpus* and challenged her internment, asserting that the government had no authority to detain loyal citizens without charges. Without ruling on the broader issue of the constitutionality of the concentration camps, the Court held in *Ex parte Endo* (1944) that the government could no longer detain loyal citizens.

A 1949 study estimated that the Japanese Americans lost about \$77 million in property due to the evacuation and internment. Those who filed for compensation recovered approximately 10 percent of their losses, and these payments often were delayed for years. In 1983, legislation was introduced in Congress to make payments to the surviving internees to redress their losses. Five years later, President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, providing a payment of \$20,000 to each of the approximately

60,000 survivors. *See also* Asian Americans; Hispanics/Latinos; Native Americans.

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James Ivy

Jazz

Jazz is an American musical art form whose sociological features have been significantly shaped by **Jim Crow** segregation and ideology. Essentialist notions of race and culture have determined how people have defined and perceived jazz since the music's beginning. While historians agree that jazz emerged from a syncretism of numerous American music traditions, the belief persists that jazz is essentially "black music," and that African contributions are jazz's most defining traits. The story of how jazz became racialized is intertwined with the story of Jim Crow.

Historians generally agree that the musical style that eventually became known as "jazz" emerged in New Orleans in the first years of the twentieth century. Too many historians reiterate without question the received wisdom that blacks invented jazz in the New Orleans ghettos. However, the evidence for this origins narrative is scant. Contradictory evidence abounds, indicating that the early New Orleans musical scene that produced jazz was uncommonly diverse.

One challenge for investigators is to define exactly what "jazz" means. The early New Orleans jazz musicians called their music "ragtime." The word "jazz" first entered the American slang vocabulary on the central California coast in the early 1910s. It was used synonymously with pep, vigor, and energy. It was first published by sportswriters who used "jazz" to describe an enthusiastic approach to playing baseball. "Jazz" was eventually applied to a style of music being performed in California by a band of New Orleans expatriates who called themselves "The Original Creole Orchestra."

However, these pioneering jazz expatriates in California were not "black"; they were Creoles of color. They were the descendants of French and Spanish colonists in the New World who had formed unions with people of color. During **Reconstruction**, the close ties between the white Creoles and colored Creoles began to unravel. They supported opposing political parties, which created significant antagonism between the two formerly intimate populations. As Jim Crow segregation emerged across the nation in the late nineteenth century, racial lines hardened between New Orleans whites and the Creoles of color.

When jazz emerged as a new style at the turn of the twentieth century, the Creoles of color as a group were still culturally and socially distinct from freedmen and their descendants. They lived in their own neighborhoods, frequently owned their own homes, and worked at skilled jobs. They spoke French and went to Catholic churches. They were also racially distinct, possessing a lighter skin color on average than the freedmen population. They did not consider themselves “black.” Many took great offense at that racial label. Furthermore, the freedmen population of New Orleans harbored some degree of resentment and distrust towards the Creoles of color, seeing them as part of the old slave economy’s power structure. This social division between freedmen and formerly free people of color was common throughout the South in the postbellum era.

The ideology of Jim Crow imagined a biracial society in which you were either black or white. Prior to Jim Crow, other variables determined social and racial status, such as education, degree of skin pigmentation, family history and accomplishments, and freedom versus slavery. But as early Jim Crow emerged in the late nineteenth century, these variables decreased in significance. Now, any visible amount of nonwhite ancestry was sufficient to classify a person as black. Many formerly free people of color resisted this binary race system. Some were able to maintain a distinct cultural identity by defending the social boundaries that distinguished them from freedmen. While whites under the thrall of Jim Crow rarely respected distinctions within the nonwhite population, the old antebellum social boundaries did foster the persistence of such subcultures well into the twentieth century.

A significant proportion of the early pioneers of jazz were Creoles of color. Many of these musicians were born in the plantation region just west of New Orleans. The Creoles of color were not the only creators of jazz. Other jazz pioneers were of recent Caribbean or Mexican origin. Of course, there were a significant number of “black” and “white” American musicians in the mix as well. Furthermore, numerous early jazz musicians were of mixed ancestry.

Thus the black-white racial dichotomy used by so many jazz mythographers excludes any serious discussion of the uncommonly diverse origins of jazz’s founding population. It fails to acknowledge that many of the jazz pioneers did not consider themselves black. The earliest jazz bands often included the word “Creole” as part of their ensemble’s name, to distinguish themselves from the black population.

The historical evidence does not support the idea that jazz emerged solely out of black culture, as an expression of the freedmen’s African roots. If that were the case, we should expect to see jazz developing in every region containing freed slaves. But the evidence shows that jazz developed in the unique cultural environs of New Orleans, with the city’s freedmen descendants playing only a partial role in the project, along with musicians from many other backgrounds. New Orleans musicians then spread the music to other parts of the country during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Nor does the evidence support the idea that jazz is an expression of black culture alone. The evidence is overwhelming that there was significant cross-cultural influence between all of the various ethnic groups represented in the population of jazz musicians during the music’s early years. Jazz could not

have evolved the way it did without the contributions of artists from a host of different musical backgrounds and experiences.

Middle-class blacks were generally hostile to jazz and blues in the music's early decades, through the 1920s. They considered musicians to be part of a disreputable class, and jazz and blues to represent a dangerous secular tradition that was at odds with their Protestant religiosity. Many blacks were too poor to buy a radio, phonograph, or admission to a live performance. The black audience for jazz was found primarily in large cities, comprising a tiny cross-section of the black population. A broader black audience for jazz emerged during the swing craze of the 1930s, along with the rest of the country. Once jazz's brief moment as popular music began to wane, so did the black audience. During the 1950s, the black audience began to dwindle. Since the recording industry's inception, the economic fan base for jazz has been comprised primarily of white listeners.

Racial Essentialism

The "blacks invented jazz" narrative is attributable to Jim Crow in several ways. First, the ideology of Jim Crow was founded on an "essentialist" conception of race. American racial essentialism assumes that members of a race share an essence, a commonality that determines their shared skin color and racial appearance, and that also determines their shared culture. But the evidence is overwhelming that racial essentialism is false. There is no biological or cultural characteristic that is unique to members of one race. Culture is learned, and thus any cultural trait is potentially accessible to any human capable of learning it, regardless of racial category. In short, racial boundaries are imaginary constructs.

The ideology of Jim Crow reified racial essentialism, treating the white/black (or white/not white) binary as if it were real, and as if skin color itself set boundaries on human culture and behavior. Furthermore, reifying the white/black binary denied the existence of groups with ambiguous status that did not easily fit into the black and white categories—groups such as the Gulf Coast Creoles of color. Not surprisingly, the jazz histories produced during the Jim Crow era reproduced this denial of interstitial status. Instead, jazz historiography reclassified the Creoles as "black." Their unique history and culture was conflated with that of freedmen and freedmen descendants. Meanwhile, Latin and Caribbean jazz pioneers were either ignored or trivialized—or recategorized as "black."

It is already dubious to insist on the artist's ethnicity as the most significant biographical element shaping his creation. But the simplistic illogic of Jim Crow racialism requires that musicians with mixed ancestries be reduced to either black or white. Furthermore, the Jim Crow racial binary also obscures ethnic distinctions among white Americans. During the first decades of jazz, Americans of Jewish or Italian descent suffered their own experiences of segregation and discrimination. Many of the early Jewish and Italian jazz musicians changed their names to sound more Anglo, in order to improve their chances in the music business. Jewish and Italian musical culture had a profound influence on the development of jazz and other American popular music styles. A

number of prominent jazz musicians were of partial American Indian ancestry. But under the binary black-white racial ideology of Jim Crow, the only racial debate in jazz historiography has been over the significance of contributions made by essentially “white” musicians to what the first jazz critics mistakenly viewed as an essentially “black” folk art.

Primitivism

Much of early jazz criticism focused on the critics’ perception of the music as an expression of primitivism. The primitivist aesthetic was popular in a number of art worlds in the early decades of the twentieth century. Artists and critics became fascinated with the folk art of exotic, “uncivilized” cultures. The artist Pablo Picasso was inspired by African masks. The French composer Claude Debussy was inspired by Indonesian gamelan ensembles. The primitivist conception of jazz saw the music as the purely emotional expression of Noble Savage stereotypes, unfiltered by intellectual intent. For the primitivists, the jazz musician was an inarticulate, unreflective, and unsophisticated naif who did not fully comprehend the artistic import of his creation. Since Jim Crow ideology stereotyped African Americans as emotional, instinctive, spontaneous, and unreflective, the primitivist myth of jazz became bound up with racial essentialism, and jazz was redefined as an essentially black music. An acknowledgment of the significance of “European” influences on jazz would have amounted to an admission that the primitivist thesis was flawed.

Not surprisingly, the primitivist myth was especially popular among critics who viewed jazz as an expression of African Americans’ racial essence. In 1934, the French author Hugues Panassie published “Le Jazz Hot,” the first significant book of jazz criticism. Panassie held that: “In music, primitive man generally has greater talent than civilized man. An excess of culture atrophies inspiration” (quoted in Jarrett 1999, 41). Winthrop Sargeant, an early American jazz critic, considered jazz to be a folk music, “the original primitive music of the American Negro.”

For these early critics, “hot jazz” performed by black musicians was the only authentic expression. White musicians could only aspire to be imitators or exploiters of African Americans. Thus critics denied the possibility of **Louis Armstrong**’s art deriving from an informed, reflective esthetic agency.

The primitivist perception of jazz reduced artistic creation into a spontaneous, instinctive, animalistic activity, devoid of cerebral, intellectual intent. The primitivists conceived jazz in terms that exactly match the Jim Crow stereotype of the African American as an intellectually limited slave to his emotions. But while primitivism is informed by the racist stereotypes of Jim Crow, it is not cognate with racism. Racism holds whites to be superior in every way. Primitivism reverses the equation, and instead valorizes the primitive’s “natural, spontaneous” creations over hyperintellectual European art.

The primitivist myth reinforced the racial stereotypes of Jim Crow, but with a twist. Jim Crow denied the possibility of significant black accomplishments. The primitivists, on the other hand, celebrated black accomplishments, but denied the intellectual humanity driving black creation. The primitivists

ignored the significance of New Orleans' French Opera in the city's cultural life at the dawn of jazz, even though a number of early jazz musicians performed in the opera or attended it often. The primitivists ignored the fact that a significant number of the early jazz greats were well-trained musicians, many of them college graduates. Those who did not have access to music lessons in their youth often sought out advanced training even after they were well established in the music business. The primitivists ignored the central place in jazz of musical instruments and traditions derived from European music, instead valorizing only those elements that they perceived to represent African primitivism. Primitivism ignores all of this, and instead falsely attributes jazz musicians' artistry to "the Negro's" racial essence—a conception of identity that the primitivists borrowed from the tenets of Jim Crow racial pseudoscience. Primitivism reinforces Jim Crow racial ideology, first by claiming jazz as an exclusively black creation, but also by denying that black musicians possess the intellectual powers of intense concentration and reflection, instead attributing their artistry to instinct and to racial characteristics inherited from Africa.

The racial essentialism of the primitivist myth was not unique to critics, but was also adopted by musicians themselves. Duke Ellington preferred to refer to his music as "Negro music" instead of "jazz." The composer Darius Milhaud held that: "There is no doubt that the origin of jazz music is to be sought among the Negroes. Primitive African qualities have kept their place deep in the nature of the American Negro and it is here that we find the origin of the tremendous rhythmic force as well as the expressive melodies born of inspiration which oppressed races alone can produce" (Lemke 1998, 92).

Economics

The primitivist myth is hardly limited to jazz criticism. It has long been central to the economics of jazz. As early as the 1920s in Harlem, then New York City's black neighborhood, clubs opened to cater to white patrons in search of an exotic and transgressive experience. On one stretch of 133rd Street during the 1920s, 11 nightclubs operated for a whites-only audience, in the midst of a black ghetto. This area was known as "Jungle Alley," because many of these clubs adopted a jungle theme. They were decorated with palm trees and other exotic plants. Black employees dressed as stereotypical jungle savages. Chorus girls wore costumes representing loin cloths made of leopard skins. Duke Ellington's 1920s band was known for its "jungle sound," and cut records under the pseudonym "The Jungle Band." Even prominent black performers such as Louis Armstrong and Josephine Baker performed in costumes that symbolized "jungle" stereotypes. Thus financial motivations led entrepreneurs and performers alike to exploit the primitivist myth.

The racial binary of Jim Crow also structured the early recording industry. During the 1920s, recording sessions were segregated by race into "black" acts and "white" acts—at least for publicity purposes. Multiracial, multiethnic bands did record, but under pseudonyms that implied a monoracial identity for all of the band's members. For example, the Italian American guitarist Salvatore Massaro changed his name to "Eddie Lang," apparently

assuming that his Italian name was a disadvantage in the music business. But on his records with the black guitarist Lonnie Johnson, he used the pseudonym “Blind Willie Dunn,” thus impersonating a black bluesman. On other Lonnie Johnson recordings, the names of his white bandmates were simply left off the record. One of Massaro’s records was released as “Blind Willie Dunn and his Gin Bottle Four.” This band included King Oliver, a “black” trumpeter who worked in a “Creole” band, as well as the Italian American Massaro and the African American Johnson.

The primitivist myth manifested in the recording industry held that black musicians were superior performers of the more energetic, up-tempo “hot jazz” style, and that black audiences were more interested in this type of jazz. Meanwhile white musicians were stereotyped as better performers of the more commercial, pop-oriented “sweet jazz,” and industry executives believed that white audiences preferred this style of jazz. The recording industry fostered these stereotypes by preferring to release “sweet jazz” records by white bands, while ignoring the white bands’ actual live performance repertoire. Conversely, the recording industry took black bands whose repertoire contained a wide variety of waltzes and love ditties, and ensured that their recorded output consisted primarily of hot jazz numbers. Many musicians of the era—both black and white—have long complained that the skewed racial logic of the recording industry has prevented posterity from being able to appreciate the musicians’ full accomplishments, instead focusing on only one aspect that may not be representative of their artistry.

The recording industry’s primitivist “white-sweet/black-hot” stereotype functioned as a feedback loop. As the record-buying public consumed hot records from only black bands, and sweet records from only white bands, a racial stereotype with little basis in reality became a self-fulfilling prophecy, engrained into Jim Crow’s musical culture.

Communism

Some opponents of Jim Crow ideology deployed the primitivist myth in an opportunistic manner that valorized racial essentialism. Jim Crow ideology denied the possibility of black talent. Consequently, Jim Crow’s opponents sought out talented blacks as counterexamples, and among the shining lights of early jazz were many accomplished black musicians. This rhetorical strategy was popular with Communist music critics in Europe, and later, the **Communist Party** and its sympathizers in the United States. For these critics and activists, to befriend and honor black artists was a symbolic blow against colonialism and western hegemony. They used the obvious evidence of black genius to criticize the illogic of Jim Crow racism. But in doing so, they further engrained the primitivist myth that jazz was fundamentally a black creation. Thus in attacking Jim Crow, they also reproduced its core fallacy—the notion that racial essentialism is a valid construct.

Social Funneling

One of the most convincing arguments in favor of the “jazz as essentially black music” narrative is the sheer number of black jazz stars. Certainly the

prominence of black genius in jazz history is no myth. However, the predominant narrative obscures the role of white critics and gatekeepers in creating black stars, while they simultaneously de-emphasized the significance of white jazz geniuses.

The popular narrative also obscures the social funneling effects of Jim Crow segregation in the American economy. Music was one of the few professions open to blacks during the Jim Crow era, and perhaps the only potentially lucrative profession available to blacks that did not require a college credential or privileged family background. Much of the creative energy and talent in the black community was funneled into the music business, because there were so few other arenas in which talented African Americans were permitted the opportunity to succeed. Thus, the predominance of black geniuses in jazz is explained by the alternative options available to white talent that were denied to black talent. White talent was drained from jazz and disseminated into more secure and lucrative careers in the symphonies, recording studios, or music industry boardrooms, or into the vast number of nonmusical professions to which whites had easier access.

The economic role of jazz during the Jim Crow era is analogous to the role of professional sports today—an arena in which a talented but disadvantaged striver has an opportunity to succeed in the broader society. There is no disputing that race is significant here, but black predominance in both jazz and basketball is an economic outcome of Jim Crow racism—and not attributable to essential racial characteristics. To attribute black predominance in jazz or basketball to black peoples' superior aptitude for these activities is to reproduce the core fallacy of Jim Crow ideology—racial essentialism—while simultaneously obscuring the central role that Jim Crow racism plays in producing black predominance in these arenas. *See also* Rock and Roll; Rhythm and Blues.

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Thomas Brown

Jews in the South

Jews began immigrating to the American South in the eighteenth century. They established settlements in Savannah and Charleston during the colonial period, and after the Revolutionary War, others were founded in New Orleans, Mobile, and Richmond. By 1830, Charleston had become the largest and wealthiest Jewish community in North America. As the Civil War dawned, approximately 150,000 Jews, roughly one-quarter of the American Jewish population, lived below the Mason-Dixon line.

While the earliest immigrants were Sephardic Jews descended from those expelled from Spain in 1492, the vast majority of later immigrants came from Central Europe and Poland, where they suffered persecution. In Bavaria, they had been forced to live under the *Matrikel*, a civil code that regulated every aspect of their lives from how many Jews could live in a town or village, to where they could work, who they could marry, and how many children they could have. These immigrants considered America to be the biblical Promised Land, and while they were compelled to create separate communities because of dietary law requirements, restricted Sabbath travel, and other religious practices, they were anxious to assimilate.

Jewish communities formed benevolent societies to provide resources for the sick, poor, and disabled, to arrange prayer services and religious education, and, most importantly, to guarantee ritual burials in consecrated ground. These societies evolved into religious congregations, and by 1850, 28 congregations were established in the Deep South.

Many European Jews had supported themselves as tradesmen, and they continued to do so in the South. Some became itinerant peddlers, offering dry goods and household items from packs on their backs and later, when they could afford it, from wagons. The more successful ultimately rented or bought stores and became grocers, clothing merchants, jewelers, and outfitters for the next generation of peddlers. Their sons became bankers, lawyers, and merchants and many made substantial financial, civic, and cultural contributions to their communities. Jews were accepted in the South with a warmth not generally extended to Jews in the North.

Between 2,000 and 3,000 Jews fought for, and many died for, the Confederate States of America. Some were first-generation immigrants who had fled Prussian military conscription but volunteered to defend the nation that had granted them freedom to live as they chose. They wanted to earn a permanent place in that society. During the Civil War, Judah P. Benjamin, a Sephardic Jewish attorney raised in Charleston, served as Confederate president Jefferson Davis's attorney general, secretary of war, and later secretary of state. Benjamin was a defender of slavery, and while not all Southern Jews believed in its perpetuation, many did.

The robust economy of the 1850s had enabled many cotton planters to prosper, and because a significant number of Jews worked in or owned cotton factoring, brokering, and shipping concerns, they also prospered. Few, therefore, criticized slavery, the labor system that fueled the cotton industry. It was easier to accept the majority gentile opinion that black men were inferior to white men and that their subordination as slaves was the natural order of things. Many Jews in Charleston, Richmond, Savannah and New Orleans, like their gentile associates, became slaveowners, and some participated in the slave trade. Acceptance of slavery was the test of a true Southerner, and by the outbreak of the Civil War, Jews considered themselves true Southerners. Slavery was only one of several complicated issues that fueled Southern Jewish turmoil over the fundamental question of what it meant to be both a Jew, whose ancestors were slaves in Egypt, and a Southerner, who accepted and defended chattel slavery.

The war destroyed the South's plantation aristocracy but permitted an energetic generation of lawyers, brokers, and merchant bankers to emerge as leaders. Several, like the prominent Jewish cotton merchants Meyer and Emanuel Lehman of Montgomery, helped to rebuild the devastated Southern cities. Jews remained faithful to the Deep South, and few emigrated.

Between 1881 and 1924, thousands of Eastern European Jews fled the pogroms of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Romania, and Poland and entered the United States. Those who came South were very different from the earlier German-speaking immigrants from central Europe, who by the 1880s were practicing Reform Judaism. These newly arrived Jews were Orthodox, spoke Yiddish, dressed as if they lived in the Middle Ages, and had no interest in assimilating. Victims of religious persecution, they intended to transplant their Orthodox practices to their new homeland, and simply wanted to be left alone. They worked as grocers, dry goods vendors, and clothing merchants and often lived in rooms above or behind their stores, which tended to be located in the poorer sections of Southern cities. They dealt with black customers on a regular basis and often extended to them courtesies that the white downtown merchants denied them. To immigrants struggling to make a living, a customer was a customer, and "Jew store" owners tended to ignore the tenets of white supremacy. German and Sephardic Jews were embarrassed by them because of their foreignness in a culture that prized conformity. Assimilated Jews were accepted in financial, civic, and cultural circles in all the major Deep South cities, although they were not considered social equals and were denied membership in white country clubs. They generally limited their contact with Eastern European Jews, although their hard line softened somewhat after the murder of Leo Frank in Atlanta in 1915.

Frank was a New York City Jew who had come to Atlanta to manage a pencil factory. A solid citizen and president of Atlanta's Gate City B'Nai Brith Lodge, in 1913, he was suddenly arrested and convicted of murdering Mary Phagan, a 13-year-old employee. Despite Frank's housekeeper's placing him at home at the time of the murder, the jury, ignited by hate-mongering publisher Tom Watson's editorials in the *Jeffersonian* alleging that Frank's money would buy his freedom, took only four hours to convict him. "Let the Jew libertine take notice," Watson ranted, "Georgia is not for sale to rich criminals." Two years later, on August 17, 1915, Frank was kidnapped from a Georgia penitentiary by a mob enraged by Governor John Slaton's decision to commute his death sentence to life in prison. Twenty-five men, some of whom were leading Atlanta citizens, broke Frank out of jail and took him 175 miles to Marietta, Mary Phagan's hometown, where they lynched him. Afterwards, souvenir photographs of his dangling body were sold throughout the city.

At the time of the Phagan murder, Georgia was the only state that permitted factory owners to employ 10-year-old children to work 11-hour days. In the industrial New South, rural children were increasingly being sent to the city to help support their families, since farms could no longer sustain them. Frank, a Northerner, a member of Atlanta's business elite, and a Jew, seemed a perfect foil for resentful parents, disgruntled workers, and advocates for child labor laws. During the trial, strong evidence pointing to the factory's black janitor, Jim Conley, was discounted, and the prosecution actually called him

as a witness against Frank. After Frank's **lynching**, the Phagans' minister observed that it was as if the death of a black man (Conley) "would be a poor atonement for the life of this innocent little girl . . . but at 'Yankee Jew' would be a victim worthy to pay for the crime."

Despite the fact that in 1915, Atlanta's Jewish community was the largest and most assimilated in the South, the wave of anti-Semitism that engulfed city during and after Frank's trial contributed to the founding of both B'nai B'rith's national Anti-Defamation League and the **Ku Klux Klan's** Knights of Mary Phagan. Frank's lynching terrified Atlanta's Jews and virtually all the Jews of the South. Hatred and resentment seemed to have come out of nowhere, and they could only conclude that despite the goodwill of the past, they would be required to tread carefully with the majority white community in the future. Times were clearly changing.

On August 8, 1925, 40,000 hooded, robed, American-flag-waving Klansmen marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC, to open their annual Klonvocation. This "new Klan" marketed itself as a fraternal order, like the Masons. It raised funds for charity, sponsored family picnics, and advocated "law and order." Men and women who had become disoriented by the post-**World War I** social changes welcomed its promises to restore order by "doing something" about liberal federal immigration policies and **Jazz Age** immorality. In Birmingham, **Alabama**, "doing something" meant visiting men and women (black and white) whose behavior violated the Klan's "Christian sensibilities" and flogging them into submission. Burning crosses warned blacks, Catholics, Jews, immigrants, union organizers, and Communists not to forget their place. Catholics were believed to harbor dual loyalties because of their allegiance to the pope in Rome, and Zionists were also suspect. The clear message was that it was dangerous to be different.

Then, on March 25, 1931, at the height of the **Great Depression**, nine young, unemployed black men looking for work hitched a ride on a Southern Railway freight line and were arrested near Scottsboro, Alabama. Charged with raping two white women who were also riding the rails, they were tried without adequate counsel, convicted with little evidence, and if the governor had not sent in the **National Guard** to protect them, they would have been lynched. In less than three weeks, they were sentenced to die in the electric chair, despite the fact that one of the women later denied ever having been raped. Communist-aligned International Labor Defense attorneys Samuel Liebowitz and Joseph Brodsky, both Northern Jews, defended these men, who came to be known as the "Scottsboro Boys," pro bono. The Scottsboro Boys trials and their subsequent appeals constituted some of the most sensational journalism of the century.

In April 1933, during Scottsboro defendant Heywood Patterson's trial, prosecutor Wade Wright pointed to Liebowitz and Brodsky and entreated the jury to convict Patterson in order to show the world that "Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York." Patterson was speedily convicted and sentenced to death. The verdict of the co-opted jury terrified Southern Jews who equated Wright's remarks with those of Tom Watson, who had incited the Leo Frank jury and mob just 20 years earlier. Northern liberal Jews became linked in the press and in the minds of Southern

segregationists with Communism and black revolution. Jews who wanted to remain in the South, and most did, were determined to disassociate themselves from that image. If they had any qualms of their own about the rightness of segregation, few felt free to express them.

Suspicious about Jewish loyalty grew after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring segregated public education unconstitutional and the subsequent establishment of **White Citizens Councils** committed to maintaining segregation. Liberals, progressives, and anyone else who maintained that Jim Crow laws were unconstitutional were intimidated into silence as white supremacists closed ranks and retaliated against anyone—outside agitator or internal dissenter—who disagreed with them. Active grassroots support for the *Brown* decision was never permitted to take hold in the South. Journalist David Halberstam observed that “before the advent of the Councils a man who spoke up against Jim Crow merely ran the risk of being known as a radical; today [1956] he faces an organized network of groups consciously working to remove dissenters—his job and his family’s happiness may be at stake.”

The Councils levied boycotts, lease and loan cancellations, and intimidation of suppliers and customers against businessmen who they believed advocated integration. Since most Jews earned their livings in ways that made them vulnerable to economic terrorism, many concluded that it was critical to get on the right side of the segregation issue. Frightened and frustrated by Northern Jewish support for the *Brown* decision, they joined the Councils in large numbers. After the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the national Anti-Defamation League championed the *Brown* decision, segregationists maintained that Northern Jews were the source of all the South’s troubles. Citizens’ Council cofounder Tom Brady declared that the **separate but equal** doctrine had been overturned by a Communist-Jewish conspiracy. As this theory became more widely accepted, the relative paradise that Southern Jews believed they had found in the South began to unravel. Desperate Jewish businessmen became active in the Councils alongside diehard segregationists and terrified moderates who maintained that they joined only to keep apprised of what was going on and to prevent the Council from turning into another Klan. Jews joined for the same reasons, and many also considered their membership a way to prove their loyalty to the South and to demonstrate their willingness to work to keep it segregated. Still, for many Jews whose ancestors had lived and died in European ghettos and who themselves were subjected to social exclusion, it was difficult to accept the Council’s insistence that Southern blacks preferred segregation—that integration was being imposed on them by outside agitating Communists. On the other hand, not every Jew kept silent out of fear. Some came to share their neighbor’s convictions about black inferiority. After living in the segregated South for generations, some Jews felt more comfortable among Southern gentiles than among Jews from other parts of the country—especially the North.

In 1956, a majority of Montgomery’s Jews confounded **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, by ignoring the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**. King counted on Jewish support because Northern Jews were his staunchest white allies. “The local Jewish leadership has been silent,” he complained. “Montgomery Jews want to bury

their heads and repeat that it is not a Jewish problem, but it is a fight between the forces of justice and injustice and I want them to join with us on the side of justice.”

This defiance frustrated liberal Jews who warned that accommodation had encouraged the Nazis. In addition, as blacks became more assertive, Southern Jewish businessmen found themselves singled out for criticism. Fred Shuttlesworth, a colleague of King's, told a reporter for the *National Jewish Post and Opinion* in 1957 that “Jews not only control the wealth of America, but they control American cities. The basis of segregation is economics. If the Jews would give their money and support desegregation then the barriers would fall.” Southern Jews, whose primary concern was the physical safety of their families, homes, and businesses, felt pressured from all sides—from Northern Jewish liberals, Southern segregationists, and disappointed blacks. Everyone seemed to hold them to a higher standard than white Southern gentiles.

In the end, whether Southern Jews reacted or failed to react to preserve segregation it made little difference in how they were treated. Apoplectic segregationists who had been unable to stem the tide of the *Brown* decision or break the Montgomery Bus Boycott demanded scapegoats. Jews filled the bill because they fit so easily into the circulating conspiracy theories. White supremacists believed that Northern Jewish agitators, demonstrators, freedom riders, socialists, and Communists were ruining the country, and Southern Jews became guilty by association. During and after the wrenching days of the **Civil Rights Movement**, many Jews left the South feeling betrayed by the complex culture that they and their ancestors had loved, considered their own, and helped to prosper for more than 150 years.

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Mary Stanton

Jim Crow

The term “Jim Crow” refers to the system of racial segregation and oppression that existed primarily in the South from 1877 to the mid-1960s. Segregation existed in some parts of the North, yet by the turn of the century it had become a distinctly Southern phenomenon. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) the U.S. Supreme Court declared that “separate but equal” was constitutional and this provided the legal backbone for segregation until it was overturned by *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). In reality, “separate but equal” was never really equal. Racial segregation violated the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment, but the **federal government** continued to sanction the state laws

and practices of Jim Crow until the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. The Jim Crow era marked the ascendancy of white supremacy and not only consisted of the social separation of the races, but more broadly included **lynching** and mob violence, the manipulation of the justice system, inequality in education, economic subjugation, and the elimination of black suffrage.

The term Jim Crow is derived from the name of a character in a minstrel song performed by Thomas Dartmouth Rice in the 1830s. Blackface minstrelsy was a form of popular entertainment in which white actors blackened their face with cork and imitated what they considered to be authentic African American dialect, dance, and song. These theatrical performances frequently ridiculed African Americans and exaggerated alleged black characteristics. Rice named his act “Jump Jim Crow” and claimed to have based it on a dance he saw performed by an aged crippled slave in Louisville, **Kentucky**, owned by a Mr. Crow. Wearing ragged clothing representative of a field hand, Rice sang and danced to lyrics that included the stanza “Weel about and turn about / And do jis so, / Eb’ry time I weel about / And jump Jim Crow.” The routine was immensely popular during the antebellum period, and the figure of Jim Crow became a recognizable and enduring icon in American popular culture. In the 1840s, abolitionists used the phrase Jim Crow to describe segregated railroad cars. By the end of the nineteenth century, the term came to signify the social separation of the races.

Two forms of Jim Crow existed in the South: *de jure* and *de facto*. De jure segregation referred to the separation of the races as mandated specifically by law and de facto segregation occurred by custom or tradition. In the 1880s, laws such as the segregation of street cars appeared sporadically across the South. Between 1890 and 1915, Southern states enacted an array of statutes that led to a more rigid and universal framework for the social separation of the races. This explosion of de jure segregation reflected Southern whites’ growing unease about a younger, more assertive generation of African Americans who demanded respect and recognition of their rights. In addition, the intent of widespread codification was to solidify custom and to eliminate uncertainty about the social status of blacks and whites. Signs labeled “For White” and “For Colored” dominated the Southern landscape and Jim Crow regulated social contact in such places as restaurants, hotels, movie theaters, parks, schools, libraries, hospitals, and waiting rooms. In many cases, separation often meant total exclusion. State legislatures also enacted **antimiscegenation** laws prohibiting interracial marriage and passed laws or rewrote the state constitutions to make voter registration difficult if not impossible.

Although Southern states passed an elaborate network of laws, de facto practices of segregation endured. Patterns of de facto segregation varied depending on the location, the traditions of a community, or even the whim of a white person. In most places, whites and blacks were expected to abide by an unspoken racial etiquette. For example, blacks could not enter a white home through the front door, address a white person by their first name, or refuse to give way to a white person on a sidewalk. Courtrooms often swore in black witnesses with separate bibles, and in many stores, blacks could not be served until white customers were finished. Whites did make exceptions

“Jump Jim Crow,” by Thomas Dartmouth Rice, c. 1830s

Come listen all you galls and boys I's jist from Tuckyhoe,
I'm going to sing a little song, my name's Jim Crow,
Weel about and turn about and do jis so,
Eb'ry time I weel about and jump Jim Crow.

Oh I'm a roarer on de fiddle, and down in old Virginny,
They say I play de skyentific like Massa Pagannini.
Weel about and turn about and do jis so,
Eb'ry time I weel about and jump Jim Crow.

I went down to de riber, I didn't mean to stay,
But dere I see so many galls, I couldn't get away.
Weel about and turn about and do jis so,
Eb'ry time I weel about and jump Jim Crow.

I git upon a flat boat, I cotch de uncle Sam,
But I went to see de place where de kill'd Packerham.
Weel about and turn about and do jis so,
Eb'ry time I weel about and jump Jim Crow.

And den I do to Orleans and feel so full of fight,
Dey put me in de Calaboose and keep me dare all night.
Weel about and turn about and do jis so,
Eb'ry time I weel about and jump Jim Crow.

for black domestic workers, but only because a black servant tending to white children in a space marked as white still clearly retained a position of inferiority. For many African Americans, Jim Crow caused incredible apprehension about the repercussions of crossing the color line. Any action taken by a black man or woman that whites perceived to be impudent or disrespectful could lead to swift and violent retaliation.

After **World War II**, the edifice of Jim Crow began to break down. Black soldiers questioned the logic of having to fight for democracy abroad while returning home to face continued racial inequality. Protest on the grassroots level as well that initiated by institutions and celebrated leaders spread in the 1950s and early 1960s. The growing **Civil Rights Movement** ultimately pressured the federal government to take action. In 1964, the U.S. Congress answered President Lyndon B. Johnson's call to support racial equality and end Jim Crow. Congress enacted the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** which forbade discrimination in public places, provided funding for assistance to further desegregate schools, created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and gave the attorney general more authority to prosecute civil rights violations involving voting, the use of public facilities, government, and education. It was the most extensive piece of federal legislation in support of civil rights ever ratified by Congress. While racial discrimination and oppression did not entirely disappear following passage of the Civil Rights Act, it truly marked the end of the widespread legal and social system of Jim Crow.

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Natalie J. Ring

Johnson, Jack (1878–1946)

Jack Johnson was the first African American heavyweight boxing champion. As champion from 1908 to 1915, Johnson held the most important athletic title in all of American sports. Before him, white heavyweight champions refused to fight African American contenders. Battering whites in the ring, Johnson shattered the myth that white men were physically superior to African Americans. Outside the ring, he rebelled against white authority by defying the law and flaunting his relationships with white women. Johnson embodied a physical challenge to **Jim Crow**.

Arthur John “Jack” Johnson was born a year after the collapse of **Reconstruction**, in 1878, in Galveston, Texas. Johnson’s father, Henry, labored as a school janitor, while his mother, Tina, worked as a laundress to support their six children. For five or six years, Johnson attended elementary school. His boxing education began when he started fighting in battle royals. In these humiliating contests, white men formed a circle around black youths, who were sometimes blindfolded, and forced them to fight each other until only one was left standing. The victor won a handful of pennies. By his late teens, Johnson traveled throughout the country boxing against minor professionals.

In 1901, Johnson fought Joe Choynski, an experienced fighter, in Galveston. After Choynski knocked out Johnson, both were locked behind bars for nearly a month for violating Texas laws that prohibited prizefighting. Freed from jail, Johnson continued to fight, defeating the best contenders Galveston had to offer. Later that year, he left for California to fight new opponents. At that time, Johnson had no chance at the heavyweight title. In 1892, champion John L. Sullivan drew the color line, refusing to enter the ring with African American challengers. Although African Americans fought white champions in other divisions, heavyweight title bouts remained segregated. For many Americans, the heavyweight champion represented the “king of men,” and as long as a white man wore the crown, whites continued to believe in their own inherent racial superiority.

As a premier African American heavyweight, Johnson earned a shot at the Negro heavyweight championship against Denver Ed Martin in 1903. After defeating Martin, he defended his title against the best African American fighters, including Sam McVey, Sam Langford, and Joe Jeannette. Holding the Negro championship brought Johnson little fame and fortune. For the next

three years, he fought the best black and white boxers in the country, but white champions ignored him.

By 1905, boxing seemed to decline in popularity. Five years earlier, reform-minded politicians banned the sport by law, claiming that prizefighting promoted corruption, gambling, and immoral behavior. With little interest in boxing, purses shrank, and the heavyweight champion Jim Jeffries retired undefeated. At the same time, Johnson fought against less talented white fighters, often carrying his opponents round after round in order to dish out more punishment. He also hired a white manager who had the kind of connections that would help Johnson break the color barrier. Significantly, Johnson began traveling openly with white women, most of whom were prostitutes.

Johnson journeyed to Australia in 1907 to build up his international reputation. Later that year, he earned a match in Philadelphia against an aging former champion, Bob Fitzsimmons. Johnson dropped Fitzsimmons in two rounds and celebrated with a white prostitute named Hattie McClay, who became his travel companion over the next four years. The next year, Johnson chased heavyweight champion Tommy Burns to Australia hoping to arrange a title fight. Burns rejected his overtures, but Johnson persisted. The champ eventually gave in, after Johnson agreed to let the white fighter keep \$30,000 of the \$35,000 purse.

From the opening seconds of the first round, it was clear Johnson would win. Toned and powerful, Johnson toyed with Burns. He laughed as Burns wailed away at his midsection, dispelling the myth that African American men lacked intestinal fortitude. Burns fought back with racial epithets. Johnson hammered him until the 14th round. For the first time in history an African American held the heavyweight championship.

Almost immediately, promoters searched for the “Great White Hope,” a boxer who could restore the crown to the white side of the color line. As the search began, Johnson returned to America in 1909, more determined to live by his own rules. He bought flashy suits, fancy hats, and fast cars. The American public began to hear stories about his nightlife carousing with white women. In Chicago, he met a young prostitute named Belle Schreiber, who became one of his closest mistresses. Johnson lived recklessly, racing cars, ignoring speed limits, and racking up unpaid tickets. Jack Johnson insisted on being free.

After Johnson easily discarded every white challenger he faced, America finally found its White Hope, pressuring Jim Jeffries out of retirement. Now 35 years old and extremely overweight, Jeffries was far from prepared to save the white race. Nonetheless, the astronomical \$101,000 purse and the fight’s movie revenue provided plenty of motivation for him to lose more than 70 pounds before the match.

Originally scheduled for San Francisco, promoters moved the battle for racial supremacy to Reno, Nevada. The media depicted Johnson in Sambo cartoons, stereotypically portraying him as childlike and cowardly. More than 20,000 people traveled to Reno to witness the “fight of the century.” Drunken gamblers placed bets right up until the opening bell. When the two men finally raised their gloves on July 10, 1910, it was clear that Johnson was the stronger

boxer. He unleashed a series of counterpunches and uppercuts on Jeffries. By the 15th round, Jeffries's face had swollen as he struggled to stand upright. Finally, Johnson drilled him until he fell to the canvas. Jeffries's corner threw in the towel. The Great White Hope had fallen.

After Johnson's victory, white mobs attacked celebrating African Americans in numerous cities. To prevent further riots, authorities banned the showing of the fight film, while others called for an end to boxing all together. The new champion struck fear in whites who viewed Johnson as a dangerous role model for African Americans. Johnson hoped his fame would translate into a successful vaudeville career, but theater promoters feared boycotts or riots would follow the champion on stage. Johnson added to his controversial reputation by marrying Etta Terry Duryea, a previously wed white woman. He angered his new wife by continuing his relationship with Belle Schreiber. Duryea could not share her husband, or stand his physical abuse, and eventually committed suicide.

Nearly two months after his wife's death, Johnson married another young white woman, Lucille Cameron. Cameron's mother charged Johnson with abduction and white slavery, a federal violation of the Mann Act, which forbade the transportation of women in interstate travel for immoral purposes. The case fell apart when Cameron admitted to practicing prostitution before she met Johnson. Although the **federal government** knew he was not guilty, they pursued conviction, persuading Schreiber to testify against him. In May 1913, Johnson was convicted of trumped-up Mann Act charges. The judge sentenced him to 366 days in prison and a \$1,000 fine. Defiantly, Johnson fled to Montreal, Canada, and then set sail for France. Over the next year and a half, he staged shows, boxing exhibitions and wrestling matches throughout Europe, but struggled to earn money with the onset of **World War I**.

After defending his title three times in Paris, Johnson arranged a fight with another White Hope in Cuba. On April 5, 1915, Johnson squared off against the six-foot-six "Pottawatomie Giant," Jess Willard. In the 26th round, Willard took advantage of the aging champion and landed a long right punch that knocked Johnson down. Many reporters believed that the fight was fixed. Johnson later maintained that he threw the match for a large sum of money and a lenient return to the United States. Historians doubt Johnson's claim. Nonetheless, Willard reinstated the color line, and not until 1937 did another African American, Joe Louis, win the heavyweight championship.

Jack Johnson's boxing career basically ended after the Willard fight. Over the next five years, he fought unspectacular boxers and took up bullfighting in Spain and Mexico. After seven years in exile, he turned himself in to U.S. marshals in July 1920 at the California border. Thereafter he served one year in prison in Leavenworth, Kansas. For the rest of his life he worked a variety of jobs, as a boxing promoter, museum lecturer, preacher, and nightclub owner. During **World War II**, he fought an exhibition at the age of 67 to raise money for the war effort. Johnson was no longer the fighter he once was, but he could still race cars. On June 10, 1946, his life ended when he crashed his speeding automobile in North Carolina. *See also* Ali, Muhammad; Louis, Joe; Sports.

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John Matthew Smith

Johnson, John H. (1918–2005)

John H. Johnson built a publishing and cosmetics empire based on the promotion of healthy images for African Americans, in order to counter the prevalence of hurtful and damaging images of blacks in popular American media during the twentieth century. Born in Arkansas City, **Arkansas**, in 1918 to Gertrude and Leroy Johnson, John H. Johnson's early life was stable and secure, though at times marked by tragedy. Leroy Johnson, a sawmill worker, died in an accident at the factory when his son was eight years old. Later that year, Johnson and his mother narrowly escaped the Great Flood of 1927, when the Mississippi River overran its banks in nearly every state between **Louisiana** and Minnesota. Johnson and his mother spent six weeks on a small island awaiting rescue. When they returned to Arkansas City, they found their house devastated. The family found a measure of stability in the years after the flood. Gertrude Johnson remarried, and John Johnson excelled in elementary and middle school.

After John Johnson completed eighth grade, the highest grade offered to black students in Arkansas City, Gertrude Johnson and her son moved to Chicago in 1933. Though Gertrude Johnson's education ended at the third grade, she found gainful employment as a domestic worker. The two moved in with Gertrude Johnson's daughter from an earlier marriage, Beulah. They were later joined by Gertrude's husband, James Williams. The family of four became permanent residents of Chicago, and it was in the city that he launched two of the most profitable and significant magazines in African American publishing, *Ebony* and *Jet*.

Chicago was a popular destination for Southern African Americans migrating northward after **World War I**. Seeking to escape the **lynching, police brutality**, segregation in housing, few employment prospects, and inferior education, blacks like John H. Johnson found that Chicago and other cities (such as New York and Kansas City) offered economic opportunity and middle-class respectability. By the mid-1930s, African Americans had established prosperous businesses across the city, including insurance companies, newspapers, beauty salons, and grocery stores.

Though the **Great Depression** hit the country hardest in the early 1930s, Gertrude Johnson's wages as a domestic worker kept the family afloat. Her son enrolled in Wendell Phillips High School in 1933. The initial years in Chicago ultimately proved beneficial to Johnson. His stepfather joined the family in 1933 in Chicago. Johnson left behind most of the ill effects of a segregated, limited education in Arkansas City. By his senior year in 1936, Johnson edited the school newspaper, was voted senior class president, and earned a partial scholarship to the University of Chicago.

The family's fortunes took a turn for the worse in 1936, when the economic crisis that devastated the country eventually undid the prosperity enjoyed by much of Black Chicago. The Johnson family found financial relief in **New Deal** projects, including the **Works Progress Administration** and the National Youth Administration. After graduation, Johnson worked at Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, one of the most profitable businesses in Chicago.

It was at Supreme Liberty that Johnson gained much of his education in business and entrepreneurship. Johnson became the personal assistant of Supreme Liberty's president, Harry H. Pace. Over the decadelong relationship with Pace, Johnson developed valuable business contacts and networked with Pace's personal friends, the wealthiest of Chicago's black elite. He even used his small office at Supreme Liberty as the mailing address for his first undertaking in journalism, the *Negro Digest*.

Johnson founded *Negro Digest* in November 1942, using his savings and a \$500 loan from his mother as collateral to pay the printers. Though Chicago already had a number of popular black newspapers, most notably the *Chicago Defender*, the articles in the *Negro Digest* focused on positive images of achievement, hope, and success, rarely publishing articles about crime, delinquency, and violence. It also featured a regular column, "If I Were a Negro," in which famous white leaders answered questions about the "race problem," such as the morality of segregation and the scarcity of good education for black children. In less than a year, *Negro Digest* had nearly 100,000 subscriptions. Johnson used the profits from the *Negro Digest* to fund his most successful magazine, *Ebony*.

Founded in November 1945, *Ebony* followed the same journalistic pattern set by *Negro Digest*—upbeat stories of accomplishment, advice for business success, births and wedding announcements, and celebrity interviews—and its complete focus on black life and culture. Johnson used his resources from the *Negro Digest* to completely finance *Ebony*, and after a year, *Ebony* outsold *Negro Digest*. In *Ebony*'s first year, Johnson opted against including advertisements, in order to maintain complete editorial control. As *Ebony* increased in popularity, it cost more money to produce. In 1947, Johnson partnered with Eugene McDonald, president of Zenith Radio, the most popular black-owned radio station in Chicago. The advertising revenue from Zenith underwrote the production of *Ebony* after the first 12 months, and later, its success. Johnson became a member of the board of directors of Zenith in 1971.

Johnson's financial acumen extended to two more ventures, *Jet* magazine in 1951 and Fashion Fair Cosmetics in 1974. By catering to an exclusively African American audience, the Johnson Publishing Company developed a loyal following for its periodicals and its products. For example, Fashion Fair Cosmetics spoke to the lack of cosmetics for African American women in the 1970s. Fashion Fair currently controls much of the nationwide market for African American women's beauty aids, and the products are advertised exclusively in *Ebony* and *Jet*. Similarly, *Jet* magazine featured news articles on black life and history in a digest format. All three enterprises, *Ebony*, *Jet*, and Fashion Fair, stayed true to Johnson's vision of achievement through loyalty, constructive images, positive role models, and hard work.

However, by the late 1960s, Johnson's vision for African American success came under increased scrutiny. Influenced by the **Civil Rights Movement** and the Vietnam War in the 1960s, black intellectuals and celebrities criticized Johnson, the magazines, and the Johnson Publishing Company for irrelevance or for falling out of touch with the needs of black communities. One intellectual, **Harold Cruse**, wrote that *Ebony* and *Jet* merely promoted black achievement, big and small, without critical engagement or measure. By the mid-1970s, Johnson's vision of upbeat, middle-class black Americans failed to address the crushing poverty and unemployment facing African Americans in urban areas. The Johnson Publishing Company had raised African American spirits during the era of **Jim Crow**, but it had not kept up with lingering economic and political impact of segregation.

Johnson responded that the needs of the black community were his chief concern. He partnered with corporations that pledged to support black education. Among several awards, he has been granted the Spingarn Medal of Freedom from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1966, the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1996, and the "Greatest Minority Entrepreneur" by Baylor University in 2003. In his honor, Howard University rededicated its communication school to the John H. Johnson School of Communication. Though the *Negro Digest* (later renamed *Black World*) ended its run in 1970, *Ebony* and *Jet* remain tremendously successful, each earning over 100,000 subscriptions per year, the highest subscription rate of all-black periodicals in the world.

Johnson married Eunice Walker in 1941. They adopted two children. Their son, John Jr., died of sickle cell anemia at the age of 25. Their daughter, Linda Johnson Rice, graduated from the University of Southern California with a BA in journalism. She currently presides over the Johnson Publishing Company. Johnson died of heart failure in August 2005 at the age of 87. He is buried at Oak Woods Cemetery in Chicago.

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Nikki Brown

Journal of Negro History

In 1915, the Harvard University-educated, African American historian Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the following year, 1916, launched the *Journal of Negro History*. The *Journal* (edited by Woodson until 1950) provided a strong and sustained response to white academic racism and challenged the racist bias in mainstream American historiography throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Prior to the appearance of the Association and its *Journal*, black scholars struggled to contribute to the production of African American history, having been largely excluded from mainstream archives, libraries, history

organizations, conferences, and periodicals. Containing original articles on various aspects of African and African American history, primary source documents, as well as critically informed book reviews, the *Journal of Negro History* offered valuable publishing opportunities for an emerging new generation of black scholars, as well as countering Jim Crow-era stereotypes of black intellectual inferiority and shattering the myth that black Americans had no history.

Perhaps nowhere was the antiblack sentiment of American historians more evident than in the field of slavery studies, where Ulrich B. Phillips's idea of benevolent planter paternalism was the dominant white academic interpretation until the appearance of Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* (1956). Phillips's *American Negro Slavery* (1918), for example, offered a white supremacist vision of plantation slavery, one that argued that the institution was a controlling, civilizing influence over an allegedly inferior race. Responding to this racist romance of American slavery, very much the ideological accomplice of the sugarcoated movie blockbuster *Gone With the Wind* (1939), black scholars in the *Journal of Negro History* were among the first to question the validity of Phillips's research. In his 1919 review in the *Journal*, Woodson pointed to numerous methodological defects in Phillips's account, not the least of which was his utter "failure to fathom the Negro mind." Building on Woodson's critique, Richard Hofstadter's 1944 article for the *Journal*, "U. B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend," called into doubt the reliability and relevance of Phillips's sources in attempting to render an accurate account of the Old South. Hofstadter highlighted how Phillips had tailored his evidence, sampling chiefly from the records of larger slaveholders, so as to maintain a more favorable portrait of the chattel system.

Unlike Phillips, scholars writing for the *Journal of Negro History* did not neglect the African American perspective and were among the first to utilize slave narratives and interviews with former slaves in constructing their historical narratives. Other important subjects of African American history addressed by the *Journal*, but on the whole neglected or distorted by white scholars, included slave revolts and resistance, the domestic slave trade, free black communities in the Northern and Southern United States, black culture and consciousness (especially spirituality and the formation of black churches), the black family (with important and influential work conducted by E. Franklin Frazier), antislavery activities, and Reconstruction. The interdisciplinary methods used by scholars in the *Journal* (for example, calling upon anthropological, sociological, and psychological as well as historical approaches), together with their concern for so-called ordinary and everyday people, greatly anticipated the spirit and the sentiment of the social history movement that gained momentum throughout academia in the 1970s.

Reflecting the political gains and heightened racial pride of the Civil Rights and Black Power era, in 1972, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History became the Association for the Study of Afro-American (and later African-American) Life and History. However, perhaps due to its long history and established reputation, it took another 30 years before the *Journal of Negro History* became the *Journal of African-American History* in 2002. See also Du Bois, W.E.B.

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Stephen C. Kenny

Julian, Percy (1899–1975)

Percy Julian, a groundbreaking chemist, triumphed over a number of racial barriers to gain significant achievement in research and science. Born in 1899 in Montgomery, **Alabama**, to a middle-class family of eight, Julian became one of the most noted scientists in the United States due to his pioneering work in sex hormones and synthesized drugs. Julian’s parents, James and Elizabeth Julian, stressed the importance of education in challenging and overcoming **Jim Crow** to all of their children. James Julian worked as a mail clerk on the interstate railway, and Elizabeth Julian was a schoolteacher. Educational opportunities for African Americans were heavily proscribed in Alabama, and there was only one public school for black students that went beyond eighth grade. Still, Julian and his five siblings graduated from high school and attended university, earning at least a bachelor’s degree. Julian graduated at the top of his eighth grade class, and continued at the private Lincoln Normal School. He maintained good grades, and in 1916 was admitted to DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana. He graduated in 1920 with a degree in chemistry, the class valedictorian and a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

However, DePauw had an uneven record on race, and a pattern emerged in Julian’s career of begrudging acceptance of his talent at predominantly white institutions without long-term, gainful employment. Julian’s professors of chemistry at DePauw praised him for his hard work and innovation, but they had also denied him entrance to the school’s doctoral program in chemistry based on the assumption that African Americans would not thrive in the field of chemistry at research universities. The pattern repeated itself at Harvard University. In 1922, Julian entered a master’s degree program in chemistry. He earned high marks and the recognition of his professors, but was turned down for teaching assistantships and admission into the doctoral program. His chemistry professors at Harvard rationalized that white Southern students might rebuff any instruction from an African American. Instead, from 1923 to 1926, Julian conducted research for various professors and studied organic chemistry. He then moved several times across the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic, teaching chemistry at West Virginia State College and Howard University from 1926 to 1929. Julian eventually secured a fellowship from the Ford Foundation to study chemistry at the University of Vienna in 1929. He entered the doctoral program in 1929, and studied under noted chemist Ernst Spath. He earned a PhD at the University of Vienna in 1931. Howard University then rehired him as full professor of chemistry. While at Howard, he met his future wife, Anna Johnson, who held a PhD in sociology. They married in 1935, and had two children, Percy Julian, Jr. and Faith Julian.

Professionally, Julian's career weathered a number of disappointing setbacks on account of racial discrimination. He was turned down at the University of Minnesota and Du Pont Lab, when both realized that he was African American after inviting him for interviews. After one year at Howard, he returned to DePauw in 1932 to resume teaching and research, but the university never offered him employment on the same level as his previous employer, Howard University. After four years of teaching without a tenured faculty position, Julian left DePauw for the Glidden Company, an industrial laboratory based in Chicago.

At Glidden, Julian entered the most fruitful period of his career, developing some of the most significant hormone treatments of the twentieth century. He was appointed as Glidden's chief chemist and director of research, the first African American in the country to direct a major industrial research laboratory. Julian's research in the chemical properties of soybeans yielded several important developments—a synthesis of cortisone, which was later developed as an early steroid; "Aero-Foam," a flame and fire retardant that smothers oil and gas fires used by the U.S. Navy in **World War II**; and a synthesis of physostigmine, a hormone used to treat glaucoma. The physostigmine compound proved so influential that in 1999, the American Chemical Society named it one of the most important drugs of the century.

Julian's life in Chicago was also marked by violence and intimidation. In 1950, his home in the exclusive, predominantly white suburb of Oak Park was firebombed. He and his family had not moved into the residence when it was set ablaze. Julian's son, Percy Julian, Jr., remarked that during this period, he often kept watch with his father sitting in the front-yard tree of their new house with a loaded shotgun. Julian's vigilance was well founded. Chicago had a long history of antagonism to integration of its lily-white suburbs, and this section of the country maintained strict **housing covenants** enforced by white homeowners associations. Similarly, the Union League Club of Chicago refused to let him enter on the day he was to give a lecture.

Julian enjoyed considerable financial success. He left Glidden in 1953 to form his own firm, Julian Laboratories. He sold the company for \$2 million in 1961, and then established the Julian Research Institute, a nonprofit organization that hired and placed black research scientists.

For his activism in civil rights, particularly in encouraging black students to pursue careers in the sciences, Julian was awarded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Spingarn Medal for Freedom in 1947. In 1949, Phi Beta Kappa honored him with the Distinguished Service Award. He was the first African American chemist to be inducted to the National Academy of Science. In 1990, he was posthumously elected to the National Inventors Hall of Fame.

At the time of Julian's death in 1975, he held 130 patents. His accomplishments and perseverance inspired the creation of two foundations, the Julian Research Institute and the In Search of Excellence Foundation. His life has recently been adapted as a teleplay for the Public Broadcasting Service program, *Nova*. Entitled "Forgotten Genius," the two-hour movie chronicles Julian's long-standing dedication to the study of chemistry and to civil rights for

African Americans. *See also* Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Robinson, Jackie.

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Nikki Brown

THE JIM CROW ENCYCLOPEDIA

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THE JIM CROW ENCYCLOPEDIA



Volume 2: K-Z

Edited by
Nikki L.M. Brown and
Barry M. Stentiford

Greenwood Milestones in African American History



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Kansas Exodusters

The Kansas Exodusters were the thousands of rural working-class African American men and women who tried to emigrate from the states of the Deep South to Kansas in 1879. “The Kansas Fever Exodus” pointed to African Americans’ rejection of the new status quo in the Redeemer South following the collapse of **Reconstruction**. Rural blacks voted with their feet in opposition to rampant political and economic injustice: the violent intimidation of black voters and political leaders, persistent white terrorism, and ongoing economic exploitation and debt peonage at the hands of white plantation owners and shopkeepers. The mass departure to Kansas represented African Americans’ hopes to build new a future where they could own land, cast their ballots, hold offices, and move about freely. The Kansas Exodusters hoped to be governed by the principles of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, not the whims of Southern whites who wanted to destroy the legacies of Reconstruction and impose new systems of oppression that too closely resembled antebellum slavery.

The migrants came from **Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas**. In these states, as well as the other Southern states, many years of white intimidation and terrorism shattered the constitutional and political promises made to African Americans during the years of Reconstruction. As blacks became free persons and citizens during the 1860s, whites in the South responded with violent hostility. For them, the idea that African Americans were equal under the law defied the most fundamental premise of white Southern culture: that white men could command and control the labor and status of African Americans. Initially in the spring of 1865, during the era of Presidential Reconstruction, whites in Southern state legislatures imposed “**Black Codes**” that were intended to constrict the newly freed’s rights. Whites wanted to force blacks into strict labor contracts with Southern planters, curb their political activities, and preclude African Americans from testifying against whites in court. Whites wanted to build a new South that closely resembled the old. Radical Reconstruction, however, destroyed the Black Code regime. Angered by Southern whites’ actions, the Republican Congress imposed military rule, gave blacks the vote and the right to hold office, and promised equality under the

law. Southern whites continued to fiercely resist black empowerment, however. They deployed extralegal tactics such as nightriding and “bulldozing,” and formed terrorist organizations such as the **Ku Klux Klan** and the White League, to intimidate and murder black Republican voters, candidates, and organizers. In election after election during the 1870s, Southern whites undermined the political process by stuffing ballot boxes, scaring away voters, forcing black candidates into exile, and murdering blacks who stood up to injustice. The terrible corruption and violence that overshadowed the 1878 elections in Louisiana convinced many blacks in the Gulf region that the South held no future for African Americans. In fact, some Louisiana parishes passed laws in 1878 that required blacks to carry passes when they traveled on public roads—distressing reminders of the days of slavery and the absence of democracy in the Redeemer South.

Unremitting poverty was the second major factor that gave rise to the exodus. In the years after the Civil War, poor blacks and landowning whites struggled to define the terms of labor and land use in the South. African Americans refused to submit to whites’ demands that they become landless laborers, struggling to distance themselves from any labor system that resembled Old South slavery. Black men and women wanted to possess their own land and live independently. Rural whites, however, opposed black landownership, which would have signified equality among whites and blacks. During the 1860s and 1870s, sharecropping and tenant farming emerged as the predominant labor and landholding arrangements that were available to blacks. As renters, African American families farmed a specified portion of a planter’s land, perhaps between 15 and 20 acres, paying an annual rent with a portion of the cotton crop they produced. While tenancy allowed blacks to distance themselves from their former masters, the workings of tenant farming created a cycle of debt peonage. White planters, shopkeepers, and creditors forced black farmers into a state of permanent debt by setting high prices for the “ginning” of cotton bales, overpricing tools and supplies at local stores, and establishing high rents for land. Black families had to remain on the land as renters in order to work towards paying off their outstanding debts. They seldom made a profit, sinking deeper into debt every year. To make matters worse, contracts between landowners and tenants often stipulated that the landlord could seize a tenant’s personal property—including farming tools, supplies, and mules—as payment. Whites never allowed African American farmers to climb out of poverty and tenancy to become landowners themselves, enforcing their will with the threat of violence. In 1879, after many years of struggle on Southern plantations, the Exodusters viewed emigration to Kansas as a way to finally achieve economic independence.

In the 1870s, Benjamin “Pap” Singleton, an aging former slave who once worked as a carpenter in Tennessee, popularized the notion of emigration to Kansas. Singleton viewed himself as a deliverer who would bring the oppressed of the South to the Promised Land. While Singleton called himself the “Father” of the migration, the Kansas Fever Exodus arose from the rural black working class itself. Between March and the end of the year, thousands of black men and women departed from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. Despite their shortage of funds, the migrants determinedly made their way

north and westward—doing so without the aid of a centralized leadership. Newspapers reported that 75 black men and women reached St. Louis in the early spring of 1879. The migration from the South rapidly expanded, much to the surprise of white observers. Between March and May, observers noted that the banks of the Mississippi River were crowded with Southern black families, all trying to secure passage to St. Louis and points beyond. The Kansas Exodusters reported to curious journalists that they were leaving the South for the land of John Brown. An estimated 4,000–5,000 migrants arrived in Kansas during 1879. Despite the groundswell that pushed the migration forward, the movement slowly began to fade. Many steamships refused passage to the migrants, and the poor black families who led this great migration quickly began to run out of money and could not complete the journey. Those who made it to Kansas found more opportunity than in the South, purchasing 20,000 acres of land, acquiring more than \$40,000 in assets, and securing an average yearly income of \$363. The migration would continue into the 1880s, but on a smaller scale.

The Kansas Fever Exodus was the high point of a broader pattern of grassroots emigrationism that unfolded in the post-emancipation South. In response to the racial violence and injustice of the post-Civil War years, African Americans looked abroad to Africa and the Caribbean, as well as domestically to Kansas and Indiana, in the hopes of finding freedom and new opportunities to own land. For instance, hundreds of black Americans in Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas applied to the old American Colonization Society for transportation to the African nation of Liberia. Between 1865 and 1868, 2,232 African Americans relocated to Liberia from the South. The average number of those who emigrated to Africa in the 1860s (558 per year) was more than double the rate during the years between 1820 and 1861. During the 1870s, emigration sentiment intensified because of the efforts of a U.S. Army veteran, black civil rights advocate, and former slave named Henry Adams, who helped create the grassroots Colonization Council. Adams and the other members of the Council tried to organize poor black farmers for emigration to Liberia, collecting the signatures of more than 69,000 rural black men and women. While a lack of funds prevented the organization from sending migrants overseas, the group popularized the idea of leaving the South and paved the way for the 1879 exodus to Kansas.

White reactions to the Kansas Exodusters varied. Early on, many white Southerners claimed the migrants had been duped into leaving by demagogues, while others expressed hopes that Southern labor might be more productive now that these quitters had left. However, as the migration intensified, whites in the South and North began to worry that the South would experience a labor shortage that would injure its fragile economy. African Americans generally endorsed the migration. However, some prominent blacks, including Frederick Douglass, criticized the migrants. Douglass believed the Exodusters had implicitly abandoned the struggle for citizenship in the South. While only a fraction completed the journey to Kansas, the fact that so many tried indicated that African Americans firmly opposed the political and economic practices that defined the post-Reconstruction South. *See also* Disenfranchisement.

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Gregory Wood

Kennedy, John F. (1917–1963)

As president, John F. Kennedy overcame initial reluctance to expend political capital on civil rights to make the issue integral to his administration. Kennedy evolved from a focus on symbolism to substance in addressing the persistence of the **Jim Crow** South and struck a major blow on behalf of equality under the law.

Enjoying a life of privilege in a *nouveau riche* family, “Jack” Kennedy was most familiar with the sort of prejudice directed at Irish Roman Catholics like himself in private schools and related settings. Forming the “Muckers Club” (named for Irish American laborers) while a senior at the Choate School, he reveled in defying pretentious authority figures with pranks committed by students whose wealth precluded expulsion. The fate of African Americans struggling to achieve full citizenship rights held no emotional relevance for Kennedy over much of his political career. Although progressive in his personal views on race, he cast two votes as a senator in 1957 that endangered a civil rights bill endorsed by most Northern Democrats.

More of a centrist than is commonly remembered, he had little interest in making social activism a prominent feature of his agenda, particularly if it compromised his prospects for the White House. Angling for a presidential run in 1960, Kennedy courted both civil rights leaders and segregationists in pursuit of a reputation for moderation. An opportunity for a politically advantageous gesture to African Americans presented itself when **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was sentenced to several months of hard labor after attempting to integrate an Atlanta department store eatery. With King destined for a rural **Georgia** prison camp, the environment seemed tailor-made for the sort of “accident” that could remove one of the most inspiring figures from the movement. Kennedy comforted a pregnant Coretta Scott King and used the influence of his brother, Robert (recent Senate counsel), to secure King’s release. Meanwhile, the Republican nominee, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, remained silent on the matter lest he face accusations of pandering (a concern shared by the Kennedy camp). In a close election in which Kennedy took the popular vote by roughly 120,000, the impact of this *faux pas* by Nixon was crucial. African Americans still provided considerable support to Republicans, to the extent that they could vote in an era of widespread disenfranchisement in the former Confederacy, for the party’s legacy of emancipation under President Abraham Lincoln. But King reversed his previous endorsement of Nixon, who belonged to the NAACP, in a move that may have decided the election for a candidate now praised for moral courage by the reverend.

African Americans comprised a constituency that would increasingly favor Democrats as the 1960s unfolded.

Despite the spirit of optimism and eagerness for social change generated by the Kennedy campaign, the newly elected president proved skittish about taking dramatic steps to address racial inequities in the South. Segregationists carried tremendous weight in the **Democratic Party**, as it had long enjoyed a virtual monopoly on political power in the South that rendered its legislators among the most senior in Congress. Kennedy knew that his economic initiatives could face obstruction, particularly in the Senate with its allowance for filibustering, if he designated civil rights a top priority. The leader of the Southern Caucus, Senator Richard Russell (D-Georgia), had not even endorsed Kennedy in 1960 and remained pointedly absent from the country during the final stage of the campaign. The hawkish president appreciated the like-minded views on national security typical among Southern Democrats and suffered from the period's most overwhelming political anxiety: fear of being labeled as "soft" on communism. The Kennedy White House consequently offered little more than lip service as Southern communities were convulsed by violence amidst the rise of the modern **Civil Rights Movement**. The president might have integrated the **National Guard** or highlighted the indignities suffered by African diplomats at restaurants in Virginia and Maryland, but instead he merely emphasized the enforcement of existing laws.

Yet federal oversight on race-based discrimination proved far from vigorous. The plight of the "Freedom Riders" of 1961 belied the rhetoric of Kennedy's vaunted New Frontier. Justice Department agents failed to protect **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** activists from beatings in Anniston, **Alabama**, while escaping from a bus set ablaze by segregationists resisting the integration of interstate transportation. As with similar incidents, these officials seemed content to take notes and liaison with state and local authorities without interjecting themselves into jurisdictional disputes. The president had no political cover in light of the fact that **Robert F. Kennedy** supervised the agency as attorney general.

Jack and Robert Kennedy harbored profound ambivalence over the Civil Rights Movement. To his credit, Robert labored tirelessly to impress upon Southern leaders the need to safeguard civil rights workers. Jack utilized federal troops and marshals to ensure that **James Meredith** could begin classes at the all-white University of **Mississippi**. He drew the ire of a powerful senator on the Armed Services Committee, John Stennis (D-Mississippi), for a Defense Department policy of discouraging military personnel from frequenting establishments that practiced segregation. But whenever the central issue was no longer the legitimacy of federal authority, their commitment waned. Robert betrayed a dislike for the political and social outlook of civil rights workers by characterizing them as dangerous radicals best kept at arm's length by the White House. He sanctioned illegal wiretaps of King's phones to investigate the possibility of Communist influence within King's entourage. Seeking a presidential term of his own in 1968, Robert would evince a conversion on political protest that transformed his standing with marginalized groups in America.

Jack Kennedy experienced an epiphany of sorts in the spring of 1963 when the focus of the civil rights struggle turned to Birmingham, Alabama. King vowed to make this city the proverbial Gettysburg of a new civil war as he marched with supporters to call for economic opportunity and an end to Jim Crow laws. Police chief “**Bull**” **Connor** employed tactics completely out of proportion for civil disobedience. When confronted with images of teenage demonstrators subjected to attack dogs and high-pressure water hoses, Kennedy was reportedly sickened and outraged. Galvanized into action, Jack and Robert lobbied national business leaders to pressure their Southern facilities to integrate. The president federalized soldiers from the Alabama **National Guard** to guarantee the admittance of two black students at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa despite the theatrics of Governor **George Wallace**. While many black leaders remained angry at the administration’s tepid track record, the White House was producing more results. In May, Kennedy supplied his first public address with unequivocal, impassioned support for the Civil Rights Movement. Working largely without a script, he emphasized the hypocrisy of a nation priding itself as unique and reformist on the international stage without tackling the clear failure to live up to the promise of its Constitution. Kennedy had received admonitions from African statesmen for efforts to apply a distinctly American solution to the war-torn Congo while newsreels ran Birmingham footage worthy of a tinhorn dictatorship. Kennedy introduced a civil rights bill in 1963 that aimed to eradicate employment discrimination and augment the legal assault on the segregation of public facilities. His assassination in November left Americans wondering what might have been if Kennedy had lived to continue his relatively activist approach, particularly with a second term in office. Marketing the bill as a final tribute to a fallen president and his legacy, President Lyndon B. Johnson ushered the legislation through Congress in 1964, in a complicated move for a Southern chief executive. Kennedy’s newfound commitment to civil rights has contributed to an ongoing scholarly debate over whether a longer presidency would have spared the United States much of the contentiousness and polarization of the 1960s in military, social, and economic affairs.

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Jeffrey D. Bass

Kennedy, Robert F. (1925–1968)

Robert F. Kennedy, as attorney general under his brother, President **John F. Kennedy**, and as a presidential candidate himself, contributed to both the frustration and the promise of the **Civil Rights Movement** as it attempted to transform race relations in the 1960s. Kennedy mirrored his brother John in adopting a more substantive approach to social justice as his career progressed.

Raised in an ambitious family where his older brothers were groomed for higher office, Robert dutifully played the role of political lieutenant by running Senate and Presidential campaigns for John in 1952 and 1960, respectively. During the latter race, he employed his influence as a former Senate counsel to facilitate the release of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, from incarceration in **Georgia** for civil disobedience. This maneuver helped sway black allegiance towards Democrats in a tight race and enhanced the image of John Kennedy as a socially progressive candidate. Appointed as his brother's attorney general, Robert presided over a Justice Department that earned little goodwill with the Civil Rights Movement. In 1961, federal agents stood by as members of **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** suffered beatings upon fleeing from a bus torched by segregationists hostile to these "Freedom Riders." Such laxity was not uncommon given concerns in the White House over antagonizing powerful Southern Democrats who could stymie presidential legislation in Congress. Although the two men never got along, Robert approved the illegal wiretapping of civil rights activists conducted by J. Edgar Hoover as head of the **Federal Bureau of Investigation**. The attorney general entreated Southern officials to refrain from violence even while regarding civil rights workers as dangerous radicals unworthy of full-fledged administration support. Only in the spring of 1963, with the horrific treatment of demonstrators in Birmingham, **Alabama**, did the White House confront squarely the question of race relations. On the night that President Kennedy delivered his first major speech on civil rights, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) activist **Medgar Evers** was murdered outside of his **Mississippi** home. The Kennedys were deeply moved by the conduct of the Evers family, and Robert provided his personal phone numbers so that federal authorities could be summoned quickly at any hour. John and Robert continued to view the Civil Rights Movement with some trepidation for its potential to alienate the administration from middle-class whites and to associate it with the excesses of black militants impatient with the integrationist approach of leaders such as King. But these two politicians recognized that the campaign for racial equality must press on regardless of its impact on reelection prospects. The assassination of President Kennedy in November left new initiatives and a sense of momentum in limbo.

Robert remained attorney general until September 1964 in an uneasy relationship with President Lyndon B. Johnson, who perceived him as a threat both intellectually and politically. Hoover cut him out of the loop on civil rights wiretapping with the exception of an instance in which King and his staffers had commented luridly on the sexual activities of the fallen president and his wife. Kennedy resigned his post for a successful run at a Senate seat from New York. By the late 1960s, his image was decidedly more progressive based upon a growing advocacy of social issues and his questioning of hawkish assumptions on the Cold War.

In 1968, a presidential campaign moved into high gear amidst a series of shocks to the U.S. political process and collective psyche. The Tet offensive in South Vietnam laid bare the extent to which government officials had underreported the strength of resistance in the region. After only narrowly winning the New Hampshire primary over antiwar senator Eugene McCarthy,

Johnson found his political base rapidly eroding. Meanwhile, Kennedy agonized over whether to enter the contest. Fearful of touching off internecine warfare among Democrats in what could be judged as a personal vendetta against Johnson, he could only content himself that the president remained obsessed with his potential candidacy. But the political landscape created by the Tet offensive paved the way for Kennedy to enter the campaign in March with a focus on disengagement from Vietnam and a comprehensive assault upon poverty and racism. Later that month, Johnson announced suddenly that he was abandoning his campaign to concentrate on the war effort. Kennedy was left to compete in the primaries against McCarthy and Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

As he joined the presidential race, Kennedy had begun a process of convergence with King despite minimal personal contact. The two had suffered dramatically for their causes and reached the conclusion that America's limitations ran far deeper than moderate reform could address. Neither crusader could tolerate that deteriorating race and class relations were fostering a society more likely to emphasize its differences than common bonds. Both men went out on a limb in a period of virulent anti-Communism to argue that the premises of the Vietnam War were faulty and that the conflict was tearing the nation apart at home by exacerbating racial tensions. Kennedy had become more compassionate than evident in his earlier days as political enforcer in his brother's White House, and King had developed greater pragmatism for translating his vision of racial cooperation into a tangible agenda. These fellow travelers in the quest to transcend the bitterness of their times would soon share the distinction of paying the ultimate price for their convictions.

Adding to the tumult of an extraordinarily bleak year, King was gunned down in April on the eve of what was anticipated as a radical speech in Memphis on the interrelation of poverty and racism. In the immediate aftermath of the slaying, Kennedy was en route to Indianapolis to speak to a ghetto audience unaware of the news. At a time of such racial polarization, few white politicians would have risked the potential hostility of a black crowd shocked by the loss of one of its most charismatic leaders. But Kennedy forged ahead with oratory both candid and inspiring. Referencing the loss of his brother to politically based hatred, he urged Americans to reject violence as a solution to any of the problems that plagued the nation in domestic and foreign policy. Soon, his presidential campaign grew more focused as he found a niche as the champion of the disenfranchised and dispossessed. Blacks, **Latinos**, and working-class whites rallied behind his banner of attacking the twin scourges of racism and poverty. His early campaigning bore the mark of a loose cannon, but he learned to channel intensity in a way that roused citizens to a sense of duty and action without losing their moral bearings in the process. A difficult road still lay ahead as McCarthy appealed to the antiestablishment vote as well. Yet Kennedy's emotional and confrontational style appeared to resonate more effectively than the professorial temperament of McCarthy.

California offered the greatest test yet with its numerous delegates and absence of a clear frontrunner. Activists such as Charles Evers and John Lewis of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** worked on Kennedy's

behalf. But the candidate continued his grassroots approach of facing angry black militants and converting many into backers. Kennedy triumphed with a 5 percent margin over McCarthy in what appeared to be a tremendous momentum shift propelling him towards the Democratic nomination. Just moments after addressing supporters at a Los Angeles hotel, he was shot in the head at close range by a Palestinian extremist, Sirhan Sirhan, and America lost another potent voice for change.

The abstract, intellectual McCarthy could not strike the same chord with Democratic voters, and most of the party turned to Humphrey. Though sporting a strong reform record of his own, Humphrey adopted a generally pro-war stance that alienated younger Democrats. The scenario that developed during the Democratic convention in Chicago was everything that Robert Kennedy had worked to prevent. Thousands of disenchanted youth descended upon the Democratic stronghold to protest the Vietnam War, the “safe” choice of Humphrey by party leaders, and other perceived features of a moribund status quo. The resulting clashes between demonstrators and law enforcement fractured the Democrats and helped secure the triumph of Richard M. Nixon.

Although a latecomer to the crusade for social justice, Robert Kennedy ultimately devoted himself to building a coalition across racial and class boundaries to make the political process work for all Americans. Ever cognizant of the odds, he preferred this uphill struggle to watching U.S. society lapse into apathy or revolution. Many of his contemporaries have argued that only his election in 1968 could have sufficiently unified the nation to avert the waning of the Civil Rights Movement, growing stagnation in Vietnam, and the petty political partisanship that lay ahead in the near future.

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Jeffrey D. Bass

Kentucky

The Commonwealth of Kentucky was admitted in the Union on June 1, 1792, becoming the nation’s first state west of the Appalachian Mountains. Isaac Shelby was elected the state’s first governor, and Frankfort was chosen the capital. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Kentucky was primarily a state of small farms rather than large plantations. In 1833, the state’s General Assembly passed a law that made the importation of slaves into the state illegal. In 1850, however, the legislature repealed this restriction, and Kentucky, while slave trading had begun to redevelop during the mid-1840s, was converted into a huge slave market for the lower South. At the same time, the overall population of African American Kentuckians began to increase. For example, in 1800, of the 220,955 people who resided in the Bluegrass State, 41,084 were black Americans who lived mostly in the state’s major urban centers. Thirty years later, in 1830, the number of African Americans

throughout the state had increased to 24.7 percent of the overall population (170,130 of the 687,917 inhabitants of Kentucky were black Americans).

Antislavery and abolitionist sentiment began in the state as early as the late eighteenth century. In various churches and other civic organizations, people such as John G. Fee, James G. Birney, Delia Webster, Calvin Fairbank, and Cassius M. Clay worked vigorously throughout Kentucky to eliminate the system of human bondage. This group was joined by a cadre of African Americans, like Eliza Harris, Henry Bibb, Lewis Hayden, John Rankin, John Parker, and Margaret Garner, who set out to prove that slavery could not stand in a state as well as a nation that rested on the principles stated in the Declaration of Independence. Soon Kentucky, like other border states, was torn by conflict over the issue of slavery. With the onset of the Civil War, with 30,000 Kentuckians fighting for the Confederacy, and about 64,000 serving in the Union ranks, including some 23,000 African Americans, the institution of slavery came to an end.

In 1865, as a result of the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, black Americans in the Bluegrass State gained citizenship. However, many white Kentuckians, retaining their racist views about African Americans, sought to prove that they still were in charge. More specifically, with the help of various white supremacist groups like the **Ku Klux Klan**, the enormous gains African Americans made in Kentucky during **Reconstruction**, as well as nationwide, came to an unceremonious end. Very quickly, the state began to enact a series of **Jim Crow** laws such as the 1892 Separate Coach Law, which required separate coaches for blacks and whites on interstate railroads. Although a group of African American Kentuckians tried to challenge the constitutionality of this law in court, in 1900, the **U.S. Supreme Court** ruled that the law was valid.

During the early 1900s, state politicians continued to enact Jim Crow laws to curtail the educational accessibility and limit the mobility of African American Kentuckians. For example, in 1904, the state passed the Day Law, which required the segregation of all public and private schools. Ten years later, in 1914, the Louisville Board of Alderman passed an ordinance designed to promote residential segregation. This law declared that if the majority of a specific community was one race, than only members of that race could purchase a home in the area. Despite the overturning of this law by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), residential segregation unremitting characterized most of the Bluegrass State until the late 1960s. However, the stern walls of legal segregation had started to crumble during the late 1940s.

In 1949, a federal court ordered the University of Kentucky to admit African Americans to its engineering, graduate, law, and pharmacy schools. A bill was defeated in the Kentucky General Assembly to rescind the Day Law in 1954, however, the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* on May 17, 1954, made this challenge moot. Most educational facilities throughout the state quickly complied with this ruling, thus avoiding the harsh battles that erupted throughout the Deep South. Although unwritten discrimination practices continued in Kentucky during most of the 1950s and early 1960s, most of the overt forms of residential segregation gradually disappeared mostly as a result of the pressure garnered by civil rights–led boycotts and marches throughout

the state. For example, in March 1968, Kentucky became the first state to enact a statewide anti-housing discrimination law.

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Eric R. Jackson

King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968)

Martin Luther King, Jr., was a theologian, social activist, lecturer, and author. Born into a middle-class family in Atlanta, Georgia, King, during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, first represented the social, moral, and political aspirations and struggles of black Americans during the age of segregation and would become the leader of the **Civil Rights Movement** generally organized in black churches and supported largely by middle- and working-class blacks throughout the South. Later, as white resistance in the South organized to oppose desegregation on all levels and violence against blacks and Northern whites who traveled to the South to support desegregation, the movement took on national as well as international importance.

King was a precocious youngster, both mentally and physically, and grew up in a Christian home. His father, Martin Luther King, Sr., was the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, the largest black church in Atlanta, and his mother, Alberta Williams King, was the organist. At home, the young King was doted on, was loved and told that he was special, and enjoyed middle-class comforts. Though his parents, especially his father, railed against racism and segregation, they made it a point to remind him that it was very important to transcend hate, even from those who publicly humiliated you. King joined the church when he was five, received his first experience of racism when he was six when his white friend, with whom he had played since King was three, suddenly informed him that he could no longer play with him. At eight, he was slapped by a white female on whose feet he accidentally stepped. Before enrolling in Morehouse College at the age 15, King would witness and experience many examples of racial and social injustice that prevailed in Atlanta. He was mostly undaunted by such examples, and all visible and overt examples of racism he experienced in the world outside of the home were largely negated by the expressions of love and devotion directed towards him by his parents and others who recognized his talents: he won the an oratory contest when he was 14 on the theme “The Negro and the Constitution.”

Enrollment at the all-male Morehouse College (1944–1948) for a BA in sociology and Crozer (1948–1951) for his BD threw King into an intellectual and academic world that, he claimed, shattered his fundamentalist upbringing. For in these worlds, he rediscovered Thoreau and discovered Hobbes, Marx, Locke, Mill, Nietzsche, and the writings of Christian theologians, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Satyagraha theory of Mahatma Gandhi. This exposure prompted King to reflect on two features of religion he would seek to attain: the infusion of more intellect, not just emotion, in black sermons, and his view that religion should be used to challenge and change the existing society, not



Martin Luther King, Jr., removes a burned cross from his lawn in 1960. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-126560.

simply adapt to its ongoing values and norms. He later attended Boston University (1951–1955), where he received a doctorate in theology. There, he met Coretta Scott, who was studying to become a concert singer. They were married in Marion, Alabama, in June 1953.

In April 1954 King accepted an offer to become the pastor at Dexter Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, while completing his dissertation at Boston University. He was installed as pastor in October of that same year. King, however, was indecisive with respect to his future career. He was torn between a career in education and a career as a pulpit minister, just as he was once torn between living in the North or living in the South. He chose living in the South because he pledged himself to work to resolve racial and human rights problems in

the area. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man, though no other seats were available in the bus. After her arrest, the ministers assembled and elected King president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). After a judge deemed Parks guilty and fined her \$100, the MIA agreed to launch a bus boycott. The news of the boycott spread like wildfire throughout the South; the boycott was successful, and it was the beginning of King's problems with justice in the South. Between the beginning of the boycott and November 1956, when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the segregation law as unconstitutional, King was arrested for speeding—30 miles per hour in an area with a 25 MPH speed limit—and received more than 40 death threats, and, on January 30, 1956, his home was bombed. During this time, King was solidifying two approaches that would be a part of his strategy in resolving social issues: a Christian approach that emphasized Christian love and forgiveness, and Gandhi's method of winning through nonviolence. He visited Gandhi's India in February 1959, where he got a close look at the world of the Untouchables, those at the bottom of the Indian caste system. King's leadership was recognized by many in the Civil Rights Movement, for he was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

As demonstrations against racial segregation in the South began to spread, King was called upon to lead these demonstrations and to help organize the protests. The demonstration against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, would be the next test case after Montgomery. It was here after his arrest in April 1963 for protesting racial segregation in the city that King wrote his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."

This letter, written on the margins of old newspapers, scraps of paper, and legal pads, was first of all a castigation of the Christian ministers who criticized King for leading the protest in the city. It was also the beginning of King's assertion that there were just laws (God's Laws) and unjust laws (human laws), and citizens had an obligation to disobey unjust laws. In August

1963, King made his famous “I Have a Dream Speech” to the more than 300,000 people assembled on the Mall in Washington, DC. King reminded the nation that it was time to put an end to segregation, that Americans had to be conscious of the importance of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in the making of the nation, and that blacks have come too far to give up or permit the freedoms they had won to disappear. The speech was an often stern message to both whites and blacks: for whites, to judge Americans not by their color but by their character; for blacks, the advice was to stay strong and remain disciplined in their protests.

In 1964, King was honored as *Time* magazine’s Man of the Year, published the book, *Why We Can’t Wait*, and, in December of that year, received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway. Then overt racial strife began to break out in the North, the Vietnam War was heating up, and critics of the war began to overtly question the government’s war policy. Young blacks, more impatient than their elders, began to utter the cry of Black Power as a new approach to power and diversity in American life. Younger members of the movement had long expressed their discontent with older leaders, withdrew from their association with older members of the movement and formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in April 1960.

The Vietnam War and Human Rights

King began to compare the war in Vietnam as an example of the attempt by the large Western nations to colonize Third World nations of color. First, he raised the issue of spending billions for war while the poor were not being sufficiently cared for at home. King’s public antiwar declarations strained the racial alliance he had formerly created to address issues of poverty and discrimination, for there were whites who favored the war as a necessary war against Communist aggression, while supporting all efforts to abolish segregation in the United States. King also raised the issue of “guns vs. butter” and whether it was possible for the nation to spend billions abroad and not neglect its problems at home. King opposed the war on moral and economic grounds. Like **Malcolm X** before his death, King wanted to move from civil rights to a more universal human rights movement and struggle, and he saw nothing wrong in linking the American Civil Rights Movement to international political and war matters.

Black Power

King understood the importance of the idea of Black Power for black youth given the historical legacy of slavery and segregation. He believed the slogan “Black is Beautiful” to be positive and asserted the right of any group to be proud of itself. He was simply afraid of “excessive” racial or ethnic pride, one that might short-circuit attempts to forge social and political alliances with others. He was particularly concerned that young blacks were raising the cry of race precisely at the moment the rest of the world was focusing on the changing world economy and the impact of automation on all aspects of life. Above all, King hoped to forge alliances between all segments of American society—poor whites, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans.

That he was unable to forge such alliances would be one of his greatest disappointments.

The year 1967 was one of massive urban devastation as riots occurred in a number of large American cities, and King's last book, *Where Do We Go from Here? Chaos or Community*, seemed to mirror some of his disappointments due to notable progress in racial and human relations and the lack of great progress in alleviating abject poverty in the nation. Despite these shortcomings, King continued to believe that the nation would right the wrongs perpetuated against blacks and other minorities. He was a moral leader who believed white Americans could and would step up to the plate and do the right thing, and he also believed that blacks would not give up their quest for greater freedoms in the nation. He also believed that black Americans would link their struggles at home to the struggles of others abroad, and thereby strengthen the politics of one type of power confronting another power, but with love, patience, and forgiveness in the forefront.

When King agreed to travel to Memphis, Tennessee, to join others in support of the striking sanitation workers, he was warned to be careful, and he, himself, had a degree of uneasiness, though he did go. His speech in the Memphis Masonic Temple, "I've Been to the Mountain Top" was revealing in that he vowed to fight on and to look death in the face and remain unafraid and unbowed. On April 4, 1968, he was shot and killed on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis by James Earl Ray. *See also* March on Washington; Montgomery Bus Boycott.

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Rutledge M. Dennis

Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is the name of various terrorist organizations originally created in late 1865 to restore white Democratic rule to the recently defeated states of the former Confederacy. In order to realize their goal, the KKK used violence and the threat of violence to prevent blacks from exercising their civil rights, and to cower or drive out whites who assisted blacks or in any way supported Republican rule in the South. The original Ku Klux Klan can be interpreted as a continuation of the Civil War by insurgency. The original Klan and other white supremacist terrorist groups such as the White League were able to drive blacks away from the voting booth in large enough numbers to allow the legal disenfranchisement of blacks. The original Klan largely disappeared by the mid-1870s. It revived in 1915, and reached new heights of influence in the 1920s, when the Klan became politically strong in several states, particularly in the Midwest. The new Klan focused on Jews, Catholics, and immigrants as much as blacks. After declining into obscurity

in the 1930s, new, more violent organizations calling themselves the KKK began to thrive in the 1950s, ostensive defending traditional American values against communism, but in practice attempting to use violence to prevent integration and black voting.

The original Ku Klux Klan was created by six former Confederate soldiers on Christmas Eve in 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee. According to later accounts, several former Confederates dressed in white sheets pretending to be the ghosts of Confederate dead and rode around in the night to frighten the local black population. After seeing the effect of their actions, the night riding continued. The men, all college educated, chose the name *Ku Klux Klan*, based on the Greek word *kyklos*, meaning circle, and the word *Clan*, which reflected the commonly held idea that white Southern culture was transplanted Scottish Highlander culture. Originally, the Klan focused on terrorizing blacks who attempted to change their social, economic, and political subordination. However, the Klan also targeted white Republicans who assisted blacks.

The Klan relied on grassroots organization and newspapers stories of Klan activities to spread its message across the occupied South. From 1866 until 1869, many groups with little or no formal coordination between them referred to themselves as the Ku Klux Klan. Their tactics were similar, including face coverings, the use of horses, and the tendency to attack during the night. While the original group dressed in white, other groups began using a wide variety of costumes to conceal their identity. Soon almost all areas of the South under federal control had at least one group claiming to be part of the KKK, although some groups were more bent on theft, revenge killing, or general mayhem than restoring white Democratic rule to the South.

Despite attempts to create a hierarchy, the movement remained decentralized and not subject to any central direction. Most KKK groups agreed broadly on ending Republican rule over the South. To accomplish that goal, the Klan used extra-legal means such as murder, arson, whipping, and intimidation to keep blacks from voting, and assuring that blacks remained socially inferior to whites. Most victims were black and white Republicans. Arkansas congressman James M. Hinds and three members of the South Carolina legislature were only the most prominent Republicans killed by the Klan. Enraged by this lawlessness and flagrant attacks on its political base, Republicans in Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, which empowered civil and military authorities to use federal power to destroy the Ku Klux Klan. President Ulysses S. Grant backed the Radical Republicans and used the act to bring the Klan to bay. However other forces also worked against the Klan. Middle- and upper-class Southern whites increasingly feared the lack of control over the Klan by the "better" elements in society. Additionally, Reconstruction was drawing to an end, and some areas had been returned to civil control. Once Klan activity helped white Democrats to assume control of all elected offices, extra-legal methods to keep Republicans from voting were no longer needed. Indeed, some Democrats began to argue that the continued violence and even existence of the Klan only served to keep federal troops in the South longer. By 1873, the original Ku Klux Klan was largely defunct. However, it had largely fulfilled its purpose. With the declining federal presence in the South, white Democrats increasingly

gained control of state and local governments. Thus state laws, state courts, and sheriff's departments could increasingly be used to oppress blacks lawfully.

The rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan came as part of a general romanticization of the Civil War era. The novels *Leopard's Spots* (1903) and *The Clansman* (1905) by **Thomas Dixon** presented a heroic interpretation of the Klan as chivalrous gentlemen who fought blacks, carpetbaggers, and scalawags to return civilization to the South during Reconstruction. The novels introduced the concept of the burning cross as a symbol of the Klan, something that was never used by the original Klan. The burning cross borrowed on Scottish highlander traditions of using burning crosses on hilltops as a way to call together the Highland clans in the event of invasion or other crisis, although the Scots used a diagonal St. Andrews cross. Dixon probably got the idea of the Scottish Highlander clans burning crosses from Sir Walter Scott's 1810 poem the *Lady of the Lake*, which had been popular among white Southerners. The images of the Ku Klux Klan in the novels became even more entrenched in popular culture as a result of **D. W. Griffith**, who used the novels as the basic of one of the first truly modern motion pictures, *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915.

The Klan was reborn in 1915 in a wave of nostalgia, nativism, and anti-Semitism. The immediate cause for the revised Ku Klux Klan was the trial and conviction in **Georgia** of a Northern Jewish factory owner named Leo Frank for the rape and murder of a young factory worker named Mary Phagan. Although little evidence connected him to the crime, he was a Northerner, wealthy, and Jewish. After his appeals in the trial failed, the governor commuted his death sentence to life in jail. However, the threat of mob violence had surrounded the case from the beginning, and after the commutation, a group of vigilantes calling itself the Knights of Mary Phagan took Frank from the prison farm where he was being held and lynched him.

Many Southerners, especially in Georgia, saw the death of Phagan at the hands of a Northern Jew as synonymous with the suffering of white womanhood under Reconstruction as depicted in the film *The Birth of a Nation*. Although blacks in the South remained relatively powerless through **Jim Crow**, some white Southerners believed a revived Klan was needed against a new host of perceived enemies, such as Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and the decline of sexual morality. The new Klan was inaugurated in 1915 at a meeting led by William J. Simmons on top of Stone Mountain, Georgia. Along with the Knights of Mary Phagan, some men attending claimed to have been members of the original KKK. The new group, calling itself the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was more organized than the original Klan, but still had little central control and no one executive leader. New terms and offices were invented, and Klan attire became more regular. While the members of the original Klan wore a variety of costumes, often in colors other than white, members of the new Klan tended to wear the familiar white robe with pointed top.

While Southern Klansmen could act more openly, the Klan found its most fertile recruiting grounds in the Midwest, areas in which the black population was increasing due to the **Great Migration**, but without formal Jim Crow laws to oppress blacks. In the South, the Klan orchestrated lynchings, or members participated as individuals, but much of the Klan's attacks were in the form

of arson, beatings, or whippings. Most Klan activity was more psychological, using the burning cross or simply announcing their presence to instill fear. With blacks in the South excluded from government and the judicial process, Klansmen could act with a sense of impunity. Klan groups seldom participated in overtly violent acts together, and unlike the former KKK, almost never wore Klan regalia during acts of racial violence. Instead, through rhetoric and public spectacle of the rally and mass meeting that featured a burning cross, Klan leaders spread their message of using violence against blacks, Jews, Catholics, or whoever angered the local group. Then Klansmen, working in small groups, would carry out specific acts of violence. In the case of an allegation of rape or murder of a white by a black, Klan members often acted in concert with non-Klan members in lynching suspects. Outside of the South, secrecy was more important, as courts were often less sympathetic. In the Midwest and West, the Klan was often more overtly antiblack, although Catholics, Jews, and other enemies were also targets of Klan activity.

The new Klan grew as a for-profit fraternal organization, pitching itself as the friend of the common man. Klan support for Prohibition made it many friends among rural Protestants, but its real strength came from urban areas, where many old-stock whites saw themselves awash in new peoples, new ideas, and new morality. Many people who did not join the Klan at least tolerated it and even admired it for the Klan's purported support for sexual morality, Protestant Christianity, and opposition to corruption and Communism. The new Klan had dominated some state governments during the 1920s, specifically in Oklahoma, Oregon, and Indiana. In the South, Klan support for honest government and assistance for poor whites against big city corruption also brought it much popular support.

In 1928, the Klan made a showing of its power by a large march down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC, but in retrospect, the Klan had already peaked and its influence was on the wane. Klansmen's sense of their own power caused several serious missteps. Their attempt to take control of the Democratic Party in 1924 alerted many who had been ambivalent in the past to the political threat of the Klan. The Klan's use of overt violence against whites believed to be acting immorally in the South lost it much of its political support. Several sexual and financial scandals, including one particularly salacious rape and murder by Grand Dragon David Stephenson of Indiana, destroyed the Klan's claim to represent integrity and morality. The Klan declined in strength and influence throughout the 1930s. By the end of the 1930s, the Ku Klux Klan was again a spent force. Scandals, a recovering economy, and the example of Nazi Germany all helped bring a decline in numbers so that the Klan was negligible as social or political force.

The Klan did not remain fallow for long. Following the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954, new Ku Klux Klan groups formed, taking advantage of white fears of integration. While the Klan in the 1920s drew heavily from the lower middle class, the new Klan was more working class, and its growth reflected the anxiety many poorer whites felt at their relative loss of status and privilege as Jim Crow was dismantled. While not as numerous or as politically powerful as the Klan in the 1920s, the Klan in the 1950s and 1960s used murder, bombs, and arson to spread fear though the **Civil Rights**

Movement. The Klan in the 1950s was not unified in any meaningful sense. Several distinct organizations claimed to be the “true” Ku Klux Klan, with the largest, the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, controlling only a minority of Klansmen. While the Klan in the 1950s and 1960s continued to list the old enemies of Catholics, Jews, and immorality, in practice it was more focused on opposing integration as its main goal. In much of the South during the Jim Crow era, courts and police did an effective job of enforcing segregation. But with the crumbling of Jim Crow, the Klan assumed that mission. The Klan advertised itself as a patriotic organization, dedicated to protecting America against Communism. The Klan used broadsheets, billboards, posters, and speeches to equate integration with Communism, thus tapping into Cold War fears about the Soviet Union and Communism to gain a measure of respectability. In reality, the existence of the KKK and similar groups, as well as racial violence as a whole, were powerful propaganda issues for the Soviets, who often used the term “Negro lynchers” to refer to non-Communist white Americans. The Soviets publicized throughout the world, especially in the newly independent nations in Africa, lynchings, bombings, and other incidents of American race violence.

The Civil Rights Movement struck directly at white supremacy, and the Klan reacted with increased savagery. One of the most horrific acts of the new Klan came on the early morning of Sunday, September 15, 1963, when a bomb set by Bobby Frank Cherry, Thomas Blanton, and Robert Chambliss, all members of United Klans of America, exploded at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four girls and wounding another 22. Although some whites in Birmingham, including police chief “**Bull**” Connor, blamed the bombing on blacks themselves, or on the U.S. Supreme Court for its *Brown* decision, many moderate whites throughout the nation were horrified by the attack. Political pressure built for the federal government to become more involved in protecting blacks and prosecuting terrorists at the federal level. Beginning with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and increasing after the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the federal government increasingly took an active role in persecuting people who attempted to use violence or the threat of violence against blacks and whites who attempted to ensure that blacks were able to vote. Although deprived of the de facto immunity offered by all-white juries in state courts the Klan had long enjoyed, Klan members continued to use violence in an attempt to maintain white supremacy in the South. In January 1966, a group of white men, led by Samuel Bowers, an Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, firebombed civil rights leader Vernon Dahmer’s home, killing him.

Although the violence of Klan groups and individual Klansmen in the 1960s and into the 1970s could often be bloody and shocking, their power, as limited as it had been, was again on the wane. With the ending of Jim Crow, blacks in the South formed a formidable voting bloc, which would hold Southern governments accountable for prosecuting Klansmen involved in violent acts. Black voters meant the end of sympathetic all-white juries for Klansmen accused of crimes. The legacy of Klan violence during the Civil Rights Era left the Klan with a poor reputation among middle-class and even most working-class whites. Klan groups that continued to exist increasingly drew from the

most marginalized whites in the South, and had little political power. *See also* Communist Party.

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Barry M. Stentiford

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Labor Unions

Labor unions in the United States are affiliated organizations that function as the legal representatives for a multiplicity of workers in various industries. The history of labor unions during the era of **Jim Crow** is the history of struggle to overcome racism and discrimination within labor unions and the labor movement. It is also a history spotted with episodes of biracial activism. Because racial exclusionary policies are a very effective way to control the labor supply and, consequently, exercise bargaining power over the wages of workers, labor unions, particularly during the era of Jim Crow, have a long history of racial discrimination on their hands. Racial discrimination is fundamental to understanding labor unions during the era of Jim Crow, and, conversely, labor unions are fundamental to understanding racial discrimination in the Jim Crow era. Discrimination within unions during the Jim Crow era is unique given the fact that a majority of union leaders' rhetoric and theories were always quick to include, or at least not explicitly exclude, African Americans by arguing that working-class consciousness would ultimately trump racism. However, in practice and organization techniques, they often fell short and were quick to embrace exclusionary policies that stemmed from Jim Crow policies.

Slavery and Free Labor

The budding relationship between black workers and organized labor movements began to take form during the periods of the Civil War and post-Civil War **Reconstruction**. The Civil War not only freed three and a half million people of African descent from a life of bondage and oppression by dismantling the institution of **slavery**, but also transformed millions into free laborers, and resurrected union activity that had been static since the depression of 1837. However, it has been noted that was not until the post-Civil War era that the United States completed abolition and had defined civil rights. The politically established principles of free labor had to confront the first nationwide labor organization by the late 1860s.

Unions, arguably, were from the start not concerned with the plight and struggle of African Americans. That labor unions and early working-class peoples' opposition to slavery rarely rested on the claim that slavery was a moral injustice imposed upon bond(wo)men is testament to their peculiar strand of racism. Indeed, working-class people of the Midwest and the West became aware and raised concern over the pro-slavery 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act—an act that would soon allow the expansion of slavery to proceed and expand into the open Midwestern and Western territories—and the Dred Scott decision—a court decision that declared that people of African descent, slaves and nonslaves alike, could never become citizens and declared that Congress had no authority to prohibit slavery in federal territories—not as an expression of the immorality of slavery or commiseration for those enslaved, but rather, expressed outrage over the fact that the expansion slavery might affect their working-class status. To be sure, working-class opposition to slavery was not so much against slavery per se, but against the expansion of slavery that would ultimately jeopardize their status as workers.

Knights of Labor

While the National Labor Union (NLU) and the National Colored Labor Union (NCLU) fought unsuccessfully to preserve their respective unions during the devastating depression of 1873, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor (KOL) successfully avoided the union-crushing depression and survived to see the early beginnings of Jim Crow. Uriah Stephens, a Philadelphia tailor and antislavery Republican, formed the KOL in 1869. Blacks were loyal to the **Republican Party** due to its abolitionist past. Originally, the KOL was formed as a secret union that embraced both trade and industrial unions. Moreover, the KOL's rhetoric of racial inclusiveness, Christian evangelicalism, and abolitionist heritage, backed by an unwavering appreciation for class unity, ultimately made the organization acceptable to black workers

Although the Knights of Labor at their birth practiced exclusionary policies vis-à-vis the black worker, they did lift their ban on black workers during the early shaping of Jim Crow in 1883. The fact that the Knights of Labor boasted an agenda of racial inclusiveness may have led to the dramatic increase in their union membership. By putting worker dissatisfaction, low wages, and class unity across racial lines at the front of their agenda, the Knights of Labor's membership increased dramatically throughout the 1880s. By the mid-1880s, the KOL had won several important strikes and saw its membership increase to approximately 750,000 official union members, of which 60,000 to 90,000 were black. The KOL's commitment to interracial activism trickled down to the workers and created cooperation across the color line. Due to the efforts of the KOL, throughout the Jim Crow South, episodes of interracial working-class unity were at work. Indeed, in the mid-1880s, the heyday of the KOL, the KOL and other unions saw a dramatic increase in the amount of interracial class unity experienced. While KOL District Assembly 194 sought negotiations with the nearby black Louisiana Sugar Planters Association in an effort to increase wages and better methods of pay, white and black miners of Alabama, under the auspices of the KOL, stood unified in strike against

wage cuts for mine operators. In the end, prison laborers and Italian immigrants broke the miner's strike.

Although the Knights of Labor's rhetoric preached about racial inclusiveness, and while at times they even practiced racial inclusiveness, they too practiced a major policy that defined the Jim Crow South: separatism. While union leaders stood at the pulpit recommending black-white worker unity, they constantly and consistently advocated separate but unified black and white local organizations. Moreover, the Knights of Labor were ardent supporters of the anti-Chinese movement and refused to admit Chinese workers. In 1885, in Spring Rock, Wyoming, the Knights of Labor led a riot that resulted in the deaths of 28 Chinese railroad workers. They also did not support European immigrants.

In retrospect, the KOL's racial inclusiveness may have been as much responsible for the union's increase in membership in the mid-1880s as much it was responsible for its decrease in the late 1880s. By 1890, 100,000 members remained in the KOL; few of whom were black. The violence of the Knights' strikes caused a decrease in support from blacks, who were once attracted to their peaceful revolutionary style. Despite the Knights' efforts, the period put blacks and the labor movement at further distance.

American Federation of Labor

That the more racially restrictive American Federation of Labor (AFL) replaced the Knights of Labor and took control of the labor movement during the nadir of race relations—a racially complex time period starting in 1890 and enduring throughout the Jim Crow era until 1930, when blacks were forced back into noncitizenship and race relations, indeed, got worse—is evident in their workings as an organization. AFL delegates took their cue from the KOL's broad social vision of racial inclusiveness by focusing their efforts on securing higher wages, shorter working days, and improved working conditions for the unions and union members they represented across racial lines. Throughout the early 1890s, the KOL and AFL engaged in bitter disputes around the country as to what the goals of labor movement should be. The AFL rejected the KOL's favoritism of workers' cooperatives, and criticized their simply defined economic agendas. By the 1890s, the AFL became the dominant national labor organization.

While open to socialist and Marxist thought concerning the economic structure and the direction of the labor movement, AFL leaders, like the KOL leaders before them, remained perplexed about the race issue within the labor movement during the racial hostile period of Jim Crow. The AFL was an umbrella organization with which separate trade unions were affiliated. The AFL's constitution was quiet on race issues and implicitly included African Americans. AFL founder Samuel A. Gompers initially opposed the inclusion of racially exclusive organizations under the AFL's umbrella. However, due to the fact that the AFL focused on skilled labor, many African Americans, who were barred from such jobs and relegated to perform "unskilled" labor due to racial discrimination, received very little attention from the AFL.

Like the KOL leaders before them, AFL leaders were quick to spout rhetoric in favor of racial egalitarian ideals. Gompers, who led the AFL from 1886 until his death in 1924, affirmed his commitment to racial egalitarianism at the 1891 annual convention. Although the AFL's commitment to racial egalitarianism remains suspect, there were episodes of biracial activism. In 1892, white and black longshoremen of New Orleans rallied behind the AFL banner and supported each other's strikes at substantial risk to themselves. Gompers would constantly herald the event as a landmark case of biracial union activism. More scattered episodes of interracial union activism carried on throughout the **World War I** era and into the 1920s. During the war, in Little Rock, **Arkansas**, the white-controlled labor council supported black women who worked in the city's steam laundries that served a nearby army base. Meanwhile, the black longshoremen labored on the docks of Philadelphia and became attracted to and strongly affiliated with the radical, Marxist, and, above all, racial egalitarian **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**, African Americans and their white counterparts struggled, with varied success, to form unions that rose above the color line in places such as, Chicago, rural **Louisiana**, and Memphis. For example, AFL carpenter unions in rural 1919 Bogalusa, Louisiana, struggled together in an effort to preserve their biracial union. In the South Side of Chicago's packinghouses and stockyards, World War I-era interracial unity reached its peak. Fifty thousand men and women, both black and white, rallied behind the AFL's Amalgamated Meat Cutters (AMC), a very powerful AFL organization of skilled workers that did not ban blacks, side by side with the AFL's Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) between 1916 and 1922 in a long-drawn-out struggle for equal rights and better working conditions in Chicago's meat packinghouses.

The president of the CFL, John Fitzpatrick, and a Railway Carmen Union organizer, William Z. Foster, both radical syndicalists who dedicated their efforts to turn the AFL on to socialism, led the Chicago labor activists and workers' struggle to effectively organize industrial unions and stockyards across the color line. Together they formed the Stockyard Labor Council (SLC) in an effort to unite all packinghouse workers regardless of color and gender. As a result of other, less-skilled unions segregating and banning blacks, the SLC and AFL became locals that blacks could join. The successful organization of meat industry workers was vital to the success of the labor movement as a whole. It presented the opportunity for the AFL to enlarge its influence by expanding from craft unions into one of the country's largest mass production industries. AMC affiliates, one of the AFL organizations that did not ban black workers, were ardent supporters of organizing across racial lines and continually, with mixed success, advocated the importance of non-discrimination in the labor movement. The AMC, in an effort to show their commitment to black workers, created a black local. In fact, all the AMC locals representing workers in the South Side of Chicago included African Americans. The SLC shared the AMC's commitment to African American workers. The SLC pressed for dramatic changes, such as their call on the **federal government** to nationalize the meatpacking industry, the implementation of the eight-hour workday, and increased pay for unskilled workers, a category into which most African American workers fell. As the end of the Great

War approached its demise, the SLC started pressing for a 100 percent union agreement with the packers, with blacks being the primary hurdle. Ninety percent of white workers and a meager 25 percent of African American workers were members. However, black gains in union membership and wages came at the cost of increased racial hostility between blacks and native-born and immigrant whites, which culminated in the vicious **Chicago Race Riot of 1919**.

The Chicago race riots might, indeed, be reflective of the collective consciousness of the American public at large during the racially daunting years of Jim Crow. Although a causal claim between the SLC's effort to organize black workers in Chicago cannot be verified, there is, no doubt, information that makes such a causal connection attractive. On the packinghouse floors, where native-born and immigrant whites toiled side by side with their African American coworkers and fellow union supporters, whites expressed their hostility and contempt for African Americans. European immigrant laborers who were "working toward whiteness" by reminding their native-born white coworkers that African Americans were, indeed, the "other" and the real problem, met African Americans with intense racial tension. In the summer of 1919, racial tension erupted onto the streets and an all-out riot ensued. The riot was sparked when a black boy was drowned for crossing into a white neighborhood on Lake Michigan beach. The event triggered racial violence that would last for weeks. Most of the mayhem was attributed to gangs of Irish immigrants. In the end, 23 blacks and 15 whites lay dead. The July race riots, arguably, ended the hope of the SLC to successfully organize black workers. Racist policies, although not explicitly written in the constitution, was a tradition for the AFL and its affiliated organizations from the beginning.

As Jim Crow policy tightened its grip on everyday life in the South, and newly arrived immigrants began competing with native-born whites and black for jobs, exclusionary policies vis-à-vis immigrants and African Americans increased. Immigrants were not welcome into the AFL or any affiliated organizations from the start. Gompers, a Jewish immigrant from Great Britain and once a supporter of racial egalitarianism, stated that the AFL's policy was to protect whites from the "evils" of the Chinese invasion. Chinese immigrants who toiled on the railroads were banned from unionization outright. While white workers led vicious, bloody massacres and anti-Chinese riots, writers and editors of union and labor newspapers were busy constructing the Chinese and other immigrant groups as "savage" and "uncivilized." As early as 1897, AFL leaders urged the adoption of a draconian literacy test in an effort to curtail immigrant labor. They argued that the plethora of early European immigrants who emigrated had not proved themselves assimilable or fit for union organization ultimately posed a threat to the American worker whose wages they undercut.

The AFL's putative commitment to racial egalitarianism was a sham. They, like much of American society had elements of both de jure and de facto segregation along with a history of violence against African American and Chinese laborers. The railroad unions proved to be the least accepting of African Americans and Asian immigrants. Blacks were often barred from unions or

were forced to form separate unions. In fact, the early radical **W.E.B. Du Bois**, in a publication on union activity, revealed that of the one million AFL members, 40,000 were black. Moreover, 43 unions practiced Jim Crow policy to the point that they had no African Americans at all. The National Association of Machinists, an umbrella organization affiliated with the AFL, is a case in point to the AFL's ultimate commitment to party building, not to racial egalitarianism. The National Association of Machinists was founded in 1889 in Atlanta as an organization dedicated to organizing skilled railroad laborers. For five years, the AFL denied the admittance of the National Association of Machinist into the organization to do its constitution declaring white only membership. However, in an effort to build union membership, AFL officials backed down from their commitment to racial egalitarianisms and biracial activism and admitted the National Association of Machinists in 1895. In the 1890s, firemen stood with the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in an effort to organize against the admittance of African Americans into their unions on a national scale. In 1899, the trainmen's union voted for the exclusion of African Americans from railroads worldwide.

Violent means were often used to ensure that railroad unions remained as segregated and off-limits to African Americans as possible. Violent outbreaks against African American railroad workers often sprung from strikes advocating white-only hiring policies. In an effort to maintain the color line, white workers in 1911 organized a strike against New Orleans, Cincinnati, and Texas Pacific railroads for employing African Americans. In the end, 10 African Americans were murdered. As a result, the strikers and the railroad companies decided that African Americans would not be employed north of Oakdale and Chattanooga, Tennessee. More still, is that the railroad companies concurred that the overall percentage of African American firemen would not rise on a national level. The AFL continued to ignore, or at least place secondary to increasing union numbers, African Americans and their complaints of racial discrimination into the 1920s. When union officials refused to make the Railroad Brotherhood of Railway Carmen strike the words "white only" from its constitution, and when they refused to grant international charter to the black Railway Coach Cleaners, blacks took the jobs of whites during the 1922 shopmen's strike. The results were tragic. Over 1,500 cases of attempted murder, kidnapping, dynamiting, and vandalism occurred in an effort to curtail blacks from acting as strikebreakers. African Americans' willingness to act as strikebreakers increased the AFL's hostility toward them. The AFL often blamed their lack of attention to African American workers on the African Americans themselves. As the Depression began to take a grip on the economy, and as racial tensions increased due to the lack of job opportunity, increased competition, and Jim Crow laws, African Americans made up only 50,000 of the nation's 2.25 million union members. However, as the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), arguably the most egalitarian significant union to emerge since the Knights of Labor, emerged as the primary labor organization in 1935, African Americans saw increased racial tolerance, and labor unions saw a dramatic increase in the number of African American affiliates.

The Congress of Industrial Organization

The Congress of Industrial Organization was, no doubt, the most racially egalitarian and radical labor organization to emerge since the Knights of Labor. While Jim Crow laws began to cripple the South, the CIO presented a viable opportunity to organize African Americans within a largely racist labor movement. CIO leaders took a divide-and-conquer, radical, Marxist approach to the racial question vis-à-vis the labor movement by contending that racial division was created by bourgeois employers who wished to disrupt working-class solidarity so as to keep wages low and create “super profits.” Thus, the CIO’s primary goal was to organize industrial sectors of the labor force, which, they realized, necessitated the inclusion of African American workers who by the 1930s made up a significant portion of the industrial labor. In the South, where labor union representation was comparatively weak to that of the North, unions desperately needed the support of African American workers if they wished to succeed in mining, steel, and a multiplicity of agriculture sectors of which African Americans dominated. As such, the CIO sought to reach out to African American workers and civil rights groups to create interracial, working-class solidarity. And reach out they did. The CIO, in a remarkable effort to preserve and create racial harmony, formed the Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, and encouraged blacks to reject and speak out against the American Federation of Labor and other independent unions.

The congress took its cue from the United Mine Workers Association (UMWA), which had been promoting and practicing racial egalitarianism under the presidential leadership of John L. Lewis since the late nineteenth century. By the turn of the twentieth century, African Americans made up one-quarter of UMWA’s membership and enrolled at a much higher rate than their white comrades. The UMWA consisted of more than 20,000 black miners, approximately half of the AFL’s black membership. In the depths of the Great Depression in 1934, the United Mine Workers boasted 90 new locals and 20,000 men, of whom 60 percent were African Americans. Even in the hostile time and space of Jim Crow Alabama in the 1890s, the United Mine Workers struggled to create interracial unity in the union locals of Alabama and other Southern states. Furthermore, Irish immigrants along with British immigrants made up a significant portion of union leadership. To be sure, the UMWA did, indeed, have its share of racial turmoil, but it was their effort to forge class unity across racial lines that caused the CIO to adopt the UMWA’s organizing techniques. For example, UMWA organizers in Alabama made it clear that their commitment to African American workers did not embrace the idea of social equality, simply better wages and working conditions. At one point in 1920, white mine workers bombed the houses of a dozen black strikebreakers. Despite a few episodes of interracial hostility, the United Mine Workers Association proved its commitment to black workers.

Indeed, the CIO’s efforts and commitment to African American workers did not go unnoticed. Unlike the AFL, which practiced Jim Crow policy if not in rhetoric or theory then in practice, the CIO transcended racial lines in its organizing process and made its way into Piedmont region—southern Virginia

to northern Alabama—and had organized 200,000 cotton textile workers. From the early stages of the **Great Depression** to the end stages of **World War II**, African American union membership increased radically from 60,000 to an impressive one million. African Americans became the CIO's main supporters. Other unions such as the Knights of Labor and AFL tried to organize across racial lines but ultimately fell prey to Jim Crow practices. The CIO represented the first massive effort to organize workers across racial and ethnic lines for a common movement. This was indeed the case in Chicago's meatpacking industry, in which African Americans made up 20 to 30 percent of the labor force. Thanks to the efforts of CIO and other, mostly Communist activists, the Packing House Workers Organization Committee brought together several unions to reach out to blacks by promising designated seats for blacks on the executive board, and by mandating a quota equivalent to the local population.

As World War II emerged, the labor movement more broadly, and labor unions in particular would again have serious consequences for African American workers. Blacks were direly needed in the industrial sector to produce goods for the war effort; however, their employers were very hesitant to hire them due to long-standing Jim Crow practices within the industrial sector. By the end of 1944, it is estimated that at least 1.25 million African American workers, a quarter of which were women, were performing industrial work, a 150 percent increase from 1940. During the time period of World War II, both the AFL and the CIO grew dramatically. The AFL had expanded its union affiliates from 4.2 million to just shy of seven million. The CIO grew to four million members from two million members from 1940 to 1945. In all, union membership doubled from 1940 to 1945 to fifteen million.

However, Jim Crow policies that pervaded the labor movement and unions would tighten their grip during the war effort, and blacks were forced to overcome racism and discrimination on a multiplicity of levels. Their struggle in the railroad unions and craft brotherhoods is a case in point. Railroad unions have a history of Jim Crow policy under the tutelage of the AFL, and they continued this tradition during the course of the war. While railroad employment increased to meet the demands of the war effort, so too did discrimination against black workers in labor unions. Black workers faced severe forms of discrimination, including contracts that limited the number and locations where blacks could work. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, for example, pushed to rapidly accelerate the removal of black workers. This culminated in the Brotherhood successfully winning Southeastern Carriers agreement, which limited the employment of "unpromotable" firemen to 50 percent and ended the increased hiring of blacks. While the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen practiced a strict form of Jim Crow by virtue of job elimination, the International Boilermakers Brotherhood (IBB) did admit blacks, albeit in a Jim Crow fashion that separated black and white union members into separate locals. Black workers paid dues to the union but were denied membership. Additionally, the hierarchal structure of the union did not allow all black unions to exercise autonomy and set up "parent" all white unions to dictate their organization techniques and behavior. In short, the IBB openly practiced Jim Crow policies.

AFL-CIO at the End of Jim Crow

The postwar effort to organize across racial lines in the Jim Crow South proved fruitless. The *Taft-Hartley Act*—an amendment passed in 1947 to amend the National Labor Relations Act of 1935—provided little protection for black union members who were already in unions. The act permitted Jim Crow segregation in union locals and weakened the efforts of the AFL and the CIO to organize across racial lines. The act was effective. Black and white union members in the South remained largely segregated despite the fact that the AFL had sixty percent of its seven million African American members located in the South. Soon after Jim Crow began to loosen grips on the policy and consciousness of the United States with the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954, the AFL and CIO merged in 1955.

Both AFL and the CIO strongly and openly endorsed the black **Civil Rights Movement** that emerged in the South in response to Jim Crow. The AFL-CIO led charges in favor of Civil Rights Acts throughout the late twentieth century, and played a significant role in bringing civil rights to fore of national consciousness. Indeed, the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**—an act that outlawed school public school, public workplace segregation, and guaranteed fair employment practices—and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, were all endorsed by the AFL-CIO, who now began to understand the Civil Rights and labor movements as organically linked phenomena, and acknowledged that biracial activism is the life's blood of the labor movement. *See also* Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC); Freemasons; Veterans Groups.

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Jack A. Taylor III

Latin America

Latin America occupies a southern portion of the Americas and refers to countries where Romance languages (particularly Spanish and Portuguese) are spoken. Such countries include Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina, Costa Rica, and Brazil, among others. While the presence of **Jim Crow** segregation in the United States alludes to numerous forms of public and private segregation, few of these legally sanctioned practices migrated into Latin America. The discrepancy in defining Jim Crow in Latin America rests on the premise that few forms of de jure segregation exist. Although race remains a topic of inequality in the Americas, the presence of Jim Crow practices becomes even more

distinctive in Latin America, where the social codes of racial identification impose de facto forms of discrimination. The term Jim Crow is synonymous with the southern United States, yet the range of varying practices becomes even more familiar when crossing the water into Latin America. Since the practice of Jim Crow as defined by law fails to exist, a look into the similarities of racial discrimination will shed light on the appearance of this phenomenon in Latin America.

The presence of Jim Crow segregation in the United States refers to a period of systematic discrimination of, violence toward, and alienation of African Americans. Since Jim Crow laws were adopted after **Reconstruction**, the significance of **slavery** plays a great role in understanding the impact of these laws upon the lives of African American citizens. As slavery was officially abolished by the United States in 1865, numerous steps were taken to ensure that further generations of African Americans would remain dependent upon the white majority whose fears of retribution rose because of emancipation. Using a logic of mental and physical inferiority, state governmental authorities openly established laws that discriminated against African Americans in the form of education, housing, employment, and placed restrictions upon most public facilities under the guise of “**separate but equal**,” which sought to stifle African American social, economic, and political participation. The most significant wave of African American opposition erupted during the 1960s **Civil Rights Movement**, as numerous laws were established to counteract blatant acts of racism. Although acts of racial discrimination continue across the Americas, the transference of Jim Crow to Latin America is not clearly delineated. While strains of Jim Crow appear visible in Latin America, the replication of this systematic oppression takes numerous forms while offering an interesting look into modern modes of racial discrimination.

While the prevalence of Jim Crow in the United States rested on the premise of racial inferiority, specific attention to racial attitudes in Latin America exposes the role of racial categories that continues to plague Latin American countries. In Latin America, the act of **miscegenation**, or *mestizaje*, is the focal point for understanding racial tensions. *Mestizaje* is defined as the mixing of races, or more specifically, the mixing of European and indigenous cultures. Due to nineteenth- and twentieth-century European colonialism in Latin America, a preoccupation with color defined the contours of Latin American countries, whose citizens were cast into hierarchies of racial identification. In part, these classifications sought to stigmatize peoples of African descent and others whose color complexion deviates from whiteness. Because of racial mixing, mulattoes were often granted special privileges from which other minorities were excluded. While the United States outlawed racial miscegenation in many states until the late 1960s, such practices in Latin America have become a way of life. Despite the complexities surrounding *mestizaje*, the hierarchies of racial identification in Latin America continue to suppress and mimic features prevalent during Jim Crow’s rein in the United States.

One important distinction that becomes apparent when discussing *mestizaje* is the role of the mulatto. While individuals of European descent most often assume the top positions of racial hierarchy, mulattos occupy the second senior positions in Latin America. In the United States, Blackness is defined

by African ascendancy and in opposition to Whiteness, whereas ideas of Blackness in Latin America operate through more rigidly defined distinctions of color complexion. For instance, a light-skinned complexion garners more access and opportunity in both the United States and Latin America, yet the latter perceives such color distinctions as a badge of convenience for individuals who are considered and treated as acceptable members of society. Mulattoes in Latin American countries often receive better treatment in terms of access to education, employment, and housing than their darker counterparts. The reason such discrepancies exist is due to the privileging of European features and complexions that mulattoes can easily claim. When such divisions arise, racially defined members are pitted against one another as claims to whiteness make impressionable distinctions that allow greater freedoms and access in Latin America.

Jim Crow segregation in the southern United States was a direct result of emancipation in an attempt to confine and restrict the activities of African American citizens. Similar practices of exclusion in Latin America were not intrinsically similar because race was often employed as social codes rather than governmental laws. In Brazil, for instance, racial classifications consist of five categories: Whites, Blacks, Browns (mulattos), Asians/Yellows, and Indigenous. These monikers serve to distinguish and label different racial groups of the country, and they provide meaningful ways to analyze racial hierarchies of the country. While racial distinctions serve as the focal point of *mestizaje* in Latin America, the appearance of class must be considered as well.

The exploration of race and class are appropriate methods for analyzing the significance of racial hierarchies in Latin America. While class most often derives its own set of characteristics based primarily on economic factors, the inclusion of racial undertones makes class assume a different function for identification. It should come as no surprise that members of the elite class wield most, if not all the power in a given society, but the opportunities for such inclusion are most often tied to race. Those who exhibit European features and skin tone are more likely to be embraced by the dominant group who control access to education, economic, and political influence. Mulattoes wield an enormous amount of power in Latin America as members pass to fit in with the given status quo. While passing among African Americans in the United States served a viable means for some to secure education and employment during Jim Crow segregation, it also placed a stigma upon those individuals who openly chose such acts, which were considered a betrayal to the race. In Latin America, the racial landscape allows a greater flexibility for passing. Although critics argue over the perceptions of passing in Latin American countries, it provides a viable means for individuals to escape poverty and make a better life for themselves.

Despite the absence of laws governing racial segregation, Latin American societies are plagued with equally trying forms of racial discrimination. Since the advent of European colonization, indigenous groups have struggled to control land and resources across Latin America. In Mexico alone, there are over 60 indigenous groups who practice cultural and linguistic traditions that differ from the dominant society. As a result of colonial rule and the continued

disavowal of indigenous populations, numerous organizations were created to give voice and support for these communities across Latin America. In addition to the formation of organizations and political parties, literature plays a significant role in raising awareness about indigenous lifestyles and resistance.

In terms of Jim Crow discourse, Latin America seems an unlikely match; however, it helps to consider how the different implications of racial identification affect individual lives across the globe. In Latin America, the emphasis on skin color ultimately determines the course of an individual's life, whereas a similar focus on race in the United States equates to a life of undue suspicion. While remnants of Jim Crow segregation linger in the United States, the exploration of Latin American racial politics sheds light on continuing disparities for people of color who struggle to navigate worlds that rely solely on skin color as markers for identification. *See also* Caribbean.

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Lauren Chambers

Lawson, James Morris, Jr. (b. 1928)

James Morris Lawson, Jr., was a minister, teacher, and activist who performed an influential role during the **Civil Rights Movement**. As an officer in the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**, Lawson changed the tactics by which Americans fought for integration and racial equality. As a leading proponent and theorist of the resistance tactics of Indian leader **Mahatma Gandhi**, Lawson trained hundreds of young people to use nonviolence as a tool of mass protest. A close confidant of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and other important leaders, Lawson led the lunch counter **sit-ins** in Nashville, Tennessee, participated in the 1961 Freedom Rides, and advised the Memphis sanitation workers strike in 1968.

Born on September 22, 1928, in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, Lawson was the oldest son of a preacher who was heavily involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Lawson grew up in Massillon, Ohio, and attended schools with mostly white students. Just out of high school, Lawson got his first license to preach in 1947 and traveled a good deal for Methodist training and prayer meetings, soon coming to see race and poverty as the major divisive elements in American society. As a freshman at Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio, Lawson joined the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in 1947. Lawson began to learn more about Gandhian resistance, or using nonviolent means to struggle against oppression, from the FOR's executive director A. J. Muste. Increasingly committed to pacifism, Lawson refused to comply with the military draft at the start of the Korean War and spent 13 months in federal prison beginning in 1950.

Following his parole, Lawson graduated from Baldwin-Wallace and became a professor at Hislop College in Nagpur, India, in April 1953. In India, Lawson studied Gandhian tactics and considered their usefulness for combating

segregation, while reading eagerly of the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** (1955–1956) in Indian newspapers. Lawson returned to the United States to begin graduate work in theology at Oberlin College and met Martin Luther King, Jr., in February 1957. The two men connected instantly over discussions of nonviolent mass action, and King urged Lawson to move to the South. At Lawson's request, the FOR made him a field secretary in Nashville, Tennessee, where he also joined the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**. Upon his arrival in Nashville in January 1958, Lawson became the second African American student ever to enroll at Vanderbilt University's divinity school. Soon after Lawson's arrival, he met Dorothy Wood, whom he would marry in 1959.

If moderate by Tennessee standards, Nashville remained largely segregated in 1958, which included restaurants, the bus station, lunch counters, restrooms, hotels, cabs, neighborhoods, and schools. Lawson began holding workshops in nonviolent philosophy in November 1959 in the basement of Kelly Miller Smith's First Baptist Church. Sponsored by FOR, Lawson's workshops stressed the importance of complete pacifism in order to provoke a moral crisis in their opponents. Lawson trained students in actual protest tactics as well as the philosophy of peace. Students also began to test policies in different stores in late 1959 to choose targets for a sit-in protest. Among Lawson's mentees were Diane Nash, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette, Marion Barry, and John Lewis, all of whom went on work for civil rights through the 1960s with the SCLC, SNCC, and other organizations. The Nashville movement relied primarily on young people because they would be less vulnerable to pressure or stricture from white employers once they began protests against segregation.

When students in Greensboro, North Carolina staged a sit-in on February 1, 1960, the Nashville Students sprung into action. One hundred twenty-four students, all trained and prepared by Lawson, staged an initial sit-in at downtown Nashville lunch counters on February 13, 1960. On February 27, Nashville police allowed mobs of angry whites to physically assault the activists and then arrested 81 demonstrators. However, the sit-ins had been organized such that replacements stood ready to fill empty seats at lunch counters. Lawson's strategy of "jail, no bail" meant that protestors remained in overcrowded jails for some time, financially costing the city of Nashville and forcing the local government to become involved in the conflict. Segregationists on Vanderbilt's Board of Trustees, including *Nashville Banner* publisher James Stahlman, demonized Lawson in the press and in private meetings. Vanderbilt chancellor Harvey Branscombe subsequently expelled Lawson on March 3, 1960, and Nashville police arrested Lawson the next day for his involvement in the demonstrations.

Lawson and the Nashville leaders soon called for an Easter boycott of downtown stores that depended on African American business but refused access to restrooms and lunch counters, which heightened the pressure on Nashville mayor Ben West to intervene. On April 19, 1960, reactionaries bombed the home of Z. Alexander Looby, the attorney representing the arrested students. The Loobys were unharmed, but the furious Nashville students and ministers initiated a silent march towards the courthouse

downtown. Confronted by Diane Nash on the courthouse steps, West publicly acquiesced that downtown lunch counters should be integrated, effectively ending the symbolic reign of Jim Crow in city restaurants. By May 10, 1960, six downtown stores had integrated, and more gradually followed. Over the next two years, the Nashville Movement built by Lawson integrated movie theatres and restaurants in Nashville as well.

A few days before the Looby bombing, on April 15 and 16, Lawson delivered the keynote address at a conference organized by SCLC member Ella Baker in Raleigh, North Carolina. Baker had called the meeting to build upon the work of students activists in Nashville and throughout the South. On the podium, Lawson criticized the NAACP for being too conservative and timid in its methods, and pointed to direct action as the only way to defeat Jim Crow. The Shaw University conference marked the birth of SNCC, and also began a period wherein Lawson advised ever greater numbers of activists. In 1960, the SCLC made Lawson its director of nonviolent education. At the same time, Lawson finished his master of divinity degree at Boston University (1960) and accepted an appointment to tiny Green Chapel Methodist Church in Shelbyville, Tennessee, just south of Nashville.

When the **U.S. Supreme Court** banned segregation in interstate travel facilities in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960), the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** organized “Freedom Rides” to test the integration of transportation facilities throughout the Deep South. Leaving Washington, DC, on May 4, 1961 the Freedom Rides nearly dissolved in Anniston, Alabama when the bus was fire-bombed. Activists from SNCC and CORE chapters reinforced the original riders in Birmingham and Montgomery after additional attacks. Lawson joined the riders in Montgomery, where he was made spokesperson for the initial bus sent to Jackson, Mississippi. Authorities in Jackson arrested Lawson and many others, and sent them to notoriously brutal Parchman State Penitentiary. Waves of Freedom Riders followed to attempt to integrate the Jackson bus station and nonviolently resist arrest. After repeated violence and national attention, Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** ordered the desegregation of bus terminals in November 1961.

In 1962, Lawson assumed the pastorship of Centenary Methodist church in Memphis, where segregation was more ingrained than Nashville. In June 1966, King asked Lawson to organize a replacement march after **James Meredith** was shot by a sniper on his solo walk against fear from Memphis to Jackson. During the march, Lawson became dismayed by increasing factionalism between SNCC and the SCLC and wary of the separatist strain adopted by SNCC under Stokely Carmichael’s leadership. Lawson thought that greater militancy belied a turn away from nonviolence, a shift that Lawson could not support. Lawson also served as a counselor for King in Chicago, where he saw increasing weariness among nonviolent activists struggling to fight more complicated forms of Jim Crow that existed outside of the South.

Lawson also helped to fight racial injustice in Memphis as an advisor for the Memphis Sanitation Workers strike in 1968. Long underpaid, denied access to higher paying jobs, and without benefits, African American sanitation workers’ frustration boiled over on February 1, 1968, when two workers were killed due to a short circuit in a garbage truck’s crushing mechanism. Under

Lawson's guidance the workers commenced a strike on February 12, making their slogan "I AM A MAN" as visible as possible. Lawson reached for national exposure by inviting King to Memphis, suggesting the sanitation strike fit perfectly with King's burgeoning Poor Peoples Campaign against poverty. After a March 28 demonstration fell apart due to a number of disruptive elements, King agreed to return to lead another march. Fatefully, King was assassinated the day before he was to lead the second march. City officials and the sanitation workers settled the strike one week later.

Lawson moved with his wife and three sons to Los Angeles in 1974, and became pastor of Holman Methodist Church. Lawson continued to work for peace education and racial justice throughout the latter decades of the twentieth century, and retired from the ministry in 1999. In the fall of 2006, Lawson returned to Vanderbilt University as a visiting professor.

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Brian Piper

Legislation

The practice of **Jim Crow** has always been supported by legislation at the federal, state, and local levels. The wording, intent, enforcement and impact differed in various areas of the country, but it is generally thought that it was most damaging in the southern United States. The former states of the old Confederacy developed a myriad of laws to restrict the civil rights of blacks, perpetuate the customs of Southern life, and return Southern society as closely as possible to the days when **slavery** was legal. These laws touched on every area of life, from social discourse to employment to the rights of blacks to attend public schools. Jim Crow laws began to be passed during the middle to late 1870s and remained in place until 1968.

The stage was set for the development of Jim Crow in the late eighteenth century when the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the so-called charters of American freedom, were written. The incendiary rhetoric of the Declaration—"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal"—did not protect the rights of free blacks, nor did it settle the issue of slavery. Furthermore, Thomas Jefferson, principal author of the Declaration, wrote a stinging indictment of King George III of Great Britain, blaming him for the slave trade in the colonies. It was dropped from the final document lest the Southern colonies, especially **South Carolina** and **Georgia**, refuse to sign it and the grand experiment at independence was scuttled.

Moreover, when the Constitution was written in 1787, several sections underscored the importance of slavery and the reluctance of the **federal government** to tamper with the peculiar institution. Article I, Section 2 decreed

that blacks would only count as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of apportioning taxes among the states; Article I, Section 9 forbade Congress from interfering with the international slave trade before 1808. The comity article, Article IV, Section 2, required the governments of the several states to assist in the return of runaway slaves.

From the early nineteenth century through the Civil War, the legislative process was used primarily to define slavery, punish runaways and those who harbored them, and ensure the return of runaway slaves who were considered to be property. At the federal level, the Missouri Compromise, passed in 1820, admitted the territory of Missouri as a slave state and Maine, which had been part of Massachusetts, as a free state. It also banned slavery from any new state with territory north of the southern border of Missouri. The Compromise of 1850 forced the federal government to guarantee the return of runaways to their masters, denied blacks the right to jury trials and banned them from testifying in legal proceedings. Neither of these compromises satisfied the North and the South; they merely postponed the day of reckoning over the spread of slavery.

By the 1860 presidential election, the country was sliding inexorably to war, and the election of the Republican Abraham Lincoln sealed its fate. South Carolina, Georgia, **Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas**, located in the lower South, seceded that year; **Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas**, located in the upper South, seceded in 1861. In that same year, Lincoln signed his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation allowing for the gradual end of slavery, compensation for slave owners and colonization, and the Confiscation Act declaring runaway slaves as booty in the war. The final Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the states of rebellion, was signed in 1863, and Lincoln, certain the war would end soon, began working on how to reunite the Union when war ended. Reelected in 1864, he supported the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, and championed the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery. Lincoln did not live to see the Union restored; he was assassinated on April 1865. It was left to Vice President Andrew Johnson, a Southerner, to reconstruct the Union.

Soon after the assassination of Lincoln, President Johnson gave speeches that seemed to indicate he would follow the plans developed by the martyred president. However, he quickly changed his mind and decided that the most important task was bringing the former Confederate states back into the Union. To this end, he decided not to punish the states for leaving the Union and waging war. He also turned his back on newly freed African Americans, vetoing legislation to extend the life of the Freedmen's Bureau. Johnson also vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, designed among other things to protect blacks' rights and ensured they would be afforded the equal protection of the laws, in effect repudiating Lincoln's plans for Reconstruction. Johnson also vetoed the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which provided that the South be divided into five military districts that were placed under the authority of Northern military officers. They were to be responsible for assisting the South in reestablishing republican governments as guaranteed by the Constitution. Congress, where the Republicans had garnered a two-thirds majority in the

previous election, overrode the president's vetoes, but the damage was done: Johnson had sent a clear message that protecting the rights and aspirations of African Americans would not be a priority of his administration.

Simultaneously, de jure segregation had begun in the South almost immediately after the end of the war. Prior to the Civil War, there had been no need to formally segregate the races—although some states had done so—while slavery existed and the free black population was small. Once slavery had been abolished, Southern officials, almost all former Confederates, quickly began to exclude blacks from virtually every phase of public life. Fearing a nation in which blacks would be equal to whites, Southern states quickly established **Black Codes**, which were designed to keep blacks from owning property, using the court system in any manner, and proscribing the occupations in and conditions under which they could work. The Codes differed from state to state, but all had the same impact: they trapped blacks into a life of poverty and prohibited them from taking full advantage of the freedoms for which many of them had fought. It should come as no surprise that the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK) was formed at this same time. A fraternal organization of Confederate veterans established in Tennessee by Nathan Bedford Forrest in 1866, its purpose was to resist the advances of Reconstruction. It quickly turned into a vigilante group still operating today and went to work intimidating and terrorizing blacks who dared assert their rights.

As Reconstruction developed, Johnson and Congress continued to wrangle over the best way to guarantee full rights for blacks. In the meantime, Congress, led by the Radical Republicans, continued to pass legislation in an effort to define and secure those rights. In 1868, it passed the Fourteenth Amendment, which defined citizenship and guaranteed due process and the equal protection of the law to all Americans. Thus, it overturned *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), which had stated that “the black man who no rights the white man was bound to respect.” The Fifteenth Amendment, which outlawed discrimination in voting based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was passed in 1870. It brought thousands of black men into the political process. But it angered Southern whites who had begun to fight back, literally and figuratively, to quash black rights. Whites, including members of the KKK, harassed and intimidated black voters with impunity; they also killed several Republican candidates. Southern state governments, led by the former planter elite, failed to protect Republican candidates and black voters. To force compliance with the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress passed the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871. The first protected the civil rights of blacks at the federal level and outlawed the use of disguises and masks. The 1871 law, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, made it a federal crime to interfere with an individual's right to hold office, serve on a jury, vote or enjoy the equal protection of the law. In extreme cases, the KKK Act of 1871 also authorized the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and send in federal troops to protect black rights and restore order. That same year, President Ulysses S. Grant declared martial law in several counties in South Carolina, sent in army troops, and suspended the writ of habeas corpus. Even these actions, however, had little impact, as the federal government lacked the will and resources to bring hundreds of Klansmen to trial.

A last spasm of federal lawmaking designed to protect African Americans occurred when Congress introduced another Civil Rights Act. The law sought to ensure that blacks could enjoy public accommodations. Passed in the Republican-led House, it was stripped of bans on discrimination in schools and in private accommodations such as churches and cemeteries by Democrats in the Senate. The law passed in 1875. It mattered little, however. The federal government refused to enforce the Act, and the **U.S. Supreme Court** declared it unconstitutional in 1883.

It would be the last major piece of federal civil rights legislation for almost 100 years. All but four of the Southern states—Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida—had returned to home rule, and much of the country seemed weary of the arduous task of protecting black rights. The increasing intransigence of Southern state governments controlled by Democratic Redeemers ensured that the federal government would have an increasingly difficult time guaranteeing black rights. Several government scandals at the federal level, the Panic of 1873 and the resulting depression stole the attention of Congress. Conflict between black and white Republicans coupled with the death of several highly influential Radical Republicans who served in Congress made it all but impossible to maintain Reconstruction. State elections, especially in the four states that had yet to be redeemed by Democrats, grew increasingly violent, and President Grant publicly declared his weariness with the battles over Reconstruction. When Mississippi Governor Adelbert Ames asked for federal assistance, Grant opined that the federal government was tired of rescuing the South from election-year violence and refused to send troops. All this was played out against the backdrop of the presidential election of 1876.

The election was one of the most confusing and hotly contested in American history. Samuel Tilden, the Democratic candidate, won the popular vote by a large margin and was ahead of his Republican challenger, Rutherford B. Hayes in the Electoral College, 185 votes to 167. Twenty electoral votes from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were being claimed by both parties. A special commission split along party lines, and Hayes let it be known that he would not support Republican governments in the unredeemed states. This so-called compromise ensured that Hayes was the victor. Very shortly after being inaugurated, he withdrew the last federal troops from the South, and Republican governments collapsed. Reconstruction was over.

The promise of emancipation and Reconstruction was reduced to ashes. Of course, African Americans were no longer slaves, had won some basic freedoms and had begun to build strong families and communities. But in spite of a formal legislative apparatus, thousands of blacks had been terrorized and killed in the aftermath of the Civil War. Most whites, especially in the South, were determined that blacks would not be given even a modicum of freedom and civil rights. White Republicans, Northerners, and even some Radical Republicans began to believe that Reconstruction was a mistake; they no longer looked at African Americans as a people who deserved their protection. The failure of Reconstruction augured the success of Jim Crow.

White Southerners and Democrats moved quickly to strip blacks of one of their most important rights: the right to vote. The ink was barely dry on the

Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution when whites began to develop schemes to circumvent it. A campaign of economic intimidation, threats, and violence kept thousands of black men away from the polls. When this was not enough, whites sought quasi-legal means to suppress the black vote. South Carolina passed the Eight Box Law, which required voters to place their ballots in separate boxes for separate races. Voters in Mississippi were required to demonstrate they could understand the Constitution before they were allowed to cast their votes. Louisiana instituted a grandfather clause that allowed black men to vote only if their grandfathers had voted. All of the Southern states instituted poll taxes, and voters were required to verify their place of residency and change polling locations if they moved. People convicted of theft or bigamy or other offenses deemed to be black crimes were disfranchised. So successful were these tactics that by 1890, no blacks were elected to office and black voters, especially in the deep South, had virtually disappeared.

Southern whites had been so successful in disfranchising blacks that they turned their attention to developing strategies to legally separate the races. By the 1880s, blacks and whites rarely mingled, although the term segregation was seldom used until the early twentieth century. In spite of the **Civil Rights Act of 1875**, blacks and whites had separate institutions, including hospitals, schools, and cemeteries. It is the case, too, that many blacks were content to sit in separate areas in public places as it was an improvement over the total exclusion they had experienced during slavery.

While no one knows how the term *Jim Crow* came to define the practice of segregation, it is patently clear that it allowed whites to exercise almost total control over blacks, and this control allowed them the illusion of living much as they did during slavery. Whites next went to work to ensure they would have little or no contact with blacks in public spaces, and their first target was public transportation.

The confined spaces on passenger trains was especially galling to whites. By 1881, Southern states began passing laws which relegated blacks to the separate cars or separate sections within cars. Tennessee passed a law mandating segregation of railroad cars in 1881; Florida passed similar legislation several years later. In Louisiana, railroad officials, black politicians, and other black leaders also protested against segregated transportation, but to no avail; the state segregated its passenger trains in 1891.

In 1892, a full scale attack on segregated transportation was launched by Homer A. Plessey, a fair-skinned black man. Having purchased a first-class ticket, he boarded the train and attempted to sit in the section reserved for whites. He was arrested and charged with violating the new segregation law. His case, *Plessey v. Ferguson*, was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896. Counsel for Plessey argued that by requiring him to sit in a blacks-only car, the state was violating his Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection of the law. In an eight-to-one decision, the Court ruled that separation of the races did not imply blacks were inferior, nor did it deprive Plessey of his rights as long as the facilities in question were equal to those of whites. Justice Herbert Brown, writing for the majority, made a clear distinction between political and social equality. Justice **John Marshall Harlan**, the lone dissenter

whose grandfather had owned slaves, warned that in ruling against Plessy, the Court was condoning a practice that would be of great harm to American society. His dissent proved prescient; the highest court in the land had paved the way for a dual society based on racial prejudice and false claims of white superiority. By the end of the nineteenth century, hundreds of laws all over the country had created a web that ensnared most blacks and virtually guaranteed they would live lives of crushing poverty and brutal oppression.

In addition to being racially segregated, African Americans were forced to dance an elaborate minuet of racial etiquette that always found them at a severe disadvantage. Whites would not shake hands with blacks, and blacks were taught to never look whites in the eye, especially when addressing white women. When blacks were permitted to enter white establishments, it was through the back door, and they could not be served in those establishments. They were expected to always speak in a deferential manner when addressing white people. Furthermore, blacks were not given honorific, but whites were. It was not uncommon for whites to refuse to learn or use the names of blacks; instead, blacks were addressed as “boy” or “girl”; “auntie” or “uncle.”

It was in the area of sexual relations that the racial etiquette was most damaging. Black girls and women had no control over their bodies and were often the victims of forced sexual relationships with white men. Black men could do nothing to protect their wives and daughters from these assaults, and most white women pretended that black women’s forced sexual relationship with white men did not exist. Black parents often disciplined their children harshly over the slightest violation of racial etiquette; especially discouraged was speaking freely to or around whites, as it could mean the difference between life and death.

The penalty for violating racial etiquette was often administered at the end of a rope. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) defines **lynching** as the murder of someone by three or more people who claim to be serving the causes of justice or tradition. Lynching was a common means of dealing with people who violated laws or community norms. Indeed, between 1890 and 1930, more than 3,700 people had been lynched in the United States; this figure includes women and whites. The practice was especially prevalent in the West, which during this time period often had no established criminal justice system. By the late nineteenth century, however, lynching became the preferred way that whites used to oppress and dominate blacks, and most lynchings were performed in the South, where black men made up most of its victims. Whites liked to claim that lynching was needed because the justice system could not be counted upon to punish black criminals, and those who were lynched were guilty of serious crimes, such as the rape of a white woman or murder. However, statistics do not bear this out. Black activists **Ida B. Wells-Barnett** and **Walter White** conducted careful empirical studies and reported that while whites often accused blacks of various crimes, the main reason for lynching was race hatred and the fear of blacks’ advancement. Whites used lynching as an instrument of war in their campaign to crush black economic aspirations, maintain white supremacy, and squelch black political activism. Indeed, a black man could be lynched for any or no reason.

Whites defended lynching as a much-needed tool that helped to uphold Southern honor, communal values, and democracy. Moreover, it was a premeditated crime, often tacitly supported or openly condoned by people considered pillars of their respective communities, including law enforcement officers, politicians, and judges. Indeed, few whites condemned lynching unless it was carried out in an exceptionally brutal manner.

Lynchings during the era of Jim Crow were public spectacles. It was not uncommon for lynchings to be scheduled so that the public could be on hand, infusing lynchings with a carnival-like atmosphere. Sometimes, special excursion trains were run to deliver people to the event, and families sometimes brought picnic baskets. Women and children were often present at lynchings, and items such as postcards or recordings were sold to commemorate the event. Some victims were doused with oil or gasoline, set on fire, and allowed to slowly burn to death. Bodies were often mutilated after the victim died either by riddling the dead with bullets, or cutting off extremities and sexual organs was often done to provide participants and onlookers with souvenirs of the crime.

Just as they had during slavery, black activists, politicians, and whites in sympathy with them worked valiantly to stamp out lynching. In addition to Wells-Barnett and White, William Monroe Trotter, Mary Church Terrell, and William Pickett worked assiduously to end lynching. Organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs and the NAACP were involved with the decades long effort to make lynching a federal crime. White women in the Progressive movement formed the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching to battle the attitudes that led to lynching and ensure its demise. The efforts of these groups, although not entirely successful, bore some fruit. The number of blacks lynched in the United States declined from a high of 155 in 1893 to 20 in 1930.

In spite of the fact that whites had been phenomenally successful in creating and maintaining the dual society, their obsession with ensuring that blacks remained at the bottom of society bordered on the pathological. A number of state and local lawmaking bodies had gone to extremes in their efforts to maintain Jim Crow. Florida and **Kentucky** required that schoolbooks for blacks and whites be stored in separate facilities. The races were not allowed to play board games together in Alabama, and Mississippi passed a law making it a criminal offense to publish materials that considered or advocated racial equality and intermarriage. Oklahoma permitted its Conservation Commission to segregate fishermen and boaters based on race.

The 1905 **Niagara Movement** gave birth to the most famous of black uplift organizations, the NAACP. While a number of organizations had used various methods such as protests and boycotts to dismantle Jim Crow, the NAACP developed a two-prong approach that proved to be extremely effective. The first was the use of lawsuits to force the courts to end Jim Crow. The organization won its first major victory in 1915 in the case of *Guinn v. United States*, when the Supreme Court overturned the grandfather clause that had kept black men from voting in Oklahoma. Two years later, the organization won another victory when the Supreme Court ruled

unconstitutional a Louisville law that enforced residential segregation through restrictive covenants.

In 1918, the NAACP joined black activists and their white allies in its most important fight to that date: attempting to secure a federal antilynching law. Along with several organizations, prominent black activists The Dyer Bill, named after its sponsor white congressman **Leonidas C. Dyer** of St. Louis, first passed in the House of Representatives in 1922; it was blocked by the Senate. The bill continued to be introduced into the 1930s, but it never passed the Senate.

Jim Crow reared its ugly head during **World War I**. As in previous wars, African Americans volunteered in large numbers. White officials, fearful of arming thousands of black men who were training at Southern army posts, did everything they could to discourage black soldiers. In every branch of the service, black men were assigned to the most menial tasks, and they were blocked from serving in the Marine Corps at all. When black men were permitted to see combat, it was in segregated units under the supervision of white officers. Black soldiers generally acquitted themselves well, and three regiments distinguished themselves so that they were awarded the Croix de Guerre from the French government. Most white Americans, however, refused to afford African Americans their rights in spite of their sacrifices in the war. Indeed, almost two dozen black men were lynched while wearing the armed forces uniforms. Yet, black men were emboldened by their experiences in Europe, and their return marked a turning point in blacks' efforts to overturn Jim Crow.

From 1906 through 1923, African Americans sometimes engaged in armed resistance to protect their families and secure their rights as race riots broke out in large cities, from Atlanta to East St. Louis to Chicago. While each riot had its own personal circumstances, there was a common denominator: whites' inability to treat blacks as equal. Simultaneously, black Americans protested with their feet and engaged in a mass migration from the rural South to the urban North. Between 1910 and 1940, the black population outside the Southern states doubled; more than 1.75 million African Americans fled the South. The migrants were primarily young people who had no personal memories of slavery, and they were responding to a number of factors that made migrating not only necessary but desirable. Natural disasters in the form of boll weevils and the great Mississippi River flood destroyed crops throughout the South, leaving agricultural workers without employment. Northern labor shortages, advertisements in black-owned newspapers and labor recruiters lured blacks to Northern cities with promises of better paying factory jobs. On the one hand, white planters and businessmen were happy to rid themselves of African Americans; on the other, they worried about the loss of cheap labor. They tried a variety of methods to cope, from requiring Northern labor agents to get licenses to operate, to urging a cessation of violence against blacks.

By the 1930s, black activism had greatly matured. Multi-prong efforts by black organizations, the legal system, and individual activists were slowly chipping away at Jim Crow. Walter White, now with the NAACP, led the fight

to defeat the nomination of John J. Parker, a committed white supremacist, to the U.S. Supreme Court. The organization hired the Harvard-trained black lawyer Charles Hamilton Houston, to head its legal attack on segregation. Houston, along with his former student **Thurgood Marshall**, first focused on forcing the Southern states to equalize public facilities as stated in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

The duo met with several important victories. The state of Missouri was ordered to provide blacks the opportunity to study law in state-supported schools in the case of *Gaines v. Canada* (1938). A similar case, *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (1947) required the state to provide blacks the opportunity to attend the university's law school; previously the practice had been to provide black students with an out-of-state tuition award. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the University of Texas Law School had created a separate law school for black students, but Marshall argued that its facilities and faculty were inadequate. The Supreme Court agreed. These cases paved the way for the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which formally declared Jim Crow in public schools a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The year 1954 is often recognized as the beginning of the modern **Civil Rights Movement**. Within 10 years, the movement and its followers had ensured that racial discrimination was at the top of the political agenda. In 1957 Congress passed a civil rights act—the first since Reconstruction—that created a commission that would monitor and report violations of blacks' civil rights and propose remedies for disfranchisement of African Americans. The 1960 Civil Rights Act was primarily an administrative directive aimed at forcing local officials to protect black voting rights and giving the federal government the ability to monitor compliance.

Fervent civil rights activities, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the kidnap and murder of three young civil rights workers in the summer of 1964 provided the impetus for the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which ended Jim Crow practices in public accommodations. The movement then turned its attention to obtaining the ballot in the states of the Old Confederacy. A massive march from Selma, Alabama, to the capital in Montgomery and the murder of several civil rights activists convinced Congress to pass the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which guaranteed the rights of all Americans to vote. Finally, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the Fair Housing Act, which banned racial discrimination in housing and provided protection for civil rights workers. Unlike the previous acts, however, it contained no enforcement role for the federal government. See also Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960; Discrimination.

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Marilyn K. Howard

Levittowns

Created in 1947 by William Levitt, Levittowns were standardized, large-scale suburban developments. Levitt emphasized efficiency and mass-production methods, which put the cost of home ownership within reach of middle-class America. Designed to accommodate the housing needs of returning **World War II** veterans, Levittowns served as a symbol of the postwar American dream. However, Jim Crow practices and housing policies kept African Americans out of this utopian community. Levittowns are the exemplar of innumerable American developments that prohibited black suburbanization.

The first of many Levittowns was built in Long Island, New York. Thousands of modest houses in these subdivisions mirrored one another. Levitt's goal was to provide affordable, not designer, homes. Often known as "cookie cutter communities," similarities did not end with the architecture. Most of the Levittown residents were young, married with children, and held similar jobs. Possibly one of the most obvious and shared characteristics among Levittowners was race. The Levitt organization openly stated that Levittowns were solely Caucasian communities and made every effort to keep Levittowns segregated. Thirteen years after its inception, not one African American resided in a Levittown. Levitt and residents of Levittown worried that integrating the communities could cause the property values to plummet. Additionally, attitudes of white supremacy encouraged segregation to endure.

When African Americans slowly began to break Levittown's race barrier in the mid-1960s, it was not an easy feat. White realtors and financial institutions made it almost impossible for African Americans to move into all-white communities. Banks would refuse to lend money or offer only the most expensive rates to black families. White residents joined together to form homeowners' associations with the common goal to prevent integration. Many homeowners refused to sell or rent their home to African Americans. Moreover, desperate white segregationists resorted to threats, violence, and arson in hopes of scaring black families away. Even **Jackie Robinson**, one of the greatest baseball players of all time, had so much difficulty finding a home near New York that he and his wife eventually decided to reside in Connecticut.

These prejudicial practices became illegal in April 1968, when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the Fair Housing Act. This legislation prohibited "discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin in the sale or rental of housing" and banned well-known discriminatory practices such as blockbusting, redlining, and real estate steering. Ironically, according to the 2000 census, Long Island, New York, the first home to a Levittown, is the most racially segregated suburban area in the United States. *See also* Housing Covenants; Neighborhood Property Owners Associations; Segregation, Rural.

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Emily Hess

Liberia

Liberia is a coastal West African nation that covers a geographic area about the size of Ohio, sharing borders with Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Cote d'Ivoire. Before the founding of the country in 1822, indigenous peoples belonged to 16 main ethnicities further categorized into three linguistic sets. Most of these people lived in polygynous, patrilineal societies organized first into households, which conglomerated to form villages. The political structure of the village most resembled a central chieftaincy state or a decentralized governing system based on age sets, gender, and kinship networks. The diversity of ethnic groups impeded unified resistance to outside forces and further fed the success of colonizers. Although the region was not conflict-free prior to colonization, the arrival of American ships in the early nineteenth century marked the beginning of intense pain and suffering for the 1.5 million Africans that came to be ruled by Americo-Liberians.

Free blacks, newly emancipated slaves, and recaptured slaves traveled to the west coast of Africa seeking a haven from the racial oppression these groups faced in the United States. The American Colonization Society (ACS) spearheaded the movement and first worked to acquire land in Sierra Leone. Ultimately, the society shifted southeastward in the areas that later became Liberia, where they established coastal settlements that were eventually grouped into five counties. Many of the ACS leaders owned slaves and sought to rid the United States of free blacks to strengthen the bonds of slavery. Other members embraced colonization as a way to spread Western civilization to the indigenous peoples of Africa. Free blacks and former slaves sought a better life. While most African Americans snubbed repatriation because they considered America their rightful home, some believed settlement in Africa would accomplish the dual goal of guaranteeing black Americans' civil rights along with the redemption of Africa through racial uplift.

The first Americans to try to colonize present-day Liberia met more failures than successes. Prior to departure, there were no training or educational sessions about the new climate, land, or population. Many of the passengers and crew on the *Elizabeth*, the first ship to set sail, died from disease and battles with the indigenous coastal residents soon after arriving. Some emigrants considered their flight from America an opportunity to embark on work arrangements that did not entail the physically taxing types of labor they experienced in the States. Although conditions forced the new Liberians to do some farming, the men and women worked to distinguish their labor from that of the indigenes. Many held on to mythic conceptions of Africa that developed among many enslaved in America. This Africa, a utopia of plenty in which Africans worked collaboratively to build a black nation, contrasted greatly with real-life conditions.

The joining of African and European cultural norms, values, and beliefs that developed into African American identity did not translate into an appreciation of traditional African culture. Paradoxically, former slaves and free black emigrants had internalized the negative caricatures and stereotypes of Africa and her people that pervaded Western thought. They did not try to bridge the communication gap between themselves and the Dey, Via, Bassa, Kru,

and Grebo peoples they met along the coast and did little to assimilate into existing social systems. Rather, they worked to spread “civilization” to a continent that Western circles described as barbaric and primitive. Settlers degraded traditional African customs and beliefs while teaching the superiority of the European worldview. Christianity played a major role in their civilizing mission, and many traveled as missionaries to spread Western religion and education to the Gold Coast.

In 1824, the colony took the name Liberia and became an independent African republic. Before 1832, the ACS was the only emigration organization involved in Liberia, after which a number of organizations sent pioneers to the new country. In 1839, the groups established a commonwealth to unite the various branches that settled along the coast. Mulattoes in Liberia reaped real benefits from their skin tone, since lighter-skinned blacks often held higher political positions than those of a darker hue. These ideas held significance for those Americo-Liberians, as the immigrants from their United States and the descendants were called, who withstood the experience of slavery in the United States. During the height of the Atlantic Slave Trade, U.S. slaveowners made note of their preferences for captives from certain areas of Africa, which led to job specialization among certain ethnicities. As the American-born population of slaves in America began to supersede the African-born, owners used distinctions in skin color for job assignments, favoring lighter-skinned blacks for the work with the most contact between whites and blacks. Slaves who had the most contact with whites were more likely to adopt Eurocentric values. Although this group gained better resources and did not usually perform the more strenuous jobs of field laborers, they were often ostracized by the black community and, as those always under the gaze of whites, endured a different type of oppression. Settlers transplanted this hierarchy of color to Liberia.

Americo-Liberians soon established a caste system and governed the indigenes from the capital city of Monrovia. The ruling elite treated Africa’s people as whites in America treated African Americans. Although there was no explicit segregation policy, Americo-Liberians forced the indigenous to enter through back doors, sit in separate pews at church, and limited citizenship rights to exclude many peoples of the hinterland. By the second decade of the twentieth century, indigenes of Liberia outnumbered Americo-Liberians by a ratio of about 100 to one. In 1906, leaders oversaw the organization of the Liberian Frontier Force, a military unit formed to protect the Liberian government from the majority. Their role would expand to include the collection of taxes after they were institutionalized in 1916. The collection of taxes provoked the ire of West Africans and led to conflicts with the government.

Although the constitution forbade forced human labor, governmental officials sanctioned *pawning*, denying its strong resemblance to slavery. Under this system, a person or guardian could lease his labor to an employer in exchange for a set number of years for an agreed payment. The system of pawning and labor export deals made with the Spanish heightened divisions between the government and the indigenous peoples. The Liberian government demanded so much from the indigenous peoples in the hinterland that some had to pawn themselves or others in order to pay hut taxes. In 1914,

the Liberian government made a deal with the Spanish to send laborers to Fernando Po, an island of plantations to the west of Liberia. To gain these laborers, the Liberian Frontier Force sacked local villages demanding payment of taxes in cash or in the form of young boys. When these frequent instances of forced labor gained national and international attention, governmental officials in America and Europe criticized those in power. In spite of public chastisement, those responsible usually remained in office. Labor exports to Fernando Po ended legally in 1930 but continued illegally for a number of years. Colonial powers mounted long and somewhat successful attacks against slavery, but their calls to end coerced labor were few. Many noted the irony of the United States speaking out against forced labor in light of their inaction in ending the similar types of coercion toward African Americans. Like sharecroppers in the American South and prisoners laboring in convict leasing systems, indigenous peoples of Liberia at Fernando Po worked for promises of payment never fulfilled.

During the height of **Jim Crow**, some black leaders in America supported **Back-to-Africa** initiatives, of which **W.E.B. Du Bois** and **Marcus Garvey** were the most popular. Du Bois, organizer of the fifth Pan African Conference, appreciated Africa's gifts, but also spoke from a more mythic conception of the continent. Garvey, the leader of the **United Negro Improvement Association**, envisioned a nation ruled by indigenous Africans and was quickly rejected by the Liberian ruling party. African Americans proved to be an unwelcome presence in Liberia. Liberian governmental officials did not want the threat of a growing body of black entrepreneurs and community builders in Liberia.

Economic and militaristic interest led to U.S. involvement in Liberian politics. The Liberian government made an agreement with Harvey Firestone in November 1926 for land to build a rubber manufacturing plant. When Firestone began to face labor shortages, the United States stepped in as a voice against the forced labor shipments to the Spanish. American intervention helped mend Firestone's labor problems, and he soon organized a segregated society around the rubber plantation. Like the black/white segregation that defined Jim Crow in the United States, the community of whites that came to Liberia with the Firestone business also developed separate lives. A segregated white community grew to include schools, churches, and golf courses. Even the ruling apparatus of Liberia could not gain entrance into this white metropolis without permission until the late 1950s. Du Bois would come to attack the color line that defined the company's relations to Liberia, although he originally supported the rubber baron's investment in the debt-ridden nation.

An investigation of Liberia's labor abuses headed by Charles Johnson, an African American sociologist, led to the fall of President C. B. King's administration. Unfortunately for the indigenous Liberians, his political party remained in power. Although many saw the election of Edwin Barclay in 1930 as a turn for the better, the new president adamantly opposed international involvement in Liberian affairs and thus blocked humanitarian attempt to address the continued exploitation of the indigenes by Americo-Liberians.

The government did not see itself as an exploiter of a people with little economic and no political power. This would all come to a head in January 1980, when the Progressive People's Party staged a coup d'état that dismantled the Americo-Liberian True Whig Party. The new regime empowered continental Africans, but governmental abuses continued. *See also* Black Nationalism; Ethiopia; Racial Stereotypes.

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Christina L. Davis

Lincoln Memorial

The Lincoln Memorial is a U.S. presidential memorial authorized in 1911, started in 1914, and dedicated in 1922. It occupies a site on the western extreme of the National Mall. The memorial honors the 16th president, Abraham Lincoln. The memorial was designed by Henry Bacon in the style of a Greek Doric temple, with an interior statue of a seated Lincoln by Daniel C. French. The statue gazes down the Mall past the Washington Memorial toward the Capitol building. The memorial celebrates important contributions to the nation by Lincoln; preserving the Union, reconciling North and South, and freeing the slaves. His preservation of the Union is marked by an engraving of his Gettysburg Address. The reconciliation is represented by his Second Inaugural Address, while his role as emancipator is shown by a series of murals by Jules Guerin above showing an angel freeing a slave.

While President Lincoln was widely lionized in the North after the war, white Southerners held more ambivalent feelings about him. His election in 1860 touched off the succession crisis that started the Civil War, and during the war he was hated across the South as a tyrant who resorted to race war to crush the Confederacy. However, in the decades after his death, his reputation in the white South had been modified to an extent. By the turn of the century, white reconciliation had been built in part on the diminution of slavery as a cause of the war. As **Jim Crow** laws kept blacks as oppressed as the institution of slavery once had, the sting of abolition had largely abated in the white South. Lincoln's moderate reconstruction plan and his generosity to the defeated South contrasted sharply with later Radical **Reconstruction** enacted after his death, which white Southerners saw as a terrible period and a crime perpetrated against the South. Acceptance of Lincoln by the white South was based on his status as the man who kept the nation together, which, by the early twentieth century, most of the white South agreed was a good thing.

Black Americans, whether Northerners or Southerners, however, still held Lincoln in high regard. Lincoln was the Great Emancipator, the leader of the abolitionist party who finally ended slavery. Thus Lincoln himself held a high

position in African American culture, and his memorial became the site for several important large gatherings of blacks.

The memorial became linked with large gatherings of blacks in 1939, when the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) refused to allow one of the most talented singers of the period, Marian Anderson, to perform at Constitution Hall, which they owned. While the DAR claimed that the hall was unavailable due to a previous booking, most understood that she was turned down because she was black. Thousands of liberal members of the DAR, including First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt**, resigned over the incident. After the District of Columbia Board of Education refused to allow Anderson to use the auditorium in a white school for a concert, Roosevelt intervened and pressured her husband to find a suitable spot for her performance. With the president's urging, Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes arranged for her to perform from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. A live audience estimated at 70,000 people, black and white, crowded on the Mall to hear her, while a national radio audience of millions listened in. The image of one of America's greatest singers, who happened to be black, singing in front of a statue of the Great Emancipator, became a powerful symbol for blacks and liberal whites. The DAR, deeply embarrassed by the incident, invited Anderson to sing at Constitution Hall in 1943, in the middle of **World War II**.

However, the Anderson concert was only a preview of an event of much more import that would occur more than 20 years later. On August 28, 1963, during the height of the **Civil Rights Movement**, a rally was held at the Lincoln Memorial as the climax of the **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom. The march, which occurred just over 100 years since Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, underlined how far the nation had yet to go in fulfilling the promises of Abolition, as well as the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. With an estimated quarter of a million people gathered around the memorial, **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech, one of the seminal speeches of American history. The setting of the speech, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, added to the dignity of the occasion, and emphasized just how long the struggle for equality had been for African Americans. The National Park Service later placed a marker on the spot where King stood as he delivered his famous speech. *See also* March on Washington Movement.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Little Rock Nine

The term "Little Rock Nine" refers to the group of nine students who in September 1957 became the first African Americans to attend Central High School in Little Rock, **Arkansas**. The nine students were Melba Pattillo, Minnijean Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Ernest Green, Gloria Ray, Carlotta Walls, Thelma Mothershed, Terrence Roberts, and Jefferson Thomas. The Nine,

who had been carefully selected for their role, submitted themselves to humiliation and physical danger in order to help desegregate the public schools of Little Rock.

On May 24, 1955, the Little Rock School Board unanimously approved a plan drafted by Virgil Blossum, the superintendent of schools, for the gradual integration of the city's schools, in compliance with the **U.S. Supreme Court**, which had ruled in the 1954 decision *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregated schools were unconstitutional, and that all schools were to be desegregated. The initial phase, when nine black students would begin attending classes at the previously all-white Central High School, would begin in September 1957. Local civil rights leaders and the Little Rock School Board understood that the first black students to attend the school would be under intense scrutiny, with any deficiency in academics or conduct used as an excuse to label the entire movement to integrate the schools a failure. The nine students were carefully selected by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for their high grades, solid attendance records, and lack of discipline problems in their previous school records. **Daisy Lee Bates**, a journalist and publisher who was active in the **Civil Rights Movement** in Little Rock, provided continual advice and support to the Nine. The students were instructed to dress neatly, not to overreact to provocation, and in general to give segregationists no excuse to use them as an argument against integration.

White residents of the city formed "citizen's councils," which pledged themselves to uphold segregation, with force if necessary. Governor Orval Faubus, a former liberal who had come to support segregation, promised white voters that he would keep Central High an all-white school. By inclination, President Dwight D. Eisenhower disliked heavy-handed government approaches, and preferred to remain aloof from the Civil Rights Movement. However, he saw a crisis building in Little Rock, as segregationists rallied and planned during the 1956–1957 school year. Hoping to avoid a showdown between state and federal authorities, Eisenhower met with Governor Faubus to discuss the approaching integration. While Faubus remained noncommittal, Eisenhower apparently believed that although Faubus might speak against integration, he would ensure that federal laws were obeyed.

The initial attempts of the Nine to attend classes at the school on September 4, 1957, brought out large crowds of white adults, mostly parents of students attending the school, bent on maintaining segregation. The crowds had assembled around the school in the early morning to keep the black students out of the school. Governor Faubus mobilized part of the **Arkansas National Guard** with the mission to physically block the nine black students from entering the school. Faubus explained his actions as stemming from his concern for maintaining law and order, but the white mobs were the people violating the law, not the black students. Photographs of the day's events were published nationally, with the image of a row of white armed Guardsmen and the mobs of angry adult white adults blocking the small group of neatly dressed black students, all of whom were in their mid-teens, making a powerful impression throughout the nation. Eisenhower was furious at the actions of Faubus, seeing his stance as a direct challenge to federal authority. Eisenhower

had the U.S. Department of Justice request an injunction against the use of the National Guard in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas. The injunction was granted, and Faubus was ordered to withdraw the National Guard or face contempt of court.

Faubus, having shown his commitment to his political base while holding himself and his city up to national ridicule, complied and withdrew the Guard on September 20, and city police took over the mission of ensuring the safety of the Nine. However, the situation at Central High was still tense, as a large crowd of whites, estimated in the hundreds, kept a vigil at the school in an attempt to ensure that the Nine did not enter the school. On September 23, the police were able to sneak the Nine into the school to begin attending classes. However, when the surrounding mob learned that the Nine were in the school, order began to break down. The police, seriously outnumbered, feared for the safety of the Nine, and escorted them away from the school.

Supporters of integration, as well as people who supported the rule of law and not the rule of mobs, realized that a stronger show of authority would be needed, or else the mobs around Central High would continue to keep the Nine away from school. Woodrow Mann, the Democratic mayor of Little Rock, formally requested that Eisenhower use federal soldiers to maintain order and ensure that the Nine were able to attend classes. On September 24, Eisenhower sent in the U.S. Army's 1,200-man 327th Battle Group of the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock to take control of the campus. At the same time, he federally mobilized the entire Arkansas National Guard, about 10,000 Guardsmen, mainly to prevent Governor Faubus from attempting to use the Guard to oppose the federal soldiers. With this overwhelming show of disciplined soldiers, the threat from the mobs abated, although the shouting continued. The Nine were able to enter the school and begin attending classes on September 25.

The federal soldiers were deployed for the immediate crisis, but Eisenhower and the army wanted them returned to Fort Campbell, Kentucky, as soon as the situation allowed it. Originally, most of the National Guardsmen were ordered to remain at the armories. However, the army began organizing some of the federalized National Guardsmen into what became Task Force 153 on Camp Robinson, in North Little Rock, with the long-term mission of ensuring order at the school, while demobilizing most of the remainder of the Arkansas National Guard. By the end of November, the 101st soldiers were all withdrawn, and Task Force 153 assumed full control of the campus.

Although the Nine attended classes under tight security, they were still subjected to a host of threats, harassments, and even assaults, from white students throughout the year. Despite the hostile environment, the Nine remained at the school through the fall semester. Minnijean Brown was the only one of the Nine not to complete the school year. In December, a group of white male students began hassling her in the cafeteria. In the confrontation, she dropped her tray, in the process splashing some of her chili on one of the white students. For this, she was expelled from the school. Melba Pattillo suffered injury when acid was thrown in her face by a white student, but continued to attend Central and finished the school year.

However, the opponents of integration were not finished. With the support of the governor and the state legislature, the school board closed all public high schools in Little Rock after the end of the 1957–1958 school year. The public high schools remained closed only for one year, though. Under pressure from the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, as well as the enormous negative publicity the city and state received nationally over the crisis, the school board reopened the high schools, as integrated schools, in the fall of 1958.

Of the eight black students who completed the first year, Earnest Green was the only senior, and at the end of the 1957–1958 school year, became the first African American to graduate from Central High. Elizabeth Eckford moved to St. Louis in 1958 and completed her college preparation there. Jefferson Thomas returned when Central reopened, and graduated from Central High in 1960. Terrence Roberts moved to Los Angeles after the end of the first year, and graduated from Los Angeles High School in 1959. Carlotta Walls, the youngest of the nine, also returned to Central High School when it reopened in 1959 and graduated in 1960. Thelma Mothershed completed most of her coursework by correspondence during the year the public schools were closed. She received her diploma from Central High by mail. Melba Pattillio moved to California after the first year and completed her high school program there. In 1999, each of the Little Rock Nine was honored with Congressional Gold Medals presented by President Bill Clinton, in recognition of their courage and their important role in knocking down segregation. *See also* Federal Government; White Citizens Council.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Louisiana

Louisiana holds an important place in the history of **Jim Crow**. It is where the landmark case *Plessy v. Ferguson* originated. The *Plessy* case established the doctrine of “**separate but equal**,” which legalized Jim Crow in America. According to the **U.S. Supreme Court**, it was constitutionally permissible to maintain a regime of racial segregation if the services a state provided were equal. This ruling justified several Jim Crow laws, while opposition to it began the modern **Civil Rights Movement**.

The city in Louisiana responsible for the *Plessy* case was New Orleans. New Orleans had a unique history that made it one of the most interesting places in Louisiana and the entire South. Its unique demography began to take shape as early as 1720 with the first mass importation of African slaves. By the end of the eighteenth century, New Orleans was home to several ethnic groups and had the largest free black community in the Deep South. Most of the free black population in New Orleans considered themselves Creoles of Color. They were Catholic, educated, born in New Orleans, and could trace some family ties to white Creoles of the city. Their wealth, social standing, education,

and unique history set them apart not only from slaves, but from free persons of color elsewhere. Most were descendants of unions between Native Americans, French, Spanish, and Africans. Before the Civil War, they owned property and dominated skilled crafts like bricklaying, cigar making, carpentry, and shoemaking. The Creoles of Color provided the leadership for the black community in Louisiana after the Civil War. They were instrumental in bringing about the *Plessy* case.

At the end of the Civil War in 1865, the **federal government** had to come up with a plan to govern former Confederate States, reunite the nation, and recover from the destruction of the war. The 1865 passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ensured that blacks would no longer be held in bondage by abolishing the institution of slavery in America. Newly freed slaves dreamed of a new South that would allow them their basic rights as freedmen, while white Southerners looked for ways to retain as much control over former slaves as possible. After the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, former slave states, including Louisiana, implemented the infamous **Black Codes**. The Black Codes consisted of a series of laws aimed at restricting the rights of freedmen by making them second-class citizens. The Black Codes enraged Northerners, who pushed for radical changes in the South. In 1866, Congress began a new phase of reconstruction, called **Radical Reconstruction**. Under Radical Reconstruction, all Black Codes were repealed and the South was put under military rule. To ensure that nothing like this could ever happen again, Congress granted all freedmen citizenship rights by drafting what became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and pressuring the states to pass it. In 1870, Republicans continued their Radical Reconstruction by pushing the Fifteenth Amendment through the states, which gave blacks the right to vote. From 1870 to 1875, Southern blacks voted in record numbers for Republicans. In 1875 this changed with the adoption of the **Mississippi Plan**, which was made by the **Democratic Party** to overthrow Republican rule in the South. The plan relied on organized violence, intimidation and fraud.

Louisiana was one of the first Southern states to adopt the Mississippi Plan. Redeeming Louisiana government was very important to the Democratic Party. In 1872, Louisiana had for the first time ever a black governor, courtesy of the **Republican Party**. P. B. S. Pinchback became governor of Louisiana after the impeachment of Henry Clay Warmoth. Pinchback served as governor of Louisiana for 35 days, from December 9, 1872, to January 13, 1873. With the help of the Mississippi Plan and the Compromise of 1877, which ended reconstruction in the South, the Democratic Party had taken over in Louisiana and proceeded to reverse the constitution of 1868 and all of the work of the Creoles, including integrated schools, integrated public accommodations, and voting rights. Reconstruction was over, and the nation was united once again. The national Republican Party was tired of the problems in the South and had abandoned blacks, leaving them powerless to white redeemers.

Between 1877 and 1900, racist politicians in the South gained control of Southern governments and began infringing on the rights of black citizens. Southern redeemers believed in the ultimate supremacy of the white man, especially in matters concerning social and political equality. It was accepted as a fact to many white people that blacks were inferior to whites, and

incapable of any real social or political equality; however, Southern whites more so than Northern whites were committed to making racial policies reflect that belief. Although, their beliefs rested upon prejudice, emotion, and ignorance, they acted upon the assumption that they were correct, and made sure that their premises justified their policies of social segregation, economic discrimination, and political subordination. In 1890, the state of Louisiana took things a step forward by passing the Separate Car Act, which stated that railroad companies provide separate but equal train cars for blacks and whites. This act provided for the basis of several Jim Crow laws.

In 1891, two Creole of Color leaders, Rudolph L. Desdunes and Louis A. Martinet, began a grassroots attempt to form a committee of black citizens to fight against the Separate Car Act. Desdunes and Martinet believed that there could be no accommodating the rights of a United States citizen. They saw the Separate Car Act as the first of many acts that would hinder those rights. Through their efforts, the Citizens Committee was formed. The goal of the committee was to end the infringing practice of racial segregation in the South. In 1892, the committee chose **Homer Plessy** a light-complected Creole of Color who worked as a shoemaker in New Orleans, to test the validity of the Separate Car Act. The committee instructed Plessy to board a designated white train car of the East Louisiana Railroad. Officials of the East Louisiana Railroad told Plessy that he could not ride on the white train car because he was not white. They asked him to take a seat on the black train car. Plessy refused to do so. He was arrested and jailed.

Once Plessy was arrested the Citizens Committee began to work on his defense. At his trial, *Homer A. Plessy v. State of Louisiana*, lawyers argued that the railroad company denied Plessy his constitutional rights under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments. The judge presiding over the case, John Ferguson, ruled that Louisiana did not infringe on Plessy's rights. According to Judge Ferguson, the state of Louisiana had the right to regulate railroad companies that operated in their state. Judge John H. Ferguson found Plessy guilty of violating the Separate Car Act and fined him \$300.

Many members of the Citizens Committee were not pleased with the verdict of Judge Ferguson. They decided to take the case to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, where the ruling was upheld. In 1896, the committee tried one last time to have the ruling overturned by bringing the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled the same way as Judge Ferguson and the Louisiana Supreme Court. According to the U.S. Supreme Court, it was constitutionally permissible to maintain a regime of racial segregation if the services a state provided were equal. The *Plessy* case became the landmark case that established the doctrine of "separate but equal," which legalized Jim Crow in America.

"Separate but equal" was the law. Even though the doctrine specified that all facilities and accommodations were to be equal, generally the facilities for blacks were inherently unequal. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909, tried from its beginning to destroy the constitutional doctrine that the *Plessy* case established. They gradually began to develop a plan for coordinating litigation to fight against Jim Crow laws. Unequal education systems provided the NAACP with the first

cases it needed to challenge the *Plessy* decision. The fight to overturn the *Plessy* decision began the modern Civil Rights Movement.

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Sharlene Sinegal DeCuir

Lowery, Joseph (b. 1924)

A confidante of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and prominent pastor in the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**, Joseph Echols Lowery played a key role in the peak years of the **Civil Rights Movement** in **Alabama**. He was born in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1924, and spent part of his youth in Chicago. He attended Knoxville College and Alabama A&M College in the late from 1939 to 1942. Lowery was an avid student of divinity and Christianity, studying theology at Paine Theological Seminary in Augusta, **Georgia**, and the Chicago Ecumenical Institute. In 1952, he was ordained as a pastor in the United Methodist Church, a denomination that partnered with thriving African American congregations since the nineteenth century. As pastor of the Warren Street Methodist Church of Mobile, Lowery used his position to advance a program of social justice and civil rights for African Americans in the South.

Alabama stood as one of the most racially divided states in the South, as nearly every aspect of life, including public accommodations, cemeteries, political parties, and education, were strictly segregated. After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, political leaders in Alabama had pledged to resist desegregation for as long as they could. Despite the ruling, throughout Alabama, blacks were routinely threatened with violence or were victimized by police action for challenging **Jim Crow**.

In 1957, Lowery was asked to join Martin Luther King, Jr. and **Ralph Abernathy** in the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Based in Alabama, Lowery served as the vice president of the organization, and his leadership was vital to its early success. Lowery and Abernathy knew the political landscape better than most black preachers, as they had been born, raised, educated, and lived in the state for much of their lives. Lowery helped the SCLC navigate the most contentious aspects of Jim Crow in Alabama, understanding that some cities and constituencies were more open to nonviolent civil action than others. Lowery's public role as the vice president of the SCLC led to the consolidation of political power in black congregations, direct challenges to diffident white ministers, petitions to the city governments of Montgomery and Birmingham, and the long-term organization of the nonviolent protests of black residents of the state.

Lowery's leadership in the SCLC also put him at considerable risk of retaliation from the white institutions he challenged. Most notably, Lowery and three other preachers, Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth, and S. S. Seay, were

the defendants in a lawsuit initiated by the attorney general of the state of Alabama in 1962. At issue was an advertisement appearing in the *New York Times* urging readers to donate to the Martin Luther King Legal Defense Fund in April 1962. The city government of Montgomery claimed that the four preachers, whose names appeared in the margins of the ad, had libeled the city for targeting King with racist intentions. In a landmark case, *Sullivan v. New York Times* (1964), Lowery and the other ministers were vindicated by the U.S. Supreme Court, which had overturned an earlier ruling for the plaintiff, Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan. Though the original judgment was upheld by the Alabama State Court, the Supreme Court found that the ruling violated the free speech rights of the four ministers and the First Amendment rights of the *New York Times*. The state of Alabama returned to Lowery all of his personal assets and property, which totaled nearly \$100,000.

His position in the SCLC provided critical moral and logistic support to the Birmingham campaign in 1963 and the Selma marches in 1965. In order to expose the injustice of segregation in Birmingham, Lowery was joined by Shuttlesworth, E. D. Nixon, King, and other prominent ministers in the SCLC, who made the crucial decision to launch Project C, the Children's Crusade, in the spring of 1963. Project C organized African American youth for nonviolent marches challenging the segregation in Birmingham. With segregation viciously enforced by Sheriff "Bull" Connor, the nationally broadcast images of police dogs and water canons turned on teenagers were critical to public condemnation and Birmingham's eventual capitulation to the desegregation efforts.

In 1965, Lowery moved to Birmingham, where he served as the pastor for the St. Paul's Methodist Church and an organizer in the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. He then moved to Atlanta in 1968, and for the next 18 years, he was the head pastor at the Central Methodist Church, a predominantly black congregation whose donations raised enough funds to establish its own housing complex for low-income residents. After a divisive battle over the aims and future development of the SCLC, in 1977, Lowery became the president of the organization. With Lowery as its leader, the SCLC confronted ongoing problems left in the wake of Jim Crow, such as lackluster interest in voting, economic disempowerment, and Apartheid.

Lowery has maintained his steady commitment to civil rights and social justice issues. He founded the Lowery Center for Justice and Human Rights at Clark Atlanta University. He maintains a rigorous schedule as a lecturer and activist in Atlanta. *See also* Preachers.

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Nikki Brown

Lucy, Autherine (b. 1929)

Autherine Lucy was the first African American to attend the University of Alabama. Born in October 1929 and raised in Shiloh, Alabama, Autherine Juanita Lucy was the youngest of 10 children born to Minnie Maud Hosea and Milton Cornelius Lucy. The Lucy family resided on a 110-acre farm in Shiloh, and escaped much of the desperation of the **Great Depression** by raising cotton, watermelons, and sweet potatoes. Lucy attended public school in the Shiloh area, and graduated from high school shortly after **World War II**. She continued her education at two historically black institutions, Selma University and Miles College. She graduated from Miles College in 1952 with a BA in English. Lucy's tremendous feat of desegregating university education in Alabama began when she decided to pursue another BA in 1952, in library science.

She applied in 1952, with her friend from Miles College, Pollie Myers, a student and civil rights activist. The University of Alabama initially accepted the two women for admission, apparently without realizing they were African American. The University of Alabama, however, maintained a policy of rejecting the applications of African Americans solely on the basis of race. When the university realized its mistake, under pressure from the Alabama **White Citizens Council**, it withdrew its offer of admission. Lucy and Myers approached the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) with their case, and they were assigned its top attorneys, **Thurgood Marshall**, **Constance Baker Motley**, and Arthur Shores. The NAACP team sued the university, and three years later, Judge Harlan Hobart Grooms of the federal District Court ruled on *Myers and Lucy v. Adams* (1955) in favor of the plaintiffs. It was just two months after the **U.S. Supreme Court** desegregated public schools in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The University of Alabama reinstated its acceptance to Lucy, but denied admission to Myers. Lucy enrolled in February 1956.

However, Lucy's matriculation at the University of Alabama was not the end of her journey. Indeed, the most troubling part of her experience lay ahead when she began attending classes. The University of Alabama gave her little help in securing room, board, and books. White students resented her presence in the classroom, while hate groups and white supremacists phoned in bomb threats and burned crosses on the university campus and on her attorney's lawn. In some of her classes, the other students were also of little help. Some declined to sit next to her, and angry mobs of students followed her to her class. In other classes, such as children's literature, she was politely, and sometimes warmly, greeted by fellow students. Eager to chronicle the story, reporters and photographers also trailed Lucy, adding to the chaotic atmosphere. Lucy's first day had ended without serious incident, but trouble mounted, as parents, students, and groups not associated with the university grew increasingly hostile.

On February 6, Lucy's third day as a student, she required a full-time police escort to walk her to and from classes. After each class, a violent and angry mob awaited her, throwing rotten eggs and gravel at her. One mob chanted, "Let's kill her!" Another mob vowed to lynch her to "Keep 'Bama white!" Fueled by the **Ku Klux Klan** and other hate groups, crowds swelled across the campus, threatening Lucy's education at the school and, eventually, her life.

The University of Alabama suspended Lucy on the evening of February 6, for her protection and for the protection of the other students. On February 29, the NAACP filed a lawsuit against the University of Alabama, arguing that the university had not shielded Lucy from danger. In effect, the lawsuit claimed that the university acted in collusion with the mobs to drive Lucy out of the school. The NAACP was unable to prove its case and later withdrew the lawsuit. In retaliation, the university expelled Lucy for slander. Though the NAACP could have contested the decision, the entire episode exhausted Lucy, and she declined to pursue it. In March 1956, her attorney, Thurgood Marshall, invited Lucy to stay with his family in New York to recover from the ordeal.

Lucy married Hugh Foster in April 1956, and moved with him to Texas. In the first year of their marriage, she remained active in the **Civil Rights Movement**; she traveled the country and frequently lectured about her time as a student at the University of Alabama. She was unable, however, to find a teaching position for many years. Her family settled first in Texas, but they later moved to Louisiana and then Mississippi. In 1974, Lucy Foster, her husband, and her five children relocated to Birmingham, Alabama, where she worked as a substitute teacher.

Her fortunes took a surprising turn in early 1988. Invited to speak at the University of Alabama about her experience 35 years earlier, Lucy was asked afterward whether she would ever pursue her education again at the university. She answered that she would consider it, but the expulsion on her record had virtually nullified the possibility. An emergency petition to the university, then the Board of Trustees, resulted in the overturning of her expulsion in spring 1988. She entered the University of Alabama in fall 1989 as a graduate student in elementary education. In May 1992, Lucy graduated with an MA in elementary education; she was joined in the commencement ceremonies by her daughter, Grazia Foster, who earned a BA in corporate finance.

The University of Alabama named an endowed professorship in honor of Lucy, and a portrait is on display at the Ferguson Center, the student union of the university. The 40 years between Lucy's initial enrollment and her eventual graduation signify two important themes in **Jim Crow**: the tremendous courage of ordinary citizens who challenged institutionalized racism, and the time it takes to rectify the damages caused by decades of Jim Crow.

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities; NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

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Nikki Brown

Lynching

Scope

Mark Twain (1835–1910), the prolific writer and observer of American life and culture, once sarcastically noted that America had become the “United



Men preparing to lynch African American man, 1920s. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-35741.

States of Lyncherdom” and other social commentators observed that “America’s national crime was lynching.” Lynchings were extralegal murders carried out by a mob or a group of vigilantes. It functioned to summarily and severely execute individuals accused of heinous crimes. Depending upon the period and region, individuals were lynched for both trivial and serious allegations, such as whistling or sexual assault.

Historians have been extremely skeptical of any attempt to define, reconstruct, or accurately measure the scope of lynching given the geographical, racial, and ethnic variations. For example, black Southerners were lynched for almost 100 offenses; however, on the whole, Southern lynch mobs primarily lynched blacks suspected of murder or rape. While lynching served to punish particular criminals and crimes, it also functioned as a kind of mass communication in which the objective was to produce and enforce social conformity with respect to racial hierarchy, social status, and gender norms. Lynching constituted state- and community-sanctioned violence for which federal, state, and local governments and courts rarely prosecuted the individuals involved, and even those prosecutions seldom resulted in fines or prison sentences. Lynch mobs and vigilante groups murdered with impunity because lynching

occurred within a culture of violence that embraced popular conceptions of repressive violence.

Lynching in the United States has a long and tragic history. Lynch mobs expeditiously executed alleged criminals and perceived social deviants from the colonial period (1619–1781) through the Civil Rights era (1955–1975). While present throughout all periods of American history, lynching occurred sporadically prior to the American Civil War (1860–1865). In post-Civil War America, lynching increased dramatically, so that by the end of the nineteenth century, it had engulfed virtually every region in the nation. Between 1882 and 1930, approximately 4,760 men, women, and children fell pray to lynch mobs. No individual or group was entirely safe from lynching. White Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, Italians, and other racial-ethnic groups were all victims of lynching.

Lynching was indeed a national crime, but it was also a Southern hysteria that targeted African Americans, who represented approximately 70 percent of all lynching victims. Lynching was so pervasive and commonplace in the South that ten Deep South and Border South lynched more individuals than all other states and regions combined. During the peak of Southern lynching (1882–1930), approximately 2,800 Southerners perished as a result of lynch

mobs, accounting for nearly 60 percent of all lynching victims in the United States. Moreover, Southern lynching stretched far beyond punishing particular individuals for heinous crimes and became a systematic and constitutive component within **Jim Crow** segregation—an expansive system of racial subordination and oppression.

Between 1882 and 1930, African Americans constituted 94 percent of lynching victims. Lynching came to symbolize black oppression within the system of American race relations. Regardless of region, lynch mobs desired to swiftly and brutally punish individuals who violated seemingly sacred community norms and provided a mechanism by which communities could collectively participate in apprehending and punishing criminals. In this way, lynching was as much a form of community-building as it was extralegal violence.

Geography

While lynching occurred in every region and period in American history, it was concentrated within particular subregions and social groups. Generally speaking, in the South, lynching functioned as an instrument for racial control and terror; however, depending upon the Southern subregion in which lynching occurred, African Americans perished “at the hands of persons unknown” at varying rates and for differing reasons. Southern lynching was concentrated and occurred most frequently within Black Belt counties, a contiguous cross section of several Deep South states (**Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia**) with dense black populations, cotton monocultures, and plantation economies. The Southern agricultural elite employed lynching to exploit and manipulate black sharecroppers and tenant farmers, whereas lynching beyond Black Belt counties were generally targeted at African Americans who ostensible violated the labyrinth of racial taboos of Jim Crow etiquette. For instance, lynching in Louisiana and Georgia was most prevalent in their respective cotton-producing regions. Louisiana’s cotton producing regions accounted for 60 percent of lynching incidents in the state between the years 1878 and 1946. Between the years 1880 and 1930, 458 lynchings occurred in Georgia, of which 84 percent were concentrated in Georgia’s Cotton Belt region. White planters did not always resort to mob violence to punish unruly black workers, particularly when racial demographics did not work in their favor. Within Louisiana’s black-dominated Mississippi River Delta parishes, white elites employed state-sanctioned executions because they believed African Americans’ numerical superiority made the outcome of lynching unpredictable. State-sanctioned executions took the form of legal trials in which African Americans were unable to offer testimony and were at the mercy of all-white jury pools who often were unconcerned with the rules of a fair trial. Extralegal executions could lead to widespread quitting, work stoppages, or even retaliatory violence. White planters believed sham trials with legal executions or imprisonment were the most effective means to control black labor. In plantation regions, where large numbers of blacks and whites labored as sharecroppers and tenant farmers, plantation elites less frequently employed lynching as a means to intimidate and control black laborers for fear of

retaliation by blacks and the perceived threat of poor whites and blacks uniting against the wealthy plantation owners.

Lynching in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states was virtually nonexistent and accounted for less than 10 percent of total U.S. lynching incidents. The relative small number of lynchings in the Northeast can be mostly attributed to a civic culture that respected the rule of law. Although lynching was relatively scarce in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regions, lynchings could eerily resemble those in the South. For instance, in 1911, Zachariah Walker, a black steel worker, was burned alive in Coatesville, Pennsylvania, for murdering a white man. It is estimated that 5,000 men and women witnessed the spectacle and, in the lynching's aftermath, several onlookers mutilated Walker's body, including taking his fingers and bones as souvenirs. Between 1882 and 1930, only 41 individuals were lynched in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states. The vast majority of persons lynched, though, were African Americans such as Walker, who accounted for roughly 87 percent of lynching victims in both the regions. Of the 41 lynching victims, 30 lynchings occurred within Maryland, and the state with the next highest total (Pennsylvania) had only six total lynchings.

In contrast to the Northeast, Midwestern and Western lynching activity was much more prevalent and more evenly distributed throughout the region. For instance, between the years 1882 and 1930, 588 lynchings occurred within the Midwest, for which Oklahoma (160 lynchings), Missouri (116), Nebraska (60), Indiana (52), and Kansas (52) had the highest number of lynching incidents. In addition, Western lynch mobs killed 415 individuals, and at least seven out of 10 Western states had in excess of 30 mob murders during the height of the lynching epidemic. Unlike Southern lynch mobs, Midwestern and Western lynch mobs primarily lynched whites, who constituted roughly 67 percent of lynchings in the Midwest and 93 percent in the Western United States. Lynching was never entirely utilized for the purpose of controlling a particular ethnic or racial group, but rather to punish individual acts of social deviance such as horse theft, counterfeiting, murder, and rape. In addition, Midwestern and Western lynching was more concentrated in rural areas. For instance, lynching occurred more frequently in rural southern Iowa than the urban centers of northern Iowa because of the lack of influence of capitalist culture and the relative weakness of legal institutions.

Typology of Lynch Mobs

Lynchings were cultural performances that legitimated the values of mob participants and translated its cultural significance through social rituals or patterned practices designed to broadcast their message. However, the form and content of lynching varied significantly and impacted its overall meaning. The key differences between lynch mobs were their organization, planning, longevity, and the extent to which they engaged in ceremonialism or lynching rituals. Private mobs, terrorist mobs, posses, and mass mobs represent the four persistent patterns of mob behavior.

Private and terrorist mobs were composed of 50 or fewer individuals and were most prevalent in Western and Midwestern lynching. Private mobs

murdered 75 percent of lynching victims in California, 63 percent of lynching victims in Iowa, 61 percent of lynching victims in Washington State, and 44 percent of lynch victims in Wyoming. In the South, private mobs claimed the lives of less than half of all lynching victims. For instance, in Georgia, private mobs accounted for 30 percent of lynching victims and 46 percent of lynching victims in Virginia. In addition, private mobs were organized several days or even weeks after an alleged crime occurred. They usually became disillusioned with the legal system and the broader community's failure to lynch an alleged criminal, and consequently they used their anger and disappointment as impetus for their organization. Private mobs were usually comprised of friends and family members of the victim, and their participation was motivated by their desire to exact revenge due to their sense of collective loss. Since private mobs generally did not seek community support, the lynching was carefully premeditated, secretive, and less preoccupied with ritualism associated with other lynchings. Despite private mobs' penchant for premeditation and secrecy, their vengeance killings were usually discovered; however, very few private mobs were ever prosecuted or received jail sentences. Similar to private mobs, terrorist mobs operated clandestinely and rarely gained community support for lynching. Extensive or broad-based community support guaranteed personal anonymity for mob participants and immunity from criminal prosecution. When private and terrorist mobs believed community support was negligible, they wore masks in order to conceal their identities. Unlike private mobs, terrorist mobs did not disband after an accomplished lynching. Rather, their *modus operandi* was to use lynching as a means of achieving a broader social agenda. The **Ku Klux Klan**, arguably the most famous and long-lived terrorist organization, is one example of a terrorist mob that used lynching and other forms of repressive violence. While these groups and organizations boasted hundreds or even thousands of members, the impact upon lynching was fairly minimal. In the South, terrorist mobs were responsible for 59 of 460 lynchings in Georgia and only 3 of 86 lynchings in Virginia between the years 1880 and 1930.

Posses and mass mobs usually received the broadest community support. Unlike private mobs and terrorist mobs, posses had quasi-legal status and operated with near immunity. In most communities, posses were respected and viewed as heroes because they were central to apprehending and punishing dangerous criminals. Often, they had the support of local elected officials, including the sheriff and mayor as well as community leaders. Mass mobs occurred most frequently during the 1880s and 1890s and consisted of hundreds or even thousands of participants and spectators. White men dominated leadership positions within mass mobs, while women and children often occupied supporting roles, such as cheering and gathering rope used in the lynching. Despite their sheer size, mass mobs often displayed sophisticated organization, planning, and ritualism. During the zenith of mass mob activity in the American South, it was routine for mob leaders to advertise an impending lynching so as to guarantee a "festival of violence." Furthermore, mob leaders orchestrated these large gatherings with the intention of demonstrating the lynching's cultural significance as well as the community's collective support. Mass mobs encompassed 34 percent of lynchings in Georgia and

40 percent of lynchings in Virginia. Southern mass mobs were usually reserved for African Americans who were accused of rape or murder of white men, women, and children. These lynchings placed a premium upon performing racial domination, humiliation, and eliciting excruciating pain. Typical ritual aspects of Southern mass mobs included taking the lynching victim to the scene of the crime, forcing them to confess or pray for forgiveness, mutilating their body parts, and burning the lynching victim's corpse. Individuals who evaded or resisted capture were often pursued by mobs. Posses killed 11 percent of lynching victims in Louisiana, 51 lynching victims in Georgia, and 31 persons in Virginia. Importantly, the families of accused individuals were also subjected to threats and violence as mobs pursued the accused.

Lynching and Identity

If lynchings were indeed cultural performances that legitimated the values of mob participants, sexuality, race, class, and gender identity were cornerstones of those cultural performances. Lynch mobs were organized and carried out by men who believed lynching was an honorable masculine duty that demonstrated their mastery over inferior men and by extension the home, the workplace, and community institutions. Lynching as a ritual of masculine domination and authority was at its root a critique of the legal system and its inability to effectively dramatize or perform collective notions of crime, punishment, and justice. In the Midwest, West, and South, proponents of lynching espoused a "rough justice" ethos that embraced and valorized extralegal vigilantism and violence. Rough justice advocates favored lynching because the legal system seemed remote, abstract, and ineffective in punishing criminal behavior. They tended to emanate from rural working-class communities in the West, Midwest, and South, and in many cases, working-class social ties facilitated lynchings.

While Midwestern, Western, and Southern lynch mobs were informed by a working class "rough justice" ethos, racial, gender, and sexual cultural scripts more heavily influenced Southern lynch mobs. Southern lynchings were often gendered performances that criss-crossed racial lines. With respect to black Southerners, the ritual of lynching served as a dramatization of unequal racial and gender power relationships. Through lynching, white lynch mobs asserted and enforced white masculine dominance. It confirmed for white men their right to emasculate black men by demonstrating their impotence as public citizens. Black women were also targets as white men employed sexual violence against black women as a means to demonstrate black men's inability to protect black women and their combined racial and masculine authority over black men as patriarchs. Lynching's ability to efficiently communicate racial and gender subordination constituted "lynching's double message."

Racial and gender mythologies structured rationalizations for lynching black men and sexual violence against black women. In the Southern racist imagination, black women were viewed as naturally sexually promiscuous, and therefore sexual relationships between white men and black women were always consensual. Moreover, lynching apologists persistently trumpeted black men as lustful and sex-crazed rapists who only desired to rape virginal

white women. The black male rapist syndrome represented an “emotional logic of lynching,” which meant that only swift and sure violence, unhampered by legalities, could protect white women from sexual assault. Some lynching proponents so vehemently believed black men were innate rapists that they suggested black genocide! Even though Southern whites tirelessly clung to the rape myth as the basis for lynching, contemporary scholarship has overwhelmingly demonstrated that murder rather than rape was the most frequent accusation for lynching black men and women. *See also* Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill; Till, Emmett, and Mamie Till Mobley.

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Karlos K. Hill

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Malcolm X (1925–1965)

Malcolm X, or El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, was the charismatic religious leader, a relentless activist for black liberation, a brutally honest public speaker, a social scientist, an international revolutionary, and an unequivocal cultural icon during the mid-twentieth century of the United States. He ascended to prominence through his public speaking appointment with the **Nation of Islam** (NOI, or “The Nation”), the heterodox religious black nationalist/separatist North American organization, during the mid 1950s and early 1960s. He traveled the nation, and the globe, speaking on behalf of the NOI, and its spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad (d. 1973), while critiquing the remnants of white supremacy, questioning “Civil Rights,” and advocating black self-defense. Along with speaking to ethnically mixed audiences in public forums, Malcolm participated in countless interviews and debates, which appeared on numerous popular **television** programs and in print media, such as newspapers and magazines, at the time. His oratory abilities affected reputed his notoriety, though his eloquence and terse way of speaking did not translate into prolific writing. Indeed, Malcolm was not known as an author, but he was very involved in the publication of the once-popular NOI newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*.

He was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska, to a Baptist minister, the Reverend Earl Little, and his wife, Louise Little, who were members of the “**Universal Negro Improvement Association** and African Communities League” (UNIA). The organization was founded in the early twentieth century by the provocateur of rights for all people of African descent in the United States, **Marcus Garvey**. The seventh child of 10, Malcolm spend his early life growing up in foster homes, and with family members, after the murder of his father at the hands of the local **Ku Klux Klan**. Subsequently, Louise was institutionalized years later on the diagnosis of insanity.

Once older, he worked menial jobs amidst traveling between to Lansing, Michigan, Boston, Massachusetts, and New York City during the early 1940s, but was eventually lured by the desire for bigger profits through criminal means in the street life of the big city. Influenced by lack of opportunity sanctioned by a Northern version of Jim Crow, and the survivalist mentality

born from a environment of criminality, Malcolm experimented with peddling dope, larceny, running numbers (gambling), and *pimpin'* (procuring prostitution). Consequently, he was arrested in 1946, and served a brief period of imprisonment as a young adult. While serving an eight-year prison term for larceny and burglary, Malcolm was introduced by his brother Reginald to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad.

The NOI, or the “Black Muslims” as the press called them, was an organization founded in Chicago during the **Great Depression** of the 1930s by Elijah Poole. He was taught “Islam” and the “legacy” of blacks by a mysterious man, Wallace D. Fard, who appeared in the Chicago slums. Fard was a silk peddler who claimed to be a messenger of God from the East, and would “convert” would-be followers to **Islam** for a nominal fee. However, when law enforcement officers began to question neighborhood inhabitants for information on Fard, he fled. Poole, who was a staunch believer in Fard’s rhetoric, recognized an opportunity, and developed a palatable theology for the growing numbers of uneducated former Christian-turned-Muslim followers. Now as Elijah Muhammad, he began to spread the message to blacks that Fard was God incarnate, and that he was to be considered God’s (Fard) prophet. Thus, the then “Lost-Found Nation of Islam in the American Wilderness” was founded, which was essentially an amalgamation of three other preceding movements: Marcus Garvey’s Pan-Africanism, Noble Drew Ali’s Moorish Science Temple, and, to a lesser extent, the Ahmadiyyah Movement. The confluence of these three movements was important, because they served as “pillars” for the NOI’s religious-based **Black Nationalism**. For example, the Moorish Science Temple was more religious than political in its ideologies, while Garvey’s program through UNIA was strictly political. A considerable number of followers from both organizations were among those who joined the NOI at its inception during the 1930s. Both organizations, and their leaders in particular, prioritized agendas for “escape” from the “implications of being black in a white-dominated society.”

Noble Drew Ali founded the Moorish Science Temple of America, which was a sect of Islam influenced by Buddhism, Christianity, and the Freemasons. The Moors, as they were often called, maintained the reactionary ideology that whites were naturally demonic, and expressed the only way for minority salvation was through conversion to Islam. Drew Ali decided to change the mental condition of blacks by introducing a new nomenclature of Arabic names and new cultural symbols such as “Nationality and Identification” cards for his followers—i.e., Black Moors—while Garvey believed in secession in, or complete emigration, from predominately white America.

The Ahmadiyyah Movement came to the United States during the late nineteenth century from the Punjabi region of British-ruled India, and was led by spiritual leader and Indian Muslim Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. As a studious young man, Ahmad was convinced he was a prophet and a messiah sent to earth to receive and disseminate, what he believed to be, revelations from God. This claim drew tremendous criticism from orthodox Punjabi Muslims, who believed that the descention of revelation was completed when the final verses of the Holy Qur’an came down from Heaven to the Arab prophet, Muhammad ibn Abdullah, during the later years of his life in seventh-

century Arabia. Thus, Ghulam Ahmad and his followers, who would later spread their teachings to America's shores, were violently persecuted for their heretical beliefs.

The introduction to the NOI was pivotal in young Malcolm's life considering the context of the United States at the time. Affronted with a system that infringed on their inclusion in cultural and political participation within America, historically blacks had found solace in the Christian church. The black church was a refuge from the misery of white racism, a cornerstone of any black community, and a crucial, relatively safe haven for public discussion. And as Malcolm would often point out through his later speeches, what was surprising to him was that Christianity was a religion given to blacks by their enslavers, and yet they clung to it tightly.

The dilemma was that in the church, some black Americans discovered an equivalent difficulty to challenge oppression in American Christianity, because it remained dominated by a similar white supremacy to that of the secular society. Thus, in a race-conscious society in which blacks were disproportionately imprisoned, openly discriminated against by Jim Crow laws in the Southern, as well as Northern states, unprotected by a biased legal system, collectively held the least amount of property, and terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan with the constant threat of death, American Christianity's appeal as the path to liberation was contested.

Growing weary of the treatment they received from their Christian brethren, some black Christians debated whether Christianity was a source of liberation or oppression for their peoples. Few black Americans decided to challenge the white supremacy in Christianity from within, while others "took a leap of faith," and left Christianity completely. As other black Americans before him sought an alternative path to cultural and political equity, the teachings offered by the NOI ignited something in Malcolm, and served as a catalyst for his program of self-education on subjects, such as world and U.S. histories, literature, and philosophy.

Once released from prison on early parole in 1953, Malcolm began to attend NOI temples and, shortly after, was given responsibility as a minister under the guidance, and personal attention, of Elijah Muhammad. After spending time in NOI temples in New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago, Malcolm later ascended to the position of national representative for the NOI from the late 1950s until 1963, which allowed him to further the organization's black separatist rhetoric. Through the heterodox interpretation of the religion of Islam, blacks sought out an alternative cultural and religious experience not to become honorary Arabs or whites, but truer, more authentic black men and women. The author of the seminal book, *Black Muslims in America*, C. Eric Lincoln, had the opportunity to conduct firsthand research on the Nation during the height of its popularity, and conducted personal interviews with Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm. Lincoln wrote that the NOI espoused ideas such as self-reliance, economic empowerment, and high morality, and was an exemplar of black social protest for social change. Malcolm, with the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, and the NOI as his base, exemplified these characteristics.

Further, the NOI promoted ideas such as: “getting equality now instead of salvation in heaven later”; prohibition of consuming harmful food products, e.g., pork, alcohol, cigarettes, and other narcotics; refrain from gambling; chastity, responsibility, and honesty, which were all the ills that plagued the black community. Additionally, the NOI offered a discourse of black superiority to challenge white supremacy, and they firmly believed that Islam was the natural religion of black people.

Along with the rather docile empowerment concepts, there were two theories that distinguished Malcolm and the NOI. One of the most disturbing theories asserted by Malcolm was the race-tinged generalization of white Americans based on the world history that all white peoples were “devils,” as taught to Elijah Muhammad by his teacher, W. D. Fard. The second was their call for a separate area in North America for blacks, because they rejected the idea of integration as a ploy to re-subjugate blacks. This was a departure from the ideas of Garvey’s **Back to Africa Movement**, and was an obvious break from orthodox Islam’s historical tradition of leaving a home to establish a society that would abide by justice, or egalitarian principles not available. Due to the persecution they experienced in their home city of Makkah (Mecca), Allah (God) commanded His believers through the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, to establish a truly Muslim community in Madinah in 622 CE.

In a move to emulate tradition, the NOI prioritized connecting Black Muslims in the West to the broader Muslim world community. Their slant was that they emphasized “brownness” of the larger community, who had been, in most cases, oppressed like blacks on the North American continent. In a constructed prophesy, Elijah Muhammad “foretold” of America’s destruction for its treatment of the darker humankind. Likewise, he tried to make the case for black non-Muslims to see their condition in America as a microcosmic representation of what was happening globally wherever the “white man” went. Earlier, Muhammad even admonished his followers to not fight against Japanese military forces in **World War II**, because they were victims of white racism also.

Continuing this rationale, the analysis of the political infrastructure of the United States’ government by the NOI, and Malcolm in particular, was a lucid interrogation of U.S. history, U.S. domestic policies, and the claim of democracy in the United States for its citizens. Malcolm, in his eloquent manner of oration, took the government to task, delivering now infamous speeches, such as “The Message to the Grassroots,” “A Declaration of Independence,” “The Ballot or the Bullet,” and “The Black Revolution.” Through his words, whether speaking to audiences in Detroit, Harlem, Cleveland, or London, Malcolm also questioned the intellectual coherence of blacks who desired to be in the political establishment, and spoke suspiciously of the loyalty of white liberals.

In terms of political philosophy, he considered Democrats to be identical to Republicans in that they supported the white supremacist infrastructure. It made no difference whether the discussion was on the Northern or the Southern states, because where the North provided more economic opportunities, there was unemployment and disparate housing. Alternatively, in the South, blacks faced those conditions in addition to threats of being terrorized

by the Ku Klux Klan, or even lynched, or murdered, for no serious reasons. Being a critic of the altruistic tactics of protesting nonviolently, Malcolm advocated the constitutional right to bear arms for all blacks in the United States as a means to protect their bodies, families, and communities where the government had failed to do so.

For these reasons, Malcolm argued that Democrats, or as he called them, “Dixiecrats,” were most often “Southern” in political orientation, and not really friends of blacks. In numerous speeches, he directly referenced the absence of voting rights for Southern blacks as an abomination to democracy, being that the **Civil Rights Act** had been signed in 1957. Malcolm continuously emphasized being aware of the words by white liberals (Dixiecrats) in Washington, D.C., and the actions of the Republicans and their constituents in the Southern states, because white liberals kept blacks disenfranchised with no hope of casting votes in the best interest of themselves. As the **March on Washington** took place in 1963 where **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, gave the famous “I Have a Dream” speech, Malcolm only witnessed a ploy to appease the frustrated blacks around the country with no real gains.

In early 1964, he left the NOI after being silenced for making unauthorized comments about the assassination of President **John F. Kennedy**, and over confirmed reports that the person who saved his life, his father-like figure, Elijah Muhammad, had fathered several children with young secretaries within the Nation. He formed a new organization, Muslim Mosque, Inc., in Harlem, New York City, to support the smaller Muslim community outside of the Nation of Islam. In the spring of 1964, through the financial generosity of his sister Ella, he traveled to Makkah, Saudi Arabia to perform the *hajj* (the required pilgrimage of all orthodox Muslims). Also on this extended trip, he was able to make contacts in foreign countries such as Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Nigeria, Ghana, and Lebanon.

While on hajj, Malcolm was struck by the sense of “brotherhood” he experienced, as he witnessed no racial divisions among men and women, but saw only a unity of being for the worship of Allah (God). By observing, and sharing quarters with white European Muslims, Malcolm, now identifying himself as Malik El-Shabazz, concluded that the race problems of the United States could be, potentially, solved by Christian, white America’s conversion to Islam. Additionally, the experience of hajj solidified his decision to increase the call for Black Nationalism in black communities in the United States, and to replace efforts for civil rights with a more internationalized consciousness towards human rights for blacks.

Through the contacts he made on his extended trip abroad, Malcolm felt certain that with a Pan-Africanist perspective, his people in the United States could receive more support from partners within United Nations if the focus was on obtaining human rights instead of civil rights. Upon his return to the United States, he formed a new secular group, Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), to complement Muslim Mosque, Inc., and address social, political, and economical issues facing the broader, disenfranchised, non-Muslim black community in the United States.

Malcolm would never see his plan materialize, as an unexplained chain of events began to happen in his life. He was attacked by assailants, was to be

evicted from his family home by the NOI, and his house was under constant surveillance by the FBI. In early February 1965, Malcolm's family home was firebombed with Molotov cocktails thrown by assailants in the early morning hours as he, his wife, Betty Shabazz, and their four daughters slept. This was an obvious attempt on his life by assassins, though who was responsible for sending them was left to speculation. However, while giving a speech before an audience of supporters in the Audobon Ballroom in Harlem, New York City, assassins infiltrated the crowd, and fatally shot Malcolm several times. El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, posthumously called the "Black Prince" and "our manhood" by film actor, playwright, poet, activist, and friend, Ossie Davis at his funeral, died from those wounds on February 25, 1965.

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Mika'il A. Petin

March on Washington Movement (1940–1941)

The origins of the March on Washington movement can be traced to a September 27, 1940, meeting between **A. Philip Randolph**, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League; and President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**. Randolph urged Roosevelt to promote equal employment opportunities and to desegregate the armed services. When the meeting did not produce a positive response from Roosevelt, Randolph decided that he would bring the case directly to the American people by staging a march on Washington, DC.

African Americans had benefited less than other groups from **New Deal** programs during the **Great Depression**, and continuing racial discrimination was excluding them from the job opportunities in the defense industries that were expanding as the world plunged into the **World War II**. At a September 1940 union convention held at Madison Square Garden, Randolph discussed the problem of discrimination in the defense industry. Government training programs excluded blacks; defense contractors announced that they would not hire blacks or would only hire them for menial positions, and that despite the shortage of construction workers, contractors would not hire experienced blacks. During this time, the **armed forces** were segregated: in an army of half a million men, there were only 4,700 blacks. There were no blacks in the Marine Corps or the Army Air Corps, and even the Red Cross blood supply was segregated. In the audience the evening of Randolph's speech was First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt**, who was going to speak to the convention the following evening. She learned from Randolph that the president's staff had refused

to set up a meeting between Roosevelt and Randolph. Through her efforts, the September 27 meeting took place.

At the meeting, Randolph pointed out the discrimination in the defense industry; the refusal of skilled labor unions to admit blacks, and the discrimination in the armed forces. Roosevelt responded that progress was being made, although his secretary of the navy, Frank Knox (who also attended the meeting), asserted that it would be impossible to desegregate the navy. Roosevelt told the black leaders that he would consult his cabinet and military leadership and respond to their concerns. The response they received was not from the president, but was instead a statement by Roosevelt's press secretary, Stephen Early, who announced that the military would not be desegregated, and implied that the black leaders Roosevelt had met with agreed with decision. Randolph and the others publicly announced that this was not the case, and the requested another meeting with the president, which was not forthcoming.

This led to a change in tactics. Randolph had sought change through letter writings and meetings with government officials. He now believed direct action was essential, and started making public statements to this effect. Randolph, along with **Bayard Rustin**, the youth director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and A. J. Muste, the executive director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, proposed a march on Washington to protest discrimination in government and the defense industry as well as segregation in the armed services. They established a March on Washington Committee (MOWC) to organize the march. Their slogan was: "We loyal Negro Americans demand the right to work and fight for our country." By late 1940, Randolph had established a National March on Washington Committee with chapters in 18 cities.

Randolph made his formal proposal in January 1941, and spent months gathering support for his plan and preparing for the march, which was scheduled for July 1, 1941. His union, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the black press played major roles in generating interest in the march. In "The Call to March," which appeared in the May 1941 issue of *The Black Worker*, he wrote that "[o]nly power can effect the enforcement and adoption of a given policy. Power is the active principle of only the organized masses, the masses united for a definite purpose."

Roosevelt, who had continued to refuse to meet with Randolph, became concerned about the political impact of the march, which had originally promised to bring more than 10,000 marchers to the nation's capital and had grown to where more than 100,000 marchers were expected. Randolph had indicated that all the marchers would be black, and Roosevelt feared that there might be violence, and that such a march would then become a precedent for other groups. Also, given the Roosevelt administration's opposition to the fascist regimes in Europe, a march by blacks against discrimination would be embarrassing to the country, which presented itself as a model of democracy. Also, Roosevelt was concerned about the reaction of Southern Democrats to such a march.

At the president's request, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote to Randolph asking him to call off the march. Randolph refused. Randolph then met with the first lady, who concluded that the only way to stop the march would be for the president

to meet with Randolph. President Roosevelt met with Randolph and White on June 18, 1941, to urge him to call off the march. Roosevelt told them that the **armed forces** would remain segregated, but that he would consider an investigation of discrimination if the march was called off. Randolph's response to the president was that the march would be called off only if Roosevelt issued an executive order. Roosevelt agreed, and Randolph worked with Roosevelt's staff to draft the order.

On June 25, 1941, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which made discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin illegal in the defense industry, and establishing the **Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)** to investigate charges of racial discrimination. This was the first executive order concerning the rights of African Americans since President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation during the Civil War. In response, Randolph announced in a radio address from Madison Square Garden on June 28, 1941, that he had agreed to suspend the march. In his speech, Randolph said that he had not cancelled the march, but had only suspended it. By leaving open the possibility of a march, Randolph asserted that this was the movement's "ace in the hole" to ensure that the government would not back-track on its commitment.

The decision to suspend the march led Rustin, who believed that Randolph had "sold out" by not holding out for desegregation of the armed forces, to break (temporarily) with Randolph. In 1942, Rustin would help found the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**.

While suspending the march, the effort continued. By December 1941, the MOWC had become a dues-paying organization in order "to help create faith by Negroes in Negroes." During 1942, the MOWC mounted rallies in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis. The goal of the organization was to mobilize African Americans into an effective pressure group. Nearly two million African Americans worked in the defense industries by the end of 1944. However, the FEPC did not effectively tackle discriminatory practices in the South, and following Roosevelt's death, the FEPC was abolished as Congress refused to fund the agency. It ceased operation in 1946. Randolph and Rustin would initiate the effort that would culminate in the **March on Washington of 1963**.

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Jeffrey Kraus

March on Washington of 1963

The emotional high point of the first half of the **Civil Rights Movement**, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom brought together nearly 250,000 Americans to the nation's capital, all pledging their support of a transformation in race relations. It was a triumph in rhetoric, compassion, and civil rights, heralding the approaching demise of **Jim Crow**. The March on Washington also marked the end of the first, nonviolent stage of the

modern Civil Rights Movement; the second half of the Civil Rights Movement, ranging from 1963 to 1970, took a decidedly more militant turn. The gathering of nearly 250,000 Americans also signaled to the administration of President **John F. Kennedy** that the time had come for the **federal government** to make its allegiance to the Civil Rights Movement plain.

The 1963 March on Washington was influenced by an earlier attempt to gather African Americans for protest in the nation's capital. Led by **A. Philip Randolph**, the 1941 March on Washington Movement was intended as a peaceful demonstration against the widespread problem of racial discrimination in defense work during **World War II**. Randolph, a well-respected labor leader and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had spoken directly with President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** about the problem of African American exclusion from lucrative employment in the defense industry, which provided aircraft and munitions for the war in Europe. When Roosevelt balked, saying that he could do nothing to prevent private contractors from employing whomever they chose, Randolph called on 10,000 blacks to stage a "March on Washington" and to use the slogan, "We Loyal Negro-American citizens demand the right to work and fight for our country." Roosevelt eventually gave into to some of Randolph's demands, and in June 1941, he created the **Fair Employment Practices Committee** to police the desegregation of defense industry in a presidential decree, Executive Order 8802.

In the years between the end of World War II and the 1963 March on Washington, several civil rights organizations had gained a considerable membership supporting their challenge of Jim Crow using nonviolent tactics. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and its **Legal Defense Fund** won several key U.S. **Supreme Court** decisions, including *Brown v. Board of Education*, that gravely wounded the institution of segregation. The **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** and the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** staged successful sit-ins and boycotts of cities, transportation systems, and department stores. The **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, formed by peace activist **James Farmer**, led a series of Freedom Rides in the summer of 1961 that tested the application and enforcement of **desegregation** laws. The National Urban League's plan for economic growth and independence provided an avenue of support for African American businesses. Together, these five organizations coordinated a one-day mass movement that spoke to Randolph's vision of African American empowerment by way of peaceful, yet urgent protest.

The events of the spring and summer of 1963 also revealed the national urgency for an awareness of the vicious backlash to the Civil Rights Movement. In early 1963, **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and SCLC went to Birmingham, leading boycotts of stores in downtown Birmingham and protest marches through the streets of the city. Though the demonstrations were peaceful, the televised images of African American children and adults attacked by police dogs and fire hoses, ordered by police chief "**Bull**" **Connor**, horrified the nation. In April, King and his confidant, **Ralph Abernathy**, were arrested and placed in solitary confinement in Birmingham; King used the time to write his moving polemic, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." In May, the A. G.

Gaston Motel, the headquarters of the SCLC in Birmingham, and the home of King's brother, Alfred Daniel King, were bombed by the **Ku Klux Klan**. In June, **Medgar Evers**, executive secretary of the Mississippi NAACP, was shot and killed by Klan sympathizer Byron de la Beckwith. Just one day earlier, President Kennedy had proposed a strong civil rights bill that would have made such hate crimes federal offenses. Yet, the legislation was having difficulty garnering support in Congress, as the Southern bloc of the Democratic Party strongly resisted any usurpation of states' rights in favor of a federal mandate.

By the summer of 1963, the five main civil rights groups—the Urban League, SCLC, NAACP, SNCC, and CORE—had decided to pool their efforts and organized a March on Washington. A. Philip Randolph, in a nod to the march called off in 1941, inaugurated the march as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Randolph was joined by **Bayard Rustin** as chief organizers of the march. Rustin, a Quaker and a Freedom Rider for CORE, drew upon his wide network in peace activism to raise funds and awareness of the event. With a budget of \$120,000, Rustin, the chief coordinator, collected donations from African American celebrities, churches, and business, as well as through selling buttons and posters for as little as 25 cents.

On the morning of August 28, 1963, hundreds of chartered buses from across the country arrived in front of the **Lincoln Memorial**. Marchers also traveled over thousands of miles by chartered train and cars. One group of CORE volunteers walked over 200 miles from New York to Washington, DC, to show their solidarity. Eventually, nearly 250,000 people crowded the national mall for the march, the largest political assembly in American history.

With 17 components of the program, the 1963 March on Washington unfolded over eight hours. Marian Anderson, who had once been denied the opportunity to sing at Constitution Hall, sang the national anthem. Randolph gave the opening remarks, and the program included a tribute to the struggles of African American civil rights workers **Daisy Lee Bates**, **Diane Nash**, **Bevel**, **Rosa Parks**, **Merlie Evers**, and others. As president of SNCC, John Lewis denounced the passivity of the Kennedy administration in securing a civil rights bill. Gospel singer Mahalia Jackson sang "I've Been 'Buked and I've Been Scorned"; folk singers Bob Dylan and Joan Baez later joined Jackson on stage. Other speakers included Whitney Young, president of the National Urban League; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the national NAACP; Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress; and James Farmer, national director of CORE.

The March on Washington is best remembered for King's "I Have a Dream" speech. King had delivered the speech as a sermon on several occasions in the early 1960s, but it was his experience in solitary confinement during the Birmingham campaign that honed the finer rhetorical points. In his earlier version of "I Have a Dream," King stressed a number of social justice issues of the period—a federal promise to supersede states' rights; prosecution of **police brutality**; the elimination of Jim Crow; and the passage of Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation. These previous drafts were intended to nudge

the national conscience into recognizing the debilitating effects of violent repression on the peaceful movement.

At midpoint in the speech, however, King abandoned the policy initiatives that had weighed down the language of the speech in favor of the passionate sermon that he delivered in churches and rallies across the South. Calling for freedom and equality, King's most famous words still resonate: "I have a dream that one day even that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." By granting a vision and mission to the Civil Rights Movement beyond boycotts and sit-ins, King's language of hope and change ushered in a phase of clear-focused determination on the greater goals of social justice. The peaceful end to the march helped Kennedy win victory for a number of his social programs. The astounding success of the 1963 March on Washington, coupled with his steadfast support of nonviolence in the Civil Rights Movement, led to the conferral to King of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

However, the success of the 1963 March on Washington did not spell an end to the violence. In September 1963, a bomb left at the Birmingham Baptist Church killed four African American girls, Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley. In November 1963, President Kennedy was shot and killed in Dallas while on a campaign stop. Assassinated before he could see his Civil Rights Bill reach fruition, Kennedy was followed by Lyndon B. Johnson, who made the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** a priority.

The 1963 March on Washington, ultimately, heralded the urgent need for a second **Reconstruction** for African Americans. It also served as a harbinger of hopefulness in the 1960s, before assassinations of political and spiritual leaders, the war in Vietnam, and the free speech movement lent the patina of turbulence. In front of a national audience, Americans across generations and racial lines pledged their support for the moral objectives of the Civil Rights Movement. As much a success for the entire nation as it was for the Civil Rights Movement, the 1963 March on Washington spelled the death of Jim Crow through peaceful, orderly, and steadfast affirmation.

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Nikki Brown

Marriage, Interracial

Laws in many states made illegal the marriage between adults of different "races." Specifically, these laws were intended to prevent marriages between

whites and nonwhites. State laws banning interracial marriages aimed to keep the “races” separate and identifiable, and sought to buttress white privilege, especially of sexual access to white females. Differences among the states in their laws regarding marriages between whites and nonwhites made being married under the laws of some states a criminal act in others.

Laws preventing marriages between whites and nonwhites predated **Jim Crow**, dating back to the colonial period, appearing in colonial statutes in the late seventeenth century. Jim Crow simply gave support to such laws, particularly but not exclusively in the South. By 1950, about 30 states still carried such laws, although they were increasingly ignored outside the South. While almost all states of the South had such laws, many Northern and Western states also carried them. No uniform definition of what constituted a nonwhite person existed, and standards varied from state to state. Usually such laws specifically banned marriage between a white person and a person of the opposite sex with at least one black great-grandparent, although occasionally the “**one-drop rule**” was used. While most such laws were specifically aimed at black-white couples, marriages between whites and other nonwhites such as Asians, Native Americans, and South Asians were also affected by such laws. However, marriages between whites and **Hispanics/Latinos** were usually not banned under the law, as most state laws regarding racial classification considered Hispanics as white. However, if a Hispanic person looked black, officials usually refused to issue a license.

State laws varied considerably. On one extreme was Virginia, with a 1922 law that made being married itself a crime for black and white couples, regardless of where the marriage occurred. Other states simply refused to issue marriage licenses to couples of different races but did nothing officially against couples who were married in other states. However, local customs and hostility often prevented mixed-race couples from residing in most areas of the South. Western states, especially California, Arizona, and Oregon, focused on preventing unions between whites and Asians and Malays as much as between whites and blacks. Enforcement of anti-interracial marriage laws tended to be less stringent when neither partner was white.

In American territories, such laws either did not exist or were seldom enforced. However, in those situations, the overwhelming majority of white Americans were male, making such unions perhaps inevitable. However, prejudices against such unions usually resulted in the ostracizing of interracial couples from the polite society, which meant white couples. In the Panama Canal Zone, men who married local women were referred to as “squaw men,” and became social outcasts. American soldiers who were stationed in the Philippines or Hawai’i and married local women often continued to reenlist in the army to stay out of the continental United States, where they would be unable to take their wives.

Such laws and customs reflected white society’s fears of **miscegenation**, and were specifically aimed at preventing sexual relationships between white women and black men. In a society that depended in part on easily definable categories of “race,” children of such unions presented problems that law against interracial marriage attempted to prevent. Children of such illicit unions were often raised by the mother if she were the nonwhite partner, or

aborted or given to a black family to raise if the mother were white. However, popular culture abounded with the concept of the “tragic mulatto,” indicating that such people were doomed to live miserable lives and thus their creation should be avoided. Of course, that such misery was caused by racism seems to have not occurred to many people. The rise of so-called scientific racism buttressed the belief that the offspring of unions between people of different “races” were genetically inferior, and should be avoided. Such pseudoscientific nonsense found its way into court rulings and legislative debates for decades.

Despite officially being banned in many areas, sexual relationships between white males and nonwhite women were tolerated if kept discreet, and such couples did not seek legal sanction. Many of the states with anti-interracial marriage laws also had laws that defined any sexual contact between black men and white women as rape regardless of the circumstances. Such laws made any indication of sexual activity between black men and white women dangerous for black men. White women caught in a compromising position could always claim rape, which often resulted in the **lynching** of the black man involved, or any black man as a warning to all, especially in the South. Even when state laws did not specifically define interracial sexual relations as rape, an allegation of rape against a black man commonly resulted in a lynch mob.

The end of anti-interracial marriage laws began with the marriage of Richard Loving, who was white, and Mildred Jeter, who was black, in 1958. Unable to wed in their native Virginia, the couple wed in Washington, DC. Upon their return to Virginia as a married couple, they were arrested and faced up to five years in prison for their crime. Under a plea, the couple agreed to leave the state and not return for 25 years. The couple moved to Washington, DC, and, in 1963, began court action against the Commonwealth of Virginia. The lawsuit eventually led to the **U.S. Supreme Court**, which ruled in 1967 in *Loving v. Virginia* that state laws banning interracial marriages were unconstitutional. At the time, some 16 states still had such laws, as many states had been repealing them in the two decades before the Supreme Court ruling. By the end of the 1950s, an estimated 51,000 mixed black and white marriages existed in the United States, compared to almost half a million by the end of the century.

Such laws could not prevent interracial marriages among committed couples, who traveled to states without such restrictions to marry. But these laws did force interracial couples to choose their state of residence carefully, and made travel in states with such laws problematic and even deadly. Such laws made interracial couples, even in states that permitted such unions, not quite respectable. Official disapproval of such marriages limited their acceptance, and the numbers of interracial marriages only began to swell after such laws were nullified by the Supreme Court. *See also* Asian Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Jews in the South.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Marshall, Thurgood (1908–1992)

The lead attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case and the first African American to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on July 2, 1908. Named for his great-grandfather, Thoroughgood, who had escaped slavery, Marshall grew up comfortably in middle-class, but segregated, black Baltimore (Marshall shortened the name himself to Thurgood as a child because he found his name too long to write out). His father, William, was a Pullman porter and a waiter at a white club, while his mother, Norma, was a schoolteacher.

In 1925, Marshall followed his older brother, Aubrey, to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, one of the nation's most prestigious black universities. At Lincoln, Marshall was not an exceptionally serious student and was suspended from school for his involvement in hazing freshmen. When he returned to school, his racial consciousness was stoked by a fellow Lincoln student, the poet Langston Hughes, who was leading the charge to have Lincoln's all-white faculty integrated. Marshall, like most Lincoln students, initially opposed to integrating the faculty, but he eventually became a supporter of the idea, and took over the campaign when Hughes graduated. As a senior, Marshall pushed a student referendum to force the administration to integrate the faculty, and the school's first black faculty member was hired the following year.

Marshall married Philadelphia native Vivian "Buster" Bury, a University of Pennsylvania student, in 1929. He graduated from Lincoln the following year but was relegated to working as a waiter at Maryland's all-white Gibson Island Club, with his father, as the onset of the Great Depression had left jobs scarce. Marshall, who had been an excellent debater in college, then decided that he wanted to go to law school. He and Buster lived with his parents in Baltimore, so he applied to the all-white University of Maryland Law School, but was rejected because of his race, bringing him face to face with the Jim Crowism that he had mostly avoided growing up in black Baltimore and at Lincoln University. Angered at the rejection, his only other option seemed to be to apply to the historically black Howard University Law School in Washington, DC. Howard's reputation at this time was poor, as the law school was not accredited by the American Bar Association or the Association of American Law Schools.

Marshall was admitted to Howard Law in the fall of 1930, at a fortuitous time in the school's history. Harvard-educated Charles Hamilton Houston, who had joined Howard's faculty in 1924, had recently been promoted to dean of the Law school, and, along with Howard University's first African American president, Mordecai Johnson, was determined to increase Howard's academic standards and become a fully accredited law school. Despite some

opposition to his rigorous policies, Houston succeeded in toughening admission requirements to the school, and by 1931, it was accredited by both the American Bar Association and the Association of American Law Schools. Most importantly, Houston was committed to using Howard Law School to develop a cadre of black lawyers to fight racial injustice. It was into this vigorous academic environment that Marshall entered in 1930.

At Howard, Marshall quickly became a disciple of Houston and fellow Howard faculty member William Hastie. Along with fellow student and future NAACP attorney Oliver Hill, Marshall developed as Houston's protégée, accompanying him to court and sitting in on strategy sessions for NAACP cases. Through Houston's tutelage, Marshall became aware of the power that lawyers could wield in bringing about change, and he wanted to be a part of it. Following his graduation from Howard in 1933, first in his class, Marshall traveled South with Houston to examine the state of black elementary schools throughout the region. The trip was part of Houston's research in developing a legal strategy for the NAACP to challenge segregated education; it was the basis of what would eventually culminate in the *Brown* decision.

Marshall was offered a scholarship to pursue an advanced degree at Harvard Law School in 1933, but instead decided it was time for him to begin his own practice and earn some money for his family, so he opened his own firm in Baltimore. However, the clientele available for a black attorney in Depression-era Baltimore was slim, and Marshall had a very difficult time making ends meet. The clients he did have often had a tough time paying his fees, but he developed a reputation of not turning anyone in need away. His reputation also brought him to the notice of the Baltimore branch of the NAACP, which retained him as its counsel, and in December 1933, Marshall began preparing his first civil rights case, what became *Murray v. Maryland*.

As Marshall knew all too well, the University of Maryland's law school refused to admit black students on account of their race. Marshall and the local NAACP wanted to challenge the legality of this segregationist policy but they were hampered by the Supreme Court's 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" decision, which ruled that segregation was constitutional. This decision was the great hurdle for black lawyers like Marshall and Houston to overcome, as once the Supreme Court has ruled on a decision, it rarely overturned itself, a practice known as *starre decisis* ("Let the decision stand").

Houston, however, had been working on a different approach to challenge school discrimination, and when Marshall informed him that he planned to sue for the right of Donald Murray to attend the University of Maryland Law School, Houston sought to put his strategy to the test and join his former pupil on the case. He and Marshall would not challenge the *Plessy* decision, they would embrace it. Houston and Marshall argued not that Maryland had to admit Murray to its law school because segregation was unconstitutional (overturning *Plessy*), but instead that Murray had to be admitted under the "separate but equal" statute, because there was no public law school open to African Americans in the state of Maryland. Houston's strategy was relatively simple: in the *Murray* case, he did not have to prove the inequality between black and white law schools (the way he would have to with black

and white elementary schools, for instance), because there was no black law school in the state; it was a question of exclusion, not equality, and therefore not allowed by *Plessy*.

Houston and Marshall prevailed in the *Murray* case when the Maryland Court of Appeals upheld the lower court's decision to admit Murray to the law school and the state decided not to appeal the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. It was Marshall's first civil rights victory, and it began a strategy that he and Houston would pursue in attacking school segregation for another 15 years, in cases such as *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938), *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (1948), and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). In all of these cases, Marshall and/or Houston focused on graduate educational facilities and did not challenge the legality of separate but equal, but instead on the lack of education programs provided for black citizens. With each victory, the NAACP lawyers chipped away at the legitimacy of school segregation and laid the groundwork for the eventual assault on *Plessy*.

While Marshall is most famous for his work on school desegregation during this era, he was involved in a host of other cases for the NAACP as well. In 1936, he closed his unprofitable one-man firm in Baltimore and became a full-time employee of the NAACP, focusing on cases in Maryland and Virginia. Many of the cases he pursued successfully were pay-equalization cases for African American public school teachers and employees. In 1938, he took over as head of the NAACP's legal division, replacing Houston, who was in ailing health. Two years later the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., was founded as a organization separate from the NAACP to focus on civil rights litigation, and headed by Marshall from its inception until 1961, when he became a federal court of appeals judge.

With Marshall at the head of the NAACP's legal wing, the organization flourished. In addition to continued work on school integration and pay equalization, he instituted successful litigation which eliminated the white primary (*Smith v. Allwright*, 1944) and restrictive housing covenants (*Shelley v. Kraemer*, 1948). Marshall even traveled to Japan and Korea in 1951 to investigate discrimination by the U.S. Army against black soldiers, who were being court-martialed at much higher rates than whites, mostly on vague charges of "cowardice" and "incompetence." Between August and October 1950, 32 black servicemen in Korea were convicted under the 75th Article of War—"misbehavior in front of the enemy"—in comparison to only two white soldiers; blacks also got harsher penalties for being convicted for the same crimes as whites. Marshall's investigation revealed a pattern of discrimination in the court-martial process, going back to World War I. Marshall blamed the army high command, specifically General Douglas MacArthur, for continued discrimination against African American soldiers, as the army leadership continued to resist integration two years after President Harry S. Truman's Executive Order 9981 mandating the end of discrimination in the armed forces.

In 1950, Marshall also believed that the time had finally come for a frontal attack on *Plessy*, and the NAACP announced that it was looking for plaintiffs who would be willing to challenge school segregation. For almost 15 years, the

NAACP had pursued the legal strategy developed by Houston of using *Plessy* to gain equal educational facilities for African Americans (with the hope that the cost of making schools truly equal would force school integration). Now, Marshall decided that the Supreme Court was ready to hear a challenge to the constitutionality of school segregation itself. His team compiled five cases—from Kansas, **Virginia**, **South Carolina**, the District of Columbia, and Delaware—which became known as *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The cases came before the Supreme Court in 1952. Marshall's strategy in arguing *Brown* was controversial, in that he based much of his argument on evidence provided by psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark and their famous doll experiment. The Clarks' study of three-to-seven-year-old children revealed that white superiority was so ingrained in society that young black children preferred white dolls (which they identified as "pretty" or "nice") instead of black dolls (which they described as "ugly" or "bad"). While derided as sociological garbage by opposing counsel, Marshall's use of the "doll test" proved to be powerful evidence that school segregation caused a sense of inferiority in black children that was a violation of their Fourteenth Amendment right of equal protection of the laws. The justices agreed with Marshall's arguments, and in 1954, the Supreme Court overturned *Plessy*, ruling that "separate is inherently unequal in the area of education."

While the *Brown* decision was a dramatic victory for Marshall and the NAACP, the culmination of almost two decades of legal attacks on segregation in education, it did not bring about the immediate desegregation of the nation's schools. At the conclusion of *Brown*, the Court asked lawyers from both the NAACP and the states to return the next year to present their plans for a timetable on how *Brown* should be implemented. In his brief for the high court, Marshall recommended that integration plans go into effect in 1955, with complete school integration by the fall of 1956. Lawyers for the states asked instead that the court set no timetable for integration, but to leave the decision on how and when to integrate to local school boards. In what became known as *Brown II*, Chief Justice Earl Warren sided with the gradualist approach of the states in 1955 by refusing to set a timetable for integration, ruling instead that integration should be processed "with all deliberate speed." This infamous order set the stage for massive resistance against school integration, as many school districts throughout the South simply refused to integrate until finally forced to by the **federal government** following the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**.

The same year as his professional setback with *Brown II*, Marshall suffered a personal loss when Buster, his wife of 25 years, died of cancer. His personal fame, however, in 1955, was at an all-time high. Known even before *Brown* in the African American community as "Mr. Civil Rights," he became well known throughout the nation as a result of the *Brown* decision, even appearing on the cover of *Time* magazine. As black protests regarding **Emmitt Till's** murder in **Mississippi** and the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** in **Alabama** developed, Marshall also emerged as a lightning rod in the **Civil Rights Movement**. He believed that the best way for African Americans to enact change was through the courts, not the streets; he was not always totally supportive

of the protest movement, and was highly critical of black separatist organizations.

Despite some of his reservations over public protests, Marshall and the NAACP did provide legal assistance to the protesters. Marshall was directly involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott case, working with local NAACP attorney Fred Gray as the case was eventually settled in their favor by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1956. He also continued to work for school integration, including representing **Autherine Lucy** in her fight to integrate the University of Alabama. Marshall, who remarried in 1955 to Cecilia (“Cissy”) Suyat, an NAACP secretary, enjoyed a personal joy when his first child, Thurgood, Jr., was born in 1956. The couple later had a second son, John.

In 1961, Marshall left the NAACP after a quarter-century of service when President **John F. Kennedy** appointed him as a federal appeals judge. As counsel for the NAACP, Marshall had argued 32 cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, winning 29 of them. Four years after his appointment as a federal judge, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Marshall as U.S. Solicitor General. As the nation’s top litigator, Marshall won numerous other decisions before the Supreme Court on behalf of the United States. After less than two years in that post, Johnson appointed Marshall to the U.S. Supreme Court, becoming the first African American to serve on the nation’s highest court in 1967.

During Marshall’s 24-year term on the Supreme Court, he consistently supported civil rights, voting with the court’s liberal majority in the 1970s on landmark cases regarding affirmative action, abortion, defendant rights, and school desegregation. As the court took a conservative turn in the 1980s, Marshall increasingly found himself arguing with the minority, and many of his written opinions became angry and bitter, especially in regard to cases in which he believed that the court was trying to turn back the clock on civil rights. Frustrated by the conservative nature of the court and in failing health, Marshall retired in 1991. The decision to appoint Clarence Thomas, a conservative African American with little experience as a litigator or a judge, hurt Marshall, but he accepted it with dignity, meeting with the new justice for more than two hours when Thomas joined the Court. Thurgood Marshall died the following year, at age 84. *See also Brown v. Board of Education, Legal Groundwork for.*

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Thomas J. Ward, Jr.

Masculinity, Black and White

A concept traditionally associated with the appearance and behavior of men, masculinity serves as a defining characteristic of maleness in many cultures. Masculinity refers to the meaning that a culture attaches to being male rather than the physical or biological category itself. Although recent

scholarship reveals ways in which biological sex is also subject to societal definitions, masculinity is culturally constructed and can be interpreted differently by disparate groups. Cultural definitions of masculinity have changed and continue to change over time and between regions and cultures, and it is impossible to classify all black or white men under a particular definition of masculinity.

The gender concept of masculinity is often tied to economic, familial, and spatial issues. Men are often considered to be the primary economic forces in society. Masculinity can be defined through space. Since men can control access to certain types of work and leisure places, they therefore can control what type of work women can perform. Masculinity is typically differentiated from that of femininity. Throughout the history of the United States, different economic classes, ethnic groups, and religious and political organizations have defined family and gender roles for men and women in various ways. A “traditional” family was frequently defined as a man who made important decisions and provided financial resources and physical protection for his family, a feminine woman who cared for the home and children but was not necessarily responsible for the family’s economic well-being, and children who were subordinate to the demands of both father and mother. Although societal reality did not always conform to a true gendered division of labor in the home and workplace, this concept is pervasive in American culture. Masculinity and manhood were intimately tied to male domination over the family structure, as well as in economic and political affairs.

Men have also frequently defined masculinity or manhood in relation to what men are not, or what society says men should not be. The opposite of masculine is not only feminine, but also childish, brutal, or animal-like. In the United States, homosexual, unmarried, unemployed, or pacifist men may be considered less masculine than other men. Although a cultural definition of masculinity includes particular types of men, it excludes many others. Control over women or other men was never complete, nor did all men support the same ideals.

In the earliest years of North American colonial settlement, issues of race and gender intertwined. White patriarchs controlled labor systems, property rights, and sexual access to both black and white women. Since white men had the power to define the rights of all people, they used discourses of race and gender to solidify their own economic and political authority. The importation of African slaves as laborers was a recent development, and slavery was not yet defined as the status of only black workers. Since they did not want black men to have access to white women, white patriarchs discredited the masculinity and intellectual abilities of black men. Conversely, elite white men guaranteed their own sexual access to black women by classifying them as morally weak. White women needed the moral protection of white men, but black women did not merit physical protection.

Colonists created their households based on the English assumptions of patriarchy and female domesticity. White men chose to maintain social control by placing women, children, and all people of color in subordinate roles. White women were spatially restricted to the home and domestic labor, while black women were forced to work as slaves. Since communal standards

dictated that white men had to control their own households and white women had to adhere to their assigned gender role, aggressive women and weak husbands were publicly humiliated through customs such as *charivari*. Elite white men solidified control over working-class white men and black workers by feminizing dissent and severing ties between laborers who might otherwise join in solidarity. By emphasizing race as an important division, elite white men enlisted the support of poorer white men against black slaves. Free white men defined masculinity as the opposite of both female and slave. Since all white men could be potential patriarchs over their homes, whiteness and masculinity were closely tied to the colonial endeavor in North America.

As racialized slavery became more pervasive in the colonial era and solidified during the early years of the United States, black men found it more difficult to attain traditional masculine roles. Enslaved men had to endure the knowledge that white slaveholders held power over themselves and their families. Not only did white owners dictate the types of labor slaves must perform, but also had control over housing, food, travel, religious gatherings, and other freedoms. The threat of sale away from one's family was ever present. Enslaved families were not always able to live together as a unit. At times, the father was located on another plantation, or was sold away entirely. Children could be sold at the discretion of the master. In a society in which protecting one's family was a sign of masculinity, black men were unable to protect their wives or daughters from the sexual advances of white men. This vulnerability undermined the patriarchy and masculine roles of enslaved black men.

Free black men in the antebellum period were subject to discrimination in jobs and housing. Those men who managed to save wages and purchase their own freedom often worked to free the rest of their family, but they faced tremendous difficulties in doing so. In the years leading to the Civil War, many states passed manumission laws that prevented white slaveholders from freeing their slaves, or required that freed slaves had to leave the state immediately. Whether free or enslaved, black men confronted challenges to their masculinity.

Race played an important part in the antebellum discourse of masculinity. Elite white men in the colonial era had established patriarchy through the control of the household and property ownership. They maintained this masculine dominance through paternalism. Slaveholders believed that they were benevolent and were "civilizing" their enslaved workers. They believed that their actions were honorable and benefited society, and used the rhetoric of honor to glorify the system of enslavement. Both Southern slaveholders and abolitionists often adopted fatherly attitudes toward black Americans, which allowed them to believe that they were acting in the best interests of enslaved people.

Although far from wealthy, Southern yeomen farmers also had a vested interest in maintaining a system of slavery. These farmers could not prove their paternalism by dominating a large number of slaves, and they were often ashamed that their wives had to work alongside them in the fields rather than serve in a purely domestic role. Yeomen, however, conceded political power to the planter class in order to maintain patriarchal authority over their families. White yeomen farmers not only claimed equality with planters because they

were all white, but also because they exerted authority over women and black men. In exchange for a measure of public influence, Southern yeomen supported the system of slavery as an extension of their own white, masculine authority.

In urban areas of the early nineteenth century, few white men could afford to own property and control their own livelihood. As wage labor became more common, white workers feared that they were being reduced to “wage slaves,” or men enslaved to the capitalist system. These workers invoked the language of slavery to argue for the masculine ideal of free labor. They considered themselves men as long as they owned their own labor. In order to justify their jobs and find pride in their circumstances, white workers intentionally distanced themselves from black slaves. Once again, a system of racial slavery was solidified by the lack of solidarity between workers.

The Civil War provided the opportunity for both black and white men to prove their masculinity. Most men were greatly motivated by issues of home, family, and protection. Union soldiers emphasized the Victorian ideals of manly restraint, virtue, self-discipline, and loyalty, while Confederate soldiers abided by Southern codes of honor and protecting one’s home. Both sides of the conflict placed great importance in displays of courage and valor. Soldiers feared that they would be branded as effeminate or cowards if they ran away from battle. At the same time, other soldiers feared that killing would make them brutal and inhuman. Soldiers were angry at pacifists or civilians who refused to fight. Many young men, away from home for the first time, experienced vice and a sense of adventure, but feared that their families would disapprove.

Black soldiers, especially former slaves, were anxious to fight for their own freedom and that of other enslaved people. They equated manhood with the ability to direct one’s own destiny, which slavery had denied them. White politicians and soldiers on both sides of the conflict argued that black soldiers were unfit for warfare and would run at the first sign of danger. With the ongoing threat of slave rebellions in mind, Southern slaveholders viewed regiments of armed black men as their greatest fear. White Union officers often assumed that black soldiers were docile and childlike, traits bred into them through years of slavery and oppression. Black soldiers directly challenged these assumptions as they exhibited courage in battle. In time, many white officers grew to respect their black regiments, finding them strong, well disciplined, and fearless under fire. Members of the United States Colored Troops had to endure unequal pay, fatigue duty, dangerous assignments, and the threat of death or enslavement at the hands of Confederate troops. The courageous performance of black men in battle had a profound impact on the Union’s fight for emancipation and racial equality.

Following the Civil War, black men throughout the country experienced a renewed sense of hope and manhood. With the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments, African American men secured the right to vote and access to full citizenship in ways they had previously been denied. Black politicians sought to secure land, educational support, and equal legal protection for former slaves. Many men left their former employers and chose their own occupations for the first time. Once free to

protect and control their families, some black men implemented patriarchal power in their homes. Black men and women legalized their marriages, although some women were subject to coercion or abuse as a result. Many men adopted middle-class notions of domesticity and family roles and urged their wives to stay at home. Not only did they want to be the primary breadwinner for their family, but they also hoped to protect their wives and children from abuse by white employers. Under the system of slavery, white men had free sexual access to black women, and black men wanted to end this practice.

The hopes of **Reconstruction** were short-lived. White men throughout the country feared the potential backlash of free black men. White laborers continued to use the rhetoric of race and wage slavery to distance themselves from black workers. With so many black workers no longer under the economic control of white men, former white planters feared physical and economic repercussions. Black people were not able to purchase large amounts of land, and white landowners still needed black labor to run their farms. A system of sharecropping and tenant farming was the solution. Although black laborers technically worked for themselves, they were still economically dependent on white people. Black workers throughout the country experienced job discrimination and low wages. African American freedom was undermined by racial injustice.

In order to reclaim masculine control in the South, white men formed organizations such as the **Ku Klux Klan** to intimidate black men politically, economically, and physically. Although black women had always been susceptible to white men's sexual access and violence, white men did not want black men to have sexual access to white women. White men exerted control through the invented myth of the "black beast rapist," a hypermasculine black man with animalistic and brutal sexual impulses who preyed on innocent white women. Implementing a process of torture and murder called **lynching**, white men used the reality and threat of violence to control black behavior. Black men were frequently physically emasculated, and their cultural and political activities were limited.

As years since the Civil War passed and veterans aged, regional hostilities became less important in light of economic and cultural similarities among white people. Northern industries had economically invested in the New South, and veterans of both armies wanted to celebrate their wartime heroism and courage rather than their differences. Across the country, veterans emphasized their manliness and valor while undermining challenges from independent black men and suffrage-seeking women. Northern



Ku Klux Klan parade in Washington, DC, 1926. The Klan drew its membership from angry white men, playing on fears that white masculinity was under attack from an unknown black menace. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-96154.

cities, fearing the effects of so many black residents, looked to the South for a solution to the “Negro problem.”

The South’s answer to controlling black people continued to lie in violence, disfranchisement, economic marginalization, and segregation. White southern politicians appealed to the ideal of white supremacy and white fears of black brutes to undermine any attempts for interracial political organization. Democratic political victories at the end of the nineteenth century resulted in the loss of black men’s right to vote. Since manhood and citizenship had been linked throughout American history, black men were excluded from male privilege, and thus citizenship, by their inability to participate in the political system. In order to avoid violence, black men often had to adopt a servile demeanor rather than a public masculinity.

As black men’s masculinity and patriarchal control was undermined in the Gilded Age and **Jim Crow** era, white men articulated a new type of masculinity. Fearing that the Victorian ideals of self-discipline and restraint were having a feminizing impact, white men placed great emphasis on a vigorous, aggressive masculinity. White men claimed to share the virile, primitive, “masculine” qualities of black men while maintaining a superior moral, civilized “manliness.” Many white men believed that experiences with nature and violence would regenerate their moral character. Since white men controlled many of the economic and intellectual resources of society, they could spread this particular idea of masculinity to many people and advocate for a “strenuous life.” Progressive Era reformers condemned aggressive sports such as prizefighting and football, arguing that such activities taught children to be brutal. Even as black soldiers once again proved their manly courage in the Spanish-American War, white men continued to argue that black men could never claim the civilized manliness of white men.

With the onset of **World War I**, many black people migrated to Northern cities. They not only hoped to escape the financial difficulties of **sharecropping**, but also desired to leave behind disfranchisement and lynching violence in the South. Expanded economic opportunities allowed them to provide for their families, and they were not subject to such extensive abuse at the hands of white men. Many black men believed that they could attain true citizenship in the North, where they would be allowed to vote, and through their military service. Black soldiers once again proved their courage and equality in battle, but encountered racism and competition for jobs and housing when they returned to the United States.

Men in the black middle class urged newly arrived workers to prove their equality through good behavior. Reformers tried to educate migrants in the dominant cultural ideals of thrift, sobriety, cleanliness, efficiency, and respectability. The middle class advised black men to be the sole breadwinners for the family and indicated that women should stay at home rather than enter the workforce. However, it was financially impossible for many black families to meet this ideal. The black middle class was also critical of how black workers spent their free time and money. The reformers recommended that working-class African Americans refrain from disreputable or excessive forms of leisure. Middle-class leaders did not want the whole race to be judged poorly by the behavior of some.

Black migrants were often limited to particular types of jobs in Northern cities. Although black men did not want to be viewed as either brutal or servile, they were often forced into roles, such as Pullman porters, that recreated the master/servant system of slavery. Better-paid industrial workers faced threats from white unions and returning veterans. In the **Red Summer** of 1919, tensions between black and white people erupted in brutal race riots. Many people, mostly black, died in the violence. Unlike racial violence under slavery or white supremacy, black people were willing and able to fight back. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and many black publications like the *Chicago Defender* advocated that the “New Negro” assert his rights and race pride. Although white men tried to maintain cultural and economic dominance, there were continual challenges.

Segregation and racial violence continued throughout much of the twentieth century. Black men fought for their rights to provide for their families and be treated as societal equals, and white men asserted their dominance at every opportunity. All men experienced threats to their masculinity during the **Great Depression** as they found it more and more difficult to act as breadwinners. Although black men could gain employment through some **New Deal** programs, discrimination continued to impact their economic situation.

Black men were forced to serve in segregated units during **World War II**, but once again hoped that their military service would translate into equal citizenship. Through the **Double V Campaign**, black people demonstrated their patriotism and their demands for civil rights. This initiative called for military victory abroad and civil rights victory at home. Although the campaign was a step toward the future civil rights movement, black veterans continued to experience discrimination when they returned to the United States. Black soldiers did not receive equal treatment under the **G.I. Bill**, which hampered their access to housing and education benefits. Segregation and discriminatory practices at times thwarted notions of black masculinity.

As the **Civil Rights Movement** gained strength through the 1950s and into the 1960s, both white segregationists and black civil rights leaders articulated their arguments in terms of masculinity. The defense team of the white men accused of killing **Emmett Till** in **Mississippi** in 1955 argued that the men had the right to protect their families, especially white women. They tried to invoke the image of the black beast to divert attention from the fact that Till was a 14-year-old boy. Although some white Southerners rallied to the defense, most white people throughout the country were sickened by the murder. Discomfort with racial mixing still existed, as evidenced by the turmoil following the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, but changes were on the horizon.

As consumption became more important in the twentieth century, white industrialists and landowners tried to maintain economic dominance. Housing segregationists claimed that they were protecting their economic investment rather than acting as racists. Both black and white men felt some threat from the rise of second-wave feminism and women’s greater role in the workplace and civic culture. Black men viewed the Moynihan Report of 1965 as yet another challenge to their manhood and their ability to provide for their

families. At times, black women were able to make political statements in ways that men were not, which some thought was a challenge to black masculinity. The Black Power movement advocated a shift from nonviolent protest to a more aggressive type of masculinity. Manhood was articulated in a variety of ways among both black and white men.

Concepts of black and white masculinity continue to be relevant in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Events such as the Million Man March highlight a particular type of black manhood, while gangsta rap conveys another. Issues of race and masculinity are prevalent in social and religious organizations like the Promise Keepers, and continue to be addressed in political forums on job discrimination, military action, welfare, and inner-city violence. Just as ideas of family, honor, and economics were expressed early in the history of the United States, they are still relevant to masculinity today. *See also* Great Migration; Homosexuality; New Negro Movement.

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Shannon Smith Bennett

Mays, Willie (b. 1931)

Willie Mays was one of the greatest stars in the history of baseball. The ultimate “five-tool player,” Mays could run, hit, hit with power, field, and throw, and he played the game with energy, style, and charisma. In his extraordinary career, the “Say Hey Kid” was named to the National League All-Star team 24 times, more than any other player in history. Younger than **Jackie Robinson** and Satchel Paige, Willie Mays was, nevertheless, a product of **Negro League Baseball**. But he played into the 1970s, tracing an arc from Jim Crow segregation to acceptance as an icon of major league baseball.

Mays was born in Westfield, **Alabama**, outside Birmingham, where his father and grandfather had played for black baseball teams in the Tennessee Coal and Iron League. His mother had been a high school track star. At age 16, in 1948, Mays joined the renowned Birmingham Black Barons of the Negro National League. Two years later, after he had graduated from high school, he was signed by the New York Giants in the wake of Jackie Robinson’s initial

success with the **Brooklyn Dodgers**. Mays became known for his spectacular ability as a center fielder before he established himself as a hitter. By the 1954 season, though, he was topping the league with a .345 batting average, hitting 41 home runs, and leading the Giants to the world championship. From that time, through the late 1960s, he was one of the brightest stars in baseball and, for a time, the game's highest paid player. Over the course of his career, Mays hit 660 home runs and batted .302. Most of his contemporaries commented that the most impressive thing about Mays was not his raw power or ability. What impressed them was his reckless and breathtaking style of play.

His success was unlikely. In a family with 11 children in rural Alabama, Mays grew up with poverty and segregation. He attended a vocational high school and trained to work in a laundry. He was a phenomenal athlete in high school, though, starring in football and basketball, and he played semipro baseball. With the Birmingham Black Barons, he played against Negro League legends Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, and Buck Leonard. Following the success of Jackie Robinson, major league ball clubs were looking to develop young black talent, and within a couple of years, Mays was batting .330 and slugging .547 for Birmingham. Giants scout Eddie Montague wrote manager Leo Durocher, "this was the greatest young player I had ever seen in my life or my scouting career."

After signing him in 1950, the Giants wanted to send Mays to its minor league affiliate in Sioux City, Iowa, but the city would not accept a black player, so he was assigned to Trenton of the Interstate League. "I was the first black in that particular league," he would write. And we played in a town called Hagerstown, Maryland. I'll never forget this day, on a Friday. And they call you all kinds of names there, 'nigger' this, and 'nigger' that. I said to myself, 'Hey, whatever they call you, they can't touch you. Don't talk back.'"

His first year in major league baseball, at the age of 20, Mays led the Giants to the World Series. He was voted National League Rookie of the Year, and his manager, the legendary Leo Durocher, claimed that "just to have him on the club, you had thirty percent of the best of it before the ball game started. In each generation, there are one or two players like that, men who are winning players because of their own ability and their own . . . magnetism." Nevertheless, when Mays returned to the Jim Crow South after the season was over, he tried to patronize a Woolworth's lunch counter and was refused service.

Mays served in the U.S. Army during the Korean conflict, although he spent most of his time playing with a stateside army baseball team. When he returned to the Giants in 1954, he began a dozen years of unbroken excellence. He won the batting title in his first year back, and he hit 51 home runs the following year. He led the National League in stolen bases four years in a row. And he won 12 consecutive Gold Gloves, awarded to the top fielder at each position. His talent and drive prompted historian Jules Tygiel to comment that, "Mays, with his indisputable excellence, convinced all but the most stalwart resisters to integration of the need to recruit African-Americans."

When the Giants moved from New York to San Francisco before the 1958 season, Mays was not warmly welcomed, in part, because he was black. Soon

after he moved into his new home, a brick crashed through his living room window. By 1963, though, Mays was the highest paid player in baseball, making \$105,000, and his personal stature provided the impetus for integration. When the Houston Astros were formed in 1965, for instance, team ownership wanted to make certain that the city would not force the great Willie Mays to sleep in a Jim Crow hotel.

Mays was a pragmatic thinker and urged moderation in race relations. During the 1964 season, when manager Alvin Dark publicly expressed the view that Spanish-speaking and black players were not as mentally alert as white players, many of the Giants' Latino players threatened to boycott their games unless Dark was immediately fired.

Mays argued that such a move would be disastrous for their season and told a team meeting that Dark had always given everyone a fair chance to play, no matter his racial views. "I'm telling you he helped me," Mays told his fellow players. "And he's helped everybody here. I'm not playing Tom to him when I say that. He helps us because he wants to win, and he wants the money that goes with winning. Ain't nothing wrong with that." Mays urged the Latino players, "Don't let the rednecks make a hero out of him." At the same time, Mays himself continued to play, but he did not speak to Dark for the rest of the season, after which Dark was fired.

Mays was voted the National League's Most Valuable Player in 1954, and again 11 years later, in 1965, a testament to his consistency and drive. Although his skills had diminished by the end of the 1960s, Mays was voted Player of the Decade by the *Sporting News*. He was traded to the New York Mets in 1972, then retired the following year, his skills eroding fast, in the city where he began his major league career.

By the time he finished playing, Mays was acclaimed by everyone in the world of baseball, black and white. Home run legend Hank Aaron said Mays was the better player. Ted Williams commented at his own Hall of Fame induction that the All-Star game was made for Willie Mays. And Joe DiMaggio claimed that Willie Mays came as close to perfection as any ballplayer he had ever seen.

Elected to the Hall of Fame in his first year of eligibility, Mays again demonstrated moderation in the racial views he shared during his induction ceremony. In spite of his Jim Crow upbringing, at his induction ceremony, Mays was gracious. "This country is made up of a great many things. You can grow up to be what you want. I chose baseball, and I loved every minute of it. I give you one word. Love." *See also* Sports.

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Meredith, James (b. 1933)

James Howard Meredith was a reluctant civil rights pioneer known for his integration of the University of **Mississippi**, but he always eschewed such honorific labels as well as the public spotlight.

Meredith was born on June 25, 1933, in Kosciusko, Mississippi. After graduating from high school, Meredith enlisted in the U.S. Air Force, in which he served from 1951 to 1960. During his service, he spent time overseas. Additionally, Meredith began to take college courses offered through military outreach programs. Upon his honorable discharge from the air force, he returned to Mississippi and attended historically black Jackson State College, completing two years of study. On January 31, 1961, Meredith applied to the University of Mississippi. From the outset, university officials stalled the admission process by using, what Meredith would describe in his letter to the U.S. Justice Department in which he appealed for assistance, as “delaying tactics.”

Anticipating the struggle he faced in his attempt to be admitted to the University of Mississippi, Meredith also wrote to **Thurgood Marshall**, seeking representation from the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund**. Near the end of May 1961, the NAACP proceeded with litigation to have Meredith admitted, and the case eventually ended up in the **U.S. Supreme Court**. On September 10, 1961, the Supreme Court decided that Meredith should be allowed to attend the university.

What followed was a showdown between the state of Mississippi and the **federal government** over states' rights and opportunities for equal education. Segregationist governor Ross Barnett took active steps to prevent Meredith from registering for classes by physically blocking Meredith's entrance into the appropriate university office. Tensions grew in the area and boiled over with riots that encompassed the entire campus. In response to Barnett's defiance of the Supreme Court, President **John F. Kennedy** ordered the mobilization of federal marshals and federal troops to Mississippi to enforce the order admitting Meredith. This step only further riled the segregationists in the area, and there were several violent clashes between the protesters of Meredith's admittance and the federal authorities. The conflicts were bloody, with two deaths and scores of serious injuries. Finally, the violence abated after pleas from all sides, and Meredith attended his first class on October 1, 1962. He went on to graduate from the University of Mississippi, pursue further studies in Nigeria, and receive an LLB from Columbia University.

Meredith took a leadership role in the March Against Fear in 1966. He was shot by Aubrey James Norvell while participating in the march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. He recovered from the wound and was able to complete the journey. Meredith then retreated from the limelight and became a businessperson who seemed to want to put his contributions behind him. After this period, he relocated to Washington and worked on the staff of Senator Jesse Helms on matters of domestic policy. He made several unsuccessful runs for Congress as a Republican and wrote a number of books and articles.

As the 40th anniversary of Meredith's entry into the University of Mississippi approached, his attendance at the ceremony remained in doubt. In the end, Meredith reluctantly attended the ceremony, but he again expressed his desire to be viewed only as a humble U.S. citizen who sought the protections and opportunities offered by the government and not as a civil rights hero. Nonetheless, many still view Meredith as a significant contributor to the **Civil Rights Movement** and, at the same time, respect his wishes to be thought of as just another American standing up for himself and others through action. *See also* National Guard; Segregation, Suburban.

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Aaron Cooley

Mexico

With the Spanish imperial ambitions in the New World satisfied by the conquest of the Aztec Empire, Spain set in place a racial system that endures to this day. The racial caste (*casta*) system that existed in Mexico in the eighteenth century was developed by the Spanish crown to refer to the racial mixtures that comprised Mexican Society. At the top of the racial caste system were the Spaniards born in Spain. Since the Spaniards did not prohibit **interracial marriages**, the racial paradigm became blurred and ambiguous. The British colonies, on the other hand, maintained a rigid system of segregation. This difference can be explained in part by the influence of religion in Spanish colonialism, and the lack of it in North America. In the late 1500s, a Mestizo classification was often the result of an illegitimate offspring between an indigenous person and a Spaniard. Since the slave population was at the lowest end of the caste system, it became necessary to deny African connections.

"Mixed race people" is what Mexican intellectual Jose Vasconcelos proposed in his book, *The Cosmic Race*, written in 1925. This contribution was a continuation of the Spanish racial paradigm that was developed earlier under Spanish rule. Jose Vasconcelos also proposed a more subtle form of racism embedded in his racial proposal when he said that blackness could be eliminated in a few generations through intermarriage.

Though the long-held belief that the racial paradigm of "Mestizaje" is non-racist, it cannot be sustained when viewed from the perspective of it calling for the absorption of racial phenotypes into a "whiter" version of humanity. Interestingly, it was nevertheless viewed negatively by the white settler populations who rejected any form of intermarriage. What Vasconcelos wrote of was not exactly white, but implied a twist on the Anglo "**one-drop rule**" of racism, which says that any percentage of African ancestry makes an individual black. Notwithstanding the argument that the one-drop rule is racist, and implies that only "black blood" somehow contaminates, Vasconcelos reversed the argument so that the opposite becomes true. The opposite of the one-drop rule, as applied by racial models in the United States, was applied in Mexico, and lays claim to another racist model that says that "white blood purifies."

In the United States, the one-drop rule was used to enforce a racist outlook designed to perpetuate slavery and segregation. The Mexican reverse of the one-drop rule was used to create a national identity devoid of its Indian and African past. This twist of racism is linked to “beauty,” or lighter skin, which, according to Vasconcelos, blacks cannot have, but some “lighter”-skinned individuals can. Here, Vasconcelos defended the racist Spanish hierarchical structure and saw it as superior to the segregated policies of British Protestant colonialism that generally existed in the United States since its inception.

The Spanish method of removing black and Indian features was the desired outcome. This may explain why some Mexicans attempt to deny African connections and prefer a “Latinized” version of racial identity. This assimilation is carried over into the term “Hispanic.” Arguably, the modern-day use of the term “Hispanic” is the continued remnant of colonialism and the racial agenda of “blood purification,” in that it includes all persons who are descendents of Spanish culture regardless of racial classifications developed by North Americans. Thus, “Spanish linguistic superiority,” the inverse of English language chauvinism, is but the remains of the colonial conflicts for world supremacy between English and Spanish slavers. Vasconcelos wrote that the Spanish language is “the language of one of the most illustrious races in the world.” Such racist Hispanocentric constructions places Spain at the top of all other cultural-racial constructions and leads to the purposeful extinction of the Indian and the African influences.

When Mexico abolished slavery in 1829, it became a haven for runaway slaves and *Mascogos*, or Black Seminoles. The slaveowners on the Texas side of the border often crossed over to capture blacks to sell, or to return runaways. This tension between the two countries was exacerbated by the belief that Mexicans, or Spaniards, were not white by American standards, though the Mexican Creole elite tried very hard to be. Mexico also had an Afro-Mestizo president, Vicente Guerrero, who abolished slavery, creating even more tensions for the slaveowning class in Texas.

The national identity created in Mexico accomplished a light-skinned paradigm, but unlike the extreme racial polarization inherent in British colonial thought. Racism in Mexico was a “blending” that approaches racist forms of whiteness. It could be argued that Spanish racism sanctioned the belief that the more “drops of white (Spanish) blood” one had, the closer one came to the accepted racial hierarchy. This difference meant confrontation between the United States and Mexico. Intermarrying that resulted in lighter-skinned babies allowed for cross-cultural paths to be chosen that would increase the probability of being accepted into whiter identities. But this applied in Mexico only and was rejected by the Anglo view of race. Those who were ethnically vague began to pass into either Indian or Spanish culture in Mexico. The visible racial features, however, did not completely disappear, as is evidenced by the Afro Mexicans in Veracruz and in western coastal areas of Mexico today. However, these racial underpinnings would serve to develop the Mexican national identity in the form of a light-skinned ruling class, but would also cause racially minded whites in the United States to view Mexico as a country of nonwhites.

On the surface, when races are compared in Mexico with the U.S. definition of what constitutes “blackness,” one might be tempted to conclude that the Mexican construction is more progressive. However, contortions of racist concepts do not enjoy acceptance. But these differences produce racial tensions despite agreement on the concept of racial inferiority between Mexican paradigms and Anglo ones. A mixed-race person who would be described as black in the United States could be described as Mexican (with white underpinnings) in Mexico. *See also* Hispanics/Latinos.

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Mario Marcel Salas

Minstrelsy

Minstrel shows were the first form of musical theater that was uniquely American, based on American history and featuring uniquely American social relations. Minstrelsy began in the 1820s and went on to become America’s most popular form of entertainment for nearly a hundred years (although blackface depictions date back to the 1750s, before the American Revolution). The very phrase “**Jim Crow**” came into existence by **Thomas D. Rice**’s depiction of a black man who “Jumped Jim Crow” and later became *the* image of African Americans in the United States. For these shows, whites used burnt cork to darken their skin and lipstick to enlarge their mouths to depict a stereotype of Africans and African Americans in a wide variety of American settings

General Description

Minstrel shows used stereotypes for white profit by simultaneously constructing black and white identities in the national imagination. Minstrel shows represent the most provocative and, perhaps, revealing form of entertainment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their enticing use of black bodies and representations created, enforced, and disseminated ideas about whiteness and white privilege, and, conversely, black inherent inferiority and subservience. By both portraying blacks a certain way, generally in line with racial stereotypes of the time, as well as articulating statements that voiced political, social, and economic concerns, minstrel shows became both a principal site of struggle in and over the perceived culture of blacks.

The image of blacks that appeared in minstrel shows, Jim Crow, was based on a caricature of a black homeless man, dressed in ragged clothes, singing and dancing on stage. Though a gross misrepresentation of blacks, these depictions were perceived as reality and taken as truth when depicted by working-class whites in blackface. During minstrel shows, white audiences witnessed blacks in a wide variety of settings, ranging from slave ships to plantations to the

urban North. Nearly all included (mis)representations of “authentic” black dancing styles. To attract large audiences, minstrel shows featured popular American music, most notably “Dixie,” a nostalgic song dreaming of the “good old days” of white aristocracy rooted in blacks’ plantation life. Contributing to these shows were many famous American songwriters, including Stephen Foster, who wrote lyrics to accompany blackfaced actors performances.

The content and subjects of minstrelsy changed with each historical epoch in America. The largest shifts appeared after slavery and emancipation and then again during the early part of the twentieth century, which coincided with both the **Great Migration** of blacks northward and out of the South and mass migration of Southern and Eastern Europeans into America. This inexpensive entertainment for the masses provided many urban dwellers who spent their evenings watching minstrel shows with sufficient information about blacks to develop racial (and racist) attitudes about many of the men and women with whom they often lived in close proximity and/or competed with for jobs. However, traveling minstrel shows, which were extremely popular, brought these forms and ideas to countless Americans in the Midwest who never had any contact with blacks, thereby allowing them to participate in both American cultures and ideologies.

After the Civil War, minstrel shows featured nostalgically longing depictions of the “good old days” of slavery, when slaves were happy and content on the plantations. The new content of minstrel show also resulted in the introduction of new characters into the shows. Prominent characters included Zip Coon, Sambo, the mammy, and the brute. Characters were depicted as whites’ conceptions of good blacks (Sambo and Mammy), the “brute nigger” who delighted in carrying knives and starting fights, and the dandy, who attempted to imitate upper-class white styles of dress and speech. The inhumanity and cartoon-like nature of these characters distanced real blacks from being perceived as equal to whites. Finally, black children, often referred to as “pickaninnies,” were ignorant youths often prone to thievery and other forms of deviance with little potential aptitude for the new public education system in America that few wanted to extend to blacks.

Particularly fearful to whites was the black brute intent on raping white women. These depictions of these rapacious black men fueled a century of lynchings that took countless lives of innocent black men and women often-times only on the whispered rumor of a rape, or even a sideways glance, deemed inappropriate, at white women. Deeply embossed in American



Popular image of Jim Crow as a minstrel, 1860s. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-13935.

culture, the nation's first feature-length film, *The Birth of a Nation* (based on Thomas Dixon's book, *The Clansman*), featured the black brute, a white man in blackface depicted as chasing after a white woman who would rather jump from a cliff to her death than lose her chastity and virginity to a black man.

Throughout their long history, minstrel acts reflected an admiration and longing for values and characteristics of blackness in line with racial ideologies of the time period. Childish, emotional, and musical and rhythmic characteristics of blacks conveyed to white audiences that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites and lacked the intelligence and other mental resources to succeed in any profession beyond servile positions. In this way, caricatures of blacks in minstrel shows also embodied the past for which whites longed, thus voicing a conscious wish for black social and economic inequality implicit in slavery.

Ideological Functions

Minstrelsy is a useful example of how race was learned and perpetuated through popular culture, entertainment, and media forms. Minstrel shows, like **lynchings**, focused on a black otherness that unified whites and led to the creation of a unique American identity. These images of blacks supported, dispelled, and reinforced ideologies of white superiority ranging, depending on the time period, from environmental causes for degradation, inherent inferiority, romantic racialism, paternalism, social Darwinism, and progressivism. These images then provided whites, many of whom in the North likely knew few blacks, with the knowledge necessary to shape their own identity to the contrary of this perceived black inferiority.

As black culture developed, whites appropriated parts and pieces of it to use for their own economic advantage and political purposes, thereby shaping their own culture in turn. When blackness was vague and uncertain whites took what they saw and assumed that it was authentic, combined these visions with previous stereotypes, prejudices, and images about savages in Africa and created a blackness they could use to their advantage. In this way, blackness became integral to both the American identity and culture, even though most whites rarely maintain any kind of sustained relationship with their black counterparts.

As the first true and realized white entertainment in the nation, and in the world, minstrel shows emphasized the white identity of its audience and actors, and their difference from those whom they were imitating. In line with the racial ideologies of the time, particularly Romantic racialism, minstrel shows usually portrayed blacks as emotional characters who, although they had qualities whites often lacked, had a number of others that made success in America impossible—they were shiftless and lazy, brutish and sex-crazed, dirty and incompetent. In other words, they were everything whites were not, and thus something against which whites could use to measure themselves. Minstrel shows thereby educated Northern whites and new immigrants who may have rarely encountered blacks in their daily lives, as to these

characteristics, thereby disseminating a highly damaging and long-lasting racial ideology of white supremacy.

Unskilled immigrants from Europe, particularly Ireland, during the second half of the nineteenth century were flooding America's shores and competing with blacks for the lowest paying jobs in the North. Mocking blacks through minstrel shows in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ensured that blacks would be considered neither citizens nor workers on the same plane as whites. Instead, minstrelsy further identified the presumed differences between blacks and whites, even among those working in similar positions in the North. The license with which blackface provided whites allowed them to make statements about their own social circumstances that reflected the longing, fears, hopes, and prejudices enmeshed with being among the white working class in the nineteenth century. Minstrel shows inhibited cross-racial coalitions by ideologically suppressing black workers and obscuring any similarities between the two groups.

Lasting Legacies of Minstrel Shows

In addition to existing on the historical stage, minstrel figures continue to exist in many popular forms. For example, the vast majority of television programs and movies lack depictions of blacks in middle-class and professional roles and instead often appear as sidekicks, clowns, or criminals. Advertising, historically, drew on America's longing for the ideal and "simple" days of the plantation era. For generations, stereotyped caricatures of blacks have appeared on a wide variety of popular brands (such as the Gold Dust Twins and Nigger Brand oysters, tobacco, and toothpaste) and household products (ashtrays, piggybanks, kitchen accessories, etc.). A trip to a modern supermarket will find the legacies of these products and images in Aunt Jemima and Mrs. Butterworth's (classic examples of the Mammy figure) and Uncle Ben (an Uncle Tom figure) remain on store shelves.

Minstrel figures have also appeared in popular cartoons, particularly Bugs Bunny cartoons by Warner Brothers and a variety of cartoons by Walt Disney (including *Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby*), through the 1980s. These cartoons often featured happy, smiling, banjo-playing, watermelon-eating, big-lipped, barefoot, blacks in the South in a plantation setting or in Africa, as comic savages, roasting the hero in a pot, alluding to cannibalism. Therefore, while these images appeared from stage shows prior to **World War II** their lasting legacy continues to influence new generations of youth, including the current one. *See also* Children's Literature.

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Melissa F. Weiner

Miscegenation

“Miscegenation” refers to the mixing, interbreeding, sexual union, marriage, or cohabitation of people of different races or ethnic groups, especially whites and nonwhites. Given the pejorative and racist implications of its historical application, the term is considered offensive and has largely dropped from contemporary usage. From **Thomas Dixon** to **Gunnar Myrdal**, two poles in the evolution of mainstream American racial thought, it was expressed as common knowledge that the primary reason for segregation during **Jim Crow** was the fear of the ultimate taboo of miscegenation. Ostensibly, the issue of miscegenation can be considered the linchpin of racial antipathy during the Jim Crow era.

The term first appeared during the war election of 1864 as the title of an anonymous pamphlet, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro*. While the term “amalgamation” had been used previously, the anonymous author explained his need to invent a new term from the classical Latin *misc*, “to mix,” and *genus*, “race,” in order to be more specific. The pamphlet, which sold on newsstands for 25 cents in the summer of 1863, turned out to be a hoax concocted by copperhead journalists David Goodman Croly and George Wakeman in order to sabotage President Abraham Lincoln’s reelection campaign and Republican control of Congress. The treatise, pretending to represent the radical Republican goal of “social equality,” argued in favor of race mixing, stating not only that all races originated from one type and are therefore equal, but, even more controversially, that racial mixing would actually strengthen the human race and should be adopted as national policy. In actuality, these views represented the polar opposite of what appeared regularly in scientific and popular literature from the mid-nineteenth century through the first few decades of the twentieth century.

The History of Racial Mixing in the New World

Unlike in the West Indies and **Latin America**, the attitude toward miscegenation as one of reprobation appeared in written legislation during the early colonial period in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One of the earliest surviving colonial records from Virginia shows that in 1662, the Virginia colony established a law that imposed additional punishment for fornication between whites and blacks. Other legislation of the period already referred to the “mulatto” offspring of interracial sexual relations as “mongrel” and “spurious” and attempted to formally bastardize such progeny. Through such legislation, the mulatto came to be legally characterized as black and thus faced the same slave codes as blacks of predominantly African heritage.

The difference in the history of white treatment of mulattoes among the European colonies in the New World largely depended upon the ratio of white men to black and Indian women in the population. To a lesser degree, but a significant one, the status of white women and attitudes toward the family played a role in white attitudes toward miscegenation, or more properly, how to classify mixed progeny. In the United States, where there came to be

a high ideal placed on the white family and likewise the purity of the white race and its dominance, it became more important to distance mulattoes from the master class.

Through antimiscegenation law and the legal classification of mixed-race offspring as black, illegitimate, and, if enslaved, property, the white male ruling class was able to have it all: increased slave labor supply, indulgence of sexual fantasies and desires, maintenance of white purity, and maintenance of white power. The classification of mulattoes as black also allowed white men to deny that miscegenation ever occurred and thereby allowed them to relieve, to some degree, their guilt over their inability to control their sexual desire. However, despite legal classification, mulattoes remained an ostensible reminder of their actions, and whites attempted to cover their tracks with particular rhetorical stringency against the practice.

Before the Revolutionary War, only two states, **Virginia** and **North Carolina**, bothered to write the taboo of miscegenation into law, although for all states (except **Louisiana**), common attitudes and regulation prevailed. After the Revolutionary War when the free black population increased, however, slave states began coming up with their own laws. These laws often defined the percentage of black “blood” present in one’s heritage to determine one’s race. Over time, these laws would become more stringent and morph into the so-called “**one-drop rule**.”

In the antebellum lower South, where demographics more closely resembled those of the **Caribbean** and Latin America, free mulatto classes did develop, particularly in the cities, but also in rural areas. Louisiana, and the city of New Orleans in particular, with its more recent history of Spanish and French colonialism, exhibited a more overt likeness to the southern part of the hemisphere with its general acceptance of interracial relationships and its intermediary mulatto class. While concubinage was prevalent throughout the Cotton Belt, it was practically institutionalized in Louisiana through the practice of *plaçage* and the related “quadroon balls.” Likewise, before the Civil War, attempts to legalize blood quantum usually failed in Louisiana. South Carolina, especially Charleston, was a close runner-up in terms of the prevalence of a free and accepted mulatto class, although all of the lower South exhibited this phenomenon to some extent. Savannah, Georgia and Mobile, Alabama, are two other major examples of cities with a history of thriving free mulatto communities.

The mulatto communities of the lower South maintained only a fraction of the population, yet they comprised a large percentage of the free black population. They were often property owning and sometimes even well off. Nonetheless, they were consistently distinguished from whites, despite the groups’ cultural similarities. This situation created an atmosphere of color discrimination within the black population whereby lighter-skinned mulattoes would employ racist justifications for their superiority over darker-skinned blacks.

Whites in the lower South achieved a degree of loyalty from the free mulatto class which they saw as a level of security, a buffer, between the planter class and the slaves—a view much like that held by white planters in the Caribbean and Latin America. However, the free mulatto class represented just a fraction

of mulattoes in the United States during slavery. Most mulattoes were enslaved.

Approaching the Civil War, attitudes toward the free mulatto class began to change. The discourse of racial purity and the unnaturalness of interracial sex began to permeate the (lower) South from the North, particularly as the idea of race gained currency apart from the condition of servitude, and as the United States witnessed increased attention toward the biological and social scientific disciplines as authorities for explaining folk impressions about racial differences.

Racial Science and the Era of Jim Crow

Within 50 years after emancipation, the “one-drop rule” emerged alongside increasingly popular scientific classifications and explanations of race. Whereas during slavery, there was a relatively unsophisticated correlation between skin color and status of enslaved or free, after emancipation, various scientific endeavors sought biological evidence of racial differences. In 1758, Swedish botanist, zoologist, and physician Carl Linnaeus developed a simple classificatory system of races—Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, and American—based largely on external, visible factors. A short while later in 1775, German anatomist and naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach recovered this system and added a fifth category—Malayan—to complete the schema, which inaugurated the modern notion of race.

Anthropology in the nineteenth century drew upon this classificatory system in the attempt to link race to intelligence and behavior. The practice of phrenology, which consisted of taking cranial measurements, weighing brains, and charting head shapes and sizes, served as the precursor to evolutionary psychology and social evolution introduced by Herbert Spencer, and later, the eugenics movement of the Progressive Era.

The Civil War marked a turning point in popular conceptions of racial scientific theories. The Provost Marshall-General’s Bureau and the U.S. Sanitary Commission both engaged anthropometric studies that used soldiers as subjects to gather cranial measurements and other racial data. These studies added “scientific evidence” to folk claims of racial difference. As well, this “war anthropometry” marked the beginning of the popular scientific notion that so-called mixed-bloods are weak and inferior to pure “breeds.” Miscegenation was thought to be a serious social error, not simply for its effects in creating a physically and morally weak hybrid species, but mainly for its role in degenerating the white race.

The language of blood, breed, and racial species that gained such powerful ideological currency from the Civil War years through the Jim Crow era begins with the debate over the monogenetic or polygenetic origins of the various races. Monogenesis refers to the idea that all races have the same human origin, while polygenesis implies that all of the races evolved independently. This latter notion was considered by many to be heretical in that it goes against a literal reading of Biblical creationism, which links all humans to the Adamite family. Still, this view eventually prevailed in the scientific community and in the public consciousness since it correlated with prevailing folk

understandings of race. As emerging scientific disciplines attempted to prove polygenetic theories in the middle to late nineteenth century, religion in general had to make room for the dominance of science as the master narrative of the social. Thus, while folk theories about race pervaded in the era of piety in the United States, race as it is known today, and as it came to be enforced in the Jim Crow era, was inextricably linked to the scientific age.

By the late nineteenth century, polygenist notions inherent in the Great Chain of Being were replaced by more contemporary strains of thought, namely Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's environmentalism, and Charles Darwin's hereditarian determinism. Nevertheless, the core of polygenist thought permeated both schools and shaped racial theory between **Reconstruction** and the **World War I**—and beyond.

It was the polygenist notion of separate "species" that effected conversations on "amalgamation," or what came to be termed "miscegenation." The interbreeding of species was considered unnatural and counterproductive to the advancement of human civilization and the preservation of the so-called superior race. The tripartite logic of the polygenist view rested on the notions of mulatto infertility and sterility, the unnaturalness of race mixing, and the importance of racial purity. Despite advances in the biological and social sciences into the twentieth century, the impressionistic and anecdotal bases of polygenist racial theory continued to shape academic and popular theories about race and race mixture.

Darwin's theory of evolution became very influential on scientific thought in the late nineteenth century, even though it is based on the idea of monogenesis. Nevertheless, it was easily adapted to popular notions. Lamarckianism—the doctrine of the inheritance of (environmentally) acquired characteristics within a racial group over time—on the other hand, did not contradict the polygenist view. Lamarckianism and Neo-Lamarckianism (post-Darwinian recuperations of evolutionary psychology) conflated culture and biology and suggested that the social was reified in the biological. Additionally, Lamarckianism put forth the notion that race prejudice had biosocial origins developed for the preservation of the species. In other words, while race mixing did occur, the subconscious instinctual aversion to other groups would eventually predominate to maintain a healthy species. This view justified race prejudice as natural and desirable. Though at odds with Darwinian hereditary variation, Lamarckianism succeeded in its ability to incorporate Darwinian evolutionism and polygenist ideas. In any case, the three strains of thought together dominated the discussion of racial difference far into the twentieth century.

Franz Boas's anthropological work between 1890 and 1910 eventually developed the notion of culture as distinct from race. Boas' work in this regard helped to shape a more progressive and contemporary view of race which competed against the polygenist view and its legacy. Boas stressed the importance of accident and environment over the biological in cultural development, and eventually paved the way for the notion of human equality (of cognitive capacity). *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911) noted a turning point in anthropological thought, ushering in the notion of cultural relativism and the ethnological method. By 1910, due in large part to Boas's advances in racial theory, Lamarckianism was largely dead and the notion of culture as separate

from biological race was adopted. However, the predominance of intelligence testing in the social sciences and eugenics in the biological sciences continued with success to try to put scientific fact with racist impression.

The American eugenics movement gained popular attention in 1912 after the first of three International Congresses on Eugenics; the second two were in 1921 and 1932. However, the interest in the scientific movement traveled over the Atlantic from the teachings of Sir Francis Galton as early as the late nineteenth century, about three decades after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the founding of several U.S.-based journals including, *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin* (1906), *Eugenical News* (1916), and *Eugenics: A Journal of Race Betterment* (1928), in addition to the American Breeders Association (ABA) in 1905, J. H. Kellogg's Race Betterment Foundation in 1906, and the Eugenics Record Office in 1910 officially established eugenics as a reputable field of study. Once in the United States, the American eugenics movement metamorphosed into a unique and elaborate state project.

The state and the science collided in their shared concept of rights—the right to *eugenes*, “good genes,” or the right to be “well born” was the mantra of the movement, which could be heard just as frequently from scientists, statesmen, and welfare officers. With genes, or “gene plasm” (the common term), as an organizing concept, eugenics policies of immigration restriction, sterilization and race segregation were juridically enacted at a time when the United States had to decide the shape and character of American identity. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the eugenics movement and a concern with genes had taken root in the scientific community. One of its primary concerns was to address the ongoing “problem” of miscegenation. Eugenics specifically sought political and cultural ends to its academic products, particularly in the form of changing law and public sentiment.

Eugenicists were convinced—or convinced themselves—that the “mongrel” was the living embodiment of why the mixing of races should never occur. Reports in eugenics journals attempted to pile up the ways in which the racial hybrid was considered a “bodily maladjustment” based on the quasi-Mendelian idea that “racial” traits are linked traits and that to unlink these traits is to undo years of evolution and to unleash unnatural and harmful genetic combinations into the general population. In other words, the condition of miscegenation was a type of congenital disease. It is interesting to observe that eugenicists relied on Mendelian genetics to support their claims about the disharmony of miscegenation, yet actively ignored Mendel's discovery of “hybrid vigor,” or the claim that the mixing of alleles from parents of different “breeds” can produce more vigorous offspring. Instead, they saw the mongrel as a particular abomination who should be kept from the general population.

Race Theory in the Public Sphere

Those involved in propagandizing the notion of racial inferiority relied upon the testimony of the academic community to justify their claims to a public. In the mid-nineteenth century, popular writers and scientists were often

hard to distinguish, since either title had more to do with reputation among the scientific community than about training in a given field. However, even when, at the turn of the century, the scientific community became more discriminating, folk knowledge of race and race theory changed little. The professionalization of the academic disciplines and the establishment of academic journals in mid-century began to isolate the intellectual community from the public so that popular writers became the primary interlocutors between racial theory and popular consciousness. Ironically, these writers relied on claims to scientific fact in order to convince a public increasingly shaped by science's dominant authority. Since actual scientific advancements were often involved in disproving older folk claims, popular writers would cite any scientific source—old or new, accepted or not—to justify their claims.

Also at this time, religious arguments proclaimed the blasphemy of miscegenation. Despite popular interest in the authority of science, the United States remained a highly religious nation that paid particular attention to its consecrated leaders. Extreme clerical contributors to popular race theory attempted to use the Bible to prove miscegenation as inherently evil. Some, such as William H. Campbell, writing toward the end of the nineteenth century, argued that the great catastrophes of the Bible were all God's punishment for human attempts to mix pre-Adamic species of the genus *homo* with *homo sapiens*, the direct line of Adam and Eve. Much of the propaganda coming from the religious community paradoxically incorporated insights from the scientific community that contradicted a literal interpretation of the Bible, the polygenist thesis being a prime example.

Popular themes of the mulatto in the late nineteenth century reflected those of the scientific literature, but were often elaborated in the context of racialist propagandizing. Miscegenation was considered an "abnormal perversion" of the "instincts of reproduction" which threatened white civilization culturally, morally, and genetically. Products of miscegenation were described as physically and genetically weak, fragile and incapable of hardships, prone to consumption and venereal disease, unlikely to live into old age, sterile like the hybrid mule (from which the term *mulatto* originates), and in this way anomalous, monstrous, or diseased in condition. Mulattoes were also described as immoral, cruel, vicious, lazy, malignant, treacherous, criminal, sensual, brutal, innately depraved, the epitome of moral degradation, and the embodiment of the sin that begat him or her. Mulatta women were seen as especially lewd and hypersexual, seductive threats to white men's moral willpower, and men as especially mischievous, carnal, and indecent.

Despite the belief that products of miscegenation would inherit the worst traits of both parent races, it was assumed that mulattoes inherited an enhanced mental faculty from their white parents. This cognitive advantage, however, was seen as a dangerous threat. Racialist logic reasoned that the bestial nature of the Negro and the audacity and intellect approaching the white man present in the mulatto made for the most dangerous form of criminality. Mulatto mental superiority to the so-called pure Negro, it was believed, made him a likely instigator of revolution. With all this, the mulatto was considered a burden to the integrity of the Negro race, but far more importantly to this logic, a threat to the white race and the American nation. Many foresaw that

increased miscegenation within the United States would render the nation vulnerable to the superior, pure white civilizations of Europe. In other words, American sovereignty depended on its racial purity.

The escalation of fear and paranoia over the threat of miscegenation stemmed in part from the popular concern in the South at this time about “Negro retrogression,” the notion that blacks were retrogressing to a more savage state. Popular race theorists justified this notion by citing statistics demonstrating a spike in crime, particularly the rape of white women and girls. Panic over this issue was deeply linked with a sense that miscegenation was burgeoning out of control. The idea that black men were on a quest for “social equality,” a term euphemistically understood as a rape-quest to miscegenate America, reached the level of popular hysteria and can explain the culture of the Jim Crow South

In the decades surrounding the turn of the century, the South witnessed a hysterical, frenzied radicalization of racial attitudes defined by these popular notions that resulted in many an effort to combat the so-called yellow peril. Solutions to the problem of miscegenation circulated within the public sphere often came down to a tripartite answer: send the Negroes back to Africa, re-enslave them, or exterminate them. A combination of legal apartheid and disenfranchisement, an economic system of indentured servitude that closely resembled slavery, and campaigns of white pride coupled with racial terror organized largely by the leadership of the **Ku Klux Klan** became the immediate solution under Jim Crow.

Lynching appeared as a regular practice of extralegal justice in the United States as early as the Revolutionary War. However, lynching developed a distinctly racial and regional character by the twentieth century. The majority of lynchings occurred in the South, perpetrated by whites on black victims. The first major spike in the 1890s coincided with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, and by the Klan’s second incarnation in the late 1910s and early 1920s, lynchings became public affairs organized by mobs and drew crowds of up to 10,000 spectators. Daytime lynchings were attended by men, women, and children in plain clothes who came, at times, with picnic lunch in hand to enjoy the brutal spectacle. Victims were tortured in ritualistic fashion, often sexually mutilated for symbolic import, and body parts were cut off and passed around as souvenirs. Nearly 5,000 people, most of whom were black, were executed in this brutal fashion during the Jim Crow era in the United States.

The ritual of lynching was propelled by many possible anxieties regarding interracial sex embedded in white patriarchal culture. These include that black men stood in for the repressed desires of white men, which they had to kill off in ritual sacrifice; that only white men had privileged access to interracial sex; that the keepers of racial purity, white women, needed actual and symbolic protection; and that white women should be frightened into a position of docility, vulnerability, and subservience to maintain white men’s proprietary relationship to them. With all these possible psychological motives driving the peculiar nature of the ritual, the primary impetus for lynching black men, as discussed previously, was the purported tendency of black men to rape white women and the dire consequences of a miscegenated America.

This pernicious myth was indelibly captured on screen in **D. W. Griffith's** landmark film *The Birth of a Nation*, which in its blockbuster success single-handedly rekindled a spike in racial violence in the South and in Ku Klux Klan membership nationally. The film, based on Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman*, celebrates the rise of the Ku Klux Klan as a response to advances in "social equality" during Reconstruction and an antidote to a war-torn nation. Vividly bringing to the popular imagination the major notions of race theory, the film features three villains, a black rapist, a hypersexed mulatta temptress, and the mulatto conspirator of the black takeover of the South.

While popular representations of the anxieties surrounding miscegenation appeared in films such as Griffith's in the first few decades of the twentieth century, those same anxieties eventually prompted censorship under the miscegenation clause of the Motion Picture Production Code of 1930 (the Hays Code). The trend in the representational ban on interracial relationships was unofficially lifted with the release of Stanley Kramer's acclaimed film *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* in 1967, the same year as the *Loving v. Virginia* case that would undo an epoch of antimiscegenation legislation.

Miscegenation and the Law

While extralegal "lynch law" cropped up as a method of enforcing racial barriers in the Jim Crow South, the institution of statutory law worked to regulate intermarriage and the racial status of individuals of mixed heritage in nearly all states. Under the so-called miscegenation laws, all interracial marriages and the offspring of those marriages were considered illegitimate, and rights commonly extended to blood relations were denied.

The criminalization of miscegenation, namely **interracial marriage** and sexual relationships, had begun in the colonial period. Maryland passed the first miscegenation statute in 1661, which criminalized marriage between white women and black men. During slavery, all Southern states and many Northern ones had antimiscegenation statutes on the books. Although they were enforced almost universally in the case of white women and black men, they were ignored nearly universally in the case of interracial sex between white men and black women. The children of interracial relationships between white men and black women under slavery were bastardized, denied the usual rights of relation, and became the property of the slave master who was also often-times the father. Slave statutes that declared that the mulatto children of slaves were also slaves both helped to create clear demarcations between slave and free, black and white, and also granted white masters and overseers the dual benefit of unrestricted sex and an increased slave labor supply.

Legislators and judges paid increasing attention to miscegenation from the mid-nineteenth century through the Reconstruction period. The Civil War amendments (1865–1870) and the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 threatened to legitimize interracial sex and marriage, and as a result, state courts and legislators acted more aggressively to police interracial relations. After Reconstruction, however, the **federal government** became equally interested in the enforcement of antimiscegenation legislation.

In *Pace v. Alabama*, the major precursor to the landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the state of Alabama's antimiscegenation statute was constitutional. In 1881, Tony Pace, a black man, and Mary Cox, a white woman, were both charged and convicted to two years in prison for "adultery and fornication" under Section 4189 of the Code of Alabama. The couple appealed their sentences with the Alabama Supreme Court, which upheld their convictions. Upon bringing their case to the U.S. Supreme Court, the plaintiff's charge that the statute violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was denied. The opinion of Justice Stephen J. Field argued similarly to the Alabama Supreme Court case that since both the white and black parties involved in the crime of miscegenation are punished equally, equal protection under the law is upheld. While the federal court more or less reiterated the state decision, Justice Field did not comment on the State's argument that Section 4189 did not aim to discriminate against the person involved in the crime, but rather against the offense itself, whose "evil tendency" threatens to bring forth a "mongrel population and a degraded civilization."

By the second decade of the twentieth century, in most of the states, the penalty for participating in one of these prohibited marriages involved a fine of up to \$2,000 and up to 10 years in jail. Particularly into the twentieth century, it became clear that the "evil" behind antimiscegenation legislation was not so much the act of fornication, which has its own legislative history, as it was the tendency of the offense to lead to a mongrel population that threatened white purity and white dominance in the United States.

Antimiscegenation laws and the prohibition on interracial relationships were originally targeted at African American and white marriages. However, the discourse on miscegenation in the United States applied to other races as well, albeit with great variation. In the case of the American Indian, antimiscegenation law was enforced but with notable leniency. For example, while "quadroons" and "octoroons" were generally treated under the law as "black," persons one-quarter or less American Indian were considered white, depending on the state and the year in history. Evidence of a more lax attitude toward Indian-white mixing is exemplified in the Pocahontas exception of the Virginia Antimiscegenation Act of 1924, which states that those white persons who could trace their ancestry back to the union of John Rolfe and Pocahontas were considered by law to be fully white. Long before the rising fear of miscegenation reached its pinnacle in the early twentieth century, claiming lineage to the legendary Powhatan princess was a privilege withheld for Virginia's aristocratic families. Racial visibility played a crucial role in identification as well, and American Indian lineage, as well as the lineage of the other nonwhite races, was considered harder to detect than "Negro blood."

The One-Drop Rule

In 1850, the federal census first began taking note of "mulattoes," but in 1890, the census became more specific, designating mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. The accuracy of these records, of course, is dubious, considering the inability of the record taker to determine blood quantum by

appearance. At different points in history, it was possible to possess a black lineage so “diluted” by white “blood” as to be legally insignificant. However, by the twentieth century, the “one-drop rule” deemed that any evidence whatsoever of Negro ancestry determined black identity. Despite the laws that dealt with percentages, there are no cases that show attempts to prove white identity through them. In reality, identification was made through visual appearance. In *Hudgins v. Wright* (Va. 1806), the court made the decision that three generations of women with straight black hair were Indian, not black, and therefore free. This decision legally established that racial appearance, even more than calculated percentages, determined a person’s race.

The particular obsession with racial appearance and the one-drop rule, which distinguished race relations in the United States (and Canada) from those in Latin America and the Caribbean, brought on the common practice among light-complexioned persons of color of “passing,” or identifying as white. During slavery, racial passing was often employed as a strategy for escape. In the years after emancipation, some chose to pass in order to experience the benefits of being part of the racial majority. Passing was often considered a risky endeavor in that the discovery of one’s true racial identity could result in dire, sometimes violently fatal, consequences. Such has been the theme of many works of literature from the Jim Crow era. Some notable examples include Frances Ellen Watkins Harper’s *Iola Leroy*, Mark Twain’s *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, Nella Larsen’s *Passing*, James Weldon Johnson’s *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, George Schuyler’s *Black No More*, Jessie Faucet’s *Plum Bun*, and William Faulkner’s *Light in August*.

Loving v. Virginia and After

It was not until 1967 that the opinion in *Pace v. Alabama* was overturned in the case of *Loving v. Virginia*, in which Chief Justice Warren observed that “the fact that Virginia prohibits only interracial marriages involving white persons demonstrates that the racial classifications must stand on their own justification, as measures designed to maintain White Supremacy.” The opinion thus states that “there can be no doubt that restricting the freedom to marry solely because of racial classifications violates the central meaning of the Equal Protection Clause.” However, the California State Supreme Court *Case Perez v. Sharp* actually made a similar decision in 1948, nearly 20 years earlier.

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Danielle C. Heard

Mississippi

Jim Crow practices were arguably more deeply entrenched in Mississippi than in any other state. The roots of this lie partly in the large number of slaves in the state before 1865. In 1860, there were over 436,000 slaves in Mississippi, who accounted for more than 55 percent of the population, second only to **South Carolina**. Following emancipation, many freedmen remained in Mississippi and gained the franchise under the 1868 **Reconstruction** state constitution, the first constitution of Mississippi not to limit voting to whites. Black Mississippians registered to vote in large numbers: in 1868, 96.7 percent of those eligible to register had done so, compared with 80.9 percent of eligible whites. Several blacks held high political office during this period: among others, Hiram Rhodes Revels and Blanche Kelso Bruce were both U.S. Senators, while A. K. Davis served as lieutenant governor. Most black office holders held minor local positions.

Despite the large number of registered black voters, black Mississippians made little mark on the state's politics during Reconstruction. This was largely because of white efforts to prevent blacks from taking advantage of the franchise. In 1875, the First Mississippi Plan gerrymandered black majorities into irrelevance, a move that was supported by intimidation and violence to discourage blacks from voting. The results were obvious and immediate: in 1880, 66 percent of registered blacks did not vote in the presidential election. By 1890, when the Second Mississippi Plan redrew the state constitution, black disfranchisement was almost complete. This was achieved by a range of measures that, although they did not expressly mention race, were clearly designed to exclude blacks from the vote. This was particularly true of the understanding clause, which required an individual to read any section of the state constitution, or to be able to understand it, or give a reasonable interpretation of the section, when read to him. While this clause allowed illiterate whites to register, the function of the 1890 constitution was primarily to deny the franchise to black Mississippians. Although some blacks still managed to register, by 1896 only 8.2 percent of eligible blacks were registered.

The large-scale exclusion of blacks from the vote was matched by increasing restrictions on their freedom and rights in other aspects of Mississippi life. Before Reconstruction, Mississippi had introduced a series of repressive **Black Codes**, and many of these were carried on when home rule returned. In 1888, the first Jim Crow law was passed, segregating railroad coaches. In practice, however, Jim Crow had been in place in Mississippi for many years. Even before it came into law in 1888, most railroad coaches were already segregated, as were many other public facilities, including steamboats, hotels, and restaurants. Biracial education was virtually nonexistent; interracial marriage was forbidden, and in their leisure time, the races were separate. Increasingly, blacks and whites lived in different parts of towns by law, while in some towns' curfews defined when blacks could be on the street.

Indeed, while Mississippi did pass other Jim Crow laws, fewer were required than in other states, because the custom of racial separation was so entrenched. There are examples of apparent integration throughout Mississippi in this period (for example, a soda fountain in Indianola remained

integrated until the 1930s), but the subordinate position of blacks was never in doubt and was rarely challenged. Even where blacks and whites shared personal space—such as in working situations—long-established Jim Crow customs made it clear that whites were always superior. The custom of white supremacy was as effective a tool as legal segregation.

Black employment opportunities were severely limited by Jim Crow. In urban areas, blacks worked in a variety of occupations, which tended to be limited to low-paid domestic and manual jobs. In such occupations, blacks could be paid less than whites and worked harder and longer; black labor was less likely to be organized and could more easily be fired. While there were black professionals, they were few in number and tended to exist solely for the black community. The respect afforded white doctors and lawyers was rarely directed towards black professionals: indeed, they were often regarded with suspicion as race agitators.

For many black Mississippians, however, agricultural work was all that could be expected. Few blacks could afford to buy land, and when they were able to do so, such land tended to be on poorer soil: in the Delta region, black landowners were scarce, although they were more numerous in the southwest part of the state. Most black agricultural workers were tenant farmers and sharecroppers. In the first half of the twentieth century particularly, this system bore more than a passing resemblance to slavery in a number of ways. Black tenants relied on white landowners for employment and shelter, were subject to the whims of their landlord, and were vulnerable to punishment for transgressing racial codes. Sharecroppers were routinely swindled by landlords who paid them less than their share; while blacks were often aware of this, they had little recourse. Tenants who sought to leave or to break employment contracts were often forcibly returned to the land, sometimes being punished to serve as peons. Through **sharecropping**, the Delta planter elite was guaranteed a cheap, pliable and easily-replaceable workforce.

Sharecropping also did much to perpetuate Jim Crow as a means of social control. The planter class was powerful financially and politically, and many prominent Mississippi politicians relied on the support of working-class whites. Blaming blacks for Mississippi's ills and ensuring that the potential power of a united black and white labor force never came to pass helped Delta planters to protect their position. Race-baiting became a regular tactic on the stump, and politicians like Theodore G. Bilbo and James K. Vardaman were renowned for engendering race hatred among their supporters.

Clear lines of racial etiquette existed in Mississippi, and these were well-known to blacks, who were careful to adhere to expected standards of behavior. The punishment for transgressing racial codes were also well-known: between the 1870s and 1930s, **lynchings** were more common in Mississippi than in any other state. The brutality of lynching was matched often by its seeming randomness. While white mobs regularly lynched alleged criminals before they could be tried legally, countless individuals were lynched based on rumor, suspicion, or mistaken identity. Moreover, as much as lynchings were used to punish blacks who had crossed racial lines, they also served to send a message to the black community; thus, few lynch mobs were concerned if their victim was innocent. It was not uncommon for a crime to be punished



Farmers in a Mississippi cotton field, 1908. Courtesy of Library of Congress, H118685.

by the indeterminate lynching of several black people. Lynching was often a method through which whites reasserted their dominance over blacks and lynching tended to be more frequent during times of economic difficulty.

The second-class nature of black life in Mississippi extended to **education**. Throughout the Jim Crow period, schools were segregated. State spending on black schools was a fraction of that on white schools. Based on assumptions that black education was an unnecessary and expensive luxury, the proposition that only black taxes should be spent on black schools was popular in the early years of the twentieth century, although never enacted. Black education was also considered a threat to the state's social structure, and many whites feared that educated blacks would challenge Jim Crow; in particular, planters were concerned that black education would reduce the agricultural labor force.

While some black Mississippians believed that education was pointless in a state that denied black people access to jobs where it might be required, many blacks were convinced that education was a cornerstone of black uplift, and money for black schools and teachers' salaries often came from black community efforts and privately owned buildings like churches and stores often served as schools. Few schools, whether private or public, had the resources to provide a high school education, and eighth grade was as far as many black children were able to attend, although many did not reach that mark. Private institutions, whether elementary, high school, or further education colleges, were often supported by Northern benefactors, but many still struggled to survive.

While black teachers were noted for their diligence and enthusiasm, they were faced with seemingly unending challenges. Attaining the appropriate training was difficult for potential black teachers. For much of the first half of the twentieth century the only teacher training available at a public college

of higher education was at Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College; otherwise, private institutions like Tougaloo College, or unaccredited summer schools were the only means of obtaining training. Black teachers' salaries were routinely significantly smaller than those of white teachers, and resources were scarce. Such difficulties were compounded by the tendency of many black children to attend school for only part of the year, particularly in rural areas where they assisted in the fields, or to attend only until they were old enough to become full field hands.

Black higher education was rare, but private institutions like Tougaloo and Alcorn represented efforts to provide the education that white Mississippians sought to deny. These institutions counted many prominent black Mississippians among their alumni. Eventually, in the 1940s, Mississippi created two state black teacher training institutions, Jackson State College for Negro Teachers and Mississippi State Vocational College. For many blacks, however, particularly in rural areas, Jim Crow ensured that higher education was not a viable option by denying a quality elementary education and regarding blacks as little more than cheap labor.

World War II marked a watershed in race relations in Mississippi. Blacks were offered opportunities that allowed them to escape the restrictions of Jim Crow. Many black men left Mississippi, many for the first time, to serve in the military; financially, this meant that their families no longer needed to work on the land. Others were able to leave agriculture through better-paid factory employment supporting the war effort. By breaking their economic dependence on whites, blacks were less curtailed by Mississippi's social structure. In the Delta, planters attempted to counter this by offering higher wages, but few blacks were tempted, and the Second World War was a time of relative freedoms for many black Mississippians.

These freedoms gave rise to a new determination to challenge racial subjugation. This was complemented by the return of black veterans, many of whom were all too aware of the irony of fighting for freedoms in Europe that they themselves did not have in Mississippi. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, a statewide network of black activists, organizers, and leaders grew up, often through membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), but also through homegrown organizations such as the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, founded by T. R. M. Howard. Many of these leaders were business owners, giving them the independence and financial security to participate in such activity. These efforts helped to raise the number of registered black voters. Atrocities like the murder of 14-year-old **Emmett Till** were accompanied by open condemnation from the black community. The number of black people who came forward as witnesses in such cases was unprecedented, and represented the first large-scale challenge to the orthodoxy of Jim Crow since Reconstruction.

Mississippi whites reacted to this in a number of ways. Massive white resistance was a reaction not only to increased black defiance, but also to the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). The two main instruments by which whites reasserted their dominance were the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and the **White Citizens Councils**. While the Sovereignty Commission operated mainly as a means to monitor activity that

was considered to endanger the sovereignty of Mississippi, these councils were primarily responsible for disrupting the network of black activism that had developed. Eschewing the brutality of lynching, the Citizens' Councils used other means to assert its power. Black leaders were particularly targeted, often economically: loans were recalled and credit lines stopped, while business owners found that their customers were taking their business elsewhere. Intimidation and (less often, although not rarely) violence, saw NAACP membership dwindle and the number of registered black voters fall sharply. During this period, many prominent black leaders, including Howard, left the state.

By the early 1960s, Mississippi was known as the most brutal enforcer of Jim Crow values in the South. Black life was governed almost entirely by Jim Crow, and whites felt secure in their domination of the state. Signs of black defiance were quickly suppressed, usually without any fear of punishment. In every sphere of public life blacks were cowed by white supremacy. The extent of Mississippi's defiance is illustrated by **James Meredith's** attempt to integrate the University of Mississippi. Meredith had initially tried to enrol in 1961, only to be physically prevented from doing so by Governor Ross Barnett. When Meredith arrived to enroll in September 1962, after a federal court had ordered his admission, Barnett once again prevented him entering. Meredith's admission was achieved only with the assistance of federal marshals and the **Mississippi National Guard**, which had been federalized by President **John F. Kennedy** to quell a riot in which two people were killed. During his time at the University of Mississippi, a constant troop presence was maintained on campus.

However, the very depth of black subjugation in Mississippi made it a focus for the burgeoning **Civil Rights Movement**; while Jim Crow was challenged throughout the South, Mississippi received particular attention. Much of this was led by young activists, especially those belonging to the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** and the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, the two organizations that would be most active in Mississippi.

Many activists gained their first experience of Mississippi during the Freedom Rides of May 1961. The Kennedy administration struck an agreement that would allow Governor Barnett to jail the freedom riders, but required that he guarantee their safety. The activists confounded Kennedy by refusing bail and remaining in jail until July. Such intransigence and single-mindedness would mark the attitude of civil rights activists in Mississippi. Another key development in the Mississippi movement was the establishment by SNCC of a voter registration project in McComb. The project was run by Bob Moses of SNCC, who had been directed to McComb by Amzie Moore. The McComb project, particularly the tactics used by Moses, along with the experience of the Freedom Rides, would crucially inform the Mississippi movement.

SNCC soon became the leading civil rights organization in Mississippi. Working at the grassroots level, SNCC activists assisted communities to organize to challenge for equal access to the vote. SNCC's strategy was to encourage the development of local leadership and an activist infrastructure that could sustain a prolonged, community-led challenge to Jim Crow. The role of SNCC was to facilitate, rather than lead, such activity. This approach

reached its apogee with the Mississippi Summer Project (often known as Freedom Summer).

During the summer of 1964, thousands of civil rights activists, many of them white northern college students, entered Mississippi to participate in Freedom Summer, the main focus of which was to increase the number of registered black voters. This was done under the banner of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), which included several national civil rights organizations, as well as Mississippi groups. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was formed to challenge the seating of the regular Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Conference (a challenge that ultimately failed). Freedom Summer addressed many of the problems that had been caused by successive generations of blacks being subjugated by Jim Crow: as well as voter registration, citizenship education classes, community centres and a range of other projects were created to help black Mississippians access and make full use of the vote.

Freedom Summer provoked strong support from black communities, but also a fierce backlash from whites. Civil rights workers were particularly vulnerable during their time in Mississippi, as were local blacks who participated. Evictions, intimidation, beatings, and bombings were all widespread, and membership of the **Ku Klux Klan** increased. Perhaps the most notorious incident of Freedom Summer was the murder of three civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney; they disappeared in June but their bodies were not found until August. The national interest in this case brought an unprecedented federal presence into Mississippi and signaled that Mississippi would no longer be able to exercise Jim Crow justice with impunity.

The precise effect of Freedom Summer is hard to gauge: in some communities, it had long-lasting effects and helped the emergence of local leaders (such as **Fannie Lou Hamer** in Sunflower County); elsewhere, it had almost no impact. The poverty that had blighted black Mississippi for so long continued, and for much of the remainder of the 1960s, poverty relief and access to welfare were key campaigns for black communities. Gradually, however, the effects of civil rights legislation, as well as the cumulative impact of the civil rights movement, both in Mississippi itself and more widely, began to erode Jim Crow in its last stronghold. In 1969, *Alexander v. Holmes County* effectively desegregated public schools, and social customs that had separated blacks and whites weakened. Many public facilities that had traditionally been separated became gradually integrated, although often without any single sweeping blow. Nonetheless, in *Ayers v. Fordice* (1992), the Supreme Court held that Mississippi had not yet eradicated fully Jim Crow from higher education.

Crucially, by the end of 1968, 60 percent of eligible blacks were registered to vote, perhaps the most important achievement of the civil rights movement in Mississippi. In the face of such large numbers of registered blacks, and in line with political shifts elsewhere, notably the election of racial moderates in several states, Jim Crow could no longer dominate Mississippi life. As blacks gained the vote, they were able to use it to leverage concessions from white politicians. Even more significantly, increasing numbers of blacks began to

run for office. Across Mississippi, black office holders were elected to a variety of posts, including to the Mississippi state legislature, and, in 1886, for the first time since Reconstruction, a black Mississippian, Mike Espy, was elected to Congress. *See also* Alabama; Dixiecrats.

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Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr

Mississippi Plan (1890)

The Mississippi Plan was a pioneering strategy for African American disenfranchisement that endured well into the twentieth century. The Mississippi Plan helped build the “Solid South” with its monopoly of white political power situated largely within the **Democratic Party**.

The Mississippi Plan of the **Jim Crow** era was less violent than proscriptive when compared to its 1875 forerunner. Previously, angry Southern whites (Redeemers) had taken to the streets with paramilitary forces to terrorize Republicans of both races and wrest control of state and local governments. The new approach relied upon statutory manipulation interlaced with the tacit threat of physical coercion. In 1890, white Mississippians convened a constitutional convention that subverted the intent of the Fifteenth Amendment to guarantee that race, color, and previous condition of servitude not determine voter eligibility. Poll taxes, literacy tests, and residency requirements were established that facilitated the targeting of blacks without overt employment of racial language or standards. A predominantly poor, uneducated, and transient population would soon feel the full force of these arbitrary requirements.

Other Southern states did not immediately follow suit due to the soul-searching engendered by the rise of the Populist reform movement in the early 1890s. With a platform celebrating the aspirations of the common man, Populists faced an uphill struggle in an age in which corporate elites and political machines openly cooperated to protect narrow interests. Challenging this oligarchy required mobilizing new constituencies and utilizing the discourse and tactics of inclusion. Some Populists genuinely hoped to forge an enduring biracial alliance, while others at least judged pragmatically that black support was instrumental for a third party’s survival. Perceiving the Populists as a legitimate threat, some Democrats reluctantly courted the black vote as a form of inoculation against this political insurgency. The possibility of reformers galvanizing Northern public opinion against the injustice of the Mississippi Plan further encouraged Southern caution. The next state to employ the measure, **South Carolina**, would not do so until 1895.

Once the Populists were defeated in the 1896 presidential election, the Southern political landscape better favored blatant disenfranchisement. Democrats had nominated the Populist favorite, William Jennings Bryan, as their own standard-bearer and co-opted enough of the Populist platform to dilute

the movement's appeal and splinter its organization. Consequently, the "reform" impulse in regional politics manifested itself strictly in efforts to widen the franchise for whites under the aegis of the Democratic Party. Figures such as embittered Populist Tom Watson argued that only by denying blacks the vote could the integrity of the electoral process be ensured. This argument signified a crass attempt to manipulate legitimate outrage over a nationwide epidemic of electoral fraud and coercion into tolerating a racially motivated vendetta. The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Williams v. Mississippi* (1898) validated the Mississippi Plan and highlighted the sort of reactionary thinking in political and social affairs that dominated the Gilded Age. Between 1898 and 1910, the rest of the former Confederacy (as well as Oklahoma) had enacted some facsimile of the Mississippi Plan.

Successful implementation of this measure in its early years owed as much to the lethargy of its opponents as to the audacity of its backers. Segregationists counted on the prevailing Northern view that racial questions were just too divisive anymore following the carnage of the Civil War. Sectional healing was paramount while the black population served as a convenient whipping-boy around which to cement a new alliance; a pathetic example of a "blame the victim" mentality. Developments in U.S. foreign policy only reinforced this trend. Angling to join the colonial powers of Europe, authorities engineered a conflict with Spain in 1898 whose rationale rested largely upon a hierarchy of race with embedded notions of dominance and paternalism. The heady expansionism of the times was often expressed in terms of spreading Anglo-Saxon civilization to "mongrel" and benighted peoples of color. The rise of eugenics and social Darwinism provided superficial rationalizations for exploitation as though a versatile, "scientific" template could be superimposed over any scenario. Soon, the denizens of Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, Samoa, and Hawai'i fell under the paradoxical influence of a republic that behaved like an empire. With the anti-imperialist movement at the turn of the century failing to elicit a fundamental reassessment of foreign policy assumptions and objectives, the liberation of the permanent underclass at home remained unlikely. Even white Republicans could not unify against the Mississippi Plan, since many saw it enabling the GOP to compete for the white vote without the need to cater to blacks or contend with race-baiting.

The movement behind the Mississippi Plan reflected not only the desire to retain the antebellum status quo in race relations, but also a struggle over precisely which whites would dominate regional politics. Those whites residing in the Black Belt counties tended to be the strongest advocates for disenfranchisement against others from predominantly white communities. The latter group was often placated by favorable redistricting (gerrymandering) in the state legislatures. A perversion of the U.S. Constitution was thus sanctioned through the most banal form of political horse trading.

Poorer whites rightfully feared that the Mississippi Plan would be employed as an instrument of class warfare, despite assurances to the contrary by political leaders. Most states did not allow property ownership as a substitute for literacy in determining voter registration. As yeoman farmers expressed their anxieties in the 1890s, safeguards were enacted to protect their status. Mississippians fashioned an "understanding clause" whereby anyone who

demonstrated a command of the state constitution could forego the literacy test. This highly subjective examination would be administered by white officials free to let their prejudices dictate their assessments. Louisianans adopted a “grandfather clause” stipulating that anyone whose father or grandfather could vote as of January 1, 1867 (before the Fourteenth Amendment went into effect guaranteeing equal protection under the law—i.e., whites only), could avoid both the literacy and property tests. Although various forms of special dispensation proliferated among the Southern states, the poll tax remained in effect. Yet, without a receipt or payment well in advance of an election, one could still be disqualified.

The response of the African American community did little to threaten the Mississippi Plan. In keeping with what he deemed a realistic philosophy, **Booker T. Washington** merely contended that any restrictions upon voting should be applied equally to all races. His 1895 **Atlanta Compromise** called for black disengagement from political affairs in favor of concentrating upon economic self-improvement. In what seemed to be an acceptance of white stereotypes on some level, he argued that blacks must use their occupational performance to demonstrate their worthiness for full citizenship. Although sometimes mischaracterized as a toady to the white power structure, Washington unwittingly facilitated a silencing of African Americans that would last for generations. Although a much younger man not yet at the height of his influence, **W.E.B. Du Bois** argued conversely to fellow blacks that the dignity and self-respect desired by Washington could never be achieved through submission, regardless of how it was justified. A New England native, Du Bois commented more bluntly on the reality of Southern society as a caste system with its nearly immutable class boundaries. His call for an appreciation of the higher aspirations in life that transcended materialism was underappreciated amidst crushing poverty. A combination of apathy and oppression ensured the absence of a large-scale, grassroots campaign among Southern blacks to defeat the Mississippi Plan.

In a final act of disrespect for democratic principles, all but one state convention that composed a version of the Mississippi Plan avoided using a popular vote for ratification. Meanwhile, the white primary replaced the old convention system as a vehicle to allow party officials at the state and local levels to marginalize and exclude any undesired voters who had navigated the obstacles inherent to the new registration process. In conjunction with tenant farming, sharecropping, Jim Crow laws, and lynching, the Mississippi Plan demonstrated that the promise of Reconstruction had gone unrealized.

These repressive techniques helped mire the South in a state of moral and cultural stagnation that the modern **Civil Rights Movement** would confront at its peril. The **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, promoted by President Lyndon B. Johnson, sounded the death knell of the Mississippi Plan, though subsequent legislation over the following two decades was necessary to augment this initiative. *See also* Tillman, Ben; Watson, Tom.

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Jeffrey D. Bass

Montgomery Bus Boycott

Starting in December 1955, the African American community of Montgomery, Alabama, boycotted the city bus system for over a year. Demanding equal and fair treatment, blacks refused to ride until their requests were met. Organized by the Women's Political Council (WPC) and Montgomery's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) branch, this boycott is often referred to as the beginning of the modern **Civil Rights Movement**.

In the 1950s in Montgomery, the city bus system was segregated. African Americans were not hired as drivers, rode in the back of the bus, and were expected to surrender their seat at a white passenger's request. Black passengers entered the front of the bus to pay the fee, exited the bus, and reentered at the back entrance. At times, bus drivers would leave black passengers standing at the sidewalk after paying the bus fee. Although 75 percent of passengers were African American, they were constant victims of public degradation and humiliation.

For several years, the WPC, led by Jo Ann Robinson, and Montgomery's NAACP branch, formerly led by E. D. Nixon, had discussed the inequalities of the city bus system and possible resolutions. In 1954, Robinson sent a letter to Montgomery mayor W. A. Gayle requesting the buses' Jim Crow practices be put to an end and warned of a potential boycott if the demands were not met. Gayle paid no attention to Robinson's warning.

Even though the WPC had been organizing a possible boycott, the challenge of rallying the entire black community remained. A successful boycott required full participation. Due to fear of losing jobs, harassment, and racial violence, few African Americans publicly acknowledged their discontent of second-class citizenship. These organizations waited for the right person who would stand up against the ways of the south. That day came on Thursday, December 1, 1955, when **Rosa Parks** stepped on one of the city buses. It had been a long day of work, the bus was almost completely full, and Parks sat in the first row of the black section. At the next stop several white passengers entered the bus. A white male wanted Parks's seat. Parks refused. The bus driver ordered her to move or he would call the authorities. Parks did not move. Parks was arrested, and the inspirational story Nixon and Robinson had waited for arrived. The soft-spoken, respectable Parks served as the perfect symbol to mobilize African Americans for the bus boycott.

Days following the arrest, over 200 volunteers passed out 30,000 flyers calling for a one-day boycott of the Montgomery bus system on Monday, December 5, 1955. The one-day boycott was successful and that evening the black community gathered in Holt Street Baptist Church to decide if the boycott should continue. Thousands attended the meeting. The church overflowed to the outside stairs and sidewalks.

Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It*

The black Women's Political Council had been planning the boycott of Montgomery City Lines for months, but the plans had been known publicly for the past three days. The idea itself been entertained for years. Almost daily some black man, woman, or child had had an unpleasant experiences on the bus and told other members of the family about it at the supper table or around the open fireplace or stove. These stories were repeated to the neighbors, who re-told them in club meetings or the ministers of large church congregations.

At first the ministers would soothe the anger of the congregations with recommendations of prayer, with promises the God would "make the rough ways smooth," and with exhortations to "have patience and wait upon the Lord."

The member had been patient and had waited upon the Lord, but the rough ways had gotten rougher rather than smoother. As the months stretched into years, the encounters with some of the bus drivers grew more numerous and more intolerable.

Very little or nothing tangible had ever been done on the part of the darker race to prevent continuous abuse on city transit lines, except to petition the company and the City Commission for better conditions. Ten years before, when Mrs. Geneva Johnson, in the latest of a long string of similar incidents, was arrested for not having correct change and "talking back" to the driver when he upbraided her, nothing was done. Charged with disorderly conduct, she paid the fine and help on riding. A representation of Negro men complained the bus company about the matter and about other mistreatments as well, but nothing came of it.

During the next few years, Mrs. Vila White and Miss Katie Wingfield were arrested, as well as two children visiting from New Jersey. All had committed the same offense—sitting in the front seats reserved for whites. The children were a sister and brother, two and twelve years old, respectively, who had been accustomed to riding integrated transportation. They got on the bus and sat down by a white man and a boy. The white youngster told the older black youth to get up from beside him. The youngster refused. The driver commanded them to move, but the children refused. The driver again commanded them to move, but the children continued to sit where they were. They were not in the habit of getting up out of their seats on a public vehicle to give them to somebody else. The police were called, and the two children were arrested. Relatives paid their fines, sent the children home, and the case became history. People kept on riding the bus, and in all probability, those two children carried and will continue to carry that bitter experience with them forever.

Three years later, in 1952, a white bus driver and a Negro man exchanged words over the dime the passenger put into the slot. The Negro man, Brooks, was not afraid, for he had been drinking. He never quavered when the driver abused him with words and accused him of not putting the money into the meter box of the bus. Instead, he stood his ground and dispute the driver. The "bracer" gave him confidence to confidence to stand there, and to sit down, and to talk back in his own defense.

What followed was never explained fully, but the driver called the police, and when the police came they shot and killed Brooks as he got off the bus. Newspaper reports stated that the coroner had ruled the case justifiable homicide because the man had resisted arrest. Many black Montgomeries felt that Brooks was intoxicated and had gotten "out of his place" with the white bus driver. Others wondered if any man, drunk or sober, had to be killed because of one dime, one bus fare. Each had his own thoughts on the matter, but kept on riding the bus.

In 1953, Mrs. Epsie Worthy got on a bus at a transfer point from another bus, and the driver demanded an additional fare. He refused to take the transfer. Rather than pay again, the woman decided that she did not have to go far and would walk the rest of the way. The driver would not be daunted. He wanted another fare, whether she rode or got off, and insisted upon it. Words followed as the woman alighted from the vehicle. She was not quite quick enough, for by the time she was safe on mother earth, the driver was upon her, beating her with his hands. She defended herself, fighting back with all her might. For a few minutes, there was a "free-for-all," as she gave as much as she took. But in the end she was the loser, for when the police were summoned, she was taken to jail and fined fifty-two dollars for disorderly conduct.

Source: Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 20–22.

The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was developed to coordinate, support and organization the demonstration. **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, the new preacher in town, was elected MIA's president and chosen to give a speech at the first mass meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church. With less than an hour to prepare, King delivered a speech that inspired the crowd to vote unanimously to continue the boycott. This speech also marked the beginning of King's role as leader in the Civil Rights Movement.

Through the efforts and sacrifices of the black community, the Montgomery bus boycott lasted 381 days. Boycotters walked to work, established a large car pool system, and ran extensive fund-raisers to finance the car pool system. Even on the coldest of days, some walked as far as 12 miles a day. Only a month after the boycott began, James H. Bagley, the superintendent of the Montgomery City Bus Lines, expressed frustration with the lack of patronage. The bus system was losing close to \$400 daily, as expenses greatly outweighed income. Forced to reduce expenses, Bagley cut schedules, fired drivers, and increased the cost of bus fares. However, the movement needed federal legislation to change **Jim Crow** practices.

On February 1, 1956, NAACP lawyers Fred Gray and Charles Langford filed a lawsuit in the U.S. Circuit Court against Alabama and Montgomery's unconstitutional segregation laws. Gray and Langford filed this suit on behalf of five African American women: Aurelia S. Browder, Susie McDonald, Jeanetta Reese, Claudette Colvin and Mary Louise Smith. Throughout the year, boycott leaders and participants faced much racial violence. Both King's and Nixon's houses were bombed, crosses were burnt on front lawns, and several were arrested for participating in "illegal" boycotts. Through Alabama's state courts, white Montgomery officials successfully made carpooling illegal. Interestingly enough, this state legislation passed the same day the federal court found Alabama's segregation laws unconstitutional.

On December 21, 1956, African Americans boarded the Montgomery city buses and sat where they pleased. This achievement sparked the modern Civil Rights Movement and heightened racial tensions across the south as more and more blacks demanded freedom. *See also* Streetcars and Boycotts.

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Emily Hess

Morton, Jelly Roll (1885 or 1890–1941)

Although his claim to be the inventor of **jazz** music has been highly contested over the years, Ferdinand Joseph Lamonthé "Jelly Roll" Morton unquestionably remains an integral player in the creation of the art form during its formative years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Morton, a bandleader, composer, and virtuoso pianist, remains a controversial figure in jazz due primarily to his role as one of its early historical subjects

in which his recorded recollections of jazz in its earliest days were often subject to bouts of hyperbole, self-adulation, and inconsistent memory. Yet regardless of his revisionist account, Morton remains one of jazz's first icons, developing technique and creating songs that have helped to establish the canon within the art form.

Born in the Fauborg Marigny neighborhood in Louisiana, Morton was part of the African- and French-derived Creole community that helped to establish the racially diverse setting of downtown New Orleans at the turn of the twentieth century. New Orleans at the time was rich in its mix of ethnicity, and although racism and segregation unquestionably existed, cultural exchange was inevitable as religion, music, and social rituals converged in the region to create an array of new and revised cultural forms such as jazz that were unique to the world. Creole culture exemplified this hybridity as its people were generally of African and European descent and particularly known for their musical contributions in the New Orleans area. Regarded as one of the city's finest pianists, Morton made his way as a professional player initially in Storyville, a racially diverse but often segregated portion of New Orleans' red light district. Playing in brothels, minstrel shows, and musical theatres, Morton developed his sound and composed regularly to become one of the most recognizable musicians of the period. With compositions such as "Jelly Roll Blues," "Frog-I-More Rag," "King Porter Stomp," and "Wolverine Blues," Morton helped to popularize jazz and spread the music from its New Orleans base by touring through Chicago and New York City with his vaudeville act. Morton's technique also helped to fashion the practice of stride piano that incorporated various forms of music, including blues theory within the performance of jazz.

Morton's account of jazz in his 1938 interviews with Alan Lomax and the Library of Congress often did not focus directly on race regardless of Lomax's attempts to inquire about the subject. Morton's account on the subject of race has often been noted as dismissive as history reinforces the idea of jazz's poly-racial development, in spite of Morton's personal claim of invention. Segregation, however, was a pervasive way of life for all Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. As a response to **Reconstruction**, laws based upon the premise of racial discrimination were enacted throughout the 1890s that severely restricted the rights of Americans born of African descent. Creoles of Color were also limited in their economic, political, and social opportunities, and Morton inescapably felt the effects of these restrictions. His art form, however, flourished as jazz was uniquely developed in a staunch dichotomy of segregation and cultural diversity, much like the city of New Orleans itself. After several bouts of illness, including injuries left untreated due to a lack of care from segregated hospitals, Morton succumbed to illness and died on July 10, 1941. *See also* Armstrong, Louis; Black Entertainers against Jim Crow; Ellington, Duke.

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Kevin Strait

Motley, Constance Baker (1921–1985)

Constance Baker Motley was a lawyer, civil rights activist, politician, and judge. In addition to being a major activist in the movement, she personally broke down many racial and gender barriers during her life.

Early Life

Motley was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on September 14, 1921. She was the ninth of 12 children. Her parents had immigrated to the United States from Nevis in the **Caribbean**. Motley explained that her parents had settled in New Haven because New Englanders traded with the Caribbean during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Her father, Willoughby Alva Baker, was a chef on the Yale University campus, and her mother, Rachel Baker, was a founder of the New Haven Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Early in her life, she had been exposed to segregation. As a 15-year-old, she was turned away from a beach in Milford, Connecticut, because she was black. She was also denied admission to a roller skating rink. These incidents caused her to become interested in civil rights, and she became the president of the local NAACP Youth Council. She also decided that she wanted to become a lawyer. After graduating from high school in 1939, she worked for a short time as a maid. She then took a job with the New Haven office of the National Youth Administration, a **New Deal**–era government agency that provided part-time jobs to young people between the ages of 16 and 25. Her family’s modest means seemed to preclude her from attending college.

A turning point in her life occurred when she was speaking at the Dixwell Community House, an African American social organization. Her speech, in which she talked about the need for African Americans to be more involved in the organization’s operations, was heard by Clarence Blakeslee, the white philanthropist and grandson of abolitionists who had built the Community House. He was so impressed by her speech that he offered to pay for her college education, including her law school tuition. Of Blakeslee, Motley quoted him in her autobiography telling her “I guess if I can send (my grandson) to Harvard, I can send you to Columbia.”

Baker entered Fisk University, a black college located in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1941. However, in June 1942 she decided to transfer to New York University’s Washington Square College, from which she graduated with a bachelor’s degree in economics in 1943. In 1944, she was the first African American woman admitted to the Columbia University Law School, and she graduated with a LLB degree in 1946. She married Joel W. Motley, a real estate broker, in 1946. They had a son, Joel Motley III. She was called to the bar of the State of New York in 1948.

The Civil Rights Movement

In 1945, while still a law student at Columbia, she met **Thurgood Marshall**, who offered her a job with the **NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDEF)** as a law clerk. Following her graduation from Columbia, she was the LDEF’s first female attorney and became an assistant general counsel and

later associate general counsel. Many of the early cases she worked on concerned the treatment of African American military personnel during **World War II**, working on appeals of courts-martial. Many of these appeals were based on the premise that African American soldiers were often given more severe sanctions than white soldiers who had been convicted of the same offense. She became the LDEF's chief trial counsel and was also a legal strategist, helping to desegregate Southern schools, buses, and coffee shops.

In 1950, she wrote the original complaint in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case that ended de jure segregation of public schools. During the 1950s, she traveled throughout the South representing plaintiffs in school desegregation cases, including the black children denied entry to Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. She became the first African American woman to argue a case before the U.S. Supreme Court when, in *Meredith v. Fair* (1962), she successfully argued that **James Meredith** should be allowed to attend the University of Mississippi, which had refused to admit African Americans, a court decision that had to be enforced by the use of federal troops. Altogether, she won nine of the 10 cases she argued before the Supreme Court.

She also represented many of the freedom riders jailed during the 1961 effort to force the Kennedy administration to enforce Supreme Court rulings prohibiting the segregation of passengers in interstate transportation. She also successfully argued for the reinstatement of more than 1,000 Birmingham, Alabama, school children who had been expelled for demonstrating.

Politics

Baker became interested in politics in the mid-1950s. In 1958, she was appointed to the New York State Advisory Council on Employment and Unemployment Insurance, a post she held until 1964. In February 1964, she won a special election to the New York state senate, serving out the unexpired term of James Watson. Motley, a Democrat, became the first African American woman elected to the New York state senate. She was elected that November. In her brief time in the state senate, she introduced legislation to establish low- and middle-income housing in urban areas. In February 1965, she was chosen by the New York City Council to fill a vacancy as Manhattan borough president, the first woman and the first African American in that position. She was elected to a four-year term in November 1965 with the support of the Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties. As borough president, she worked to decrease racial segregation in Manhattan public schools and for the revitalization of Harlem and East Harlem. In March 1965, she represented New York City on the historic civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

The Federal Bench

In late 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated Motley for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. However, opposition to her nomination was so intense that on January 26, 1966, Johnson withdrew

her nomination and instead nominated her as a federal district court judge for the Southern District of New York; the first African American woman named to the federal bench. She was confirmed by the U.S. Senate on August 30, 1966, despite continuing opposition from Southern senators. She would remain on the bench until her death. In 1982, she became the first African American woman to become a chief judge. In 1986, Baker assumed senior status. Among the cases she handled was a 1978 case in which she ruled that the New York Yankees would have to admit a female reporter to the locker rooms at Yankee Stadium and another case that upheld the right of gay protestors to march in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

In 1993, she was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame, located in Seneca Falls, New York, the site of the first women's rights convention. In 2001, she received the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes American citizens who have performed exemplary deeds of service for the nation, from President Bill Clinton. The NAACP awarded her the organization's highest honor, the Spingarn Medal, in 2003.

Motley died on September 28, 2005 in New York City. *See also* *Armed Forces; New England.*

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Jeffrey Kraus

Museum of Jim Crow Racist Memorabilia

Inaugurated in 1996, the **Jim Crow** Museum of Racist Memorabilia at Ferris State University, Big Rapids, Michigan, represents the lifelong quest of David Pilgrim to bring attention to the extensive array of memorabilia that demeans the black race through their portrayal "as Coons, Toms, Sambos, Mammies, picaninnies, and other dehumanizing racial caricatures." The collection currently has over 5,000 artifacts ranging from postcards, books, games, signs, photographs, toys, cookie jars, and more. The museum is considered a learning laboratory intended to promote open and honest discourse on racism in American society.

Pilgrim began collecting racist memorabilia as a child in the 1970s while living in Mobile, Alabama. His first acquisition, Pilgrim recalls, was a saltshaker in the shape of a black mammy servant, which he promptly destroyed. He continued to collect items until it reached the current volume. Initially housed in a one-room, 500-square-foot exhibit space in the Starr Building at Ferris State University, the collection moved to a 2,100-square-foot space at the Starr Building in 2008. The collection is organized in six sections to include exhibits titled "Origins of Jim Crow," "Jim Crow and Violence," "Jim Crow and Anti-Black Imagery," "Battling Jim Crow Imagery," "Attacking Jim Crow Segregation," and "Moving Beyond Jim Crow."

The "Origins of Jim Crow" exhibit describes the history of Jim Crow, including the use of blackface performers in minstrel shows to parody black Americans. Examples of these blackface minstrels include Topsy, the black slave girl characterized in *Uncle Tom's Cabin: Life Among the Lowly*

(1852), by Harriett Beecher Stowe, and, of course, Jim Crow, the stage character whose name became synonymous with the practices and laws that marginalized and segregated blacks in American society.

“Jim Crow and Violence” depicts the role of white supremacy and hate groups such as the **Ku Klux Klan** in subjecting black Americans to terrorist acts including mob vigilantism, arson, assault, murder, and other heinous atrocities committed against African Americans. It also illustrates how three-dimensional objects that present blacks as enjoying physical pain attempted to validate violence against African Americans.

“Jim Crow and Anti-Black Imagery” is an extensive collection of caricatures used to promote racism, but the exhibit is in a homelike setting intended to represent the environment in which beliefs and attitudes about race are often molded. “Battling Jim Crow Imagery” tells the story of how African Americans fought against antiblack images; for example, it delineates the efforts in the 1940s and 1950s to get the book *Little Black Sambo* removed from schools and libraries.

“Attacking Jim Crow Segregation” contains representative examples of positive African American images. It includes works by artists who attempted to deconstruct historical negative and racist images of African Americans by creating works that exalt the black race. A civil rights section presents artifacts from anti-Jim Crow initiatives used in the fight against segregation—for example, a sign that reads “I AM A MAN.”

“Moving Beyond Jim Crow” features as its focal point a nine-foot-tall mural of persons who died in the civil rights struggle, including **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, James Reeb, and the four little black girls, Denise McNair, Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson and Addie Mae Collins, killed in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 13, 1963. This section also includes examples of contemporary antiracism memorabilia and racist memorabilia like the “Plain Brown Rapper,” intended to depict a rap music performer.

While museum organizers recognize the contents of the 5,000-piece exhibit are disturbing and offensive, it is not the intent of the museum to offend museum patrons. Rather, the mission is to educate the public on the extent to which segments of society have denigrated one racial group through creation of derogatory images, propaganda, and laws that promoted and fostered racial segregation in society. Pilgrim comments, “I believe, and know to be true, that objects of intolerance can be used to teach tolerance.” *See also* Advertising; Minstrelsy.

Further Readings and Viewing Ethnic Notions, DVD, directed by Marlon T. Riggs, 57 min. California Newsreel, 1987; Henderson, Robin, Leon R. Litwack, and Erskine Peters, *Ethnic Notions: Black Images in the White Mind*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Art Center, 1992; Jim Crow Museum. <http://www.ferris.edu/news/jimcrow/index.htm> (accessed April 11, 2007); Kennedy, Stetson. *Jim Crow Guide: The Way It Was*, 2nd ed. Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic Press, 1990; Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Carol Adams-Means

Myrdal, Gunnar (1898–1987)

A distinguished Swedish economist in his own right on many subjects, Gunnar Myrdal's lasting legacy and enduring contribution to American race relations is his book *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944).

Myrdal began the long journey of researching this subject when asked by Frederick Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, to travel to the United States in order to study the problem firsthand, especially in the South, where approximately 75 percent of African Americans were living at the time. Keppel and other Carnegie trustees understood that the enormous importance and complexity of the problem required someone akin to Alexis de Tocqueville, the great nineteenth-century French observer of American democracy—someone with proper distance and objectivity, and yet (unlike Tocqueville) someone from a country not tainted with an imperialist past that could cause African Americans to question the validity of the study and its outcomes.

In his capacity as an economics professor at the University of Stockholm, Myrdal had already visited the United States as a Rockefeller Fellow in 1929–1930 and was preparing for a second visit to deliver the Godkin Lectures at Harvard when the invitation was extended to travel through the **Jim Crow** South. The evil he witnessed shocked and rattled him to the core as he began to grapple with the political implications of the problem. Firsthand observation of discriminatory segregation and injustice was a beginning, but by no means an end. Far from a travelogue of a gifted writer's observations, Myrdal assembled a diverse team of scholars to examine the problem from several angles using different methodological perspectives.

The methodological approaches to the research and the diversity within his own research team, combined with his evolving theories of equilibrium and change in economic dynamics to form a multicausal explanation, linking discrimination, education, housing, political empowerment, jobs, health care, belief, and other factors into a complex whole. These interlocking dynamic factors could pull segments of the population downward in what he called a “vicious circle” or, alternatively, be reversed through a “virtuous circle.” No single explanation or solution was adequate.

However rigorously Myrdal explored these individual factors and their interrelationships, he believed that a moral dilemma lay beneath them all. Using the (now antiquated) language of his day, he wrote in his introduction to *An American Dilemma*:

The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on. This is the central viewpoint of this treatise. Though our study includes economic, social, and political race relations, at bottom our problem is the moral dilemma of the American—the conflict between his moral valuations on various levels of consciousness and generality. The “American Dilemma” . . . is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the “American Creed,” where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group

living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice and particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.

In other words, the high ideals embedded in the white majority American beliefs and values did not square with their actions and attitudes towards African Americans, contradicting their own “creed” and ideas about justice and democracy.

Overall, *An American Dilemma* was received favorably by academics, though criticized heavily by those with Marxist leanings. But in the political realm, little happened until 10 years later, when it influenced Chief Justice Earl Warren, who cited it in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, documenting the detrimental effect of segregated education upon children. The contradiction between American ideals and practice was a theme that civil rights leader **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, picked up on, as is evident in his famous 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech. Myrdal’s careful research and recommended reforms received more attention and exerted greater influence on public policy years after the publication of *An American Dilemma* than in his own day.

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Douglas Milford

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NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund

The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., (LDF) was officially chartered in 1940. Yet, the focus of the organization—legally challenging issues of education, voter protection, economic justice, and criminal justice—were central to the NAACP’s initial legal campaign, following its founding in 1909. The inception of the LDF and the strategies that were devised are central to understanding how the LDF became the force behind a number of landmark decisions, including *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and how it continues to advocate for justice, equality, and fairness.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the NAACP sought funding from the Garland Fund, a foundation dedicated to radical social reform. Having already supported the NAACP’s anti-lynching campaign, the Garland Fund began supporting legal services offered by the NAACP, including its initial plan to oppose segregation. To begin its challenge on “**separate but equal**,” the NAACP published the results of studies that focused on the inequities between white and black schools in **Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina**, and Oklahoma. By 1930, the NAACP litigation campaign’s efforts included suits against **residential segregation** and exclusion of blacks. Additionally, the NAACP offered support to cases filed by taxpayers in the Deep South and suits that challenged the inequalities, in particular financial disparities, between white and black schools.

Under **Walter White**’s leadership as executive secretary, and with financial support from the Garland Fund, the NAACP hired Nathan Margold, a former assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York. Margold was responsible for coordinating the NAACP legal campaign and producing a study on the injustices facing black Americans. When the *Margold Report* was submitted on May 13, 1931, about half focused on school segregation, in part because education was a relatively new area of focus for the NAACP litigation campaign, and the other half discussed residential segregation. The report clearly showed the vast differences between the allocated monies for black and white schools, and the NAACP legal team focused on devising a legal strategy that would confront “separate but equal,” as established by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

Prior to the 1930s, the NAACP legal team had primarily consisted of white attorneys because of the very few black lawyers available and the need for the NAACP to establish credibility in the courts. Yet in the 1930s, the NAACP sought to retain more black lawyers. Black attorneys Charles Hamilton Houston, Louis Redding, and Homer Brown, joined the NAACP legal team helping to expand the group from seven in 1931 to 16 in 1933. In 1934, Houston was hired as special counsel for the NAACP; his credentials for coordinating the NAACP efforts were evident.

Born on September 3, 1895, Houston was the son of William and Mary Hamilton Houston, a general practice lawyer and hairdresser, respectively. Houston attended M Street High School in Washington, DC, the first black high school in the United States. At M Street, Houston was taught by some of the leading black teachers in the country, and his coursework followed a liberal arts curriculum. Following high school, Houston attended Amherst College in Massachusetts, and graduated in 1915 as a newly inducted member of Phi Beta Kappa. After serving in **World War I** and returning home during the tumultuous **Red Summer** of 1919, Houston decided that the best way for him to attack inequalities in the United States was through the law.

In turn, Houston earned his law degree from Harvard University and was the first black elected to the *Harvard Law Review*. In 1924, Houston left the law practice he shared with his father in Washington, DC, to become vice-dean of Howard University Law School. Under Houston's leadership, Howard became known as a leading law school after it received full accreditation. At Howard, Houston trained black men who would become leading civil rights attorneys including Edward P. Lovett, James G. Tyson, Oliver W. Hill, Coyness L. Ennix, and Leslie S. Perry. Houston also helped to craft to new fields of law: civil rights law and public interest law. Outside of Howard, Houston participated in a number of cases involving civil liberties, civil rights, and antidiscrimination activities, including serving as defense attorney for the Scottsboro Nine. Thus in 1934, Houston, considered the "most influential black lawyer in the United States" was the ideal choice to lead the NAACP's legal campaign.

Houston conceived his role as a lawyer as one of a social engineer charged with overturning the ways in which the law had been used to defend and maintain racial discrimination. Trained by Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter at Harvard, Houston also adhered to the philosophy of legal realism. With these principles guiding Houston and those he trained, the NAACP legal campaign launched its attack on segregated education because according to Houston, "discrimination in education is symbolic of all the more drastic discriminations."

Between 1933 and 1950, the NAACP enjoyed considerable success in a revitalized campaign that defeated segregation by challenging the notion of "separate but equal." As the leader of the campaign, Houston stated, "I am primarily the administrator of the campaign, and my ideal of administration is to make the movement self-perpetuating . . . the best administration is self-executing." In developing the movement, Houston recruited his most well-known student, **Thurgood Marshall**, a 1933 graduate of Howard Law School.

Upon graduation, Marshall devoted his energies to both the NAACP legal campaign and to his own private practice in Maryland, his home state. When

it became too difficult for Marshall to manage both commitments, Marshall joined the NAACP legal staff in October 1946. Thus with Houston's vision and Marshall's attention to detail, the NAACP legal team move forward with its campaign to attack segregation legally and to help increase the influence of the NAACP in the black community, for the NAACP had begun to feel threatened by the **Communist Party** and the International Labor Defense.

The strategy of the NAACP legal campaign included pursuing higher education cases in state courts seeking mandamus relief, while fighting salary equalization cases in federal court seeking injunctive relief. In 1935, this strategy was first put into action in a case involving Donald Murray, a black graduate of Amherst College and applicant to the University of Maryland Law School, who had been denied admission. After two failed cases involving higher education in North Carolina and Tennessee, the coordination between national and local legal counsels became vitally important to NAACP victories. *Murray v. Maryland* (1935) provided an opportunity whereby national and local knowledge easily merged because of Marshall's familiarity with Maryland.

Together with Marshall, Houston argued against the feasibility of practicing law in Maryland if one was not educated in Maryland and the fact that out-of-state scholarships were instituted only after Murray's case had been filed. Based on these arguments, Judge Eugene O'Dunne ruled that Murray had been denied admission to the state law school because of race, and he ordered the immediate admission of Murray. Three years later in 1938, Murray became the first black graduate of the University of Maryland Law School. In addition to the Murray case, Marshall argued salary equalization cases in Maryland, and by 1941, the state legislature mandated equal salaries.

Together, the Maryland cases and a second higher education case in Missouri began setting precedent for overturning the doctrine of separate but equal. Lloyd Lionel Gaines, a graduate of Lincoln University, applied for admission to the University of Missouri Law School in June 1935, because Lincoln did not have a law school. At first, the Missouri Supreme Court ruled against Gaines, concluding, "Gaines would not be deprived of any constitutional rights as long as the educational opportunities provided by the state [tuition for schools out of state] were 'substantially equal to those furnished to white citizens of the State.'" Two years later, however, in *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada* (1938), the Supreme Court ruled that Missouri's offer of out-of-state tuition to in-state blacks was beside the point. The Court in effect concluded that Missouri did not offer legal education to blacks, and states were required to provide equal educational opportunities. Upon its decision, the Missouri Supreme Court was forced to reconsider its decision. Gaines, however, could not be found, and subsequently the case was dismissed. Despite the dismissal, the case attracted public and scholarly attention and provided a warning to segregated educational institutions.

As more cases formalized, the NAACP legal campaign became a new entity. By 1940, Houston had returned to Washington and was carrying less of the daily responsibilities. Marshall had assumed duties as special counsel to the NAACP and would now also direct the LDF. As the LDF developed, Marshall continued to be assisted by such lawyers as William Henry Hastie and hired additional lawyers including Robert Carter, Jack Greenberg, Constance Baker

Motley, Franklin Williams, Spottswood Robinson Milton Konvitz, Edward Dudley, and Marian Wynn Perry.

The LDF continued its legal attack on separate but equal through the 1940s, with their efforts to set precedent culminating in 1950. Aiding the LDF's efforts was a 1944 publication by Swedish economist and politician **Gunnar Myrdal** entitled *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Myrdal illuminated how the United States' ideals of equality, freedom, and justice had not been reality for black Americans. His findings were evident in the following 1945 statistics: the South spent two to one in favor of whites and four to one on white facilities. White teachers on average earned 30 percent more than black teachers, and transportation for black students attending schools in rural areas was completely ignored. Following the publication of *An American Dilemma*, which raised consciousness about the existence of discrimination, the LDF also began using a sociological argument. Additionally in the 1940s, the LDF won significant cases regarding voting rights, public transportation, and housing.

The **U.S. Supreme Court** in effect abolished the "white primary" with its ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944). The judges stated that denying African Americans the opportunity to vote in the Texas primary election violated the Fifteenth Amendment. In *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946), the Court ruled unconstitutional segregation on interstate transportation. Additionally in *Patton v. Mississippi* (1947), the Court delivered another victory to the LDF by finding unconstitutional all-white juries. The last significant decision in the 1940s occurred when the Court, in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), found that housing covenants designed to keep African Americans out of all-white neighborhoods were unconstitutional, since the covenants denied blacks equal protection under the law. With these victories, increased NAACP membership, and stronger challenges to Jim Crow by black Americans after **World War II**, the LDF moved forward in fully confronting segregated education with two additional higher education suits.

In 1948, George McLaurin, a 68-year-old man, was denied admission to the University of Oklahoma Graduate School of Education. Despite his ordered admission by the court, McLaurin was separated from his white classmates. McLaurin sat in a desk outside of the regular classrooms, studied in a separate section of the library and ate his lunch at a different time than the other students. Because of these conditions, Marshall and McLaurin petitioned the court's decision. By the time the case reached the Supreme Court, McLaurin had been allowed to sit in classes with other students. Yet his desk had been labeled "colored," and his separate designations remained in the library and cafeteria. In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950), the Supreme Court ruled that setting students apart by race, as the University of Oklahoma Law School had, immediately labeled one race the superior race and the other the inferior.

In February 1946, Herman Marion Sweatt, a postman, sought a legal education by applying to the University of Texas Law School. After his application was rejected, Sweatt filed a lawsuit against the University of Texas. Following the initial hearing, the state of Texas established a makeshift law school in connection with Prairie View University, a historically black institution, by

locating the school in Houston, 40 miles away from Prairie View, renting a few rooms and hiring two black lawyers as instructors. With its acquisition of funds to construct a “real” separate law school, Texas tried to persuade Sweatt to stop his legal actions, but Sweatt and Marshall continued.

Although the district court ruled against Sweatt in 1947, the argument Marshall presented became the center of testimony for the eventual Supreme Court victory in 1950. Marshall attacked separate schools on the grounds that racial separation was scientifically unjustifiable and socially destructive. Earl Harrison, Dean of the University Pennsylvania Law School testified about the environment students enjoyed by attending majority institutions and the psychological detriments of segregation. In his 1949 brief to the Supreme Court, Marshall also used the words of law professors: “By sending Sweatt to a raw, new law school without alumni or prestige, Texas deprives him of economic opportunity which its white students have.” For the first time, the LDF argued in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) that attending separate but equal institutions was unconstitutional because of the inequality in facilities, resources, prestige, and indirect benefits later utilized by white students. The Supreme Court agreed, for Chief Justice Fred Vinson declared that: “the University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater degree those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school.” Subsequently, Sweatt was admitted to the University of Texas Law School. Precedent had now been established for a challenge to segregation in elementary and secondary schools. However, the LDF would have to move forward without Houston, who died on April 22, 1950.

By the fall of 1953, the five collective cases known as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) were argued before the Supreme Court by team of LDF lawyers including Marshall, Louis Redding, Robert Carter, James M. Nabrit Jr., Oliver Hill, and Spottswood Robinson. In 1954, *Brown* overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* and fundamentally challenged the inherent inequalities of “separate but equal.” With *Brown II* in effect allowing for the desegregation of public schools to move with “all deliberate speed,” the LDF continued to battle the legacy of legal segregation and subsequent resistance to change. LDF lawyers assisted with cases involving the desegregation of public schools, including institutions of higher education, the desegregation of public facilities, and individual rights to **health care**, voting, and equal protection. The LDF also represented such leaders as **Martin Luther King, Jr.**

As the LDF legal team continued to wage legal battles, a major change occurred in 1957, with the LDF becoming independent of the NAACP. Marshall no longer served the NAACP, and he assumed the position of director-counsel. Despite the change, the LDF retained the NAACP name. Also, during the height of the **Civil Rights Movement**, such lawyers as James M. Nabrit III and Marian Wright Edleman joined the LDF. In 1961, Jack Greenberg became director-counsel upon Marshall’s appointment by President **John F. Kennedy** to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. Upon Greenberg’s resignation from the LDF, Julius Chambers became director-counsel in 1984. Within 10 years, Elane R. Jones became the first female director-counsel of the LDF, and currently Theodore M. Shaw serves as the fifth director-counsel. Throughout the last few decades, the LDF remains committed to legal cases involving

education, voter protection, economic justice, and criminal justice that will advance racial justice and equality.

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Michelle A. Purdy

The Nadir of the Negro

The Nadir of the Negro is the era from 1890 to the 1930s. In these years, African Americans lost many of the rights they had won during **Reconstruction**. In the South, whites forced blacks back into noncitizenship, no longer allowed to vote or serve on juries, and cut funding for black schools by as much as two thirds. In the North, organizations ranging from restaurants to organized baseball to the dormitories of Harvard University that had previously admitted African Americans now rejected them.

Historian Rayford Logan, who earned his doctorate from Harvard in 1936 and chaired Howard University's history department in the 1940s and 1950s, established the term in his 1954 book, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir*. The same year, **C. Vann Woodward** gave a series of lectures, reprinted later as *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, telling how African Americans lost citizenship and social rights in the South not right after Reconstruction, but after 1890. Since then, the idea that race relations grew worse around 1890 has become well accepted in American history.

Three events in 1890 signaled the new era. **Mississippi** passed a new constitution, stripping voting rights from African Americans, and although the new law clearly violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the **federal government** did nothing. The U.S. Senate failed to pass the Federal Elections Bill, which would have helped African Americans (and white Republicans) to vote freely across the South. Worse, after the defeat, when tagged as usual by Democrats as "nigger-lovers," Republicans this time denied the charge and largely abandoned the cause of civil rights. Since the Democrats already labeled themselves "the white man's party," African Americans now found themselves with no political allies. Finally, the Massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, ended the last vestige of Native sovereignty, sending American Indians into their nadir period as well.

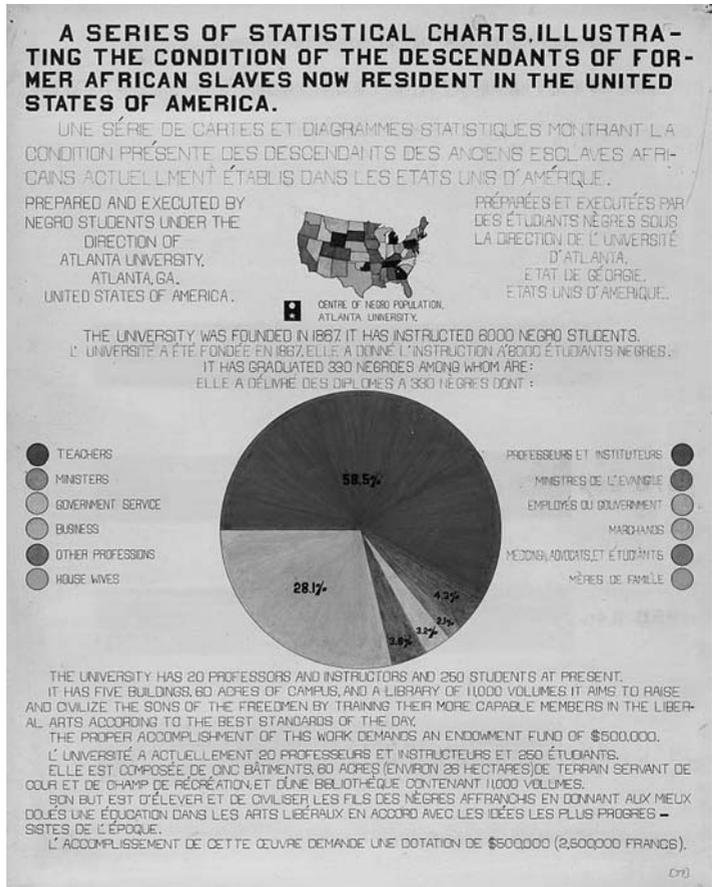
What caused the Nadir? The antislavery idealism spawned by the Civil War faded as memories of the war dimmed. By 1890, only one American in three was old enough to have been alive when it ended. Fewer still were old enough

to have any memory of the war. Among older Americans, millions had immigrated to the United States long after the war's end and had played no role in it.

Three developments having nothing directly to do with black rights further eroded the position of African Americans. The first was the Indian wars. Although the federal government had guaranteed their land to the Plains Indians "forever," after whites discovered gold in Colorado, Dakota Territory, and elsewhere, they took it anyway. If it was all right to take Indians' land because they were not white, was not it all right to deny rights to African Americans, who were not white either?

Second, immigrants from Europe persisted in voting Democratic, partly because they saw that it was in their interest to differentiate themselves from blacks, still at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Also, Republicans were moving toward Prohibition, hardly a preferred position among Italian, Greek, and Russian newcomers among others. Frustrated politically by the new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge helped found the Immigration Restriction League to keep out "inferior" racial strains. This further sapped Republican commitment to the idea "that all men are created equal."

Third, the ideology of imperialism washed over the United States from Europe. Imperialism both depended upon and in turn reinforced the ideology of white supremacy. The growing clamor to annex Hawai'i included the claim that Americans could govern those brown people better than they could govern themselves. After winning the Spanish-American War, the administration of President William McKinley used the same rationale to defend making war upon our allies, the Filipinos. William Howard Taft, who was made U.S. commissioner over the Philippines in 1900, called the Filipinos "our little brown brothers" and said they would need "fifty or one hundred years" of close supervision "to develop anything resembling Anglo-Saxon political principles and skills." Democrats drew the obvious parallel, "What



Composed at the height of the nadir of the Negro, this chart demonstrated the economic challenges facing the descendants of slaves, 1900. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-08994.

about our little black brothers in the South?” and Republicans could make no cogent reply.

Seeing that the United States did nothing to stop Mississippi’s usurpation of black rights, whites in other Southern states and states as distant as Oklahoma followed suit by 1907. In 1894, Democrats in Congress repealed the remaining federal election statutes, leaving the Fifteenth Amendment lifeless, with no extant laws to enforce it. In 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared de jure racial segregation legal. Schools were segregated statewide in Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and Arizona, as well as much of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico, and California. The South already had segregated schools, of course.

The new Mississippi constitution required prospective voters to “be able to read any section of the constitution of this State . . . or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof.” Other states incorporated similar measures in their new laws. In practice, black would-be voters were required to be able to read a section and interpret it. Local folklore has it that a professor at Tuskegee Institute with a doctorate in political science could not interpret the constitution to the satisfaction of the Macon County, Alabama, registrar, who was a high school dropout. Certainly even jurisdictions like Macon County—84 percent black, and home to two important black institutions, Tuskegee Institute and a large VA hospital—had white voting majorities until the **Civil Rights Movement**.

Not only did these clauses remove African Americans from voting, and hence from juries, they also linked literacy and education as the mechanism. In their wake, every Southern state cut back on black schooling. Their new constitutions commanded racially segregated schools de jure, so it was easy to set up shorter sessions for black schools, require lower qualifications of black teachers, and pay them a fraction of white salaries.

In 1898, Democrats rioted in Wilmington, North Carolina, driving out all Republican officeholders and killing at least 12 African Americans. Astonishingly, the McKinley administration allowed this coup d’etat to stand. Congress became resegregated in 1901 when Congressman George H. White of North Carolina could not win reelection owing to the disfranchisement of black voters. No African American served in Congress again until 1929, and none from the South until 1973. The so-called Progressive Movement was for whites only. In many Northern cities, its “reforms” removed the last local black leaders from city councils in favor of commissioners elected citywide.

Coinciding with the Nadir and helping to justify it was the ideology of social Darwinism—the notion that the fittest rise to the top in society. It provided a potent rationale not only for white supremacy, but also for America’s increasing class hierarchy. Its “scientific” handmaidens, eugenics and psychometrics, flourished. Madison Grant, author of the 1916 eugenics tract *The Passing of the Great Race*, helped write the 1924 law that drastically cut immigration to the United States from Asia and southern and eastern Europe. Carl Brigham, concerned that “American intelligence is declining . . . as the racial admixture becomes more and more extensive,” developed the Scholastic

Aptitude Test in 1926 to select the brightest students for elite colleges. Popular culture also justified the Nadir. In this era, minstrel shows came to dominate our popular culture. They had begun before the Civil War but flourished after 1890 minstrel shows both caused and reflected the increased racism of the period. As author, politician, and activist James Weldon Johnson put it, minstrel shows “fixed the tradition of the Negro as only an irresponsible, happy-go-lucky, wide-grinning, loud-laughing, shuffling, banjo-playing, singing, dancing sort of being.” In small towns across the North, where few blacks existed to correct this impression, these stereotypes provided the bulk of white “knowledge” about what African Americans were like. The first epic motion picture, *The Birth of a Nation*, glorified the **Ku Klux Klan** as the savior of white Southern civilization from the menace of black upstarts during Reconstruction. In 1936, near the end of the Nadir, the Margaret Mitchell novel *Gone with the Wind* sold a million hardbound books in its first month. The book and the resulting film, the highest-grossing movie of all time, further convinced whites that noncitizenship was appropriate for African Americans.

During the Nadir, **lynchings** rose to their height, and not just in the South, although the main “national” database has never included Northern lynchings. Segregation swept through public accommodations, North as well as South. In 1908, touring the North for an article, “The Color Line in the North,” Ray Stannard Baker noted the deterioration even in Boston, the old citadel of abolitionism: “A few years ago no hotel or restaurant in Boston refused Negro guests. [N]ow several hotels, restaurants, and especially confectionery stores, will not serve Negroes, even the best of them.” Writing of the day-to-day interactions of whites and blacks in the Midwest, Frank Quillen observed in 1913 that race prejudice “is increasing steadily, especially during the last twenty years.” In the 1920s, Harvard barred an African American student from the very dormitory where his father had lived decades earlier when attending the university. Whites ousted African Americans from occupations ranging from major league baseball player and Kentucky Derby jockey to postal carrier, mason, firefighter, and carpenter. Even jobs like department store salesclerk and factory worker were closed to African Americans, and not just in Dixie.

Across the North and throughout the Appalachian South and the Ozarks, whites forced African Americans to make a **Great Retreat** from hundreds of communities. These then became all-white **sundown towns** for decades. Communities that had voted Democratic in the 1860s were especially likely to bar African Americans decades later, during the Nadir. Even some previously interracial Republican towns, like Hermann, Missouri, where African Americans had celebrated Emancipation Day in the 1870s, went sundown after 1890.

African Americans thrashed about, trying to cope with their increasingly desperate situation. Early in the Nadir, some left the Deep South for new homes in Kansas and Oklahoma (the Exodus), but Oklahoma entered the Union in 1907 with a constitution modeled after Mississippi’s, while Kansas lost its abolitionist edge and developed many sundown towns. **Booker T. Washington** suggested blacks relinquish claims to social equality, concentrating on hard work and education, but this proved difficult because hostile Southern whites often targeted successful black farmers and businessmen.

W.E.B. Du Bois disputed with Washington, but his refusal to condone loss of black rights proved no more workable. Forming black towns like Boley, Oklahoma, and Mound Bayou, Mississippi, gave no relief, because these communities were ultimately under the white thumbs of county and state governments. The **Back to Africa movements** organized by Chief Sam and **Marcus Garvey** also provided no solution.

In this context, the **Great Migration** provided African Americans with environments in which they could vote freely, and hence could bargain for at least some municipal services and other basic rights. However, cities North and South became much more residentially segregated during the Nadir, and many suburbs formed on an all-white basis. Still, African Americans were able to establish small majority-black settlements on Long Island, New York, west of Detroit, south of Chicago, and on the outskirts of other Northern cities.

During the Woodrow Wilson administration, the Nadir intensified. Wilson segregated the navy, which had not been segregated before. He also replaced blacks who held appointed offices with whites. Responding to his leadership, whites rioted against black communities in Chicago, East St. Louis, Omaha, Washington, and other cities in what James Weldon Johnson called the **Red Summer** of 1919. The release of *The Birth of a Nation* led to a rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, this time as a national organization that displayed astonishing if short-lived clout in Georgia, Indiana, Oklahoma, Oregon, and other states during the 1920s. The Klan prompted the expulsion of African Americans from additional Northern towns and counties. The **Great Depression** of the next decade spurred whites to drive African Americans from additional jobs like elevator operator and railroad fireman.

Anti-Semitism increased as well in the Nadir. Early in the Civil War, people of various religions—including Jews—had founded the the Union League Club to combat the pro-secession sentiment that dominated New York City. When white segregationists removed the widow of an African American soldier from a streetcar, the Union League Club came to her defense. Joseph Seligman, a Jew, leading banker, and friend of Ulysses S. Grant, had been a founder of the club. His son Jesse became a member in 1868. Then, during the 1890s, members refused to admit Jews, as well as Italians, Catholics, and others of “incorrect background.” In 1893, after 25 years of membership, 14 of them as a vice president, Jesse Seligman had to resign. Members blackballed his own son Theodore because he was a Jew. During **World War I**, the U.S. Army for the first time considered Jews “a special problem whose loyalty to the U.S. was open to question.” Along with other government agencies (and the KKK), the Military Intelligence Department mounted a campaign against Jewish immigrants that helped convince Congress to pass a restrictive immigration bill in 1924.

The Nadir manifested itself in many ways, including treatment of African Americans in Iowa newspapers. During the 1870s, they covered the activities and individual happenings within the African American population. By the 1890s, however, most stories about blacks appeared on the crime page. Even the appointment of an Iowan as ambassador to Liberia, one of the highest posts available to African Americans during the Nadir, drew no notice in the Iowa press.

African American intellectuals despaired of the Nadir. In 1900, African American poet **Paul Laurence Dunbar** wrote “Robert Gould Shaw,” a bitter ode to the white colonel who led the 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment in its charge at Fort Wagner during the Civil War. The poem ended by suggesting that Shaw’s “cold endurance of the final pain” had been pointless. Only with the rise of the CIO unions and some important symbolic gestures by First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** did the Nadir begin to crack. The Great Migration itself helped end it. Coupled with the Great Retreat, it concentrated African Americans into a few large cities. This enabled blacks to win seats in Northern state legislatures and the U.S. House of Representatives, which in turn prompted white political leaders to moderate their racist rhetoric so as not to alienate urban black voters and political leaders. A second crack in the wall of white supremacy came from the crumbling of imperialism. In a **Cold War** context, America could not afford to offend the nonwhite leaders of newly independent nations in Asia and Africa. Most important of all was the role played by **World War II**. Germany gave white supremacy a bad name. It is always in victors’ interests to demonize the vanquished, but Nazism made this task easy. Americans saw in the German death camps the logical result of eugenics and segregation, and it appalled them. As they sought to differentiate themselves from Hitler’s discredited racial policies, the overt racism of the Nadir now made them uneasy. Swedish social scientist **Gunnar Myrdal** called this conflict our “American dilemma” and predicted in 1944, “Equality is slowly winning.”

Although the Nadir eased since 1940, it has left the United States with two progeny: sundown towns and warped history. Near the end of the period, in 1935, W.E.B. Du Bois lamented the distorted account of Reconstruction to which it gave rise: “We have got to the place where we cannot use our experiences during and after the Civil War for the uplift and enlightenment of mankind.” *See also* Atlanta Compromise.

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James W. Loewen

Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam (NOI) is a religious black nationalist movement that emerged in the 1930s, just after the “Golden Age” of **Black Nationalism**.

The NOI is one of the few remaining black nationalist movements that has survived from the **Jim Crow** era to the present, and that continues to thrive.

Origins

The Nation of Islam was founded in Detroit in 1930, not by an African American, but by Wallace Dodd, an immigrant from New Zealand. From Dodd's appearance, researchers have speculated that he may have descended from a "mixed" heritage that combined European and either Polynesian or Punjabi ancestry. Dodd's ambiguous racial appearance permitted him to switch his racial identity during his sojourn in the United States, variously claiming to be white, black, or Arab.

During the 1920s, Dodd served a prison sentence in California on a narcotics charge. Upon his release in 1929, Dodd traveled to Chicago and became involved in the Moorish Science Temple (MST), a group that combined new religious teachings with black nationalism. The MST's founder was Timothy Drew (aka Noble Drew Ali, the Prophet). Drew taught that African Americans are descended from "the Moors," and were originally of the Islamic faith. Drew published a book of his teachings that he entitled the *Koran* (not to be confused with the Islamic holy book of the same name). Drew plagiarized most of his *Koran* from previously published esoteric sources. Drew taught that "Moors" (African Americans) were "Asiatics," one of the world's two major races along with Europeans. While Drew's teachings sometimes advocated racial tolerance and equality, he also taught that "Europeans" represent a lower order of humanity who had been banished from Mecca by the Asiatic "Moslems." Thus Drew's theology reversed the logic of Jim Crow-era racism, holding that African Americans are racially superior to white Americans. Drew's religion also espoused black nationalist ideals.

Upon entering the MST, Wallace Dodd took the name "David Ford-el." The group quickly degenerated into internal squabbles. After one of Drew's rivals was stabbed, Drew himself died shortly thereafter, under mysterious circumstances. In the wake of Drew's death, Dodd became a contender for control of the organization. Dodd even claimed to be the reincarnation of "Noble Drew Ali." Because the MST's factional rivalries had devolved into kidnappings, shootouts, and assassinations, Dodd became of interest to Chicago law enforcement, and so he moved to Detroit.

In Detroit, Dodd found work peddling cloth and needles in black neighborhoods. He changed his name to "Wallace Fard," "Wallace Fard Muhammed," "W. D. Muhammed," and similar variations. Taking Timothy Drew as a role model, Fard/Dodd presented himself to residents of the city's black ghetto as a prophet of a new religion that was based on MST. However, Fard's new religion added many elements of his own devising. Fard eventually settled on the name "Nation of Islam" for his organization. While Fard told his followers that he was teaching Islam, his religion bears little resemblance to any orthodox version of Islam, and appears to be mostly of Fard's own invention.

Fard's new religion began to experience conflict with Detroit law enforcement as it had in Chicago. In 1932, one of Fard's followers committed a ritualistic murder. The murderer quoted a passage from a pamphlet Fard had published: "The unbeliever must be stabbed through the heart." He also told

police: "Every son of Islam must gain a victory from the devil. Four victories and the son will attain his reward."

Detroit police saw Fard as complicit in the murder. He was not charged, but the police department encouraged him to shut down his religion and to leave town if he wanted to evade charges related to the murder. Fard complied, but snuck back into the city in early 1933 and began preaching again. The police again arrested Fard. In this police interview, Fard described his religion as "strictly a racket," and admitted that he was "getting all the money out of it he could." Fard returned to Chicago. There, Fard was arrested again, for disturbing the peace. Fard then disappeared from the historical record. Fard's common-law wife stated several decades later that Fard had returned to New Zealand. Neither the FBI nor any other researcher has been able to conclusively document Fard's whereabouts after his last arrest in Chicago. After Fard's departure, the NOI broke down in another series of violent internecine struggles. Elijah Poole, better known as Elijah Muhammad, emerged as the NOI's new leader, and retained that position until his death in 1975.

Theology

Elijah Muhammad did not substantially deviate from Fard's religion, but did add a few modifications. Most notably, Muhammad taught that Fard was not just a prophet, but the human incarnation of Allah himself. The NOI's creation myth held that the black race is 78 trillion years old. For most of that time, they were gods enjoying a utopian life. About 6,600 years ago, a deviant black named Yakub, also known as "the big head scientist," created the white race of devils, who would rule over blacks for six millennia. NOI theology thus contains a strong millenarian strain, by prophesizing that white rule is near its end. Fard originally taught that the world would be rid of evil by 1934, but that doctrine has subsequently been modified, with the expected day of reckoning being pushed back several times over the course of NOI's history. Fard taught that when the day comes, planes will be sent to Earth from "The Wheel," a plane made like a wheel. The planes would destroy the Earth, and carry black people away, possibly back to Mars, where people are living already even today. Elijah Muhammad retained this doctrine, as did subsequent NOI preachers such as **Malcolm X** and Louis Farrakhan. Occasionally in later years, the plane was updated to a spaceship.

The primary theme of NOI's millenarian teachings is that black people are destined to regain their status as gods. NOI theology thus explains white malfeasance and black powerlessness in the United States, while also motivating blacks to prepare to seize power from whites. The theology accomplishes this by marrying black racial supremacism with millenarian prophecy.

NOI theology bears a few superficial resemblances to mainstream Islam: separation of the sexes, avoidance of pork, and a vague interest in the Arabic language. However, the core of NOI theology directly contradicts core Islamic beliefs: specifically, the NOI's racial supremacism, its identification of Allah with a specific human being (Fard), its derogation of the Koran, and its belief in a prophet other than Muhammad. NOI theology not only bears little resemblance with mainstream Islam, it probably has more Christian overtones than it does Muslim.

At the core of NOI theology is the argument that black people are gods, and that white people are devils who were created by a demented black scientist. Thus Fard retained Drew's inversion of Jim Crow racial ideology, turning white supremacy on its head. NOI preached overt contempt for the white race.

Growth and Structure

Elijah Muhammad fled Detroit in the wake of the NOI's internal wars over Fard's succession. Muhammad traveled under a variety of aliases to evade the other NOI ministers who challenged his claim to Fard's legacy, and who intended to kill him. Muhammad's own brother had already been killed in the NOI's internecine warfare. NOI members had also engaged in street fights with police in several cities, and so Muhammad was also on the run from disgruntled and vengeful cops. Muhammad wandered from city to city, evangelizing and setting up new "temples." While Muhammad did attract followers in his circumspect travels, they were few in number.

During **World War II**, the **Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)** investigated Muhammad's contacts with Japanese agents. A federal court cleared Muhammad of sedition, but imprisoned him on charges of draft evasion. Upon Muhammad's release in 1946, the NOI had fewer than 400 members. But while incarcerated, Muhammad realized that prisoners were a population ripe for conversion. Black prisoners during the Jim Crow era often had strong motivation to be attracted to the NOI's racist, antiwhite teachings. The NOI's prisoner membership began to grow during the postwar period.

Among the new prison converts was Malcolm Little. He had sold drugs, burgled, pimped, been a numbers runner, and worked as a homosexual prostitute. Elijah Muhammad renamed him "Malcolm X." Malcolm was an unusually accomplished orator. He ascended rapidly in the NOI due to his ability to recruit and organize new converts. During the 1950s, NOI grew by leaps and bounds, eventually gaining several hundred thousand members and sympathizers.

Malcolm X was the NOI's major public representative after Muhammad, and his rhetoric was no less incendiary. Malcolm X advocated **lynching** random white people in retaliation for black lynchings. He advocated attacking white men who court black women. He recited all of the "black god/white devil" rhetoric he had learned from Muhammad.

In 1962, Malcolm learned that Muhammad had engaged in many adulterous affairs with his teenaged "secretaries," impregnating a number of them. (FBI surveillance tapes recorded Muhammad seducing his teenage secretaries by bragging about his "divine seed.") Muhammad had even impregnated a member of his own family in an incestuous affair. Furthermore, Muhammad and his family were spending lavish sums on their luxurious lifestyle, using funds appropriated from NOI temples. Malcolm became disaffected with Muhammad's teaching. He publicly criticized Muhammad, and was forced out of NOI in 1964. Malcolm now turned to mainstream Islam, formed his own church, and began to successfully recruit many NOI followers.

For decades, NOI members who publicly disagreed with Elijah Muhammad had often been attacked or killed. When Malcolm went public with his criticism of Muhammad, NOI members turned on him with equal ferocity.

Malcolm told *Ebony* magazine that NOI “got to kill me. They can’t afford to let me live . . . I know where the bodies are buried. And if they press me, I’ll exhume some.”

Louis X (aka Louis Farrakhan) wrote ominously in the NOI newspaper: “Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor. Such a man is worthy of death and would have been met with death if it had not been for Muhammad’s confidence in Allah for victory over his enemies.” Several attempts were made on the lives of Malcolm X, his wife, and his children. NOI assassins finally succeeded in gunning Malcolm X down while he gave a public address in February 1965.

After Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, his son dismantled much of NOI’s business side, abandoned most of the Fard/Muhammad theology, renamed the organization, and began to transform it into a mainstream Islamic church. Several years later, a faction led by Louis Farrakhan splintered off. Farrakhan, whose birth name was Louis Wolcott, eventually announced the restoration of NOI. Farrakhan continues to preach the Fard/Muhammad religion. Farrakhan’s NOI still emphasizes the NOI’s traditional antiwhite racism. However, under Farrakhan’s leadership, NOI rhetoric has become rabidly anti-Semitic. NOI published an anti-Semitic book that blames Jews for oppressions and injuries experienced by American blacks. Farrakhan teaches that Judaism is a “gutter religion,” that Jews were responsible for black slavery, and that Jews continue to prey on black people today. Farrakhan began to ally with white supremacist activists when their shared anti-Semitic interests overlapped. Farrakhan and his deputies began to threaten violence against Jews and whites. Catholics and homosexuals are also new NOI targets. NOI rhetoric has become increasingly homophobic.

Violence and Murder

Violence and crime have been endemic to NOI around the country for much of the organization’s history. Within the NOI structure, the most feared group is the “Fruit of Islam.” This is a paramilitary corps, which functions as bodyguards and enforcers. Furthermore, NOI prison gangs can be found in the correctional facilities in many states.

The Philadelphia NOI has the best documented links to organized crime. In Philadelphia, the NOI developed an extortionist offshoot, who described themselves as the “Black Mafia.” This group became notorious for its involvement with a number of spectacularly violent crimes. For example, in 1971, a murderer associated with the Black Mafia was taken in by Elijah Muhammad and made one of Muhammad’s personal “Fruit of Islam” bodyguards.

In 1973, an NOI minister from Philadelphia led a gang of assassins to Washington, DC. Their target was a former NOI member who had converted to orthodox Islam, and who had subsequently dared to criticize Elijah Muhammad. The gang invaded the heretic’s home, but he was not home. So instead, the assassins murdered everyone who was in the house, including two women and five children. One of the murder victims was a baby only nine days old. Then, the Black Mafia went to Cherry Hill, New Jersey, and murdered a black

mayoral candidate with underworld connections, apparently because he had refused to broker a heroin deal for the Philadelphia gang.

The Black Mafia gang routinely kicked back part of its illicit profits to the local NOI temple in Philadelphia. The head of NOI's Temple 12 was Jeremiah Shabazz, also known as "Godfather of the Black Mafia." Local law enforcement overlooked the gang's activities as long as they restricted themselves to extorting black businesses and various other petty, ghetto-based hustles. However, once they transitioned into a large-scale drug trafficking enterprise, a series of arrests followed, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since then, the Nation of Islam have constituted one of the largest and most feared prison gangs in the Pennsylvania correctional system. More recently, in 2005, a NOI minister was convicted for racketeering and fraud for his role in misappropriating minority-certified business contracts from the Philadelphia city government.

John Allen Muhammad committed a racist serial murder spree in the Washington, DC, area in 2002. Muhammad and a younger partner killed 10 people in sniper attacks there, and another six or seven in other regions around the country. Muhammad had planned to recruit disaffected black youth all over the United States and Canada, and start up killing sprees in other cities as well. His goal was to spread chaos that would cause society to collapse. While the NOI leadership distanced itself from the killer and his plan, it is clear from trial testimony that Muhammed was motivated by the antiwhite rhetoric and the millenarianism that he had learned within the NOI.

Jim Crow and the Hate That Hate Produced

The violence that follows in the NOI's wake represents the shadow image of Jim Crow. NOI theology teaches an inverted version of Jim Crow racial ideology. The difference is that NOI substitutes black supremacism for white supremacism. NOI's separatist black nationalism is another reflection of Jim Crow. NOI agrees with white supremacists that the races should live separately.

In 1959, CBS produced and aired a television documentary on the NOI entitled "The Hate That Hate Produced." It features an excerpt from a NOI-sponsored play entitled "The Trial," written by Louis Farrakhan. In the play, "the white man" is found guilty of a multitude of sins against African Americans, and is sentenced to death.

Thus, the racial hate engendered by the white supremacism of the Jim Crow era persists into the present. Racial hate is seen in its original, unaltered form in the rhetoric of the KKK and other white supremacist groups. But in the NOI, there is also the hateful legacy of Jim Crow in its mirror image. Just as white supremacism led to extremist violence in the form of lynchings, so does the NOI's racial extremism led to violence.

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Thomas Brown

National Association of Colored Women

In 1896, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), one of the first all-black political organizations, was created at one of the lowest points—the “nadir”—of African American history in response to the birth of Jim Crow. It was incorporated as the national affiliate for hundreds of clubs dedicated to the social reform activities of its members. The “race women” that participated in this national club movement were committed to “uplifting the race” or improving socioeconomic conditions for African Americans. By the late nineteenth century, critiques of the nation’s “Negro Problem” weighed heavily on the status of African American women, especially as the burden bearers of the race. They were often considered both the source and the solution to the many problems African Americans encountered after slavery. Black **disfranchisement**, lynch law/mob rule, “peonage slavery,” and discriminatory laws and social customs nullified the civil rights and privileges African Americans had gained during **Reconstruction**. Consequently, the 1890s was a decade plagued by racial prejudice and violence that severely affected African Americans. The 1896 landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* U.S. **Supreme Court** case, in particular, stipulated the “**separate but equal**” laws of segregation that would lay firmly the foundation for white supremacy until the **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s and 1960s. In light of the decree for de jure segregation, African American women galvanized efforts and collected resources more than ever to overcome obstacles to black survival and racial progress.

Although they stood in the shadow of icons like Frederick Douglass, **Booker T. Washington**, and **W.E.B. Du Bois**, black club women nevertheless were actively involved in the gender and racial politics of the period. They worked with white women and black men in the suffrage movement and for racial equality. As a double minority, however, black women of the NACW also concentrated on gender and racial matters apart from those of the national club movement among white women. Black women like Fannie Barrier Williams had encountered racism while participating in predominately white feminist organizations. Sexism was most apparent among black men who evaluated the roles and responsibilities of black women within the limits of patriarchy. The NACW then made it possible and necessary for black women

to voice collectively their concerns and secure their autonomy. Within the pages of the *Woman's Era* (and later the *National Association Notes*), the leading publications by and about black women, the NACW campaigned for gender and racial equality.

Another major impetus for NACW activism involved frequent public attacks on African American women in character and body. An infamous letter written in 1895 by a white journalist, for example, ridiculed all black women as prostitutes and thieves. The reputation and image of black women was tarnished by various reports of immorality linked to disease and poverty among the black masses. As during slavery, black women were also vulnerable to sexual violence and harassment with little or no legal protection by the end of the nineteenth century. These are a few justifications for the NACW's call to action to protect black womanhood in particular but to salvage racial pride in general. To address these issues, the first National Conference of Colored Women was held in Boston in July 1895. Led by Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin and other black feminists, the conference had a special agenda to address the needs of black women as wives, mothers, and daughters committed to the race being moral exemplars and civic activists. Their plans mandated a domestic model of racial uplift, making black women responsible for the health care, spiritual welfare, and moral elevation of their families and communities.

A renewed commitment to service and more defined leadership led to the official creation of the NACW following the national conference. Clubs formerly within the National League of Colored Women of Washington, DC, and the National Federation of Afro-American Women were united as a solid governing body and Mary Church Terrell was elected as the first NACW president in 1896. Other members included Margaret Murray Washington (Booker T. Washington's third wife), **Anna Julia Cooper**, Frances Harper, Victoria Earle Matthews, and **Ida B. Wells-Barnett**. Most of the club women were members of the black middle class. They were well-educated professionals distinguished as "New Negroes" who would become race leaders. Their uplift ideology advocated self-reliance *and* defined self-worth in light of Jim Crowism. Like all African Americans, the black elite also experienced discrimination and racial prejudice. When traveling on lecture tours, for instance, Terrell and Wells-Barnett could not always find suitable public accommodations when many hotels, restaurants, and trains catered primarily to white patrons. Inferior rest rooms, seating, and lodging were reserved for blacks only. When faced with such obstacles, club leaders would find black hosts to stay with in the tour cities, hold meetings in black facilities, and, sometimes, travel in Jim Crow cars despite the inconvenience. It has been asserted that some club leaders with fair complexions would, however, pass for white to traverse racial barriers. More formal resolutions were issued by the NACW against segregation, lynchings, and disfranchisement.

Inspired by their motto, "Lifting As We Climb," African American women in the NACW created a legacy of activism and service. They were on a mission to help the massive populations of the black underclass. The NACW members organized to provide adequate day care for children of working black mothers (or in some areas kindergartens), domestic workshops for better household management, shelters for black elderly and/or orphans, and even formed

neighborhood patrols to rid the areas most vulnerable to criminal and/or immoral activities. Education was foremost among the objectives of NACW, too. Reading rooms and literary forums were often supported by the NACW and its affiliate clubs. The diverse service work these club women accomplished inspired generations of African Americans as the NACW remained visible within the ranks of black leadership into the twentieth century. *See also* Nadir of the Negro.

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Sherita L. Johnson

National Guard

The National Guard is a hybrid state and federal military force with origins in the late nineteenth century, during the period when **Jim Crow** was established. The National Guard replaced two military institutions—state militia and state-raised wartime volunteers—and inherited the racial practices of those earlier institutions. Due to the state-based organization of the National Guard, the experience of African Americans with the National Guard, whether as members or not, varied greatly from state to state.

During most of the colonial period, American militia forces occasionally contained Christian Native American men as well as free men of African descent. Militia tradition in some colonies considered all adult free men to compose the militia, especially in areas with few slaves. Laws in some colonies made no mention of skin tone or ancestry regarding liability for militia service. True segregation in the militia would not begin until after the end of the War for Independence. However, by the end of the War of 1812, the idea of the general militia obligation declined, and instead quasi-private military companies formed, which often were legitimized by states to provide militia service. Several states, including Louisiana, allowed companies of free blacks to maintain companies, but most slave states did not. After the Civil War, **Reconstruction** state governments in the South created so-called Negro Militia, which included both black and white men, sometimes in the same companies, in order to protect blacks and white Republicans from white supremacist. However with the end of Reconstruction, Southern state governments eliminated blacks from their organized militia, although black units continued to exist in some Northern states

Between the railroad strike of 1877, and passing of the National Defense Act of 1916, these volunteer militia companies evolved into the modern National Guard. By 1914, seven states and the District of Columbia had units of black National Guardsmen. New York and Illinois each had a regiment of black Guardsmen, while most others had separate battalions of blacks. States that allowed for black units normally placed them directly under the state adjutant general, rather than incorporating them into the rest of the state

National Guard structure. Unlike the black units in the regular army, all officers in black National Guard units tended to be black. While each state had its own customs and regulations regarding black National Guardsmen, all were structured so that black officers would never be in charge of white units. Additionally, during peacetime, state authorities were reluctant to mobilize black units for state duties that might involve them in policing white civilians.

The reasons for blacks joining the National Guard were complex, but much of their motivation had to do with respectability. National Guardsmen did not receive pay for training until 1916, and indeed, membership in the National Guard had earlier been a financial burden in many states. Members of the National Guard were overwhelmingly middle class, for enlisted men as well as officers. Thus, membership in the National Guard, which was a state institution, brought with it an overt indication of middle-class respectability. While black people took some pride in black National Guard units in areas where they existed, the National Guard as a whole was an overwhelmingly white organization, and its performance during riots often betrayed the racial prejudices of members and leaders. The most infamous example occurred during the **East St. Louis Riot** of July 1917, when some reports indicated that members of State Guard units, which were militia units raised to replace the National Guard after it entered federal service for **World War I**, participated in the violence inflicted against blacks rather than protected them, but it was not an isolated incident. Blacks, especially in the South and Midwest, where National Guard performed many of the missions that state police were assuming in the Northeast, often saw the National Guard as just another instrument of white oppression.

Overall, the Guard's image during the Civil Rights years was of a pillar of the status quo, and for blacks in the South, the status quo meant Jim Crow. Governor Orval Faubus's attempt to use the **Arkansas** National Guard to prevent integration of Little Rock's Central High School in 1957 was only the most public use of the Guard in this manner. Fortunately, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard in order to send it home and keep it out of the governor's control, the Guardsmen obeyed the president, and a serious coda to the Civil War was avoided. Likewise, the **Alabama** National Guard's involvement on June 11, 1963, in Governor **George Wallace**'s theatrics at the "school house door" at the University of Alabama again showed that Guardsmen would, if reluctantly, obey federal authority over state. Of course, the fact that the Alabama adjutant general wore an embroidered Confederate battle flag on the breast of his fatigue uniform amply demonstrated where his sympathies were.

During the dramatic uses of the National Guard in the South during the crises over integration and civil rights, blacks were still excluded from serving in the Guard in most Southern states. President **Harry S. Truman**'s **Executive Order 9981**, July 26, 1948, ordering the desegregating the U.S. military, had little immediate impact on the National Guard. The regular army stalled the implementation of the order until the second year of the Korean War, and many states simply ignored it regarding the National Guard. While most Northern, Midwestern, and Western states began integrating their National Guard in the 1950s, the Guard actually became whiter during the 1960s.

The Selective Service Act deferred members of the National Guard from being drafted as individuals into the army, and thus the Guard became a haven for young men seeking to avoid serving in Vietnam. With Guard units filled completely, potential Guardsmen often used family and political connections to get a position. Blacks, with few of either, found Guard units were not in need of their service. *See also* *Armed Forces; World War II.*

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Barry M. Stentiford

National Socialism

While never a formidable political force in the United States, advocates of National Socialism (Nazism) nonetheless attempted to broaden its racist ideology through astute recruiting efforts, public relations savvy, the repositioning of overt Nazi symbols with a broadened appeal to white unity and by appealing to American religious and patriotic impulses.

In the early 1930s, before Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany, a constellation of small Nazi groups arose in the United States composed primarily of German citizens living abroad and disaffected German Americans. Hitler's political ascendance encouraged such organizations and their leaders to redouble their efforts to spread the Nazi vision of ethnic German solidarity and racial purity.

Friends of the New Germany

The most prominent Nazi group at this time, *Friends of the New Germany* (*Bund der Freunde des neuen Deutschlands*), began with support from high-level Nazi leaders Rudolf Hess and Robert Ley. The leader, Heinz Spanknoebel, held the title "Führer of the Nazi Party in the United States." He sought to mobilize Nazi sympathizers in the United States within German American immigrant communities. *Das Neue Deutschland* (The New Germany), a weekly newspaper, was launched to support these efforts. The organization was short-lived. Public outcry over the activity of the *Friends* in New York City and the subsequent violent incidents invited scrutiny by both the German and American governments. German authorities called Spanknoebel home in late 1933 while he was under indictment for failing to register as a foreign government agent. The movement floundered in 1935 when Rudolf Hess ordered all German nationals out of *Friends of the New Germany* (well over half of its 10,000 members) out of concern that it was fueling anti-German sentiment.

German-American Bund

Fritz Kuhn emerged from this disarray as the new American Führer, reforming and unifying the remnants of *Friends of the New Germany* and other like-minded groups into a new organization: the *Amerika-Deutscher*

Volksbund or *German-American Bund*. Having become an American citizen himself in 1933, Kuhn sought to put an American face on the movement. However, he still kept the back door open for German nationals by setting up a *Prospective Citizens League*, accepting them into membership if they filed the initial paperwork for American citizenship and met the standard criteria of accepting Kuhn's leadership and had no black or Jewish ancestors.

The *Bund* attracted primarily urban lower-middle-class people, most of who viewed the organization as a social outlet. A Youth Division was formed, in part, to counteract American anti-German sentiment that developed during **World War I**. It adapted features of the Hitler Youth including lessons on saluting the swastika, learning popular Nazi songs, listening to Hitler's speeches on shortwave radio, and wearing uniforms with Nazi symbols. *Bund* leaders understood the importance of recruiting and indoctrinating youth if the movement was to take root in American soil. Towards this end, a monthly magazine was produced that glorified the German American contribution to American history and the importance of Nordic-German racial identity to its future. American patriotism and strength was linked to racial purity. Anti-Semitic fiction linking Jews to Communism and many other conspiratorial plots were regular features. *Bund* camps were also established. Often first perceived by participants as inexpensive recreation in a socially comfortable German-American setting, leaders used them to openly propagandize for National Socialism.

Bund leaders supported other anti-Semitic organizations that experienced legal trouble and invited them to speak at *Bund* events. They also did not shy away from politics. They understood President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** to be sympathetic to both Jews and Communists (often linked in their minds). One attack advertisement asserted that a Roosevelt victory would result in race mixing, a black republic and a black president. At their 1938 convention, "a socially just, white, Gentile-ruled United States," was at the top of their eight-point program to enliven the movement. Germaness was downplayed while being white and American was emphasized in order broaden the appeal and extend the reach of the movement. Still, Kuhn could not bring himself to eliminate the Nazi salute, though the swastika was thereafter displayed only on special occasions.

As with the *Friends of the New Germany* before them, the *German-American Bund* received close scrutiny from both the American and German governments in the wake of violence surrounding *Bund* rallies and the resulting counterdemonstrations. The German ambassador noted that the *Bund* was not even making inroads into the American-German community, much less America as a whole, and considered it to be a detriment to improving American perceptions of Germany.

In the end, Kuhn was indicted and found guilty of larceny and forgery, sentenced to a two and one-half years, and sent to Sing Sing prison in 1939. The National Committee expelled him from membership. Lacking strong recognized leadership, the organization fell into internal bickering and financial debt from which it did not recover. The executive committee voted to disband the *Bund* the day after the Pearl Harbor attack.

George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party

George Lincoln Rockwell picked up the post–World War II mantle of leadership for American National Socialism, founding the American Nazi Party in 1959 with the financial backing of Harold Noel Arrowsmith, Jr., who had earlier contributed to the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics—a group that gathered scientific evidence to support the segregationist position in *Brown v. Board of Education* case.

While Rockwell’s primary target was the Jews, he also openly directed his hate speech towards African Americans, whom he wanted to return to Africa or be rounded up into remote relocation centers. Rockwell’s strategy to gain power included recruiting and training a small but disciplined group of “stormtroopers,” attracting media coverage through hate-speech and the overt use of Nazi symbols in order to bait the Jewish community into emotional overreaction. He would then mobilizing the white population following the race riots he predicted for 1970 and the ensuing economic collapse. Finally, he believed he would be elected president of the United States in 1972 by white people seeking protection from the chaos and the prospects of a Jewish-led Communist takeover.

Drawing on his background as a commercial artist, an advertising man, and the showmanship learned from his vaudeville performer father, Rockwell pulled off several publicity stunts to enrage the African American community, including a “Hate Bus” tour to New Orleans by his stormtroopers to mimic the Freedom Riders, hiring racist singers to perform at “Hate-o-nannies,” and portraying himself as the white alternative to **Martin Luther King, Jr.** Even so, he was not beyond working with African Americans who advocated racial separation. Finding common cause with **Nation of Islam** leader Elijah Muhammad, whom he referred to as the “Adolf Hitler of the black man,” Rockwell was invited to speak at their 1962 national convention at the Chicago Temple of Islam.

In order to combat this kind of publicity tactic designed to outrage and incite confrontation, drawing media attention, Solomon Andhil Fineberg of the American Jewish Committee worked hard to revive the countertactic of “quarantine,” which he created and successfully used in the 1940s against the anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith. Originally called “dynamic silence,” or the “silent treatment,” Fineberg renamed it “quarantine” because it better described the strategy’s two critical components: coordinating the major American Jewish community organizations to avoid or minimize public confrontations that draw media attention, and sensitize the news media to American Nazi Party tactics so they understand that lack of news coverage cuts off the publicity necessary for the growth of the movement.

The quarantine was effective and Rockwell increasingly looked abroad to spread his Nazi vision, playing a key role in forming and leading the World Union of National Socialists. One of his last media breakthroughs was his 1966 interview in *Playboy* magazine by Alex Haley who would go on to write *Roots*, a story of Haley’s journey to discover his African ancestry. As with the pre–World War II National Socialist organizations, Rockwell came to realize that overt Nazi symbols were abhorrent to many Americans. He sought to

broaden the appeal of the organization by denying Holocaust atrocities, by emphasizing “white power” in contradistinction to the “Black Power” movement, and by enfolded white supremacy within the garb of religion. Rockwell realized that the images of the Holocaust were too much to overcome in order to garner popular support. His Holocaust denial propaganda preceded Willis Carto, who is generally credited as the father of American Holocaust denial. While this strategy was designed to decrease the high negative perception of the American Nazi Party among white voters, Rockwell continued to incite racial opposition that he believed would result in publicity and his eventual election as governor of Virginia and later as president of the United States. He was not a factor in the Virginia election. Seizing upon Stokely Carmichael’s 1966 “Black Power” slogan, Rockwell countered with a “White Power” campaign to feed the fears of white people. Deviating from Hitler’s Nordic-German concept of racial purity, Rockwell created a white/black mythos pitting white people against dark people. This change of strategy is also reflected in renaming the American Nazi Party to the National Socialist White People’s Party, consciously mirroring the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The final way in which Rockwell tried to make National Socialism more acceptable to whites at large was through the cloak of religion. Correspondence with some of his racist colleagues indicates that while he rejected the teachings of Jesus Christ, he found a Christian veneer useful in reaching the masses. In the racist teachings of the Christian Identity movement, which viewed white Anglos as the literal lost tribes of Israel who needed to wake up to their true identity, Rockwell found a home for Nazis with religious needs and many in Christian Identity churches found a political outlet consistent with their racist beliefs.

Some in his own party and some National Socialists abroad remained purists, considering this sort of “big tent” Nazism as a betrayal of Hitler’s ideals. An angry National Socialist Party veteran killed Rockwell on August 25, 1967. The already small and politically ineffective party splintered into additional fragments. *See also* Communist Party; Jews in the South; Ku Klux Klan.

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Douglas Milford

Native Americans

Although they were the first Americans, indigenous peoples have faced forms of discrimination similar to that of other nonwhite minority groups in the United States. Since the colonial era, when Europeans debated the essential humanity of Native Americans, tribal groups have experienced racial prejudice, religious persecution, legal discrimination, economic obstacles, and

educational barriers that severely hindered their full inclusion in American life. Of racial minorities, however, Indians are unique. They are aboriginal peoples whose tribal governments maintain sovereignty and special political rights within the federal framework. Because of this essential fact, Indian separation and segregation has often been by their own choice. While Indian individuals desired freedom from racial prejudice and discrimination, they often doggedly fought full political and cultural integration into mainstream American society. Native Americans do not always neatly fit the **Jim Crow** experience of other racial minority groups in the United States.

The U.S. Constitution specifically excluded Indian nations from inclusion in the American political system. Classified as foreign nations and “Indians not taxed,” the Constitution gave Congress exclusive jurisdiction for dealing with Native American tribes. At the time there were hundreds of tribes, bands, and smaller associations of indigenous groups within what became the borders of the growing nation. Because these units predated the U.S. government, their position in the federal system was extra-constitutional. In light of their semi-foreign status, until 1871, federal officials negotiated approximately 370 treaties with Indian groups, documents that recognized their sovereignty and guaranteed them certain rights. As interpreted by the courts and executive officials, Indians were not citizens so long as they maintained tribal relations. The protections of the Bill of Rights did not apply to them. While many individuals voluntarily abandoned their tribes and assimilated, the majority of Indians prior to the Civil War exhibited little inclination to become U.S. citizens. Major groups such as the Five “Civilized” Tribes of the Southeast stridently fought government efforts to integrate them into the new states of the region; the Cherokees eventually took their case to the **U.S. Supreme Court** to maintain their culture and government. Other tribes, such as the Lakotas and Comanches, fought decades-long wars against the U.S. Army to protect their ancestral homelands. As these examples reveal, U.S. citizenship and political integration was often forced on Native Americans against their will.

Throughout the nineteenth century, American politicians, missionaries, and philanthropists struggled with the so-called “Indian Problem” of having surviving Indian cultures and tribal groups within the borders of the nation. In the landmark Supreme Court decisions *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Chief Justice John Marshall determined that the Cherokee and others tribes were “domestic, dependent nations” that retained rights of internal self-government the states could not abridge. Even so, as white settlement proceeded, Indian nations could count on few friends to protect their interests. With the Indian Removal Act of 1830, President Andrew Jackson and Congress mandated the expulsion of Eastern tribes to the newly created Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma) to segregate them from non-Indian society until they eventually assimilated. During the nineteenth century, many politicians such as Thomas Jefferson believed Native Americans, unlike African Americans and **Asian Americans**, would fully amalgamate into American life as equal citizens of the republic. Influenced by the French Enlightenment and Romanticism, American thinkers made the final push for Indian assimilation following the Civil War.

By the late nineteenth century, the vast majority of Indian nations were conquered and safely ensconced on reservations; segregated on generally unproductive lands unwanted by white settlers. During this era, reformers and Western politicians joined forces to solve the “Indian Problem” once and for all. Shortly after the Civil War, the states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) that granted citizenship to all individuals born or naturalized in the United States and prohibited states from denying civil rights and equal protection under the law to citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) followed, specifically forbidding states from abridging the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. While Congress intended these provisions to cover the recently freed slaves, they set the stage for a debate over the rights of Indians under the law. Particularly unsettling was an 1871 congressional law that ended treaty-making with individual tribes, leaving their future status uncertain. In *McKay v. Campbell* (1871) and *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884), the Supreme Court ruled that Indians, as tribal citizens, were not covered by the Fourteenth Amendment and were not citizens of the United States. Although certain treaties provided mechanisms for achieving citizenship, the courts held that absent an all-encompassing federal law, Indians were not citizens and had no avenue for naturalization as did immigrants and African Americans. As a result, Eastern reform groups such as the “Friends of the Indian” endorsed the sweeping **Dawes Severalty Act** of 1887 that provided American citizenship after tribes were dissolved, Indians accepted individual land allotments, and native homesteaders proved their readiness for citizenship during a 25-year waiting period. Related laws such as the Indian Territory Naturalization Act (1890), the Burke Act (1906), and Oklahoma statehood (1907) provided citizenship to Indians in certain areas under certain conditions, whether they wanted it or not.

War service has often provided minorities the opportunity to prove their patriotism and gain rights as citizens. Such was the case with Native Americans when Congress passed the Indian Veterans Citizenship Act of 1919, giving **World War I** veterans full civil rights. White reformers and Indian “Progressives” such as Senator Charles Curtis (Kaw) joined forces to push the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, finally giving citizenship to all native peoples born in the United States. Congress followed with the **World War II**-era Nationality Act (1940), further clarifying their status. The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 extended certain Bill of Rights protections to Indian Americans that did not contravene deeply held tribal beliefs. With these actions, Native Americans were officially incorporated into the body politic.

Even with full citizenship, individuals and state governments found ways to deny civil rights and liberties to Indian citizens. Many Western states, including Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, denied the vote to tribes under the theories they lived on federal reservations, did not pay state taxes, were incompetent “wards” of the federal government, were illiterate, or were ignorant of local politics. Others such as Minnesota denied the franchise to Indians under the argument they were not civilized. Poll taxes, English-only ballots, lack of polling places near reservations, and gerrymandering were all common tactics employed to deny or negate the Indian vote. As articulated by the Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Sandoval* (1913), the courts believed Indians were

“essentially a simple, uninformed and inferior people” incapable of exercising the privileges of citizenship. Not until after World War II, when Native American veterans Miguel Trujillo of New Mexico and Frank Harrison of Arizona with the aid of the U.S. Attorney’s office pursued court cases such as *Trujillo v. Garley* (1948) and *Harrison v. Laveen* (1948), did Indians in these states gain the right to vote. When Ute Indian Preston Allen won his case *Allen v. Merrill* (1957), Utah became the last state in the Union to grant the franchise to Native Americans. At the same time, Indians also had to fight to receive state services and federal Social Security benefits routinely granted to others. Subsequent landmark laws such as the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** provided further protections against discrimination in public accommodations, hiring, and voting.

Native Americans were the only minority group dominated by a federal agency. The **Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)** traditionally has exercised broad powers over the lives of indigenous peoples. Until the 1970s, the BIA was a white-dominated, paternalistic agency charged with serving as trustee for Indian lands, steward of tribal resources, and overseer of tribally run programs. Whether enforcing federal laws aimed at destroying Indian cultures or dictating daily life on reservations, government agents traditionally worked against Indian groups managing their own affairs. Until the 1930s-era Indian **New Deal**, BIA officials and federal courts considered Native Americans legal minors; incompetent wards of the **federal government**. Like children, bureaucrats believed indigenous peoples were unable to manage their own affairs, control their lands, purchase alcohol, serve on local juries, or run for public office. Until Indians took up private property, “civilized” ways that included Christianity, and demonstrated individual aptitude for citizenship, they were in a perpetual state of government tutelage and dependency. Much of this liability was racially based, as various federal trust programs centered on presumptions that mixed-blood Indians were more competent and civilized than their full-blood brethren.

As a result of government paternalism, language barriers, and racial prejudice Indian peoples faced serious forms of economic discrimination throughout the United States. Southern groups such as the **Mississippi Band of Choctaws** lost lands to scheming land agents and local court actions, finding themselves forced into **sharecropping** on lands they formerly owned. In the Southwest, Yaquis and Kickapoos were resigned to the life of low-paid, migrant farm work. With the Dawes Act and other allotment-oriented laws, Indians in Oklahoma and elsewhere were dispossessed of two-thirds of their remaining estate while facing an onslaught of economic and political competition from non-Indians. In Midwestern states such as Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, Indians attempting to work off-reservation often complained that they were the “last hired, first fired,” were denied the best skilled jobs at factories, or were passed over for promotions despite their abilities. Ada Deer, the 1970s-era Wisconsin Menominee leader, said it best when she complained her people were engulfed in a sea of racism. As a result, many Native Americans moved to urban centers such as Chicago to escape the prejudice that surrounded the reservation. Although they saw their economic situation improve markedly, many relocated Indians faced subtler forms of discrimination, with

government agents ushering them into the lowest economic sector jobs of the city. High rents and discriminatory practices often prevented native families from living in white, middle-class neighborhoods.

Throughout the nation, Indians encountered a host of **Jim Crow** discriminatory laws, customs, and practices. They faced segregation on isolated reservations by federal policy. Non-reservation groups in the South, such as the Jena Choctaws, Tunica Biloxis, and Houmas, self-segregated their people in small, ethnic enclaves apart from larger black and white society. In the American West and Southern states, antimiscegenation statutes such as Virginia's Racial Integrity Act (1924) prohibited interracial marriage between whites and all groups classified as nonwhite. In Western states such as Arizona and Montana, native peoples were treated much the same as African Americans in the Deep South. In Alaska, "**separate but equal**" was the norm. Dry goods stores, hotels, bars, and theaters routinely posted "No Natives Allowed" or "For Natives Only" signs out front. In towns near the Mississippi Band of Choctaws reservation, tribal members were forced to sit in "colored" sections of local movie houses, were denied service in local restaurants, and were prohibited from burial in all-white cemeteries. In many areas of the U.S. racial bias also influenced adoption of Indian children. State and private adoption agencies regularly "placed out" native children to white families under the assumption they were better off with Anglo families than Indian parents. Poorer Native American women often faced forced sterilization. Because of local law enforcement practices and biases, poverty, and other factors, indigenous people experienced higher arrest rates and greater police harassment, and received longer sentences than the Anglo American population. The effects of isolation, poverty, and discrimination have led to disheartening social statistics for Native Americans. A 1970s-era survey found that the majority of **Louisiana** Indians lived below the poverty line. At Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, 1999 statistics revealed a 75 percent unemployment rate, with many residents lacking indoor plumbing, running water, electricity, and telephones. Pine Ridge's disease rates and infant mortality statistics hovered many times over the national average.

For Native Americans, as with other minorities, the most insidious and potentially damaging form of racism centered on the public school system. Unlike African Americans and Hispanics who united to tear down the "separate but equal" doctrine enshrined by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), American Indians have had a unique educational experience, with many having qualms about complete school integration. Certain Indian nations such as the Five "Civilized" Tribes maintained a proud tradition of independent, tribally run school systems. For most groups, the BIA controlled the education of Indian students. Whether on off-reservation boarding schools such as Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania or institutions on tribal lands, forced acculturation, detribalization, and basic vocational education were major themes in government-run schools. In most areas of the United States, the government segregated Indian students either based on treaties or reservation boundaries, or because they were classed as uncivilized people in need of training in the arts of modern life. In some areas of the South, however, local officials maintained separate schools based on race. With the

Lumbee Indians of **North Carolina** and the Houmas of Louisiana, a unique three-way educational system developed, with local districts providing separate schools for whites, blacks, and Indians. Native Americans generally resisted any effort to force them to attend schools for African Americans or be classified as black for social or legal purposes. In southeastern Oklahoma after statehood, local whites used education and other incentives to prod mixed-blood Choctaws to identify as “white” in an effort to erase their tribal identity and erode their political power. As a result, Indian mixed-bloods did not face concerted racism, enjoying “white skin color privilege” that included attendance in “Whites Only” schools. In other Southern states such as North Carolina, **Alabama**, and Louisiana, however, local officials repeatedly tried to force Indians into the “black” or “colored” category or denied them schooling altogether. Commonly in states such as California and Nevada, school officers denied local Indians public education claiming they were “wards” or “dependents” of the federal government. In this light, Mississippi Choctaws, Houmas, and others did not have access to a full high school education until the mid-1960s.

In certain regions of the United States, competition with non-Indians has led to widespread conflicts over tribal hunting, fishing, and religious rights guaranteed under treaties. Beginning in the Pacific Northwest during the 1960s, Indian fishermen faced violent and vocal protests when they attempt to exercise their rights to fish in government-protected places. Well into the 1990s, similar standoffs occurred in Wisconsin over spear fishing, with local Chippewas enduring ugly racial epitaphs, shootings, and boat rammings when attempting to fish under various treaties. Perhaps the most significant modern abridgement of indigenous civil rights concerns the First Amendment right of religious freedom. Unlike other minority groups, native peoples have faced government-sponsored programs to eradicate their indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices. While the BIA no longer promotes cultural destruction, issues persist over Indian access to sacred sites, ancient burial grounds, and the return of human remains. The Lakota and other Plains tribes have fought for generations over ownership of Devils Tower, a religious shrine managed by the National Park Service. The Lakota repeatedly have rejected multimillion-dollar cash settlements rather than surrender claims to the sacred Black Hills of South Dakota, most of which is claimed by the National Forest Service. Conflicts also still erupt over Native use of controlled substances such as peyote and environmental laws. In the mid-1980s, for example, federal officials arrested Dwight Dion, a Yankton Sioux, for collecting eagle feathers in violation of the Endangered Species Act. The Supreme Court found that species protection from extinction superseded tribal religious practices.

Native Americans participated in the **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1960s and 1970s, although their aims differed significantly from African Americans and Chicanos. For Indians, the catalyst was the controversial “termination” program of the 1950s and early 1960s, a congressional mandate that sought to end federal supervision over Indian affairs, dissolve tribal entities, and integrate Native Americans as full citizens of the states and the nation. The few tribes subjected to “termination” faced disastrous results. As a result, the National Congress of American Indians and Red Power groups such as the

National Indian Youth Council and the American Indian Movement (AIM) vigorously resisted further termination efforts, instead pushing for greater self-determination, tribal sovereignty, and respect for Indian cultures. These groups stressed equality, but not at the price of complete political and social integration envisioned by other civil rights leaders.

The Indian civil rights movement achieved remarkable gains for native peoples. Tribes like the Houmas and Lumbees won court battles ending school segregation. At the prompting of native leaders, President Richard M. Nixon signed the landmark Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, a law that gave tribes greater power to direct local educational, social, and economic programs. The Mississippi Band of Choctaws and Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma have used this act to move toward complete economic independence, with the Oklahoma group funding 80 percent of its tribal programs by 2007. The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 placed stringent requirements on non-Indian adoption of native children. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of the same year paved the way for greater protections of indigenous worship. The 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act resulted in widespread return of sacred funeral remains and objects. Beginning in 1970, when Taos Pueblo regained its sacred Blue Lake from the National Forest Service, the general trend has been for national conservation agencies to allow Indians greater access to their tribal sites. In 2000, the National Park Service went so far as to return part of the Timbisha Shoshones' homeland in Death Valley to the tribe. Because of the work of the Native American Rights Fund and other advocacy groups, Indians routinely exercise both sovereign tribal rights and their individual civil rights. Although discrimination still exists, the legal barriers to Indian citizenship are largely a thing of the past. Working through politics and the courts, Indian nations continue to strive to protect their hard-won rights in modern America. *See also* Apartheid; Japanese Internment; Miscegenation.

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Mark Edwin Miller

Naylor, Gloria (b. 1950)

Author Gloria Naylor was the first child born to Alberta McAlpin and Roosevelt Naylor, a transit worker and telephone operator, on January 25, 1950, in New York City. Shy and quiet, Naylor was a voracious reader. The family moved to Queens in 1963. Naylor followed her mother's lead and became a Jehovah's Witness in 1968. She was deeply attracted to the Witnesses' praise of the power of writing and the written word. During this time period of her life, Naylor noted her lack of exposure to African American literature and other instances within the black American community.

After abandoning the Jehovah's Witnesses, Naylor began a cycle of reinvention and self-assessment. After reading Toni Morrison's *Bluest Eye* in the late

1970s, Naylor decided to pursue her writing seriously. Continuing to work as a switchboard operator, Naylor enrolled in classes at Medgar Evers College and Brooklyn College. She completed a BA degree in English in 1979 and enrolled in graduate classes at Yale University in 1981. Her first novel, *Women of Brewster Place*, was released in 1982. A string of other works followed, including *Linden Hills* (1985), *Mama Day* (1988), and, more recently, *1996* (2005).

Through her new understanding of black literature and feminism, Naylor developed characters that analyzed the role of black women in society. *Women of Brewster Place* traces the lives of six women in an inner-city project. Though the city is undefined, Naylor's accounts of the triumphs and the struggles faced as an African American woman allow for those and similar instances to be open to occur anywhere. Naylor retouched on the theme of migration, similar to the **Great Migration** that took place during the **Harlem Renaissance**. The women's search for a place of residency, both in identity and a physical home, give attention to both Naylor's personal experiences moving to Queens and her search for an identity after removing herself from the Jehovah's Witnesses. Also, Naylor joined the pioneering genre of black women's literature, focusing on the issues and concerns special to the plight of the African American woman.

In *Linden Hills*, Naylor slightly changes gears, making observations of the dangers of elitism and its impact on blacks. Though there is little reference to whites, the behavior of blacks living in the lower points of the hill represents the elitism once held strictly by white America. The shameless pursuit of the "American Dream" resulted in the loss of morality and identity of the elitist African Americans in Linden Hills. It is the pursuit of status and the determination to get to the bottom of Linden Hills where the feared and powerful Nedeed mansion was located. Through the stories of characters like the closeted homosexual Winston Alcott, the question of the stretch of social morality and ethics is raised. In order to avoid the scandal of his relationship with another man rocking his career, Winston marries and leaves his lover David. Winston's fear of being socially ostracized dictated his actions and moral center. Similar to "Inferno" in Dante Aligheri's *Divine Comedy*, Naylor intricately creates a social hell in which blacks adapt instead of correct. *See also* Baldwin, James; Homosexuality; Toomer, Jean.

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Regina Barnett

Negro League Baseball

Segregation in baseball began in 1858 when the National Association of Baseball Players (NABBP) included in its constitution a clause excluding "persons of color" from playing. After a period of segregation from 1867 to 1871, the rules changed. In 1871, there were no formal rules against blacks in baseball in the newly organized National Association of Professional Baseball Players (NAPBBP). African Americans, including Bud Fowler, Charlie Grant,

George Stovey, and Moses Fleetwood Walker, played on professional integrated teams for a short time. In the 1880s, a “gentleman’s agreement” shifted acceptance again, creating a color line in baseball. Owners forced the black players off teams and did not sign new ones.

After the reemergence of segregation in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, African American responded by creating their own teams and leagues. With no professional leagues from the late 1880s to 1920, blacks played on semipro teams. Attempts at organizing leagues proved unsuccessful. In 1886, the League of Colored Baseball included teams in Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Louisville, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Washington, DC. The league lasted for a week, with 13 games played. Other leagues included black teams in their schedule. In 1889, the Penn League included the Cuban Giants and New York Gothams, but lasted only for one season. In 1898, the Acme Colored Giants played for a few months in the Iron and Oil League in Celeron, New York.

After 1898, no other teams of players of color participated in white leagues, and attempts at organizing separate independent leagues began. In 1890, black business owners tried to organize a league with teams in Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Louisville. Finances lacking, the teams never played any games. The International League of Independent Professional Baseball Clubs included teams of Cuban X Giants, Cuban Stars, Havana Stars, and Quaker Giants. In 1907, the league added two white teams, but financial difficulties, again, prevented implementation. Three years later, Chicago lawyer Beauregard Moseley led an effort to create the Negro National Baseball League. At an organizational meeting in December 1910, interested owners elected Moseley president and Felix Payne as secretary/treasurer. This attempt was the most successful in organizing, coming the closest to being a league, but it did not become a reality. Also in 1910, the United States League of Professional Ball Clubs organized, with teams in Baltimore, Brooklyn, Jersey City, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, and Trenton. Owners would include both black and white players. Financial reasons and the fact that this was an outlaw league hindered its development. In 1901, baseball teams had organized to create the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues (NAPBL). Members of this organizational structure became “organized baseball,” those that were not belonging “outlaw.” As different teams and leagues attempted to establish themselves, they also had to contend with a formalized structure that discouraged nonmembers. All of the attempts to establish leagues before 1920 and white teams playing against black teams helped establish a foundation for future successes. In the nineteenth century, approximately 70 blacks played on integrated professional teams, with several hundred playing on other kinds of teams.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, numerous independent black teams, including the long-lasting Baltimore Black Sox (1916–1934), Chicago American Giants (1911–1958), Hilldale Daisies (1910–1930s), Indianapolis ABCs (1902–1940), Homestead Grays (1911–1950), and Leland Giants (1905–1915), successfully kept African Americans playing baseball.

On February 13, 1920, leaders from eight cities met in Kansas City, Missouri, to establish the Negro National League (NNL). Andrew “Rube” Foster

organized the business and sports writers. A former player and manager with the Leland Giants and Chicago American Giants, Foster essentially managed all the details of the new league to ensure its success. Born in 1879 in Calvert, Texas, Rube Foster pitched for semipro and independent teams. In 1908, Foster established his own team because he felt the owner of the team he played on did not respect the players. Foster's Chicago American Giants became part of the new Negro League. The National Association of Colored Professional Baseball came into being, with the team owners signing a constitution that placed Foster as president. Teams included the Chicago Giants, Detroit Stars, Indianapolis ABCs, Kansas City Monarchs, and St. Louis Giants. Owners paid an entrance fee and agreed to league rules. Most of the teams did not own, but rented stadiums from white teams. In addition to the regular league teams, other teams could play as associate teams, but the game would not count in league statistics.

In May 1920, the Negro Southern League played after two months of planning, but was not as organized as the NNL. Teams included the Atlanta Black Crackers, Birmingham Giants, Chattanooga Black Lookouts, Jacksonville Red Caps, Montgomery Grey Sox, Nashville Elite Giants, and New Orleans Black Pelicans. In 1921, the league dissolved due to conflicts among the teams. Other leagues including the Continental League (based in Boston), the Negro Western League (based in Kansas, Virginia, and Kentucky), and the Tandy League (based in St. Louis). As the National Negro League continued to develop, teams came into and out of the league. Rube Foster's Chicago American Giants was the only team to compete in all 12 seasons.

In 1923, Ed Bolden of the Hilldale Daisies organized the Eastern Colored League (ECL). To ease the distance in traveling to games and to exert control himself, Bolden's league included teams included the Bacharach Giants, Baltimore Black Sox, Brooklyn Royal Giants, the Eastern Cuban Stars, Hilldale Daisies, and the New York Lincoln Giants. Teams played in the ECL from 1923 to 1928. In 1929, they reorganized as the Negro American League and played for one season.

In the Negro Leagues, contracts with players proved to be an ongoing struggle. Players would move to another team if the owner produced a better offer. Owners of Negro League teams were both white and black. Many team owners held businesses in the community. A handful of them participated in illegal activities. The community loved their local teams, and the team had a central role in the African American community. The community leaders would participate in the games. Games on Sunday would begin after church had ended, and fans would come to the ballpark dressed in their Sunday best.

Baseball teams in the Negro Leagues did not travel by train, but by bus. Play on teams in fluctuating leagues allowed players to play for many teams during the year. With the regular season from April to October, players could continue playing on traveling teams, winter ball teams, or barnstorming against white teams in warmer climates including the West Coast and Latin America. On average, players began their careers when they were 20 and played professionally for about five years. Some players were older or younger, and some played for two or more decades. Segregation made the extensive travel more difficult. Teams might not find hotels that would accept them or restaurants

that would feed them. Members of the black community would regularly house the players in their own homes when a team came to town.

Until 1971, the National Baseball Hall of Fame did not consider Negro League players eligible for election. The initial plan was to place them in a separate wing, but, recognizing that it was the segregation of their time and not their ability as a ball player, their achievements are now recognized in the same way as players from organized baseball. Some of the players in the Negro League now in the Baseball Hall of Fame include Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell, Oscar Charleston, Ray Dandridge, Leon Day, Monte Irvin, Judy Johnson, Buck Leonard, Alex Pompey, Bullet Rogan, and Willie Wells. Each of these players became a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame based on their career in the Negro Leagues.

The decline of the Negro League came with the integration of major and minor league baseball. After **Jackie Robinson** signed a contract with the **Brooklyn Dodgers** in October 1945, played for the minor league Montreal Royals in 1946, and played for the major league Dodgers in 1947, the death knell for Negro Leagues baseball sounded. Fans, players, and owners would choose integration over continued segregation. As more and more players went into major or minor league baseball, fewer top quality players played into the Negro Leagues. One by one, the teams dissolved, and the end of the Negro Leagues is marked in 1960. *See also* Sports.

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Amy Essington

Neighborhood Property Owners Associations

Neighborhood property owners associations were local organizations of home and business owners. Historically, they served to maintain patterns of residential segregation by enforcing racially restrictive covenants, battling blockbusting practices, and terrorizing black families who moved into white neighborhoods. These organizations were also known as neighborhood improvement associations, civic clubs, or homeowner associations.

In the late nineteenth century, neighborhood associations arose to provide services such as street paving for suburban areas that received little attention from city administration. By the early twentieth century, though, the purpose of neighborhood associations began to change. Increasing migration of blacks from rural to urban areas and from the South to the North put pressure on available housing stock. Black residents were increasingly concentrated in particular sections of cities through a combination of government policy, real estate practices, and white resident resistance. Many black citizens resisted this confinement and bravely attempted to move into recently integrated or previously all-white neighborhoods. In response, neighborhood property



Protestors demonstrating against neighborhood integration. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-116822.

owners associations now also functioned to protect white neighborhoods from black “invasion.”

In newly constructed suburbs, property owners associations often formed in order to enforce racially restrictive covenants. Developers attached these covenants to deeds; they prohibited homeowners from selling their property to blacks, and sometimes **Asian Americans**, Jews, and Catholics as well. In the 1920s, the courts had tacitly upheld the use of such covenants because they were private agreements. Restrictive covenants had therefore taken the place of racial zoning, which the **U.S. Supreme Court** had struck down in *Buchanan v. Warley* in 1917.

In existing urban neighborhoods, particularly those bordering black neighborhoods, property owners associations took on a more defensive posture. They formed to combat blockbusting practices, in which real estate agents and speculators would acquire a property, move a black family in, and try to scare the remaining white property owners out of the area. Fleeing white families would often accept low prices in their panic, and the agents turned around and sold to black families at inflated amounts, reaping a huge profit. Property owners banded together to intimidate new black residents and boycott unscrupulous realtors. They held organizing meetings and sometimes introduced their own racially restrictive covenants, going door to door to obtain the necessary signatures.

At the same time, some associations built alliances with local realtors in order to defend the “color line” effectively. Neighborhood residents placed pressure on their neighbors to refrain from selling to minorities. Meanwhile,

local real estate boards policed their own by threatening to revoke the license of any realtor who sold property in a white neighborhood to a black person. In other cases, neighborhood property owners associations cooperated with institutions such as local universities or prominent businesses, often procuring key funding for lawsuits.

The U.S. Supreme Court declared racially restrictive covenants unconstitutional in *Shelley v. Kraemer* in 1948. In some communities, they had already become unenforceable anyway, as enough black families managed to move into the neighborhood to render the restrictions hollow. The decline of racial covenants, however, did not pave the way for residential integration. Homeowners increasingly turned to overt acts of resistance. They planted bombs, vandalized property, and attacked their new black neighbors both physically and verbally. Neighborhood property owners associations served organizing and dissemination purposes to draw community support.

Racial prejudice fueled all of these defensive strategies. That racial prejudice, though, was also fundamentally linked to ideas about property ownership. White homeowners resisted black incursion into their neighborhoods primarily because they believed that black neighbors would cause their property values to decline. They believed that a neighborhood containing “undesirable” neighbors would fetch much lower prices on the real estate market. For many of these families, their home represented their single largest investment and demanded protection at all costs. This same logic led neighborhood organizations to wage campaigns against the construction of public housing and nuisance businesses.

The success of the **Civil Rights Movement** and the end of state-sanctioned segregation led neighborhood associations to broaden their agendas. A national neighborhood movement emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s as residents demanded better city services and resisted urban renewal efforts and freeway construction. While these organizations were less likely to wage explicitly racial campaigns, their actions still had discriminatory effects. Support for neighborhood schools often translated into resistance against school integration. Critics charged that white residents demanded better city services because they felt black neighborhoods had received more than their fair share of government resources through Great Society programs and **Affirmative Action** initiatives. Meanwhile, white residents continued openly to harass new black neighbors late into the twentieth century.

Neighborhood organizations have not disappeared. Homeowners associations have remained particularly prevalent in condominiums and suburban, gated communities, where they try to maintain an air of exclusivity. These associations usually require property owners in a given subdivision to join and pay dues; they then provide services to the community, ranging from security to garbage collection. These associations still employ deed restrictions that serve to limit diversity. Though these restrictions are no longer explicitly racial, they often prescribe minimum purchase prices, maximum occupancy levels, and strict guidelines for property maintenance. By defining a certain lifestyle for community residents, these regulations exclude potential neighbors who do not fit that mold. *See also* Housing Covenants; Segregation, Suburban.

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Alyssa Ribeiro

New Deal

The New Deal was put into place by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** during the **Great Depression** from 1933 to 1938. New Deal programs created a radical shift in the role of the federal government vis-à-vis the nation’s economic sphere in an effort to reform the U.S. economy torn by the Depression. New Deal policies were guided by the “Three Rs”: direct relief, economic recovery, and financial reform. However, New Deal initiatives extended well into the 1940s and 1950s, largely to support retuning **World War II** veterans. During the New Deal, under the auspices of Roosevelt and largely controlled by the **Jim Crow** mentality of the South for whom most of the aid was geared toward given the rampant rural poverty of both blacks and whites, the **federal government** transformed into an activist government that sought to advance human well-being and provide economic security to its citizens. The federal government tightened its grip on the nation’s economic sector via New Deal programs. Of all the New Deal programs initiated during the course of this activist government’s reign, three social initiatives particularly reveal the New Deal government’s commitment to alleviating social ills, albeit in a fashion that is largely racist and indeed Jim Crowed (i.e., exclusionary or separate): welfare, work, and war. Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) was the largest social welfare initiative. In regard to the New Deal’s influence on labor laws, three laws are worth examining: the National Industrial Recovery Act, the National Labor Relation Act, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. In regard to war, the Selective Service Readjustment Act was the largest New Deal initiative, and its effects on the country were enormous. However, all of the New Deal initiatives, whether in the North or the South, were implemented in a race-based fashion that at best favored white Americans over African Americans, and at worst was a segregated system that could not escape the all-pervading influence of Jim Crow segregation and exclusion that divided the nation.

Welfare

Aid to Dependent Children passed as one of 11 titles in the 1935 Social Security Act passed in Congress. The federal programs passed under the act, which was designed to provide 30 million Americans with a safety net by virtue of federal government support, in August during Roosevelt’s term were Jim Crowed from the beginning. ADC was designed to offer grants to families in which one of the parents, usually the father, was absent. Aid often went to mothers who were divorced, never married, or abandoned, or whose husbands

could not work. ADC, and other programs included within the Social Security Act, was funded by both the federal and state governments. However, the programs were governed at that state level, which ultimately made the programs decentralized from the federal government and subject to Jim Crow exclusion and segregation.

Black mothers were largely excluded from receiving such federal and state aid, often in the Jim Crow South where black population was the highest. The racial exclusionary policies of the landmark Social Security Act were employed in terms of labor performed. The act prohibited qualification for aid to those who toiled in the agricultural or domestic service sectors, jobs that were dominated by blacks and Mexicans. Black mothers often had to fight against locally state-controlled bureaucracies that were partially funded by the federal government. In the United States as a whole, 14 percent of children in the program were black. That the relief would be administered at the state level was detrimental to African Americans in the Jim Crow South. Thirty-seven percent of the children in Louisiana were African American, but only 26 percent were ADC recipients. Throughout the South, blacks were largely excluded.

Work

During the New Deal era, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Fair Labor Standard Act were passed to increase working conditions. These three very significant acts gave workers, among other things, the right to bargain collectively with unions, a maximum work week, better working conditions, and a minimum wage. These three acts were generally employed in a discriminatory fashion and ultimately harmed African American workers, both male and female.

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA) passed during the famous first 100 days of Roosevelt's administration on June 16, 1933. One of the components of the bill was that it guaranteed workers the right to organize and bargain collectively with unions and other representatives without fear of employer coercion. Further, it put forth "codes of fair competition" that guaranteed a minimum wage and a maximum 40-hour work week. Although the act presented itself and had the potential to help African Americans, it ultimately had devastating consequences on African American workers.

The wage provisions guaranteed by the NRA discriminated and harmed African Americans in a multiplicity of ways. After Southern legislators voiced concern over the consequences that increased wages would have on agricultural profits and easily affordable domestic workers, both industries that African Americans dominated, they agreed not to establish "fair labor codes" for agricultural and domestic labor. Wages in the agricultural and domestic fields remained stable, while wages in other sectors of labor, largely dominated by white workers, increased. The NRA determined the minimum wage in relation to the category of work performed. Consequently, when the NRA minimum wage codes happened to apply to occupations that African Americans dominated, the occupations received a lower classification than similar unskilled "white" occupations, and thus were granted a lower minimum wage. In short,

the NRA promoted and practiced separate wage differentials for white and African American workers. In the end, the minimum wage provisions dramatically harmed African American workers; it is estimated to have cost a half a million African Americans their jobs.

The National Industrial Relations Act (NIRA) also attempted to raise wages through collective bargaining. When it came to collective bargaining with unions, blacks faced the same problems they met with wage provisions. The passage of NIRA, under Section 7a, gave racist unions, those that excluded and segregated African Americans in their locals and federations, exclusive bargaining power on behalf of workers in various industries. Before the passage of the NRA, American unions represented a small but significant, 2.25 million members, of whom 50,000 were black. Two months after the passage of the NRA, union membership increased to a little less than four million. Ultimately, the exclusive right to bargain on behalf of workers granted to racist labor unions displaced many African American workers. When African Americans did complain about union discrimination to the National Labor Relations Board, the federal government failed to intrude on their behalf. In response, government officials attempted to pacify African American outrage by pointing out that the act had led to minimum wage laws, the elimination of child labor, and a maximum 40-hour work week, of which some, but by no means a vast majority, African Americans enjoyed.

On May 27, 1935 the Supreme Court declared that the NRA was unconstitutional in *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*. The National Labor Relation Act (NLRA), also known as the Wagner Act of 1935, replaced Section 7a of the NRA. The NLRA guaranteed wage workers the right to organize and bargain collectively with unions, and made illegal “unfair labor practices” used by employers to avoid unionization. Moreover, the act prohibited employer discrimination on the basis of union activity and obliged employers to bargain with these organizations. Additionally, like the NRA’s Section 7a, the Wagner Act, through the National Labor Relations Board, made unions the only way to bargain collectively with employers. Union membership rose to eight million by 1941, and by 1948, union membership surged to 14.2 million.

The Wagner Act, however, did not protect black workers. It was implemented in an exclusionary fashion, as it did not contain a clause that protected African American workers, as a result of racist labor unions, particularly the American Federation of Labor (AFL), that successfully lobbied to keep the clause from protecting African American workers. The Wagner Act also banned company unions, unions that were more racially egalitarian than affiliated unions, and made the hire of strikebreaking workers, usually African American, more difficult. The NLRA, in essence, gave unions governmental validation to exclude black workers from labor agreements.

The minimum wage provisions mandated by the NRA, which were later found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, were later smuggled in under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA). The FLSA guaranteed a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour for the first year of its passage, 30 cents for the second, and 40 cents an hour inside a six-year time period, overtime protections, maximum working hours at 44 hours a week in the first years of its

passage, 42 in the second, and 40 hours henceforth, to many wage laborers. The act was designed to advance the cause of white workers. Again, like the New Deal labor laws passed before it, it was implemented in a Jim Crow fashion. Domestic and agricultural workers, an overwhelming majority of which were African or Mexican Americans, were not covered under the act. Further, FLSA cost many African Americans their jobs. The disemployment of workers was mostly felt by African American laborers in the South who often performed labor at a rate less than the minimum wage mandated by the government. Two weeks after the passage of the FLSA, it is estimated by the Labor Department that 30,000 to 50,000 workers, predominantly black in the South, had lost their jobs as a result of the minimum wage provisions. For example, the percentage of African Americans in the tobacco industry declined from about 68 percent in 1930 to about 55 percent in 1940.

War

Of all the bills passed during the progressive days of the New Deal, the Selective Service Readjustment Act, also known as the **G.I. Bill**, was implemented in the most discriminatory fashion, and it, more than any other bill, did more to increase the economic gap between African Americans and their white counterparts. The G.I. Bill, passed in 1944, marks the largest social benefit bill ever passed by the federal government in a single initiative. The bill was designed to (re)integrate 16 million returning veterans; it reached 8 of every 10 men born in the 1920s. In a 28-year span from 1944 to 1971, federal spending totaled over \$90 billion, and by 1948, a massive 15 percent of the federal budget was geared toward funding the bill. The bill was designed to help returning veterans start a business, buy a home, or attend college. The bill is, no doubt, responsible for the making of the middle class.

The middle class it created was largely white. The G.I. Bill, like the New Deal bills it followed, was written under the patronage of Jim Crow and was prone to practice exclusionary policies that either rejected blacks outright or underfunded them dramatically in comparison to their white counterparts. Upon returning from World War II, many black veterans, no doubt, reaped the fruits of the G.I. Bill and attended colleges, started business, and experienced some upward mobility. However, the entrenched racism in the Jim Crow South and throughout America put many obstacles in front of blacks who sought to secure the benefits of the G.I. Bill. The bill was drafted by the openly racist, anti-black, anti-Catholic, and anti-Jewish John Rankin of **Mississippi**, and had to pass by Southern members of Congress who insisted that the G.I. Bill be decentralized from the federal government. The G.I. Bill left the administrative responsibilities up to the states. Leaving administrative tasks in the hands of policy makers in Jim Crow South, who feared that blacks would use their new status to dismantle segregation, proved to have negative consequences on African Americans. Locals administering the program at the Mississippi Unemployment Compensation Committee, strongly encouraged blacks not to apply for social benefits. Two years after the G.I. Bill's implementation, the committee had received only 2,600 applications from African Americans, whereas it received 16,000 from white applicants. When black

applicants were rewarded funding, they often had to overcome the discrimination of the institutions they wished to attend. Elite universities in the North were reluctant to admit blacks. The University of Pennsylvania, the most racially egalitarian university in 1946, boasted only 40 blacks out of an institutional enrollment of 9,000. Black enrollment in the North and the West never exceeded 5,000 African Americans in the 1940s. As a result, 95 percent of black veterans were forced to attend segregated, all-black colleges. However, because of Jim Crow policies that forced blacks to segregated, all-black institutions, and the failure of Southern states to fund black institutions, black colleges failed to keep up with the demand. Twenty thousand eligible blacks could not find an academic institution to attend in 1947, and as many as 50,000 might have sought admission if there would not have been such widespread Jim Crow policies.

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Jack A. Taylor III

New England

New England, a region in the northeast United States comprising of the six states of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, had few true **Jim Crow** laws, and saw Jim Crow as a sign of Southern backwardness. Still, customs, homeowners’ associations, and prejudice combined to keep blacks segregated or absent in many areas of the region.

Rhode Island, founded by dissidents who disagreed with many aspect of Puritan control over much of the rest of New England, had the largest population of free blacks in New England. This group of free blacks was one of the most literate and perhaps wealthiest black population in the colonies, having their own churches, schools, and other institutions. Paradoxically, Rhode Island also had the largest numbers of slaves in the region during most of the colonial period. While slavery generally played only a small direct role in the New England farm economy, many fortunes of coastal New Englanders were built directly or indirectly on the transatlantic slave trade. However the relatively low numbers of slaves in New England during the colonial era gave New Englanders no long-term attachment to the institution. Slavery was abolished during the Revolutionary era, mainly through the use of the courts. The new state constitutions drafted during or immediately after independence made no provisions for the institution, and enslaved people were able to sue

for the freedom. After the Revolution, New Englanders took an ambivalent stance toward **slavery**. Most saw it as a Southern problem and not their concern. Others saw it as a moral wrong, and New England became one of the centers of the abolitionist movement. The region became solidly Republican and backed President Abraham Lincoln throughout the Civil War. Following the Civil War, with the healing of the sectional rift and westward expansion, New England declined in national importance.

The rise of Jim Crow in the South had little initial impact on New England. Most visible signs of Jim Crow—such as separate water fountains—were absent in the region. New Englanders tended to retain a sense of cultural superiority over the South as a whole, and saw the existence of Jim Crow as an indication of Southern violence and backwardness. Blacks remained relatively few in New England, which was absorbing wave after wave of immigrants from the 1840s onward. The Irish formed the first massive wave that challenged the overwhelmingly English ethnic base of New England, and in general, old-stock Protestant New Englanders focused their energies in keeping the Irish down rather than the few blacks. Following the Irish, came waves of French Canadians, Polish, and, especially, Italians, all of whom were overwhelmingly Catholic. With few blacks, each immigrant group tended to occupy much of the social-economic positions blacks held in the South. However, with few true Jim Crow-type laws, immigrant groups usually began voting, and, with fewer physical clues to separate them from other New Englanders, tended to move up the social ladder after a generation or two as newer waves arrived.

The **Great Migration** brought far fewer blacks into New England than it did to the Midwest, West, or the Mid-Atlantic region, but blacks did become more numerous, especially in southern New England. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island all had separate schools for black children in urban areas, where the overwhelming majority of black New Englanders were clustered. The revived **Ku Klux Klan** in the 1920s and 1930s made few inroads into most of New England, although it did tend to find recruits in areas populated by old-stock white Protestants near cities with large immigrant populations. Connecticut had recurring incidents of groups of young white men claiming to be Klan groups, while northwest Rhode Island had a particularly large Klan organization. New England Klan groups were notable for the lack of violent acts perpetrated against Catholic, Jewish, or black persons, although two fires at an African American school in North Scituate, Rhode Island, in 1924 and 1926, were commonly held to have been started by Klansmen. But in general, most incidents of Klan activity that did occur in New England were as often as not directed against growing Roman Catholic power as against blacks.

However, blacks in the region tended to be clustered in certain urban neighborhoods, and thus black children in many New England cities attended what were in all but name segregated schools. The violence that accompanied the court-ordered busing as a means to integrate Boston Public Schools in 1974, served to show complacent New Englanders that racism was not confined to the South, but was alive and well in New England.

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Barry M. Stentiford

New Negro Movement

The New Negro Movement was a collective political, artistic, and social response to the pressures of **Jim Crow** from the late nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth. It occurred in two phases: first in the post-**Reconstruction** era and, secondly, in the 1920s in its most recognizable form during the **Harlem Renaissance**. In both stages, the movement was led by black intellectuals and artists who were distinguished as “New Negroes” from previous generations of enslaved African Americans. To correspond with the changing times, the concept and figure of a “New Negro” were debated and reconceptualized when social conditions worsened for all African Americans. Black disenfranchisement, “peonage slavery,” **lynchings**, race riots, and the creation of **Black Codes** to enforce systematic oppression marked the “**nadir**” of African American history in the last decades of nineteenth and ushered in a new modern age. Ultimately, the New Negro Movement was an opportunity to highlight African Americans’ achievements in the arts and letters as possible solutions to the race problem.

New historicists scholars and literary critics trace the development of the movement to the 1890s, when black intellectuals were determined to reconstruct the public image of African Americans. Minstrel characters such as “mammies,” “uncles,” and “coons” were paraded before American audiences as a popular form of entertainment. These caricatures of “ole time Negroes” also saturated the consumer market in product advertisements. Such negative stereotypical images of black people were more common to white Americans than the educated, professional class that had emerged since slavery. The conditions of the post-**Reconstruction** era—the birth of **Jim Crow** culture—did not halt African Americans’ racial progress. The period on the contrary gave birth to the “New Negro,” recognized by a difference in physical appearance, behavior, and attitude as a social equal. Such racial representatives were well-educated members of the black middle class. Their individual accomplishments in education, politics, the humanities, and sciences were taken as evidence of racial progress in general. Most importantly, these New Negroes would demand their political rights en masse.

It is more than mere coincidence then that the “**nadir**” of African American literature corresponds with the birth of **Jim Crow**. Public debates about the status of African Americans as second-class citizens ignited criticism from writers and poets alike. The corpus of protest literature produced during this first phase of the New Negro Movement address the deterioration of race relations. Crowned the “**Poet Laureate of the Race**,” **Paul Laurence Dunbar** in “**Sympathy**” and “**We Wear the Mask**” evokes the pathos and frustration of African Americans. Frances E. W. Harper’s political romance novel *Iola Leroy* (1892), Sutton E. Griggs’s *Imperium in Imperio* (1899), and Pauline

Hopkins's *Contending Forces* (1900) were among the earliest novels to appear as a sign of a New Negro literary renaissance. This is a period that is also commonly referred to as "Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem," a phrase coined by the southern black writer Charles W. Chesnutt. His own contributions included short story collections, *The Conjure Woman* (1899) and *The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line* (1899); race problem novels, *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900), *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), *The Colonel's Dream* (1905); and many political essays and speeches. In *A Voice From the South* (1892), renowned educator **Anna Julia Cooper** also contributed to this debate about race relations. Her text was essential to the development of black feminism as well as the New Negro Movement. **Booker T. Washington's** *Up From Slavery* (1901) and **W.E.B. Du Bois's** *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) are also key works in the development of a literary tradition created by black writer-activists around the turn of the century.

Altogether, these New Negroes created a body of literature as a testament to the progress of the race. In 1895, Victoria Earle Matthews, noted clubwoman and writer, had issued a call for the collection of such "race literature," which were "all the writings emanating from a distinct class—not necessarily race matter; but a general collection of what has been written by the men and women of that Race: History, Biographies, Scientific Treatises, Sermons, Addresses, Novels, Poems, Books of Travel, miscellaneous essays and the contributions to magazines and newspapers." Matthews, as did many of her contemporaries, firmly believed that, with race literature, African Americans would take their place among the world's greatest civilizations. Poets like George Clinton Rowe and Josephine Delphine Henderson Heard captured the optimism of the age. The assimilationist images of African Americans "rising" to take their place in white society were common in the genteel traditions at the "nadir." While many of these early writers and poets have been dismissed as accommodationists, their collective works testify to the obstacles African Americans overcame as proof of racial survival for future generations.

In response to segregation, two major black political organizations appeared during the first phase of the New Negro Movement. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League (NUL) were established in 1909 and 1911, respectively. Du Bois, members of his "Talented Tenth," and liberal white activists worked to make the NAACP the leading advocate for black civil rights. The NUL was created to meet the needs of thousands of African Americans migrating from the South to Northern urban areas. Many black writers would participate in the activities and hold positions in both organizations. James Weldon Johnson's involvement in the NAACP, for instance, would continue well into the second phase of the New Negro Movement. His novel *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912) is a transitional text, too. Initially published anonymously, the controversial work was later attributed to Johnson in 1927; by then, the author was already considered an architect of the Harlem Renaissance.

The outbreak of race riots after World War I stimulated the literary responses of the "new" Negro Movement of the 1920s. During the **Red Summer** of 1919, over 20 race riots exploded throughout the nation, especially

in large cities like Chicago and Washington, DC, with sizable populations of Southern black migrants. After returning from fighting for democracy abroad in Europe, African American soldiers arrived home to join the fight for social equality, too. The militant spirit of this generation, according to Gates, marks the evolution of the New Negro. Within the decade, this modern image and movement would be more political and place greater emphasis on literary aesthetics than the previous phase. Writings by Du Bois, **A. Phillip Randolph**, and Alain Locke signaled the reemergence of the New Negro as an educated, cultured, and, often, radical artist. Like Dunbar before him, Claude McKay became the new poetic voice of the New Negro Movement. His manifesto poem "If We Must Die" (1919) protests racial injustice as inspired by the violence of Red Summer. It introduced audiences to McKay's most important poetry collection, *Harlem Shadows* (1922), and to the black cultural renaissance in Harlem, New York.

For thousands of migrants, Harlem became the Black Mecca. Black Southerners believed it offered a chance to escape the harsh reality of Jim Crow segregation and racism in the South. With its nightclubs, theaters, literary societies, and businesses, the community's social, educational, and economic attractions catered to the black masses that congregated there. An exotic element was added with the arrival of black West Indians. **Marcus Garvey's** call for Black Nationalism, with his **Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)**, appealed especially to thousands of his fellow foreign migrants from throughout the black diaspora. As Locke described it, the "pulse of the Negro World [had] begun to beat in Harlem." White Americans also responded to this "beat" as they flocked to Harlem especially to witness the frenzy of the nightlife. For the black writers and artists, Harlem was a muse and cultural center. **Langston Hughes**, as a key figure of the Harlem Renaissance, helped to usher in this modern era of African American literature and culture that is defined by its creative mix of language and sound, rhythm and soul. He especially used the new American music, **jazz** and **blues**, to create poetry that could mimic the beat of jazz instruments, present the lamentations of a blues singer, or protest injustice, sometimes all in a single poem. Hughes' first poetry collection, *The Weary Blues* (1926), is among the most innovative works of the New Negro Movement. Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923) and Jessie Redmon Fauset's *There is Confusion* (1924) are also recognized as prolific novels of the new era. This younger generation of New Negro artists also includes poets Countee Cullen, Gwendolyn Bennett, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Sterling Brown as well as a talented group of other novelists like Nella Larsen, Rudolph Fisher, Wallace Thurman, and Zora Neale Hurston.

Political establishments and generous patrons sponsored most of the literature produced during the 1920s New Negro Movement. Both NAACP and the NUL created awards for emerging writers and poets. Contests were announced in the pages of *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* magazines, the respective publications of the NAACP and the NUL. Banquets well attended by the cultural elite were held in honor of the award winners. Hughes, Fauset, Cullen, and Hurston, among others, were literary stars at these events. Their works attracted the attention of white patrons, whom Hurston nicknamed "Negrotarians." W.E.B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson were members

of the old guard, or the “Talented Tenth,” that formed alliances with these white patrons. By the middle of the movement, however, generational conflicts appeared between the civil rights establishment and members of the “Niggerati,” Hurston’s label for African American artists themselves. The publication of the infamous journal *Fire!!* (1926), edited by Thurman, led the charge against the older set and their artistic propaganda intentions for the New Negro Movement.

Thurman, Hughes, Hurston, and other younger rebels revolted in their more crude expressions of blackness that repulsed the refined tastes of the political guardians and financial backers of the renaissance. Du Boisian leadership had manipulated the arts and letters of the movement to improve race relations by insisting on aesthetic value as proof of racial progress just as his early contemporaries had envisioned around the turn of the nineteenth century. Hughes and his set were more interested in using their art to promote authentic blackness, images of the common folk, unfiltered for white audiences. As spokesman, Hughes proudly boasted: “We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn’t matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn’t matter either.” The “pure” black soul freely expressing itself was the ultimate goal of the New Negro artist by the end of the movement when the stock market crashed in 1929, leading to the start of the **Great Depression** of the 1930s. *See also* Great Migration.

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Sherita L. Johnson

Niagara Movement

The Niagara Movement was a short-lived association of mostly college-educated and professional black men in the North who held a series of annual conferences between 1905 and 1909 to call for an end to racial discrimination and to protest racial injustice. The movement, led by **W.E.B. Du Bois** and William Monroe Trotter, carried on its work independent of **Booker T. Washington** and despite his determined opposition. The annual meetings of the association called for full and equal civil rights for black people and rejected Washington’s policies of accommodation and compromise. The Niagara Movement is regarded as a forerunner to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which was established in 1909.

By 1905, Booker T. Washington had consolidated his position as the leader of the Negro race in the United States with both black and white audiences.

Washington was the founder and president of Tuskegee Institute (today Tuskegee University) and controlled a network of black newspapers, friends, supporters, and improvement associations—such as the Afro-American Council and the National Negro Business League—referred to collectively as the “Tuskegee Machine.” His policies relied on the favor of white philanthropists, postponed black claims to civil rights, accepted racial segregation, and rejected protest as an instrument for black advancement. Du Bois and Trotter, among others, were critics of this approach.

Du Bois’s classic volume, *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903, included a full chapter entitled “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others” in which he dismissed Washington’s approach to racial advancement as deeply flawed and contradictory. Nonetheless, Washington continued to seek Du Bois’s cooperation and allegiance, inviting him late in 1903 to join a conference of African American leaders in New York, financed by Andrew Carnegie. There, Du Bois helped form the Committee of Twelve, dominated by Washington loyalists. Finding himself surrounded and outvoted, Du Bois again denounced Washington’s policies in print and resigned from the committee in July 1904, parting ways with the Tuskegee Machine.

Du Bois and Trotter, together with Charles E. Bentley, a leading Chicago physician, and Frederick McGhee, a prominent lawyer in St. Paul, Minnesota—all opponents of Washington’s accommodationism—agreed to arrange for a meeting of like-minded men in Buffalo, New York. Du Bois circulated a statement of intentions that was signed by some 50 prominent African American men. Twenty-nine of them (and one boy) gathered from July 10–14, 1905, in Fort Erie, Ontario, on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. Racial barriers at the Buffalo hotel had forced a last-minute change of venue.

Those who gathered at the Niagara meeting represented the elite of the Talented Tenth—lawyers, newspaper owners, physicians, ministers, educators, and businessmen—mostly from the North and Midwest, although six were from the South. (The Far West was not represented.) Du Bois was elected general secretary of the association.

The “Declaration of Principles” issued by the first meeting of the Niagara Movement defined the goals of the group. Using the defiant language of protest, the declaration demanded full civil rights for all black people in the United States. One article states:

Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency or prejudice. . . . [D]iscriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color of skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

Although Booker T. Washington was not mentioned by name, it was made clear that the participants, who were later to be known as the Niagarites, were unanimous in their opposition to his policies. One article of the Declaration reads:

PROTEST: We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of

ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust.

There was no question that the Niagara Movement rejected compromise and accommodation in favor of agitation and protest. Again:

Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the co-operation of all men of all races.

The agent whom Washington had sent to spy on the conclave in Buffalo was foiled by the unexpected change of venue. Afterwards however, with a flurry of letters, his public denunciation of the "Declaration of Principles," orders to black newspapers to ignore the event, and favors of cash to reinforce his opinions, Washington was able to ensure that the Niagara Movement went almost unmentioned in the black press.

The second annual meeting of the Niagara Movement was held in August 1906, at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, the site of John Brown's famous attempted insurrection. Women were not admitted to the conference, primarily due to the opposition of Trotter. But the assembly voted to allow women to attend the following year. Those who gathered heard reports of racial injustice and rousing speeches calling for Negro rights. Du Bois's "Address to the Country" at the end of the conference summed up: "We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and to assail the ears of America." But the movement was almost without financial resources.

By the time of the 1907 meeting in Boston, the Niagara Movement had 34 state chapters, although only one in the South. The Boston conference was the largest ever, attended by some 800 delegates. But neither Du Bois nor Trotter attended the conference in 1908, in Oberlin, Ohio, due to Trotter's personal disputes with Du Bois and with other Niagarites. That year, Trotter broke away to form his own group, the Negro-American Political League.

The last annual meeting was held in August 1909, at Sea Isle City, New Jersey, with members divided and discouraged. Constant opposition from the Tuskegee Machine, financial troubles, and personal disputes had all but destroyed the organization. In 1911, Du Bois sent a circular letter to all members of the Niagara Movement canceling plans for future meetings and disbanding the group. He urged all Niagarites to join the NAACP. Most did.

In terms of concrete political achievements, the Niagara Movement accomplished nothing. However, in the context of Booker T. Washington's near monopoly of power within the black community, his veto over white philanthropy, and his policies of silence in the face of racial injustice, the movement kept alive the tradition of black protest during a conservative era. Fiery sermons on racial equality at the Niagara meetings mostly preached to radical, educated black elites who were already converted. But the movement paved the way for its successor, the NAACP, and for the future **Civil Rights**

Movement, which would carry forward the same cause. *See also* Atlanta Compromise.

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Anthony A. Lee

North Carolina

North Carolina had a relatively small slave population before the Civil War, with most slaves confined to the coastal plain. Unlike neighboring **Virginia** and **South Carolina**, much of North Carolina was covered with hills and mountains, and thus poor plantation country. The state was lukewarm about secession. During the **Jim Crow** era, North Carolina followed the practices common in much of the South. Despite the entrenchment of Jim Crow in the state, whites took some pride in what they believed were good race relations, and often contrasted the apparently peaceful nature of race relations in North Carolina with those of other states. The **Civil Rights Movement**, however, drew attention to daily discriminations and humiliations blacks faced, and forced the state to begin to come to terms with its legacy.

The **Republican Party** remained a force in North Carolina longer after the end of **Reconstruction** than it had in most Southern states. In 1898, Democrats rioted in Wilmington, killing a dozen black Republicans and forcing out all Republican officeholders. With this use of overt force and violence, the Democrats were able to destroy the two-party system in North Carolina, and institute Jim Crow without political opposition. With blacks stripped of political power, some towns, such as Spruce Pine, used violence to drive out its entire black population. North Carolina adopted the poll tax specifically to deny African Americans the right to vote without invoking challenges based on the Fifteenth Amendment. However, in 1920, as part of the Progressive reform movement, the state repealed the poll tax, largely because it disenfranchised more whites than blacks.

North Carolina’s segregated educational system followed those of most of the South, in that the state rigidly enforced “separation,” but paid no heed to “equal.” During the 1914–1915 school year, the state spent about \$4,000,000 for educating whites, and only about \$600,000 on black students. Even given the larger white population of the state, the figure represented a significant lower rate per student for black students. In counties with more black students than white students, more funds went for white schools than black schools. White teachers throughout the state in 1910 earned on average three times more than black teachers.

The presence of the Lumbee Indians in North Carolina led to a three-tier educational system, unlike the two-tier system in most of the Jim Crow South. Native Americans opposed state efforts to classify them as “colored,” and did not want their children assigned to the black schools. Part of this came from the stigma of black schools as inferior, but also from cultural and political

goals trends of Indians nationwide that were at odds with those of African Americans. Unlike blacks, Indians often resisted attempts to assimilate them, and preferred instead that their children attend schools with other Indians. School districts with tribalized Indian populations created separate schools for blacks, whites, and Indians.

While North Carolina had a medical school for blacks from the Reconstruction era, reforms of medical schools in the early twentieth century closed the school, leaving North Carolina without a source to train black doctors. This was part of a regional trend, until only Howard in Washington and Meharry in Nashville remained as a source of black doctors for much of the South. The result was that black patients either had to see white doctors, or more likely, simply relied on unlicensed folk practitioners, or did without medical care.

Despite the self-image of most white North Carolinians that their state stood separate from most of the South in its race relations, the stirring of the Civil Rights Movement, and the reaction of state officials to challenges to the status quo, exposed the underlying oppression of blacks in the state. In 1946, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Morgan v. Virginia* that state laws requiring segregation on buses involved in interstate commerce were unconstitutional. In 1947, a "Journey of Reconciliation" tested whether states were honoring the decision. An interracial group of passengers attempted to travel by bus through the South. In North Carolina, police arrested many of the riders for violating state laws. When the riders refused to pay the fines, they were placed on the state's prison chain gangs.

The town of Greensboro, in the 1950s, saw itself as a paradigm of peaceful race relations, despite the very real presence of Jim Crow segregation. The years since the start of World War II had actually seen an increase in segregation in the city. On February 1, 1960, four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, a black state college in Greensboro, walked into the lunch counter at the local Woolworth's department store and sat down for service. The four young men were Ezell A. Blair, Jr., David Richmond, Joseph McNeil, and Franklin McCain. Under Jim Crow restrictions in force at the time, only white patrons could use the seats, black patrons had to either get their food to go, or eat it while standing. At the time, the Woolworth's lunch counter was one of the nation's largest restaurant chains, and often was responsible for a large percentage of each store's profits. As a national chain, it was more vulnerable to the negative publicity the incident brought. The use of the sit-in had been used by the Congress of Racial Equality in Chicago in 1942, in St. Louis in 1949, and in Baltimore in 1952, but the Greensboro sit-in caught the attention of the national media. The four students were well dressed and well groomed, polite, and patient. They waited all day, and were not served. The next day they returned, along with about 27 supporters. Within a few days, the number had grown to over a thousand. The movement spread throughout the South, and drew attention to unfairness of many of the daily forms of discrimination most blacks faced. By July, the four were able to sit at the Woolworth's lunch counter and be served.

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, which ruled segregated schools unconstitutional, states of the South began to desegregate, albeit

slowly. In North Carolina, the process more closely followed that of Virginia and the Deep South in opposition and the use of delaying tactics. The eventual integration of public schools, although far from uniformly instituted, resulted in the demotion and displacement of many black teachers. While some of the demotions resulted from the generally lower credentials of many black teachers—itsself a legacy of Jim Crow—the dismissal and demotion of many black principals came more from deep-seated white opposition to having a school where white children attended being run by a black person. Additionally, the idea of white teachers having a black principal also caused fear and opposition from whites. Erasing the effects of Jim Crow would take more than court orders—it would take a change in attitudes and, more often, a change of generations.

In much of the South, patterns of residential segregation worked against integration of public schools. If students attended their local neighborhood public school, and the entire neighborhood was all white or all black as a result of generations of **residential segregation**, then school integration was a meaningless concept. Proponents of integration proposed using school buses to ensure some black students attended previously all-white schools, and that some white students attended previously all-black schools. Busing was widely unpopular with white parents but also with some black parents, because it meant long bus rides for their children, and taking them away from their neighborhood school. North Carolina passed a law that prohibited school districts from using busing as a means to integrate schools.

The large school district of Charlotte-Mecklenburg reflected the demographic reality of most of the South, where blacks lived in separate neighborhoods from whites. A series of legal challenges beginning in 1965 led eventually to the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (402 U.S. 1) in 1971 that busing was a constitutional and appropriate means of integrating public schools. Busing remained a controversial tactic, but the legality of its use had been settled. As in many other aspects of the long struggle to end Jim Crow, North Carolina provided an unwilling battleground, but its own image of itself as a Southern state spared most of the racial strife of most of the South, made residents uncomfortable with overtly racist politics, and helped bring about the eventual end of Jim Crow. *See also* Greensboro Four.

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Barry M. Stentiford

O

One-Drop Rule

The “one-drop rule” is an ideological way of defining blackness as opposed to whiteness based on an individual’s ancestral lineage. It assumes that even a minuscule amount of “black blood” (or having only one black ancestor) is enough to classify a mixed-race person “black” despite the dominant racial traits inherited. Terms like “mulatto,” “quadroon,” and “octoroon” were created to categorize individuals based on the percentage of traceable black ancestry. For example, a mulatto is a person with one black parent and one white parent. The blood equations get more complex with each generation: a quadroon has one black and three white ancestors (or, one-fourth black heritage); an octoroon has one black and seven white ancestors (or, one-eighth black heritage). In each successive generation, a mixed-race person may appear more white than black in complexion.

Historically, the one-drop rule has been used only in America to distinguish between people with a distinct black African heritage and those with a “pure” white European heritage. It reinforced the color line that endorses white supremacy and black inferiority. This was especially the case during slavery, when visual perceptions of race and racial differences were based initially on color. Slaves imported from Africa had dark skin and other distinct physical features (e.g., kinky hair, prominent noses, and full lips) unlike their white captors with pale skin, straight hair, and thin noses and lips. These biological traits would become codified cultural markings for racial differences. The common practice of miscegenation, however, made defining race more complicated. The sexual relationships, most often between white men and black female slaves, produced offspring of various complexions. No longer would all black people have specific physical features as visual signifiers of their blackness. Light-complexioned “black” people also undermined the purity of whiteness and its ideological implications; many could “pass” or live as a “white” person easily without detection. By some estimates, from the 1880s through the 1950s, thousands of mixed-race individuals chose to pass for white rather than live as a black person facing racial prejudice and discrimination in a segregated society.

In the South, early **Jim Crow** legislation authorized the one-drop rule to set precedence for “**separate but equal**” racial segregation. A legal team led by Albion Tourgee chose **Homer Plessy**, a light-skinned shoemaker from New Orleans, to challenge Louisiana’s 1890 statute to provide separate accommodations for its black and white passengers. Such restrictions on Southern railways were common, catering more to whites than blacks, with clean and well-kept seating for whites and dirty and second-rate accommodations for black patrons. Plessy deliberately sat in a white section, was arrested only when he identified himself as “colored,” and then refused to leave the car. When the case appeared before the **U.S. Supreme Court**, racial classification was a key factor in determining the constitutionality of Louisiana’s transit laws. Visual perceptions of race were unreliable in this case when a “black” man who appeared white crosses racial boundaries literally and figuratively. Although others perceived him as “white,” Plessy decided not to pass, and the one-drop rule made his blackness visible before a law that was not color-blind. The Supreme Court ruled against the plaintiff in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, citing that a mixed-race individual could not be both black and white, but segregation laws could accommodate two races.

Several landmark cases continued to uphold the one-drop rule based on law and custom throughout the twentieth century. Challenges to anti-**miscegenation** laws that forbade interracial marriage usually involved individuals who either passed for white or unknowingly had black ancestry. Fractional equations for defining a black person varied state to state: **Mississippi** and **Missouri** once had a one-eighth criterion, **Virginia** a one-fourth to one-eighth, and **Louisiana** a one-thirty-second black statute. The latter was contested in 1970 when a blue-eyed, blond woman named Susie Guillory Phipps wanted to change her racial designation from “black” to “white.” However, she proved to be the descendent of an eighteenth-century French planter and his slave mistress despite Phipps’s unquestionably white appearance.

Scholars argue that race is not a biological classification, but is socially constructed instead. Often individuals are identified in particular communities by a fixed racial identity that may not depend on color but caste. Recent studies suggests that Americans have also depended on more than just sight to “sense race.” Understanding the sounds, tastes, touch, and smell of racial characteristics (or a belief in them) may help us to perceive cultural differences (and similarities) that the “one-drop rule” dismisses.

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Sherita L. Johnson

Owens, Jesse (1913–1980)

Athlete James Cleveland Owens was born September 12, 1913, in Danville, **Alabama**. His father was a **sharecropper**, and his grandparents were slaves. Owens became a household name during the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin,

Germany. He won four gold medals, set two world records, and shared a third with his teammates for his performance in track and field. Owens's performance in the Olympic Games was more than rewriting record books. As an African American performing in the capital of Nazi Germany; it served notice that Adolf Hitler's vision of Aryan supremacy was idiocy.

At the age of nine, Owens moved to Cleveland, Ohio. Upon arrival at school, a teacher asked him his name. He replied, "J. C." The teacher interpreted this as "Jesse," and the new moniker stuck. As a teenager, Owens participated in track and field. His performance caught the attention of many universities. Although he earned a spot on the track team at Ohio State University, he was not offered a scholarship and worked evenings as an elevator operator to pay his way through college.

After success at Ohio State, Owens qualified for the U.S. Olympic track and field team, to participate in the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. At this time, Germany was governed by the National Socialist (Nazi) Party, which believed the so-called Aryan race was superior to others and should govern the planet. Hitler publicly expressed his desire to use the Olympic Games as an ideological showcase. Because of this, a great amount of pressure was placed upon the United States, and other nations, not to participate. Despite this, the United States sent teams to Berlin. Owens won gold medals in the 100-meter race, 200-meter race, and broad jump. He shared another gold medal with his teammates in the 400-meter relay. His performances set or met individual effort world records in the 100- and 200-meter relays as well as the broad jump. The records stood for over 20 years.

Despite his success, Hitler did not personally congratulate Owens as he did gold medal winners who were white. Years later, when asked about Hitler's snub in Berlin, Owens responded, "I didn't go to Berlin to shake hands with him [Hitler], anyway. All I know is that I'm here now, and Hitler isn't."

After Owens retired from running, he earned a living as a highly paid motivational speaker. His success in public speaking allowed him to found a public relations firm. This firm became a vehicle in which Owens donated his time and money to many charitable organizations, youth sports programs were among his favorites.

In 1976, President Gerald Ford formally recognized Owens's contributions to his country by awarding him with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter bestowed to him the Living Legends Award. He lived much of the remainder of his life in Arizona. Owens died March 31, 1980 in Tucson, Arizona. *See also* Great Migration; Sports; World War II.

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James Newman

P

Parks, Rosa (1913–2005)

Known as the “mother of the civil rights movement,” Rosa Louise McCauley Parks is one of the most famous historical figures in American history. By refusing to surrender her seat to a white passenger on a segregated bus, Parks violated one of the many **Jim Crow** laws. Her actions and arrest served as the impetus for the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**.

On February 4, 1913, Rosa was born in Tuskegee, **Alabama**, to James and Leona McCauley. Reared and educated in rural Pine Level, Alabama, Rosa was known as a soft-spoken, intelligent student. She continued her education at Montgomery Industrial School for girls and Alabama State Teacher’s College High School. However, due to several illnesses in the family, Rosa postponed graduation to help out at home. In 1932, she married local barber Raymond Parks and received her high school diploma two years later. In Montgomery, the couple worked together in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Parks served as the branch secretary and youth leader of the NAACP and worked as a seamstress in a downtown department store.

On December 1, 1955, the 43-year-old Parks boarded the city bus after work. Since all of the seats in the back were taken, Parks sat in the first row of the black section. At the next stop a white male passenger asked for Parks’s seat. She refused to move. The bus driver ordered Parks to move and threatened to call the cops. Again, she refused to move and was arrested. Parks never thought she would make history that day; her only desire was “to know once and for all what rights I had as a human being.”

Parks became the symbol of hundreds of thousands of African Americans who had suffered as second-class citizens. Her actions served as the spark for the Montgomery bus boycott. The NAACP and Women’s Political Council (WPC) had organized long before this incident but had waited for such an event to rally their cause around. Only days after Parks’s arrest, the boycott of the Montgomery bus system began.

Shortly after her arrest, Parks lost her job in the department store, and two years later, Parks and her husband moved to Detroit, Michigan. For more than 20 years, Parks worked as an assistant to Michigan’s U.S. congressman John

Conyers. In 1987, Parks cofounded the Rosa & Raymond Parks Institute for Self Development, which focuses its efforts on encouraging and leading children to reach their fullest potential.

As an activist, lecturer, and writer, Parks continued to inspire thousands of Americans. In addition to the 43 honorary doctorate degrees, Parks also received the NAACP Springarn Medal, UAW's Social Justice Award, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Non-Violent Peace Prize, the Medal of Freedom, and the Congressional Gold Medal, to name a few. The strong, soft-spoken woman whose courage changed the nation died at the age of 92.

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Emily Hess

Passing

The common perception of passing is of a light-complexioned African American assuming the identity of a white person. Under the conditions of **Jim Crow**, passing was an opportunity to gain social, political, and economic benefits afforded by white supremacist ideology. This phenomenon occurred regularly during slavery when mulatto slaves wanted to escape or prevent capture once free. In 1848, for instance, William and Ellen Craft devised an elaborate passing scheme when they ran away from a **Georgia** plantation. Ellen was light enough to pass as a white man; she wore the disguise of a sickly gentleman, accompanied by “his” male slave (her husband William) traveling to the North. They figured that it would be more believable for Ellen to appear as a white man rather than face the impropriety of a Southern white woman accompanied by a black man. The Crafts arrived in Philadelphia undetected, and their story was later documented in *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom* (1860). In places like New Orleans with large populations of free mulattos, many of them could or did easily assimilate into white society throughout the nineteenth century. Such accounts of racial passing were less frequent during the **Reconstruction** era (1863–1877), when more liberal circumstances provided less motivation for passing throughout the South. African Americans, for the first time in American history, enjoyed greater political freedom than ever before. However, Reconstruction ended when Southern states that were readmitted to the Union sought revenge for losing the Civil War and the radical Republican policies that destroyed and made amends for slavery. Segregation was codified and enforced as a systematic form of racial oppression, hence the birth of Jim Crow. Many African Americans who passed for white then did so to avoid the hardships of racial discrimination, prejudice, and often violence. Essentially, they could live as free people in a democratic society. Their choices for education, housing, shopping, employment, transportation, and even entertainment would not be limited by their black racial

identity. On the contrary, the chance to acquire equal rights and social privileges then reserved for whites only seemed worth the risk.

Passing required life-altering changes based on the kind and length of the experience. Some individuals might have passed involuntarily if their mixed-race heritage was unknown; they could have been born under such pretenses if their family kept the secret of passing (which they often did). This is the sort of racial tragedy dramatized in fiction, though it occurred often in real life. Others severed ties completely from their black family to live a solitary white life. This separation of family or loss of communal relationships could have been devastating consequences for passing. The disconnection from familiar environments and people could symbolize “passing” as the death of a former life. While investigating race relations in the deep South during the 1930s, sociologists explained this kind of passing as social death and rebirth. When the truth was revealed or while passing, an individual could likely have experienced psychological conflicts about identifying with either race. Those who fully assimilated, however, may not have suffered emotional distress. Some even married “pure” whites to further dilute their bloodline. The fear of producing “black” offspring could then prevent the passer from having any children at all. So having a white complexion alone did not guarantee the passer success.

The discovery of an individual’s true identity was a foremost concern when the “**one-drop rule**” was used to define blackness. Having a traceable black ancestry (or any “black blood”) was enough to classify a mixed-race person “black” despite the dominant white racial traits inherited. Descriptions of biracial individuals as “near-white” or “white Negroes” suggest racial impurities or an invisible blackness that many whites feared. Black-to-white passers were therefore complicit in their attempts to assimilate under white surveillance, especially in the Jim Crow South. Racial ambiguity threatened segregation and sensitized white Southerners to maintain the status quo. They proclaimed an ability to detect any passers with visible or invisible signs of blackness. If the average African American developed a double consciousness as theorized by **W.E.B. Du Bois** in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), passers were even more sensitive to racism. The “peculiar sensation” of “always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others” was fundamental to their concealment. Du Bois challenged segregationists’ reliance on ocular proof of black inferiority with his American Negro Exhibit at the 1900 Paris Exposition. Many of the photographs on display featured African Americans of questionable racial origins: pale complexions, light eyes, thin noses, and various hair textures. These images of exceptional blacks proved that they could “pass” as model citizens and undermine white peoples’ perception of blackness.

Despite close racial scrutiny, the “great age of passing” occurred at the height of Jim Crow during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thousands crossed the color line to defy legal segregation, social restrictions, and geographical boundaries. Since the majority of African Americans lived in the South, those wanting to pass would migrate to the North, where they could become “new people” without the burden of race. Or, they could take advantage of the opportunity to live a double life. Alex Manly, a mulatto journalist from North Carolina, fled the South during a race riot in 1898. When he

relocated to Philadelphia, he divided his time working as a white man during the day and returned home to his black family in the evening. He eventually decided to live as a black man permanently, though he could not find suitable employment to support his family as such. When passing proved to be a costly venture, other alternatives became attractive options for circumventing the race problem. Some African Americans passed for European immigrants, who would often receive better treatment upon arrival to this country than black people in America. French, Italian, Spanish, and other foreign ethnicities were ideal covers used to explain the variations of colored complexions among African Americans resulting from generations of **miscegenation**. To appear more convincing, passers adopting a foreign ethnicity would even speak in a native tongue when approached by suspicious whites. Mary Church Terrell, a leading civil rights activist and black feminist, would often pass for white inadvertently or on purpose as she traveled through the South on lecture tours during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Terrell spoke several languages and easily passed for a European native as well as a cultured, white Southern belle when necessary to avoid traveling in filthy Jim Crow railway cars.

Whether passing on a temporary or permanent basis, an individual who passed for white during the Jim Crow era risked their personal safety. There were (or could have been) violent repercussions after discovery. “**Separate but equal**” policies of segregation tried to determine the limits of interracial mixing in public spaces. Yet, the culture of segregation depended on the “myth” of absolute racial differences, and passing violated the metaphorical and legal limits of segregation. Cases of mistaken identity did occur when African Americans with Caucasian features did not appear “black.” Such individuals were often treated with dignity and respect by whites who were unaware of the racial stigma that defined the passer’s blackness. Charles Chesnutt was a popular light-skinned African American novelist who experienced life on the color line in this way. He withheld his racial identity with the release of early works to avoid racial censure and received critical reviews on the basis of his artistry alone and not his ancestry. When done as a conscious or deliberate act, however, others lived as a spy crossing racial boundaries. These African Americans sat or ate in the “white only” sections of trains, theaters, and restaurants without detection. **Walter White**, for example, was an investigative reporter for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) during the 1920s. With light skin, blue eyes, and wavy blond hair, the natural disguise White wore to investigate **lynchings** throughout the South protected him. His subversive act of passing could have easily made him a victim of the same crimes that he witnessed and reported on in *The Crisis*. Years earlier as a young boy, White and his father survived the 1906 Atlanta race riots also by passing as white men until they reached the safety of their home.

African American writers have often fictionalized passing narratives to depict Jim Crow race relations. In her 1892 novel *Iola Leroy*, Frances Harper’s mulatto protagonist passes as a white woman until her black heritage is revealed after the death of her parents. The novel unfolds as Iola learns to survive as a “black” woman facing racial discrimination and prejudice. She decides not to pass as a white woman because of her familial relations and

racial obligations. Both her and her brother devote their lives to “uplifting the race” as they identify with all African Americans in the struggle for civil equality. Their commitment to become race leaders instead of “race traitors” is a decision made by real mulattos like Walter White with his NAACP activism. Charles Chesnutt’s novels often depict mixed-race or “tragic mulatto” characters that experience biological and social conflicts due to their “warring blood” or inherited racial traits. Those that do not succumb to a tragic end (death, desertion, exile, etc.) cross the color line and disappear into white society. As art imitates life, Chesnutt’s stories explore the options for passing presented to light-skinned African Americans who seek the benefits of the privileged class. In *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912), James Weldon Johnson examines the racial paradox in America through an anonymous protagonist who passes for both white and black: “I know that I am playing with fire, and I feel the thrill which accompanies that most fascinating pastime; and, back of it all, I think I find a sort of savage and diabolical desire to gather up all the little tragedies of my life, and turn them into a practical joke on society” Using social realism to captivate his readers, Johnson’s novel was a successful literary hoax initially since many people believed the autobiography was a truthful account of passing. The republication of the novel with Johnson’s authorship finally acknowledged appeared in 1927.

Like Johnson, Nella Larsen, Jessie Redmon Fauset, and George Schuyler were other African American novelists that continued to develop the theme of passing during the **Harlem Renaissance**. Works by Larsen and Fauset are populated by characters with mixed-race ancestries and thus the burden of race. Larsen presents the psychological trauma of mulatto women in her 1929 novel about complex racial, class, and gender identities. Aptly titled *Passing*, the work explores the motivations and consequences of Irene Redfield and Clare Kendry passing as socialites on both sides of the color line. Schuyler’s *Black No More* (1931) provides a satirical solution to America’s race problem by interrogating the power of whiteness. The plot dramatizes racism when black people are transformed into white people via a commercially successful whitening process invented by a black scientist.

White writers like **William Faulkner** also experimented with the passing theme. He created mulatto characters in works like *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936) and *Intruder in the Dust* (1948) that challenged white Southerners’ abilities to sense race under segregation. His **Mississippi** settings were ideal to dramatize many white Southerners’ racial paranoia. Not only were light-skinned blacks the target of bigots, but liberal whites sympathetic to blacks’ civil rights were also labeled “white niggers” like those in Faulkner’s fiction.

Reverse passing of “mulattos” with white skin and black behavior made for controversial headlines in twentieth-century divorce cases. The scandalous Rhinelander trial of 1924, as detailed in *Love on Trial: An American Scandal in Black and White* (2002), captured the nation’s obsession with racial purity and segregation culture. The marriage of a white New York socialite, Leonard Rhinelander, to a working-class domestic, Alice Jones, was annulled when the husband accused his wife of not being completely white. Jones did have mysterious racial origins, though her family did not try to pass for white. Ultimately, her class status proved more of a moral transgression than the

scandalous interracial affair staged for the public. Other examples of white-to-black passers' moral failures were not uncommon in multiracial families. "Pure" white siblings would identify as "black" to keep their family relations with black half-siblings intact. Illegitimate whites would also identify as "black" to avoid the stigma of being born a bastard.

Recently, genealogical research has proven how generations of "white" Americans are actually descendants of light-skinned African Americans who passed for various reasons. Attempts to untangle ancestral roots have resulted in revised historical accounts of slavery, fractured memoirs, and emotional family reunions. Edward Ball, a white descendant of prominent **South Carolina** slaveowners, documents his tedious research into family records in two books, *Slaves in the Family* (1998) and *The Sweet Hell Inside: The Rise of an Elite Black Family in the Segregated South* (2002). In *Life on the Color Line: The True Story of a White Boy Who Discovered He Was Black* (1996), Gregory Howard Williams recalls his coming-of-age during segregation. Shirley Taylor Haizlip likewise reconstructs the difficult past relations of her multiracial family in *The Sweeter the Juice: A Family Memoir in Black and White* (1995); it chronicles the lives of two sisters who were separated for nearly 70 years as each lived in different worlds. The publication of these works and numerous others signals a sort of revival of passing narratives since the demise of Jim Crow.

While the authors present intriguing exposés of passing, first-hand accounts of passing rarely exist because of the fear discovery. Anonymous testimonies were published only when necessary as political propaganda. Many "post-passing" narratives are only now being studied as evidence of the pressures to adapt to racist society; these stories and similar reports about the "past" trend of passing were published in popular black periodicals like *Ebony* and *Jet* during the 1950s. A notable example is John Howard Griffin's *Black Like Me* (1960), his autobiography of becoming a "black" man within the last decade of Jim Crow. Like Walter White, Griffin's mission as a white "spy" was to investigate black life in the Deep South and report his findings to promote racial understanding. His white-to-black passing appealed to American racism by dissecting America's own "white" consciousness. Griffin's timely publication appeared on the cusp of a new era in the history of passing. After all, black-to-white passing at least had become "passé" as the **Civil Rights** and Black Power movements redefined blackness in positive ways. The racial pride anthem "black is beautiful," for instance, proclaimed a new generation of African Americans' acceptance of darker skin complexion and validated black culture in general.

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Sherita L. Johnson

***Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)**

Plessy v. Ferguson was a landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 that upheld the constitutionality of state laws requiring racial segregation in public accommodations (particularly railroad passenger cars) and that established the doctrine of “**separate but equal**” as the constitutional standard for such laws. The Supreme Court held that neither the Thirteenth nor the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution could be used to challenge intrastate segregation laws. The decision resulted in a proliferation of laws mandating racial segregation in public spaces throughout the South, providing constitutional justification for hardening the de facto separation of the races established by custom into state law. This decision stood for nearly 60 years until the Court reversed itself, beginning in 1954 with *Brown v. Board of Education* and other cases that followed. The Court specifically outlawed segregation in all public transportation in 1956 in *Gayle v. Browder*.

With the end of the Civil War, Southern states were occupied by Federal troops during the period known as **Reconstruction** (1865–1877). Military occupation could, at first, guarantee that former slaves could fully exercise their voting rights and their civil rights on an equal basis with whites. However, when Reconstruction ended and federal troops were withdrawn, newly won black rights came under attack. Even before the end of Reconstruction, a pattern of racial separation had developed that, while not compelled by statute, pervaded Southern life. By the 1880s, states began to give these patterns the sanction of law.

In 1890 the Louisiana state legislature passed a law that required “equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races” on all passenger railroads within the state. An exception was provided for nurses attending children of another race. Almost immediately, the black and French-speaking Creole citizens of New Orleans organized to oppose the law. The Citizen’s Committee to Test the Constitutionality of the Separate Car Law, known as *Comité des Citoyens*, resolved to establish in court that the law violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The committee, which included prominent whites in New Orleans, agreed that a 30-year-old shoemaker, **Homer Plessy**, should test the law. Plessy was a French-speaking resident of New Orleans chosen specifically because he was only one-eighth black (an octoroon in the parlance of the time) and, according to his lawyer, “the mixture [was] not discernible.” In this way, the committee hoped to expose the arbitrariness of the law.

Clearly, Plessy could have occupied the white car of any train in Louisiana without trouble. But on June 7, 1892, by prearrangement with the railroad company, he sat in a railway car reserved for whites only and refused to leave when asked. The railroad conductor and a private detective hired by the *Comité des Citoyens* then removed him to the police station, where he was booked and released on \$500 bond. The railroad company officials seem to have lent some silent support to the committee’s court challenge because they were unhappy about the extra expense of providing separate cars for blacks and whites mandated by the law.

Excerpts from *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896, pp. 1, 9, 11

That petitioner was a citizen of the United States and a resident of the state of Louisiana, of mixed descent, in the proportion of seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every recognition, right, privilege, and immunity secured to the citizens of the United States of the white race by its constitution and laws; that on June 7, 1892, he engaged and paid for a first-class passage on the East Louisiana Railway, from New Orleans to Covington, in the same state, and thereupon entered a passenger train, and took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated; that such railroad company was incorporated by the laws of Louisiana as a common carrier, and was not authorized to distinguish between citizens according to their race, but, notwithstanding this, petitioner was required by the conductor, under penalty of ejection from said train and imprisonment, to vacate said coach, and occupy another seat, in a coach assigned by said company for persons not of the white race, and for no other reason than that petitioner was of the colored race; that, upon petitioner's refusal to comply with such order, he was, with the aid of a police officer, forcibly ejected from said coach, and hurried off to, and imprisoned in, the parish jail of New Orleans, and there held to answer a charge made by such officer to the effect that he was guilty of having criminally violated an act of the general assembly of the state, approved July 10, 1890, in such case made and provided. . . .

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. [. . .]

Mr. Justice HARLAN dissenting [excerpt]

In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances, when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation as that here in question is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, national and state, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States. [. . .]

At Plessy's first trial, the presiding judge was John H. Ferguson, a native of Massachusetts. He had earlier struck down as unconstitutional another Louisiana law that had mandated segregated accommodations for travel between states. This time, however, the law was restricted to travel only within Louisiana. Ferguson ruled that the state could impose such restrictions within its borders without violating the Constitution. The decision was appealed to the Louisiana State Supreme Court, which upheld the ruling. The decision at the state level cited other court decisions that had relied for support on the "natural, legal, and customary differences between the black and white races."

Plessy's case was argued before the U.S. Supreme Court by the white, activist, New York lawyer Albion W. Tourgée, who had protested against racial

segregation earlier in newspaper columns. He prepared a case that presented a variety of arguments to the court against the Louisiana law. He argued for a broad interpretation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which had abolished slavery. That amendment, his argument suggested, affirmatively established in law the equality of all citizens. Segregation, therefore, violated the Constitution by perpetuating one of the essential features of slavery.

The case also argued that the Louisiana law deprived Plessy of his right to equal protection of law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The purpose of the law was not to promote the public good, but rather to ensure the comfort of whites at the expense of blacks. "The exemption of nurses," Plessy's lawyer argued, "shows that the real evil lies not in the color of the skin but in the relation the colored person sustains to the white. If he is a dependent it may be endured; if he is not, his presence is insufferable." This could not be called equal protection.

Tourgée also pointed out the arbitrariness of racial classifications, since Plessy had only one-eighth African ancestry and could be taken to be white. Indeed, the definition of who was black and who was white differed from state to state. By granting to railroad conductors (whom the law exempted from civil liability) the power to publicly declare racial designations, the state had deprived Plessy of his reputation (as a white man) without due process of law.

In addition, the arguments for Plessy had to take into account that schools were legally segregated, even in Boston and in Washington, DC, and that **interracial marriage** was forbidden by law in most states (such laws would eventually be found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the following century). Those laws might be acceptable, but the matter of seating on railway coaches was different, Plessy's lawyer argued, being much less serious an issue than education or marriage and not affecting future generations. Therefore, the state had no interest in regulating it.

However, the Supreme Court ruled against Plessy on May 18, 1896. The judges voted seven to one to uphold the Louisiana law. Justice Brewer did not participate in the case. Justice Henry Billings Brown, a native of Massachusetts and a resident of Michigan, wrote the majority opinion. Justice **John Marshall Harlan**, a Southerner, wrote a ferocious but solitary dissent.

In the years prior to the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, this same Court had handed down a number of decisions which limited the scope and effect of constitutional restraints on states rights. These precedents made the Court's 1896 decision almost inevitable. In 1873, the Supreme Court had rejected a broad interpretation of the Thirteenth Amendment in a collection of suits that became known as the *Slaughter-House Cases*. In that decision, the Court held that the sole purpose of the Amendment was to abolish slavery, and perhaps other forms of involuntary servitude. It had nothing to do with equal rights. Furthermore, the decision held that the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to establish the **federal government** as the "perpetual censor upon all the legislation of the States." That Amendment only forbade state infringement on the rights of United States citizenship, which the court took to be narrow in scope.

In 1876 the Supreme Court had decided (*U.S. v. Cruikshank*) that the Fourteenth Amendment could provide not federal protection against actions

committed by private parties, but could only protect against the actions of states. Then, in 1883, the court had held in five cases collected together as the *Civil Rights Cases* that most of the provisions of the federal **Civil Rights Act of 1875** were unconstitutional. The court again ruled that Congress had authority only to prohibit racial discrimination perpetrated by states, not by private citizens. Such precedents made the legal outlook for Plessy's Supreme Court challenge seem bleak indeed. His lawyer deliberately delayed bringing the case to the Court in hopes of finding a more favorable political climate.

Finally, the Supreme Court ruled against Plessy, citing the above precedents. Plessy's appeal to the Thirteenth Amendment was dismissed in favor of a narrow interpretation of the law. The court found, as well, that the Louisiana law did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Justice Brown wrote:

The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other.

The majority opinion noted that the Louisiana law had mandated "equal" accommodations be provided for blacks and whites. Therefore, the separation of the races by law was not an issue of equality, since it was just as illegal for whites to sit in the black areas of railway cars as it was for blacks to sit in the white areas. The court held that the "assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with the badge of inferiority" was a false one. "If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it." The ruling explicitly rejected the idea that racial prejudice could be overcome by legislation and denied that equal rights could only be achieved for blacks by enforcing "commingling" of the races. The Court's majority opinion simply assumed that racial separation was "in the nature of things."

Justice Harlan, who wrote the lone dissent to the majority opinion, was a native of Kentucky and a former slaveowner, although he had fought for the Union in the Civil War and freed his slaves before it ended. Harlan argued forcefully that the Louisiana law was unconstitutional and should be struck down by the courts. He objected that:

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

Harlan's dissent specifically accepted a broad interpretation of the Thirteenth Amendment that would exclude laws requiring racial segregation. He states explicitly:

The Thirteenth Amendment does not permit the withholding or the deprivation of any right necessarily inhering in freedom. It not only struck down the

institution of slavery as previously existing in the United States, but it prevents the imposition of any burdens or disabilities that constitute badges of slavery or servitude. It decreed universal civil freedom in this country.

Harlan's dissent was emphatic. He insisted that the Fourteenth Amendment should bar states from any abridgment, on the basis of race, of civil rights or "personal liberty":

In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. . . . I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation, as that here in question, is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, National and State, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States.

Harlan rejected the majority's argument that laws of racial segregation did not discriminate against blacks in language that came close to contempt:

It was said in argument that the statute of Louisiana does not discriminate against either race, but prescribes a rule applicable alike to white and colored citizens. But this argument does not meet the difficulty. Every one knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. Railroad corporations of Louisiana did not make discrimination among whites in the matter of accommodation for travellers. The thing to accomplish was, under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while travelling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be so wanting in candor as to assert the contrary.

He went on to say that: "The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done."

Harlan insisted that the majority's decision would, in time, "prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by [the Supreme Court] in the *Dred Scott* case." At the conclusion of his dissent, he waxed prophetic:

I am of the opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that State, and hostile to both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several States of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the States, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race; and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens.

Of course, laws "of like character" that enforced racial segregation were eventually enacted in all Southern states, and in some Northern states as well. Such laws relegated African Americans to the status of second-class citizens,

excluded from public spaces and vulnerable to public humiliation. Segregated public facilities for blacks were always separate, but very rarely equal to those provided for whites. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* protected the constitutionality of such laws and provided them with a legal foundation.

Eventually, the Southern states passed laws that enforced a rigidly segregated society. Every restaurant, every school, every train or public conveyance was segregated by law. Separate facilities for blacks and whites were legislated for hotels, elevators, libraries, colleges and universities, swimming pools, drinking fountains, cemeteries, and prisons. An Oklahoma law segregated telephone booths. Louisiana required separate entryways to circuses for blacks and whites. A Florida law demanded that schoolbooks for white schools be stored separately from schoolbooks used in black schools. Such laws rested on the Supreme Court's standard of "separate but equal" established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

This standard was finally repudiated by the Supreme Court in 1954, at least with regard to the legal segregation of public schools, in the famous case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Other cases would follow quickly that found laws of segregation to be unconstitutional in all circumstances. However, the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision found its defenders right up until the end. In 1952, William Rehnquist (then a law clerk and later chief justice of the Supreme Court) composed a memo for the Court during early deliberations that led to the *Brown* case. He wrote: "I realize that it is an unpopular and unhumanitarian position, for which I have been excoriated by 'liberal' colleagues but I think *Plessy v. Ferguson* was right and should be reaffirmed." The Supreme Court disagreed unanimously, and *Brown v. Board of Education* marked the beginning of the end of de jure racial segregation in the United States. See also Railroads; Streetcars and Boycotts.

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Anthony A. Lee

Plessy, Homer (1862–1925)

Homer Adolph Plessy was an African American artisan, activist, and the plaintiff in the defining U.S. Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Born on March 17, 1863, Plessy grew up in the city of New Orleans. In the pre-Civil War era, his parents, Homer Adolph Plessy and Rosa Debergue, belonged to a sizeable community of free people of color, many of mixed-race descent. These individuals, often known as Creoles (mixed-race people), spoke French, practiced Catholicism, could legally own property, and had access to education and other opportunities that slaves did not. Plessy married Louise Bordenave in 1889 and moved to the New Orleans neighborhood of Faubourg Tremé where he worked as a shoemaker, a craft he learned from

his family. When he was 30 years old, Plessy challenged the newly passed Louisiana law mandating racial segregation on streetcars and trains. Law enforcement arrested him for sitting in the white section of a streetcar. Plessy appealed his conviction all the way to the Supreme Court, where he lost when the court declared that “**separate but equal**” was constitutional.

Until passage of the 1890 Separate Car Act in Louisiana, streetcars and train stations remained integrated. The new law required that railway companies segregate blacks and whites into separate coaches. A civil rights organization based in New Orleans, Comité des Citoyens (Committee of Citizens), decided to make a test case against the law. Plessy was one of the youngest members of this group of activists and professionals, many of whom came from the free people of color caste. The Comité des Citoyens viewed themselves as full American citizens and believed it was their duty to defend their constitutional rights against prejudice. They chose Plessy to challenge the intrastate law because he was light-skinned. In part, the group hoped that in selecting someone who could pass as white, they might be able to draw attention to the arbitrariness of conductors assigning seats based on race. Ironically, in the brief of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Plessy was listed as “seven-eighths white,” even though he was legally considered black in Louisiana.

On June 7, 1892, Plessy purchased a first class ticket to travel from New Orleans to Covington on the East Louisiana Railroad. When he boarded the train, he sat in the first-class coach, which was designated for whites only. The conductor asked him if he was colored. Plessy replied in the affirmative but refused to move to the “colored car” when ordered to do so. The Comité des Citoyens made arrangements with the conductor to confront Plessy and hired a private detective to arrest him to ensure that he would be taken into custody. The railroad company supported Plessy’s challenge to the law because of the financial burden involved with providing separate cars. The East Louisiana Railroad also did not want its conductors to be responsible for making on-the-spot decisions about an individual’s racial background. Plessy was tried before Justice John Howard Ferguson of the Orleans Parish Criminal Court and found guilty of violating the Separate Car Act.

Plessy appealed Justice Ferguson’s decision to the Louisiana State Supreme Court and eventually the U.S. Supreme Court. One of Plessy’s lawyers, Albion Tourgéé, argued that the Separate Car Act had deprived Plessy of his rights to due process and equal protection under the law as outlined by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. Tourgéé asserted that Louisiana had imposed a “badge of servitude” on Plessy because the legal definition of a slave was a person with no rights. He reasoned that the Louisiana law made artificial distinctions between blacks and whites simply for the benefit and comfort of the whites. In short, the state had treated Plessy as a second-class citizen. In a seven-to-one decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against Plessy. The Court’s majority opinion, delivered on May 18, 1896, stated that the Separate Car Act’s distinction between black and white was purely a legal one and did not intrinsically imply the inferiority of any one race. If an African American, such as Plessy, chose to view it as a mark of second-class citizenship, that was essentially a fiction created in the individual’s mind. The Court also held that

the law was reasonable since it followed the community's standards and traditions designed to keep public order.

As a result of the decision, Plessy appeared once more before the New Orleans court to pay a \$25 fine for violation of the law. At the turn of the century, the rise of industrial manufacturing pushed Plessy out of the shoemaking business, and subsequently he worked as a laborer and a life insurance collector. Plessy died in 1925 and is buried in St. Louis Cemetery #1 in New Orleans.

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Natalie J. Ring

Poitier, Sidney (b. 1927)

American actor, director, and activist Sidney Poitier was the first African American to win an Academy Award for best actor. He began in theater and moved to film and television. Confronted with racism and discrimination, Poitier became active in the **Civil Rights Movement** in the 1960s. He also wrote, directed, and produced films during the latter portion of his career. Poitier became an icon for many African Americans as he garnered popularity and critical success at a time when few African Americans found roles in Hollywood.

Poitier was born while his parents were en route to the United States from the **Caribbean**. His father was of Haitian descent, while his mother was from the Bahamas. He spent his childhood in Miami, Florida, in a segregated section of the city known as Colored Town. By 1920, Miami had one of the highest degrees of **residential segregation** in the United States. Poitier confronted **Jim Crow** laws as a child, including an incident in which police officers stopped him at gunpoint and ordered him to walk back to the African American section of the city, which was several miles away. Hoping to escape the Jim Crow South, he moved to New York City in spring 1943. Upon arriving, Poitier moved from job to job working as a butcher's assistant, drug store clerk, porter, and dishwasher. He joined the U.S. Army later that year and served in the 1267th Medical Detachment at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Northport, Long Island. The army released him the following December.

Poitier's first acting experience was at an apprentice program with the American Negro Theater in 1945. His first role was in a production of *You Can't Take It with You* in 1946. He then accepted a part in the all-African American cast of the Broadway production of the Classical Greek play *Lysistrata*. Poitier moved to California in 1949 and was cast in his first film role in *No Way Out*. The film explicitly portrays racial hatred, and Poitier's role as town doctor Luther Brooks broke many common African American stereotypes. Although the film and Poitier's performance received strong reviews,

many Southern theaters banned the film for its racial content. His reputation grew as he garnered further accolades for his performance as a rebellious African American high school student in the 1955 film *Blackboard Jungle*.

By the late 1950s, Poitier found steady work in Hollywood but continued to face hardships as an African American in the predominantly white film industry. He faced strict enforcement of Jim Crow laws while filming in Louisiana for *Band of Angels* (1957). While lead actor Clark Gable and the rest of the white cast and crew ate dinner upon their arrival at the airport restaurant, Poitier and the African American cast and crew ate hidden from other patrons behind a makeshift screen in the rear of the building. They were also forced to stay in separate lodging at Southern University, at the time an all-African American college, and to use segregated transportation and bathroom facilities. Poitier continued to receive roles but found these parts to be limited in content, as many of the films were written, directed, and produced solely by whites. He and his friends and fellow actors Paul Robeson and **Harry Belafonte** fought to secure prominent parts for African Americans that were not stereotypical. Poitier received his first Academy Award nomination for best supporting actor for his role as an escaped convict in *The Defiant Ones* (1958). Like his previous films, many Southern theaters refused to run the film despite good reviews due to the close friendship that develops between Poitier's character and a white convict played by Tony Curtis. Many Southern critics also viewed the film as anti-South, pro-integration, and as Communist propaganda.

Poitier balanced his career as both actor and activist at the height of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. In an attempt to help dismantle discrimination and racism in the film industry, Poitier testified before New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's Labor Committee about racial discrimination in the entertainment industry in October 1962. He was part of a delegation of actors, including Sammy Davis, Jr., Josephine Baker, and Marlon Brando, to take part in the **March on Washington of 1963**. Poitier went on to make history in 1964 by becoming the first African American to win an Academy Award for best actor for his performance in *Lilies in the Field*.

Later that year he appeared at the White House to congratulate President Lyndon B. Johnson for the signing of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. By March 1965, Poitier ranked as one of the busiest Hollywood actors and was the only African American to appear on the list. He starred in *A Patch of Blue* (1965), highlighting an interracial romance that sparked protests throughout the South, including bomb threats made to a theater in Concord, North Carolina.

In 1967, a hotel refused to lodge Poitier while residents protested daily during the filming of *In the Heat of the Night* in Tennessee. The film portrays an African American detective from the North investigating a murder alongside a white police officer in a racist Southern town. White Southern reviewers condemned the film for Poitier's performance as an aggressive African American police officer from the North who physically confronts whites. Later that year, he played actress Katharine Haughton's fiancé in *Look Who's Coming to Dinner*. The interracial romance made the film one of Poitier's most famous and successful productions. However, the film set off protests throughout the United States, including widespread picketing by the **Ku Klux Klan**. Poitier

continued to make gains in Hollywood as he made his directorial debut in 1972 with *Buck and the Preacher*, which starred himself and Belafonte.

Poitier continues to make appearances in film and television. In 2000 Poitier received the Screen Actors Guild Life Achievement Award. He also received an honorary Academy Award for Lifetime Achievement in 2002. *See also* Black Hollywood.

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Frank Cha

Police Brutality

Jim Crow police brutality unleashed upon blacks has roots to the infamous pro-slavery patrol systems that developed in such southern states as **Georgia**, **South Carolina**, and **Louisiana** when African slaves, if found outside the plantation, could be caught, punished, and returned by virtually any white person. Often those patrols were unruly and under the influence of potent alcoholic spirits. With origins dating to the pre-Revolutionary War period, the patrols were essentially an integral part of Southern states' police systems that developed as a way to regulate growing slave populations. As years passed, the patrols—originally consisting of volunteers—became integrated with the local militia and police forces. Simultaneously, such systems developed in Northern states too, including Pennsylvania and New York, and especially if the black population grew or there appeared to be a spike in black crimes against whites. The primarily antiblack patrol system by enforcing "slave codes" or segregation laws became systematic in many U.S. states and has subsequently today influenced the racial-profiling mentality of many police forces throughout America.

White supremacist groups, including the **Ku Klux Klan**, often had intimate ties to such police organizations. Indeed, some law enforcement officers were leaders of local groups terrorizing, beating, and even killing blacks. African Americans learned at very young ages, often due to the brutality that they had witnessed, not to trust the police. The suspicion of police was profound following the Civil War in 1865 and as **Reconstruction** set in, with nervous whites becoming desperate with preserving white power. Whites were particularly concerned with controlling the black labor that was vital for maintaining the huge plantations of the South, often utilizing local police power. In fact, some blacks believed that because of the marauding police following slavery, they were often safer on the plantation during enslavement, since they supposedly had the protection of the so-called master. Although many slave owners were certainly cruel, following slavery, it was very feasible for a black person accused of a crime to receive a severe beating, a very harsh sentence including long-term imprisonment, or even death.

Without overwhelming police enforcement or brutality following Reconstruction, whites would have found it much more difficult to subjugate blacks. By the late nineteenth century, police abuse against blacks and the inequality of the criminal justice system reached a fever pitch. For instance, when one **Alabama** black pleaded self-defense after being attacked by a white conductor, the judge fined the African American accuser \$10. And in Hinds County, **Mississippi**, when a black woman was beaten with an ax handle by a white man in 1897 and she sought justice, the justice of the peace responded that he could find nothing against the law. Yet, often, judges did not get to litigate such cases because arresting police officers, or a white mob, would act as the judge, jury, and executioner.

A black man identified as Robert Charles on July 23, 1900, had been waiting with a friend for two women in New Orleans who were scheduled to meet the men after work. As the two men waited outside one of their homes, a police sergeant and two officers approached, and angry words were exchanged. The police attacked Charles as he rose and beat him with a club. Gunfire was exchanged, with Charles wounding an officer and receiving an injury himself. Charles apparently fled and retrieved “his Winchester rapid-firing rifle,” as an intense police manhunt ensued, prompting white mobs to attack blacks throughout the city. Charles, however, was eventually cornered and surrounded by at least 1,000 men. The building that he hid in was set afire, and as Charles tried to escape, he was shot, dragged through the street, and shot at repeatedly and then mutilated. Yet, Charles managed to shoot 27 whites, killing seven, including four police officers. At least 12 blacks had been slaughtered and many others injured, according to newspaper reports.

Sometimes, a white mob, occasionally led by political leaders, would take matters into its hands as law enforcement officers did little or nothing to stop the violent orgies, thereby contributing to brutality by default. In 1915 when the Monticello, Georgia, police chief sought to arrest a black man, Daniel Barber, for bootlegging, Barber and his family reportedly resisted. After the family was subdued—including Barber’s son and two married daughters—they were sent to jail. However, 200 angry whites stormed the jail and dragged them to the center of the black district. The mob hanged each one of his children as Barber looked on before he too met the same fate. Seventeen years earlier, during the Atlanta race riots of 1898, much of the black community there was destroyed as the local police turned a blind eye while disarming blacks. Many in the state militia, in fact, chose to support the mob.

When 400,000 blacks served in the armed forces during **World War I**, they faced virulent police brutality in Southern cities. When black soldiers were stationed in Houston, Texas, white police attacked and arrested some of the soldiers for refusing to adhere to Jim Crow signs. Detectives also reportedly beat two of the soldiers on a streetcar. Another police assault occurred on August 23 when they beat a soldier who had tried to defend a black woman being attacked by the policemen. A responding black officer, Corporal Charles Baltimore, was also arrested when he tried to intervene, causing about 100 black soldiers to march into town with weapons and take revenge. The resulting shootout between the soldiers, police, and armed civilians left 16 whites dead, including four policemen, and four black soldiers. In a clear

indication of how deeply such police brutality would be supported, the U.S. government executed 19 of the soldiers and sentenced 50 to life imprisonment.

Even when blacks tried to escape the wrath of such violence in the South and related police brutality, they had to deal with unbelievable obstacles. For fear of losing valuable labor during the early twentieth century's **Great Migration** of blacks, police often assisted with keeping blacks obligated to the planters and the criminal justice system and tried to stop the circulation of black Northern papers that promoted the North as "the Promised Land."

Following the 1927 flooding in the Mississippi Delta area, thousands of blacks were forced to work by local police and the **National Guard** on levies that were threatened by the flood waters. After the levies broke, taking many black lives, police and the National Guard gathered African Americans to live on the levies in order to stop them from leaving the area due to the fear of cotton planters losing an irreplaceable labor pool. Yet, many of the blacks, who had lived in squalid conditions on the levees for months, were determined to escape North, and traveled to such cities as Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, and Chicago. And when blacks did make it to the so-called land of opportunity in the North, the police reception was often as deleterious as in the South.

The famed black writer **James Baldwin** wrote in his 1962 book, *Nobody Knows My Name*, that about the "only way to police a ghetto is to be oppressive. . . . [Police] represent the force of the white world, and that world's criminal profit and ease, to keep the Black man corralled up here, in his place. The badge, the gun in the holster, and the swinging club make vivid what will happen should his rebellion become overt." Baldwin, who was born and raised in New York City, focused on the police presence in Harlem, where hundreds of thousands of blacks migrated from the South during the 1920s, prompting a legendary arts' movement, the **Harlem Renaissance**. "[The White policeman] moves through Harlem, therefore, like an occupying soldier in a bitterly hostile country, which is precisely what, and where he is, and is the reason he walks in twos and threes."

In East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917, the police and militia assisted whites with attacking blacks when they became angered over the rising tide of black Southern migrants competing for local jobs. Local newspapers reportedly instigated whites with headlines urging them to make the town "Lilly White." The police began to participate in the slaughter and maiming of the African Americans, according to a special congressional committee report. By the time the violence ended, about 150 had been burned, shot, or hanged, including 40 who were murdered. Small children were found with fractured skulls. Many had been tossed in bonfires lit by the angry white mob. The number of black homeless skyrocketed to 6,000.

As the 1940s approached and the world became engulfed in a second global war, returning black veterans to America faced rampant discrimination from civilian and military police, despite many of their exemplary fighting for American forces. Blacks nationwide were particularly angry about the treatment of the unit primarily manned by African Americans from New York City—the 369th Coast Artillery—in Georgia. New York newspapers described the black soldiers as being housed in a garage and fed substandard

meals as their black officers were replaced with whites. The black publications also reported that the soldiers had been harassed and made to obey Jim Crow laws in Savannah as they were beaten by the local police, prompting a demonstration by the NAACP.

However, the brutality and discrimination against blacks by police were not limited to the South. Black labor leader **A. Philip Randolph** fervently pointed out the double standard of blacks risking their lives at war in defense of America, only to return home to racist police that many activists compared with those of Nazis henchmen. Indeed, New York City had proven to be a notable microcosm of the pervasive police brutality against blacks in major Northern metropolitan areas during and following **World War II**. For instance, in May 1942, Wallace Armstrong, reported to be demented, was approached by Officer Harold Reidman near or at the home of Armstrong's mother in Harlem. Armstrong disobeyed orders to not leave the premises and proceeded to walk away with a knife in his hand, only to be confronted by another officer, Patrick Smith, on 128th Street. Although eyewitnesses said Armstrong did not attempt to use his knife, they reported that Smith beat the black man in the head, shooting and killing him as he attempted to escape the blows. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, decided to organize protests as the NYPD vehemently denied wrongdoing. A grand jury, consistent with past rulings in police brutality cases, refused to indict any of the officers.

A major riot erupted in New York in August 1943 after a police officer was accused of shooting and injuring a black 26-year-old military police officer, Robert Bandy. Rumors had circulated that Bandy had actually been killed while trying to protect his mother, prompting more than 3,000 blacks to surround the police station where the officer was being protected. Threatening to reverse the brutal mob **lynching** of blacks in the South and some parts of the North, rioting broke out resulting in six deaths, almost 200 injuries, and 550 arrests.

Lloyd Curtis Jones, a black disabled veteran with ambitions for becoming a musician, was shot three times in the stomach on the evening of August 6, 1947, by a white rookie officer near where Jones had been singing with friends in Central Park close to Columbus Circle. The tragedy occurred after Jones showed the officer identification and began to leave while protesting. Although a brutality case was filed, again there was no subsequent punishment or indictment of the white police officer.

By Memorial Day 1949, as the **Civil Rights Movement** began to ignite throughout the nation, Herman Newton, a black motorist, became involved in a fistfight with another driver, an off-duty policeman named Donald Mullen who was in plain clothes. After Mullen shot at Newton, who fled, Mullen chased him and eventually cornered the black man. Mullen then shot Newton several times, killing him, claiming that Newton had attacked him with a jack-knife. Although there was no subsequent indictment, an all-white Brooklyn jury in a surprising civil-suit verdict awarded a \$5,200 judgment, prompting the NAACP to adapt a new strategy in combating police abuse.

Lawsuits and court action through the 1950s and 1960s would be the primary weapons of such civil rights' groups as the NAACP and the **Southern**

Christian Leadership Conference, led by **Martin Luther King, Jr.** In fact, **Thurgood Marshall**, who would become the first black U.S. Supreme Court justice, had litigated police brutality cases involving blacks, as well as won landmark segregation cases as an NAACP attorney that included the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case. He had also assisted with a 1956 federal lawsuit related to the segregation of blacks on buses in Montgomery, Alabama, that partially stemmed from the bravery of a black seamstress and civil rights worker, **Rosa Parks**, who refused to give up her seat to a white man leading a city police officer to arrest her.

Civil rights leaders and their attorneys constantly dealt with police-abuse issues and avowed racists such as “**Bull**” **Connor**, the violent Birmingham, Alabama, police chief who was backed by the **Ku Klux Klan**. Even **Malcolm X**, the celebrated black nationalist with early and very prominent ties to the Black Muslim movement, combated police brutality when he urged blacks in Los Angeles and New York City during the early 1960s not to put up with such law-enforcement unruliness. Some researchers say that there were police ties to the 1968 assassination of King and the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X. If so, then law-enforcement involvement would have been the ultimate expression of police brutality reminiscent of the numerous assassinations of black leaders during Reconstruction.

In 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense was founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, and directly addressed police brutality as the Civil Rights Movement reached a crescendo. The Panthers—whose members sometimes openly carried weapons—had several violent confrontations with police, resulting in their deaths or imprisonment in several major U.S. cities, including Oakland, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago. *See also* Prisons.

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Donald Scott

Polite Terms, Epithets, and Labels

One of the more subtle yet pernicious aspects of **Jim Crow** was the constant linguistic attempt by much of white society to humiliate blacks and to rob them of basic dignity and humanity. Labels, both those that were derogatory and those that were at least polite on the surface, were regularly used to reinforce the idea of black inferiority. At the same time, blacks fought back by refusing to accept humiliating labels and designations, insisting on the right to define themselves.

When the first blacks arrived in England’s North American colonies, relatively neutral terms such as *African* and sometimes *Guinea* were usually applied to describe them. However, other terms became common early on.

With much of the New World controlled by the Spanish, and much of the slave trade controlled by the Portuguese, Spanish and Portuguese terms for enslaved Africans became widely used in the English-speaking world. Terms such as *negro* and the feminine *negra* soon became common, meaning respectively, a black male, and a black female. The Portuguese term *pequenino*, meaning “little child,” morphed into *pickaninny* for black children. When New Orleans and its environs became populated by large numbers of French and Spanish speakers, they reinforced this tendency to use Latin-based words. By the mid-nineteenth century, various terms polite and impolite were used by whites to describe nonwhites. Slave owners usually avoided the term *slave*, preferring the term *servant*, which had a pleasant association with the labor force of European gentry. Terms such as *Sons of Ham* or *Hamites* were also occasionally used, mainly as a biblical justification for the enslavement of people with dark skin. *Black* was an impolite descriptive term, and generally disliked by people of African descent. Throughout the British Empire at the same time, the term “black” was used derisively against a host of indigenous people, such as in India and Australia, and white Americans might have adopted the word as a mildly offensive term from the British.

People of African descent usually described themselves as African, or dark-skinned. The term *Ethiopian* was also occasionally used by educated blacks as well as whites. While the term *Guinea* alluded to the West African origins of most African Americans, this word became a common derogatory term for Italian Americans used by other whites, in essence calling them Africans, or at least not white. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the terms *colored* and *colored people*, which had been in use for a several decades, became the common and most accepted polite term for African Americans, used by blacks and whites. The name of the organization National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reflects its origins in the early twentieth century. *Colored* was in turn replaced by *Negro* as the most common polite term, one generally accepted by blacks and whites. Organizations such as the United Negro College Fund and **Negro League Baseball** reflected their origins in the first half of twentieth century. However, disagreement over whether to capitalize the term remained. Occasionally, the feminine form *Negress* was also used to describe a black woman. The term *nigger*, formed by the slurring of the word *negro* became the most common derogatory term used by whites. While the term was neutral in the seventeenth century, by the mid-nineteenth century it had become insulting. It was used openly and publicly by many elements of white society. Its use became so common that it was often used informally to refer to any persons who were not deemed white,



Roadside sign using vicious racial epithet in the 1940s. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-120259.

such as Central Americans, Filipinos, and others. However, other impolite terms were also used.

White custom held that black adults were never to be addressed as social equals, thus terms such as “Mr.,” “Mrs.,” and “Miss,” were seldom used by white people addressing blacks. In newspapers or even national magazines, blacks were always identified as such, usually with the word *Negro* in front of their person’s name. Magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek* abandoned this practice only in the 1950s. In person, black adults were often addressed by their first name, even in formal situations, or as “Uncle” or “Auntie,” which whites saw as terms of affection. Most blacks, however, found the false familiarity offensive. The term *boy* was also common among whites when referring to black men in the second person. The use of *boy* stressed the white concept that adult black males were not men, and *boy* became increasingly offensive to African Americans, leading to the use of *man* by blacks, especially black males, to refer to each other. Other terms used by blacks among themselves, such *brother* and *sister* or *blood*, emphasized an assumed kinship between black Americans. Derogatory terms such as *darkie*, *coon*, *spade*, *spook*, and *tar-baby*, which ranged from mildly to very offensive, took as a given the inferiority of dark skin, whereas terms such as *spear-chucker* and *jungle bunny* reflected a racist debasement of the African homeland of blacks.

Throughout most of the Jim Crow era, the term *nigra* was perhaps the most common epithet used orally by whites in the South to describe African Americans, although its written use was rare. It was so common among whites of all classes in the South that even President Lyndon B. Johnson had trouble dropping it from his vocabulary, even as he was pushing Congress to pass the legislation that would dismantle Jim Crow. This term fell from general use by the 1970s, although its place in spoken English would increasingly be filled with *nigger*. *Nigger*, or *the N-word*, as it was commonly referred to in print by the early twenty-first century, became increasingly controversial after the end of Jim Crow. Black males used the word themselves, or its derivative *nigga*, originally as a form of defense, as a means of robbing the word of its sting. Its later use has been less intentional and more cultural. The word has largely dropped from open use by middle-class whites, as to be caught using it can seriously hurt a career. Among some segments of the white population, though, continued use of the word is an outward manifestation of the rejection of racial equality. Its use by blacks remains controversial within the black community.

The end of Jim Crow ended the open use of most derogatory terms from polite society. A new stress on dark skin as a positive attribute led to the “Black is Beautiful” slogan. The idea was to break African Americans from seeing their distinctive physical appearance in white terms, and to celebrate their own physical identity. One result of this was the new acceptance of the term *black* to identify people of African descent. Blacks themselves would define what were the polite terms and impolite terms for themselves. Older terms such as *colored* and *Negro* became, if not insults, at least no longer polite. “*People of Color*” also appeared in the 1980s as a polite term, but it did not have wide use, perhaps for its vagueness, or perhaps because it was too close to the term *colored people*, which was no longer generally polite.

Other terms were used with more or less acceptance in the late 1960s and into the 1980s. *Afro-American* became increasingly common in the early 1970s, stressing blacks as an ethnic group and their African origins. However, the term rose and fell with the popularity of a hairstyle, the Afro, which was part of the Black is Beautiful movement in that it celebrated the hair textures of many people of African descent rather than trying to make their hair conform to white standards. By the late 1970s, as the hairstyle began to look dated, the term *Afro-American* began to lose acceptance. It would soon be replaced in the 1980s by *African American*, which would hold place as the most proper term through the end of the century and beyond, although *black* remained in common use and remained a polite term. *See also* Masculinity, Black and White; Racial Customs and Etiquette.

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Max Ford

Poll Taxes

A levy placed on the right to vote, poll taxes were first established in the years following the American Revolution as a substitute for the traditional requirement that only property owners could cast ballots. Initially, the poll tax expanded the number of eligible voters, but was abandoned as states established unrestricted suffrage for most white males. However, when most male citizens were guaranteed the right to vote as a result of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, the poll tax was resurrected for a more ignoble purpose. Many whites, alarmed at the sight of former slaves voting and holding elective office, were determined to restrict or even eliminate black political influence in the South. Between 1871 and 1902, the states of **Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia** adopted the poll tax specifically to deny African Americans the right to vote. Georgia was the first state to adopt a poll tax, in 1871. Citizens were required to pay between one and two dollars to their local election commissions several months before a scheduled primary and general election. On Election Day, voters then had to show proof that the tax was paid in order to cast their ballots. If a voter in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia failed to pay the levy, then his poll tax bill would double for each subsequent election. This cumulative tax erected an additional barrier between economically disadvantaged Southerners and their constitutional rights.

The poll tax was chiefly designed to prevent African Americans from exercising their franchise, but in this regard, it was unsuccessful. It did make it more difficult for citizens to vote and undoubtedly prevented many from casting ballots especially in the states where the levy was cumulative. However it fell far short of its goal of entirely disenfranchising black Southerners. Many were able to pay the tax; for example, in Shelby County, Tennessee, 24,086 African Americans registered to vote in 1931. In addition, the poll

tax often disenfranchised more white citizens than black. Largely because it restricted white voting, North Carolina repealed the poll tax in 1920, and Louisiana and Florida followed suit in 1934 and 1937, respectively. Around the same time, reformers in the South began to focus a great deal of attention on the inequities of the poll tax. In November 1938, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was founded by a group of African American and white reformers to address the economic and political inequality that existed in the American South. The conference's Civil Rights Committee investigated the poll tax, and in 1941, it formed the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Petitioning Congress to abolish the tax in federal elections, the committee played a large role in convincing several Southern states to abolish the excise. Georgia, the first state to enact a poll tax, repealed the law in 1945. South Carolina abolished the poll tax in 1951, and Tennessee did the same in 1953.

Despite the success of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia refused to abandon the levy. As the **Civil Rights Movement** spread across the South, increased pressure was directed at Congress to abolish the restrictive tax. As a result of this pressure, a constitutional amendment was introduced that would eliminate the use of poll taxes in federal elections. After fierce debate, the amendment passed the House and Senate, and in 1964, the required number of states ratified the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution. The ability to charge voters to cast ballots in state and local elections came to an end in 1966 when the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled that Virginia's poll tax violated a citizen's right to equal protection under the law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Although it did not accomplish its primary goal of stripping all African Americans of their right to vote, poll taxes were an important tool in preventing blacks from achieving full equality in the segregated South. *See also* Voting Rights Act of 1965.

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Wayne Dowdy

Preachers

As sources of moral authority, preachers could either advocate or condemn various **Jim Crow** practices and have a wide-reaching influence through the attitudes of their audiences. Among African Americans, preachers were able to challenge Jim Crow more directly because their livelihood depended upon the support of an African American congregation, not on white employers. Among whites, preachers might join the **Ku Klux Klan** or condemn it. Some white preachers actively worked to eliminate Jim Crowism, while others encouraged support. The high level of involvement on the part of preachers allowed opposing arguments to take on religious tones and justifications. Other preachers, however, attempted to avoid racially charged issues as much as possible.

African American Preachers

In the early days of Jim Crow, many African American preachers told their congregations that it was best to submit to the laws and codes to try to avoid conflict. As conditions in the South worsened and economic opportunities in the North opened up, many preachers saw streams of their congregants leaving the South. Preachers in the North did their best to receive and care for this incoming population, although at times, the huge wave of migrants made the task difficult.

Both Northern and Southern African American churches served as not only a spiritual but also a social center for members. Historically, African Americans had been excluded from leadership roles in other social institutions, but the **churches** were an exception. In African American churches, members exerted a level of control and authority that they did not find in other social settings. In many estimations, the church was the nerve center of African American life well into the twentieth century. The space of the church allowed African Americans to develop leadership skills and provided a safe forum for social concerns. In addition to the religious services provided, other groups might be organized within the space of the church. The preacher, as the leader of this spiritual and social center, fulfilled many roles. Preachers might be responsible for providing financial assistance to members, helping them find employment or housing, in addition to serving as a spiritual leader. Due to its central position in the lives of many African Americans, the church was well respected and lent the **Civil Rights Movement** increased credibility.

African American preachers, who were already seen as leaders of the community, were more readily available to take on leadership positions against Jim Crow injustices. Other adult African Americans often worked for a white employer or rented their housing from a white landlord. These adults were discouraged from speaking out against Jim Crow laws and codes because they feared losing their jobs or homes. African American preachers were supported by their congregations, which were made up almost entirely of African Americans. These preachers had greater freedom to challenge Jim Crow, as long as the members of their congregations supported them. In areas where white reactions to such a challenge might be violent, African American preachers were constrained by fear of being attacked. Even in those situations though, African American preachers typically had greater freedom to advocate for civil rights advancements because their livelihood depended on the support of other African Americans, not on a white employer.

One of the most widely known organizations of the Civil Rights Movement was the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**. Founded in 1957, the SCLC was initially led by African American pastor **Martin Luther King, Jr.** Its ranks were filled disproportionately with African American pastors who wanted to see advancements made against Jim Crow. The executive staff and governing board were comprised almost entirely of primarily Baptist preachers. African American preachers who were SCLC members typically continued to have ties to their congregation, who then provided the grassroots support the SCLC needed to carry out its vision. Organizationally, the SCLC patterned its structure, meetings, and language after the church. They framed

the discussion over Jim Crow laws in terms of religious as well as social injustices, adding to their moral legitimacy.

As preachers rose to leadership positions in the battle against Jim Crow, they found language familiar to their religious vocation worked well to motivate others for the civil rights cause. Religious imagery was familiar to African Americans, and preachers used that imagery to encourage a sort of religious fervor towards the push against Jim Crow inequalities. The exodus was a poignant image used during the days of slavery and the Underground Railroad to depict enslaved African Americans as a new “chosen” people whom God would redeem. This notion of chosen-ness was invoked long after the legal abolition of slavery. Religious songs were also appropriated or developed by participants of the Civil Rights Movement, further invoking a sense of sacred purpose, religious fervor, and devout commitment. Preachers, who drew on biblical passages, stories, and imagery, lent the movement religious legitimacy and fervor.

Some critics accused African American preachers of being “in it” for the money, and some may have been dishonest. Because many African American congregants struggled financially, some resented the monetary pleas of preachers. For those preachers who became involved in politics, it was commonplace to be accused of corruption. While some preachers with large constituencies tried to use the voting power of their congregation to garner alliances and promises from politicians, other preachers entered politics themselves. Whether this was in hopes of improving the plight of their fellow African-Americans or with an eye towards personal benefits can be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, as there were certainly instances of both.

Regardless of political involvement, a preacher’s role in cities with an influx of African Americans was widely seen as helping people adjust to life in their new surroundings. Preachers might help congregants find housing, jobs, or financial relief agencies. The church itself sometimes provided financial relief, support networks, child care, and other services. Churches were places for migrants to come into contact with other African Americans who had been living in the cities for a longer period of time. This contact helped newcomers learn the ways of the city and adapt to their new surroundings.

White Preachers

White preachers were also involved in the battle that raged over Jim Crow. Their responses ranged a full spectrum. Many supported Jim Crow laws. Some tried to stay neutral. Other became heavily involved, even serving jail time and risking personal injury for their involvement. Although white preachers did not become involved in a social movement advancing or denouncing Jim Crow laws to the extent that African American preachers became involved in the Civil Rights Movement, they were involved in the moral confrontation.

The Ku Klux Klan was perhaps the closest white preachers came to being leaders of an organized movement advancing Jim Crow laws. A significant number of Klan leaders were drawn from the ranks of white preachers. Just as African American preachers were drawing on biblical passages, their white counterparts advocating for Jim Crowism also mined the Bible for passages

supporting slavery or the social subordination of some groups of people to others. Due to the covert nature of the Klan, preachers' involvement in the group was not explicit, although often implicitly recognized by both African Americans and whites. Other white preachers actively resisted identification with the Klan and said Klansmen were unchristian. Klan members did not leave such denunciations unnoticed, and those who openly condemned the Klan risked retaliation.

White pastors who were sympathetic towards the plight of African Americans were often a point of contact between the Civil Rights Movement and whites in the community. These preachers were able to communicate with both African American civil rights leaders, who were often also preachers. The white pastor could then mediate the message of those leaders to his white congregation. Such sympathetic white pastors sometimes engaged in demonstrations against Jim Crow laws with African Americans, sometimes bearing the brunt of violence inflicted by opposing whites.

Impact

Preachers were involved in the struggle over Jim Crow laws, but their positions were not defined simply by their position. African American pastors, while cautious about opposition in some contexts, were largely involved in the fight against Jim Crow and the battle for civil rights. Their impact is immeasurable. Without the freedoms they had from white employers, countless pastor leaders would never have emerged. They strengthened the Civil Rights Movement from all corners. White preachers also had an impact on the fate of Jim Crow laws. Some viscosly defended the codes through the Ku Klux Klan or simply through the power of their pulpit to reinforce ideas of white supremacy among their congregants. Other white preachers just as vehemently opposed the laws, although in a less violent manner than their Klansman opponents. These civil rights supporters tried to sway the hearts of their audiences to sympathize with African Americans, and in some cases these pastors joined movement demonstrations. Overall, regardless of their position on Jim Crow laws, pastors had wide-reaching effects on the battle over Jim Crow. *See also* Catholicism.

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Shawntel Ensminger

Prisons

Southern prisons during the **Jim Crow** era earned the “dubious distinction” of “America’s worst prisons.” Jim Crow prisons in the South took various, yet equally brutal forms—a traditional penitentiary, a penal farm, a former slave plantation, brickyards, or temporary road camps. The prisons were erected

in forests, swamps, mines, brickyards, or levees, and the convicts were housed in tents, log forts, and rolling cages. Jim Crow punishment existed in two phases, during the leasing era, which ran from 1890 to the 1920s, and then in the state control system, from the 1920s to 1965. Distinctive in the penal history of this era, the use of state prisons to control black population are deeply rooted in the South.

Immediately after the Civil War, Southern states turned to the criminal justice system in order to control the newly freed slave population. They also needed a labor force to repair Civil War damages. Although Southern states had built penitentiaries before the Civil War, most of them were so badly damaged during the war that they were unusable. By the early 1900s, blacks comprised anywhere from 85–95 percent of the prison population, although they comprised no more than half of the total population in the South. Black men, women, and children were summarily convicted and delivered by the local sheriffs to a road camp, penal farm, or, less likely, a penitentiary. Moreover, the penitentiary philosophy—to change prisoners and make them productive citizens—did not fit the Southern perception of their prisoners who were still seen as former slaves and not equipped for reformation and change. The terms “slave,” “convict,” and “Negro,” were interchangeable in the white Southerner’s perceptions of blacks after the Civil War.

Leasing

On the surface, leasing appeared to address the issues of prisoner security and safety at a minimum cost to the state. Southern states, including **Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia,** and Tennessee, turned to a variety of leasing arrangements with private individuals and companies, wherein the state turned over the whole prison operation to a private entrepreneur. **Virginia** never leased its convicts, and the Carolinas did so tentatively and for a short time only. Some states expected the contractor to pay some amount to the state. Others literally gave away complete responsibility for the state prisoners without any monetary or state supervisory expectations; one state even paid the lessee to take the prisoners. Often states signed leases with one individually or organization.

Soon, the leasing of convicts became one of the most exploitative aspects of the prison system during Jim Crow. Prisoners were leased to build railroads, levees, and roads; to work in mines, brickyards, and turpentine camps; and to do agricultural work on former plantations. Conditions under the leasing system were particularly brutal and deadly. Since the lessees did not own the prisoners, they often did not care about their welfare. The life expectancy of convicts in the lease system ranged from 7–10 years. Prisoners died of overwork or of violence from the guards or each other, and an ever-growing population of black convicts allowed for the quick replacement of prisoners.

Leasing came to an end by the 1920s for a variety of reasons. In some states, it was no longer economical. In others, railroad building subsided, and road building was generally designated to local governments. Some states had a penitentiary that they used. As it was purported that many companies who leased prisoners had made millions, other states resumed control hoping such

large profits would ensue to the state. Still, the change was not fueled by humanitarian concern for the prisoners. Instead, Southern states switched from leasing to chain gangs and prisons in order to transfer manufactured goods via convict labor to the public sector.

Penal Farm Model

After the 1920s, the two most common forms of punishment systems were the penal farms and the chain gangs. The penal farm is the most notorious type of prison system in the South. More than an agricultural production center, the penal farm followed the plantation model of imprisonment. It incorporated both a structure and philosophy of slave plantations, reinforcing black inferiority and subservience to white planters and prison guards. Though they emphasized economy and agricultural work, the penal farm used isolation and neglect of rehabilitation to break down the mostly black prisoners and inculcate convicts with a sense of worthlessness. The purest form of the plantation model of imprisonment emerged in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. Louisiana and Mississippi eventually established one geographical location for its penal farms, while Arkansas used two and Texas used multiple sites. Angola, Louisiana, is now 18,000 acres, while Parchman, Mississippi, was once 20,000 acres. The two farms in Arkansas, Tucker for white convicts and Cummins for black women and men, were located on 4,500 acres and 16,600 acres, respectively.

Although the type of agricultural work has varied through the years, depending upon the economy, natural disasters, and technological developments, the majority of prisoners at these farms have worked in the fields. To this day, prisoners admitted to Angola must spend their first 90 days in the fields. The geographical isolation of these farms also served multiple functions. Largely kept out of the public eye, isolation of the prison led to the horrific conditions. On occasion, news reports would filter out and reach the national press. Investigating committees would visit and make recommendations, most often to no avail. No fewer than five recommendations, beginning in the 1930s, were made to move the women prisoners out of Angola. They were not moved until 1961, and not removed from Angola's administration until almost a decade later.

The prevailing belief about the limits of rehabilitation helped maintain bad conditions. Neither state nor federal courts interfered with prison business until the late 1960s. Furthermore, agricultural work was believed to be suited to the limited ability of the imprisoned classes, mostly African Americans and Mexican Americans. Such practices had the effect of perpetuating segregation, as black and Mexican American prisoners were then limited to agricultural work once they were released. The emphasis on maximizing product, coupled with the long-held beliefs about black inferiority, precluded the development of a reform movement or rehabilitation of prisoners.

Convict Road Gang

Spurred by the "good road" movement of the 1920s, chain gangs and road gangs emerged all throughout the South. Generally, county criminal justice

agencies oversaw the Southern road gangs, also known as chain gangs. For example, the state of Alabama ran the chain gang system. Alabama's road gang was initially all-black, and even when some white prisoners were introduced they were always a minority in both number and proportion of convicts, and they were maintained in separate camps. Conditions were hard and exploitative; discipline was often brutal, but not as deadly as under the lease system. Guards routinely whipped prisoners with a three-inch strap, until Alabama outlawed the practice in 1962. Initially, men were housed in portable wooden barracks and sometimes rolling cages. By the mid-1930s, road camps were standardized with wooden buildings that included dormitories, with showers, a mess hall kitchen, and hot and cold running water.

Gender and Race in Southern Prison Systems

States immediately classified all inmates upon their entrance into the system. They were separated according to age, gender, and dangerousness of offense. These classification systems in the South were consistent with assumptions about race and echoed nineteenth-century notions about gendered divisions of labor. Usually, young black male prisoners were sent to do the most strenuous work tasks on the plantation prisons and road gangs, while white prisoners were sent to do industrial or clerical jobs. Both black and white women worked in gender-specific jobs such as washing and sewing uniforms. When needed, however, black women worked alongside the men in the fields, whereas white women usually did no fieldwork. Initially, Louisiana classified prisoners into four categories, beginning with first-class men (almost entirely black) who were assigned to the most arduous labor, and ending with fourth-class men, who were assigned to the hospital. Almost all white men and women were classified as fourth class, although some white men worked on the plantations and levee camps as clerks. When the crop demanded it, all classes of prisoners labored in fields, particularly during the sugar harvest.

Gendered divisions of labor were also segregated. Black women served as cooks, laundresses, and seamstresses exclusively. They also hoed sugar cane stumps and sorted tobacco leaves in the tobacco barn. During leasing in Alabama, black women worked alongside black men in lumber camps, mining camps, and rock quarries. White women sewed uniforms and bedding, or worked in the canneries. Mississippi employed both black and white women as trustees armed with rifles.

The system of Jim Crow in the prison system rationalized that African Americans and Mexican Americans had limited abilities and could do only physical labor. Since black and Mexican American convicts numbered in the majority of prisoners, Alabama, for example, not only used the bulk of the black male population to create the convict road labor force; they designated the convicts on the road gangs to do the most strenuous maintenance work. Black convicts did the weed cutting, shoulder work on the paved roads, and the most arduous work of all—breaking and crushing rock in the quarries, while the free white laborers working alongside them operated the heavy equipment and the trucks. Although it was in use only from 1883 until 1917,

one penitentiary in Texas held only white men, and the inmates worked entirely in factories. The Louisiana penitentiary in Baton Rouge housed mainly white men who made the prisoners' uniforms and sewed flags.

Organization and Security

With a structure similar to an antebellum plantation, Southern prisons in Jim Crow amassed several thousand black workers supervised by a small group of rural lower-class whites, who, in turn, worked directly under the direction of sheriffs and wardens. Convicts worked from sunup to sundown, or as they said, from "can to can't." Plagued by boll weevils, floods, and other natural disasters, many Southern states had not made the anticipated profits since the state took over from the lease system. In a cost savings measure, they turned to the "trusty" convict system. Paid guards were fired and convicts would guard other convicts.

The use of trustees also extended to the living quarters in the prison camp. On the Parchment, Mississippi, prison plantation, prisoners were housed in a number of camps. Each camp had one sergeant, and two assistant sergeants. The sergeant was equivalent to the slave plantation's overseer. He was in charge of the work schedules, disciplining the convicts, and setting the work routine. One assistant sergeant oversaw the fields and functioned as the driver. Called the "rider" in Arkansas, he determined the work quota for the men in the fields. The other assistant sergeant was responsible for the barracks. A number of trusty-shooters watched over the regular convicts, known as gunmen, (rank-men in Arkansas) who worked in the fields. In most circumstances, trusty-shooters and gunmen did not communicate with each other.

Guards and wardens heavily supervised male convicts working in the fields. A typical scenario called for two "high-powers" armed with carbines on horseback and at least three pairs of "shotguns" on foot accompanying the line at different intervals. Usually one pair of guards stood watch some distance from the rear in case of trouble. All these guards were prisoners, or what are commonly called convict-guards. The convict-guards had different ranks and concomitant levels of power, dependent upon the type of prison and work that they supervised. Convict-guards also may have had the ticket to their own release. Occasionally, a convict-guard who shot an escaping prisoner could be rewarded with his freedom. When the federal courts intervened in prison business in the early 1970s, the convict guard or trusty system was declared the worst abuse of power maintained in the Southern prisons.

Treatment and Discipline

Punishment in the penitentiaries, penal farms, and road gangs was brutal and occasionally deadly. Death rates were staggeringly high during leasing. For instance, 216 prisoners died during 1896 in Louisiana, nearly 20 percent of the 1,152 prisoners in the state. Yet in Louisiana State Penitentiary's Biennial Report of the Board of Control for the years 1896-1897, Warden W. H. Reynaud claimed no responsibility for the 1896 death rate but only the 6 percent death rate in 1897, maintaining that he was not appointed warden

until August 1896. Since the majority of the prisoners were leased out, his argument that there were no deaths under his watch was correct only in abstract. Prisoners spoke of killings that happened in camps that were almost hidden away. Scandals of prisoners being beaten to death by sadistic whipping bosses emerged in the other Southern states. Although mortality rates generally fell after the states took control of their prisoners, stories continued about cruel treatment, torture, and beatings under state control, sometimes administered by convict guards and sometimes free guards. Although figures are not available for Alabama convict mortality rates, the convicts were susceptible to horrific mining disasters. One of the most famous, the Banner Coal Mine tragedy resulted in 122 convict deaths.

Corporal punishment was the most common penalty for infractions; it was also most often applied without concern for the welfare of the convict. Leather straps known as “Black Annie” in Mississippi and “Old Caesar” in Texas were used for the whippings. Mississippi’s “Black Annie” was three feet long and six inches wide. In one year alone, there were 1,547 floggings at Angola, with a total of 23,889 blows. Generally, guards administered whippings on the convict’s bare flesh. Men and women alike were required to remove their shirts and/or pull down their pants for the lashings. In order to strike fear or to maintain strict order, guards dispensed punishments in public, requiring convicts to count the number of stripes out loud and in unison.

Prisoners’ Resistance

Although they lived under conditions of extreme oppression, Southern prisoners did not always cooperate with the authorities. They used both covert and overt techniques to resist. Whether in penitentiaries, on the plantation prisons or road gangs, prisoners stole, committed arson, faked illness, engaged in sabotage, horribly mutilated themselves, participated in riots and work stoppages, and escaped. Escapes were exceptionally high under the leasing system, as opportunities in the camps and on the farms were greater than inside the penitentiary walls. For instance, from 1872 to 1874, 881 convicts entered the Tennessee prison system. During the same time, 95 escaped. Prisoners, primarily white prisoners, wrote memoirs and some wrote letters to the press revealing the horrible conditions under which they lived and worked. Other prisoners used collective action to start riots.

Although there were few incidents labeled as “riots” in the South, a series of incidents took place that forced authorities to reform conditions. In the “heel-slashing incident” of the early 1950s, 37 white prisoners at Angola, Louisiana, cut their Achilles tendons over two separate occasions to protest work conditions and fears that they would be beaten to death if they went out to the field. In 1935, a group of white Texas prisoners maimed themselves, two by chopping off a lower leg entirely. Self-mutilations became more common over the next decade or more in Texas. The Texas prisoners stated the same reasons that the Louisiana prisoners did—they were afraid of being beaten to death in the fields because they could not make it under the grueling work conditions.

Prisoners also resisted using covert techniques. On the plantation prisons and on the road gangs, convicts used work songs to accompany gang work.

Work songs were used exclusively by African American male prisoners. Although black women sang prison songs, there is no record of them using the songs in the fields as the men did. Prison songs functioned to pass the time, pace the work, and provide safety while doing dangerous tasks and gave the men some control over their daily lives. Convicts could protest by singing things that could not be said in ordinary conversation. They expressed tension, frustration, and anger.

Work songs had a structure, the call-response pattern. The “caller,” or work group leader, shouted a phrase and the gang responded. In this manner, the leader slowed down the pace when he noticed that some of the men were having trouble keeping up with the work. All the men had to keep up at the same rate, or they would be beaten. The songs regulated the pace of the teams and the strokes of the axes so that they would not cut each other’s limbs. A good work song leader did not necessarily have to have a good voice, but he had to be loud. He also had to know the work and the ability of the men on his gang in order to guide them from sunup to sundown without being injured or beaten.

Gender and Housing

Even as separate women’s facilities (reformatories) were being built for women up north, between 1870 and 1930, there were no women’s reformatories in the Southern states. In Southern penitentiaries, women could be found anywhere from cells at the end of a male cell block, to a cell block of their own, to a building of their own, which sometimes was located close to the male buildings and sometimes further away. Women remained under the administration of the men’s institution well into the 1960s.

During the leasing era and under state control, women were sent to the plantations, mining camps, railroads and road gangs. Sometimes they worked alongside the men. Other times, a small group of female convicts cooked and washed for the leased men. When sharing penal farms with men, the women were particularly vulnerable to physical brutality and sexual assault from prison guards and male convicts. On the plantation prisons, women were housed at a separate camp, situated some distance from the men’s camps. However, the security was quite lax, and there was considerable unsupervised interaction between the men and women. Prisoners’ memoirs report that men and women met each other in all kinds of secluded places on the prison grounds. At Angola, they met in the sugar cane fields when the cane was tall enough.

Although a married couple was often assigned to supervise the women’s camps, the husband often had single unsupervised control over the women. Men supervised women in their work places—the fields, the sewing rooms, and in the canneries. Angola’s punishment reports reveal that men administered floggings to the female convicts on their bare backs and breasts. Finally when women worked in the fields alongside men, they were required to answer the call of nature right there in the fields in front of the men.

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Marianne Fisher-Giorlando

R

Racial Customs and Etiquette

Racial customs and etiquette predated the period generally designated as the **Jim Crow** era. The forced physical separation of blacks and whites associated with the period began and ended in the North before the Civil War and pervaded the West and Midwest throughout the period of westward expansion in the United States. Jim Crow was legalized in the South by the **U.S. Supreme Court** in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which declared “**separate but equal**” to be constitutional and permitted the segregation of blacks and whites on **railroads** in **Louisiana**. The ruling provided a legal basis for the development of intricate rules of behavior that applied to all areas of life. Their collective design was to reinforce white supremacy and relegate blacks to second-class citizenship. Such customs varied according to gender, geography, hue, and social climate, and they were more rigidly followed in public situations than in private ones. But they were applied to all known African Americans regardless of their educational or social standing. Given the debilitating, even humiliating, nature of these rules, African Americans sought legal and creative ways to counter their negative social, political, and economic impact. They also made a sustained effort to curb, if not altogether neutralize, the psychological impact of such customs, especially on black children.

Everyday Life

As Jim Crow laws were initiated with systems of transportation, many of the first rules of etiquette emerged in this area and quickly expanded to include other public spaces where blacks and whites encountered each other from day to day. Regardless of social position, identifiably black passengers were forced to ride in Jim Crow cars, which were often unclean and lacked the comforts of those carrying white passengers. When separate accommodations were not possible, as was sometimes the case with city buses, blacks were to sit at the back of the bus. They were also expected to relinquish their seats if whites exceeded the capacity of the section provided for them. In places of business, whites were served first even if black customers were the first to arrive. Black customers were not allowed to try on certain clothing items, particularly shoes, nor could they return such items once purchased because white store

“Members of the Race Find It Hard to Get Waited On,” 1916

African American men and women found that race discrimination hindered good service at a prominent Chicago department store, Marshall Fields.

It has been well known that Marshall Field & Co., although considered as the world's greatest department store, had nothing for the Race man nor woman to do since the daughter of the founder of the store fell in love with his coachmen, and after the affair had been discouraged by the father, later gave birth to a child, it is alleged, and since then the family has been against our race. It will well be remembered that the son was supposed to have been shot in the red light district.

Many of their customers have been members of the race, however, but here of late they find it hard to be waited on and that the clerks are indifferent, complaints made to floor walkers have been ignored. The Defender sent two ladies down to investigate. One was so fair that they could not tell that any African blood was in her veins and the other was just the opposite. The first place visited was the main floor and the floorwalker told her that the articles would be found in the basement. Miss A. followed a moment later and asked for the same article and she was directed to the floors above. Getting out of the sight of the informer they both went to the basement. Standing there for several moments the Miss A. was waited upon. No one paid any attention to Miss B.

Finally, a floorwalker named Mr. Simpson, a little, insignificant, bald headed fellow came and asked all those who were standing around, "Are you being waited upon?" with the exception of Miss B. nor asked her what she wanted.

The same two ladies went to the other part of the store. Miss A. was again served, but Miss B. stood there, all the clerks ignoring her. Finally, having orders from this office to see how far a man whom the clerks called Mr. Waller or Wallace; he said he would find her someone to take care of her, but he disappeared and never returned for about thirty minutes. Seeing that she was getting provoked he said, "Have you been standing her all this time?" Miss A. was waiting and timing the affair. Mr. G. was sent to the glove counter; he was ignored. The clerks, going around on the other side, and there engaging in a conversation with other clerks. He went to the floorwalker and was informed that he could not expect the clerks to hurry as it was warm and they were working pretty hard. So noticeable has this state of affairs become that we print the following from a local white journal: Marshall Field's Draw Drastic "Color Line."

The Colored population of Chicago was handed a severe shock this week by an order issued from the management's office at Marshall Field's that this class of trade was to be treated with "indifference" whenever they made their appearance as prospective buyers on the main floor or above and were to be directed to the basement by all sales-persons as the most likely place where they could find the articles they desired to purchase.

Embodied in the same order were the directions to the help in the basement to show Colored patrons "inattention" and treat them in a manner indicative of the fact that their trade was not desired.

It is particularly noteworthy that the order was not put in the form of writing but was carried by a special messenger by word of mouth to each one of the department heads.

Source: Chicago Defender, June 10, 1916.

owners feared that whites would not buy products that had been worn by blacks.

In public hospitals, blacks and whites were cared for in separate wards. Black nurses were permitted to care for white patients, but never the reverse, although white doctors were permitted to treat black patients in the colored sections of segregated hospitals. Racial custom nonetheless dictated that white doctors refrain from showing compassion when treating black patients. Blacks in need of blood transfusions were never to be given blood from whites. The reverse was also true. Black writers of the era, and those who wrote fictional works set during the Jim Crow period, often believed this deleterious act

captured the quintessence of racism. Lillian Bertha Horace's *Angie Brown* (1949) opens with the death of the protagonist's child, which occurred because the hospital refused to give blood that had been drawn from whites to a black child. Similarly, Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* (1978) opens with a black woman in labor in front of "No Mercy Hospital," the name members of the black community gave the hospital because of its treatment of blacks.

Race and Sex

An elaborate set of customs governed intimate relations between blacks and whites during the Jim Crow era. Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* (1905) and the subsequent movie based on it, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), underscored and reinforced white men's profound fear of interracial mixing, namely between black men and white women, as many white men continued to maintain intimate relationships with black women after the emancipation. Rules on interracial relationships were never applied as strictly to white men as they were to black men during the Jim Crow era.

Black males, regardless of the age, were not to even look at white women, nor were they to touch them. Even an accidental brush was considered to be a serious offense. If a black man saw a white woman approaching on a sidewalk, he was to step off the sidewalk until the woman passed. Black men and boys were beaten, castrated, tarred, feathered, and lynched for purportedly getting out their place with white women. Black men had to stay on constant alert for their safety, especially if a white woman in the vicinity had purportedly been raped. White men, on the other hand, engaged in intimate relations with black women without prosecution or public controversy.

White women who maintained intimate relationships with black men were in danger of social ostracism or disinheritance. When pregnancy resulted, the babies were generally aborted or given up for adoption. Many white women whose affairs with black men were discovered cried rape to protect themselves from disgrace or public censure. Gwendolyn Brooks's "Ballad of Pearl May Lee" (1945) offers one of the most riveting presentations of the peril black men faced when they dared have an affair with white women.

Publicly, white men went to great lengths to protect white female purity, but privately, many continued to have intimate relationships with black women, and they did so without prosecution or public controversy. Such relationships were often explored by black and white fiction writers of the period, with the story usually ending in tragedy. Real life examples also abounded, with one of the most famous cases involving Senator Strom Thurmond, a staunch segregationist, who fathered a daughter, Essie Mae Washington, by a black maid. Given the historic vulnerability of black women to sexual aggression, many black parents from emancipation onwards set out to educate their daughters to preclude their having to "work in a white woman's kitchen," where they were often targets of sexual aggression.

Rural and Urban Areas

In the rural Jim Crow South, racial etiquette was highly articulated and localized. Because most rural black Southerners were farmers, sharecroppers,

or tenants, the landlord-tenant relationship shaped most interactions. As a result, segregation, economic exploitation, and oppression were more pronounced in rural areas than in cities.

As the racial composition of towns ranged from predominantly white to predominantly black, variations on the theme existed. In predominantly black towns or predominantly black sections of predominantly white towns, racial etiquette was namely important when occasional white visitors came for various purposes or when blacks ventured outside a given predominantly black enclave. Writer and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston often gave primacy to such places in her creative writings. Some predominantly white towns were off limits to blacks. Custom, if not the law, precluded blacks' entering them. Sometimes warning signs were posted on the outskirts of towns to discourage black visitors, such as "Niggers, read and run." Even though there were no laws insisting that blacks not enter, custom dictated as much. Blacks learned from experience and by word of mouth which places were off limits.

Boundaries were less rigid in other rural spaces. Country stores, rural roads, and cotton gins were usually not segregated. Certain recreational activities were also not segregated. Young black and white men sometimes drank and gambled together at cockfights, saloons, and card games. At mutual aid events, white landowners and black hired hands frequently worked together as white farm wives and black domestics prepared meals for the laborers. But in such cases, racial etiquette was decidedly pronounced. African Americans had limited access to most small-town retail shops, but some business, such as barbershops that served whites, were out of bounds. Different from cities, most rural towns had few buses, hotels, or restaurants, all of which provided distinct stages for blacks and whites to play their prescribed roles.

Whites in rural and urban areas generally withheld everyday courtesies from blacks. They did not invite blacks to their homes as guests. Black workers and domestics had to go to the back door of whites' houses, although this rule was not universally applied. Visits and courtesy were avoided because they implied equality, a concept contrary to the racial hierarchy that Jim Crow was designed to reinforce. Whites insisted that blacks use titles that showed deference or respect. Black men and women were to address white men and women as "Sir" and "Ma'am" respectively. In less formal situations, black men might also refer to white men of standing as "boss" or "cap'n" without fear of reprisal. Whites, on the other hand, were never to address black men respectfully. Black men regardless of social standing were addressed by their first names or called "boy" "nigger," or "niggra," a polite substitute for the aforementioned derogatory term. Black men were often called by any name a white interlocutor might conjure on a moment's notice, with the name "Jack" being one of the most common substitutes.

White women sometimes permitted their black servants and acquaintances to address them by their first names, but only if they prefaced the name with the title "Miss." Black women, on the other hand, were never addressed respectfully as "Miss" or "Mrs." The term "wench," which dated back to slavery, still appeared in some legal documents during the Jim Crow period. Although educated whites sometimes referred to black women collectively as

“colored ladies,” black women were generally referred to as “auntie,” “girl,” “gal,” or by their first names, which black women generally resented. Texas native Lillian Bertha Horace, an educator and writer, noted in her diary that she felt “hurt, indignant, disgusted” when the greeting in a “long formal letter on definite business” opened “Dear Lilly.”

White men were careful not to publicly perform any courteous act that hinted that they treated black women like “ladies,” a category reserved for white women. They refrained from such polite habits as addressing black women respectfully as “Miss” or “Mrs.,” carrying or lifting heavy packages for black women, helping them into street cars, holding doors open for black women and allowing them to enter ahead first, tipping or removing their hats in the presence of black women, or retrieving on their behalf an item that might have fallen to the floor or ground. The lack of courtesy often approached outright discourtesy.

Educational Institutions

Educational institutions were largely segregated in the Jim Crow South, but black and white educators and administrators still had occasion to interact with each other, particularly during summer certification periods and campus visitations by white supervisors. White officials visiting black schools were often strict, intimidating, and critical as opposed to helpful. Even beyond the South, black students and scholars were not spared the inconveniences of race. In educational institutions in which blacks were admitted, they were often not acknowledged by their professors. Some white professors summarily failed black students, while others never granted black students a grade above “C.” The few black scholars who found semipermanent posts at universities outside the South often could not dine in university faculty clubs, nor could they find hotel accommodations when they traveled to professional meetings. Black students, particularly those involved in extracurricular activities such as debate and athletics, faced the same dilemma. Professor Thomas Freeman and members of the Texas Southern University’s highly acclaimed debate team had to establish living accommodations with families and religious organizations whenever they had to travel to competitions in the United States. Students, including Barbara Jordan, eventually the first congresswoman in the United States, were coached to maintain their dignity despite the bias they faced.

U.S. Military

Racist customs and etiquette also impacted blacks in the U.S. military, whose unique position as defenders of the nation and its democratic ideals made their sustained encounter with white supremacy particularly unsettling. Black men in uniform instilled pride in African Americans who appreciated the significance of their sacrifice but incited deep resentment in whites committed to white supremacy. One of the most famous photographs of the Jim Crow era captures in still frame the lynched body of an African American soldier in uniform hanging from a noose in the midst of a crowd of jeering, angry whites.

The deep-seated resentment of white civilians was also evident on military bases, where black men were never treated as equals to white soldiers. They

were in segregated units, attended separate training schools, and lived in segregated facilities. They were generally limited to service and supply units and were not allowed to command white officers. They also had to bear with the indignities stemming from legalized subjugation. They were often called “nigger” and other derogatory names by their superiors, often mistreated, and generally subject to much harsher reprimand than their white counterparts. The **Houston Riot of 1917** is perhaps the most historic event underscoring the tension that permeated such environments. The riot erupted on August 23, 1917, when black soldiers of the 24th Infantry, then stationed in Houston, Texas, armed themselves and challenged the beating of two fellow soldiers by local police. The event resulted in the largest court-martial held in the United States.

Black women in the U.S. military were denied equal treatment as well. They entered the U.S. military first as nurses, with Civil War nurse Susie King Taylor being among the first to record her experiences. During the Spanish American War, most of the 32 black women recruited as nurses were sent to Santiago, Cuba, in July and August 1898, where they rendered service during the worst years of a yellow fever epidemic. Some black nurses were contracted by the surgeon general to serve in the Spanish-American War. Five black graduate nurses joined the army, according to records at the Tuskegee Institute. Black women nurses were also recruited from various hospitals and training centers in Chicago, Illinois; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Washington, DC.

During **World War I**, many black nurses hoped to increase their chances of serving in the Army or Naval Nurse Corps by joining the American Red Cross. Eighteen black Red Cross nurses were offered assignments in Illinois and Ohio not long after the Armistice, but the end of the war precluded the planned assignment of black nurses to other camps. Those who served were limited to caring for German prisoners of war and black soldiers. By August 1919, all were released from duty.

During **World War II**, black women were permitted to join the nurse course, but their number was limited to 56. On June 25, 1941, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**’s Executive Order 8802 established the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which initiated the eradication of racial discrimination in the U.S. military. In June 1943, Congresswoman Frances Payne of Ohio introduced an amendment to the Nurse Training Bill to eradicate racial bias. Black women’s enrollment in the Cadet Nurse Corps quickly mushroomed to 2,000.

In July 1944, the quota for black army nurses was eliminated, and on January 24, 1945, the U.S. Navy opened its doors to black women. Black women were also enlisted in the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), eventually renamed the Women’s Army Corps (WAC), which employed 6,520 black women during the war. Black women also joined the Navy WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) and the Coast Guard SPARS (derived from the Coast Guard motto “Semper Paratus,” Latin for “Always Ready”). Similar to black men, black women were assigned to segregated living quarters, ate at separate tables, received segregated training, and used separate recreational facilities. They were not allowed to serve white American soldiers until intervention from **Eleanor Roosevelt**.

Impact on Black Children

Racial etiquette and customs impacted the lives of black children as well. They learned the rules governing black and white relations by observation and through conversations with their parents and others. For example, Helen Green, the first black woman admitted into Methodist Hospital of the Dallas School of Professional Nursing, as a child wondered why the white woman whom her mother helped with canning never came to their house, especially given that Green's family had at least more space in their front yard for her and the white woman's little girl to play. She also wondered why the little girl always insisted on naming the games, creating the rules, and changing them for her benefit. Green essentially did not enjoy visits to the white woman's house because she was under constant pressure to be careful. The lessons she and other black children learned directly and indirectly were never easy to receive and were often painfully applied. The often repeated statement "if I don't beat you, the white man will kill you" reflected the rationale some black parents living in Jim Crow cultures used to teach their children respect and even fear of authority, especially given that the ultimate face of authority was white.

Black parents nonetheless found creative ways to insist on a modicum of respect for their children by using titles as first names for their son and daughters, including "King," "Prince," "President," "Princess," "Queen," and "Duke." Others attempted to counter the psychological impact of sustained racism on their daughters by giving them black dolls to help them develop self-respect from their earliest days. Black parents, especially those of aspiring, middle and elite classes, attempted to instill racial pride and "race love" in their children by surrounding them with positive images of blacks, including pictures and Sunday School cards depicting black characters.

Collective Reactions

Many African Americans masked their displeasure with the racial etiquette and customs when in the company of whites. But they expressed their discontent in private, in their personal writings or via the black press. The tenor of such relationships continued to change over time. Black domestics of the early twentieth century, for example, did not demonstrate the same deference to whites in public that their enslaved foremothers had shown, and subsequent generations of blacks found it increasingly difficult to respect the rules. Many even resorted to mocking them, sometimes with deadly results, as in the case of **Emmett Till**. With the help of early black activist scholars, professionals, professional organizations, fraternities, sororities, lodges, clubs, and churches, African Americans and their supporters eventually challenged the legal foundation of Jim Crow, the dismantling of which led to a gradual dissolution of the racial customs and etiquette that legalized discrimination had spawned. *See also* Armed Forces; Humor and Comedic Traditions; Minstrelsy; Polite Terms, Epithets, and Labels.

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Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Racial Stereotypes

Racial stereotypes of African Americans prevalent in the United States during the Jim Crow era (circa 1877–1954) included gender-specific distorted images of the black man and black woman as well as generalized caricatures of the black child. The predominant **Jim Crow**-era stereotypes of the black adult male fall into two broad categories: a constellation of caricatures that were derived from the buffoonish **slavery**-era Sambo figure and a host of variations on the violent, threatening, and sexually menacing figure known as the Savage. The most prevalent black adult female stereotypes included variations on both the fat, pitch-black, desexualized, matriarchal Mammy, and the mulatto, a light-complexioned, sexual temptress or Jezebel figure. Black children, male and female alike, were caricaturized as pickanninies or undesirable ruffians, ragamuffins, and street urchins.

Black Male Stereotypes

The Sambo caricature, originally created by the slaveowning plantocracy of the antebellum South, characterized the typical slave as happy-go-lucky, childish, docile, lazy, irresponsible, and dependent upon and loyal to his master, and thus justified the institution of slavery. The stereotype suggested that black slaves were content with their lot and that the infantile race benefited from their bondage to paternalistic white masters. The silly-acting Sambo, frequently depicted in cartoon form as a tattered, grinning, watermelon-eating fool, was considered by whites as a lovable if exasperating figure and a sharp contrast to the feared and hated Savage or Brute, a rival stereotype that

emerged during **Reconstruction**. While the Sambo represented “happy darkies in their place,” the Savage or Brute represented the danger of emancipated African savages running wild and wreaking havoc on white civilization—as depicted in **D. W. Griffith’s** 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* by a lusty marauding black male, chasing after a pristine white woman considered the epitome of Southern femininity, who prefers leaping from a cliff to her death rather than submitting to the ignominy of interracial rape.

Both the Sambo and the Savage were representations of the purported biological inferiority of blacks. Yet, in fact, they were polar archetypes of the white imagination: the Savage being the repository of white nightmares, fears, and anxieties concerning a black uprising (such as the Nat Turner rebellion), and the Sambo being the embodiment of white dreams and aspirations to transform enslaved Africans into a race of harmless, humble, servile, comedic entertainers. Sambo became the preeminent entertainer on the American stage (although most often depicted by whites in blackface), the “American Jester,” differing from traditional medieval court jesters in the fact that he never embodied the principle of sagacity feigning as foolery (the wise man or political satirist playing the part of the fool) but only foolery. In a society made up of immigrants, each ethnic group aspiring to climb the ladder of the social hierarchy was made the butt of humor and stereotype, a hazing prior to eventual acceptance as an equal first-class American citizen. Irish, Italians, Poles, Jews and other ethnic Americans were all roasted on the national stage before they earned their credentials as white Americans. But as the national jester, the butt of national humor, the perennial outsider and outcast, the perpetual “Other,” and permanent second-class citizen in the American ethnoracial hierarchy, the African American stereotype of Sambo, was never outdone or even matched by any of other comedic ethnic stereotypes.

In contrast to the split American stereotypes of the Sambo and the Savage, in Caribbean slave societies, the two polarities were meshed into a single stereotype known as Quashee. According to the stereotype, Quashee frequently would play the fool, giving rise to such Caribbean expressions as “Quashee-fool,” but from time to time, he exhibited a “dark side” of his personality, a menacing, murderous, rebellious aspect. In the United States, whites, preferring to emphasize their social aspirations for blacks rather than their social apprehensions about them, created dual images rather than a fusion stereotype, highlighting the desired Sambo while downplaying the reprehensible Savage.

The comedic Sambo archetype appeared in a number of variations under several monikers, e.g., “Old Black Joe,” “Uncle Ned,” “Rastus,” “Boy” to cite but a few. Joseph Boskin states that Sambo was the “pre-eminent” caricature, and quips that he was a sort of “first among unequals.” Most distorted images of blacks were descendants, relatives or permutations of Sambo. The term “Jim Crow,” derived from a phrase in a ditty associated with an early minstrel dance, was one such variant appellation of Sambo. By extension, Jim Crow became an epithet referring to all black people; later the term “Jim Crow laws” became a euphemism for segregation laws enacted against blacks, and eventually the term Jim Crow was used by blacks and whites alike as a synonym for segregation.

Much of the nomenclature and many of the images came from the world of advertising: for example, Uncle Ben, his female counterpart, Aunt Jemima, and the Cream of Wheat Man. Two early caricatures related to the Sambo constellation were the Uncle and the Coon. The Uncle was a plantation-based stereotype of an elder slave. Still considered a buffoon and the butt of jokes, the Uncle was accorded a small measure of veneration in comparison to other slaves, because of his advanced years. The Coon, or Zip Coon, was a stereotype that first emerged in antebellum America in the North where there were concentrated populations of free blacks. Zip Coon's dress was characterized by absurd dandyism and his speech, a ludicrous attempt at erudite exposition, was full of grammatical errors, malapropisms, spoonerisms, and other uproarious mispronunciations. Sambo and Zip Coon were contrasting yet paired images, the first representing, as stated above, happy darkies in their place, and the second representing the utter failure of blacks to adapt to freedom and Western civilization. While decidedly different in their alleged temperaments, both the distorted image of the murderous raping Savage, and that of the foppish, bumbling but innocuous Coon reinforced the notion that people of African descent were unfit for freedom and equality.

It has been argued that the Sambo constellation of stereotypes was omnipresent throughout the American landscape, North and South, from the seventeenth century until its demise in the late twentieth century, but other scholars emphasize that Sambo was initially a figure of regional Southern lore that finally crossed over into mainstream American culture with the publication, in 1898, of Helen Bannerman's illustrated children's book, *The Story of Little Black Sambo*. The publication of Bannerman's book, a scant two years after the historic *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" Supreme Court decision, and the subsequent profusion of images of Sambo and cognate stereotypes made them central to the cultural milieu of the Jim Crow era. Sambo and other "darky" images such as the Mammy, Uncle, Coon, and Pickanniny, became mascots of the white supremacist South. These caricatures appeared ubiquitously on everyday items, e.g., sugar bowls, saltshakers and other kitchen utensils, postcards, lawn statuettes, and business logos. They were symbols that reinforced white dominance and black subordination during the era of segregation. The offensive practice of publicly displaying such caricatures in the South continued into the late twentieth century, gradually diminishing as a result of black protest. Many African Americans now collect such items as memorabilia of a painful yet never-to-be-forgotten past.

Stereotypes on Stage and Screen

Minstrelsy was another chief format for the widespread dissemination of the Sambo stereotype. Once a means for African American entertainers to eke out a living through song, dance, and comedy, minstrelsy soon became the near-exclusive and very lucrative province of white entertainers performing in blackface (facial makeup prepared from substances such as burnt cork), complete with exaggerated wide red lips, bulging eyes, kinky wool wigs, and dialect. Thereafter, the few employed black minstrels such as the talented actor, Bert Williams, suffered the double indignity of not only being gifted

thespians forced to accept such demeaning roles or starve, but of also having to apply blackface, thereby, in effect, impersonating a white impersonator impersonating a black minstrel.

Two distinct popular minstrel characters have been identified: Jim Crow (a synonym for Sambo), the plantation darky, and Zip Coon, the urban dandy. Through the medium of this racial impersonation, whites were able to control and manipulate the image of blacks even more so than through the medium of inanimate caricatures. Ludicrous behavior was posited as the opposite of rational behavior, and the whites impersonating blacks as ludicrous, childish, and dependent creatures fostered an image of black men that was devoid of intelligence, masculinity, dignity, and self-determination. Yet, blackface was also used to disseminate the sexualized and violent stereotype of the Savage. Literary critic and cultural studies scholar Susan Gubar observes that the landmark films of Hollywood's early history were characterized by whites in blackface impersonating African Americans. The first film classic, *The Birth of a Nation*, and the first talkie, *The Jazz Singer* (1929) employed blackface, though in antithetical ways—as criminal and clown (i.e., Savage and Coon).

In *The Birth of a Nation*, an overtly racist apologia for the Ku Klux Klan, whites in blackface depicted African Americans as Savages—sexual predators setting out to defile white womanhood and politically threatening rivals vying with disempowered, defeated Confederates for the rule of the Reconstruction South. The incompetence of these blacks as a

governing political race, however, is revealed by their stereotypical Coon, rather than Savage, behavior while the state legislature is in session: sleeping with feet propped up on the desks, gnawing on chicken bones, and sneaking sips of whiskey from pocket flasks. A “noble” Klan arises to protect the white American nation from the devastation of this black onslaught, in a film which President Woodrow Wilson characterized as “history written in lightning.”

In *The Jazz Singer*, a “liberal” patronizing film, Al Jolson plays a Jewish vaudeville blackface entertainer who struggles with his own ethnic dilemma: whether to assimilate into the gentile world and attain success on stage or remain faithful to family traditions as a cantor (religious singer) in his dying father's synagogue. While sympathetic to the ethnic issues of Jewish Americans, the film is blatant in its racial insensitivity. The most famous scene of the movie involves Jolson in blackface on bended knee pleading for his Jewish mother's acceptance and declaring love and loyalty to her by singing the song “My Mammy.” This scene can be seen to signify that while appearing in blackface, white men feel that they can safely regress to the Oedipal and pre-Oedipal stages of their boyhood. Furthermore, this regression infantilizes and effeminizes the image of black men, distorting them as effectively as the hypermasculinized Savage image in *The Birth of a Nation*.

Five black stereotypical film roles have been identified: Toms, Coons, Mulattos, Mammies, and Bucks. The caricature of Tom first appears in a 1903 12-minute short film inspired by and titled after Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The typical Tom character as a “Good Negro,” despite the fact that they are repeatedly the victims of floggings and terrorizing. The Tom figure, or more appropriately Uncle Tom figure, is, of course,

the same character as the “Uncle,” identified earlier in this article as an elder and revered variant of Sambo. The Pickanniny can be seen as a childhood version of the Coon. In cartoon images and other racial memorabilia objects, black children were often depicted in an unsympathetic manner: disheveled, shamelessly sexualized with nude buttocks or genitalia, and menaced, chased or eaten by wild animals such as alligators.

Hollywood images of the pickanniny were equally denigrating. Topsy, the character in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was one of the few pickanniny characters in early Hollywood productions with a name. However, by the 1920s and 1930s, in such films as the Our Gang series, a few pickanniny characters who took the role to new heights (or depths) had well-known monikers such as Farina, Stymie, and Buckwheat. As for famous adult Hollywood Coons, there were actors Willie Best, Mantan Moreland (renowned for his famous line “feets don’t fail me now”), actor/musician **Louis Armstrong**, and standout Stepin Fetchit, who played a drawling, “lanky, slow-witted simple-minded” character in over two dozen films.

The Celebrated Coons of Radio and Television

The ultimate Coon show may have appeared, however, on **radio** and **television** rather than on the silver screen. *The Adventures of Amos ‘n’ Andy* began as a “blackface” radio show, i.e., a radio show in which white actors impersonated the roles of blacks with exaggerated ethnic voices, speech patterns and dialect. Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll were the impersonators who originally called their “blackface” show, which debuted in Chicago in 1926, *Sam ‘n’ Henry* before redubbing it *Amos ‘n’ Andy* in 1928. The *Amos ‘n’ Andy* radio show was embraced by blacks and whites alike, who loved the scripts and characters all created and enacted by Gosden and Correll. These characters included Amos, an insecure, earnest, sentimental, and deferential taxicab driver; Andy, a swaggering, bombastic, but slow-witted man; and the wily George Stevens, “the Kingfish” of the Mystic Knights of the Sea Lodge, who was prone to outrageous schemes and equally outrageous infractions of the English language. In the 1940s, Gosden and Cottrell began hiring black actors to perform the roles of secondary and tertiary characters on the radio show; these included Ernestine Wade as the infamous Sapphire, the henpecking wife of the Kingfish, whose role became synonymous with an ugly stereotype—the feisty, hands-on-hip, domineering, loudmouthed, nagging matriarchal black woman—and Amanda Randolph as the even more obnoxious Mama, a hyper version of her daughter Sapphire—the “old battleaxe,” as Kingfish dubbed his ever-meddling live-in mother-in-law. In 1951, CBS brought *Amos ‘n’ Andy* to the television screen with all black actors, including Alvin Childress as Amos, Spencer Williams, Jr., as Andy, and Tim Moore as the star of the show, Kingfish. Other characters included Johnny Lee as Algonquin J. Calhoun, a shyster lawyer, and Horace Stewart (Nick O’Demus) as Lightning, the janitor, a slow-moving, slow-witted, drawling Stepin Fetchit-type character. Although the hilarious sitcom was loved by whites and blacks alike, **Civil Rights Movement** organizations considered Coon stereotypes perpetuated by the show to be both offensive and an obstacle to integration and

assimilation. Seeking to promote dignified media images of Negroes and eradicate undignified ones, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) spearheaded a lengthy but successful battle (beginning in 1951 and lasting until 1963) to ban the show, including both prime time network broadcasts and local station. Another noteworthy television Coon was Jack Benny's sidekick Rochester, played by Eddie Anderson.

Bucks, Badmen, and Blaxploitation

Another stereotype defined by Bogle is the Buck (the superstud or hypersexualized black male) or more specifically the "Brutal Black Buck" as typified by the rapacious blackface villain in the film, *The Birth of a Nation*. In short, Bogle's Brutal Black Buck is identical with the Brute or Savage, while the Buck, in general (originally a well-built plantation stud mated with several female slaves in order to breed muscular workers), became synonymous with the hypersexualized swaggering action hero, antihero or villain, employing violence on the behalf of either crime or law enforcement in such black folk-tale sagas such as *Stagolee* and in such post-Jim Crow Era blaxploitation films such as *Superfly* and *Shaft*. Thus the Buck or hypersexualized, violent-prone character appeared not only in the context of white imposed racial stereotypes, but in the context of black folklore, black film, and black literature (e.g., Bigger Thomas in Richard Wright's *Native Son*) as well. In these black folk, film, and literary creations, the Buck is known by the term the "Badman."

King Kong: An American Nightmare

Differing from typical renditions of the Savage, King Kong is the Subliminal Savage, i.e., a symbol of the black man as Savage, which operates on an unconscious level; the true significance of the story is being communicated just below the threshold of consciousness. The original 1933 *King Kong* is a thinly veiled rendition of white America's great nightmare—a slave uprising or black insurrection. *King Kong* subliminally conveys to its viewers an unspeakable horror, a black insurrection—a fear as old as the nation itself, the deep-seated anxiety and nightmare of slave-holding whites in antebellum America. Anxieties about a massive slave uprising plagued white America's conscience from colonial times up through the Civil War. It has been noted that the Southern plantocracy created the image of Sambo to ease their own fears—i.e., they desperately needed to believe in Sambo so that they could sleep easily at night. But buried deep in the Southern white psyche was a fear that one night, while sleeping, their throats would be cut by the people whom they had enslaved—or worse that they would be awakened to witness that final moment of horror.

In enslaving and oppressing black people, white Americans slept each night with an uneasy conscience knowing that they were sitting on top of a racial volcano that could erupt at any moment. In modern times, the uprising took on the semblance of a black urban revolt—an inner city insurrection. Bringing the symbols of the movie to conscious awareness, the message of the film becomes patently evident. Kong is Nat Turner or the Savage writ large.

Africans have long been derogatorily depicted as apes, and Kong the giant ape depicts millions of Africans, the masses of black people in America. The title of the movie itself suggests the great Mani Kongo or King of the Congo (King of Africa), who has been captured from his homeland and shipped in chains to America. Once he reaches these shores, this great physical specimen is penned in a cage, locked in chains and placed on stage, thereby representing the four roles black men have been relegated to in America—slave (chains), prisoner (cage), entertainer (stage), and athlete (physical prowess). Kong breaks his chains and goes on a rampage through the inner city (riots, insurrections, slave revolts). Having been guilty throughout slavery and segregation of the wholesale rape of black women, whites have always feared that blacks would retaliate by raping white women. (Hence all of the Jim Crow-era **lynchings** for even “looking too hard” at a white woman.) Fay Wray represents the pure and pristine white womanhood that Kong supposedly lusts after. The climb to the top of the Empire State Building is interesting on many levels, for the architectural monument symbolically embodies at once a phallic symbol and the peak cultural and technological achievement of Western civilization. Hence, Kong is challenging the white man’s manhood and his technological and cultural “superiority.” Reaching the pinnacle of the building, Kong has reversed societal roles, the black man is on the top and the white man is on the bottom looking up at him. The denouement, which ends the nightmare of the black uprising, is that Kong is shot down—just as **Malcolm X**, **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and Nat Turner were “shot down.” The threat is eliminated, the nightmare is ended, and white fears are assuaged. The subliminal “lesson” to black America is that any future insurrections will meet with a similar fate.

Black Female Stereotypes

The Mammy and the Mulatto are the classic black female stereotypes. Variations and permutations of these characters, especially the quintessential mammy figure, include caricatures such as Aunt Jemima, Beulah, and Sapphire. The Mammy stood (or rather, bowed and scraped) alongside Sambo as his female equivalent, the predominant stereotype of black womanhood during plantation slavery. Depicted as an obese and unattractive matriarch, the bossy Mammy dressed in tattered clothing and was devoid of sexuality; she was caring, nurturing, and even loving to the children of the slave master whom she raised, yet in contrast, mean and neglectful to her own husband and offspring. In a reversal of the preferred gender roles of white antebellum America (where the white women were expected to be dainty feminine belles placed on a pedestal), black women were depicted as strong and dependable while their black male counterparts were weak, dependent, childlike Sambos. In the context of the pervasive cultural norms of the period (not the nascent women’s suffragist philosophy of the period or contemporary feminist perspectives), black women were defeminized or masculinized, while black men were demasculinized or effeminized. In the Jim Crow era, the Mammy was no longer a slave but a domestic, that is, a hired maid or nanny. Although she was now a wage earner, there was little of substance that changed in terms of the stereotype. Several black actresses were associated with the Mammy

role on screen and on television, first and foremost of these was Hattie McDaniel, best known for her Oscar-winning role in the 1939 film *Gone with the Wind*, a saga of the old South. McDaniel, Ethel Waters, and Louise Beavers alternately played the title role of an amiable domestic in the 1950s television sitcom *Beulah*. Butterfly McQueen played the role of Prissy, a comedic hysterical servant girl in *Gone with the Wind*, and the role of a neighbor's maid in *Beulah*.

Although depicted as desexualized, the Mammy was actually the victim of repeated rape by white men in both plantation and domestic settings. Impregnated by these forced interracial sexual encounters, she frequently gave birth to light complexioned children. The female offspring of such interracial unions, most especially, were stereotyped as Tragic Mulattos. The Mulatto was considered a tragic figure, because she was often light enough to "pass" for white—yet those "passing" for white were often imperiled by sad or disastrous consequences. In a racist Jim Crow society where black skin designated a lower social caste, passing for white was for many mulattos—quadroons (those with one-quarter black ancestry) and octoroons (those with one-eighth black ancestry)—a great social boon—a means to escape the stigma of blackness and segregation and to achieve upward mobility. Passing, however, was always fraught with painful choices and great difficulties. The stereotypical mulatto was forever plagued by her "dark secret." She experienced both the anguish of having to conceal or even sever ties with her black family and loved ones and the constant threat of some day being discovered or exposed as black. Such exposure inevitably would lead to her being ostracized or banished from white society, deserted and rejected by white friends and lovers.

While the Tragic Mulatto was sometimes portrayed as a sympathetic figure, unwittingly trapped in social circumstances not of her making and exceedingly difficult for her to navigate (e.g., the eponymous character in the 1949 film *Pinky*), a frequent depiction of the Tragic Mulatto in literature and in film was that of the selfish seductress. In Fannie Hurst's novel *Imitation of Life*, which was brought to screen in 1934 and then in a 1959 remake, the mulatto is a selfish seductress who loathes blackness and will resort to any means to capture a white husband and live in the white world. She rejects her self-sacrificing mother (who dies of a broken heart) and her gentlemanly black suitors, in order to marry a white man. Yet her white husband savagely beats her and throws her out on the street when he discovers her secret. Furthermore, the Tragic Mulatto, living on the margins of society, fitting neither into the black world that she rejects or the white world that ultimately rejects her, is often depicted as an emotionally troubled, self-destructive, suicidal personality whose problems make her prone to drug or alcohol abuse. It has been noted that the stereotype of the Tragic Mulatto is not historically accurate, as many mulattos played leadership roles within the black community.

An emphasis on the seductive aspects of the Tragic Mulatto made for another variant of the stereotype—the hypersexualized Jezebel, or Hot Mama. The Jezebel caricature stereotyped the black woman as lewd and promiscuous, a whore with animal-like sexuality. The Jezebel with her hot bestial sexuality was the female counterpart of the hypersexualized male Savage or Brute. In contrast to the desexualized fat black Mammy, the sexually tempting and

alluring Jezebel was more often than not depicted as a voluptuous mulatto. Indeed, in the age of Jim Crow, white men who were desirous of interracial sex, often sought out mulattos who were employed in the trade of prostitution or arranged long-term sexual contacts with mulatto concubines. The mulatto Hot Mama stereotype is perpetuated even in the present-day media, where video vixens are virtually all light-skinned women with straight or straightened hair.

Although there is much overlap between the Jezebel or Hot Mama stereotype and the stereotypical Mulatto or light-complexioned woman, the Jezebel stereotype actually transcends skin color. In fact, many of the earliest caricatures of black women's alleged bestial sexuality, have employed dark-complexioned African figures. Saartjie (Sarah) Baartman (1789–1815), the “Hottentot Venus,” was a classic example of this. A member of the aboriginal KhoiKhoi or Khoisan (so-called Hottentot) ethnic group of southern Africa, Baartman was exhibited like a carnival attraction in London and Paris, to the delight of Europeans who were fascinated by her physique, which was notably characterized by steatopygia, an enlargement of the buttocks typical of the Khoisan women. Cartoon caricatures of Baartman appeared everywhere, and the distorted image of the oversexualized African woman who was always desirous of sex, provided a justification for the rape of enslaved Africans. Voluptuous naked or scantily dressed savage woman appeared in all sorts of memorabilia during the Jim Crow era. In the 1950s, a very popular set of swizzle sticks for stirring drinks called “Zulu Lulu” depicted the nude African figure, with prominent breasts and buttocks, in various stages of youthful to aging development. The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed the emergence of the famed cartoonist R. Crumb's underground comix character, Angelfood McSpade (sometimes dubbed as Angelfood McDevilfood), an outrageous satire of the Hottentot Venus/Zulu Lulu-type caricatures that, depending upon the viewer, could easily be misinterpreted as an egregious perpetuation of the stereotype rather than an antiracist parody of the stereotype. It has been noted that the Jezebel stereotype divides into two broad types: a Pathetic Jezebel and an Exotic Jezebel. The Pathetic Jezebel image shades into the Mammy image because it depicts African and African American women with aberrant and unattractive physical, cultural, and social traits (e.g., with exaggerated lips or sagging breasts, uncivilized, inebriated, etc.). Unlike the Mammy image however, the Pathetic Jezebel is always sexualized and depicted as nude or seminude. The Saartjie Baartman/Zulu Lulu/Angelfood McSpade caricatures are examples of the Pathetic Jezebel, while the mulatto Hot Mama is representative of desirous Exotic Jezebel.

It has also been noted that the Jezebel stereotype in all of its variations was historically inaccurate, as most black women were modest, monogamous, and morally virtuous rather than lewd or licentious and were the unwilling victims of white supremacists who forced them into sexual subjugation.

Academia

Sambo made a dramatic appearance in the hallowed halls of academia when the historian Stanley M. Elkins (1959) unleashed a firestorm of scholarly

debate and criticism with the publication of a controversial thesis concerning the impact of slavery on the African American personality. Elkins argued that Sambo was a real historical personality type, not a fictive caricature; and that the docile (nonrebellious), infantile Sambo was the most prevalent personality type occurring amongst African American slaves. Furthermore, he asserted that this dysfunctional Sambo personality type was uniquely the product of the oppressive “total institution” or “closed system” of North American slavery, and that the Sambo type did not occur in the relatively “open” (i.e., less oppressive, less restrictive) slave systems of Latin American and the Caribbean, where normal human aspirations for freedom resulted in long-standing traditions of slave revolt. He stressed, however, that a comparable prevalent dysfunctional docile personality type did occur among Jews interred in Nazi concentration camps that were similar in oppressive structure to North American slave plantations. Scholars contended with Elkins on several issues including: a reinterpretation of historical evidence minimizing his crucial distinctions between North American and Latin America slavery, slave docility and rebelliousness (Genovese 1971); the existence of other prevalent African American slave personality types, most notably a rebellious “Nat” [Turner] type (Blasingame 1972); the evidence of a “Quashee” personality type, analogous to Sambo, in the Caribbean slave system (Patterson 1971); the evidence that Sambo was a dissemblance or masquerade, not an internalized personality type (Stampp 1971); and the questionable analogy between North American plantation slavery and Nazi concentration camps (Fredrickson and Lasch 1971). *See also* Advertising; Black Hollywood; *Black Like Me*; Children’s Literature; Humor and Comedic Traditions.

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Yusuf Nuruddin

Radio

Radio is a colorless medium. Even so, the color line was evident from the industry's earliest years. Race was a shifting, contested element, playing a central role in the production and the reception of radio content. Race is relevant in two distinct ways. First, from the earliest radio broadcasts of the 1920s until the civil rights revolution of the 1960s, the color line was a barrier, but a porous one, for African Americans in the production of radio content. As important were the complex ways that race was portrayed in radio. While de jure or de facto was the norm in public, African Americans entered the parlors of white American homes through the radio. Black Americans heard their own American culture portrayed as exotic and alien. And both races listened as minstrelsy reemerged with its white construction of black identity.

African Americans on Radio in the 1920s and 1930s

African Americans made appearances on radio from the earliest days of commercial broadcasting. Pianist Earl Hines appeared on pioneering station KDKA in Pittsburgh in 1921. The black vaudeville team of Flournoy Miller and Aubrey Lyles made their radio debut as early as 1922, as did comedian Bert Williams. Black musicians in particular benefited from the new medium. In 1922, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers began demanding royalty payments from radio stations that broadcast recorded music. Over the next few years programmers adapted by broadcasting live performances. Kid Ory's Sunshine Orchestra's live performances at the Plantation Club in Los Angeles were broadcast locally. WHN in New York began broadcasting Duke Ellington's orchestra nightly from the Cotton Club in 1924. Ethel Waters and Fats Waller had regular shows, and dozens of other African Americans appeared across the radio spectrum.

Nevertheless, it was much more difficult for black musicians than white ones to find regular work in radio. **Jazz** and **blues** musicians faced criticism for their "primitive" styles, and much of what passed for jazz music on the radio by the decade of the 1930s were orchestral arrangements by white band-leaders who refused to hire black musicians. The house orchestras of the two major networks were not integrated until the end of the decade. In 1937, trumpeter and actor **Louis Armstrong** headlined a show featuring an all-black cast, but the show was cancelled after a six-week run when confronted with skittish sponsors, and in part because Armstrong refused to read his scripted lines in what the producers of the show intended as Negro dialect.

Fewer black performers appeared on the radio in the medium's second decade. The **Great Depression** fell hard on the black entertainment industry. The Theater Owners' Booking Association (TOBA), the organization that had provided employment for black artists on the vaudeville circuit, collapsed, and with it the opportunity for entertainers to find access to radio audiences. Cutbacks in the production of "race" records meant that fewer black artists were familiar to radio producers or audiences.

The development of radio networks diminished considerably the presence of African Americans on the air. Advertisers, who quickly became the dominant force in radio programming, feared that the association of their products with

black consumers would discourage white customers. Advertisers and programmers developed content intended to appeal to Southern affiliates. Sponsor affiliated dance orchestras, such as the Ipana Troubadours and the Lucky Strike Orchestra, replaced pioneer black jazz musicians, and many of the new orchestras would not hire African Americans. White singers covered songs originally recorded by black artists. Radio management was not the only barrier to African Americans. The American Federation of Radio Actors and the Radio Writers Guild was denied to African Americans and refused to accept black members until the 1940s.

Louis Armstrong's troubles highlight a dilemma faced by black performers in the early decades of radio. White listeners made up the great majority of the radio audience, and producers of radio content, who also were white, assumed that African Americans should conform to a familiar stereotype to engage a white audience. With few exceptions, black musicians came from blues, jazz, or gospel traditions. Black actors and comics portrayed only black characters, a peculiar restriction since the radio audience could not see the skin color of the actor. Moreover, the depiction of African Americans on the radio during the 1920s and 1930s conformed to racist stereotypes and to characterizations common to nineteenth-century minstrelsy and, later, vaudeville. As Armstrong discovered, an African American who spoke in too-standard English, who did not conform to the stereotype, might lose access to an audience. Female performers faced similar hurdles. Hattie McDaniel began her career in a family minstrel act as a singer. She moved to Los Angeles in the 1920s to find work in the film industry. Supporting herself working as a maid, she finally found work in radio playing a maid with all the characteristics of the black "mammy" on the *Optimistic Doughnut Hour* on KNX, a role she reprised on the radio show *Show Boat*, and in film in *Gone With the Wind*.

Black male characters were expected to exhibit a narrow range of behavior. Most drew directly from the minstrel characters **Jim Crow** and **Zip Coon**. A Jim Crow character would satirize the rural African American. He would be slow-witted, ignorant, and servile. Zip Coon was a stereotype of the Northern black dandy. He would be ambitious and vain, but would demonstrate no real understanding of the "white" culture to which he aspired. Both characters spoke in stage "Negro dialect," a drawling mockery of standard English characterized by sustained malapropism. Black male actors would be cast as servants or as unemployed, shirking work for drinking, gambling and womanizing.

The most successful black radio actor was Eddie Anderson, who was cast in the role of Rochester, the chauffeur and valet to Jack Benny on Benny's long-running radio program. Anderson's character spoke in a false-black dialect, worked as a servant to the show's star, and engaged in stereotypical bad behavior. Nevertheless, African American audiences had a wide range of responses to Anderson's portrayal of a member of their race. Particularly in the early years of the series, many black listeners were pleased that at least an African American, rather than a white actor, was cast in the part. Moreover, Anderson's character wielded considerable authority over Benny's. He was indispensable and often wiser than his clueless employer. Anderson himself was impatient with critics of his character and with critics of other

stereotypical black characters in radio. He asserted that they were not intended to be representative of a race of people, but were simply singular comic characters. Certainly Anderson's success in radio may have influenced his judgment. Likely he would have seconded Hattie McDaniel's explanation that she would rather play a maid on the radio for \$500 a week rather than work as a real maid for \$50.

One radio pioneer who resisted the stereotyping and still overcame racial discrimination to pursue a successful and influential career was Jack Cooper. Cooper had begun his career in vaudeville on the TOBA circuit, and had worked for the *Chicago Defender*, the premier African American newspaper in the nation. In 1925 he was hired by radio station WCAP in Washington, DC, to produce comedy sketches in black dialect for a variety show. That would be the last time that Cooper was heard on the radio speaking in "Negro dialect." He soon left that position and returned to Chicago, determined to develop radio content that would appeal to black audiences. Beginning with a modest effort on a low-power station in 1929, Cooper produced *The All-Negro Hour*, a variety show of comedy and music, and featuring many of the prominent black performers in the city. He soon added spirituals to the musical lineup, and then began broadcasting religious services from black churches on Chicago's South Side. In 1932, after a dispute with a pianist who was scheduled to play on *The All-Negro Hour*, Cooper began including recorded music on his broadcasts, an innovation that would lead to the rise of the disc jockey as a cultural icon. Cooper also developed news programs in partnership with the *Chicago Defender*, pioneered in sports broadcasting, and produced public affairs programs with discussions of issues affecting African Americans. This latter effort was particularly significant, since, apart from entertainment programming, most radio stations scrupulously avoided racial issues until the end of the 1930s. Cooper also was the rare pioneer African American radio personality who managed to make a comfortable living in the medium.

Whites in Blackface on the Radio

Even many of the stereotyped characters on the radio did not provide employment opportunities for African Americans. From the early nineteenth century, whites had portrayed African Americans in minstrel shows. The form developed first in the Northern states, drawing on traditions from the British music halls. After the Civil War, minstrelsy declined in popularity in the Northern states, but found an unprecedented popularity in the former Confederacy. Revived again with the rise of vaudeville in the 1880s, minstrelsy moved easily into radio. Without the burnt cork makeup of the minstrel show, white performers drew on familiar characters, patter, stylized dialect, and song to create a radio version of a blackface performance. Indeed, white actors played most black roles on radio in the 1920s and 1930s. George Moran and Charlie Mack appeared regularly on *The Eveready Hour* as the Two Black Crows, a vaudeville-style comedy act. Tess Gardella, a white actress, was cast as Aunt Jemima, first as a blackfaced spokeswoman for Quaker Oats pancake flour, then as a featured performer in the Broadway musical *Showboat*. Eventually,

she starred in a daily radio broadcast. Marlin Hurt, also white, played the black maid Beulah, first on stage, later appearing regularly on radio in *Showboat*, *The Fibber McGee and Molly Show*, and finally in her own show. Evidently, radio producers felt that white actors could best portray the white fantasy of a black character.

The most successfully white actors to portray black characters were Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, creators of the long-running *Amos 'n' Andy* series. Drawing on their experiences in semiprofessional minstrelsy and with the Joe Bren theatrical company of Chicago, Gosden and Correll developed a radio show that drew an unprecedented audience from the earliest days of its broadcast. Executives at WGN in Chicago hired the two to develop a radio serial, a novel idea drawn from the successful comic strip serials in the *Chicago Tribune*. Gosden and Correll decided to play black characters, undoubtedly because of their experience in minstrelsy, but also because, as Freeman Gosden later reported, he believed that blackface was funnier than whiteface. Their earliest incarnations were the characters Sam and Henry, two rural Alabamians who began their radio journey from Birmingham to Chicago on January 12, 1926. The show broadcast for 10 minutes, six nights a week, and consisted solely of Gosden and Correll's scripted dialogue. The show was a hit locally and in other locations where WGN's broadcast could be received. The two men also recorded comic dialogue and songs on the Victor label as Sam and Henry, and these efforts provided them an even wider audience.

Like other blackface radio acts, *Sam and Henry* drew on the conventions of minstrelsy. Freeman Gosden's Sam was a Jim Crow character, sincere, deferential, and naïve. Charles Correll's Henry was the Zip Coon, conniving and ambitious, but in the end as dimwitted and ignorant as his trusting partner. Nevertheless, Sam and Henry were more sympathetic and complex than similar minstrel pairs. The two creators avoided malicious characterizations and racist language. Indeed, they suppressed most racial issues altogether. Like many Southern African Americans in the early twentieth century, the two characters migrate North to find employment in a Northern city; unlike their authentic counterparts, the two black characters confront little in the way of racism and poverty upon their arrival in Chicago.

After their contract with WGN expired in 1928, Gosden and Correll began a national tour, drawing considerable crowds and press. Upon their return to Chicago they accepted an offer from WMAQ, the radio broadcast affiliate of the *Chicago Daily News*. Since WGN owned the rights to *Sam and Henry*, the pair had to develop new names, even if the characters remained constant. After testing a few options, they settled on Amos and Andy, and as those characters Gosden and Correll remained on the air for years, first in Chicago and after 1929 on the national NBC Blue network.

In its early years, *Amos 'n' Andy* was the most popular show on radio. The serial format was in part responsible. Audiences tuned in night after night to hear the narrative unfold. Much of the popularity of the show also was due to the appeal and complexity of Gosden and Correll's creations. While based on the stereotypes from minstrelsy, Amos and Andy were appealing characters. Amos was portrayed as noble and hardworking, and Andy, while

certainly more devious than his partner, was a likeable scoundrel. Difficult racial issues were ignored. Indeed, one of the remarkable features of the show was the fact there were no white characters in the series. Nevertheless, the fact that the two characters were part of the **Great Migration** to the Northern cities, gave it an authenticity to which even black audiences were drawn.

That is not to suggest that all African American audience members approved of a show in which white actors portrayed sympathetic, but hardly flattering, black characters. Amos and Andy were sympathetic characters, but the show's humor relied on their malapropism, their gullibility, and their unsuccessful efforts to understand business or politics. In short, the humor depended on the characters' inability to master the culture of their white audience. Gosden and Correll made much of their attention to the authenticity of their creations. Freeman Gosden was a native of Virginia, and had close contact with black Virginians in his childhood. Both creators claimed to have done extensive research in the black communities where the show was set, first in south Chicago and later, when the show moved to network radio, in Harlem. The two made public appearances in the black community, and donated to charities that aided African Americans.

Even so, from the earliest days of the show, there were African Americans who were offended by *Amos 'n' Andy*. Jack Cooper was never a fan of his Chicago rivals, believing that they were inauthentic and degrading. At Howard University, Clarence LeRoy Mitchell criticized Gosden and Correll for leading white audiences to believe that Amos and Andy were typical of the African Americans who had migrated from the Southern states. Bishop W. J. Walls of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was an early critic of the series. Robert Vann, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, criticized the show for its effect on both white and black audiences. In 1931, he began a campaign to have the show removed from the airwaves. The *Courier* announced a campaign to collect a million signatures to petition NBC to abandon the show, and reported in October 1931 that 740,000 had been received. The petition drive was unsuccessful, and opposed by the *Chicago Defender*, the largest black newspaper in the nation, but it set the stage for later critics who saw little value in Gosden and Correll's blackface caricatures.

Race, Radio, and War

With the rise in Europe of fascism, critics of racial stereotyping in American radio found new reasons to press their case. The administration of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** made effective use of radio from the earliest days of the **New Deal** to explain and promote its economic policies, but race issues were rarely aired. Industry leaders, except for the occasional African American innovator like Jack Cooper, carefully avoided race, except as an element of comedy or musical programming. Beginning in 1938, federal policy makers began tentative steps to address the racial divide in America, and to contrast America's pluralism with the racist regime in Germany.

That year, the Department of the Interior under Harold Ickes produced the first of 26 episodes of *American All, Immigrants All*, broadcast on the CBS network, celebrating the contributions of immigrant and minority Americans.

The series did not recall the struggle of various groups to find a place in America so much as it assured listeners that America was a nation that generously rewarded hard work from anyone regardless of origin, ethnicity, or color. Alain Locke and **W.E.B. Du Bois** served as unpaid consultants on the episode entitled "The Negro." Conflicts with the series' writer and production problems complicated the production, but the result was a more historically accurate portrayal of African Americans than radio listeners ever had heard before. For listeners, one obvious difference would have been the absence of "Negro dialect," even in the dramatic portrayal of antebellum slavery.

For African Americans, an even more significant federally sponsored series was *Freedom's People*, conceived by Ambrose Caliver in the Office of Education in the Interior Department. The first episode aired on the NBC radio network 10 days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and continued into the spring of 1942. Advisors to the series included a stellar group of black intellectuals, including Du Bois, Alain Locke, **Mary McLeod Bethune**, Roy Wilkins, Carter Woodson, and Charles Johnson. Paul Robeson appeared in the first episode, and music for the series was provided by such luminaries as W. C. Handy, Joshua White, Noble Sissle. Joe Lewis, Cab Calloway, **Jesse Owens**, Count Basie, Fats Waller, A. Philip Randolph, and **George Washington Carver** made appearances. The series was a critical and popular success, winning rave reviews from professionals and from First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt**, who helped to secure a promise from her husband to appear on the final broadcast, although it was a promise he failed to keep.

The development of a new consciousness on the part of radio programmers and executives led many African Americans to expect that the medium would be a part of the advancement of civil rights in postwar America. Public affairs shows like *Roundtable* and *America's Town Meeting of the Air* took up, if only hesitantly, issues of race that had been carefully avoided in the prewar years. In New York, WMCA began broadcasting *New World A'Coming* in 1944, a series that examined the challenges faced by African Americans and their expectations for the new era. In 1948, journalist and radio screenwriter Richard Durham began broadcasting *Destination Freedom* on WMAQ in Chicago, a series of biographical sketches of prominent African Americans in history with commentary and analysis that had a clear political intent.

Postwar Radio America

The advancement of a civil rights agenda suffered serious setbacks by the end of the 1940s. The onset of the **Cold War** and the ensuing red scare in America took a toll on black activists in particular. Paul Robeson, who had been both popular and effective as a spokesman for racial issues, was blacklisted and persecuted as a Communist. He was unable to make public appearances for fear of the violence that often erupted. Canada Lee, one of the most successful African Americans in radio and stage, and a childhood friend of Fats Waller, also was blacklisted. Networks scaled back their overtly reformist content for fear of appearing sympathetic to leftist politics and losing sponsors. Nevertheless, overtly racist programming fell out of favor and black radio performers did make quiet advances. In 1951 NBC instituted a code of

standards and practices that required that all groups represented on the radio be treated with dignity and respect, a requirement that regularly would be breached in the following decade. The next year the network implemented a policy of “integration without identification,” allowing African Americans to appear on the radio without explicit reference to their race, and even clearing the way for black actors to portray white characters.

Meanwhile, the disc jockey format developed by Jack Cooper was gaining in popularity. In Chicago, Cooper’s popularity was eclipsed by Arthur Lerner, who appeared after the war on WGES. Benson, a migrant from Mississippi, first hosted a religious program, featuring a sermon and gospel music, but after the station management refused to let him sell advertising for a religious broadcast, he transformed his show and himself. As Al “the Ole Swingmaster” Benson, Lerner abandoned Cooper’s style of broadcasting in formal standard English and instead employed a black vernacular, adopting current slang terms and stressing his Southern, African American vocal style, and playing records by Chicago jazz and blues musicians. Moving away from the big-band swing music featured on network stations, Al Benson highlighted the emerging rhythm-and-blues music that developed from the synthesis of Southern Delta blues and urban jazz. By the end of the decade he was the most popular radio personality in the city, black or white.

The remarkable success of Al Benson in Chicago influenced African American broadcasters in other cities. The racial pride evident at the end of the war years raised the expectations of black audiences. And while *Amos ‘n’ Andy* remained on the air in a skeletal form until 1960, the decline of radio minstrelsy opened a space for authentic black voices on the airwaves. Jesse Burke in St. Louis, Ramon Bruce in Philadelphia, Lavada Durst in Austin, and Willie Bryant in New York each developed a stylized patter utilizing rhyme, slang, and rapid-fire delivery that, along with rhythm-and-blues musical format, appealed to a younger audience.

In Memphis, WDIA became the first major station in the nation to develop a full-time format for an African American audience. Struggling in a market in which the national networks were devoting more resources to television, and recognizing the untapped potential of the black consumer market, the white owners of the station began providing incrementally more airtime to programming for the city’s black population. In 1948, they hired Nat D. Williams to host *Tan Town Jamboree*, and as “Nat D.,” Williams quickly became the station’s most valuable asset. Within a year, Williams had persuaded the station owners to complete the transition to an all-black format. The station relied heavily on recorded music, but also broadcast live performances, religious shows, and public affairs programs pitched directly to African Americans. In 1954 the station acquired a 50,000-watt transmitter, and overnight, the station acquired an audience throughout the region.

The decline of the national radio networks, the success of WDIA, and the realization on the part of independent station owners and sponsors that African Americans remained a mostly unexploited market for advertising led to a dramatic increase in the number of stations with programming targeted to a black audience. During the 1950s, hundreds of stations around the nation switched their format to “black appeal,” hired black DJs and directed their

advertising to black audiences. Despite these developments, ownership of these stations remained overwhelmingly in white hands. Radio provided a platform for African American broadcasters to reach African American audiences, but, except occasionally as local sponsors, the economic benefits remained out of reach.

As R&B music reached a wider audience, black DJs became significant celebrities in their own right. Through the 1950s listeners were entertained and schooled by the likes of Jack Gibson, who eventually left broadcasting to work for Berry Gordy at Motown Records, “Joltin’” Joe Howard, Tommy Smalls, and Jocko Henderson. Henderson, whose *Rocket Ship* show was syndicated in several markets, also worked as a concert promoter, continuing a tradition that still fuels and finances radio production today. With the advent of Top 40 radio and the payola scandals in the late 1950s, the power of radio programming shifted away from the DJs and into the hands of the management of radio stations, but as the civil rights struggle heated up in the 1960s, black DJs were well placed to report events, to contribute to the message, and to provide the soundtrack for the movement. Significantly, when **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was assassinated in 1968, black DJs around the country acted quickly to get out the news and to discourage violent reaction.

While “urban contemporary” programming occupies a significant fraction of the broadcast spectrum in recent times, the color line is still evident in radio. After a significant increase in the number of black-owned radio stations between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s, legislative and policy changes began to encourage the corporate consolidation of radio ownership. Jim Crow cannot be heard on the radio, but race is still a contested territory in the medium. *See also* Advertising; Music; Racial Stereotypes; Television.

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William A. Morgan

Railroads

Jim Crow regulations affected both passengers and railroad workers. Separation of the races remains an artifact of American history by the distinction of positioning American blacks as a slave class, establishing slave codes to ensure the continued enslavement of blacks, then by implementing laws to divide and segregate African Americans from other races. As with many other aspects of black life in American society, segregation of African Americans in public conveyances, like the railroads (common carriers), was a practice enforced by laws and culture. Segregation on common carriers like railroads and steamships was frequently challenged in the court system as unconstitutional.

The segregated railway cars to which blacks were assigned became referred to as “Jim Crow” cars. The first documented accounts of segregation on railroads occurred in 1841 and involved black abolitionist David Ruggles of New York. On July 6, 1841, Ruggles was ordered by conductors of the New Bedford and Taunton, Massachusetts, Rail Line to move to a railway car designated for “Negroes.” When Ruggles refused, he was forcibly removed from the train. He attempted to sue the rail company, but the case was dismissed. Another incident, September 8, 1841, involved former slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass as he traveled on the Eastern Railroad. Douglass was ordered by the train conductor to move from the general passenger section to a separate section for blacks. When Douglass refused, several men dragged and seated him in the compartment. Douglass and his companions met similar treatment weeks later on the Eastern Railroad line as he traveled to Newburyport. In other instances, whites who came to the assistance of blacks were also mistreated. Incidents like these and others were reported in the newspapers of the times. Efforts against segregation of blacks on railroads were put in motion by abolitionists of Massachusetts to press for legislative intervention against such treatment. Forms of protest included the boycott of rail lines that used segregated railway cars. Under increased public agitation, pending legislation and pressure from lawmakers, the railroads determined it prudent to abolish its policy of segregated railway cars.



Federal employees using segregated waiting rooms in Washington, DC, 1910s. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-108282.

Despite the early victory of the Massachusetts abolitionists, segregated railroads sporadically continued in other parts of the country. The resurgence of separate railway cars grew following the Civil War and during the westward expansion of the railroads. **Florida, Mississippi, and Texas** were among the first Southern states to enact laws to assign blacks to Jim Crow cars after the war. Regardless of the state, the laws uniformly banished blacks to separate cars. Often these railway cars were connected behind the engine, were unsanitary, and occasionally were not passenger cars at all but were freight cars. Occasionally, the cars were segregated by a partition or curtain. Noted black scholar John Hope Franklin experienced this form of segregation as a youth in Oklahoma when he, his mother and sister were removed from a train for refusing to sit in the “Negro” section.

The **Civil Rights Act of 1875** briefly challenged discriminatory practices in the United States. However, the rights of states to draft laws slowly began to supersede the **federal government**, thus opening the gateways for renewed Jim Crow regulations. In addition, the **U.S. Supreme Court** ruled in 1883 that the 1875 Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional, thus leaving policy decisions about blacks to the states. The ruling undoubtedly facilitated passage of new state laws prohibiting integrated railway cars. Beginning with Tennessee in 1881, other Southern states followed with laws that placed blacks in separate cars from non-black passengers.

One of the most cited legal cases concerning segregated railway cars involved **Homer Plessy**, who challenged an 1890 **Louisiana** law that provided **separate but equal** railway cars for blacks. Plessy, who appeared white, was a member of a civil rights organization based in New Orleans, *Comité des Citoyens* (Committee of Citizens), which chose Plessy to make a test case against the law. On June 7, 1892, Plessy purchased first-class passage (the white coach) on the East Louisiana Railway for transportation between New Orleans and Covington. Plessy was ordered to leave the first-class section. When Plessy refused to comply, he was removed from the train and jailed. Plessy subsequently filed suit on the basis the Louisiana law was unconstitutional (General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, Acts 1890, No. 111). The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the 1890 law of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, thus setting forth the practice of “separate but equal,” in the United States. Supreme Court Justice **John M. Harlan** offered a dissenting opinion, “I am of the opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that State, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States.”

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Carol Adams-Means

Randolph, A. Philip (1889–1979)

Civil rights leader and union founder A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, **Florida**, the son of the minister of the local African Methodist

Episcopal Church. At an early age, he sought a career as an actor and moved to Harlem in 1911 to pursue that objective. Though he did not achieve success as an actor, he did attend City College of New York, and it was there that he met two fellow students who would shape his future life and career: his wife Lucille Green, and Chandler Owen, a student at Columbia University, and a socialist. Owen and Randolph became social and political friends whose politics dovetailed and made it possible for them, in 1917, to create the *Messenger*, which became one of the first radical Harlem magazines during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The *Messenger* began as the *Hotel Messenger* in 1916; a workers' union paper that pronounced socialism as the only program and ideology that would enable the country to achieve the desirable social change. In 1921, Randolph ran, without success, as the socialist candidate for secretary of state in New York. The *Messenger* would be an important political, cultural, and economic rallying point around which various individuals and groups in Harlem would unite during the 1920s.

The beginning of the 1920s had cultural, political, and economic importance for black Americans in as much as it was the springboard for the **Harlem Renaissance** and the attempt by blacks to move forward while recognizing the importance of the past. The Renaissance represented an internally generated black nationalistic to interpreting the past, contemporary practical policies for the 1920s, and projections for the future. It was an era when nationally, black entrepreneurship was probably at its height, but it was also a period preceding the Stock Market Crash of 1929. Thus, on one side of the social, political, and cultural divide there were those adhering to the policies of **Booker T. Washington**, which sought to explain the possible, and eventual, integration of blacks into the system via capitalism and the free market, through the world of business and entrepreneurship. Randolph represented the other divide: the rejection of capitalism and the free market concepts as unworkable for blacks as well as the nation. There was yet another divide: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and its moderate social policies and its goal of racial integration and political moderation.

In 1925, Randolph created the largest black union in the history of the country, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. More than 10,000 blacks worked as railroad employees, but lacked union representation. Randolph's plans were violently opposed by the Pullman Company, which launched a vicious attack against Randolph and the Brotherhood and attempted to smear both by calling Randolph a dangerous Communist agitator. They were not able to stop Randolph, and the Brotherhood became an official union within the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1935; in 1937, the Brotherhood became the first black union to negotiate a contract with a major national corporation. Randolph kept up a steady attack on labor union leaders in the AFL, and later AFL-CIO, and accused them of failing to challenge and attack the rampant discrimination within labor unions.

On many levels, Randolph was an enigma. Although a socialist, he was not a radical socialist; he was definitely a radical black nationalist, though he was not a separatist, and throughout the 1920s, he denounced **Marcus Garvey** and Garveyism at every opportunity; though he was a radical nationalist, he opposed the use of violence in the struggle. In fact, with respect to violence,

he often projected the image of a pacifist. Randolph's nationalist and socialist policies were exemplified in ways other than his editorship of the *Messenger*. For example, he was one of the socialist-nationalist leaders attracted to an idea first proposed by the **Communist Party**, the idea of a National Negro Congress. The National Negro Congress (NNC) began in February 1936, and Randolph was its first president. The NCC was proposed as an umbrella congress, a national agency which would include a host of black organizations: unions, religious groups, fraternal groups, and civic groups.

From its very inception, Randolph sensed problems, and he left the congress in August 1936 due to the desire of the Communist Party to control NCC policies and activities. In their own accounts of their involvements in Communist organization, both Richard Wright and later **Harold Cruse** wrote of the demands on them by the party to diminish racial and cultural issues and focus mainly on class matters. As a nationalist, Randolph resisted similar policies by the party, and in doing so, reaffirmed his nonradical socialist orientation. This incident also reaffirmed Randolph's nationalist ties, which meant that he could be a socialist and still maintain nationalist ties to black people.

During **World War II**, Randolph came up with a brilliant idea to force the American government to alter some of its discriminatory policies regarding black citizens. He drew up plans for a massive 100,000, all-black **March on Washington** in July 1941. Disturbed that blacks were being hired only for menial, mainly janitorial work, in defense plants, Randolph wanted the march to protest and to outlaw that practice. The NAACP and other black groups supported Randolph, and President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, fearing that a March on Washington by 100,000 blacks might be very divisive at a time when the country was at war and needed a display national unity, issued Executive Order 8802, which outlawed discrimination in the defense industries. In addition, Roosevelt established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission**. During this period Randolph was at the helm of groups and organizations challenging the government's unwillingness to fully represent its black citizens. He asserted that this lack of action can be taken as a sign of support for these discriminatory practices. With that in mind, in 1947, Randolph created the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience in the **armed forces**. He attacked racial segregation in the military and saw it as a negation of democracy that black men were being sent to fight a war and were living in segregated barracks and ate in separate quarters. As he did with his 1941 March on Washington proposal, Randolph threatened to lead a massive disobedience campaign in which he would urge blacks not to show up if they were drafted. As a result of this threat by Randolph, President **Harry S. Truman** issued an executive order ending segregation in the military. This order also reversed a long-standing policy that prevented blacks from attending the U.S. Military and Naval academies.

Randolph kept up a relentless assault against discrimination in whatever shape or form it appeared. For example, viewing union racial discrimination as an ongoing problem, Randolph continued to attack union officials and their unwillingness to confront unions' exclusionary policies against blacks. The severity of this racial exclusion prompted Randolph and other black AFL-CIO members to form the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) in 1960.

He served as president of NALC from 1960 to 1966. The logic for forming the council was similar to the logic he used in resigning from the National Negro Congress: white leadership had no interest in winning a victory over discrimination; if blacks were ever going to be able to exercise their full political, economic, and cultural freedom, they would have to do so with their own leadership, not with that of whites. This action was taken in 1959 despite his ascendancy to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in 1955 and his role as vice president of the AFL-CIO in 1957.

One of the last major national contributions by Randolph was his role in organizing the historic **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. Though the march is noted for the fact that it brought together more than 250,000 people and was the site of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**'s famous "I Have a Dream" speech, Randolph was a pivotal member of the planning team, along with King, Whitney Young, James Farmer, **Ralph Abernathy**, and Roy Wilkins. By 1963, he had become one of the elder statesmen of the **Civil Rights Movement** who was widely respected, and many organizations sought his advice on social, political, and economic issues. On September 14, 1964, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Lyndon B. Johnson, and in 1966, he was the honorary chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights. Randolph died in New York City on May 16, 1979, at the age of 90. *See also* Black Nationalism; Du Bois, W.E.B.; New Negro Movement; Railroads.

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Rutledge M. Dennis

Reconstruction (1867–1877)

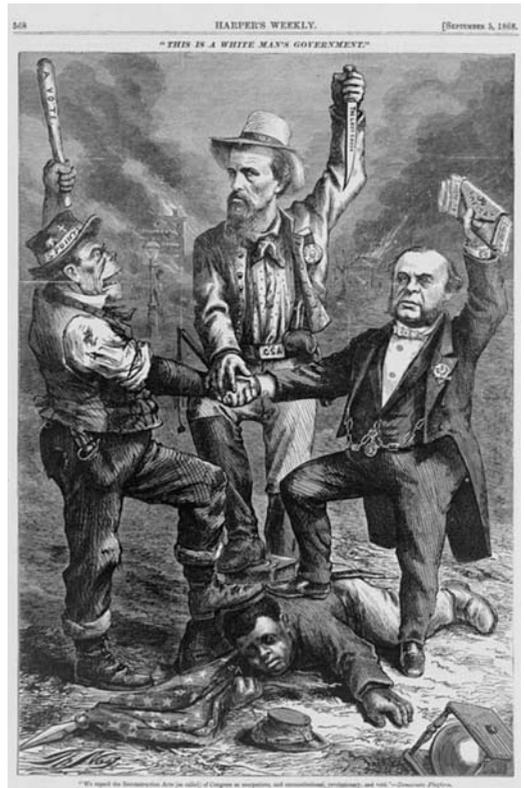
Reconstruction refers to an attempt by the **federal government** to create a new society in the former Confederacy once **slavery** was eliminated as a basic element of society. Reconstruction began during the war, as Union armies came to control large areas of the South, and found their lines filled with "contrabands," as escaped slaves were termed. With the landowners largely absent, Union commanders began settling former slaves on the abandoned estates. By the end of the war in 1865, the federal government required former states of the Confederacy to adopt the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, as a condition of readmittance to the Union.

However, the leaders of the states of the former Confederacy, predominantly the owners of large estates who had led the region into secession and war, began to regain political control of the South. States began adopting "**Black Codes**," which reduced freedmen, and even blacks who had never been slaves, to a status similar to slavery. Black Codes tied blacks to white landowners, and made a mockery of the constitutional elimination of slavery.

Democrats in Georgia went so far as to elect Alexander Stephens, former vice president of the Confederacy, to the U.S. Senate. Enraged by a perceived arrogance of Southern Democrats, Republicans in Congress passed the *Reconstruction Acts* in 1867 and 1868, which suspended civil government in the former Confederacy and placed the states of the former Confederacy under military rule.

Part of the impetus for Reconstruction was the Republican need to ensure black men voted, as they would overwhelmingly vote Republican. Republicans controlled Congress, but almost all white Southerners were Democrats. Without the black vote in the South, the Republicans would lose control of Congress. The Radical Republicans in Congress were attempting to use the military to create a biracial society. The army ensured black men could vote, and they overwhelmingly voted Republican. Reconstruction state governments created the so-called Negro Militia, which would allow blacks and white Republicans to protect themselves from violent white supremacist groups. But the Radical Republicans never undertook land redistribution. The idea of breaking up the large estates of Southerners who had made war against the United States had been discussed at length, but never implemented. Thus, blacks had a share of political power as long as the federal troops remained in the South, but they had little economic power. The South was overwhelmingly agricultural, and most farmland was owned by white Democrats. Blacks remained economically dependent on the former slaveowners. Thus this nascent two-party, biracial, South would last only as long as federal troops ensured black men were able to vote, and Northern patience with Reconstruction had a limited life span. The rise of white terrorist groups such as the White League and the **Ku Klux Klan**, which attempted to use extralegal means to prevent blacks from voting, led Congress to pass the Force Act of 1870 and the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act. With this authority, the federal government aggressively countered white supremacist terrorist organizations.

Reconstruction saw the passage of two more amendments to the Constitution, which would form the basis for the legal arguments of the later **Civil Rights Movement**. These were the Fourteenth, in 1868, and the Fifteenth, in 1870. Under the Reconstruction governments that controlled the South, these amendments passed the required amount of states. The Fourteenth Amendment overturned the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* ruling of 1857, which declared that persons of African descent were not citizens. The



Cartoon depicting the redemption of the former Confederate states through race-baiting in 1868. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-121735.

amendment affirmed that blacks were citizens of their state and of the nation. The Fifteenth Amendment prevented the use of race or previous status as a slave as a factor in denying the right to vote.

In 1875, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of *U.S. v. Cruikshank* curtailed the ability of the federal government to protect blacks in the South. The final end of Reconstruction came in the Compromise of 1877. As part of the Compromise, the federal government withdrew the few remaining troops from the South, in return for the Democratic backing of Rutherford B. Hayes for president. Northerners were tiring of the continued sectional strife, and the end of Reconstruction was popular in the North as well as in the white South. The federal government, powerless after *Cruikshank*, allowed white Democrats to regain control, and deferred to “Southern sensibilities” on race issues. For over half a century, Reconstruction would be interpreted as a tragic time when an overzealous federal government humiliated the South, and put in power a group of ignorant freedmen, corrupt carpetbaggers, and unscrupulous scalawags.

For white Democrats, Reconstruction was interpreted as the world turned upside down. Whites saw the decade of Reconstruction as a time of great suffering across the South, and saw the great tragedy of the South not in the two centuries of African slavery or even in the four years of bloody Civil War, but in the decade in which the federal government ensured black men could vote. Later, the historian William A. Dunning of Columbia University supported this idea of the white South suffering unimaginable horrors under Reconstruction. He gave birth to a field of interpretation, one that found its greatest popular dissemination in the characterization of Reconstruction state governments portrayed in the film *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915. Only beginning in the 1950s would historians begin to reevaluate Reconstruction, seeing it instead as an opportunity lost, a time when better decisions by the federal government could have perhaps prevented the disenfranchisement of blacks and the rise of Jim Crow. *See also U.S. v. Reese.*

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Barry M. Stentiford

Red Summer

In the summer of 1919, a series of race riots swept across the country. Triggered by mounting racial tensions, the riots resulted in the deaths and injuries of hundreds of African Americans, mostly at the hands of white mobs. Riots took place in at least 26 and as many as 56 cities, with smaller lynch mobs responsible for many more black deaths. The most infamous riots occurred in Charleston, **South Carolina**; Chicago, Illinois; Longview, **Texas**; Washington, DC; Knoxville, Tennessee; Omaha, Nebraska; and Elaine, **Arkansas**. Although each riot was sparked by an individual incident, the violence was

rooted in competition for jobs, housing, and union wages in Northern urban areas. Ongoing labor struggles and fears of radical political organizations also factored into the hostilities in both the North and South. Just as in other forms of interracial aggression, much of the bloodshed was the result of rumors and lack of proper government intervention. Black journalist and civil rights leader James Weldon Johnson dubbed the season of destruction and violence the “Red Summer” of 1919.

The United States experienced massive change during **World War I**. Large numbers of African Americans moved to Northern cities, seeking greater employment opportunities in the booming wartime economy and hoping to leave behind the segregation and discrimination of the **Jim Crow** South. Black workers found factory jobs that had been vacated by laborers who had joined the military effort. White workers often resented the intrusion of black laborers and excluded them from unionization efforts. Employers used the interracial rift and the availability of black workers to hire blacks as strikebreakers. Although black workers did not necessarily want to challenge the unions, they knew that taking jobs as strikebreakers was often the only way to break into a white-unionized industry. Even if their wages were lower than those of unionized workers, black workers were often still earning more money than they did in other occupations.

The influx of black migrants also forced greater competition for housing. African Americans frequently moved into urban neighborhoods that had been dominated by European immigrants. Although it was possible for blacks and other ethnic groups to coexist peacefully, the large numbers of black residents triggered fear in their neighbors. As European immigrants became more commonly accepted as “white,” they had greater mobility and could move out of the inner city into less crowded neighborhoods. During World War I, however, there was little new housing available, and existing buildings often had exorbitant rental rates. Contests over living conditions extended to competition for parks, beaches, and other leisure spaces. Housing and living conditions, educational limitations, and job competition all contributed to rising interracial tensions.

In the early twentieth century, African Americans were organizing as a group in new ways. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) advocated for equal rights and racial integration. The NAACP’s official journal, *The Crisis*, shared stories of injustice and lynchings across the country, and the group lobbied extensively for federal antilynching legislation. The vast number of publications such as the *Chicago Defender*, by the black press and intended for black readers, advocated for greater efforts to end racial injustice.

As black workers left the South for greater opportunities in Northern war industries or to serve as soldiers, the dwindling numbers of Southern laborers gained leverage over their employers. Many sharecroppers demanded higher wages and the ability to regulate their own families, purchases, and leisure time. One of the primary fears of white Southerners was “political agitators” who led local blacks to demand new rights. These agitators, especially the NAACP, were blamed for disrupting long-standing racial relations in the South, even though these relationships were typically based on white

dominance and the threat of or actual violence against black workers. White elites tried to prevent their workers from listening to such radical ideas and urged black residents to maintain the old racial order. Stirring up long-standing Southern fears of black and white miscegenation, white leaders argued that political agitators were primarily interested in interracial marriage. As a whole, rural white elites feared the rise of black workers, while in urban areas ethnic immigrants and native-born whites feared a loss of status.

As large numbers of soldiers returned from Europe at the beginning of 1919, even greater competition for jobs, housing, and resources ensued. Returning veterans found that black workers had filled many formerly white jobs and had vastly improved their economic circumstances during the war. White veterans wanted to reclaim their jobs and asked the **federal government** to guarantee employment and pensions. The American Legion veterans' organization gained tremendous influence in politics and society.

Having proven their loyalty to the United States through their service, returning black soldiers expected to be able to vote in the South and end discriminatory practices. Leaders throughout the country feared that returning black soldiers had high social aspirations and would disrupt prior patterns of racial segregation and discrimination. More than anything, white leaders feared that black veterans would use their military knowledge to forcefully challenge the status quo. The NAACP and black publications had indeed created a "New Negro" who was willing to fight back against injustice. With the rising expectations for racial justice came a rise in black militancy and organization. White-owned newspapers typically interpreted self-defense as black defiance of law and advocated for harsher penalties.

Another important factor in the Red Summer of 1919 was the ongoing Red Scare. Many felt that the recent Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and high numbers of European immigrants left the United States vulnerable to radical forces. Both government and corporate leaders believed that unionization and contentious labor relations between black and white workers and wealthy white capitalists could cause insurrection. More radical labor unions such as the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** were open to interracial unionization, which critics feared would lead to both race and class warfare. Returning white veterans used racial hostilities and the Red Scare to gain tremendous social power and discredit anyone who advocated for racial justice.

Perhaps the most well-known riot of the Red Summer occurred in Chicago on July 27–August 2, 1919. A black youth, Eugene Williams, had accidentally crossed the invisible line separating a black swimming area from a white one at Lake Michigan's 25th Street beach. White swimmers threw rocks at Williams until he drowned, but white police officers refused to arrest the instigators. Black and white mobs attacked each other, and the fighting went on for five days. Unlike other riots, the violence was not restricted to just one section of town, but roamed widely over black and white residential and business districts. At least 38 people died and more than 500 were injured. At least 1,000 African Americans were homeless due to fire and other property damage.

The labor unrest of 1919 revealed itself in the steel strike of September and October. Capitalist employers wanted to break the unions, not just end the

strike. Knowing that the sight of black workers would make the white unionists furious, corporate leaders hired many black strikebreakers, especially in the area surrounding Chicago. On October 4, black strikebreakers in Gary, Indiana, crossed the picket lines and were attacked by strikers. Two days of rioting followed, and federal troops finally restored order. Corporate rhetoric linked striking workers and black strikebreakers to radical organizations, and public opinion turned against the workers. Capitalists even blamed middle-class African Americans for not controlling the lower class. Government officials soon voted to restrict immigration and enforce segregation to minimize further disorder.

Fear of agitators initiated violence in many cities and minimized the power of unionization and black collective action in the South. In an effort to keep local blacks under control, a **white citizens council** in Leggett, Texas, violently forced the local NAACP president, T. S. Davis, to leave town in August 1919. The town instituted a curfew for black residents and forbade them to hold meetings of any kind. Similarly, a mob in Anderson, South Carolina, forced three NAACP leaders out of town and the branch disbanded. White violence and intimidation against NAACP branches throughout the South greatly undermined the organization's power.

One of the largest massacres of African Americans during the Red Summer took place in the rural delta region of Elaine, Arkansas. There, black sharecroppers and tenant farmers attempted to organize a labor union, the Progressive Farmers and Household Union, in hopes of securing a fair share of their cotton crop. The sharecroppers had earned some money during the wartime rise in wages, which threatened the dominance of white plantation owners. When planters evicted tenant farmers from their homes in the fall, the sharecroppers joined the union and held meetings to discuss ways to fight back. In October, a group of white men fired into a black union meeting in Hoop Spur and the members returned fire, killing one man and wounding another.

White residents quickly spread word of an armed "insurrection" by black workers. The local sheriff deputized men for a posse, and the governor asked for and received 500 federal troops to quell the supposed rebellion. Along with the posse and troops, vigilantes covered a 200-mile radius and killed as many as 200 African American men, women, and children. Some of the victims were burned alive. Many black people were charged and convicted of crimes in connection with the presumed uprising, including 12 men convicted of murder. The highest number of post-riot trials followed the **Elaine Massacre**, although some convictions were later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. Violence, however, continued to operate as the primary social order in the region.

The role of the police and state or federal troops illustrates the vast differences in justice and protection throughout the country. In the **Chicago Race Riot of 1919**, the police were hampered by a lack of sufficient numbers. African American residents were wary of the police due to long-time injustices, and their hostility was confirmed when white policemen did not always stop white violence against black residents. White police officers focused their attention on Chicago's Black Belt, leaving other areas of the city vulnerable to even higher casualty rates. The Chicago riot ended only with the arrival of the state

militia to restore order. However, only the white militia was called out. City leaders feared that black veterans in the state militia would actually lead black citizens to further violence rather than quell the riots.

In some cases, such as Charleston, South Carolina, and Norfolk, Virginia, sailors and soldiers initiated the rioting. Animosity between different races and different branches of the military frequently became violent, and innocent bystanders were often caught in the melee. In Elaine, Arkansas, local white officials controlled the police force and the state militia and quickly deputized many local white landowners, with disastrous results for the black residents.

In other locations, such as Omaha, Nebraska, the military was more effective in controlling the violence. General Leonard Wood is particularly noted for his quick imposition of martial law, his clear chain of command, and his better communication with civilian authorities. He censored news released and prevented newspapers from printing questionable or inflammatory rumors. Most importantly, General Wood prevented his federal troops from participating in the violence, as many local or state troopers were more likely to do. In many instances, later investigatory bodies reprimanded the mayor or other leaders for waiting too long to call in military assistance.

Records of arrests and ensuing legal actions demonstrate the ongoing racial discrimination in the country. Police were more likely to arrest black rioters than white ones, and black rioters on trial were more likely to be convicted. In a time of fear, prejudice, and hostility, African Americans suffered greatly at the hands of their neighbors, their employers, and officials sworn to protect them. The call for black resistance was necessary and timely during the Red Summer of 1919. *See also* Great Migration; New Negro Movement.

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Shannon Smith Bennett

Republican Party

The Republican Party founded in 1854, and in just six years became one of the two major American political parties that have dominated U.S. politics until the present day. The party at its inception contained former Whigs, Free Soil supporters, and Northern Democrats unhappy with their party's stand on the issue of slavery. In essence, the Republican Party maintained the traditional Whig platform of a protective tariff, a national bank, and support for internal improvements, but another major tenet of the new party was opposition to slavery, specifically opposition to the expansion of the institution of slavery into the territories. The Republican opposition to slavery

stemmed from several sources; many Republicans opposed slavery on moral grounds, while others sought to preserve the territories to the West as a white man's country. The election of Abraham Lincoln and the outbreak of the Civil War would make the Republican Party's opposition to slavery much more explicit, such that the party platform came to support emancipation and then political and civil rights for African Americans. This transformation was gradual, with Lincoln slowly coming to support immediate emancipation long after many Republican leaders in Congress.

Given that emancipation occurred under a Republican president and the Republican Party's support for political and civil rights for African Americans, the Republican Party gained the loyalty of former slaves for generations to come. Republicans staffed the Reconstruction governments that existed in the South on the conclusion of the Civil War. African Americans from both the North and South held prominent positions in many of these state Reconstruction governments, serving as state legislators and, in some cases, as lieutenant governors and secretaries of state. In addition, under Reconstruction, Southern states elected a number of black Republicans to Congress. African Americans made up a key part of the Republican Party within the South, and support for African American rights was a major tenet of the national Republican Party.

In 1877, the last Reconstruction governments in **Florida**, **South Carolina**, and **Louisiana** fell. In essence, the Republican Party chose to end the Reconstruction project despite the shortcomings of Southern society, due to increasing unpopularity in the North and the high cost of keeping federal troops in the states. With the Democratic Party in firm control of Southern state governments, state legislatures began to curtail the voting and civil rights of African Americans over the course of the 1890s and 1900s, enacting Jim Crow laws that curtailed the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution that the Republican Party had worked so hard to enact. The Republican Party did little on the federal level to ensure that the rights of African Americans in the South were protected. Despite this, however, the Republican Party continued to receive overwhelming black support, and African Americans, particularly under Republican president Theodore Roosevelt, received appointments within the federal bureaucracy.

Under William Howard Taft, patronage for blacks was sharply curtailed. Taft gave state's elected representatives a de facto veto over those in federal posts such that Democrats from the South began to bar blacks from federal jobs in their section. In addition, Republicans continued to turn a blind eye to systemic extralegal violence and the violations of black civil rights in the South. In part, this was done in an attempt to gain whites to the Republican Party in the South, though it had little success, as the white South remained staunchly Democratic. Blacks continued to remain in the Republican Party and in some measure, in limited appointments and in expansive rhetoric, the Republican Party continued to support their cause of equality before the law.

Under Democratic president Woodrow Wilson, segregation was instituted in the federal civil service, and upon the election of Republican Warren G. Harding, the practice continued. The Republican Party failed to pass anti-lynching legislation despite repeated calls from the black community and

prominent Republican leaders. Under Republican presidents Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover, the Republican Party consistently failed to meet the demands of the black community as expressed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This series of presidents, beyond appointments, failed to act on black issues, in part to draw more white Southerners to the party; over time, this destroyed the traditional attachment of African Americans to the Republican Party.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency brought the majority of African Americans firmly into the Democratic Party, where they remained into the twenty-first century. While his presidency failed to address voting and civil rights, **New Deal** programs helped African Americans, providing jobs and economic assistance. In addition, Roosevelt made a concerted effort to win black support personally. Roosevelt convened a panel of black advisors, called the **Black Cabinet**. His wife **Eleanor Roosevelt** in particular actively pushed civil rights issues. Despite the efforts of Eleanor Roosevelt and several other prominent Democratic leaders, President Roosevelt failed to embrace a civil rights agenda. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party were caught in a bind in regard to civil rights. The New Deal programs needed to relieve people hurt by the Great Depression depended on the votes of Southern Democrats who supported Jim Crow laws and segregation. Thus, Roosevelt could not move too far ahead on civil rights lest he endanger support within his own party for his economic agenda. Nonetheless, Roosevelt still garnered black votes, thanks in large part to New Deal programs that provided economic aid to all races. The Republican Party faced no such dilemma in gaining black voters, but their opposition to economic aid during the Depression hurt them with all groups of voters, but African Americans in particular, while Roosevelt's personal charm offensive bore fruit for over three terms.

President Harry S. Truman was the first Democratic president to speak about a civil rights agenda, solidifying the African American drift into the Democratic Party. Truman desegregated the armed services. Still, Truman failed to pass a civil rights act. A number of Northern and Western Republicans recognized that African Americans had started to identify with the Democratic Party, and these Republican leaders were far more active than Truman in calling for a civil rights agenda. Dwight D. Eisenhower enjoyed significant black support and helped to pass the **Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960**. Both acts largely lacked any enforcement provision, but they were the first civil rights acts passed since the era of the Civil War, and the Republican Party overwhelmingly voted them into being while Democrats remained divided. The 1960 act was the product of Republican senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois. Dirksen, as the Republican leader, would also be pivotal in passing the **1964 Civil Rights Act** under President Lyndon B. Johnson, given the opposition of many Southern Democrats to civil rights. The protections given to civil rights under Eisenhower were enacted with Republican votes in combination with Northern Democrats.

In 1954, the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* found "separate but equal" unconstitutional. Federal courts then started to make rulings that forced school integration. In 1957, Eisenhower, with the support of the Republican Party, used federal troops to enforce such a court decision in Little

Rock, Arkansas, despite the efforts of Governor Orval Faubus and others. Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, there was an increasingly active **Civil Rights Movement**. The Republican Party found itself in an odd position. In the first stages of the movement, there were few Republican officeholders in the South invested in the current system. Yet at the same time, there were white voters who might be brought into the party with the decline of segregation, given the divisions inherent in the Democratic Party. Despite this division within the party, the **John F. Kennedy** administration spoke a great deal about civil rights legislation, and under President Johnson, such legislation was passed, most notably the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** that barred literacy tests, **poll taxes**, and other methods Southern states had used to get around the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In addition, the act had the enforcement provisions necessary to ensure that the **federal government** could intervene to monitor the process. Johnson is often quoted as saying shortly after signing the act that he had just lost the South for the Democratic Party, which was largely true, as increasingly from that point the South turned Republican, a trend that had already begun to occur in presidential elections, but that would come to define elections to state legislatures and the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

The Republican Party first introduced political and civil rights for African Americans under President Abraham Lincoln and the Radical Republicans in Congress. Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, in an attempt to garner more white votes and create a stronger party in the South, Republicans often soft-pedaled the protection of those rights. It was not until the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt that blacks began to become a major constituency of the Democratic Party. Even so, the Republican Party during the 1950s and 1960s often had a better overall record on combating Jim Crow laws in the South, whereas Democrats remained deeply divided, often having the loudest supporters for the Jim Crow system and its loudest detractors. Nonetheless, the Republicans benefited from the ultimate break by Johnson with that Southern Democratic Party support for segregation, as the white South became largely Republican while African Americans became staunch Democratic Party voters.

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Michael Beauchamp

Resistance

Jim Crow segregation (1880s–1965) replaced slavery as the dominant pattern of race relations in post–Civil War America. Emerging gradually after

the defeat of Radical **Reconstruction** governments, Jim Crow segregation had fully matured by the turn of the nineteenth century. A result of the defeat of Radical Reconstruction governments throughout the South, Southern “Redeemers” developed state constitutions that either repealed or circumvented Reconstruction Acts and amendments that had guaranteed black civil rights. Moreover, the withdrawal of federal troops, the decline of Radical Republican politics in the South, and the **federal government’s** disregard for safeguarding black civil rights exacerbated and hastened Jim Crow’s development.

Similar to the institution of **slavery** in the United States, Jim Crow segregation enforced a hierarchical and systemic racial-class system of oppression aimed at maintaining white supremacy and black social, economic, legal, and political degradation. It was predicated upon African American exclusion or unequal access to voting, juries, education, housing, public accommodations, recreation facilities, etc. In addition, white Southerners adopted economic arrangements that stymied or obliterated black economic development such as **sharecropping**. White Southerners believed Jim Crow segregation was necessary because African Americans were incapable of self-government and that black political and economic equality would invariably result in social equality between blacks and whites, which white Southerners single-mindedly equated with **miscegenation** or interracial sex. Intent on preserving these sociocultural roles, rigid social, political, and economic boundaries had to be maintained in order to insure white racial domination.

White Southerners accomplished segregation by excluding or limiting black civil and political rights through laws, custom, and violence. While laws and court decisions defined the contours of Southern race relations, racial etiquette informed everyday social relations between whites and blacks. A system of racial etiquette was necessary because it made intangible Jim Crow laws and court decisions “real” and provided a reflexive structure and mechanism by which whites could readily monitor racial boundaries and impose white domination. For example, African American suffered daily indignities such as being relegated to entering through back doors, sitting in the back of buses or “nigger pews” in theaters, and drinking at “nigger” labeled water fountains to name a few. Moreover, white Southerners routinely lynched African Americans who violated racial etiquette or challenged segregation. While a minority of African Americans accepted life “behind the veil,” others vigorously challenged the “cultural logic” and institutional arrangements that bolstered white supremacy.

During the era of Jim Crow, African Americans persistently resisted segregated education, protested **disenfranchisement**, and challenged white employers’ exploitative labor practices. During slavery, mass illiteracy had symbolized black social and intellectual deprivation. African American slaves and subsequent generations believed education was critical to personal independence and civic participation, and thus in the post–Civil War era, African Americans enthusiastically sought “book learning.” Yet, their desire for education often constituted a “dream deferred” during Jim Crow.

Jim Crow educational facilities were separate and highly unequal, which stymied (but did not curtail) black educational progress. White secondary

schools were dramatically better funded than comparable black schools. Typical of the segregated educational system in Southern states, **North Carolina** public school expenditures totaled approximately \$6 million during 1914 and 1915. White public schools received roughly \$4 million for education expenses, whereas black schools received only \$600,000. Even in majority black counties with larger black student populations, African American schools were allotted less funding than white schools. In seven black majority counties in **Virginia**, the African American student population totaled 13,000 students, while the white student population totaled 6,000. Over time, disparities in public expenditures for black and white education expanded. **South Carolina** blacks received 29 percent of total education expenditures in 1900. They received a paltry 12 percent in 1915. Moreover, African Americans were prohibited from riding school buses, which forced them to walk miles to school. They attended school in dilapidated buildings and received obsolete supplies and books. In plantation regions, African American youth attended school irregularly because the plantation regime was labor intensive and required whole families, including children, to work in the fields. Black parents reluctantly withheld black children from schools in order to plant and harvest crops. These students averaged four to five months of schooling, whereas white children averaged seven to eight months.

In addition to unequal facilities and supplies, black secondary teachers were paid significantly less than their white counterparts. In North Carolina, white teachers earned three times more than black teachers between 1905 and 1915. During the same period, white teachers' salaries increased by as much as 100 percent, whereas black teacher salaries increased by less than half and, in many cases, remained stagnant. Black teachers often protested school districts that refused to provide them equal pay and comparable books and supplies that white teachers enjoyed. In 1919, black teachers successfully campaigned to replace white teachers in all-black schools in Charleston, South Carolina. Historically, white teachers had monopolized teaching positions at all-black schools in urban areas and thus restricted black teachers' access to employment opportunities. Black communities desired black teachers because they believed they were better suited to teach black pupils and represented greater community control and employment opportunities for blacks excluded from white schools.

In response to segregated education, African Americans developed separate black educational institutions and sued local and state governments on the basis that separate educational facilities for blacks and whites were unequal. Between the years 1870 and 1915, African Americans developed dozens of normal schools, federal land grant colleges, and private colleges that were funded primarily by white philanthropic and missionary societies. The Tuskegee and Hampton institutes were the most notable and well-funded black educational institutions developed during this period because their socially and politically conservative educational agenda attracted support and financing from racist white Southerners as well as Northern industrial businessmen. The Tuskegee and Hampton institutes emphasized teacher training and industrial education, and sought to inculcate the desirability and dignity of manual labor, political accommodation to Jim Crow, economic thrift, and moral

asceticism. **Booker T. Washington**, known as the “Wizard of Tuskegee,” exemplified the philosophical and practical objective of industrial education when he famously advised black Southerners to “cast down your buckets where you are.” In contrast to the Tuskegee-Hampton model, other lesser known black schools such as Clark University (presently Clark Atlanta University), Shaw University, Meharry Medical College, and Tougaloo College emphasized liberal arts training and encouraged black students to acquire middle-class culture and professions such as teaching, medicine, law, and business. These private black colleges sought to instill a “racial uplift” ethos that emphasized political agitation and black self-help. Even as black educational institutions differed in curriculum and political philosophy, black higher education institutions provided a quality education for blacks excluded from white institutions; but more importantly, these institutions imbued black students with a social conscience to serve the race and become the next generation of black leaders that would further the struggle against racial **discrimination** and oppression.

While African Americans developed separate educational institutions, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began to challenge the constitutionality of segregated schools in state and federal courts. In 1896, the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that the Constitution did not prohibit separate educational facilities for blacks and whites provided that they were equal. By the early 1930s, NAACP lawyers believed they could easily disprove the “**separate but equal**” doctrine by demonstrating black schools and facilities’ deplorable financing and conditions in the South and could force Southern governments to equally fund a dual system. In theory, the NAACP hoped that an equally funded dual-school system would erode Southern governments’ desire and financial ability to maintain separate schools for black and white students. In 1938, the NAACP legal strategy materialized in the *Gaines v. Canada* case. The Supreme Court upheld the NAACP’s claim that the University of Missouri had unfairly denied Lloyd Gaines admission to law school and argued that Missouri was legally obligated to provide a “substantially equal” education for both blacks and whites. In response to the Supreme Court decision, the University of Missouri and other Southern public universities developed law schools and graduate programs for African Americans. Eventually, the NAACP’s legal strategy won other key legal victories, including the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that repealed the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision and sparked the school **desegregation** movement throughout the United States.

“Jim Crow” Southern governments and constitutions had a chilling effect on black voter registration, voting patterns, and black officeholding throughout the South. During Radical Reconstruction, in some places, as much as 97 percent of eligible black voters were registered voters, and consequently, blacks were able to elect black police chiefs, mayors, state congressmen, and senators. During Jim Crow, white Southerners systematically eliminated black voting blocs through poll taxes, literacy tests, and understanding clauses. If these measures failed, whites resorted to fraud, intimidation, and violence. The 1890 **Mississippi** state convention and constitution’s sole purpose was to eliminate blacks from political life. Gradually, other Southern states followed

suit. As a result, Southern black voter registration declined precipitously. Between 1890 and 1892, black voter registration plummeted from 190,000 to 8,000 registered black voters in Mississippi. In all black counties in Mississippi, the effect of disenfranchisement was even more dramatic. Washington County, Mississippi, contained 9,103 eligible black voters; however, only 103 black voters (less than 1 percent of eligible voters) were registered in 1892. Black Mississippians elected one black congressman, two black U.S. senators, two black state secretaries, and one lieutenant governor during Reconstruction; yet, with the onset of Jim Crow policies, black officeholding ceased to be a factor in political life.

Despite the many tactics and strategies aimed to prevent black voting, African Americans refused to accept disenfranchisement. African American households saved meager earnings to pay exorbitant **poll taxes**. Even though women were prohibited from voting, black women viewed their spouse's vote as a familial vote. African Americans organized study groups to prepare for citizenship tests, which were used to deny potential black voters who could afford to pay poll taxes or meet other tedious requirements to vote. African Americans persistently challenged disenfranchisement by continually seeking to register to vote. On January 1, 1919, African Americans in Jacksonville, **Florida**, initiated and led a statewide voter registration campaign. In the wake of women's suffrage, Jacksonville blacks decided to test the legitimacy of the Nineteenth Amendment. As the movement grew larger, Florida blacks believed they could revitalize the Florida Republican Party and defeat white Democratic control of Florida politics. The Florida voter registration movement was rooted in preexisting black organizational and institutional networks. Women's clubs, fraternal orders, labor unions, and churches all enlisted members in voter registration campaign. Members of the Knights of Pythias took an oath to pay poll taxes and register to vote. In Florida, potential voters were required to pay two years' payment of poll taxes in order to register. Fraternal lodges and women clubs donated poll tax fees to African Americans who could not afford to pay. Institutional networks and their movement leaders and recruiters organized "citizenship meetings" to provide voter education seminars and recruit new organizers and workers for the voter registration campaign. By November 1920, 7,000 black women (over half the female population) and 1,000 black men had been registered in Jacksonville as along with hundreds of other blacks in counties throughout Florida. In response to black voter registration, the **Ku Klux Klan** organized chapters in areas where blacks organized voter registration leagues and systematically used threats, intimidation, and violence to keep blacks from voting. During the presidential election of 1920, election workers harassed blacks patiently waiting in line to vote, purged hundreds of blacks from voter lists, and refused to allow blacks to use voting booths. In the election's aftermath, Congress organized hearings and investigated the Florida election, but ignored the blatant violations of black voting rights. The Florida voter registration campaign ultimately failed to destroy white Democratic control in Florida or gain election reform; however, the institutional and organization networks that facilitated the voter registration campaign provided a basis upon which African Americans in



African American man protesting segregation in a movie theater in Nashville, Tennessee, 1961. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-110971.

Florida continued to protest against disenfranchisement, economic exploitation, and **lynching**.

In addition to segregation and disenfranchisement, black Southerners were restricted to menial and agricultural labor. By the dawn of Jim Crow, at least 80 percent of blacks were either sharecroppers or tenant farmers. Sharecropping was premised upon landowners providing land, supplies, housing, and a small cash advance in exchange for a sharecropper's labor. Sharecroppers and landowners generally agreed to split the proceeds of cotton sales evenly minus the cash advance. In many cases, though, plantation owners denied black sharecroppers their portion of cotton profits by inflating the amount of money originally borrowed prior to the cotton harvest. The recurring cycle of inflated debt bogged down efforts of black sharecroppers to purchase their own farm and gain economic independence.

During a brief period during **World War I**, when cotton prices skyrocketed, black sharecroppers enjoyed relatively higher wages and slightly better work conditions. When cotton prices dramatically declined in the immediate post-World War I period, Mississippi and Arkansas Delta planters sought to reassert pre-World War I wage levels and work conditions. In response, black sharecroppers and tenant farmers in Elaine, Arkansas, organized the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America (PFHUA) and planned to sue plantation owners for lost wages in 1919. Black farmers demanded better working conditions and higher wages comparable to those attained during World War I. In order to galvanize black agricultural workers, PFHUA held meetings to recruit and educate workers on the cotton market and formed armed posses to protect meeting halls from anticipated attacks. Plantation

owners in Elaine mounted an extensive and organized campaign of violence against farm workers because they believed workers posed a grave threat to white racial domination and, ultimately, their economic interests. In order to squelch the nascent labor movement, planters arrested dozens of blacks, assassinated prominent labor leaders, and murdered countless sharecroppers. Some newspaper reports even suggested that bombs were dropped on Elaine's black community. Estimates of blacks killed in the Elaine massacre ranged from a few dozen to 856 persons. Despite the disparities in the estimates, Elaine planters destroyed black organized protest to the sharecropping regime, which further entrenched their power within the South's cotton-based economy.

During the era of Jim Crow, African American resisted segregated education, protested disenfranchisement, and challenged white employers' exploitative labor practices because these institutional arrangements denied African Americans' social, political, and economic equality. Black resistance relied upon informal and formal networks (such as churches, fraternal orders, and women's clubs), which provided the resources and organization necessary to challenge Jim Crow. Antiblack representations, segregated public accommodations, and lynching denigrated black humanity and compelled a response whereby blacks either had to fight back or surrender to annihilation. African American resistance hardly provided clear-cut victories, and in some instances, it retarded hard-won victories already achieved. Despite the success or failure of black protest to Jim Crow, African Americans' desire for freedom and equality never wavered and, in many ways, black perseverance during Jim Crow provided a foundation for future assaults during the **Civil Rights Movement**. *See also* Elaine Massacre; Nadir of the Negro.

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Karlos K. Hill

Rhythm and Blues

Rhythm and Blues (R&B) is a term used to describe or designate certain types of music associated with the African American community. R&B has had a number of different meanings over the years: it was used by *Billboard* magazine as a broad category to track the sale of music produced and consumed by African Americans from the 1940s on; it also referred to a specific genre of African American music that fused blues sensibilities with danceable rhythms and beats, peaking in popularity from the late 1940s through the early 1960s; and, finally, in contemporary times, it refers to modern interpretations of soul music. The postwar genre of R&B had the most relevance to



Common stereotypes of African Americans were printed on sheet music in the nineteenth century, 1847. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-37348.

the African American struggle against **Jim Crow**. This specific incarnation of R&B, with its driving backbeats, its instrumental virtuosity, and its positive energy, led to the creation of **rock and roll**, played a pivotal role in moving black culture into mainstream America, and channeled black aspirations for integration.

R&B in the 1940s developed out of three traditions in black music: jump **blues**, a dance-friendly style of blues that came out of African American urban areas; **gospel music**, which had its origins in all-black Christian churches; and the performances of the blues shouters, who lamented lost loves in powerful (and often racy) lyrics. Featuring smaller lineups than the big bands of the swing era, R&B groups often included four to eight members, with a lead vocalist and lead instrumentalist, a rhythm section, and a percussion section. R&B was another manifestation of the **Great Migration**, the decades-long movement of blacks out of the rural South and into Southern cities and Northern metropolises such as Chicago and Detroit. Featuring a more modern sound than traditional acoustic blues, R&B made use of the

electric guitar and the electric bass to provide a soundtrack to blacks celebrating their improving economic standing in urban America. A number of musicians helped create R&B's distinctive sound and performance style, including Muddy Waters, who gradually shifted from a rural, rustic sound featuring slow and stilted tempos to a polished, urban style that emphasized dance-friendly backbeats. While male performers such as Waters, Big Joe Turner, and Billy Ward and the Dominoes, were central to R&B's development, black women also made major contributions to the genre. Ruth Brown and LaVern Baker, for example, each had numerous R&B hits, and both achieved some crossover success on the pop market, helping the genre overcome the racial divide.

Two significant changes in the music industry helped black R&B artists gain a wider audience for their music in the postwar period. The first major change involved **radio**. Although radio stations had previously ignored most music played by and for African Americans, that trend changed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. As national broadcast networks began to invest more resources in the burgeoning medium of television, radio networks scrambled to fill available airtime. As a result, programmers increasingly turned to music outside the mainstream, including black music such as R&B. These stations quickly became popular, as black audiences, eager to hear African American music, tuned in. Gradually, stations such as WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee, became exclusively devoted to black music, and R&B musicians had increased opportunities for their songs to reach a wider black audience. In the process,

these stations also attracted white listeners, who appreciated the musical inventiveness they heard from black musicians.

The other major change in the music industry involved record labels. As the economy boomed in the postwar period and the cost of recording technology dropped, new “independent” labels formed, such as Chess Records and Atlantic Records. Because the major labels such as Capitol, Decca, and RCA had locked up most of the major pop stars, these independent labels turned to alternative forms of music, hoping to find market niches that had escaped the majors’ attention. R&B proved to be one such opportunity, and independent label owners were delighted to see the demand for the music among black (and select white) audiences. As sales for R&B records boomed, independent labels sought out more black performers to record, hoping to cash in on the genre’s popularity. Major labels followed suit, unwilling to let independents earn all of the profits. Legendary R&B musicians such as T-Bone Walker, who signed with Capitol, and Arthur Crudup, who signed with RCA, produced records directed at the black market for these major labels. While most black-oriented radio stations and record labels (including both the independents and the majors) were controlled by white owners and managers, black musicians nonetheless had more opportunities to produce their music for a consumer audience. In the process, they also reached across the color line, introducing whites to aspects of black culture of which they had been previously unaware.

Because of its increasing popularity with white audiences, R&B played a pivotal role in the development of rock and roll. White musicians and performers such as Elvis Presley, Bill Haley and His Comets, and Jerry Lee Lewis borrowed heavily from the songs and sounds of R&B as they launched their careers in the mid-1950s. Indeed, Presley’s “Hound Dog” was originally by Big Mama Thornton, Haley’s “Shake, Rattle, and Roll” was by Big Joe Turner, and Lewis’s “Great Balls of Fire” was by Otis Blackwell—all R&B performers and composers. Although rock and roll performers often changed R&B songs, adding elements of country and speeding up the tempo, they were clearly indebted to black artists, and many felt that white rock and rollers appropriated—and outright stole—from R&B pioneers. The term “rock and roll,” a slang expression for sexual intercourse, masked the black origins of the music—R&B—for some listeners. However, rock and roll’s increasing popularity also led to demand for R&B versions of songs, and for R&B performers. Thus, Chuck Berry, “Little Richard” Penniman, and other black performers became stars with black and white audiences across the country, playing in front of integrated crowds and achieving success on both the R&B and pop charts. As more R&B songs crossed over to the pop charts, black artists had increased opportunities for financial success as musicians.

Although R&B certainly opened up opportunities for black musicians, and had some positive effects on integration, there were some negative impacts of R&B’s popularity as well. Many R&B songs featured sexually explicit lyrics (usually masked by creative double entendres) that came out of the blues tradition. Expressing delight in the pursuit of sexual pleasure, and animosity at members of the opposite sex who did not come through in providing that pleasure, these songs were clearly tongue-in-cheek, part of a broader trend in

African American culture that emphasized witty verbal sparring. However, while black listeners understood these songs to be one small slice of African American life, many white listeners took the themes of these songs to be representative of black culture at large, and thus used this material to bolster stereotypes of African Americans as lustful, violent, and incapable of controlling their emotions and sexual appetites. Indeed, many nervous whites lamented rock and roll's popularity among white teens precisely because they feared that their youth were being exposed to the hedonism supposedly inherent to the African American community. White fans' appreciation of black musicians did not necessarily mean that white audiences would be more receptive to black calls for civil rights; fraternities at white Southern schools such as the University of Virginia, for example, welcomed black bands to perform but wholeheartedly supported segregationist efforts well into the 1960s.

As R&B evolved in the 1950s and early 1960s, two offshoots of the genre provide insight into the hopes of black performers and many in the black community at large. The first innovation was "doo wop," which developed from urban a cappella groups. Usually featuring four members, doo wop groups often featured teenagers who hailed from specific local communities. Instead of featuring the bawdy lyrics and raucous rhythms of earlier R&B performers, these young musicians instead sang about romantic love and youthful heartbreak. Groups such as Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers rose to the top of the charts with songs like "Why do fools fall in love," and were embraced by black and white audiences alike for their smooth vocals, their polished image, and their nonthreatening personas. Following the lead of popular groups such as the Platters, these doo wop artists actively courted an integrated audience, optimistic that the changes taking place in civil rights in the 1950s, such as the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, portended a more equitable future for black Americans.

Black pop artists of the late 1950s and early 1960s followed a similar trajectory. Smooth male balladeers, such as Sam Cooke, and "girl groups," such as the Shirelles and the Supremes, courted an integrated youth audience by singing pop music tinged with R&B sounds and styles. Berry Gordy's founding of Motown Records in 1959 reflected similar aims. A black-owned and largely black-run organization, Motown reached out to a wide audience in its early years by creating a distinct R&B sound that was radio-friendly. By dressing his artists in glamorous attire, Gordy assured nervous whites that these performers were no threat to conventions of middle-class respectability. And by having his in-house songwriters focus on romantic love instead of sexual pleasure, these artists avoided radio censorship. Hopeful that the end of Jim Crow segregation was drawing near, and optimistic that integration would solve most of the black community's problems, these groups also tended to eschew overt political themes in their songs (although never ignoring the political, economic, and social realities of blacks' lives entirely). Singing pop standards and courting an integrated audience, these groups—male balladeers, the "girl groups," and the Motown acts of the early to mid-1960s—represented the apex of black hopes for integration.

By the mid-1960s, however, many of those hopes for integration were dashed, as the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**

improved conditions for African Americans but largely failed to address the ongoing economic inequalities that ravaged the country. As the civil rights movement shifted to an emphasis on “black power” and black solidarity, these changes were reflected in African American music: R&B gave way first to soul music, which featured a greater emphasis on the black gospel tradition, and then to funk, which employed heavily syncopated rhythms and Afrocentric attire. Although the term R&B would continue to be employed in various contexts through to the present day, the trend-setting genre of the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s would largely be relegated to the bin of “oldies” music. However, it had a lasting impact on popular music and social movements, playing a pivotal role in the development of rock and roll, soul, funk, and present-day hip hop, and providing an outlet for African Americans to express their hopes for black equality and uplift. *See also* Black Entertainers against Jim Crow; Country Music; Racial Stereotypes.

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Gregory Kaliss

Rice, Thomas D. (1808–1860)

Thomas D. Rice was a white performer and playwright who used African American vernacular speech, song, and dance to become one of the most popular entertainers of his time. Although his most famous character—known as **Jim Crow**—later became synonymous with American racism and discrimination, there is no evidence that Rice himself was racist.

Rice was born on Manhattan’s lower east side, near the bustling commercial district of the East River docks. His father may have been John Rice, a ship’s rigger, and his mother may have been Eleanor Rice. Most likely the family was poor, Protestant, and of English ancestry. After some schooling, Rice apprenticed in his teens with a woodcarver named Dodge, but somehow soon found his way to the stage. By 1827, he was an itinerant actor, appearing not only as a stock player in several New York theaters, but also performing on frontier stages in the Ohio River valley and the coastal South.

The actual genesis of the Jim Crow character has become lost to legend. Several sources describe how Rice happened to encounter an elderly black stableman working in one of the river towns where Rice was performing. The man—with a crooked leg and deformed shoulder, according to some accounts—was singing about Jim Crow, and punctuating each stanza with a little jump. A more likely explanation is that Rice had observed and absorbed African American traditional song and dance over many years: first while growing up in a racially integrated Manhattan neighborhood, and later while touring the Southern slave states. African folktales of trickster birds, such as crows and buzzards, may also have influenced the vernacular traditions observed by Rice.

Whatever its origins, Rice had made the Jim Crow character his signature act by 1830—dressed in rags and torn shoes, his face and hands blackened, impersonating a very nimble and irreverently witty African American field hand who sang, “Turn about and wheel about, and do just so. And every time I turn about I jump Jim Crow.” There had been other blackface performers before Rice, and there were many more afterwards. But it was “Daddy Rice” who became so indelibly associated with a single character and routine.

During the years of his peak popularity, from roughly 1832 to 1844, Rice often encountered sold-out houses, with audiences demanding numerous encores. He not only performed in more than 100 plays, but also created plays of his own, providing himself slight variants on the Jim Crow persona—as Cuff in *Oh, Hush!* (1833), Ginger Blue in *Virginia Mummy* (1835), and Bone Squash in *Bone Squash Diavolo* (1835). Moreover, Rice wrote and starred in *Otello* (1844), transforming Shakespeare’s tragedy into a musical in which Othello and Desdemona live happily ever after; he also played the title character in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, starting in 1854. On one of his stage tours in England, Rice married Charlotte B. Gladstone in 1837. She died in 1847, and none of their children survived infancy. As early as 1840, Rice suffered from a type of paralysis, which began to limit his speech and movements, and eventually led to his death.

Although several studies have pointed to the hostility and racism underlying much blackface minstrelsy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, more recent scholarship—particularly by W. T. Lhamon, Jr.—regards Rice as a daring interracial rebel who mocked the discriminatory stereotypes of African Americans and championed the working class by ridiculing the authority figures of the day, all of whom were white. In Rice’s songs and plays, poor blacks align themselves with poor whites to express solidarity of the underclass that would subsequently find more lasting expression in the work of Karl Marx, Elvis Presley, and others. *See also* Humor and Comedic Traditions.

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James I. Deutsch

Robinson, Jackie (1919–1972)

Jackie Robinson was an African American athlete, activist, and businessman, most famous for his Hall of Fame pioneering career in Major League Baseball. Born in 1919 in Cairo, Georgia, Robinson moved with his mother and four older siblings to Pasadena, California, in 1920, where he grew up in a majority white neighborhood. Although involved in minor acts of vandalism and confrontations with the police as a youth, Robinson moderated his behavior under the influence of Karl Downs, a young black minister in the area. Excelling in a variety of sports in high school, Robinson chose to attend Pasadena Junior College (PJC) to be close to home and his beloved mother, Mallie. At PJC, Robinson set national marks in the broad jump and led the football

team to an undefeated season in his sophomore year, earning acclaim in nearly every area newspaper for his brilliant open-field running as the team's quarterback. In February 1939, Robinson enrolled at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), where he became the first athlete in the school's history to letter in four sports: baseball, track, football, and basketball. He earned the most acclaim for his performance on the football field, where, as a junior, he teamed with two other black starters, Kenny Washington and Woody Strode, to lead UCLA to a 6–0–4 record, only narrowly missing the school's first-ever invitation to the Rose Bowl.

After leaving UCLA in February 1941 to earn money to support his mother, Robinson briefly played professional football in Hawai'i before being drafted into the military in March 1943. Sent to Fort Riley, Kansas, for basic training, Robinson earned high marks in a variety of tests, thanks to his intelligence and physical aptitude, but was consistently passed over for admission into Officer Candidate School because of his race. Robinson's friendship with famed heavyweight boxer Joe Louis, also stationed at Fort Riley, helped gain him entrance into the school, where he earned the rank of second lieutenant. After being transferred to Camp Hood, Texas, Robinson faced court-martial charges after refusing to move to the back of a military bus when ordered to do so by the bus driver. Asserting his rights as an officer and an American citizen, Robinson was arrested. Eventually acquitted, Robinson was granted an honorable discharge because of an ongoing ankle ailment in November 1944. Robinson then played one year of baseball for the Kansas City Monarchs, a **Negro League Baseball** team.

Robinson's performance for the Monarchs attracted the attention of Branch Rickey, the president of the **Brooklyn Dodgers**, a Major League Baseball team. Although there were no formal rules against black players in the major leagues, an unwritten "gentleman's agreement" had kept African Americans out of the sport since the late nineteenth century. Robinson's athletic ability and strong character made him the ideal candidate to integrate Major League Baseball, and Rickey signed him to play that role in August 1945. The decision was announced publicly in October of that year. In 1946, Robinson played for the Dodgers' top minor league affiliate, the Montreal Royals. Although encountering bitter racism from fans, opposing players, and even some teammates and coaches, Robinson excelled and helped lead his team to a league championship. He also married his long-time girlfriend, Rachel Isum, at the conclusion of the 1946 season. The following spring, Robinson trained with the Dodgers and earned a starting spot on the team for the 1947 season.

On April 15, 1947, Robinson became the first African American player to participate in Major League Baseball in the modern era when he took the field with the Brooklyn Dodgers at the age of 28. Robinson faced racist taunting from opposing players and fans, and players often attempted to injure him by throwing pitches directly at him and deliberately "spiking" him with their cleats. African American fans turned out in droves to support him, and some white fans, particularly youths, were also enthusiastic admirers. Robinson initially received little support from his teammates, but an early series against the Philadelphia Phillies, managed by virulent racist Ben Chapman, helped unite the Dodgers. As Robinson withstood a torrent of racial abuse from the Phillies

players without responding (a strategy of nonconfrontation he and Rickey had agreed upon), his teammates rallied to his support. In another key incident from that season, team shortstop Pee Wee Reese, a Southerner and one of the Dodgers' best players, silenced a hostile Boston crowd by putting his arm around Robinson and chatting with him on the field. In his nine-year career, Robinson won numerous accolades, including the National League Rookie of the Year in 1947, the National League Most Valuable Player in 1949, and a World Series championship in 1955. Following Robinson's debut, other clubs began to sign African American baseball players, and many consider Robinson's successful turn in baseball, "the national pastime," a pivotal event in the broader struggle for African American civil rights. He was awarded the Spingarn Medal in 1956 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for his contributions to civil rights as a baseball player, the first athlete ever to receive the award.

After retiring from baseball in 1956, Robinson became a vice president for "Chock Full o' Nuts," a popular brand of coffee. He also became active in the NAACP, campaigning as a fund raiser and supporting a variety of civil rights causes across the country. Although beloved by the black community on the whole, Robinson generated controversy in later years by campaigning for Richard Nixon in the 1960 presidential election, a decision he later regretted. He remained a supporter of the Republican Party until 1964, when the nomination of Barry Goldwater over friend Nelson Rockefeller led him to leave the party. He also resigned from the board of the NAACP in 1967 because he thought that long-time executive director Roy Wilkins had become too autocratic and was not open to new ideas and young leaders. In his last years, as he struggled with diabetes, Robinson bitterly complained in his autobiography *I Never Had It Made* about the lack of black managers in baseball and the ongoing racial inequalities that persisted across the country. One of his last major public appearances was for Major League Baseball's celebration of the 25th anniversary of his first game. He appealed to baseball owners to hire black managers and executives, but did not live to see it happen. He died in October 1972 from complications of diabetes, and was buried in Cypress Hill Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York. Posthumously, he was awarded the nation's highest civilian award, the Medal of Freedom, in 1984. Major League Baseball also retired his number, 42, in 1997, to honor the 50th anniversary of his debut with the Dodgers. *See also* Sports.

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Gregory Kaliss

Rock and Roll

Rock and roll is a musical genre that first emerged in the 1950s. Heavily influenced by African American music, particularly **rhythm and blues** (R&B),

rock and roll galvanized the nation's emerging teen culture with its pulsating beats, ecstatic vocals, and risqué lyrics. Spread predominantly through black **radio** stations in its early years, rock and roll became wildly popular across the color line, and many saw it, either fearfully or hopefully, as a powerful integrationist force. Generating anxiety among the elders of both races, rock and roll stirred up controversy and helped push black culture into the mainstream.

The term “rock and roll” was first used to describe this musical genre in 1951 by famed white disc jockey Alan Freed. Although originally a euphemism for sexual intercourse, Freed’s term became widely accepted as the genre’s name. The new moniker was accepted in part because it had none of the racial connotations of R&B, a term coined by the music industry to refer to popular African American music in general, but one that had come to define a genre in its own right. Rock and roll was closely aligned with R&B, and three musical traditions that shaped R&B in the 1940s and 1950s—**jump blues**, **gospel music**, and blues shouters’ performances—deeply influenced rock and roll’s evolution as well. However, many casual fans were unaware of the influence black music had on rock and roll, and some have claimed that the genre’s change of name served to slight the importance of African American musicians. This was one of many criticisms of uncredited appropriation of music styles, songs, and performance elements by white musicians. Although it is quite clear that rock and roll leaned heavily on R&B, the genre also changed as it was performed by white musicians. “Rockabilly,” one sub-genre of rock and roll, fused R&B with white country instrumentation and vocal styles, for example. Other white musicians, such as rock and roll pioneers Bill Haley and His Comets, sped up the tempo of R&B songs such as “Shake, Rattle, and Roll,” replacing their sensuousness with a frenetic pace that appealed to young, high-energy audiences.

Rock and roll’s increasing popularity owed a good deal to the changing character of radio in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The same factors that propelled R&B’s increased accessibility to white audiences—national broadcast networks’ decisions to invest more resources in the burgeoning medium of television, which left radio networks scrambling to fill available airtime—similarly impacted rock and roll’s fortunes. As programmers increasingly turned to music outside the mainstream, up-and-coming rock and roll artists (black and white) found more opportunities to have their music reach a wider audience. Freed played a key role in this development, as his radio show for Cleveland radio station WJW (called the “Moondog Rock ‘n’ Roll Party”) showed that the genre could attract numerous listeners, particularly teenagers. Freed then moved to New York in 1954, generating even more interest in rock and roll with radio station WINS. Even as the music reached a wider audience through radio, controversy over rock and roll’s racial politics continued to dog the genre—with many white parents concerned by the fact that white teens were listening to black musicians and attending concerts with mixed-race audiences. These anxieties only increased as the music made its way into films such as 1955’s *Blackboard Jungle*.

Elvis Presley’s ascension to stardom as a rock and roll musician marked a particularly important moment in the genre’s history, expanding rock and

roll's appeal to a wide audience but also illustrating the complicated racial terrain that stars navigated. Presley, originally from Tupelo, Mississippi, was a 19-year-old truck driver, movie usher, and part-time musician, when he recorded his first record with Sam Philips at Sun Records Studio in Memphis. His first local hit was a cover of the blues song "That's All Right," originally performed in 1946 by black musician Arthur Crudup. As the record received more airtime, it became increasingly popular with black and white audiences, who admired Presley's vocals and the fusion of country and R&B styles. After releasing a number of songs in 1954 and 1955, and gaining in popularity across the South, Presley became a national sensation in January, 1956, when he released "Heartbreak Hotel." While many of Presley's early hits were covers of black artists' R&B songs, such as "Tutti Frutti" and "Hound Dog," he earned considerably more airtime and wealth than black performers, in part because of his race. Appropriating black songs and some elements of black performance styles, Presley was more palatable to mainstream audiences than black R&B performers, a fact that black artists lamented then and in later years. As Presley launched his career, however, he acknowledged his indebtedness to black artists, especially Crudup, and his covers of R&B songs also led to greater wealth and exposure for black songwriters. Unlike other unscrupulous white artists, who simply copied black songs' instrumentation and performance style, Presley also significantly changed the music when he covered the material, adding a high, tremulous vibrato to his vocals and using different instrumentation. As he rose to stardom, nervous parents lamented his hip-shaking dance moves and worried about the racial origins of his songs, but teen audiences—both black and white, initially—could not get enough, suggesting that rock and roll could reach across the color line to the nation's diverse population of youth.

Rock and roll's impact on integration remains a contested issue, although a number of examples suggest both the possibilities and the limitations of the genre to effect lasting change. On the one hand, many rock and roll shows in the 1950s were attended by interracial audiences, and while violence sometimes broke out, most attributed the behavior to the music and not to racial tensions. Indeed, performers reported that black and white teens on occasion pulled down barriers meant to segregate them at rock and roll shows in the South, and black stars delighted in their popularity with white youth culture. The black press, in general, trumpeted rock and roll's popularity, pointing to African American musicians' cultural contributions and praising the color-blind nature of the record-buying public. Spotlighting the successes of black stars such as Antoine "Fats" Domino and Chuck Berry, many in the black press saw rock and roll as proof that the color line could be permanently erased and that equality could be achieved. There were signs of this potential everywhere: the nationally popular television show "American Bandstand," which featured teens dancing to the latest rock and roll hits of the day, integrated in 1957, for example. Although the show did not depict interracial couples—black teens danced with other black teens alone—the image of both black and white teens dancing to rock and roll must have had symbolic resonance for many across the country.

However, there were significant limits to rock and roll's integrationist potential. In 1957, the same year "Bandstand" integrated, Freed's rival show *Rock 'n Roll Dance Party* was cancelled in part because of widespread outrage when black teen performer Frankie Lymon spontaneously danced with a white teen girl as the show was ending. The **Ku Klux Klan** also targeted rock and roll concerts and radio shows for violent protests because of the music's popularity across the color line. Releasing broadsides that indicated that rock and roll's interracial popularity would lead to **miscegenation**, Klan leaders played on long-held stereotypes of black male sexual predators. On the business side, white covers of black artists' songs also received disproportionately more air-play than black originals, revealing that ongoing inequalities persisted even in the supposedly color-blind realm of popular music. As a result, inferior white performers such as Pat Boone, who cultivated a lily-white image, out-sold black stars such as Little Richard, and many lamented that black performing artists were not being given a fair opportunity to succeed in the music business. Chuck Berry, for example, was bilked out of royalty rights by white record executives, a common experience for black artists. African American leaders worried, too, that rock and roll's association with black culture would lead whites to equate blackness with the genre's supposedly negative traits, such as lewdness, wild behavior, and juvenile delinquency. For African Americans hoping to break into the expanding middle class, Rock and Roll seemed dangerous because of its association with "low" culture and its eschewal of middle-class conventions of behavior and deportment. Finally, white fan appreciation of black musicians did not necessarily mean that white audiences would be more receptive to black calls for civil rights; fraternities at white Southern schools, for example, wholeheartedly supported segregationist efforts well into the 1960s, even as they welcomed black bands to perform.

Women performers also found restrictions on their ability to participate in the burgeoning genre. While black women such as Ruth Brown and LaVern Baker were major R&B stars who had considerable success in the early years of rock and roll, very few women participated in the latter half of the 1950s. White women were especially absent from rock and roll groups, a reflection of the dominant gender ideologies of the time, which expected women to be submissive and chaste. Because rock and roll concerts demanded that performers cut loose on stage, it was considered inappropriate for women to participate. Black women initially had greater freedom to take part in rock and roll's excessive energy and celebration, but only because they were often ignored by mainstream cultural ideals of womanhood. However, as the **Civil Rights Movement** gained momentum in the late 1950s and aspirations for integration ran high in the black community, black women performers also became less conspicuous in R&B and rock and roll. "Girl groups" such as the Shirelles and the Supremes became more popular, with their stars dressing in elegant attire and singing hyperfeminine, smooth pop hits.

Three key African American performers of the 1950s, Domino, Berry, and "Little Richard" Penniman, highlight some of the avenues open to black male rock and roll artists as well as the color line's continuing importance. All three became major stars among both black and white audiences (all coincidentally releasing their first rock and roll hit songs in 1955), and cashed in on their

success: Domino's "Ain't That a Shame" launched him to stardom with interracial audiences, Richard scored with "Tutti Frutti," and Berry first made it into the mainstream with "Maybellene." Each continued to produce major hit songs in the ensuing years, and headlined well-attended concerts across the country, showing the possibilities for black recording stars to reach a nationwide, biracial audience.

However, each of these three stars also faced certain limitations in their music and performances that showed the ongoing power of Jim Crow. When writing songs, each was careful to avoid explicitly addressing issues of racial injustice in their music. Although certain songs such as Berry's "Brown-Eyed Handsome Man" hinted at racial oppression, none targeted racism explicitly. Apparently fearful that they would be shunned by the industry and the general public, these recording artists shied away from the political, social, and legal issues being raised by the ongoing Civil Rights Movement. These artists also strategically managed their public images. Domino's portly physique, jolly demeanor, and dutiful black wife, for example, allayed any fears that nervous whites may have had of him as a sexual predator; similarly, Richard's over-the-top hairstyle, outrageous makeup, and closeted, though apparent, **homosexuality** made him a nonthreatening figure as well. Aware of long-standing white fears of black men, these artists carefully crafted images that enabled them to succeed in mainstream America, still cautious of the Jim Crow line even as they achieved remarkable success. Berry even changed the protagonist of his 1958 hit song "Johnny B. Goode," from a "colored boy" to a "country boy," so that he would not alienate any white fans.

As rock and roll evolved into the genre of "rock" in the 1960s, issues of race continued to take center stage. When the Beatles and the Rolling Stones kicked off the so-called British Invasion in the early 1960s, both groups enthusiastically credited black R&B performers as their major influences, drawing more attention to rock and roll's history of racial crossing-over. Ironically, however, bemused British musicians often found that they had to educate white American fans who were unaware of the debt rock and roll owed to black performers of the 1940s and early 1950s. Meanwhile, as rock evolved in the 1960s, black musicians drifted away from the genre, devoting more energy and attention to music styles that seemed to fit better the changing climate of the late Civil Rights Movement, such as soul and funk, before eventually turning to hip hop in the 1980s. While some black performers continued to play rock music, such as the legendary guitarist Jimi Hendrix, on the whole, the genre gradually came to be dominated by white artists and white fans. The tenuous interracial coalition that had propelled rock and roll to the top of the charts in the mid to late 1950s largely dissolved. Its cultural legacies, however, in the form of crossover artists, the various subgenres that formed in its wake, and the visible signs of an integrated America, remained resonant for years to come. *See also* Black Entertainers against Jim Crow; Racial Stereotypes.

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Gregory Kaliss

Roosevelt, Eleanor (1884–1962)

Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (FDR), and First Lady during the **Great Depression** and **World War II**, was the most prominent white American to work actively toward elimination of the country's **Jim Crow** laws.

The niece of President Theodore Roosevelt, Roosevelt was born into a wealthy family in New York City in 1884. Both her parents died during her childhood, but she grew up in a privileged household and attended a distinguished boarding school in England. FDR, a distant cousin, was part of her socially prominent circle of friends. They were engaged in 1903 and married in 1905. The couple had six children, including a son who died in infancy.

Roosevelt first acted on her concern for social activism in work with poor immigrant families at a settlement house in New York's Lower East Side during the early years of the twentieth century. When FDR was stricken with polio in 1921, she cared for him devotedly and encouraged him to remain in politics. At the same time, she herself continued to work for social service agencies for the benefit of the underprivileged. When FDR was elected president in 1932, Roosevelt transformed the role of first lady, traveling the country, lecturing, holding press conferences, and writing a daily syndicated newspaper column titled, "My Day." By the time she began to speak on behalf of African Americans during the Great Depression, Roosevelt was already well experienced in conducting herself in the public eye and speaking out, in a moderate tone, on issues of justice and democracy.

From the start of her husband's presidency in 1933, Roosevelt was in the planning and implementation of progressive **New Deal** programs designed to help poor Americans. This work led her to counter Jim Crow laws. "There must be equality before the law," she wrote, "equality of education, equal opportunity to obtain a job according to one's ability and training and equality of participation in self government." But her egalitarian beliefs ran counter to the Southern social mores. An indication of the resentment Roosevelt engendered was the rumor that spread across the South of "Eleanor Clubs," which were said to have been organized among black domestics to agitate for better pay and working conditions. No evidence was ever found to substantiate the existence of any such clubs.

Eleanor Roosevelt worked with New Deal administrators to mitigate the effects of Jim Crow. In 1935, for example, she pushed **Works Progress Administration** officials to enact equitable policies in the administration of relief funds to black Southerners. She was also effective in involving black leaders in New Deal initiatives. For example, she brought to prominence **Mary McLeod Bethune**, who would become the most prominent African American in the New Deal, and the first black woman to hold an influential position in the U.S. government. Through Eleanor Roosevelt, Bethune would become a

powerful influence in White House policies throughout the national crisis of the Great Depression.

Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt worked together, in a sense, to weaken Jim Crow. FDR though he could not himself directly attack long-standing Southern social traditions without losing necessary political support from white, Southern Democrats, but Eleanor Roosevelt felt compelled to be more outspoken on behalf of racial justice.

Her approach to Jim Crow was seen most famously in her appearance at the 1938 Southern Conference on Human Welfare (SCHW), held in Birmingham, **Alabama**. The high-water mark of Southern liberalism during the Great Depression, the conference brought together 1,200 black and white Southerners, labor leaders, the poor, and the dispossessed, along with political and business leaders, newspaper editors, and academics. The conference called for equal salaries for black and white teachers and endorsed federal antilynching laws.

Unexpectedly, the SCHW was forced to confront racism directly. Conference organizers had not planned to address the issue of segregation, but Birmingham's police chief decided to enforce an ordinance requiring segregation in the city's municipal auditorium. To avoid arrest, conference participants decided to arrange their seating with blacks on one side of the hall's central aisle and whites on the other.

Eleanor Roosevelt arrived late and quickly took a seat with the black participants. When a policeman informed her that she would have to move, the first lady moved her chair to the middle of the aisle. Asked later about her actions, Roosevelt avoided making any inflammatory remarks. "In the section of the country where I come from, it is a procedure that is not followed," she explained. "But I would not presume to tell the people of Alabama what they should do." Typical of her approach to questions of Jim Crow, Eleanor Roosevelt allowed the symbolism of her action to carry the weight of her beliefs. Conference organizers responded by vowing never again to conduct a segregated meeting.

By the time of the SCHW's 1942 meeting, Eleanor Roosevelt felt emboldened enough to claim the conference's work "is really as important as the war . . . because making the South a real part of the United States, and progressive in its racial and labor attitudes, is the finest work any one could do at the present time."

Eleanor Roosevelt actively supported a variety of initiatives aimed at ameliorating the injustice experienced by African Americans, including a controversial federal antilynching bill and the abolition of poll taxes. She famously resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution when the organization refused to allow black opera singer Marian Anderson to perform in Constitution Hall in the spring of 1939. Eleanor Roosevelt's resignation was front-page news in hundreds of papers, and it turned the incident into a national event. The result was the scheduling of a groundbreaking concert in which Anderson sang to a live, nationwide radio audience from the steps of the **Lincoln Memorial**.

After her husband's death in 1945, Roosevelt became even more vocal in her opposition to Jim Crow. She joined the Board of Directors of the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in which capacity she lobbied the Truman administration to introduce low-income, federally financed housing. President Harry S. Truman's subsequent decision to integrate the military was instrumental in Roosevelt's decision to endorse his candidacy for the presidency in 1948.

During the 1950s, Roosevelt worked with **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and **Rosa Parks** to raise money for the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** and supported the Southern Conference Education Fund's work in desegregating hospitals. She warmly endorsed the **U.S. Supreme Court's** landmark 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* that called for the desegregation of nation's public schools. In her public addresses, she took aim at the hypocrisy of segregationists' simultaneous criticism of Communism and support for Jim Crow. During the **Civil Rights Movement**, Eleanor Roosevelt was a staunch defender of nonviolent civil disobedience. Indeed, in her elder years, before her death in 1962, Roosevelt called for a new "social revolution" to defeat the forces of segregation.

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Louis Mazzari

Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945)

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who served as U.S. president from 1933 until his death in 1945, did more for racial justice in the United States than had any chief executive had since Abraham Lincoln. The **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s and 1960s had its beginning in the efforts of black and white Americans working under the auspices of the Roosevelt administration to ameliorate the most injurious effects of **Jim Crow**. Indeed, Roosevelt and his **New Deal** policies were responsible for the great majority of black Americans to shift their allegiance to the **Democratic Party** from their traditional base, the **Republican Party** of Lincoln.

Elected to lift the nation out of the **Great Depression**, Roosevelt's initial primary focus was resurrecting the American economy, and to do so, he needed the cooperation of the Southern Democrats in Congress. So he did not directly challenge Jim Crow, leaving the states to determine their own laws concerning race. Instead, he relied on liberals in his administration to push the South and the country toward equality and integration. In a sense, Roosevelt traded acquiescence to the South, in terms of segregation, for support for his liberalizing economic policies. In spite of his refusal to actively work toward ending Jim Crow, Roosevelt's administration was the nation's first to promote equality both in the workplace and on Main Street.

Roosevelt's focus on economic restructuring necessarily ate away at the underpinnings of Jim Crow. The New Deal's extensive programs in support of Americans' general welfare, in the areas of health, education, and housing, as well as workplace and agricultural reforms, meant the institution of greater federal planning. Inevitably, Southern states' control of their own racial policies was undermined by federal regulations that had the effect of standardizing even social policies across the nation. Federal efforts to strengthen American society in general worked to enervate local efforts to maintain white supremacy. New Deal programs themselves and the way they touched more blacks, from the use of birth certificates to the introduction of agricultural extension agencies, brought the **federal government** closer to the average African American and made the idea of political participation more likely.

Roosevelt's belief in the activism of the progressives he had attracted to his administration allowed him to avoid speaking directly to the inequalities of race and class in America. For example, FDR depended on the guidance of social scientists he brought to Washington—many of them from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill—to plumb the fallacies beneath the South's racial myths, and to turn new knowledge into practical service. Socialist leader Norman Thomas remembered a meeting with the president, in which Roosevelt refused to back Thomas's call for strong union legislation. "I know the South," Roosevelt told him, "and there is arising a new generation of leaders in the South and we've got to be patient."

Roosevelt hired for the upper echelons of New Deal agencies more than a hundred African Americans. He appointed the first black federal judge and the first black general officer in the U.S. Army. The New Deal disturbed the social, as well as economic, relations that Southern society had developed over decades. Important among the possibilities created by the New Deal was the destruction of Jim Crow laws.

Typical of Roosevelt's approach to **racism** and Jim Crow was his executive order integrating defense production, signed on June 25, 1941, as Europe was embroiled in **World War II** and the United States prepared for the possibility of entry into the conflict. Black leaders saw an opportunity to secure work in defense plants and to integrate the armed forces. **A. Philip Randolph**, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the nation's first black labor union, formulated the idea for a **march on Washington** to demonstrate African Americans' desire for their share of defense work, and the nation's black newspapers overwhelmingly supported the concept.

Roosevelt's response was characteristic. He invited Randolph and **Walter White**, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to the White House and promised fairer treatment in the workplace. Randolph wanted what Roosevelt did not want to give him—a piece of legislation that conservatives could hold against him. With war imminent, the president did not intend to alter the makeup of the military, but he was willing to legislate against job discrimination once he was assured that it would not diminish war production. Randolph called off the march a week before black Americans were set to converge on Washington.

The order promulgated the rationale that the nation needed all the help it could get, "in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation

can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders.” Typically, Roosevelt couched this effort on behalf of black Americans in language that claimed no special prerogatives for minorities, but spoke instead to national security and the general welfare of all Americans. Innocuous as it seemed, the executive order set a precedent against discrimination in hiring that would be cited time and again in the coming years of the Civil Rights Movement.

If Roosevelt thought he could not push to abolish Jim Crow laws, he was happy to be tugged along by the tide created by black leaders, including Randolph, White, and **Mary McLeod Bethune**, president of the National Association of Colored Women, as well as white civil rights leaders, including—most prominently—**Eleanor Roosevelt**, his wife.

Eleanor Roosevelt knew her husband’s true feelings about civil rights. She wrote about a conversation with FDR and Walter White. “You go ahead,” the president told White. “You do everything you can do. Whatever you can get done is okay with me, but I just can’t do it.” Afterwards, she asked, “Well, what about me? Do you mind if I say what I think?” Roosevelt answered, “No, certainly not. You can say anything you want. I can always say, ‘Well, that is my wife; I can’t do anything about her.’”

The initial steps taken by Roosevelt toward racial equality created an enormous influence on the subsequent generation of Democratic politicians. Among the most ardent, young New Dealers came the sentiment that Roosevelt “was just like a daddy to me always.” A died-in-the-wool Texan, Lyndon B. Johnson, would knowingly sacrifice the white Southern vote to the Republicans for generations by sponsoring the most important civil rights legislation since **Reconstruction**, legislation that finally killed legal Jim Crow. “I don’t know that I’d have ever come to Congress if it hadn’t been for him,” Johnson claimed. “But I do know I got my first great desire for public office because of him—and so did thousands of young men all over the country.”

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Louis Mazzari

Rosewood (1923)

In 1922, Rosewood was a small, close-knit, and predominantly African American town of roughly 120 residents, located in the pinewoods of Levy County, west central **Florida**, close to the Gulf of Mexico. The Rosewood community consisted of 20 to 30 families, the black-owned Goins and Brothers’ Naval stores company, a one-room school, at least two churches, a Masonic lodge and a railroad depot connected to the Seaboard Air Line. However, by February 1923, this small world of Rosewood had been

destroyed, razed to the ground in the wake of a brutal racial assault on the town and its black residents.

The larger backdrop for the events that unfolded at Rosewood was the widespread white racism and vicious mob violence directed against African Americans across the United States during the opening decades of the twentieth century. This era witnessed campaigns of terror orchestrated by the resurgent, or second, **Ku Klux Klan**; race riots in New Orleans (1900), Atlanta (1906), Springfield (1908), East St. Louis and Houston (1917), and Chicago (1919); as well as thousands of **lynchings**. The racial ideology of the period found popular expression in the motion picture *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), with its crude stereotypes of blackness, heroic portrait of the Ku Klux Klan, and profound fear and vilification of black male sexuality.

Similarly, racial tensions were rising in Florida, with large Klan demonstrations and frequent lynchings in the early 1920s. The violence in Rosewood itself began on New Year's Day 1923. Frances Taylor, a 22-year-old white housewife, in the nearby town of Sumner, alleged that a black man had entered her home, physically assaulted, and robbed her. As reporters and historians of the riot have discovered, Rosewood's black community recounted a very different version of events. According to Sarah Carrier, who did laundry for Taylor, and Carrier's granddaughter, Philomenia Goins, they had witnessed a white man visiting Fannie Taylor, who then left shortly before she made her allegations. African American residents believed that Taylor had been conducting a romance with the mysterious stranger and that they had quarreled. Taylor then attempted to protect herself, blaming a black man for the evidence of her lover's physical abuse.

In response to Taylor's allegations, the white community assumed there had been a sexual assault, and a group of Sumner's male residents formed a posse to search for the assailant. A black convict named Jesse Hunter, who had recently escaped from a chain-gang road construction crew, became the focus of the lynch mob's hunt. In pursuing Hunter, the white mob came across Rosewood's Aaron Carrier (who may have assisted in the flight of Taylor's white lover) and brutally beat him. Next, the mob followed the trail to Sam Carter's home and accused him of aiding the attacker in escaping. The mob then shot and killed Sam Carter after torturing him.

Three days later, on Thursday, January 4, word reached Sumner that Taylor's assailant was being sheltered by Sylvester Carrier in Rosewood. A group of white gunmen went to the town and opened fire on the Carrier home. However, the mob met fierce resistance and two whites were shot and killed by Sylvester Carrier as they tried to storm the house. The posse retreated, but continued to lay siege throughout the early hours of Friday morning. Reinforced by Klansmen from Gainesville, the white mob started to burn down the town, shooting any remaining black residents they discovered as they cleared the area.

While Rosewood's racial troubles were blamed on black lawlessness in the Florida press, Northern and African American newspapers called for anti-lynching reforms and condemned Florida, and the South in general, for the persistence of racial violence. Thereafter, the racial cleansing of Rosewood was almost forgotten until investigative journalist Gary Moore published an

article on the town's fate in the *St. Petersburg Times* in July 1982. This was followed the year later by a CBS *60 Minutes* report. In 1994, following a detailed investigation by an academic research team, the Florida legislature awarded over \$2 million to survivors and descendants of former residents whose homes were destroyed in the attack on Rosewood. African American director John Singleton's cinematic rendition, *Rosewood*, was released in 1997, while in 2004 the state of Florida erected a historical marker at the site of the former town. *See also* Red Summer.

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Stephen C. Kenny

Rustin, Bayard (1912–1987)

Bayard Taylor Rustin was an organizer and activist for racial equality around the world. As one of the earliest American proponents of nonviolent direct action, he brought groundbreaking protest strategies out of the pacifist movement to leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. Rustin worked behind the scenes for many organizations, and leaders including **A. Phillip Randolph** and **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, considered Rustin's gifts as a strategist and theorist integral to their campaigns. As an openly gay African American man, Rustin personally faced a good deal of discrimination, even within the progressive organizations with which he worked. Of Rustin's many achievements, he is perhaps best known for serving as the chief organizer for the 1963 **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom. Throughout his life, Rustin sought to illuminate connections between racial discrimination and economic inequality and to reveal the power of nonviolence as a tool for social change.

Born on March 17, 1912, Rustin was raised by his grandparents Julia and Janifer Rustin in West Chester, Pennsylvania. Julia Rustin, raised her grandson as a Quaker and taught him about nonviolence and about respecting all people as part of a human family. Julia Rustin also helped charter West Chester's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter. The Rustin household served as a guest house for African American leaders denied service at local hotels, including **W.E.B. Du Bois** and James Weldon Johnson. West Chester remained segregated during Rustin's youth, but the town's small size necessitated the integration of West Chester High School. Rustin excelled athletically, academically, and socially in high school, but began to feel the sting of racism more clearly as he got older. Rustin cultivated friendships with students of many different backgrounds, but found that they could not interact freely outside of school or on school trips.

Rustin spent time at Wilberforce University in Ohio and Cheney State Teachers College in Pennsylvania from 1932 to 1936. He joined the Society of Friends (Quaker) in 1937 and soon moved to New York City. Living in Harlem in 1937, Rustin embraced a locally thriving gay community that allowed him a good deal of personal growth, even within a larger African American culture that urged extreme discretion in matters of sexual identity.

Rustin joined the Young Communist League (YCL) at City College of New York in 1938, drawn by the **Communist Party** of America's commitment to peace and civil rights. Rustin left the YCL in June 1941, and began working with influential African American labor leader A. Philip Randolph. Randolph made Rustin a youth director for a planned "March on Washington for Negro Americans." When President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** integrated the defense industry to avoid the demonstration, Randolph cancelled the march. Rustin bitterly disagreed with Randolph's decision, but their work in 1941 began a long partnership between the two leaders.

In 1941 Rustin also began working with A. J. Muste at the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). As a youth secretary with the FOR, Rustin traveled throughout the South teaching about nonviolent direct action, or using techniques of peaceful protest in an organized way to agitate for social change. Rustin's work slowed in 1943, however, when the **federal government** sent him to prison for resisting the draft as a conscientious objector. In the Ashland, Kentucky, prison where he was held, Rustin led protests against Jim Crow eating areas within the facility. Upon his release in March 1947, Rustin returned to the FOR and worked with Muste, **James Farmer**, and George Houser in the affiliated **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**.

Farmer, Houser, and Rustin planned the Journey of Reconciliation through the upper South to test the **U.S. Supreme Court** decision in *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946), which prohibited segregation on interstate transportation. The CORE plan called for interracial duos of men to travel from Washington, DC, on public buses and nonviolently resist orders to abide by Jim Crow seating



Bayard Rustin and others protest segregation in Ford's Theater in Baltimore, 1948. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-131559.

Bayard Rustin, “We Challenged Jim Crow”

Rustin wrote about the earliest Freedom Rides through the upper South at the end of the 1940s.

From Winston-Salem to Statesville the group traveled by Greyhound. [Wallace] Nelson [‘freelance lecturer’] was seated with [Ernest] Bromley [‘Methodist minister from North Carolina’] in the second seat in the front. Nothing was said. At Statesville, the group transferred to the Trailways, with Nelson still in front. In a small town about ten mile from Statesville, the driver approached Nelson and told him he would have to move to the rear. When Nelson said he was an interstate passenger, the driver said that the bus was not interstate. When Nelson explained that his ticket was interstate, the driver returned to his seat and drove on. The rest of the trip to Asheville was through mountainous country, and the bus stopped at many small towns. A soldier asked the driver why Nelson was not forced to move. The driver explained that there was a Supreme Court decision and that he could do nothing about it. He said, “If you want to do something about this, don’t blame this man [Nelson]; kill those bastards up in Washington.” The soldiers explained to a rather larger, vociferous man why Nelson was allowed to sit up front. The large man commented, “I wish I was the bus driver.” Near Asheville the bus became very crowded, and there were women standing up. Two women spoke to the bus driver, asking him why Nelson was not moved. In each case the driver explained that the Supreme Court decision was responsible. Several white women took seats in the Jim Crow section in the rear.

Source: From *Down the Line: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971).

arrangements on a moral and legal basis. Authorities in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, arrested Rustin and sentenced him to 30 days on a chain gang. While the journey was only marginally successful, it marked a turning point in Rustin’s work, and inspired the Freedom Rides attempted by CORE and the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** in 1961. Throughout the 1950s, Rustin worked closely under Muste and Randolph and spoke around the world. However, in January 1953, California police arrested and prosecuted Rustin for sodomy (coded as “lewd conduct”), a charge that Rustin denied. Muste then distanced himself from his protégé because of the negative publicity the arrest could bring in the intolerant political climate of the 1950s.

Rustin denied the charges and found his feet quickly as executive secretary for the War Resisters League (WRL). On a short leave of absence in 1956, Rustin traveled South to offer counsel to the new leader of the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**, Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin became one of King’s closest advisors and strengthened King’s commitment to nonviolence in all aspects of his life and work. From New York, Rustin continued to speak with King about effective organizing techniques, and about the need for a permanent organization to build on the success of Montgomery. At meetings in Atlanta and New Orleans, Rustin worked with Stanley Levinson and Ella Baker to draft the original documents that would form the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957; stressing voter education and the use of non-violent mass protest to force integration. Rustin remained in the SCLC for several years and helped coordinate plans to stage protests at the Democratic National Convention in 1960. Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., upset at being excluded from planning, jealously threatened to publicize rumors centering on Rustin’s sexuality. King flinched at the potential damage the threat held, and accepted Rustin’s resignation from the SCLC. Distraught

over yet another ousting from the inner circle of movement leadership, Rustin turned to international peace activism in Europe and Africa in the early 1960s.

Rustin's return to the national Civil Rights Movement came again at Randolph's insistence in 1963. Randolph asked Rustin to plan a march in Washington, DC, to decry the still unrealized promise of freedom for black Americans. Randolph and Rustin sought the involvement of a broad coalition of progressive groups, including the SCLC, the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE, SNCC, and various labor unions. Randolph countered NAACP head Roy Wilkins's objections to Rustin's involvement by agreeing to head a committee to organize the march, and immediately naming Rustin as his deputy. Thus, Rustin controlled all aspects of the march, delegating responsibility and orchestrating among the sponsor organization. In roughly two months, Rustin planned the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" that took place on August 28, 1963. The march brought hundreds of thousands of people into the capital to peacefully protest continued segregation around the country and to plead for economic equality. Rustin deftly coordinated between leaders of all involved movement groups, metropolitan and police authorities, transportation and sanitation services, thousands of volunteers, celebrities and speakers, and with the U.S. government. The March on Washington proved a success, and has been judged by many to be a high point in the national Civil Rights Movement, anchored by King's "I Have A Dream" speech. National publicity as well as face-to-face meetings between the civil rights leaders, President **John F. Kennedy**, and members of Congress helped garner support for the legislation that would eventually become the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** which invalidated Jim Crow practices around the U.S. After the march, Rustin appeared with Randolph on the cover of *Life* magazine.

Rustin found himself disappointed at the inability of civil rights groups to build upon the success and consensus of the March on Washington. As factionalism grew between and within groups like SNCC and the SCLC, Rustin also found himself becoming more distant from their leadership. Rustin served as an advisor during SNCC's **Mississippi "Freedom Summer"** in 1964, working to help plan the mass voter registration campaign, and training volunteers in nonviolence at the request of **James Lawson**. His work with SNCC to fight Jim Crow in Mississippi that summer was among his last operations with SNCC. Once the young radical, Rustin came to view participation in the political process, as opposed to direct action, as the next step in achieving racial equality. His influential essay, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement" (*Commentary*, February 1965) evinced the widening gap between Rustin and militancy and racial separatism gaining popularity among young activists. In March 1965, Rustin announced the creation of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute (APRI). As head of the organization, Rustin worked to strengthen relationships between civil rights groups and labor unions in order to build coalitions that would affect social and economic equality. Rustin viewed the oppression of racial minorities and systemic poverty as closely intertwined, and saw solving both problems as a necessary and achievable goal.

Rustin continued to work for peace and civil rights throughout the 1960s, leading youth marches for integrated schools in New York and mobilizing for King's Poor People's Campaign in 1968. Rustin remained active internationally through the 1970s, speaking against the Vietnam War and bringing attention to the struggles of refugees in Southeast Asia. In the 1980s, Rustin began to speak out more publicly for gay rights, pointing out the continuities between oppression based on sexuality and race. Bayard Rustin died in August 1987 at the age of 75. *See also* Homosexuality.

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Brian Piper

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Segregation, Residential

Residential segregation is a spatial isolation based on race rather than income, education, or other factors. While there has not been official, de jure residential segregation in the United States, housing separation by race has been a common, de facto practice justified by cultural, economic, and political policies. Residential segregation becomes cyclical when housing placement influences access to education, job opportunities, or prejudicial cultural practices that reduce the ability to change one's housing circumstances. Poverty, unemployment, and crime are often the results of residential segregation practices.

Racial difference was inscribed in the United States through the institution of slavery, which dictated that one's "place" in society was determined by one's appearance or ethnic background. Prior to the Civil War, some African Americans were not enslaved and lived freely throughout the country, but most experienced some level of discrimination in housing and business practices. Enslaved African Americans in the South typically lived in close proximity to white people, but spatial intimacy was offset by the restrictions of slavery. With emancipation and the end of the Civil War, previously enslaved black people had the opportunity to move or work in other places. While many African Americans moved to cities or other areas to seek work, others could not afford to leave and had to take low-paying jobs as domestic servants or sharecroppers. The desire for mobility and equality was undermined by the reality of poverty and discrimination. In time, **Jim Crow** laws marked racial difference when the system of slavery no longer fulfilled that role.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, immigrants from Europe and other areas often lived in the same neighborhoods as African Americans. During **World War I**, large numbers of black people left the South and moved into Northern cities as part of the **Great Migration**. Black workers sought greater job opportunities in the booming wartime industrial economy, while they simultaneously hoped for freedom from Jim Crow laws and discrimination in the South. Like other immigrant groups, blacks from the South tended to settle in areas near family and friends, often with lower housing costs and less quality housing. Even as they lived near people most like

themselves, European immigrants and African American migrants mixed somewhat freely on the streets and in business practices.

As more African Americans competed for jobs and housing with immigrants and native-born Americans, many of whom were becoming commonly recognized as “white,” tensions rose in the workplace and in overcrowded neighborhoods. As their wealth and education grew, white immigrants moved out of small urban neighborhoods and into outlying areas with higher-quality housing and better schools. Black tenants, however, were more limited in their housing options. Since few working-class people owned their own homes, landlords could restrict their clientele and many practiced racial discrimination in housing. Assuming that the presence of black tenants would decrease their property values, some landlords even signed restrictive covenants, in which property owners vowed not to sell or rent homes to African Americans, with other landowners to ensure that their buildings would remain white. Middle-class blacks who owned their homes and businesses tended to cluster in particular neighborhoods, such as Chicago’s “Black Belt,” where they had more freedom to control their own real estate and business practices. This clustering was not necessarily by choice, as local zoning and cultural restrictions limited black opportunities to expand into other neighborhoods. Such segregation resulted in a lack of understanding between groups that often led to riots, economic hardship, and reduced interracial unionization.

Residential segregation reached its height following **World War II**. More African Americans moved to Northern and Western cities during the Second Great Migration. Returning veterans took advantage of the **G.I. Bill** by attending universities and buying houses in larger numbers than ever before. Government policies and social practices emphasized consumption as an important form of citizenship, and homeownership was a key element of this practice. People who had previously rented an apartment in the city desired to purchase a home in the suburbs. Using war-industry knowledge of prefabricated materials and supply chain management, new housing developments such as **Levittowns** made owning a home affordable. However, private contractors assumed that they were building exclusively white communities and enacted policies to preserve their profit margins, including both official and unofficial covenants. Although the **U.S. Supreme Court** declared in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) that it was unconstitutional for the state to enforce racially based restrictive covenants, voluntary agreements between homeowners continued to impact the composition of suburban neighborhoods. As white renters moved to the suburbs, they were replaced by black residents until many inner-city neighborhoods were almost completely populated by African Americans.

Government practices often supported and perpetuated postwar residential segregation. Local zoning practices in new suburbs typically restricted multi-family housing, thereby limiting residents to those of certain economic classes. Long-standing federal programs to subsidize home repairs and new construction became even more focused on fostering white homeownership. Through tax incentives, selective credit programs, public/private collaborations, and mortgage subsidies, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) worked with mortgage lenders and banks to address the housing shortage. By insuring

private mortgage companies against loss, the government expanded the pool of mortgages available to private homeowners, thus making homeownership feasible for many first-time buyers. Government agencies and other lenders also shifted to long-term, amortized mortgages to accommodate those with smaller incomes, thus freeing other money for further consumption. In the postwar era, the Veterans Administration's (VA) mortgage benefits were primarily reserved for white veterans. Although the FHA removed explicit language of racial categorization from its policies in the late 1940s, discrimination continued in practice well into the 1960s, especially because integrated neighborhoods continued to be considered risky financial investments.

Historians typically refer to the exodus of white urban residents to the predominantly white suburbs as "white flight." As African Americans continued to move into cities and take vacant tenant positions, white residents became alarmed at the possibility of losing their majority status. Close quarters also fostered the fear of racial mixing, a long-standing dread since the days of slavery and especially post-Reconstruction Jim Crow laws. As African Americans demanded more space, white residents answered by escaping to the suburbs.

Although racial fears explain some of the reasons for white flight, economic factors played perhaps a larger role in the residential shift. White property owners believed that the presence of minority groups would undermine their property values. Many sociological and economic studies demonstrated that such assumptions were unfounded, but white people continued to fear for their investments. By claiming that they were protecting property values rather than discriminating by race, white citizens justified residential segregation in culturally acceptable economic terms.

The arrival of black families in exclusively white neighborhoods was often met with fear and intimidation. Some white occupants resorted to throwing rocks or even burning crosses on lawns, but more often, they exerted political pressure to influence government policies against integration. One of the most common types of intimidation occurred when white residents pressured their neighbors not to sell their houses to black buyers. Although they did not always sign official racial covenants, white sellers often refused to participate in an exchange with black buyers. Some groups even went door-to-door throughout their communities to extract promises from their neighbors not to participate in realtor blockbusting. They typically phrased their concerns in economic rather than racial terms, but the results still amounted to housing discrimination. Such intimidation also caused black home buyers to reconsider moving into predominantly white neighborhoods, thus continuing the cycle of segregation.

Real estate agents played an integral role in maintaining residential segregation. Many realtors refused to assist black families in finding homes in white neighborhoods. When they did help black clients, real estate agents often steered them into predominantly black neighborhoods. The agents claimed that they were protecting the investments of other homeowners by not introducing elements that may reduce property values. Real estate agents often utilized the practice of "blockbusting" to increase profits. If a black family moved into a white neighborhood, agents encouraged white homeowners to

sell quickly before their property values declined. The agents then turned around and sold the home to black buyers at exorbitant prices. Both buyers and sellers suffered from this practice, but real estate agents made tremendous profits by feeding off the fears of white residents.

Another practice that supported residential segregation was that of redlining. Mortgage lenders sought stable communities with minor turnover and little threat of mortgage defaults. They assumed that this ideal place was a white neighborhood. Lenders often designated black neighborhoods as high risk and drew a red line around them on a map. The refusal to invest in these areas severely limited the opportunities for African Americans to purchase their own homes. When black buyers were able to obtain loans, they often carried a higher interest rate or shorter payment schedule, making them a greater financial burden than most mortgages for white people. Over time, the lack of investment in black neighborhoods led to a decrease in property values and a general decline in the physical structures of the area. Deteriorating circumstances then made such black neighborhoods prime candidates for urban renewal projects.

At the same time government agencies subsidized white homeownership, they also implemented policies that further segregated public housing. Fearing that too many white residents would move to the suburbs, some urban politicians used new urban renewal legislation to clear existing black neighborhoods. By taking down old apartment buildings and replacing them with new ones, landowners increased their property values and the corresponding rents. New buildings were usually too expensive for the former residents to occupy, so the tenants were forced to leave the vicinity or apply for public housing. Federally funded housing projects contained black tenants in a regulated space with few opportunities for economic or educational advancement. Urban renewal programs frequently undermined vibrant communities and replaced them with institutionalized housing that led to greater rates of poverty and crime. Today, gentrification projects bring new investments to revitalize urban cores, but often drive up housing costs and force lower-income tenants out to continue the cycle of residential segregation.

The government was not always blind to unjust practices, and both government and social organizations sought housing reform. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was enacted to protect minority groups against discrimination in public and private housing. The act affected all levels of government, from local to federal, and established a system for people to file complaints if they experienced discriminatory practices. Although critics have long-debated the effectiveness of the act, it was one step in civil rights legislation toward the possibility of a more integrated society.

The results of residential segregation are widespread. Predominantly white and predominantly black communities frequently differ in the allocation of resources, their access to consumer goods, the availability of quality housing, and access to upwardly mobile jobs. Income discrepancies result in widely varying tax bases, which in turn impact education, law enforcement, and future investment. Poverty is often concentrated in urban cores and leads to higher rates of crime. Over time, inequalities become more difficult to overcome. As racial difference is mapped onto urban space, the inner city becomes

synonymous with crime and poverty, while the suburbs are viewed as a refuge. Residential segregation negates many possibilities for cross-group cooperation and promotes fear and lack of understanding. *See also* Segregation, Suburban.

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Shannon Smith Bennett

Segregation, Rural

Rural Southern race relations built upon traditions forged under slavery. Masters and slaves occupied positions in a clear hierarchy, but generally not in a segregated one. They shared the space of the plantation, where whites insisted upon close physical proximity to their African American laborers in order to direct their work and prevent their escape. After emancipation, this centralized pattern of residence was altered, as black wage laborers and tenants scattered their cabins a distance from the homes of their landlords. Yet, while this dispersal opened some space between black and white homes, it did not establish a regionwide pattern of residential segregation. Instead, rural residential segregation, or its absence, came to be shaped by the particular racial demography of each rural community.

In subregions where one race made up an overwhelming majority, de facto residential segregation resulted, and little social interaction or cultural exchange took place between the races. For example, in places like the **Georgia** and **South Carolina** coast, large parts of the Mississippi Delta, and in some communities in the Cotton Belt, most residents lived, prayed, and worked in a completely segregated, all-black world. In *Souls of Black Folk* (1903), **W.E.B. Du Bois** described just such a setting. On a tour of a southwest Georgia county, he traveled 10 miles past decaying antebellum mansions and saw "no white face" but only a vast and impoverished "black peasantry." Similarly the poor, sandy-soil regions, the hillcountry, and the mountainous regions of **Appalachia**, the **Cumberlands**, and the **Ozarks** never contained many African Americans. In many counties in these sections, whites drove out the few black residents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, creating **sundown towns** and counties. Generally, this seems to have been an action by white tenants who resented competition with black sharecroppers. But as the census manuscripts attest, in many parts of the South, black and white farmers frequently lived on neighboring farms, whether as tenants, yeomen, or planters. Because much of the rural South remained a highly local, walking and wagon culture until **World War II**, a high level of interracial interaction was possible, and sometimes nearly unavoidable in such communities.

The history of segregation's origins is still debated. The historian **C. Vann Woodward** argued that it arose in late nineteenth-century legislation, beginning in trains and train stations, and then spreading and systematizing to cover most imaginable points of social contact between blacks and whites. Other critics responded by arguing that late nineteenth-century, legally mandated segregation merely encoded preexisting de facto segregation; or more frequently, the complete exclusion of African Americans from a wide range of privately owned restaurants, motels, and other establishments. All agree that by 1920, the South was legally segregated by a confining thicket of regulations. But most historians of the field have followed Woodward's lead in telling the story essentially from an urban and legal perspective. Meanwhile, the majority of Southerners lived in rural communities until the 1950s, and their interaction across the race lines has left little evidence and attracted the attention of few historians. For the most part, their distinctive story can be explored directly only through oral history, the classic sociological studies of the early twentieth century, and rural autobiographies.

Whatever the exact origin of the practice of segregation, its elaboration into a methodical separation of space into black and white zones was a child of the Progressive movement, when expert planners sought to employ systematic solutions to the nation's problems. Historians have argued that urban elite and middle-class whites systematized segregation as a means of maintaining white supremacy in an anonymous, tumultuous social setting. Urban African Americans were achieving upward mobility and gaining new purchasing power in stores, restaurants, and trains, thereby taking for themselves the symbols of middle-class respectability that had previously been badges of white privilege. Segregation offered a "modern," uniform, scientifically approved means by which urban whites could reestablish clear marks of their superiority. In a white Progressive culture preoccupied with "racial purity" and hygiene, and that identified interracial social and sexual mixing with uncleanness, segregation opened "sanitary" space between black and white bodies without relying on the disruptive power of private white violence for its ordinary enforcement. According to Southern Progressives, the day-to-day violence needed to defend white supremacy could be supplied by urban police forces, which were formally trained to employ legal force.

In contrast, rural elite and middle-class whites at the turn of the twentieth century had less need of new methods of distinguishing their status from that of their African American neighbors. Generally, rural African Americans did not have access to the symbols of middle-class attainment. Most dressed in overalls or simple dresses and worked in the fields of white landlords. Additionally, rural people were sewn into a culture of personalism, in which each individual, and the particulars of his economic status, was well known to all others in the community. Familiarity, proximity, and black economic dependency provided rural whites with powerful tools by which to remind black neighbors of their "place," and to punish any who strayed from it. The well-dressed and apparently independent black stranger who caused such discomfort to urban whites was a rarity in the countryside. Rural whites also maintained unambiguous white supremacy through an elaborate and humiliating system of racialized social etiquette by which black and white people

daily used word and gesture to demonstrate their understanding of their relative place in the social order.

In rural spaces, interracial interaction—not racial segregation—actually was the primary means of symbolizing white supremacy. And in the end, violence stood as the instrument in reserve, to threaten or make object lessons of African Americans who too directly challenged the status quo. Usually, white-on-black violence took the form of one-on-one, ostensibly legal murder; but ultimately, individual white violence was backed up by the terrifying power of the mob and the noose. As white farmers were already armed with all of these powerful sanctions, social segregation appeared as a superfluous urban innovation, ill-fitted to the actual conditions of much of the rural south. Segregation, after all, is impossible without spaces and institutions to segregate. The rural South had few restaurants, motels, libraries, parks, theaters, swimming pools, train stations, and stadiums. These existed overwhelmingly in the county seats, although towns and villages might have a restaurant or train station, frequently housed in a country store. The only segregateable spaces commonly appearing in the countryside were schools and churches, which will be examined below.

As rural white supremacy winked at all manner of white-on-black crime, in reality, African Americans had no rights that a white person was legally bound to recognize. In general, white Southerners were free to act as they wished, and demonstrated the full range of possible responses, including pathological violence, contemptuous nonrecognition, paternalistic condescension, and neighborly decency. Yet, although expression ranged widely, white supremacy remained a constant. Even the most neighborly relationships were marked by signs of the racial hierarchy. For example, blacks used “Mr.” or “Ms.” when addressing whites, while whites invariably called blacks by their first names.

The intimacy encouraged by the nonsegregation of most rural residential space and by the culture of personalism posed a series of problems for rural African Americans. For them, physical proximity made it easier for planters to exploit and attempt to direct their labor. It put them at more direct risk to daily insults and casual violence from whites generally. And it exposed black women, particularly those who worked in white homes as domestic servants, to the threat of sexual abuse and rape.

Without the power to demand the legal rights of citizenship, some rural African Americans sought a degree of protection from white patrons. Paternalistic white elites often were willing to consider a few individual African Americans as “exceptions” worthy of extra benefits. Sometimes they would assist a longtime tenant to landowning status, or help a black neighbor obtain government benefits. They could shield their tenants or other black individuals from mob violence and sometimes from legal action as well. Planters controlled law enforcement in their counties, and sometimes made their plantations off-limits to sheriffs and deputies, all the while retaining the right to intervene in their tenants’ personal lives themselves, including the use of personal violence. These benefits of patronage were privileges. They could be abrogated at any time and thus gave white elites control—which is what they wanted after all. Ultimately, this system respected not black civil rights, but the right of the white elite to protect their favorites.

Other African Americans sought to lessen the humiliations of the Jim Crow system by withdrawing where possible from contacts with whites. The black sociologist Charles Johnson believed that this was the most common type of response of African Americans in this era. In some places, particularly in Oklahoma, African Americans built all-black towns in the decades after the Civil War. In the 1920s, **Marcus Garvey** tapped this separatist impulse and cultivated it through black nationalist ideology. Recent scholarship shows that the **Universal Negro Improvement Association** had more chapters in the rural South than it did in any other region of the United States. Particularly in counties with heavy black majorities, rural African Americans turned to Garvey's message of racial pride, economic development, self-defense, and racial separation from whites.

Some rural white individuals also tried to isolate themselves from interracial contacts. Particularly if they lived in a mostly white community, it was possible to withdraw into a more racially homogenous world. Yet, in the countryside, unlike the city, this choice was frequently not supported by community pressure or economic self-interest, much less by legal barriers. Early in the twentieth century, one white movement proposed a more thoroughgoing, intentional segregation of rural space. In 1913 at the height of the movement to codify residential segregation in the urban south, Clarence Poe, the editor of the widely read *Progressive Farmer*, began a two-year campaign to extend systematic **residential segregation** across the countryside. Rural whites unequivocally rejected this urban solution. The idea of farming without black laborers close at hand seemed unworkable to most white landlords.

Necessity reinforced the Southern tradition of neighborliness. When a man was incapacitated, neighbors plowed his field; when a woman was unable to work, nearby families would bring plates of food and help manage the household. This was not merely a practical application of Sunday school lessons. Everyone knew that illness and injury could befall anyone. Next year, perhaps you would need neighborly assistance. Oral histories attest that neighborly assistance crossed the race lines in both directions. Other forms of premodern, noninstitutional community aid also were sought and given without respect to color. Families of poor women about to give birth would seek out the nearest midwife, regardless of color. So too, when someone fell ill with ailments beyond the skills of their family, someone would run for the nearest herb specialist or root doctor. If illness was leading to death, the neighbors would increase their support, allowing the stricken family to sleep by taking turns sitting up first with the dying person, and then for a couple of days with the body in deathwatches.

Necessity of a sort also promoted another aspect of the rural South's interracial culture. In part because of the diffuse scattering of families, rural children played with any other children who were nearby. Rural Southern autobiographies attest to the frequency of interracial play among children in many regions of the South. But as they approached adolescence and the threshold of their public adult identities, they became subject to adult rules regarding interracial relationships, particularly those governing relationships between black men and white women.

In rural counties during the **Jim Crow** period, there were few professionally organized entertainments, and aside from churches, the few spaces set aside for leisure were usually concentrated in the county seats. These social activities—the theater, restaurants, the circus, and the county fair—were systematically segregated. Social activity in farm country tended to be informal, and so was not subject to strict segregation. As a result, depending on the particularities of their local culture, rural individuals were often free to socialize interracially. Most entertainment centered on the famous Southern propensity for talk, which happened everywhere across race lines: fields, roads, country stores, and ginhouses. Entertainment was also found at fishing holes, which were shared or used on a first-come, first-served basis, and on hunting expeditions, which were sometimes interracial affairs. In many parts of the rural South, sporting events drew black and white people together. While athletic contests in towns were invariably segregated, outside of town, farm boys frequently did not have enough local talent to field a team, much less a league. As a result, black and white baseball players faced each other on segregated or blended teams in isolated pastures, sometimes with an audience standing in the bushes. Sometimes high school baseball or football teams set up informal games where local bragging rights could be settled. Other social activities were less pastoral. Across the South, men gathered to gamble or drink moonshine at campfires by the railroad tracks and isolated cabins in the woods. Although gambling sites tended to be predominately white or black, the players cared mostly about the color of one's money; and the moonshining profession was famously interracial.

When people live close to each other, sexual relations will occur. While interracial sexual activity had fallen well off its peak in the colonial era, Jim Crow plantation belt counties still witnessed a wide range of relationships, almost entirely between black women and white men: rape, prostitution, casual sex, concubinage, and long-term common-law marriage. How these relationships were dealt with depended entirely on the culture of race relations in a local community. Sometimes offending couples were driven from the county; sometimes they were left in peace.

Schools and churches were the central institutions in the rural South. The schools were absolutely segregated, and memoirs sometimes note bursts of interracial violence between racially segregated groups of children on their way to school. Yet during most of the era of Jim Crow, most rural people attended them for only a few years. Churches, on the other hand, drew attendees throughout their lives. Under slavery, many planters required their slaves to attend services in white churches. After emancipation, most African Americans left these churches, and brought out into the open the secretive, all-black “brush arbor” churches that they had also been attending. This religious migration established the mostly segregated sacred spaces that persist to the present. Yet, when examined closely, the story is more complex than it appears at first glance. A small number of black farmers continued to attend white churches, in part because as African Americans had few citizenship rights, one of their best means of obtaining legal protection in the rural South lay in cultivating the patronage of an influential white person, such as a pastor. Yet, by the twentieth century, few African Americans regularly attended white

churches, although some continued to make irregular visits. Some rural whites also visited black churches during the early decades of the twentieth century, drawn by the music or the oratorical gifts of a minister. Usually, the visitors would sit on a separate bench, frequently at the back of white churches and the front of black churches. Then, in the 1920s, this tradition of interracial church visitation contracted. Visitors continued to come, but only during revival services or other special events. In the years following **World War II**, this tradition attenuated further, and only funerals would draw rural people from across the race lines and into interracial space.

A person's class powerfully shaped the context of his interaction with others across the race lines. Black farm owners usually found a white patron to assist them in difficulties, but they could otherwise retreat somewhat from the humiliations of Jim Crow on their own land. Black tenants on the other hand regularly dealt with their landlord or his agent. Similarly, white planters normally had many contacts with long-term black dependents: domestics, tenants, and wage laborers. These white elites could act as they wished toward them. They could murder recalcitrant laborers without fear of punishment, or they could maintain close relationships under the rhetorical cloak of paternalism. Poor whites did not share these privileges. Sometimes eager to validate their superior racial status, sometimes willing to extend neighborly mutual aid or exchange hospitality, they seemed an unpredictable mystery to African Americans.

What has been described is neither integration nor segregation, both of which imply intentionality. Rather, race relations in the rural South were marked by premodern haphazardness. These traditions never entirely died out, but they attenuated throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and did so most steeply as the rural South depopulated and the **sharecropping** system of labor collapsed around World War II. In these years, federal programs and war munitions factories quickly replaced what was left of the tattered garments of paternalism. As rural neighbors moved to different parts of town, their opportunities for interaction declined, even as black opportunities for economic advancement and escape from Jim Crow's humiliations increased. Meanwhile, out-migration opened space between the homes of rural neighbors; paved roads, television, and bureaucratic systematization intervened; and much that had given shape to the distinctively intertwined lives of black and white farmers unraveled. *See also* Great Retreat; Housing Covenants; Police Brutality; Racial Customs and Etiquette.

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Mark Schultz

Segregation, Suburban

Though suburbs are often imagined as primarily white and middle class, they in fact have a long history of racial and class diversity. However, that diversity has often existed within the boundaries of **residential segregation**. Over the first several decades of the twentieth century, residential patterns became increasingly segregated as suburbanization occurred. Suburban segregation was fostered and maintained through a combination of transportation availability, restrictive covenants, zoning, real estate practices, federal policies, and white community resistance. It became the norm in not only the South, but the rest of the nation as well. Though explicitly racial restrictions declined starting around 1950, suburban segregation persisted throughout the rest of the century through indirect mechanisms.

Up through the late nineteenth century, the lack of affordable transportation meant that cities remained relatively small and manageable for pedestrians. For this reason, wealthy citizens with access to carriages were the first to build residences far outside the city. When railroads established routes feeding into cities, upper- and upper-middle-class residents began to build homes in communities located along the radiating spokes of rail lines. These homeowners required support staff in order to attain the contemporary ideals of domestic comfort. Thus, the working class and racial minorities followed them out of the city. Domestic help, though, no longer automatically lived under the same roof as their employer. At each rail station outside the city, a pattern of roughly concentric development appeared. Wealthier suburbanites with carriages built their estates farther away from the train station. Domestic workers, still limited to foot travel, constructed dwellings within walking distance of the rail line. For those residents remaining in the city, it was not uncommon for whites and blacks to live in the same neighborhoods.

With the advent of affordable transportation in the form of streetcars and then automobiles, suburban areas became more accessible. Beginning in the early twentieth century, community builders and developers began to employ restrictive covenants and subdivision regulations to limit who could live where. Restrictive covenants had remained relatively rare in the late nineteenth century, but by the 1910s, they had gained popularity and were the rule in 1920s housing developments. These covenants were agreements attached to property deeds, which placed prohibitions on the use or sale of the property. Developers originally employed the covenants to protect subdivisions from nuisance businesses such as slaughterhouses and maintain a level of uniformity in the neighborhood. Soon they also prohibited sale of property to nonwhites and became a primarily mechanism of maintaining residential segregation. In 1926, the **U.S. Supreme Court** upheld their constitutionality in *Corrigan v. Buckley* because they were private contracts. Neighborhood property owners associations often formed to enforce the covenants. While these agreements were usually set for an initial term of approximately 20 years, they renewed automatically unless a majority of property owners voted to remove the covenants. That renewal mechanism meant that in reality, these covenants persisted indefinitely.

Though the Supreme Court eventually declared restrictive covenants unconstitutional in 1948's *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the Federal Housing Administration did not begin to heed the ruling until 1950, and still largely ignored it for years thereafter. During political campaigns in the 1950s and 1960s, many candidates faced accusations of owning property covered by racially restrictive covenants. The more general use of restrictive covenants endured throughout the twentieth century. By placing limits on purchase price, occupancy, and setting strict maintenance requirements, developers and homeowners associations continued to pursue an air of exclusivity by excluding portions of the general population.

Even in their heyday, though, restrictive covenants only applied to subdivisions, were difficult to enforce fully, and could not control what happened with adjacent property. Therefore, covenants worked in tandem with zoning, which soon became another popular exclusionary mechanism. Baltimore enacted racial zoning in 1910, and other cities followed suit until the practice was declared unconstitutional in *Buchanan v. Warley* in 1917. After that, zoning typically did not use any explicitly racial classifications, but that did not curb its discriminatory effects. Rather, municipal zoning set out what areas of land could be used for which purpose. Zoning decisions had a discriminatory impact because class overlapped so heavily with race. For example, white residents were much more likely to possess the resources to afford a single-family detached dwelling. Black residents, particularly the black working class, were more likely to reside in row housing or multiunit properties such as apartment complexes. Thus, when a municipality zoned an outlying area as single-family detached residential, it served to exclude many blacks and other racial minorities. The rise of comprehensive land-use planning increased local government control over the contours of growth, and the distribution of municipal services reinforced racial and class lines. In Atlanta, for example, the city manipulated the paving of new streets and closed or disrupted old ones to separate white and black neighborhoods and traffic. Proponents of residential segregation often argued that it would reduce conflict by preventing recurrent confrontations over housing.

Real estate practices reinforced racially restrictive covenants and zoning. Real estate had become more professionalized and consolidated in the early twentieth century; a small minority of powerful real estate agents set standards for the rest of the field. Up through 1950, the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards prohibited agents from changing the existing character of a neighborhood and disrupting its stability. That included introducing any racial minorities into an all-white neighborhood. Meanwhile, some independent agents practiced "blockbusting" tactics. Blockbusters would introduce one or more black families into a white neighborhood, scare the remaining white homeowners away, and buy up their properties at a discount. They would then turn around and sell the homes to black residents at inflated prices, reaping a large profit. These tactics accelerated racial turnover in outlying neighborhoods and hindered stable integration.

Beginning with the **Great Depression** and the resulting **New Deal**, federal policies began to influence suburban segregation as well. The Home Owners

Loan Corporation (HOLC), established in 1933, set the precedent for long-term mortgages with low monthly payments and created a formalized appraisal system. This appraisal system rated black neighborhoods unfavorably, while giving the highest ratings to white, homogenous, outlying neighborhoods. Private lenders across the country soon adapted the HOLC system. Because they had such unfavorable ratings, it was difficult to obtain a loan to buy property in older, black, or integrated neighborhoods. At the same time, the Federal Housing Administration endorsed racially restrictive covenants as a means to maintain the racial and social homogeneity of suburban areas. Urban renewal projects controlled the expansion of black populations by destroying existing housing stock, often replacing it with more expensive units or changing the land use altogether. The federal government left planning for public housing projects at the local level, thereby allowing patterns of residential segregation to persist. Local control of federal funding for highways produced similar results. City officials sometimes planned highways to serve as racial boundaries or remove black populations from the area.

The two World Wars and increasing mechanization of the Southern cotton industry released a **Great Migration** of Southern blacks, first from the rural South to Southern cities, and then to the urban North and West. Black migrants moved in search of better opportunities, but often found formidable resistance to their residential dispersal in their new hometowns.

These considerable barriers, though, did not prevent blacks from moving to suburbs. The first wave to do so was predominantly working class and looked to the suburbs for some measure of economic independence in the early twentieth century. They sometimes built their own houses, tended gardens, rented rooms, and raised small livestock to help make ends meet. Others lived near employment in industrial suburbs. By the 1940s and 1950s, black migration to the suburb was more heavily middle class, as families drew upon their economic resources to leave the crowded city and claim their own piece of domestic tranquility. Some black suburbanites found the experience isolating. They had distanced themselves from the black working class, but white suburbanites did not accept them as equals. As a result, black leaders built a strong community within the bounds of segregation, where black churches and businesses remained central. By the 1960s and 1970s, blacks were moving to the suburbs in unprecedented numbers, and over one-third of the black population would live there by the end of the century.

Other black families moved into already integrated outlying neighborhoods, deemed relatively safe in comparison to all-white areas. Some went through a third party when purchasing property to limit confrontations with inhospitable whites. Black families that settled in previously all-white neighborhoods often faced dire circumstances. White neighbors harassed them at all hours, damaged their property, and, in the worst cases, inflicted bodily injury. Local law enforcement often refused to provide protection. Many of these families relied on friends, family, or occasionally groups of sympathetic, liberal-minded whites to stand vigil over their homes and loved ones. While some stuck it out, others eventually made the decision to leave and seek safer accommodations for their families.

Fair and open housing policies sought to overcome barriers to residential integration by prohibiting discrimination in the sale and rental of housing. In the decade following the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, fair housing made headway at the local and state level. Fair housing laws had been enacted in 22 states by 1968, though none of those were in the South. In 1962, President **John F. Kennedy** signed an executive order that curbed discrimination in federally associated housing and loans; a federal fair housing law finally passed in 1968. These laws are difficult to enforce because aggrieved parties must report individual cases of discrimination. They are also unpopular because much of the population views housing as a private realm that should not be subject to government interference. A property rights movement began to emerge in the mid-1960s, culminating in voters' rejection of California's fair housing law. The Nixon administration soon declared that the federal government would not force subsidized low-income housing upon suburbs; subsequent administrations emulated this nonintervention policy. State policies have not necessarily been effective, either. In the 1975 and 1983 *Mount Laurel* decisions in New Jersey, the state supreme court struck a blow against exclusionary zoning, declaring that suburban communities had to provide their "fair share" of low-income housing. Politics influenced enforcement, though, and suburbs were allowed to participate in a regional credit system where they could pay other areas to build up to half their share of low-income housing.

Though the legal space for housing discrimination shrank over the course of the twentieth century, residential segregation persists, with pervasive consequences. Suburban segregation has impacted the demographic profile of both outlying and city schools. Because predominantly white suburbs often draw upon a larger tax base, their public schools are better funded than their inner-city counterparts. White suburbs were also largely successful in preventing mass transit from extending into their communities, choosing instead to rely on automobiles and freeways. Their lack of accessibility has further served to limit residential diversity. Many black suburbanites still live in predominantly black neighborhoods. In addition, residents remaining in central cities are often isolated from job opportunities on the booming suburban fringe. The result has been enduring disparities along racial lines. *See also* Federal Government; Housing Covenants; Neighborhood Property Owners Associations.

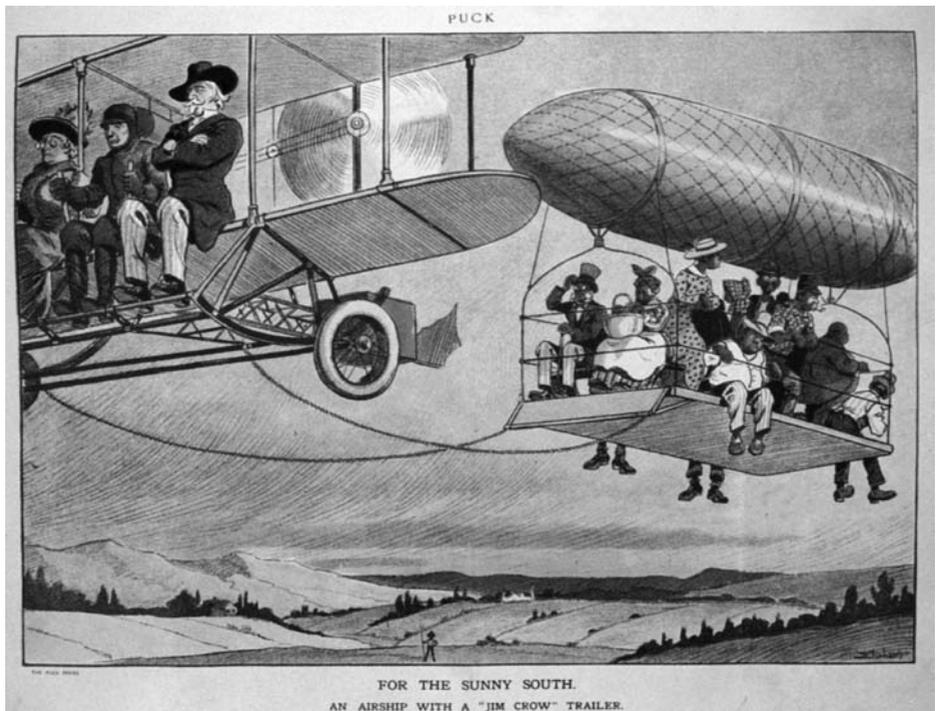
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Separate but Equal

“Separate but equal” refers to the creation of a system in which states were allowed to provide separate facilities and accommodations for blacks and whites. These separate facilities and accommodation help to give birth to Jim Crow segregation through the country. The legal precedence for separate but equal laws and policies were established in the cases of *Roberts v. the City of Boston* (1848) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Each ruling confirmed the states’ right to segregate blacks and whites as long as both groups received equal treatment and services.

Although laws required that separate, “equal” facilities be maintained, the states were largely unmonitored and left to their own implementation and devices. As a result, many African Americans, especially those located in the Southern region of the country, were exposed to grossly unequal facilities and accommodations. Separate schools for African Americans were poorly funded. The students were not provided with the necessary tools needed for learning that white students were given. Hospitals, water fountains, public restrooms, and other accommodations provided for African Americans were substandard.

Many activist groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), sought recourse through the courts, but the U.S. Supreme Court refused to entertain the cases or intervene until the 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.



Segregation in public transportation, 1913. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-SZC2-058.

The *Brown* case provided the NAACP with the opportunity to challenge the legality of separate but equal policies in the public school system. The NAACP's dream team of attorneys, led by **Thurgood Marshall**, who would later become a U.S. Supreme Court justice, argued that segregated public schools were unequal and psychologically damaging to African American children. They reminded the Court that the Fourteenth Amendment gave the federal government the power to prohibit racially discriminatory state actions such as those that existed in the public school system. In a surprising ruling, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of plaintiffs, outlawing segregated public education facilities for African American and white students, overturning *Plessy's* separate but equal doctrine. Chief Justice Earl Warren handed down the verdict noting that:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group . . . Any language in contrary to this finding is rejected. We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

The Court ruling enraged many Southern whites. They turned to scare and intimidation tactics to prevent the Court's ruling from being enforced. In **Arkansas**, Governor Orville Faubus vowed to maintain the state's separate school system. He respected the Court's ruling only after President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent in federal troops to enforce it.

In **Mississippi**, Governor Ross Barnett attempted to block African American student James Meredith's entrance into the all-white University of Mississippi, even after a U.S. Supreme Court ruling granting him entrance was handed down. President **John F. Kennedy** federalized the **National Guard** to enforce the Court's ruling. Before the ruling was enforced, a riot ensued and two people were killed.

The *Brown* ruling also laid the foundation for the challenging of separate but equal policies in other areas. In *Bolling v. Sharpe*, separate but equal policies were outlawed at the federal level of government. In *Loving v. Virginia*, the Court deemed all race-based legal restrictions on marriage in the United States unconstitutional. *See also* Desegregation; Discrimination.

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Barbara A. Patrick

Sharecropping

Sharecropping, an agricultural labor system, emerged in the Southern United States after the Civil War destroyed the slave labor economy. After emancipation, former slaves suddenly needed to support themselves, and

cash-poor planters required cheap labor to raise and harvest crops. Since planters had little capital and freed slaves had no land, equipment, or farm animals, many entered into labor agreements whereby planters furnished land and equipment and former slaves worked the fields. They split the harvest, and the Freedmen's Bureau, established in 1865 to protect the interests of former slaves, initially considered these agreements beneficial. Sharecroppers were provided between 25 and 40 acres to grow their own food and sell what was left over after they provided the planter with his half of the harvest.

Sharecroppers paid for the rental of tools, wagons, animals, and shelter with additional liens on their crop. Provisions like coffee, sugar, flour, cornmeal, and even clothing were available to them through "furnishing merchants" who also accepted liens. After renting and purchasing everything he needed, a sharecropper could find himself down to 25 percent or less of the proceeds of his harvest. Plantations, as in slave days, were closed communities, and sharecroppers were required not only to purchase their supplies and provisions from the landlord's furnishing merchant, but to market their crop through him. All debts were settled at harvest time. A few bad seasons could doom a cropper to a life of revolving debt and credit, and by 1869, the Freedmen's Bureau could no longer advocate for him. President Andrew Johnson not only disbanded the Bureau, but also returned most of the confiscated land to Southern planters. This dashed all hope of land redistribution that the Freedmen's Bureau had advocated for the former slaves.

Sharecropping was part of a three-tier system that included tenant farming, share renting, and sharecropping. In a tenant farming arrangement, the landlord provided land, a cabin, and fuel, for which the tenant paid a fixed rental rate per acre. Most tenant farmers were poor whites who had lost their land, but still had tools and farm animals. In share renting, the landlord provided the same things, and the share renter pledged to pay him one-quarter to one-third of his crop. Most share renters were also white. In sharecropping, however, the landlord provided *everything* and the cropper divided the harvest with him—less the cost of supplies and provisions purchased from the furnishing merchant. By law, tenant farmers and share renters owned the crops they produced and therefore could sell them wherever they chose. The sharecropper, however, had to sell through the plantation's furnishing merchant.

Since furnishing merchants controlled the commissaries and kept all the accounts, the sharecropping system was fertile ground for abuse. If a cropper challenged the landlord's figures, he and his family could be evicted from the plantation. Sharecropper families often worked 10-hour days and were closely supervised by overseers. Women labored in the fields as well as in the home and child labor was shamelessly exploited. Despite the U.S. Congress passing legislation in 1867 outlawing debt servitude, croppers who owed their landlords money were not permitted to leave the plantation until they worked it off. If they escaped, they were often tracked down and returned by local law enforcement officers. Many of the restrictions imposed on sharecroppers were simply extensions of the slave system.

Organizing sharecroppers into alliances to demand reform was difficult because croppers were spread out over many plantations, and landlords threatened to evict them for even associating with organizers. The Colored

Farmers Alliance, an early attempt, was established in Leflore County, **Mississippi**, in 1888 by Oliver Cromwell to win the right to trade with stores and cooperatives outside the plantations. Black organizing terrified white planters, who tended to equate it with slave insurrection. In 1889, Cromwell was ordered to leave Leflore County. He refused, and when a group calling themselves the “Three Thousand Armed Men,” organized to protect him, the governor sent in the state militia. Cromwell escaped, but 25 Alliance men were killed, and Leflore County’s Colored Farmers Alliance was disbanded. By 1890, however, chapters were operating in Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans, Mobile, and Houston.

In 1919, a group of black **World War I** veterans under the leadership of Ike Shaw and C. H. Smith organized the Farmers and Laborers Household Union of America in Phillips County, **Arkansas**. They drafted a legally binding contract with plantation owners to provide croppers with a written guarantee of their percentage of the harvest as well as a written statement of account at the end of each season. The planters refused to negotiate, but despite their almost constant intimidation, with assistance from allies in law enforcement and the **Ku Klux Klan**, union membership increased. On September 30, 1919, a sheriff, his deputy, and a black trustee broke up a Farmers and Laborers union meeting at a church in Hoop Spur, Arkansas. In the ensuing struggle, one of the officers was killed and the other wounded. A posse returned the following morning to arrest the union leaders but the armed membership surrounded and protected them. Advised that a race war was imminent, the governor sent in 500 state militia troops who burned the church, killed 29 blacks, and arrested hundreds. The idea of black sharecroppers controlling their own destinies was so terrifying to white planters that they were willing to commit massacres in order to destroy the organizers and intimidate croppers into submission.

In the spring of 1931, black sharecroppers and tenant farmers in Tallapoosa County, **Alabama**, organized the Croppers and Farm Workers Union under the leadership of Ralph and Tommy Gray and Mack Coad, a black steelworker from Birmingham who organized industrial workers for the **Communist Party**. During the 1930s the Communist Party succeeded in creating bargaining units of black and white industrial workers in Birmingham and Memphis, and black sharecropper alliances in rural Alabama and Georgia. The Croppers and Farm Workers Union recruited 800 members in just two months, and in July 1931, at a meeting held in a local church, they voted to support cotton pickers in their demand for a one dollar a day wage. (They were earning 50 cents.) Local sheriff Kyle Young and his deputy Jack Thompson, who had been tipped off about the meeting by a cropper who wanted to earn extra points with his landlord, broke up the gathering, killing Ralph Gray, wounding five union members, and arresting dozens more. After Young was wounded, the church was burned to the ground. Once again, the effort to unionize ended in violence and death.

Tommy Gray, his daughter Eula, and black communist Al Murphy, reorganized as the Share Croppers Union. By the summer of 1932, they had reclaimed 600 members. The Croppers Union revived the demand for a one-dollar-a-day cotton picker wage, and demanded payment for the cropper’s

share of the harvest in cash instead of merchant script, credit, or supplies. They also sought freedom to buy what they needed at any store they chose; and the right to sell their crops to whomever they chose. These demands, structured as they were to defeat the planters' monopoly, posed a threat not only to white supremacy but to the planters' cheap labor supply and planters became determined to destroy this union as they had the Croppers and Farm Workers.

In December 1932, Sheriff Cliff Elder went to the Reeltown, Alabama, farm of black Tallapoosa County organizer Clifford James (one of the few black landowners in the county), to impound his two mules and a cow as payment for a six-dollar-debt he owed a white grocer. Without his stock, James could not farm, and he refused to surrender the animals. A dozen armed members of the Croppers Union stood with him. Elder left, but later returned with an armed posse. The subsequent shootout left the sheriff and several deputies wounded, Clifford James dead, and many croppers injured. Thirty-two were arrested, and five were later convicted of assault with a deadly weapon. A search of the James home uncovered a Share Croppers Union membership list, and vigilantes terrorized everyone on it. Many were beaten and jailed and hundreds subsequently left the county. Despite the ongoing violence, however, the union continued to grow. By June 1933 nearly 2,000 members were operating in 73 locales across the Deep South.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth century, a sharecropper could net \$333 in a good year, a share renter \$398, and a tenant farmer as much as \$478. The outbreak of World War I, however, disrupted the world cotton market, and prices fell precipitously. They remained depressed throughout most of the 1920s. The end of that decade brought droughts, dust storms, boll weevil infestations, and eventually the **Great Depression**. Bankrupted Southern planters lost their land at twice the national average as the price of cotton fell from 20 cents a bale (500 pounds) in 1927, to less than five cents in 1932. Many croppers found themselves not only unemployed, but also homeless. In 1933, in response to Southern planters' pleas for federal assistance, the administration of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). Planters who agreed to reduce their crop by 30 percent were guaranteed rental payments and the promise of an additional subsidy if their harvests did not cover their costs. It was an attempt to revive the agricultural economy by limiting supplies of cotton, corn, and soybeans and hoping that consumer demand would increase market prices. These federal agreements stipulated that tenant farmers and sharecroppers were to receive a percentage of the payments. Most never did. The **New Deal's** agricultural policies changed the lives of sharecroppers and tenant farmers forever. After cotton production was drastically reduced, planters no longer needed as many tenants and croppers were turned off the plantations. The cities, plagued by a concurrent industrial depression, could not absorb them and without income or shelter, many starved. Others became radicalized.

As mass evictions from the plantations began, the Share Croppers Union in Tallapoosa County, Alabama (which remained a black Communist organization), grew to almost 8,000. At the same time, a socialist-supported interracial alliance, the **Southern Tenant Farmers' Union** (STFU), was organized on the

Fairview Cotton Plantation near Tyronza, Arkansas, on July 11, 1934. Eleven white and seven black men met at a local schoolhouse and vowed to stop the evictions on the Fairview Plantation and to demand their fair share of AAA money. Founding members included white socialists H. L. Mitchell and Ward Rodgers and black cropper Ike Shaw, who had survived the 1919 Hoop Spur, Arkansas, massacre. Despite its name, the STFU consisted largely of black and white sharecroppers and day laborers. Interracial organizing was rare, since the sharecropping system by its very nature drove poor whites and blacks into competition. Animosity was not unusual, since black sharecropper labor was cheaper, and when times were hard, the landlord accepted fewer tenants. Plantation owners encouraged racial divisiveness because it kept agricultural workers with similar grievances against them divided. New Deal politics, however, had convinced the croppers and tenants that they shared a common misery and that there was strength in numbers. In Arkansas a large percentage of the evicted sharecroppers were white.

Late in 1934, the STFU sent a delegation to Washington, DC, to meet with Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace to demand that planters stop evicting tenants and croppers and pay them their share of the rental and parity subsidies. The Roosevelt administration subsequently created the Resettlement Administration and charged it with assisting destitute landless farmers. When this agency proved bureaucratic and unresponsive, the STFU took matters into its own hands. In August 1935, just before picking season, they threatened to strike. Ultimately they won a 75-cent wage increase without resorting to the strike and grew so rapidly that by 1936, there were over 25,000 members in the South. That year the Farm Security Administration (FSA) replaced the Resettlement Administration. This agency's Tenant Purchase Program bought failed plantations and offered them for sale at low interest rates to croppers and tenants. Most sharecroppers were not in a financial position to buy land, however. Housing projects were also acquired for dispossessed farm workers, but since the program was mandated federally but administered locally, the housing projects were often segregated, and white croppers and tenants ultimately received the largest share of assistance.

Another factor that mitigated against reform was disenfranchisement. Croppers, especially black croppers, did not vote. Some were illiterate, some were too intimidated by their planters to register, and others could not afford to pay the poll tax, a common barrier in the Deep South. Poll taxes compounded every year after age 21 and were required to be paid in full before a citizen could vote. Lack of political clout cut croppers off from the help those liberal Southern politicians who might have extended them under the umbrella of New Deal reform.

By 1936, the Alabama Share Croppers Union had chapters in Louisiana and Mississippi and counted 12,000 members. It made several overtures to the STFU, whose membership was spread over Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Missouri, to merge, but the socialist STFU leadership was not interested in joining forces with Communists. Traditional Southern racial attitudes had also infiltrated the movement by that time. Although the STFU had been established as a biracial organization, its black membership grew more quickly and ultimately constituted a majority. White croppers and tenants began to drop

out and form their own splinter unions. This pleased planters, who feared the threat that interracial organizing posed to their cheap labor supply and to the entire segregated system.

By 1939, the South finally began to recover from the devastation of the Great Depression, and New Deal assistance was no longer either needed or welcome. While Franklin Roosevelt had bailed planters out with his Agricultural Adjustment Administration policies, they had no intention of allowing New Deal liberals and the activist first lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** to encourage union organizing or farm worker reform. The region reverted to its traditional distrust of “big government” and its determination to maintain white supremacy.

Despite strikes, protests, the support of many New Deal liberals, and winning some minor reforms, small wage increases, and benefits, the STFU and the SCU were not able to solve the fundamental problems of sharecroppers. Ultimately croppers and tenants were needed less and less, as machinery designed to plant, pick, and harvest cotton became affordable. By 1937, the Share Croppers Union had liquidated and transferred its membership to the Agricultural Workers’ Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. That same year, the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization’s (CIO) agricultural workers. Two years later, however, it withdrew, and tried to establish itself once again as an independent union. But by that time, membership had fallen drastically, as thousands of sharecroppers left the South. In the end, it was not the reformers or the activists, or even the croppers themselves who ended the system that had locked them into virtual slavery, but economics. It was tractors, mechanical cotton pickers, and the shift in efficiency from tenancy to seasonal wage earners that changed the course of sharecropping. *See also* Agricultural Adjustment Act; Colored Farmers Alliance.

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Mary Stanton

Shelley v. Kraemer (1948)

In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court decided the case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948), in which the Court unanimously ruled that it was unconstitutional to enforce private agreements between neighbors that purported to forbid the sale of property to racial minorities. This case is significant not only because it promoted the rights of African Americans to purchase property freely and discouraged the ghettoizing of American neighborhoods, but also

because it added momentum to the **Civil Rights Movement** and the Supreme Court's trend of interpreting the Constitution to expand minority rights.

In 1945, the Shelley family, who were African American, bought a house in St. Louis, Missouri. When the Shelleys purchased the home, they were unaware that a prior owner had agreed along with neighbors to execute a restrictive covenant (a legal obligation written into a property's deed) that purported to prevent the sale of the home to "people of the Negro or Mongolian Race." Upon learning that the Shelleys had been sold the home in violation of the restrictive covenant, a neighbor sued the Shelleys in an attempt to prevent them from moving in. The Missouri trial court ruled in the Shelleys' favor. However, when the case was appealed by the neighbors, the Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the trial court's decision and ruled that the restrictive covenant was enforceable and that the Shelleys could not take possession of the property they had purchased. The Shelleys, with the support of civil rights organizations, appealed the Missouri Supreme Court decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Represented by a legal team that included National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) counsel **Thurgood Marshall**, the Shelleys' attorneys argued to the U.S. Supreme Court that discriminatory restrictive covenants should be unenforceable under the U.S. Constitution. The Court agreed, deciding that the equal protection clause of the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment prevented the government from using its power to enforce a private agreement that violated the constitutional requirement of the government treating the races with equality. In reaching this decision, the Court reasoned that discriminatory restrictive covenants are not themselves unconstitutional because they are merely a contract between private citizens that does not involve the government's endorsement or participation. However, a person seeking to *enforce* a discriminatory restrictive covenant would require the involvement of the courts and other government agencies to put the restriction into effect. Because the Fourteenth Amendment bans government actors from using their power to enforce unequal treatment based on one's race, the restrictive covenant in the *Shelley* case could not be enforced because doing so would require government involvement to impose it. Therefore, the Court ruled that the covenant was unenforceable and the Shelley family was entitled to live in the home they had purchased.

The *Shelley* case is a milestone in legal and civil rights history. Narrowly read, it had the effect of preventing racist landowners from refusing to allow property sales to minorities. The destruction of discriminatory restrictive covenants had the effect of promoting the rights of African Americans to freely buy, sell and enjoy home ownership. More broadly, the success of *Shelley* encouraged the growth of the Civil Rights Movement by signaling that the Supreme Court was inclined to promote civil rights and also served as an impetus for federal, state and local legislatures to implement laws that clearly defined the illegality of housing discrimination. *See also* Housing Covenants; Levittowns; Segregation, Residential.

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Sit-ins

Sit-ins were a tactic used frequently as a means of nonviolent direct action against **racial segregation**. In 1960, prompted by a sit-in in Greensboro, **North Carolina**, a national sit-in movement developed, usually involving students. Between 1960 and 1964, sit-ins were one of the key tactics of the **Civil Rights Movement**. The sit-ins established many of the philosophical positions and tactics that would underscore the movement. Many activists who would go on to play leading roles in the Civil Rights Movement were first involved in sit-ins.

During the 1940s and 1950s, sit-ins were used sporadically as a tactic by organized labor and early civil rights organizations. Both the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** supported the use of sit-ins as a tactic during the 1940s. In Marshall, Texas, a sustained challenge to Jim Crow during the late 1940s and early 1950s saw the use of several sit-ins, which were supported by FOR and CORE. Sit-ins were used in several locations throughout the 1950s to challenge segregation. In July 1958, sit-ins helped desegregate Dockum Drugs in Wichita, Kansas, and one month later, sit-ins were held at the Katz Drug Store in Oklahoma City. Various other sit-ins took place in border states during the last years of the 1950s, often helping to achieve integration of the establishment targeted. Despite the success of these sit-ins, the tactic failed to grow into the mass movement it would become in the 1960s.

The sit-in movement was sparked by a sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina. On February 1, 1960, four students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College staged a sit-in at the lunch counter of the F. W. Woolworth's department store in Greensboro. The sit-in was not a spontaneous event: the four protestors—Ezell Blair, Jr., Joseph McNeill, David Richmond and Franklin McClain—had all been members of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) college or youth groups (although the sit-in was not conducted under the auspices of the NAACP), and had spent many hours discussing ways in which they could participate in the integration movement. They had also been exposed to the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement: Greensboro had been visited by both **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and the African American students involved in the Little Rock, **Arkansas**, desegregation case. The group intended to use the sit-in to illustrate the hypocrisy of allowing African Americans to shop in the store, but preventing them from using the lunch counter. Woolworth's was chosen specifically because it was a national chain and was vulnerable to pressure from outside the South. Having made purchases in the store, the four sat at the lunch counter and asked for service. When they were refused, they remained at the lunch counter until the store closed.

Unlike earlier sit-ins, the Greensboro protest prompted an almost instant movement. While previous sit-ins had been part of local protests and had not necessarily made connections with other local movements, news of the Greensboro sit-in spread quickly through a network of young activists, often connected to black colleges, black churches, and local civil rights groups in the South. The four protestors themselves contacted Floyd McKissick, an

NAACP Youth Council leader, on the evening of the first sit-in. McKissick, along with the Reverend Douglas Moore, who was the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference's** (SCLC) North Carolina representative, soon arrived in Greensboro, where they helped to organize the sit-ins. Both men had protest experience: Moore in particular had been involved in direct action in Durham, North Carolina, including a sit-in in a segregated ice cream parlor. The presence of older, more experienced activists like McKissick and Moore helped to maintain the momentum created by the first sit-in and to coordinate the enthusiasm of the growing numbers of student protestors eager to participate.

The next day, the group returned to Woolworth's and again requested service at the lunch counter; once again, they were refused service. However, the group had been joined by 19 other students; by the third day of the protest, over 80 students took part in the sit-in. Over the course of the week, under the guidance of McKissick and Moore, increasing numbers of students from a variety of colleges (including some white colleges) joined the Woolworth's sit-in, and began sit-ins in different stores in downtown Greensboro. By the end of the first week of sit-ins, over 400 students were participating in sit-ins in Greensboro. By this point, white mobs were gathering to harass the protestors, and store managers, who until then had attempted to accommodate the protests, were threatening legal action. When the manager of Woolworth's closed the store at lunchtime, claiming a bomb threat had been received, the protestors decided to halt the sit-ins to allow negotiations to take place. When the store opened on Monday, the lunch counter remained closed.

The Greensboro sit-ins quickly inspired similar protests elsewhere. Moore and McKissick made use of their connections to activists in other states and were pivotal in helping the sit-in movement to spread other North Carolina cities and into other states. Within days of the first Greensboro sit-in, other protests had taken place in Durham and Raleigh, as well as other communities in North Carolina. Central to the quick spread of sit-ins was the network of civil rights activists that was spread throughout the South. Fred Shuttlesworth of the SCLC witnessed a sit-in in High Point, North Carolina, and was impressed not only by the tactic, but also by the way in which the protestors conducted themselves. Such was his enthusiasm for sit-ins that he urged King to get involved. Sit-ins moved quickly from upper South states like North Carolina, and within a week of the first Greensboro sit-in, sit-ins had taken place in Rock Hill, **South Carolina**, under the auspices of an SCLC minister.

Of all the locations to which sit-ins spread, it was in Nashville, Tennessee, that the movement developed what would come to be its identifying characteristics. Nashville was fertile ground for sit-ins. A cadre of student activists, many of whom, such as Diane Nash and John Lewis, were students at Fisk University, had been searching for a way in which to challenge segregation. Many of these students had been attending nonviolent workshops run by **James Lawson**, a divinity student at Vanderbilt University, who had been urged to relocate to the South from Ohio by Martin Luther King, Jr. Lawson was planning to instigate several protests against segregation in downtown department stores. The Greensboro sit-ins presented themselves as the ideal way in which to do this.

Lawson organized a meeting to discuss the use of sit-ins in Nashville, at which over 500 volunteers, as well as the 75 students who had attended the nonviolent workshops, were in attendance. The volunteer's enthusiasm for sit-ins was so overwhelming that, in spite of his reservations, Lawson—who was at least a decade older than most of the students—agreed to begin sit-ins the following day. The meeting closed after Lawson had instructed the volunteers how to behave during the protests. Lawson's greater experience and links to the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement were crucial to establishing the Nashville sit-in movement, articulating its underlying philosophy of nonviolence and organizing it so that pressure could be persistently applied to segregation. However, the enthusiasm and devotion to the cause of the student volunteers drove the movement and provided a constant stream of protestors to participate. The day after the meeting, over 500 neatly dressed protestors entered stores in downtown Nashville to politely ask for service.

For two weeks, daily sit-ins were held in downtown Nashville. As in many cities in which sit-ins were held, the authorities did not react immediately, hoping that the protests would peter out; indeed, the presence of so many students led authorities, as well as the media, to assume that sit-ins would be a short-term movement. As it became clear that the protests were organized, disciplined, and persistent, store owners became increasingly concerned that sales would be lost. The chief of police announced that, at the request of store owners, trespassing and disorderly conduct arrests would be made. This was a development for which many in the Nashville movement had prepared themselves, but it was a particular source of anxiety of the organizers of the movement, who would in effect be advocating that the protestors staged sit-ins in the knowledge that they were likely to be arrested. Sit-in protestors in Raleigh, North Carolina, had already been arrested, and few in Nashville were deterred by this possibility. Indeed, being arrested and jailed would quickly become a mark of honor for protestors; the tactic of "jail, not bail" would soon spread to other forms of direct action.

In response to the Nashville chief of police's announcement, John Lewis committed to paper a code of conduct, by which protestors should abide. These underscored the tenets by which the movement had thus far been conducted and included reminders not to strike back if struck or abused, to be friendly and courteous at all at times, and to remember love and nonviolence. On February 27, as they took up seats at the lunch counters of chosen downtown stores, protestors were attacked by hostile whites; police arrested 77 protestors and five whites. Sixteen of the protestors, including Lewis and Diane Nash, declared that they would not accept bail, but would instead serve a jail sentence. Nash told the judge that in refusing bail, they were rejecting the practices that had led to their arrest. On hearing Nash's speech, the majority of the other protestors decided spontaneously also to refuse bail.

The jailing of the protestors sparked outrage in Nashville, but also brought the sit-ins to national attention. As the protestors were sentenced to workhouse detail, support was received from people such as Ralph Bunche, **Harry Belafonte**, and **Eleanor Roosevelt**. Further controversy was created when James Lawson was expelled from Vanderbilt's divinity school. If this was designed to distance Vanderbilt from the sit-ins, it backfired: the story made

the front page of the *New York Times*, and Lawson was reinstated. In response to growing external criticism, the mayor of Nashville offered a compromise: in return for the ending of protests in the downtown, the jailed protestors would be freed, and a biracial committee to consider the desegregation of downtown would be established. Unbowed by her imprisonment, Diane Nash quickly led a protest at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal, which was not included in the compromise deal. Unexpectedly, the protestors were served, and segregation at the bus terminal ended suddenly.

The arrest of the Nashville protestors revealed a growing gap between their outlook and that of the wider black community in Nashville, as well as many older activists in the movement. The NAACP's **Thurgood Marshall** believed the students had made their point through the sit-ins and their arrests. He argued that such protests should now be abandoned and integration pursued through the courts. John Lewis roundly dismissed this approach and identified a fundamental philosophical difference between the protestors and older activists. To Lewis, the sit-ins had created a mass movement that was confronting Jim Crow; the strength of the sit-in movement was the energy and spontaneity of the large numbers of protestors who were willing to risk abuse, violence, and imprisonment to challenge segregation. This difference would find its expression in the formation of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** at a conference at Shaw University, Raleigh, in April 1960, which brought together many of the young activists involved in the sit-in movement. While King hoped that the activists would use their enthusiasm and power for the SCLC, those attending the conference resisted this, and SNCC remained independent of other organizations.

By the point at which SNCC was formed, the sit-in movement had spread to other states. Between February and April, sit-ins were held in over 70 locations, and had reached **Georgia**, West Virginia, **Texas** and Arkansas. As well as capturing the zeal of so many activists who were eager to challenge Jim Crow, sit-ins proved to be a successful method of ending segregation. In Greensboro, the persistence and organization of the sit-in movement offset authorities' hopes that the summer would see a dip in sit-in activity; locals and high school students had been mobilized to carry on the protests when student numbers declined during nonterm time. The pressure brought by continued sit-ins forced the authorities to negotiate. In particular, the economic effects on businesses helped sit-ins to achieve their aims. The combined effects of the sit-ins, the loss of African American business through attendant boycotts, and the loss of business from whites who were discouraged from entering stores because of the protests, meant that Woolworth's lost \$200,000 in Greensboro in 1960. By the end of July, lunch counters in downtown Greensboro had been integrated.

Other success occurred elsewhere: in Nashville, the city finally conceded in the face of the unstinting pressure of the sit-ins, and downtown lunch counters were integrated in early May. In Durham, downtown businesses began to desegregate as a direct result of sit-ins, while in Virginia, two drugstore chains planned to end the segregation of lunch counters. The **federal government** also stepped in, and U.S. Attorney General William Rogers negotiated with the

owners of chain stores in the South to end segregation. Trailways announced that it would desegregate restaurants in bus terminals throughout the South. Although these victories were achieved relatively rapidly, they came as a result of the tenacity and vigor of the protestors, whose refusal to bow to white intimidation and the more moderate approaches of older activists helped to underline the value of sit-ins.

Indeed, the early burst of the sit-in movement helped to frame the Civil Rights Movement that was coalescing under the leadership of King. As well as sit-ins, other forms of direct action, often involving young activists, became keystones of the movement. Many young African Americans were inspired to action by seeing news coverage of sit-ins, and activists like Bob Moses and Cleveland Sellers would later credit the sit-ins as their introduction to the Civil Rights Movement, and for many more, sit-ins were their first active involvement. By the end of 1960, over 70,000 students had participated in sit-ins or direct action inspired by the sit-ins, and more than 3,600 protestors had been arrested. Sit-ins became perhaps the most identifiable tactic of the Civil Rights Movement and were used consistently in the first half of the 1960s.

While the Greensboro sit-ins and the protests they prompted elsewhere helped to erode some of Jim Crow's unassailability, segregation continued to exist in many forms. As the Civil Rights Movement developed, sit-ins were held throughout the South, including those cities in which segregation had already been partly overcome. Organized sit-ins, such as that which sought to integrate the Toddle Inn restaurant chain in Atlanta, Georgia, continued to be a vital source of protest. During the winter of 1962–1963, a boycott of downtown Jackson, Mississippi, was accompanied by sit-ins. The reaction of white mobs, which shouted abuse at protestors, doused them in food, and dragged them from stools, brought to national attention the extent to which whites in that state were resisting integration. Such sit-ins continued to follow the model established by the Greensboro and Nashville movements, and non-violence remained the underlying philosophy. Other, less prolonged, forms of sit-ins were also employed. During marches and demonstrations, protestors would often spontaneously stage a sit-in, frequently when faced with **police brutality**, while variants such as pray-ins at segregated churches, or in the face of violence, and wade-ins at segregated beaches were also used.

After the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, sit-ins became less relevant as the goals of the movement shifted. Indeed, in some states, such as Mississippi, sit-ins were a relatively minor tactic, often limited to urban areas. With the passage of legislation outlawing segregation, the frequency of sit-ins declined. Although sit-ins were still used from time to time, as the focus of the movement turned from segregation to voter registration and broader economic goals, new tactics took their place. The emergence of Black Power also undermined the value of sit-ins, as the validity of nonviolence as a tactic and philosophy was increasingly questioned. *See also* Gandhi, Mahatma.

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Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr

Slavery

Slavery in the American context was a system of labor and social control whereby the enslaved people did not own the fruits of their labor, nor did they own their person. Slaves were chattel property, to be used as the owner saw fit. While the English enslaved some of the Indians as war captives during the first decades of settlement, African slaves were available through the Atlantic slave trade, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century, most slaves in the English colonies were Africans. The institution of slavery set race relations between blacks and whites in the United States in a pattern that would long outlast slavery. While the legacy of slavery did not lead directly to **Jim Crow**, in that race relations under Jim Crow were in many important ways quite different than during slavery, slavery did establish a strong cultural acceptance of white supremacy and black inferiority, which would later find expression in Jim Crow laws.

Slavery existed in some form in most of the colonies, although in general, the North and upland farms in the South had far fewer slaves. While the popular image of the Old South is of the large plantation with dozens or even hundreds of slaves, most slaves lived on much smaller farms, with three slaves or fewer. Slave owners in the South as a group were a relatively small percentage of whites, but they held most of the economic and political power. The area that later became the United States took in a relatively small percentage of enslaved Africans, perhaps 4 or 5 percent of the total number who made the Middle Passage. Most enslaved Africans ended up in the **Caribbean** or in **Brazil**. The United States banned the importation of slaves in the early nineteenth century, thus slave owners had a vested interest in ensuring the reproduction of the slaves. In the United States, slave status was inherited through the mother; thus, any children of a slave woman became the property of her master, regardless of the status of the father. While slave owners often encouraged the formation of families, in that they tended to make a slave less likely to run away, and provided the next generation of slaves, such marriages had no legal standing. The death of owners often meant the forced breakup of slave families.

In the years after the Revolution, Northern states abolished slavery either through immediate emancipation, such as in southern **New England**, or gradual emancipation, such as in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The nation became increasingly divided on the slave issue. Southerners tended to desire the expansion of slavery into the Western territories, while Northerners tended to oppose the expansion of slavery. The slave states were seriously outnumbered in the House of Representatives, so they fought to keep a balance of free and slave states in the Senate to maintain the ability to block legislation deemed hostile to slavery. Southerners also pressed for a federal fugitive

slave law, one that the **federal government** would enforce, to allow slave owners to retrieve slaves who had escaped to the North.

Despite the relative powerlessness of the slaves, white Southerners in areas with large slave populations lived in almost constant fear of slave revolts. Slave owners tended to justify the institution, claiming that their “servants” were happy, and almost like family. This contrasted sharply with the large slave patrols and militias maintained in slave areas, and the savage reprisals for even the slightest hint of an uprising. Lurid stories of slave uprisings, especially from the Caribbean, were passed around, increasing the fear slaveowners felt. Such stories, which usually included white families having their throats slashed while they slept, indicate that despite their public pronouncements, slaveowners knew that their human property yearned to be free. Slavery set the pattern for whites that blacks should be feared, controlled, and kept subservient.

The existence of African slavery in the United States gave rise to a class of free blacks, often of mixed ancestry, who formed a middle group between free whites and enslaved blacks. In slave areas, they were sometimes looked at with suspicion by whites, as a people likely to lead a slave revolt; but in practice, such people often owed much of their status to the continuation of slavery. The free man, no matter what his skin color, was always the social superior of the slave. Communities of free blacks and mulattoes thrived in some areas of the South, such as Charleston, South Carolina, and around New Orleans. Some even became slave owners themselves. With the ending of slavery in 1865 and the rise of Jim Crow, such communities lost much of their separate identity, and those who could not “pass” in to white society were forced by laws and custom into black society.

While slavery was deeply entrenched in the law, customs, and economy of the South in the early nineteenth century, its maintenance rested on violence or the threat of violence. Slaves were at the mercy of their owners. Punishments for running away, disobedience, or a host of other infractions ranged from humiliation to whippings to mutilations. Slave patrols ensured that slaves had only the freedom of movement granted to them by owners. Slave women were vulnerable to sexual exploitation by owners or other white males, with no legal recourse. Slave owners had little or no liability for the abuse or even killing of their slaves. The question of whether a slave could testify in court, or even initiate legal action, remained in flux in many states. While slaves in Connecticut and Massachusetts sued for their freedom during the Revolutionary era based on the new state constitutions that made no provisions for slavery, as the nineteenth century progressed, slaves had fewer and fewer legal rights.

The U.S. **Supreme Court** ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* in 1857 marked the final act of stripping slaves, and even free blacks, of any civil rights. The ruling went far beyond the initial question of whether a slave became free when his master took him to free territory. The Court ruled that Congress had no authority to outlaw slavery in any territories, that no person of African descent could ever be a citizen, regardless of their status, and that slaves had no standing to bring suit in court. The ruling, which fulfilled most desires of

the slaveowners, created unease among even moderates in the North that the slave owners had too much power in the nation.

As with later Jim Crow, slavery stripped enslaved people of human rights, legal rights, and basic dignity. It did not, however, create a segregated society. In general, slaves were not able to use public entertainments, but slave labor existed with white foremen, overseers, and others who interacted regularly with the black labor force. In an age without public transportation or automobiles, blacks and whites often lived in close proximity. The culture of slavery in the American South created the impression that keeping blacks powerless was the normal order of things, a situation Jim Crow would later reimpose after the end of **Reconstruction** in 1877. *See also* Sharecropping.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Smith, Bessie (1892/1894–1937)

Bessie Smith deserved her title of “Empress of the **Blues**,” recording over 180 songs and selling over a million recordings. In the late 1920s, she was the highest-paid black performer in the country. Her songs, including at least 30 she wrote herself, expressed the realities of life for working-class African Americans, especially black women. Known for her rounded sound and emotional delivery, she sang about heartbreak, jealousy, prison, homelessness, eviction, unemployment, poverty, alcohol, sex, suicide, murder, as well as independent women, adultery, and spousal abuse, all which reflected her rough-and-tumble lifestyle and tough upbringing. Her music and style transcended segregation, inspiring both black and white performers, such as Billie Holiday, Mahalia Jackson, and Janis Joplin, for decades after her death.

Despite her popularity, many aspects of her life remain unclear and overshadowed by myth, including the year of her birth and the events surrounding her tragic death. According to census records, she was born Elizabeth Smith in July 1892, in Chattanooga, Tennessee, to William and Laura Owen Smith. Later in life, she claimed April 15, 1894, as the date of her birth, the date recognized by her family. Her father, a farm laborer and onetime minister, died when she was a small child. Her mother worked as a washerwoman and maid to provide for Bessie and her seven older siblings, but segregation provided few opportunities for advancement or decent pay. Everyone in the family contributed to the family income, including Bessie, who sang and danced with her older brother on street corners for tips.

Her road to a professional singing career began at age eight, when she won a dollar in a talent contest. Within a year, she began singing regularly at Ivory Theatre for eight dollars a week. Around the same time, her mother died, forcing her and her younger siblings to move in with Bessie’s oldest sister, Viola. Unhappy with home life, she soon joined the Rabbit Foot Minstrel Show, which starred the legendary blues singer Gertrude “Ma” Rainey. She toured

the South as a child singer and learned the business from Rainey. Within a few years, she joined Milton Starr's Theatre Owner's Booking Agency, known as TOBA but frequently referred to by black entertainers as "Tough on Black Artists" because of the poor pay. In 1919, she created her own show, the Liberty Belles, at the "91" Theatre in Atlanta. Although her popularity grew in the South, her auditions for white record companies between 1920 and 1922 in the North failed because they thought her style was too rough and uncouth, illustrating a regional and racist bias.

In 1923, Smith married Jack Gee, a Philadelphia police officer. That same year, she recorded "Gulf Coast Blues" for Okeh Records, the "race music" branch of Columbia Records, which sold 750,000 copies. She continued to record throughout the 1920s with notable musicians, including Fletcher Henderson, Eddie Cantor, and Clarence Williams, and became the highest paid black entertainer in the country. The songs she is best known for are "St. Louis Blues," recorded with **Louis Armstrong** in 1925, and "Back Water Blues," recorded in 1927.

By 1929, alcoholism affected her performances and popularity. In addition, the **Great Depression** hurt record sales and lessened the appeal of blues music in general. Poor again, Smith took jobs where she could, but eventually returned to the stage. On the verge of a comeback, she died on September 26, 1937, from injuries suffered in a car accident outside Clarksville, Mississippi. Although rumored that she bled to death because a white hospital denied her care, eyewitness accounts claim a white doctor attended to her at the scene, after which she was taken to an African American hospital, where she never regained consciousness. Over 7,000 people attended her funeral at Mount Lawn Cemetery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where she was buried in an unmarked grave. Musicians and local members of the NAACP paid for a headstone in 1970, which reads "The Greatest Blues Singer in the World Will Never Stop Singing." She was inducted into the **Rock and Roll Hall of Fame** in 1989. *See also* Harlem Renaissance.

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Katherine Kuehler Walters

South Carolina

With South Carolina as the primary architect of the Confederacy that was formed to preserve **slavery** in America and the first state in 1860 to attempt to leave the Union—severely fracturing the American republic to ignite the Civil War—the state later became an epicenter of **Jim Crow** violence. The brutality, discrimination, and segregation against blacks following post-Civil War **Reconstruction** accelerated in the mid-1870s through the zenith of the **Civil Rights Movement** during the 1960s.

Even at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) urged that potential visitors boycott South Carolina because officials refused to remove the Confederate

flag flying above the statehouse in Columbia. And although the state's large black population over the years had largely overcome Jim Crow hatred and implemented progressive changes, Greenville County on January 16, 2006, was the last county in America officially to adopt a paid holiday for black civil rights leader **Martin Luther King, Jr.**'s birthday. Ironically, King's associate, Jesse L. Jackson, was born in Greenville in 1941, when the segregation and hate of Jim Crow were still routine.

During and since the Jim Crow days of the early 1900s, King and other black activists, including **Ida B. Wells-Barnett**, William Pickens of the NAACP, and **Fannie Lou Hamer**, had protested in South Carolina, where King's mentor Benjamin Mays was born in 1894 and who once called South Carolina the epitome of racist America. In fact, Mays, who became an educator, clergyman and president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, where King attended as an undergraduate during the mid-1940s, noted that his parents were born into slavery and lived as tenant farmers who experienced the very worst of Jim Crow discrimination.

South Carolina's white power structure had for centuries been very cognizant and wary of black empowerment ever since slavery was introduced there by Spanish explorers in 1526. Countless slave revolts throughout the state's history as the black population exponentially grew would prompt white authorities to form extremely repressive laws to control enslaved Africans with roots to such West African countries as Angola, the Congo, Senegal, Benin, Guinea, and the Gambia. Many such blacks, early on, were imported to the Americas, including South Carolina coastal areas and islands, for their rice-growing skills as practiced in West Africa.

Slave "patrols," which some historians argue developed into the Reconstruction-era **Ku Klux Klan**, were also instituted to control blacks in South Carolina by 1636 via an act that allowed any white to "apprehend, properly chastise, and send home" slaves found to be outside their master's plantation. Similar acts were passed in 1704 and 1721, and by 1860, such patrols had been combined with "military force" and the local militia. The patrol system thus evolved systems of control designed to institutionalize effective social and economic control of the black population.

There were more blacks than whites in South Carolina, something that white settlers watched closely for fear of uprisings. As a result of repeated slave escapes and those rebellions, or attempted insurrections, many "**black codes**" or laws were passed in South Carolina as early as 1712 that became a model for many slaveholding colonies, as South Carolina's whites became increasingly concerned about their burgeoning black population. That year, whites learned of a plot for enslaved Africans to destroy Charleston, and to escape with the help of the Yemassee Indians to St. Augustine, Florida. Many blacks, as a result, were hanged and others burned alive. Future rebellions, often led by Angolans, were as well dealt with severely, including a 1739 revolt of 60 to 100 enslaved blacks led by a slave called Jemmy, said to be an Angolan. Although about 40 whites and 20 blacks were killed in the ensuing battle, the revolt was not successful, resulting in many of the black survivors being decapitated, with their heads placed on top of fence posts as a warning

to others. The Negro Act of 1740, a harsh measure that resulted from this revolt, became the basis of the slave code in South Carolina.

Such laws became the forerunner of Jim Crow practices starting in the late 1860s and following the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. Before then, though, in 1820 when South Carolina's black slaves skyrocketed to almost 60,000 with whites numbering only about 20,000, ex-slave Denmark Vesey organized a rebellion, with the help of several Angolans including Jack Purcell or "Gullah Jack," that would have likely wiped out most of the white power structure in and around Charleston. Although Vesey, whose African name was Telemaque, was hanged on July 2, 1822, he is credited with organizing the largest potential slave revolution in American history, utterly terrifying whites. About 35 of Vesey's alleged conspirators were also hanged or executed. Again, very restrictive laws curtailing free and enslaved blacks' travel, congregating, and otherwise communicating were instituted as a precursor for future Jim Crow initiatives.

Blacks in South Carolina, though, continued to push back on white dominance, even during the Civil War. Robert Smalls (1839–1915) became a hero to the Union in 1862 when he commandeered a Confederate steamer near Beaufort, South Carolina, where he had been born a slave. After the war, Smalls returned to South Carolina, purchased his master's home and served in the state's house of representatives, its senate, and then the U.S. House of Representatives for five terms, before becoming the collector of customs for the Port of Beaufort.

The ultimate influx of Union troops during the Civil War in South Carolina, including many of the 180,000 black soldiers who joined the fight to save the Union and wipe out slavery in the South, led to the establishment of black institutions in South Carolina after that great struggle. They included Penn Center School on St. Helena Island off the coast between Charleston and Savannah, Georgia, with the help of black educator Charlotte Forten of Philadelphia, where Martin Luther King, Jr., later held strategy sessions during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

Furthermore, the African Methodist Episcopal Church grew to 44,000 members by the end of Reconstruction, with 12 AME ministers serving the South Carolina legislature. With blacks clearly outnumbering whites by 1868 and becoming members of Lincoln's Republican Party, about 68,000 out of 84,000 voted to change South Carolina's constitution. To most whites' consternation, African Americans ascended to such positions as county commissioners, tax assessors, constables and judges.

Whites were particularly suspicious of black preachers, including Charleston native Daniel Payne (1811–1893), a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church that had been founded in 1794 by the ex-slave Richard Allen in Philadelphia. Although Payne started a school for African Americans that closed in 1834 because South Carolina would not permit the education of slaves, he founded the first African American–controlled college in America, Wilberforce University of Ohio in 1865, as the Jim Crow era began to spawn. White South Carolinians ultimately realized that such theologians completely countered historical pro-slavery, preaching that blacks were inferior and meant to serve Caucasians. Indeed, black ministers were not immune to the

rampant violence during the Jim Crow era, including Payne whose activism endangered him in South Carolina many times.

In 1870, as federal soldiers withdrew from South Carolina, many blacks and their ministers faced great hostility and even death, such as the AME's Wade Perrin, who was assassinated that year. David Wyatt Aiken, who owned a plantation with about 40 slaves before the war, was said to be a primary instigator of such tragedies, declaring in the summer of 1868 that "before the white man should be ruled by niggers, they would kill the last one of them." Aiken County in South Carolina today is named for Aiken's politician cousin, William. David Wyatt Aiken was also implicated in the homicide of B. F. Randolph, a black Methodist preacher and member of the state legislature, who was fatally shot by three men at a train station in Hodges Depot, South Carolina.

In Abbeville County, where the Confederacy was conceived and the first meetings to plot a rebellion against the federal government were held, one federal army officer in 1868 amassed a huge record of incidents where blacks were killed or otherwise assaulted, with homes being burned down, by whites. Black codes were reinstated and metamorphosed into the rampant Jim Crow discrimination that would shape the bitter timbre of racial hatred well into the twentieth century in a state where many native whites still viewed South Carolina as separate from the Union.

Born August 1, 1894, in Ninety-Six, the future mentor of Martin Luther King, Jr., Benjamin Mays, witnessed the impact of those black codes that also restricted black voting rights, as well as the brutality of Jim Crow in Greenwood County during the Phoenix Riot of 1898. That is when several African Americans were lynched over blacks' fight for enfranchisement—an empowerment that racist whites consistently fought to stomp out. One of Mays's earliest memories during that period was watching his father, Hezekiah Mays, kowtowing or sinking to his knees and touching his head to the ground in front of a white mob to avoid certain death.

Such early episodes helped Mays to become a prolific student, graduating valedictorian of his 1914 class at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, where in 1968, four black students would be massacred by city police during a civil rights demonstration. Meanwhile, by the mid-1930s Mays completed his doctorate at the University of Chicago in theology, becoming a highly esteemed educator, preacher and president of Morehouse where he began to counsel a young student named Martin Luther King, Jr. during the 1940s. Mays, via the strong Christian principles of his mother, Louvenia, and inspired to fight the Jim Crow hatred that he had experienced in South Carolina, convinced King that Christian activism through nonviolence was an excellent way to fight racism. Some sources indicate that he also helped to introduce King to the concepts of **Mahatma Gandhi**, who utilized pacifism to knock down the pillars of racism in South Africa and India.

As the 1900s approached, South Carolina's blacks continued to face virulent racism and violence from such groups as the Ku Klux Klan with memberships soaring due to anger over losing the Civil War and black advancements. Such whites sought to punish blacks and keep them subjugated, making South Carolina's blacks some of the most prevalent passengers of the early 1900s

Great Migration to Northern cities. African Americans were still hampered from voting and accessing public and private facilities, as well as relegated to primarily menial and sharecropping or tenant-farming jobs in South Carolina and other Southern states.

Indeed, the sharecropping system of the late 1800s and well into the 1900s forced South Carolina's blacks to work the very plantations on which they had been enslaved, as Benjamin Mays' parents had, but usually at very substandard wages that often kept them indebted to unscrupulous white landowners who rented land at unfair prices. Daring to speak out or challenge South Carolina's stupendously racist social norms often meant an agonizing death.

Yet, such brave anti-lynching warriors as Ida B. Wells-Barnett, born July 16, 1862, in Holly Springs, **Mississippi**, dared to speak out against such injustices throughout the country and in South Carolina. After participating in a 1913 women's suffrage demonstration in Washington, DC, she spoke to President William McKinley about the escalating violence against blacks in South Carolina. She wanted it stopped immediately.

William Pickens, Sr., born in Anderson County, South Carolina on January 15, 1881, was destined to become the first field secretary for the NAACP and traveled to the deepest reaches of the South, including his home state, to combat Jim Crow during the early 1900s. Credited with recruiting an unparalleled number of members and organizing chapters throughout the United States, Pickens earned degrees ranging to a doctorate from Talledega College in



African American school with teachers and students, perhaps in South Carolina, 1910s. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-13304.

Alabama, Yale University, Fisk University, Selma University and even a law degree from Wiley University in Marshall, Texas.

National and local news articles of the countless victims of lynching in South Carolina attest to that state's notorious Jim Crow reputation, as revealed in Ralph Ginzburg's "100 Years of Lynchings." For instance, the *Washington Times* reported on February 18, 1900, that a 19-year-old black teen was lynched in Aiken County after a "crowd of 250 tracked the negro fifty miles across Aiken, Edgefield, and Greenwood counties." The young man, "without hesitation," and apparently petrified, had been ordered to climb a tree and jump from a limb after a rope was tied to it and his neck. When the rope broke, he was "hoisted up and then shot to pieces."

White mobs were particularly vicious if a black man was accused of being intimate with a white woman. One black man was killed and another hurt in 1922 near Florence, South Carolina, because the deceased was suspected of having a relationship with a white woman. "The wounded negro was driving a buggy into which the other man had leaped in an attempt to elude the mob. . . . Letters from the white woman were found in the pocket of the dead man after the lynching," according to a January 14, 1922 report in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. The white woman realized she too was in trouble for fraternizing with an African American man.

Such abhorrence over interracial relationships certainly reached the highest governmental levels in South Carolina, as indicated by Governor Cole Blease's 1911 statement: "Whenever the Constitution comes between me and the virtue of white women of South Carolina I say 'to hell with the Constitution!'" Indeed, such beliefs reflected the firm attitudes of many white South Carolinians following Reconstruction that their state would never succumb to federal efforts to elevate blacks and absolutely not permit white women and black men to have relationships. Many whites, in fact, viewed the state as separate from the Union, despite losing the Civil War. They realized that the North's military victory, at that point, was simply temporary, and such racist institutions as the Ku Klux Klan and other groups would soon take control. If a black man had been accused of rape, the consequences were often unspeakably horrible, including burning at the stake and dismemberment, especially of the sexual organs that were among body parts often handed out as souvenirs following rallies that were usually attended by thousands of whites.

Although the number of lynching incidents in South Carolina, as well as other states, cannot be pinpointed because countless blacks were killed secretly or without their identities known, it is likely that the figure totals to thousands in South Carolina. Furthermore, the segregation of blacks at public facilities, as well as the hampering of voting rights and economic empowerment, was routine practice in a state that conceptualized and actualized the Confederacy in order to preserve slavery and Jim Crow hatred.

Strom Thurmond, who became the longest serving and oldest U.S. senator before his death in 2003 at age 100, was a former South Carolina governor who became a symbol of racial segregation nationwide, despite his later authenticated sexual relationship with a black worker with whom he fathered a child. During Thurmond's 1948 Democratic bid for president, he said, "that

there's not enough troops in the Army to force the Southern people to break down segregation and admit the nigger race into our theatres, into our swimming pools, into our homes and into our churches." In 1957, in opposition to the Civil Rights Act, the senator filibustered for a record-setting 24 hours and 18 minutes.

News reports in 2007 also indicate that Thurmond's ancestors owned a slave whose family line developed into the black activist Al Sharpton's family, crystallizing the legacy of South Carolina's pro-slavery and Confederate reality that some observers insist still exists to some degree today.

Although the Confederate flag was removed from the top of the South Carolina statehouse due to pressure from the NAACP and placed on a pole at the street level in July 2000, the divisive symbol of white supremacy and pro-slavery fervor still flies in front of the building.

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Donald Scott

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Founded as a tight coalition of spiritual leaders, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) emerged in the late 1950s as the leading Christian civil rights organization. It championed nonviolence, voting rights, anti-poverty, and social justice in its campaign to abolish **Jim Crow**. **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, **Ralph Abernathy**, **Joseph Lowery**, and Fred Shuttlesworth, all ordained ministers leading prominent congregations in **Alabama** and **Georgia**, were the original executive body of the SCLC. From its birth in 1957 to the present, the SCLC has maintained a political agenda aimed first at dismantling institutionalized racism, then addressing the emotional and economic wounds caused by Jim Crow in American communities.

The **Montgomery Bus Boycott** of 1955–1956 provided the greatest influence on the formation of the SCLC. The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) invited Martin Luther King, Jr., to provide spiritual leadership for the boycott volunteers and participants. In Montgomery, King befriended Ralph Abernathy and other politically active members of the black church. The success of the boycott and the desegregation of Montgomery's bus lines motivated King, Abernathy, Lowery, Shuttlesworth, and C. K. Steele to form a faith-based organization in January 1957. The ministers settled on the name, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as a representation of the organization's membership, congregations, churches, civic confederations, and associations of groups for social justice. The SCLC preferred not to have

individuals as members; instead, it practiced collective action with nonviolent resistance as its principle philosophy.

In the first half of the **Civil Rights Movement**, the SCLC emphasized desegregation of public accommodations and voting rights. In 1961, the SCLC sheltered more than 1,000 supporters of the Freedom Rides in its churches. It led voting registration campaigns in Alabama and Mississippi in 1962. In 1963, SCLC triumphed over segregation in the nation's most segregated city, Birmingham, Alabama. The city remained a bastion of segregation, despite the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the growing popularity of desegregation movements across the nation. In Birmingham, segregation was absolute and complete in every part of life, including in schools, restaurants, city parks, cemeteries, and department store dressing rooms. Although blacks were about 40 percent of the population, fewer than 12 percent of blacks had registered to vote.

The SCLC embarked on a slightly different strategy from that of Montgomery—boycotting department stores and leading protest marches through downtown Birmingham. The SCLC asked for black children to join the marches and to risk jail to protest segregation. The children endured disturbing violence, in the form of attacking police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses. National outcry at the photographs and television images of children and young adults under attack had cemented public opinion against the city of Birmingham. The SCLC demanded and received an end to racist hiring practices and segregation, inaugurated by a biracial committee overseeing desegregation. The organization had similar success three years later in protesting segregation in Selma, Alabama, in 1965.

The SCLC's successful organization of Birmingham's desegregation however, did not quell violent reactions to the group or its supporters. A few days after the announcement of a peaceful conclusion to the marches, more than 1,000 Klansmen burned crosses in a city park. Then bombs exploded in the Birmingham home of Alfred Daniel King, Martin Luther King's brother. In Jackson, Mississippi, a Klansman murdered civil rights leader **Medgar Evers** in his driveway in June. In September 1963, a bomb left at the Birmingham Baptists Church killed four black girls. All of the events had the effect of attracting even more support to the Civil Rights Movement, particularly among Northern whites, who were eager to facilitate the Black Revolution underway. Progressive white Americans, too, faced considerable violence. For instance, in March 1965, Viola Luizzo, a white housewife from Detroit, was shot and killed by a Klansman in a passing car as she drove civil rights volunteers to voting registration drives in Alabama.

The SCLC reached its organizational highpoint with the August 1963 **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom. The march benefited from a broad base of support, including the AFL-CIO, the National Council of Churches, and the National Conference of Catholics for Interracial Justice. The appeal of King and the persuasiveness of the SCLC urged Americans to overcome their racial fears and insecurities; nonviolent protest spoke to the peaceful, political goal of full inclusion and equal rights for African Americans. With **A. Philip Randolph** and **Bayard Rustin** as the primary organizers, the March on Washington drew between 200,000 and 250,000 participants



A bomb demolished the Gaston Motel in Birmingham, Alabama, during the meeting of the SCLC in 1963. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-U9-9771-17.

to Washington, DC, on August 28, 1963. From its success, the SCLC was catapulted to the position as the primary civil rights organization. It brought moral pressure on President **John F. Kennedy**, and then President **Lyndon B. Johnson** to sign the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and **Voting Rights Act of 1965**.

Widespread and deeply rooted poverty in the 1960s, coupled with intransigent resistance to civil rights activism, challenged the SCLC to take on anti-poverty as its next concern. The SCLC also recognized the opportunity to move beyond the notion of Jim Crow as a Southern issue. Job discrimination, unequal school funding, restrictive housing covenants, and police brutality had long troubled race relations in northern cities and states. In 1966, at the invitation of the Chicago Freedom Movement, the SCLC set up an office in Chicago, for the purpose of challenging the city to reform its housing practices. Mayor Richard Daley and the Chicago Police Department, aware of the SCLC's strategy of provoking confrontation that risked embarrassing national exposure, pledged their protection of marchers in peaceful demonstrations within the city's limit. The organization held fast to its principles of nonviolence, but its demonstrations were met with vitriolic riots in the all-white suburbs of Chicago. The Chicago campaign ended with a summit agreement between Daley and civil rights organizations to address the issue of housing segregation. Yet, failing to achieve a Birmingham-style reversal of segregation, the SCLC retreated to reexamine its tactics.

After the disappointment in Chicago, the SCLC regrouped and began planning another high profile march, the Poor People's Campaign. Like the goals of the 1963 March on Washington, the Poor People's Campaign's guiding mission was to create awareness of poverty and its debilitating effects on Americans across the country. In 1967, the SCLC announced its plan to bring

thousands of poor, unemployed, and working Americans to Washington, DC, to demand federal programs promoting antipoverty and economic security. As the final preparations for the Poor People's Campaign were well under way, by the beginning of spring 1968, King embarked on a new direction in Memphis. Joined by Jesse Jackson and Ralph Abernathy in early April 1968, King lent the SCLC's support of the striking sanitation workers. The striking workers sought higher wages and better working conditions, demands that exemplified the new path of the SCLC. King's assassination on April 4, 1968, profoundly wounded the organization. In the short term, public sympathy and political sensitivity afforded to the SCLC immense support for the Poor People's Campaign. In the long term, the loss of a charismatic leader hurled the SCLC into a prolonged state of confusion. After six weeks of daily protest marches and continuous calls for an Economic Bill of Rights, the police dismantled "Resurrection City," the Poor People's Campaign's tent city, and evicted its 2,000 residents. The country turned its attention away from the civil rights struggle, instead focusing on the Vietnam War. The SCLC never regained its pre-1968 stature.

Without tangible goals, in the 1970s the organization drifted. In late 1971, Jesse Jackson left the organization after a falling-out with Ralph Abernathy, King's successor as president. Jackson founded Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), developed a high profile for his fiery rhetoric and quickly organized protest marches. Furthermore, the SCLC could no longer attract or inspire student activists. The forceful and aggressive philosophies of **Malcolm X** and the Black Power movement drew a younger, more militant generation of leaders away from the principles of nonviolence. A divisive battle between older religious leaders and Vietnam-era student protesters brought the SCLC to the brink of collapse in the mid-1970s. Abernathy resigned as president, and Joseph Lowery, a founding member, replaced him in 1977.

Currently, the SCLC, led by Charles Steele, maintains its commitment to voting rights, conflict resolution, and social justice. Though the organization possesses less political and religious clout in its current incarnation, the SCLC retains its place of authority in the history of the Civil Rights Movement. *See also* Ku Klux Klan.

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Nikki Brown

Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) was a biracial labor union founded in Tyronza, Arkansas, in 1934. By 1938, the organization claimed

35,000 members, the majority of whom resided in eastern Arkansas. The STFU sought to organize the South's poorest and most vulnerable agricultural workers and managed to attract a great deal of publicity to the plight of the impoverished sharecropper. However, they were fundamentally unable to extract major concessions from Southern landowners or to halt the mechanization of agriculture, which made the South less dependent on the efforts of individual laborers.

Despite the fact that the land they farmed contained some of the richest cotton-producing soil in the United States, Arkansas tenant farmers and sharecroppers were hard-pressed to eke out more than a subsistence livelihood each year. Planters frequently kept these agricultural workers in financial subservience through unscrupulous record keeping and outright intimidation as well as by charging exorbitant interest rates on the annual loans necessary to keep the croppers afloat in a cash-poor economy.

The financial situation of this class of agricultural laborers, precarious in the best of times, only worsened with the beginning of the **Great Depression**. However, even before the rumblings on Wall Street impacted life in the cotton fields, Arkansas was hit with a series of natural disasters, beginning with the Mississippi River flood of 1927, followed by a series of tornadoes in the spring of 1929, and the drought of 1930–1931. These natural disasters, coupled with the chaos in the nation's financial sector, left the agricultural economy in turmoil.

In May 1933, Congress passed the **Agricultural Adjustment Act**, which was designed to address the agricultural crisis through an elaborate scheme of crop reduction and government subsidies. In order to reduce agricultural surpluses and thereby increase prices, the **federal government** paid landowners to take a portion of their acreage out of production. In addition, the government gave planters "parity payments" to subsidize the market price of cotton. In theory, owners were to spread acreage reductions across their plantations, thereby reducing each tenant's plot slightly. Planters were also supposed to share federal monies with their sharecroppers. However, more often than not, landowners neglected to equitably distribute this **New Deal** bounty. Furthermore, many chose to concentrate crop reductions, to eliminate some plots altogether, and then to evict the unneeded laborers.

Neither the federal government nor the Agricultural Adjustment Administration officials were willing to intervene in the planter/tenant relationship on behalf of the dispossessed croppers. Abandoned by the federal government and at the mercy of the local landowners, a group of Arkansas tenant farmers gathered in Tyronza, Arkansas to establish the STFU. Inspired by a recent visit of socialist leader Norman Thomas, and under the leadership of H. L. Mitchell and Clay East—white, local businessmen and members of the Socialist Party—a group of disgruntled sharecroppers met at a schoolhouse on a large plantation to discuss the possibility of unionization and collective bargaining with local planters. After quickly agreeing upon the premise of the union, the first item on the agenda was to determine whether two separate segregated unions should be formed or one integrated one.

According to Mitchell, the dilemma was settled on the basis of two eloquent speeches favoring biracial class solidarity. Burt Williams, a white cropper,

avored integration saying, "You know my pappy rode with the KKK, we drove the Republican officeholders out of Crittendon County some forty years ago. That time has passed, and we have to forget all that stuff." Ike Shaw, an African American who had been involved in an attempt to unionize that turned into race-based massacre in Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919, concurred, saying, "As long as we stand together black and white . . . nothing can tear [the union] down."

Shaw was right to the extent that the union was tenacious. Despite planter reprisals, STFU members continued to meet and to agitate for wage increases for day laborers and an equitable distribution of New Deal funds throughout the 1930s. The STFU managed to win some small wage increases after a cotton picker's strike in 1935. However, a similar strike in 1936 met with disastrous results when Governor Junius Marion Futrell called out the **National Guard**, which forced the strikers to disperse at gunpoint.

Ultimately, the STFU did very little to directly ameliorate the economic conditions of the state's croppers. Their efforts were met with violent reprisals by the local population of landowners and their allies. However, the STFU did manage to bring the plight of the sharecropper to the attention of the national media. For example, on June 16, 1936, a group of white land owners beat two white STFU supporters, social worker Willie Sue Blagden and Presbyterian minister Claude Williams. The sensational incident of the whipping of a Southern white woman sparked something of a media frenzy, and pictures of Blagden's bruised thighs were published from coast to coast. Due in large part to negative publicity, Governor Futrell appointed a commission to study the problems inherent in farm tenancy, and violent intimidation began to abate.

However, the STFU was plagued by internal as well as external problems. Although the leadership of the organization was integrated, many locals remained segregated, and racial tensions flared from time to time. In addition, arguments arose over whether or not the union should join the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and rumors abounded about alleged Communist infiltration in the STFU. These disputes led many of the group's most ardent followers to abandon the organization.

Although both the federal and the state governments were eventually pressured into conducting investigations of farm tenancy in Arkansas, these studies did not result in tangible reforms of the kind envisioned by the STFU. AAA monies allowed planters to begin to mechanize cotton production, and the organization of agricultural laborers in Arkansas quickly became a moot point. It was not until 1972 that Arkansas cotton was 100 percent machine-harvested; however, the need for farm workers steadily decreased after 1940, and former sharecroppers began leaving the state in large numbers. The STFU never formally disbanded, but in 1944, Mitchell migrated westward to organize migrant laborers in California and to found the organization that was to succeed the STFU, the National Farm Labor Union.

The STFU's most enduring legacy was that it modeled a nearly unprecedented degree of interracial cooperation, which was not to be seen on as grand a scale again until the advent of the modern **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s and 1960s.

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Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Sports

Sports provided a key terrain for contesting the boundaries imposed by **Jim Crow** segregation. Although whites in the South and North consistently tried to deny African Americans the right to participate in a variety of amateur and professional sports activities, black people fought for their rights on playing fields and courts. Eventually, the supposed “level playing field” of athletics led to some opportunities, for black men in particular, to participate in integrated competition and reap some of the benefits, including professional prize money, college scholarships, Olympic glory, and a sense of personal dignity and worth. However, Southern whites were dogged opponents of integrated sports competition, and some sports, such as professional baseball, acceded to Jim Crow customs for decades. As a result, black institutions, such as **Negro League baseball**, developed and provided an alternate playing field on which African Americans could participate with their peers. While integrated sports competition helped break down Jim Crow barriers to some degree, many believe that sports have also perpetuated stereotypes of African Americans, as some white observers have attributed black athletic success to animalistic traits supposedly inherent to the black race.

In the years following the Civil War, African Americans had some opportunities to participate in integrated sports competition and were often very successful. Horse racing, for example, was dominated by black jockeys in the late nineteenth century: 14 of the 15 jockeys racing in the first Kentucky Derby, in May 1875, were African American. Even more remarkably, of the first 28 Derbys, 15 were won by black riders. Isaac Murphy, an African American from Kentucky, was perhaps the best jockey of all time, winning numerous races and earning significant prize money. The first jockey to win the Kentucky Derby three times, Murphy died of pneumonia at age 35 in 1896. Some early professional baseball leagues also permitted black players in the 1870s and 1880s, although these opportunities were rare and players sometimes passed as Latino or Indian in order to play. College **football** also became more popular in this time period, and scattered black players earned considerable acclaim at majority white universities in the East and Midwest. William Henry Lewis, for example, was an All-American at Harvard in 1892 before going on to a successful career as a lawyer and federal assistant attorney general under President William Howard Taft. Frederick Douglass “Fritz” Polard also earned national acclaim at Brown University from 1916 to 1917, and Paul Robeson starred at Rutgers College from 1915 to 1919. The success of these pioneers inspired many in the black community, particularly those in the black press, who believed that athletic achievement would prove blacks’ capacities in other areas of life, and would open up new opportunities for the

African American community on the whole. All of these players, however, were subject to racial abuse and taunting from opposing fans, players, and coaches (and often even from members of their own teams), suggesting the limitations sports had for effecting change. Indeed, on the whole, “big-time” college football remained largely segregated, and Jim Crow customs eventually forced black jockeys out of horse racing as the sport became more popular with the general public in the 1920s.

One sport that did provide opportunities for African Americans was professional boxing. Although the sport was illegal in many states, it nonetheless became increasingly popular in the years leading up to the turn of the twentieth century as Boston heavyweight boxer John L. Sullivan, an Irish-American, became a cult hero to the working class in the 1880s. Sullivan, however, steadfastly refused to fight black boxers, including Australian heavyweight champion Peter Jackson. Although black boxers in less prestigious weight classes had some opportunities to fight white boxers for championships (Joe Gans earned the lightweight title in 1902, for example), the heavyweight division remained off-limits to black participation because of its prestige. Finally, in 1908, African American boxer **Jack Johnson** defeated Australian Tommy Burns for the heavyweight title. Outraged whites—stunned that a black man held the title of heavyweight champion of the world—called boxer James Jeffries out of retirement to restore the championship to the white race. When Johnson defeated Jeffries on July 4, 1910, riots broke out across the country as whites violently assaulted African Americans celebrating Johnson’s triumph. Johnson’s victory was particularly unsettling to many whites because of his personal life; marrying white women, driving expensive cars, and wearing extravagant clothes, Johnson seemed a direct affront to notions of white male supremacy. For many blacks, on the other hand, Johnson’s triumph was so inspiring precisely because it challenged long-held beliefs in white male superiority. In the months after the bout, film footage of the fight was banned in many states, a sign of the symbolic importance accorded to Johnson’s triumph. Federal authorities eventually convicted Johnson of violating the Mann Act in 1913, a dubious case that was settled by an all-white jury, and Johnson fled the country. He finally lost the championship to white heavyweight Jess Willard in 1915. Because Willard refused to take on black challengers, the championship then remained in the hands of white boxers for more than 20 years.

Baseball, by far the most popular spectator sport in America in the first half of the twentieth century, was strictly a segregated affair as it reached its ascendant popularity. Although scattered blacks had played professionally in the nineteenth century, an unwritten rule against black participation became well established in the two major professional organizations that would eventually unite to form Major League Baseball (MLB)—the National League by the late 1880s, and the American League from its inception in 1901. Because MLB proved particularly intractable in permitting black players to participate in the game, denying blacks access to the money and prestige earned by white players, African Americans established their own barnstorming teams and eventually a variety of “negro leagues.”

The first black professional baseball team was the Cuban Giants, established in 1885 in Babylon, New York, and a number of teams followed suit in the ensuing years, including the Kansas City Monarchs and the Homestead (Pennsylvania) Grays. Black professional leagues also sprung up across the country, although they seldom lasted for long and were dogged by financial difficulties. Finally, in 1920, Andrew “Rube” Foster established the Negro National League, with eight teams: Chicago American Giants, Chicago Giants, Cuban Stars, Dayton Marcos, Detroit Stars, Indianapolis ABCs, Kansas City Monarchs and St. Louis Giants. This league was the dominant black league until it folded after the 1931 season because of the **Great Depression**. A second Negro National League debuted in 1933, however, and lasted until 1949. Two other leagues, the Negro Southern League and the Negro American League, were also successful and long-lasting. These leagues provided opportunities for black professional baseball players to earn a living, although their pay was never as high as their white counterparts and their traveling accommodations were never as appealing. Still, the Negro Leagues were very popular for urban African Americans in particular, who eagerly supported their hometown teams. Countless star athletes earned acclaim by playing on these teams, including legendary players such as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige.

As the various Negro Leagues found firmer footing in the 1920s, other sports gradually opened their doors to more integrated competition. The 1930s, in particular, showed significant signs of progress. In boxing, heavyweight Joe Louis became the first African American since Johnson to hold the heavyweight boxing crown, a title he held for 12 years, when he defeated James Braddock in 1937. Louis also earned national acclaim for his defeat of German boxer Max Schmeling in 1938, a bout many saw as a contest between American democracy and Nazi fascism. Louis’s popularity with both white and black fans suggests the transcendent capability of sports, but also its limits in effecting change. While Louis was certainly popular with many white fans across the country, discrimination continued unabated in most aspects of life, and Louis was careful to avoid any behavior that would have linked him to Johnson. Meanwhile, black Olympic athletes also inspired national pride in the 1930s. Although there had been African American Olympians (and medalists) since the 1904 games, **Jesse Owens**’s dominating performance in the 1936 Olympics in Berlin was the most nationally celebrated. Winning four gold medals at the games, the most ever won by an American track athlete, Owens visibly challenged German leader Adolf Hitler’s assertions of Aryan supremacy, and Owens was celebrated as a national hero. However, advertisers also shunned Owens for endorsement opportunities because of his race when he returned to the States, and he struggled to earn a living once he concluded his amateur career. In the realm of college sports, the 1930s also saw some significant changes as more black athletes gained positions on teams in the North and West (although still in relatively small numbers), and integrated competition slowly started to take place between Southern and Northern schools. The University of North Carolina, for example, traveled north to square off against New York University and its black star Ed Williams in 1936, although games played in the South continued to require black athletes to sit out.

Perhaps the most important single event in the integration of sports in the United States occurred when **Jackie Robinson** took the field for the MLB **Brooklyn Dodgers** on April 15, 1947. Robinson, signed by Dodgers president Branch Rickey, was the perfect candidate to integrate baseball because of his athletic ability and strong character. Facing racist taunting from opposing players and fans, with players often attempting to injure him by throwing pitches directly at him and deliberately “spiking” him with their cleats, Robinson held his emotions in check, fearful that an outburst might set back the process of integration. His strong play earned him the National League Rookie of the Year Award in 1947 and inspired tens of thousands of black fans to come out to games to see him play. In his nine-year career, Robinson won numerous accolades, including the National League Rookie of the Year in 1947, the National League Most Valuable Player in 1949, and a World Series championship in 1955. Following Robinson’s debut, other clubs began to sign African American baseball players: Larry Doby was the second black player in MLB history when he joined the Cleveland Indians midway through the 1947 season. Many consider Robinson’s successful turn in baseball, “the national pastime,” a pivotal event in the broader struggle for African American civil rights. Robinson’s success in MLB, however, also sounded the death knell for the Negro Leagues. With the best black players leaving for the higher salaries and better accommodations of MLB, the black-run Negro Leagues could no longer complete, although the Negro American League held out until 1961. Integration of MLB teams was also painfully slow: the Philadelphia Phillies were the last National League team to integrate, in 1957; and the Boston Red Sox were the last American League team to integrate, in 1959. And it was not until 1975 that the first black manager was hired, when Frank Robinson became player-manager for the Cleveland Indians.

Jackie Robinson’s debut inspired integration in a wide range of sports. The National Football League (NFL) welcomed its first black players in 1946, soon after the announcement of Robinson’s signing with the Dodgers organization; that year, the Los Angeles Rams signed Kenny Washington and Woody Strode, both former teammates of Robinson at UCLA. The National Basketball Association (NBA), meanwhile, saw three black players debut for the 1949–1950 season: Chuck Cooper of the Boston Celtics, Earl Lloyd of the Washington Capitals, and Nat “Sweetwater” Clifton of the New York Knicks. In the same era, colleges and universities across the country also began opening up their teams to black athletic participation, although many schools in the South opposed integration into the early 1970s. Black college stars such as Bill Russell, who won back-to-back NCAA national championships in basketball with the University of San Francisco in 1955 and 1956, and Jim Brown, who earned All-American honors in football and lacrosse at Syracuse University in 1957, symbolized the growing presence of black athletes in big-time college athletics. In the South, black schools such as Tennessee A&I and Florida A&M built their own athletic powerhouses and competed in their own all-black conferences. Black coach John McLendon also led Tennessee A&I to the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) championship in men’s basketball in 1957 (the NAIA was a national organization of small colleges and universities and included both black and white schools).

Women athletes also generated publicity: **Althea Gibson's** stunning success in tennis in the late 1950s earned her the Female Athlete of the Year award from the Associated Press in 1957 and 1958, and **Wilma Rudolph** earned that same award in 1960 for winning three gold medals in that year's Olympics. Many African Americans took pride in these wide-ranging accomplishments and continued to see sports as an entry point into mainstream American culture. Most hoped that black athletic achievement would contribute to a lessening in bigotry and would continue to erode the walls of Jim Crow segregation.

Black fans' hopes for sports were met in some ways and dashed in others. Although black athletes continued to break through the walls of discrimination in a variety of sports in the second half of the twentieth century, prejudice continued to infiltrate athletics. Teams in nearly every sport were reluctant to hire black managers and executives, even as black players began to dominate rosters. High-profile positions, such as the quarterback in football and starting pitcher in baseball, were often reserved for white players. Many black activists and leaders also lamented the decline in black institutions' athletic programs, such as the professional Negro Leagues and **historically black colleges and universities**. Reports of exploitation of black college athletes at previously all-white schools also troubled leaders and activists, as some worried (and continue to worry) that African American student-athletes were not being prepared for a life outside of athletics. Black athletes who took public stands against government policies—such as outspoken heavyweight boxer **Muhammad Ali**, who refused induction into the military, and Olympic sprinters **Tommye Smith** and **John Carlos**, who raised their fists in a “black power” salute on the medal stand at the 1968 Summer Olympics—were often criticized scathingly in the white press.

It is unclear how much of an impact sports have had on broader conceptions of race and on bigotry. Although many white fans cheer for black athletes, some ascribe black success to supposedly inherited biological factors and continue to believe in stereotypes of intellectual inferiority. While, undoubtedly, sports helped to break down the walls of Jim Crow segregation, and have inspired some to abandon prejudiced beliefs, it is as yet unclear if sports have won the victory for black equality that many black leaders had hoped for. *See also* Basketball; Racial Stereotypes.

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Gregory Kaliss

Streetcars and Boycotts

Streetcar boycotts in the early 1900s and bus boycotts in the 1950s were significant acts of consumer protest by urban blacks. The boycotters wanted equal access to city services, and this meant overturning the **Jim Crow** laws of the time, laws that insisted that blacks go to the “back of the bus” or trolley. The streetcar boycotts failed to overturn the Jim Crow laws, but the bus boycotts did lead to changes in local laws in Baton Rouge and may have been helpful in influencing the 1956 federal court ruling that found bus segregation to be illegal.

The Streetcar Boycotts

These boycotts by black consumers occurred in more than 25 Southern cities from 1900 to 1906. The boycotts took place at a time of increasing hostility on the part of Southern whites and indifference on the part of Northern whites, a dual circumstance that may have encouraged acceptance of subservience as the prevailing attitude of Southern blacks.

The boycotts were initiated in response to Jim Crow streetcar laws enacted as part of the wave of segregation legislation passed in Southern states at the turn of the century. The streetcar companies generally opposed Jim Crow laws. The companies were concerned about the expense and difficulty of enforcing the laws. They also feared a loss of black customers, not a small consideration since blacks often constituted a majority of local riders.

Although technically, the new segregation laws represented an abridgment of the consumer right to choose in that blacks were required to sit in the back of the streetcar, symbolically they represented much more—unjust acts whose effect upon blacks was that of humiliation and degradation. Many blacks responded to the boycotts called in their cities by refusing to ride on the streetcars. Moreover, all of the states of the old Confederacy were affected with the connection between the segregation laws and the boycotts being apparent to its black urban residents. Some of the boycotts lasted for several weeks, while others extended for much longer periods, with one in Augusta, **Georgia**, continuing for three years. But the boycotts were unable to reverse the legal tide of segregation in the South. As the only protest mechanism realistically available to blacks, however, the boycott tactic continued to be pursued even though failure was inevitable.

Bus Boycotts

About 50 years later, Southern blacks once again vented their frustrations relating to the problems they experienced with urban public transportation, only this time, buses rather than streetcars had become the focus. The bus boycotts were of historic importance. The **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s with its direct action component was an outgrowth of the bus boycott campaigns. These campaigns brought major disruptions to such state capitals as Baton Rouge and Montgomery.

Looking first at Baton Rouge, in June 1953, the city’s black community initiated a boycott against the Jim Crow bus system. The boycott was led by T. J. Jemison, pastor of one of Baton Rouge’s largest black churches. As a church

leader, Jemison had close ties to the black people of Baton Rouge and to the city's black clergymen and these two linkages gave the boycott its strength.

To finance the boycott, money was raised at nightly mass meetings in the churches and it was used to pay for a "free car lift" and an internal "police force." The free car lift consisted of private cars that transported the boycotting workforce just as the buses had done prior to the boycott. The internal police department was used to patrol the black community and to provide bodyguards for the boycott leaders.

The boycott was completely effective, and a *New York Times* report found about 90 percent compliance. The boycotters had two primary demands—that blacks be permitted to fill bus seats on a first-come, first-served basis, and that no seats be reserved for whites. Within a few days of the boycott's inception, local white officials offered a compromise that largely accepted the first-come, first-served demand. The compromise was accepted at a mass meeting attended by 8,000 local blacks. The boycott, which ended officially on June 25, 1953, was a major victory against segregated busing.

The Montgomery boycott was perhaps the best-known protest action and most influential consumer boycott in American history. It marked the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement and introduced to the world the man who would become the movement's leader, the Reverend **Martin Luther King, Jr.** The Montgomery bus boycott was triggered on Thursday, December 1, 1955, by the arrest of a black woman, **Rosa Parks**, for refusing to yield her seat on a city bus to a white man. Her action, a violation of local segregation laws, came two years after the successful Baton Rouge bus boycott.

On the night of Parks' arrest, local black leader Jo Ann Robinson, after conferring with colleagues, decided to organize a bus boycott of Montgomery for the following Monday, December 5. With two trusted aides, she distributed to local blacks a message urging them to join the boycott. The one-day boycott was a dramatic success in that fewer than 10 percent of Montgomery's blacks rode the city buses. Since most of the passengers who normally rode were black, the boycott engendered a substantial loss in bus revenues.

By Monday afternoon, local black leaders were well aware of the success of the boycott and looked for someone to lead its continuation. They had been favorably impressed with King, a newcomer to Montgomery. A local organization called the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was formed to continue the boycott, and King was selected as its leader. By that Monday evening, his oratorical powers were made clear to an audience of six thousand blacks whom he addressed at a local church.

The response to King's words bordered on pandemonium. The audience apparently felt they had found a boycott leader to confront the white power structure of Montgomery. The bus boycott continued for 382 days, from December 5, 1955, to December 21, 1956, a period far longer than its leaders could have foreseen.

The yearlong boycott was impressively executed. Not only did black riders stay off the buses on December 5, but they continued to stay away for the duration of the boycott. Their abstinence from the city buses was made possible by the creation of an alternative transportation system by the MIA. The system, which started as a crude voluntary effort, soon became far more

sophisticated and reliable as the MIA secured funds from a variety of sources to establish an effective transportation service.

However, the success of the boycott campaign did not come easily, with serious signs of strain emerging in Montgomery after the first few weeks of the campaign's success. Matters intensified in late January when King's house was bombed. Moreover, just a month later a grand jury returned indictments for 90 of the leaders and supporters of the MIA, charging them with conspiring to carry out an illegal boycott.

The boycotters were defended by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which took the case to federal court. Several months later, the federal court in Montgomery declared on June 5, 1956, that bus segregation was illegal. The court's 2-to-1 decision was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on November 13, and a month later, Montgomery officials were notified of the ruling by federal marshals. The next day, December 21, 1956, the boycott ended and blacks resumed riding the buses.

These changes to the bus desegregation laws that came in the mid-1950s did not occur in a social vacuum. The strategies used by King were influenced by those employed by Theodore J. Jemison in the successful bus boycott campaign he led in Baton Rouge just a few years earlier. The decisions rendered by the Montgomery federal court and the U.S. Supreme Court reflected the successful court battles waged by attorneys for the NAACP, battles led by its respected special counsel, **Thurgood Marshall**, the man who would become the first black member of the Supreme Court. Moreover, the court decisions may also have been influenced by the national attention given to the yearlong Montgomery bus boycott campaign and the effect its eloquent and brave leader had on the American people. *See also* Montgomery Bus Boycott.

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Monroe Friedman

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was a civil rights organization that operated during the 1960s. It was known for its radicalism and for rejecting the perceived conservatism of other organizations. SNCC's high point was its work in **Mississippi**, where it sought to establish long-term movements within black communities. SNCC later espoused Black Power, but disagreements over philosophy and direction ended SNCC's effectiveness as a civil rights organization by 1966.

SNCC emerged from the burgeoning student movement that had been engaged in **sit-ins** since the late 1950s. Many of those involved in its founding had been involved with the Nashville Student Movement. SNCC was created at a conference of young activists held at Shaw University, Raleigh, **North Carolina**. **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, who spoke at the conference, hoped that the activists would join the SCLC, but instead, urged by the SCLC's Ella

Baker, who would be an important early influence on SNCC, a separate organization was created, which would cooperate with all other civil rights organizations, but which would have formal affiliation with none (for a time, SNCC shared the SCLC's Atlanta office, but the separation between the two organizations was clear).

From its foundation, SNCC stood apart from other civil rights organizations. Many of those attending the conference at Shaw University were critical of the tactics that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and SCLC tended to deploy, and were keen to adopt a more radical approach that addressed a wider range of issues. In particular, SNCC rejected the model of charismatic leadership that other civil rights organizations followed, and emphasized the autonomy of local communities and movements, arguing that this was required to sustain local activism. At the Shaw University conference **James Lawson**, who had earlier been involved with the SCLC, set out much of what would become SNCC's early philosophical standpoint. Rooted in the tenets of Christianity and **Ghandian** nonviolence, Lawson made clear the moral and spiritual dimension that would underpin SNCC's direction. Along with Diane Nash, Marion Barry (SNCC's first chairman), and John Lewis, Lawson was part of the Nashville movement that would dominate SNCC's early period.

SNCC's participation in the Freedom Rides helped establish it as an important civil rights organization. The **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** had undertaken the Freedom Rides to test compliance with the desegregation of interstate travel facilities. Following attacks on freedom riders in Alabama in May 1961, SNCC, CORE, and the SCLC joined forces to continue the project. The Kennedy administration sought to defuse the situation and called for a cooling-off period, but the Freedom Rides continued, and hundreds of riders were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, over the next three months. Rather than accept bail, freedom riders chose to serve their sentence, the first true example of SNCC's "jail, not bail" philosophy.

The Freedom Rides positioned SNCC as a more radical organization than the likes of the SCLC and NAACP. Loudly critical of white America's hypocrisy in allowing **Jim Crow** to go unchallenged in the South while advocating freedom and liberty across the world, SNCC emerged as a credible challenger to the civil rights orthodoxy represented by King. SNCC's founding spiritual and philosophical roots were soon obscured by a viewpoint founded both on the experiences of the Freedom Rides and independence from other civil rights organizations. The Freedom Rides emphasized the value of using direct action to forcefully demand the end of segregation, and SNCC's refusal to compromise with perceived moderates became a central part of SNCC's philosophy. For many SNCC staffers, the Freedom Rides, and subsequent imprisonment, was a seasoning process that helped to demarcate the line between the conservative tactics of the established civil rights leadership and their own urgency and vigor.

Although SNCC's early orientation was toward direct action and confrontation, another early strand became arguably more important. In the summer of 1960, Bob Moses, who had originally travelled to Atlanta to work with the SCLC, travelled to Mississippi at the suggestion of Ella Baker. In

Mississippi, he met with Amzie Moore, an NAACP activist in the Delta town of Cleveland, who suggested to Moses that SNCC should send volunteers into the state to assist with voter registration. Moses took up this idea enthusiastically, and it would become a fundamental part of SNCC's ideology.

While Moses was enthused by the idea of working directly with black communities, others in SNCC reacted with greater scepticism. SNCC was marked by its tolerance of different intellectual and philosophical positions, but when voter registration was first mooted, activists who were intent on pursuing an active course of direct action were particularly scornful. This was partly a reaction to the Kennedy administration's efforts to deflect SNCC's radicalism onto activities considered to be less controversial. After the Freedom Rides, President Kennedy encouraged SNCC to focus its attention on voter registration in the South. Some SNCC activists argued, with justification, that Kennedy was merely trying to divert their activities from more high-profile, and arguably more effective, direct action in order to reduce the pressure on his administration to tackle the inevitable clashes and controversy that would attend direct action, as had been the case with the Freedom Rides.

While there was some truth in this charge, some SNCC staff agreed with Moses about the value of voter registration. The debate over whether to pursue direct action or voter registration marked the first real threat to SNCC's stability, as supporters of direct action threatened to leave the organization if voter registration were pursued. The intervention and continued influence of Ella Baker helped avoid a split, and SNCC essentially formed two wings at this point, one to engage in direct action, the other to work on voter registration. These two wings were held together by James Forman as executive secretary, but tensions over the direction and philosophical position of SNCC would continue to cause debate and instability.

Despite the discussions over whether SNCC should engage in voter registration, its work with black communities in Mississippi was arguably SNCC's most enduring contribution to the **Civil Rights Movement**. The establishment of a voter registration project in McComb, under the guidance of Bob Moses, in the summer of 1961 marked the start of a significant, long-term approach to challenging Jim Crow in Mississippi. In undertaking such a project, SNCC embarked on a path that no other civil rights organization had traveled. Direct action to that point had tended to be coordinated and led by the urban middle class, and often relied on short-term confrontation. In undertaking voter registration activity, SNCC engaged directly with the most disenfranchised communities in Mississippi. Recognizing the political impotence of such communities, and the reasons for that impotence, SNCC endeavoured to work with communities to help develop the tools required to register to vote, to make effective use of the vote, and to bring about long-term change.

SNCC's activity in McComb set the template for future voter registration activity in Mississippi. While attempting to engage with all sectors of the black community, SNCC was particularly keen to establish itself among young people who could both participate with SNCC and lead future activism. SNCC's efforts led to an almost immediate rise in the number of blacks trying to register to vote, but also to increased intimidation and violence, including the murder of Herbert Lee, a black farmer. This violence ended SNCC's McComb

activities, but the lessons learned would be put to use during the summer project of 1964. Part of SNCC's direct action wing was also active in McComb, and several protestors were jailed for their part in sit-ins. The McComb sit-ins, especially the involvement and jailing of local black youths, eroded the trust of the black community, and direct action of this sort never became a central part of SNCC's later activity in Mississippi.

SNCC's activities and its refusal to follow the lead of other civil rights organizations helped it gain an increasingly extreme reputation. This reputation was underlined by SNCC's participation in the **March on Washington** in August 1963. The March attracted the most prominent civil rights leaders and was seen widely as an opportunity to support Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation and bring the civil rights cause to national attention. SNCC participated, and had been part of the delegation that President Kennedy had attempted to persuade to abandon the march, but many of its staff were unenthused and declined to take part. SNCC chairman John Lewis intended to use his speech to criticize fiercely the **federal government** for failing to protect blacks from **police brutality**. Before the march, a cadre of civil rights leaders met with Lewis to convince him to tone down the speech, but he insisted on castigating the government for its part in perpetuating the injustices of Mississippi. Most evocatively, Lewis called for a revolution to sweep the nation and to bring freedom to blacks. Lewis's speech crystallised SNCC's radical reputation, and marked the distance between SNCC and other civil rights organizations.

SNCC stepped up its voter registration activity in Mississippi, and ahead of the general election of November 1963, it organized a Freedom Vote, which would allow black Mississippians to register and vote in a symbolic election that followed exactly the state procedure. More than 80,000 blacks participated, and SNCC argued that this illustrated the frustrated demand for black electoral participation in Mississippi. Much of the registration work of the Freedom Vote was conducted by white volunteers from Northern universities. This tactic had a dual purpose of focusing attention on Mississippi and reducing incidents of violence against civil rights workers.

The success of the Freedom Vote persuaded SNCC to embark on a larger, Mississippi-wide project, the Mississippi Summer Project (also known as Freedom Summer) during 1964. Although Freedom Summer operated officially under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella group of civil rights organizations that included CORE and the NAACP, as well as various Mississippi groups, SNCC was at the forefront of the project and was responsible for much of its strategic and philosophical direction as well as for providing the majority of volunteers. As with the Freedom Vote, SNCC again decided to use white students as volunteers, although this was the subject of considerable discussion within SNCC. While some thought that such volunteers would help gain publicity for Freedom Summer, others believed that the presence of whites undermined black self-reliance and placed too much emphasis on white leadership.

These discussions reflected wider concerns within SNCC about the role of whites in the Civil Rights Movement. As the number of whites working with SNCC grew (in 1964, around 20 percent of SNCC's staff was white), some

black activists feared that they would begin to dominate, even if unconsciously, and reduce the role of blacks within SNCC, as well as alienating the black Mississippians who were to be the focus of Freedom Summer. As a compromise, the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed and was initially considered a white counterpart to SNCC. SSOC's relationship with SNCC was never clear, and it gradually became more closely aligned to Students for a Democratic Society. Despite the formation of SSOC, many Freedom Summer volunteers were white (indeed, SNCC's efforts to recruit black volunteers had been relatively unsuccessful, and whites accounted for the majority of volunteers). Some within SNCC were troubled by the suggestion that white volunteers should be prevented from assisting in challenging Jim Crow. The place of whites within the organization was a philosophical disagreement that would continue to trouble SNCC.

During orientation sessions, the gap between the experience and philosophical outlook of SNCC staff and summer project volunteers was clear to see. On several occasions, SNCC veterans clashed with volunteers. Experienced SNCC staff had well-formed intellectual positions about the purpose and aims of Freedom Summer, and many of them had firsthand experience of the extent to which Jim Crow was entrenched in Mississippi; few volunteers shared these experiences or such highly developed philosophical ideologies. Moreover, the volunteers were nervous, and SNCC staff was anxious about sending them into Mississippi. This resulted in several, often robust, debates about the meaning of Freedom Summer. Throughout the course of the summer project, differences in tactics and purpose would be a continued source of tension between SNCC staff and volunteers.

The main purpose of Freedom Summer was voter registration, but the project used a range of techniques and strategies to engage black Mississippians and help them to develop the skills and confidence to challenge Jim Crow. SNCC viewed Freedom Summer as an opportunity for the mass mobilization of black communities throughout Mississippi. Increasingly critical of the approach of organizations like the SCLC and the NAACP, SNCC hoped to use Freedom Summer to help develop local leadership within black communities. Rejecting the concept of imposed leadership from above, SNCC's intention was for black communities to set their own agendas that could bloom into self-reliant, long-term initiatives.

A guiding principle for the summer project, one that Bob Moses had particularly influenced, was that black communities should make decisions for themselves. In order to help them develop the skills and knowledge to do so, freedom schools were an important part of Freedom Summer. Freedom schools were an attempt to counter the traditionally poor education offered to black children in Mississippi, but they also served to develop leadership within black communities. Eschewing traditional pedagogical approaches, freedom schools emphasized the experience and knowledge of the students and encouraged debate and challenge, placing the onus on students rather than teachers to set and define learning aims. As well as providing standard school subjects, freedom schools also held lessons on African American history and the philosophies and purposes of the Civil Rights Movement. Students were

encouraged to explore and discuss notions of democracy and to question the validity of Jim Crow.

Freedom schools were a central function of SNCC's summer project strategy. Claiming that Mississippi institutions were fundamentally closed to black people, SNCC argued that it was necessary not to open them, but to create new institutions; education was such an institution. SNCC expected to reach around 1,000 11th- and 12th-grade children during Freedom Summer, but in fact, around 2,500 people of all ages attended. In encouraging students to express themselves and to understand and challenge the ideology of white supremacy, freedom schools did much to challenge the tenets of Jim Crow, as well as developing local leadership.

Freedom Summer also saw the creation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), established to challenge the seating of the Mississippi delegation at the Democratic national convention in August 1964. The MFDP would serve to illustrate the extent to which black people were excluded from Mississippi politics, and MFDP delegates were selected using the same method used by the state **Democratic Party**. SNCC hoped that grass roots activists would dominate, but other interests within COFO ensured that around half of the delegates represented the black middle class. Although several northern Democratic Party delegates had pledged their support for the MFDP, it failed to receive the votes required to be seated.

The MFDP was offered a compromise that would see some of the delegates seated as nonvoting special guests, but SNCC argued that any such compromises must be rejected. Against the advice of more moderate supporters such as Martin Luther King and **Bayard Rustin**, as well as some MFDP delegates who were aligned more closely with the NAACP, the MFDP delegation chose to reject the compromise. Led by SNCC activists, delegates engaged in direct action protests, including a sit-in on the conference floor. These protests led to the offer of a second compromise, which was again rejected by MFDP delegates. The MFDP brought together local activists from across Mississippi, notably **Fannie Lou Hamer**, and would continue to be a hub for activism for several years.

Following Freedom Summer, SNCC underwent a period of self-analysis as it sought to decide its future direction and purpose. Since 1960, SNCC had become increasingly separate from other civil rights organizations, as well as from earlier liberal supporters. SNCC's increasing radicalism and its criticism of organizations like the NAACP and SCLC, as well its failure to distance itself from accusations that it had links with Communism, distanced it from the civil rights mainstream. In the analysis of Freedom Summer, while SNCC had achieved some success, the failure of many projects was clear. As the summer project came to an end, many projects were abandoned or left understaffed as volunteers returned home. The links that Freedom Summer had helped create between SNCC and black communities were strained, and organizations that SNCC had helped to create, such as the MFDP, became increasingly autonomous; rather than address this, SNCC turned inwards, as it tried to decide on its future. This marked the decline of SNCC's influence as a civil rights organization.

The tensions that had long existed within SNCC were brought into sharp focus after Freedom Summer. Many felt that the failure of so many Freedom Summer projects confirmed a need for greater control and bureaucracy, while others continued to resist this argument. SNCC's efforts in Mississippi had negative effects on its activities in **Alabama, Georgia, and Arkansas**, which had been denied resources and attention because of Freedom Summer. Disagreements about the role of whites continued, and SNCC increasingly developed projects that were staffed only by black activists, before eventually expelling whites from the organization in 1966.

After the disappointment of the Democratic National Convention in 1964, SNCC had become increasingly disillusioned with mainstream politics, but after Freedom Summer, the organization struggled to find a defining purpose, and it became less effective and less influential. While it achieved some success in Georgia, where Julian Bond was elected to the state House of Representatives (although the House refused to seat him because of his public criticism of the Vietnam War, a decision that the Supreme Court overturned in 1966), and in Alabama, where Stokely Carmichael helped to found the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, SNCC lacked direction, and continued to drift further from the civil rights mainstream.

In 1966, Carmichael replaced John Lewis as chairman, dismissing the more moderate tactics of other civil rights organizations and espousing the doctrine of Black Power. In urging African Americans to unite and define their own goals, Black Power had links to SNCC's tactics during Freedom Summer, and Carmichael argued that SNCC had never fought to integrate, but to challenge white supremacy. By this point, however, SNCC had little support from other civil rights organizations and the Black Power position essentially ended SNCC's involvement in the civil rights movement. In 1967 H. Rap Brown replaced Carmichael as chairman, but, troubled by lack of funds and a declining membership, SNCC had essentially ceased to function by this point.

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Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr

Sundown Towns

A sundown town is any organized jurisdiction that for decades kept African Americans or other groups from living in it and was thus “all-white” on purpose. They are so named because some marked their city limits with signs typically reading, “Nigger, Don’t Let The Sun Go Down On You In ____.”

These towns were not, in fact, all white. “Sundown suburbs” excepted and, to a degree, accepted black live-in servants in white households. Moreover, some communities that took pains to define themselves as sundown towns nevertheless allowed one or even two exceptional black households within their otherwise all-white populations. When Pana, for example, in central Illinois, drove out its African Americans in 1899, killing five in the process, residents did not expel the black barber and his family. With an exclusively white clientele, hence friends in the white community, no one complained about him. Pana did post sundown signs at its corporate limits, signs that remained up at least until 1960, and permitted no other African Americans to move in, so it became a sundown town. Other sundown towns have let in more temporary intruders: flood refugees, soldiers during wartime, college students, and visiting interracial athletic teams and their fans. Most sundown towns and suburbs outside the West—and some in that region—allowed **Asian Americans** and Mexican Americans as residents. Thus, “all-white” towns may include nonblack minorities and even a tiny number of African Americans.

Sundown towns range from hamlets like Deland, Illinois, population 500, to large cities like Appleton, Wisconsin, with 57,000 residents in 1970. Sundown suburbs could be even larger, such as Glendale, a suburb of Los Angeles, with more than 60,000; Levittown, on Long Island, more than 80,000; and Warren, a Detroit suburb with 180,000. Entire counties went sundown, usually when their county seats did.

These towns and practices date back to the **Great Retreat** that whites forced African Americans to make between 1890 and 1940. This period is becoming known as the “nadir of race relations,” when **lynchings** peaked, white owners expelled black baseball players from the major (and minor) leagues, and unions drove African Americans from such occupations as railroad fireman



Members of the Ku Klux Klan parade through Virginia counties bordering on Washington, DC. The Klan and other paramilitary terrorist groups played a significant role in driving African Americans and other people of color out of town by nightfall. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-96308.

and meat cutter. In those years, thousands of towns across the United States expelled their black populations or took steps to forbid African Americans from living in them. Independent sundown towns were soon joined by “sundown suburbs,” mostly between 1900 and 1968. Many suburbs kept out not only African Americans but also Jews.

Towns that had no African American residents passed ordinances, or thought they did, forbidding blacks from remaining after dark. In California, for example, the **Civilian Conservation Corps** in the 1930s tried to locate a company of African American workers in a large park that bordered Burbank and Glendale. Both cities refused, each citing an old ordinance that prohibited African Americans within their city limits after sundown. Some towns believed their ordinances remained in effect long after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. The city council of New Market, Iowa, for example, suspended its sundown ordinance for one night in the mid-1980s to allow an interracial band to play at a town festival, but it went back into effect the next day. Other towns never claimed to have passed an ordinance but nevertheless kept out African Americans by city action, such as cutting off water and sewage or having police call hourly all night with reports of threats.

Sundown towns have also maintained themselves all-white by a variety of less formal measures, public and private. As far back as the 1920s, police officers routinely followed, stopped, and harassed black motorists in sundown towns. Suburbs used zoning and eminent domain to keep out black would-be residents and to take their property if they did manage to acquire it. Some towns required all residential areas to be covered by restrictive covenants—clauses in deeds that stated, like this example from Brea, California, “[N]o part of said premises shall ever be sold, conveyed, transferred, leased or rented to any person of African, Chinese or Japanese descent.” After a U.S. Supreme Court 1948 decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* rendered such covenants hard to enforce, some suburbs relied on neighborhood associations among homeowners, allowing them to decide arbitrarily what constituted an acceptable buyer. Always, lurking under the surface, was the threat of violence, such as assaulting African American children as they tried to go to school, or milder white misbehavior, such as refusing to sell groceries or gasoline to black newcomers.

The **Civil Rights Movement** left sundown towns largely untouched. Indeed, some locales in the border states forced out their black populations in response to *Brown v. Board of Education*. Sheridan, Arkansas, for example, compelled its African Americans to move to neighboring Malvern in 1954, after the school board’s initial decision to comply with *Brown* prompted a firestorm of protest. Having no black populations, these towns and counties then had no African Americans to test their public accommodations. For 15 years after the 1964 Civil Rights Act, motels and restaurants in some sundown towns continued to exclude African Americans, thus having an adverse impact on black travelers who had to avoid them or endure humiliating and even dangerous conditions.

At their peak, just before 1970, the United States had perhaps 10,000 sundown towns. Illinois alone probably had at least 500, a clear majority of all incorporated places. In several other northern states—Oregon

and Indiana, for example—more than half of all incorporated communities probably excluded African Americans. Whole subregions—the Ozarks, the Cumberland, a band of counties on both sides of the Iowa-Missouri border, most of the suburbs of Los Angeles—went sundown—not every town, but enough to warrant the generalization. However, except for some suburbs that became all white mostly after 1930, sundown towns were rare in the traditional South. There, whites were appalled by the practice, not wanting their maids to leave.

The practice of exclusion was usually quite open. Hundreds of towns posted signs. The Academy Award-winning movie of 1947, *Gentleman's Agreement*, was about the method by which Darien, Connecticut, one of the most prestigious suburbs of New York City, kept out Jews, and that publicity hardly ended the practice. In the 1960s, some residents of Edina, Minnesota, the most prestigious suburb of Minneapolis, boasted that their community had, as they put it, “Not one Negro and not one Jew.” Residents of Anna, Illinois, still apply the acronym “Ain’t No Niggers Allowed” to their town.

Even though proud to be all white, elite sundown suburbs have usually tried to avoid being known for it. This is the “paradox of exclusivity.” Residents of towns such as Darien, Connecticut, for instance, want Darien to be known as an “exclusive” community of the social, moneyed elite rather than as an “excluding” community, especially on racial or religious grounds. So long as elite sundown suburbs like Darien, Kenilworth (near Chicago), Edina, or La Jolla (a community within San Diego) appear to be “accidentally” all white, they avoid this difficulty.

Until 1968, new all-white suburbs were forming much more rapidly than old sundown towns and suburbs were caving in. That year, Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, along with the *Jones v. Mayer* Supreme Court decision barring discrimination in the rental and sale of property, caused the **federal government** to change sides and oppose sundown towns. Since then, citywide residential prohibitions against Jews, Asian American, **Native Americans**, and **Hispanics/Latinos** have disappeared. Even vis-a-vis African Americans, many towns and suburbs—certainly more than half—relaxed their exclusionary policies in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. Hotels and restaurants, even in towns that continue to exclude black residents, are generally open. However, many towns still make it uncomfortable or unwise for African Americans to live in them. *See also* Housing Covenants; Segregation, Residential; Segregation, Rural.

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James W. Loewen

T

Talmadge, Eugene (1884–1946)

Eugene Talmadge was a dominant figure in Georgia government for 20 years (1926–1946), and for a decade after his death, the Talmadge faction that organized around him ran Georgia. Talmadge was one of the state's and the nation's most ardent supporters of **Jim Crow**. Two essential elements of the Talmadge political agenda was to keep African Americans out of the political system and to keep the poor whites and poor African Americans so desperate that they would work for starvation wages. V. O. Key (109) called Talmadge "Georgia's demagogue."

Talmadge ran for statewide office in every **Democratic Party** primary from 1926 to 1946 except one. He won seven elections and lost three. He was elected commissioner of agriculture for three two-year terms, served as governor for three two-year terms, lost two races for the U.S. Senate and one for governor. He won the election for governor in 1948 but died before he was inaugurated. He lost elections for the U.S. Senate in 1936 and 1938 and governor in 1942.

The state Democratic Party was so dominant that nomination in its primary was in effect election in the general election. Eugene Talmadge's influence was so strong that Talmadge and anti-Talmadge factions wrestled for state elected offices.

Georgia's "county unit system," conceived in 1876 and enacted as the Neill Primary Act of 1917, allocated electoral power on the basis of county population. This winner-take-all election system gave the smallest 121 counties two votes each, the next 30 largest counties four votes, and the eight largest counties six votes. Three of the smallest counties could nullify the vote of one of the largest counties. The county unit system helped Talmadge. In his last campaign for governor, for example, he came in second in the popular vote with 44 percent, but won because the county unit system awarded him 59 percent of the county units.

The Georgia Democratic Party platform was nostalgia for the Lost Cause, brutal racism, and pretense that it represented the poor whites. In fact, Talmadge was supported by big business, especially the railroads, the oil companies, the powerful law firms, the Georgia Power Company, and Coca-Cola

Company for his ability to keep government small, oppose taxes, and leave business alone.

Talmadge often bragged that the African American boys called him “mean Lugene.” Talmadge said that he liked the “nigger” well enough in his place, and his place was at the back door, with his hat in his hand and saying, “Yes, Sir.” Talmadge confessed to having flogged at least one African American. On his death bed, he told his Baptist preacher that the black race was created inferior by God. He said the white race was on top, the yellow race next, then the brown and red races, and at the very bottom, the blacks who were created to be servants to all other races.

Talmadge acted aggressively to enforce Jim Crow. His response to two federal court orders decided in 1946 illustrates his attitudes. In *Morgan v. Virginia*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation on busses engaged in interstate commerce was unconstitutional. Talmadge pledged that there would be no more interstate bus travel in Georgia, only intrastate. Passengers would have to get off the bus before entering Georgia and buy a ticket good only for transit through Georgia. When they had crossed Georgia, they would get off and buy a ticket to the other state.

On March 8, 1946, the federal district court ruled in *Albright v. Texas* that political parties could no longer exclude African American voters. Admitting African Americans, about a third of the state’s population would begin the end of total control of state government by Talmadge and other white supremacists. Talmadge announced plans to call a special session of the state legislature to overturn all the state’s election laws. His plan was thwarted in part because eliminating all election laws would also eliminate the county unit system. Instead, he ran for governor on a platform of white supremacy.

Talmadge’s 1946 inflammatory campaign speeches were credited with inspiring two notorious racial incidents. On May 9, the **Ku Klux Klan** held a giant cross-burning and membership recruiting rally at Stone Mountain. The national press reported that his inflammatory campaign tirades against African American inspired white men to brutally murder four African Americans, two men and two women, in Monroe County. Talmadge received substantial support from the Klan. The hooded KKK held rallies at many rural county courthouses to intimidate any African Americans who tried to vote. Talmadge also received support from Nazi sympathizers such as the Brown Shirts. He said he believed a Julius Caesar was born in every century, and that he was the nineteenth century’s Caesar. Talmadge opposed most of the **New Deal** relief programs. He opposed slum clearance, child labor laws, old age pensions, the **Civilian Conservation Corps**, the **Works Progress Administration**, and essentially all other New Deal initiatives. He said that the way to handle a relief program was like Mussolini—to line up poor people and use the troops and make them work. He opposed many New Deal programs also because they paid white and African Americans the same wages, a move that Talmadge feared would undermine Jim Crow.

Although he had promised union organizers that he would never use troops to break up a strike, in September 1934, he sent 4,000 armed Georgia **National Guard** soldiers to arrest thousands of striking workers and put them

in temporary enclosure made with barbed wire. The militia broke the strike and brutally beat a man to death as his family watched.

Talmadge's world view was rooted in Georgia before the Civil War. Talmadge's New Jersey-born great grandfather, Tom, first arrived in Georgia while serving under General Andrew Jackson in the campaign to chase **Native Americans** deep into Florida. Tom returned to make his fortune growing cotton on wilderness land in Monroe County, Georgia, near Forsyth.

Tom Talmadge prospered in a time when most Georgians experienced extreme economic deprivation. So did his only son, Aaron, born in 1858, and his grandson, Thomas Remalgus (T. R.) Talmadge. T. R. was educated in the best available schools and the University of Georgia. T. R.'s son, graduated from the University of Georgia in 1904 with a Phi Beta Kappa, and from the law school in 1907. Eugene Talmadge's early heroes were Napoleon and the Populist Party politician Tom Watson. He bragged that he had read Adolf Hitler's manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, seven times, and was reading it again when he died.

Talmadge was a dictatorial public official. He did not recognize any court's authority to control his behavior, even when it held him in contempt. He used the Georgia National Guard to take over government offices. He declared martial law, fired state employees at will, sent safecrackers to blast open safes containing the state's money, and spent money that had not been appropriated by the legislature. Talmadge fired the dean of education at the University of Georgia who was rumored to be promoting racial integration in teacher training. His political interference cost all the state's white colleges their accreditation by the Southern Accrediting Commission on Institutions of Higher Learning.

Eugene Talmadge had two personas. He tried to be a simple hick farmer; his family had great wealth from farming and business. Both personas were resolute in his defense of Jim Crow. *See also* National Socialism; White Primary.

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Joan C. Browning

Television

Television was formally introduced to the American public at the New York World's Fair on Sunday, April 30, 1939. The concept and experimental television began in the late 1800s and the early 1920s. Beyond the experimental laboratories of Radio Corporation of America (RCA), Vladimir Zworykin,

Allen B. DuMont and Philo T. Farnsworth, came the media networks, principally the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Red and Blue networks, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the DuMont Television Network. NBC, CBS, and DuMont were joined by the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) to round-out the early television networks. The major networks, established during the “golden era” of radio, also became the early commercial television broadcasters. Regardless of the progressive technological innovation, the technology exceeded the social development of the country as the content of television programming simply emulated the content of previous entertainment forms and information media when it came to the representation of black Americans, often as caricature stereotypes.

Before television, there was radio, film, theater, and printed literature, including novels, pamphlets, paperbacks, newspapers, broadsides and leaflets. These media collectively recorded events of American society; some content reflected the social conditions of the day inclusive of the racial climate in America. Once television became a viable form of communication, its early programming also mirrored the content of its media predecessors.

Early television programming was also a combination of news, soap operas, sporting events, serial dramas, variety acts, game shows, and comedies. The content of these programs invariably drew upon historical stereotypes and contemporary ideologies about race, more specifically about the black race. Some examples of these programs included *The Beulah Show* (*The New Beulah Show*) and *Amos ‘n’ Andy*. Both programs garnered tremendous popularity on radio and then television; at one point, the program attracted 40 million listeners. However, their popularity was met with criticism from organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) because of the negative stereotypes like mammies, coons, angry black bucks, tragic mulattoes, and “Uncle Toms.”

Beulah was a domestic servant/housekeeper, stout with a dark complexion, jovial, boisterous, calculating, and a mother earth who was steadfastly loyal to her white employers, the Henderson family. Beulah was a comic strip as well as a radio and television program. In the comic strip, Beulah was typically drawn as a mammy-life figure. Her rotund physique was inked in black with two, wide, white orbs for eyes and thick, white lips. She was attired in headbandana and servants uniform with apron. She often kept her employers in check by offering witty retorts. Beulah was an early radio spinoff program, since the character was first heard on a radio program titled *Hometown Incorporated*. Marlin Hurt, a white male, initially played the roll of Beulah and used a stereotyped thick, mimicked Southern, black dialect for the character’s voice.

The Beulah character was featured on several radio programs, including *That’s Life*, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, and *The Marlin Hurt and The Beulah Show*. After Hurt’s death in 1946, Hattie McDaniel played the Beulah character on radio until 1953. McDaniel was the first African American to receive an Academy Award in 1939 for Best Supporting Actress for her performance, as Mammy, in the movie *Gone with the Wind*.

The television version of *The Beulah Show* was a 30-minute situation comedy that aired weeknights on the ABC network beginning in 1950. *Beulah* was

one of the first weekly television programs to feature an African American in a leading role. Two actors, Ethel Waters, from 1950 to 1952, and Louise Beavers, 1952 to 1953, also played Beulah on television. The show also featured black actors Dooley Wilson, Ernest Whitman, Butterfly McQueen, and Ruby Dandridge during its run from 1950 to 1953.

Another radio and television program that was immensely popular, but was based on stereotypes of African Americans was *Amos 'n' Andy*. Former minstrel performers Freeman Gosden and Charles J. Correll, two white male actors skilled in mimicking their interpretation of Southern "black" dialect complete with mispronounced words, developed *Amos 'n' Andy* based on characters they performed in a minstrel stage act. Previously, Gosden and Correll had created the characters of Sam and Henry, two hapless Southern blacks who migrate north to Chicago. The program aired on WGN, the *Chicago Tribune* radio station in 1927. The two left WGN and joined the *Chicago Daily News* station WMAQ, where they resumed their broadcast careers with the creation of *Amos 'n' Andy* in 1928 which became one of the most popular radio programs of the time. That popularity transferred to the CBS television program under the same title, but with minor storyline changes from 1951 to 1953. However, the idea of two white actors in blackface did not translate well for commercial television and a search began for black actors to play the parts. Such was the popularity of this program that two American presidents, Presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower made recommendations on where and how the producers might find suitable black actors for the roles. Eventually, two black actors were selected to play the lead characters, Tim Moore as George "Kingfish" Stevens and Spencer Williams as Andy, Andrew Hogg Brown. Alvin Childress played the other title character, Amos Jones, a philosophical, Aesop-like taxi driver who often added a moralistic value-lesson to the program when the Kingfish's schemes went awry. The characters on *Amos 'n' Andy* resided in a segregated black world, in Harlem, where its characters rarely made contact with the white community.

The black stereotypes portrayed in *Beulah* and *Amos 'n' Andy* reflected the social and historic cultural perceptions about blacks as interpreted by white-dominated American electronic media. The developers of *Amos 'n' Andy* were also opportunistic in their subject matter, first by capitalizing on media audience perceptions about blacks as a race, then perpetuating these perceptions by using minstrel show and racist stereotypes. These characters were plucked from a significant social event of the time, the **Great Migration** of Southern blacks who moved north to seek better employment opportunities and relief from segregation and discrimination in the South only to encounter a new form of racism in the North.

The NAACP complained in a 1951 lawsuit filed against CBS that *Amos 'n' Andy* portrayed blacks in the most derogatory manner and only served to affirm society's prejudices against African Americans. Rising protests about the perceived negative depiction of African Americans led to its eventual network cancellation of the program. However, *Amos 'n' Andy* continues to live on in cyberspace on Web sites and catalogs where the programs may be heard and/or purchased.

Several other television situation comedies featured blacks in supporting or recurring roles. *The Jack Benny Show* included Eddie “Rochester” Anderson as Benny’s personal valet; Willie Best (Stepin Fetchit, Sleep and Eat) was Charlie, an elevator operator, on *My Little Margie*, and Best also appeared on *Trouble with Father* (1950–1955) as Willie, the handyman. Lillian Randolph played Louise the family housekeeper on *Make Room for Daddy* (1953–1957) and *The Danny Thomas Show* (1957–1964). Randolph also served as housekeeper Birdie Lee Scoggins, on the *Great Gildersleeve* in the 1940s and 1950s. The dawn of television, despite all its technological innovations and business opportunity, missed the opportunity to rectify past media mistakes; instead, it simply fostered mass audience prejudices in the new media environment of television.

Variety Shows

Other television program offerings like variety shows presented opportunities for black entertainers who were already familiar to the public for their stage show performances as singers, dancers and musicians. Bill “Bojangles” Robinson frequently appeared on variety shows like the *Texaco Star Theater* (1948–1956) hosted by Milton Berle on CBS. Popular crooners Billy Daniels and Nat “King” Cole were logical choices as black hosts for variety shows. In a history-making event, they were offered variety shows of their own. A third program, *Sugar Hill Times*, also had a short television run. Other variety shows were hosted by African Americans Bob Howard (CBS, 1948–1950) and pianist Hazel Scott.

Major network variety and talent shows like *Talk of the Town*, *The Ed Sullivan Show*, *Tonight*, *The Steve Allen Show*, *Texaco Star Theater*, *Ted Mack Original Amateur Hour*, *The Mitch Miller Show/Sing along with Mitch*, *The Lawrence Welk Show*, and others, made it possible for black talent to enter American homes in a most unobtrusive way—on the small screen.

Prime-Time TV

The 1960s was also an era of war, espionage, and civil unrest, and weekly television reflected the period by creating programs that symbolically paralleled the time. Prime-time television also began to feature racially mixed casts in which blacks did not play a subservient role or as background humor. Black actors began appearing as social equals and professionals in the 1960s. Several actors had recurring prime-time television roles in racially mixed casts on programs including *Hogan’s Heroes* (CBS), set against the backdrop of World War II, and featured a cast of international prisoners of war held at Stalag 13, a German prison camp; *I Spy* (NBC), a weekly show in which American secret agents Robert Culp and Bill Cosby, foiled sinister plots against the government; *Mission Impossible* (CBS), another group of elite, clandestine, counterespionage agents; *Ironsides* (NBC), a detective program; and *Star Trek* (NBC), which not only included a multiethnic cast, but an intergalactic cast as well.

Network television ushered in a modern era of black lead characters with the debut of *Julia* in 1968. Diahann Carroll starred in the lead role as Julia, a

Selected Weekly Programs from the 1940s to the 1960s That Featured an African American Lead Actor or Actor(s) in a Recurring Role

Amos 'n' Andy (CBS, 1951–1953): Spenser Williams as Andrew Hogg Brown, Tim Moore as George "Kingfish" Stevens, and Alvin Childress as Amos Jones.

Edge of Night (1967): Al Freeman, Jr., as assistant district attorney Ben Lee. (He also appeared on *One Life to Live* beginning in 1972 as police captain Ed Hall. Hall became the romantic interest and husband of Carla [Clara] Grey/Carla Bonari)

Julia (NBC, 1968–1971): Diahann Carroll as Julia, a nurse and widowed single mother.

Room 222 (ABC, 1969–1974): Denise Nichols as guidance counselor, Liz McIntyre; Lloyd Haynes as history teacher Pete Dixon.

Hogan's Heroes (CBS, 1965–1971): Ivan Dixon as Staff Sgt. James "Kinch" Kinchloe.

Ironside (NBC, 1967–1975): Don Mitchell played Mark Singer, Ironside's personal aide and occasional bodyguard.

I Spy (NBC, 1965–1968): Bill Cosby as secret agent Alexander Scott and co-starred show director, Robert Culp as Kelly Robinson his partner agent.

Mannix (CBS, 1967–1975): Gail Fisher as Peggy Fisher, a police officer's widow.

Mission Impossible (CBS, 1966–1973): Greg Morris as Barney Collier.

Mod Squad (ABC, 1968–1973): Clarence Williams III as Linc Hayes, an undercover crime fighter.

One Life to Live (ABC, 1968–present): Ellen Holly as Carla (Clara) Grey and Carla Bonari, who began as a secretary.

Star Trek (NBC, 1966–1969): Nichelle Nichols as communication officer Lieutenant Uhura.

The Beulah Show (ABC, 1950–1952): Ethel Waters played Beulah from 1950 to 1951, and Louise Beavers played the role from 1952 to 1953. Butterfly McQueen and Ruby Dandridge were Oriole, the maid next door, in the 1950 to 1952 season and 1952 to 1953 seasons, respectively.

The Bill Cosby Show (NBC, 1969–1971): Bill Cosby as Chet Kincaid, a physical education teacher, and Hilly Hicks as Eddie Tucker.

The Leslie Uggams Show (CBS, 1969): Leslie Uggams, host.

Twilight Zone (1960): "The Big Tall Wish" included Ivan Dixon and Bolie Jackson.

nurse and widowed, single mother. Marc Copage played Julia's young son, Corey. Julia and Corey lived in a modern, racially integrated apartment complex. She was everything her black female television predecessors were not. Julia was articulate, sophisticated, svelte, attractive, fashionable, and a professional. Other than *Amos 'n' Andy*, television audiences rarely saw a black professional on prime-time television. Julia occasionally had male suitors, alternately played by Fred Williamson and Paul Winfield. Programs like those described here belie what is not here, major employment opportunity for black actors, performers, and media professionals. Many television casts then as today rarely had a single black performer in the cast or as television extras in the background.

Network Evening News

America's nightly news was delivered by the voice of credible authority and usually that voice was a white, male voice. Prime-time network television news remained segregated longer than the nightly sitcoms and dramas. The road toward black news anchors began with black network reporters.

Newspaper journalist Mal Goode of the *Pittsburgh Courier* became the first black network television news reporter when he joined ABC News in 1962.

Network News and the Civil Rights Movement

Despite the dearth of black news personnel on network television, the networks could not ignore the rising national tension associated with the modern **Civil Rights Movement** and the fight against racial segregation. **Rosa Parks's** arrest in 1955 for refusing to enter a bus from the rear launched the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott and unraveled the “**separate but equal**” doctrine, it led to a **U.S. Supreme Court** decision that segregation on public buses was unconstitutional. Civil rights marches, **sit-ins** and restaurant counter demonstrations, attacks and murders of Freedom Riders, school desegregation, the **March on Washington of 1963**, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing in 1963, Bloody Sunday in Selma, Alabama, in 1965, the assassinations of **Medgar Evers in Mississippi** in 1962, and **Martin Luther King, Jr.** in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968, were monumental events that could not be dismissed by the news media. News coverage of the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement and activist groups ushered in a new era for American blacks.

In 1957, journalist Edward R. Murrow devoted an episode of his program, *See It Now* (CBS), to school desegregation. The episode titled, “Clinton and the Law: A Study in Desegregation,” illuminated violence in school desegregation. Another episode, in 1959, titled, “The Lost Class of '59,” addressed school closings to avoid desegregation in Norfolk, Virginia. J. Fred MacDonald considers ABC's five-part series, *Crucial Summer* (1963), and NBC's *The American Revolution of '63* as two major network contributions to bringing national attention to the civil rights struggle.

Children's Television

Children's programs like the *Mickey Mouse Club*, *Howdy Doody*, *Captain Kangaroo*, and *Romper Room* never featured African Americans in the early days of commercial television. *Sesame Street*, a project of the Children's Television Workshop (Sesame Workshop) first aired on the Public Broadcasting Corporation (PBS) network in America in 1969; it became the first multiracial children's educational television program.

Soap Operas

Named “soap operas” because their advertising sponsors were often soap manufacturers, soap operas became a popular hit in early commercial radio. Like other media entertainment, soap operas migrated to the new television medium as well. African Americans began to appear on television soap operas in the 1950s. While some roles continued to employ black actors as servants, daytime television began a shift from portraying blacks in menial, background roles by introducing blacks in other occupations. *Edge of Night* (CBS, 1956–1975; ABC, 1975–1984) introduced Al Freeman, Jr., as assistant district attorney Ben Lee. While *One Life to Live* (ABC) preserved the role of black family servant played by Lillian Hayman as Sadie Gray. The program also introduced the character Clara “Carla” Grey, performed by Ellen Holly, a “tragic

mulatto” and erstwhile daughter of Sadie. Grey passed for white as Carla Bonari by day, and lived as black (Clara Grey) by night. Carla was an actor, then a secretary, and at one point in the serial, developed a white male love interest who was not initially aware that Carla was black. The plotline advanced to the pending marriage between Carla and Dr. James Craig (Robert Milli), but the wedding was called off and the storyline advanced to black male love interests, including actors Peter DeAnda and Al Freeman, Jr. Carla eventually married and divorced detective Ed Hall (Freeman). Before she left the show, Holly had additional romantic liaisons. Her character as a tragic mulatto was ideally suited to the melodramatic television soap genre. Despite the introduction of these characters, soap operas were slow to develop characters and story lines around black characters. The network received frequent complaints about Holly’s interracial relationships.

Audiences and Advertising

The longevity of commercial television programs is often tied to audience viewership and advertising. A household sampling process called ratings determines television viewership. Ratings are designed to measure the number of households tuning in to a program, but ratings are not the only determinants that affect the life of a program. Program scheduling, the time slot in which a program airs, can also affect its ability to attract an audience, and program distribution is another factor. In which communities will the program air? Advertising also affects the success of a television program since advertising dollars help defray the expense of producing a television program and generates profits for the networks. African American television programs were impacted by all these factors. *The Nat King Cole Show*, *The Leslie Uggams Show*, and *The Billy Daniels Show* all suffered from budget, ratings, and external pressure leading to their demise. Even programs with strong followings like the *Ed Sullivan Show* were occasionally criticized for featuring black talent. J. Fred MacDonald writes that Southern NBC affiliate television stations refused to air the cultural and well-sponsored *NBC Opera Theater* in 1955 and 1957 because famed opera singer Leontyne Price performed lead roles during the broadcast. Politicians and viewing audiences also pressured networks to limit programming in which black interacted with whites as their social equals.

Television Ownership

The road to black television ownership was also difficult, and in the twenty-first century, ownership continues to have a minimal showing. *See also* Black Hollywood.

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Carol Adams-Means

Texas

The institution of **slavery** in the United States is generally seen as an institution confined to the South, but Texas, which is more Southwestern than Southern, was a slave state from its earliest beginnings. From the early days of Spanish colonialism until the Civil War, slavery was an essential part of the development of Texas. The state legislature passed **Black Codes** after the Civil War to restrict the rights of blacks and drive them back to the farms and into semi-slavery as victims of peonage. The use of terror to bolster the political, legal, economic, and social systems that regulated black behavior and racial etiquette that was developed during slavery was reestablished in **Jim Crow** form after **Reconstruction**. Immediately after the Civil War, during the period from 1865 to 1868, white Texans committed hundreds of acts of violence and murder against blacks. The racial groundwork laid into the social fabric of society by slavery created the narratives for the creation and facilitation of Jim Crow institutions after the Civil War. Although slavery was abolished in 1865, a form of peonage lasted well into the twentieth century and left a legacy that endures in social problems today.

When slavery was abolished, Robert E. Lee, the former commander of Confederate forces, influenced segregated models that were to be established. Lee established a relationship with the Episcopalians and James Steptoe Johnston, a former Confederate soldier, to develop the idea of “**Negro education**” projects in Texas. One such Jim Crow institution was St. Phillip’s College in San Antonio, which sought to keep African Americans in low-paying and servile jobs. Education in Jim Crow institutions consisted of learning how to sew, cook, and wait on white people’s needs. This model would be adopted throughout Texas, as whites sought forms of cheap labor, attempted to limit competition with whites for jobs, and sought ways to keep African Americans segregated and in a servile status. The influence of Robert E. Lee helped to give birth to **Booker T. Washington’s** social formula that surrendered to white racism and forged the eventual Jim Crow that governed the South after Reconstruction.

During Reconstruction, former Confederates attempted direct sabotage of the progressive ideas of the period. Texan John Salmon “Rip” Ford, a former commander of the Rio Grande Military District, led a band of ex-Confederates who worked to undermine Reconstruction and the granting of civil rights to African Americans, Ford was also the editor of an Austin newspaper that routinely attacked blacks and Mexican Americans in the most racist language and stereotypes. In Corpus Christi, during the 1870s, many Mexicans were beaten and hanged for supporting the federal cause and the rights of black people. In San Antonio, racist vigilante forces attempted to destroy Mexican support for blacks and in later years redefined racial models that labeled Mexicans “white” in an attempt to divide and conquer the coalitions between blacks and Mexicans that had been established over many years.

By the 1880s, the constitutional rights guaranteed to African Americans by the Reconstruction amendments had undergone severe setbacks as a result of the removal of Union troops and state elections that removed Radical Republicans from office. Segregation or **separate but equal** status for African

Americans gradually became the norm and codified in the law. Even before the U.S. Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), Texas was well on its way in maintaining separation of the “races.” Jim Crow laws were numerous in Texas and included about 27 statutes and policy changes that were passed in the state.

In many east Texas towns, blacks were systematically removed or forced to leave. Many went to Mexico. The 1877 withdrawal of federal troops created the “exodusters,” a mass movement to escape the terror of Southern racism. Though this movement peaked in 1879, later attempts eyed Mexico as a refuge for African Americans. The father of poet **Langston Hughes** was one such advocate of going to Mexico to escape the injustices of Jim Crow in the 1890s. In fact, during this same period, William Ellis, an African American from Victoria, Texas, envisioned a mass exodus to Mexico of African Americans who were being denigrated by Jim Crow laws.

Blacks were forced to pay for their own segregation, when in 1866, a law required that all taxes paid by blacks must be allocated to maintaining segregation in public schools throughout the state. Texas managed to enact only one antisegregation law during Reconstruction in 1871, barring separation of the races on public carriers, but this was invalidated in 1891 by the 22nd Texas Legislature when it passed segregation statutes that became known as the Jim Crow law. In 1876, with Reconstruction defeated, voting laws required electors to pay a **poll tax**, which was used to prevent African Americans from voting, and a state statute was passed in 1879 that barred interracial marriage. Racial tensions were increased as a result of the separation of the races. After the killing of a black soldier, a riot of black troops occurred at Fort Concho in 1881 near San Angelo, Texas. In the skirmish they destroyed property and wounded a white man.

Other racial riots took place in Texas involving Mexican Americans as well. The Rio Grande City Riot of 1888 occurred after the arrest and killing of a local Mexican American. The killing was justified by a claim that he was attempting to escape, a typical charge used by Southern racists. The incident served as combustible material, and widespread anger against the sheriff increased because he was implicated in the racist lynching of several other Mexicans. In 1899, the Laredo Smallpox Riot was initiated among Mexican American residents who protested being forcefully removed from their homes by Texas Rangers who were responding to reports of a smallpox outbreak. Texas Rangers were often sent in to subdue mobs and often sided with the whites. White racists in border towns often used health issues to remove Mexicans from Texas, and when the Texas Rangers were called in, hundreds rioted. That same year, troops of the Texas Volunteer Guard were dispatched to Orange to suppress a mob organized to drive blacks out of Orange County. The mob was bent on removing all blacks from the area after a black man, accused of rape, was removed from the jail by a mob of between 300 to 500 men. The black man was lynched and at least 100 shots were fired into his body.

Between 1900 and 1920, the killing of Mexicans and African Americans on the Texas-Mexico border was a frequent event. Some of these killings were the result of a plan by a group of Mexicans to free African Americans from

discrimination and help the black community establish six states of their own after Mexico recovered the lands that were taken by Texas slavers to set up the independent Republic of Texas. This plan was called the “Plan of San Diego.” When word of this proposal reached the Texas Rangers, they went on a murderous hunt to find the individuals who were planning this insurrection. The revolutionaries managed to destroy a train at Brownsville on October 18, 1915, and carried out numerable raids across the state. When some of these revolutionaries were captured, they were tortured to death or just shot on sight. Many of these revolutionaries were socialists and harbingers of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

During the turbulent years of the prelude to the Mexican Revolt, and the eventual revolution against Porfilio Diaz, 1900–1920, whites in Slocum, Longview, and Waco, Texas, went on rampages and riots in which blacks were burned out and hanged. In Slocum in 1908, approximately 20 African Americans were murdered by a mob of whites. Jesse Washington was burned alive at the stake in 1916 in Waco by a mob of 15,000 to 20,000 whites. In Longview, it was reported that blacks armed themselves and ambushed a train carrying a white racist killer, who they killed. In this period, Jim Crow laws increased as the Mexican Revolution exacerbated the level of terror against African Americans.

After years and years of laws and social rules that produced hate-filled narratives, there were bound to be racial explosions. The Brownsville Raid of August 1906, an alleged attack by soldiers from companies of the black 25th U.S. Infantry, resulted in the largest summary dismissals of troops in the history of the U.S. Army. When these soldiers arrived in Brownsville, they were immediately confronted with racial discrimination at business establishments and reported physical mistreatment. An alleged attack on a white woman, a standard charge in the South and in Texas, infuriated many white residents. When shooting broke out and claimed the life of a white resident and the wounding of a police officer, unsupportable claims were made that the black troops were responsible.

By 1909, the Texas legislature passed further Jim Crow laws that provided separate waiting areas for white and black passengers. Many Jim Crow laws were in part a reaction to the victory of Texas-born boxing champion **Jack Johnson** over white opponents. White anger grew across the nation and calls for a “great white hope” echoed across the racial landscape after the defeat of white boxer James J. Jeffries in 1910. In the aftermath of the Johnson victory, racial hatred increased against African Americans and riots broke out across the nation. In 1914, the Texas legislature went so far as to pass laws preventing African American railway porters from sleeping on bedding intended for whites. On a consistent basis, these Jim Crow laws were passed creating a hateful atmosphere in Texas that would soon lead to more violence. In the wake of Jack Johnson’s relationships with white women, a state code was approved in 1915 providing imprisonment in the penitentiary from two to five years for interracial marriage.

The **Houston Riot of 1917** was started by about 150 black troops of the 24th U.S. Infantry from Camp Logan shortly after the United States entered **World War I**. Black troops were mindful of the tasks that white supremacy

had set for them in fighting Indians and Mexicans while being denied human dignity. The riot, touched off by the arrest of an African American woman in the Fourth Ward of Houston and the beating of a black military policeman by a white Houston police officer, was the culmination of white racial hatred against armed black men. Local white police officers and residents routinely harassed blacks. Many whites were killed in the fighting, and the African American soldiers were court-martialed at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio. Most of the black men were found guilty. Nineteen African American soldiers were hanged on the Salado Creek, while 63 were given life sentences. Not a single white civilian was brought to trial.

Blacks were being excluded from every aspect of public life including use of the public libraries. In 1919, a state statute ordered that blacks use separate libraries. Vagrancy laws were used to force blacks into slave like conditions by arresting them and forcing them to work off fines on farms. The use of vagrancy laws against blacks and Mexicans to farm out free labor (peonage) was still in use in 1926 and extended well beyond that. Against this backdrop the Longview Race Riot of 1919 occurred, during the “**Red Summer.**” It was also the time of the first “**Red Scare,**” a time in which the **federal government** began attacking real and imagined “**communist**” enemies and violating civil liberties.

In Longview, whites needed only to feel threatened by perceived acts of black independence for violence to erupt. In this case, racial tensions were exacerbated because two prominent African American leaders had recommended that black growers bypass established white brokers and sell cotton directly to markets in Galveston, Texas. Governor William P. Hobby ordered Texas Rangers to Longview, and eventually placed some 250 Guardsmen in the town after violence increased. The Democrats increased racial tensions by disenfranchising African Americans in 1901. A voting law was passed preventing blacks from voting in the **Democratic Party** primary elections in Texas. By 1925, state statutes codified segregation, made **miscegenation** a felony, and, within about 10 years, went on to create segregated health care facilities. Between 1943 and 1958, segregation was extended to city buses, parks, swimming pools, and other public facilities

Violence sometimes broke out because of competition over jobs between blacks and whites. In Brenham, rioting broke out over the hiring of a black employee by a railway company. The **Beaumont, Texas, Race Riot** of 1943 had its roots in the tensions of competition for jobs between blacks and whites and Jim Crow. In 1941, and after the United States entered **World War II**, Beaumont became a magnet for people seeking work when employment opportunities in the shipyards and war factories were announced. Consequently, large numbers of workers raced to the town, but housing facilities were not plentiful enough to enforce Jim Crow laws. Whites were forced into quarter in proximity to blacks. In the shipyards and factories, blacks began to have access to jobs that were normally reserved for whites. When Jim Crow laws could not be enforced, little excuse was needed for a major eruption of violence. A white mob, outraged at the alleged assault of a white woman by a black, terrorized black residents resulting in two deaths and one hundred homes being destroyed.

Violence in Texas as elsewhere was fueled by the racial structure created by Jim Crow. Even after the **Civil Rights Movement** pressured for the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which invalidated Jim Crow laws, the legacy of Jim Crow remained. With the passage of the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, Jim Crow laws were eliminated in voting, but the violence continued. In 1967, a riot at Texas Southern University in Houston resulted in the death of one police officer and the wounding of several others. The cause of the riot was the arrest of a student, but the incident was related to general racial tensions created from years of Jim Crowism in Houston. Many social scientists believe **police brutality** has become one of the racial debris of the Jim Crow legacy. The legacy of Jim Crow extended rioting to San Antonio when in April 1969, members of **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** organized a mass demonstration against police brutality that resulted in property damage and the arrest of individuals from a unique group of SNCC Black Panther members. *See also* Hispanics/Latinos; Louisiana.

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Mario Marcel Salas

Thurmond, Strom (1902–2003)

James Strom Thurmond, known only as “Strom” to his constituents, was the longest-serving U.S. senator in American history. Born in Edgefield, **South Carolina**, he attended Clemson University and was admitted to the bar. He served in a variety of elected posts in South Carolina, including state senator, county superintendent of education, and a judgeship. In 1946, he became governor.

Protesting **Harry S. Truman’s** civil rights policy, Thurmond and Fielding L. Wright ran as “States’ Rights Democrats,” or **Dixiecrats**, in the 1948 election, breaking with the mainstream **Democratic Party**. According to biographers Jack Bass and Marilyn W. Thompson, their candidacy, which earned the electoral votes of **Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama**, and South Carolina, “shook the foundations of the Democratic ‘solid South’ ” (2003, 2). Their platform was solidly anti-integration, and their motto was “Segregation Forever!” After their defeat, Thurmond did not disappear from public life. In 1954, he won as a write-in candidate for the Senate, where he filibustered against the **Civil Rights Act of 1957**. By 1964, he had aligned himself with the **Republican Party**, which had gained credibility in the segregationist South by nominating Barry Goldwater, who had advocated against civil rights measures, including the abolition of the **poll tax**.

After the civil rights victories of the 1960s, Thurmond’s legacy was revised to include the legend that he had renounced the politics of the 1948 presidential election, during which he proclaimed that “there’s not enough troops in the army to force the Southern people to break down segregation and admit the nigra [*sic*] race into our theaters, into our swimming pools, into our homes,

and into our churches.” South Carolinians and other supporters avidly claimed that Thurmond had mended his ways, but as late as 1980, he recalled his presidential run fondly as a “battle of federal power versus state power.” In 1988, he assured the *Washington Post* that he ran for president to “protect the rights of the states and the rights of the people.” By 1991, he had changed his rhetoric, arguing that he now supported voting rights because African Americans had “come up” from the servant class to the mainstream of American life.

In 2002, Thurmond passed his centenary birthday, and was feted by Trent Lott, who claimed that had the “rest of the country” followed Mississippi’s lead in voting Dixiecrat, “we wouldn’t have had all these problems over the years.” Responding to the controversy that followed, Lott resigned from the Senate leadership. Six months after Thurmond’s death in June 2003, Essie Mae Washington-Williams, the daughter of Thurmond family maid Carrie Butler, acknowledged that Thurmond was her father. Washington-Williams was conceived when her mother was 16 and Thurmond was a 22-year-old Clemson undergraduate. In an interview with Dan Rather, Washington-Williams was restrained on the question of her mother’s sexual consent, saying only that “she didn’t go into any detail” about Thurmond’s advances. Soon after her public declaration, Thurmond’s family acknowledged her lineage, but was less accommodating to Al Sharpton, who revealed in 2007 that his great-grandfather Coleman Sharpton, was owned by their cousin Julia Thurmond. Thurmond cousin Doris Strom Costner urged Sharpton to be proud of their family connection because “he’s in a mighty good family.” Though his legacy is ambiguous, public memory in his native state tells a surer story: Thurmond’s statue stands near that of white supremacist Pitchfork **Ben Tillman** on the South Carolina statehouse grounds.

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Jennie Lightweis-Goff

Till, Emmett (1941–1955) and Mamie Till Mobley (1921–2003)

In the summer of 1955, while visiting Money, Mississippi, 14-year-old Chicago native Emmett Till breached **Jim Crow** etiquette and spoke to a white woman. His punishment was murder. This horrific event revealed that Jim Crow laws and **white supremacy** were alive and well in the South. With great courage, Emmett’s mother, Mamie Till Mobley, turned her personal tragedy into a catalyst for the **Civil Rights Movement**. Emmett Till’s death

alerted the nation of the thriving persecution of African Americans under Jim Crow laws.

The son of Mamie and Louis Till, Emmett was born on the south side of Chicago in 1941. Although Till struggled with a bout of polio at age five, leaving him with a slight stutter, he became a confident child known for his pranks and outgoing personality. In the summer of 1955, Till went to Mississippi to visit relatives and stay with his uncle, Mose Wright. As a Mississippi native, Mobley warned her son of the ways of the South before he boarded the train. While Till had been exposed to segregation in the North, he was unaware of how far white supremacists would go to preserve their Southern way of life.

During his stay in Money, Mississippi, Till and his cousin, Curtis Jones, visited Bryant's Grocery and Meat Market on a Wednesday evening. While Jones started a checkers game with an older man outside the store, Till went inside and bought some gum. As Till left the store he said "bye, baby" to white cashier Carolyn Bryant, the store owner's wife. The man playing checkers with Jones told the boys they should leave before Bryant got her pistol. The scared boys left quickly in Wright's 1941 Ford, and Till begged Jones not to mention the market incident to his uncle. Days passed without incident until Carolyn's husband Roy returned to Money after being away on a trucking job.

Late that Saturday night, Roy Bryant, along with his brother-in-law J. W. Milam, drove to Wright's cabin. Bryant and Milam greeted 64-year-old Wright with a flashlight and a gun. Bryant wanted the boy who talked to his wife. Wright pleaded with the two men asking them not to take the boy. He told them Till was just 14 and from the North; he did not know how to treat white folks. Bryant and Milam pulled Till out of his bed at gunpoint, dragged him into their car, and drove off. The men threatened Wright's life if he mentioned anything of the incident.

The next morning, Curtis Jones called the sheriff to report Till missing. Three days later, a boy fishing in the Tallahatchie River discovered Till's body. His body was so disfigured by the beating that Mose Wright could identify his nephew only by the initialed ring he wore; it was his father's. Before being shot in the head, Till was brutally beaten. His forehead was shattered on one side, an eye was gouged out, and a 75-pound cotton-gin fan was tied around Till's neck with barbed wire. After finding the body, Jones called Till's mother in Chicago.

After the casket arrived in Chicago, the mortician told Mamie Till Mobley that he signed an order for the sheriff of Money that promised Till's casket would not be opened. Mobley opened the casket herself. After seeing her only child's body mutilated beyond recognition, Mobley wanted everyone to see what happened to her 14-year-old son in the Jim Crow South. On September 3, thousands of people came to the open casket ceremony at Rainer Funeral Home. A picture of Till's lynched corpse also appeared in *Jet*, a weekly black magazine, for the whole nation to see.

Less than two weeks after Till's burial, Bryant and Milam were tried for the murder of Emmett Till in Sumner, Mississippi. Although four African Americans, including Mose Wright, were brave enough to testify against Bryant and Milam in the segregated courthouse, the all-male, all-white jury deliberated a little over an hour before returning with not-guilty verdicts for both

defendants. That same year, Bryant and Milam sold their confessional story of killing Emmett Till to white journalist William Bradford Huie, for \$4,000. Their story appeared in *Look* magazine on January 24, 1956. *See also* Lynching; Racial Customs and Etiquette.

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Emily Hess

Tillman, Ben (1847–1918)

In appearance, words and deeds, Benjamin Ryan Tillman figured prominently as a grand cyclops of **Jim Crow** segregation. His career as a planter, terrorist, and politician was defined by a fearsome devotion to the era's racial project of white male supremacy.

Tillman was born near the town of Trenton, in the cotton plantation district of Edgefield, **South Carolina**. Owning over 2,500 acres and nearly 50 slaves, his family was among the wealthiest 10 percent of slaveholders in the area. The world of this slaveholding planter elite, thinly disguised by the self-comforting rhetoric of paternalism, was one in which white males sought to maintain control of the enslaved through a system of threats and the application of physical punishment. Losing an eye to illness at the age of 16, Tillman was prevented from defending slavery's racial dominion by serving in the Confederate army. However, by the time of **Reconstruction**, Tillman had recovered his health and exercised his desire to restore white male mastery by joining a paramilitary rifle-club movement, which sought to topple the Palmetto state's black-majority Republican government. In this period, Tillman participated in the Hamburg Massacre of July 1876, in which five members of a black Republican militia defending an armory in the small-town were coldly executed by white rifle-club members wearing improvised red shirt uniforms. During the state's gubernatorial election that same year, these "Red Shirts" used tactics of violence and intimidation towards black voters to help carry the former Confederate general and **Ku Klux Klan** leader Wade Hampton III to power.

During the late 1870s, Tillman enjoyed economic success as a planter, but after experiencing droughts and crop failures in the early 1880s, he took up the cause of agricultural reform and began to articulate serious political ambitions. Despite the comforts and privileges of his upbringing and lifestyle, Tillman aligned himself with the common farmers of South Carolina and railed against the elitism of the Bourbon political aristocracy, the so-called Redeemers of white rule who he claimed were failing to address the state's crisis in agriculture. Tillman's Farmer's Association movement demanded a variety of reforms, the most substantial of which was the call for a farmer's college. Elected governor of **South Carolina** in 1890, Tillman eventually oversaw the founding of Clemson College for white males and Winthrop College for white

women, but repeatedly frustrated efforts to improve black educational opportunities.

In 1895 Tillman played a leading role in the South Carolina constitutional convention that established key elements of Jim Crow legislation: the various **poll tax**, literacy, education, and understanding requirements that conspired to disenfranchise black men in the state for long decades to come. That same year Tillman was elected to the U.S. Senate, in which he served until his death in 1918. Here he earned a reputation as an ill-mannered and volatile orator, as well as his nickname “Pitchfork Ben,” following a speech he made on the Senate floor in 1896 in which he threatened to “poke” President Grover Cleveland “with a pitchfork.” In an infamous address to the Senate in March 1900, Tillman peddled an undiluted racist poison that endorsed white mob violence: “We of the South have never believed [the black man] to be the equal to the white man and we will not submit to his gratifying his lust on our wives and daughters without **lynching** him.”

Bearing the deeply misleading legend—“friend and leader of the common people”—a Tillman monument was erected on the statehouse grounds of Columbia, South Carolina, in 1940. Standing alongside the relocated **Confederate flag** and on the same complex as a monument to Wade Hampton III and a statue of the **Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond**, Tillman’s bronze figures as a central pillar in the state’s pantheon of white Jim Crow rule.

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Stephen C. Kenny

Toomer, Jean (1894–1967)

Jean Toomer was an African American author, born Nathan Pinchback Toomer to parents Nathan Toomer, a planter, and Nina Pinchback on December 26, 1894. Toomer’s mother was the daughter of Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback, former governor of Louisiana, the first black governor in the nation. Because of his light complexion, Toomer could easily pass for white, a common practice during an earlier period of his life. After Nathan Toomer abandoned Toomer and his mother, they moved to Washington, DC, to live with Nina’s parents. Pinckney Pinchback, began to refer to young Nathan as Eugene Pinchback Toomer, although his name was never legally changed. Toomer grew up in a racially integrated neighborhood but attended segregated schools. Nina remarried and Toomer lived briefly in New York. Upon his mother’s death, Toomer returned to Washington, graduating in 1914 from the all-black Dunbar High School. After graduation, Toomer studied a wide range of disciplines, including literature, philosophy, and agriculture.

During his stint in Sparta, Georgia, Toomer’s racial consciousness was roused. As the superintendent of Sparta’s Industrial and Agricultural Institute,

Toomer became inspired by both his racial heritage and surroundings in the rural South. The product of Toomer's combined influences was the collection *Cane*, released in 1923. Though similar in format to American writer Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), *Cane* focused on the racial tensions and social structure of the segregated South and its transcendence into Northern society. Toomer's usage of natural imagery reflected the romanticized relationship between African Americans and primitivism in the South. "Blood-burning Moon," a short story about a **lynching**, used the figures of the moon and cane fields to demonstrate the invisible but understood boundaries between blacks and whites. The character Bob Stone, a white man, desired to see Louisa, a black woman who is the love interest of Tom Burwell, a feared black man. In order to avoid being seen, Tom and Louisa meet in cane fields, which though easy to navigate through, were sharp and painful. The moon was described as red and full, was believed in Southern tradition to be the cause of hysteria and madness. The color red symbolized blood and death. It was during the blood red moon the main characters were both murdered—Bob Stone by Tom Burwell, and Tom by a white lynch mob.

The second half of *Cane* takes place in the urbanity of Washington, DC, and Chicago. "Bona and Paul," a story about an unknowingly interracial couple's date in Chicago, ends with a dramatic explanation between a black doorman and Paul, a "**passing**" black man. After conversing with the doorman, Paul realizes Bona has disappeared. A reason behind Bona's disappearance was her realization of Paul's race because of his urgency to talk to the African American doorman. Bona's epiphany sheds light on the looming existence of racial separation, even in the urban North. Toomer's division of *Cane* invokes the reader to think about the role of race in society and identity, regardless of geographic location. *See also* Baldwin, James; Ellison, Ralph; Faulkner, William; Louisiana.

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Regina Barnett

Truman, Harry S.

Harry S. Truman, 33rd president of the United States, was the first chief executive in the twentieth century to take substantive action in support of political and social equality for African Americans. In September 1946, a delegation of African American leaders, including National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) executive director **Walter White**, met with Truman in the White House to discuss the rise of racial violence then occurring across the American South. The president was particularly shocked by the brutal attack upon an African American soldier in **South Carolina**.

Honorably discharged from the army in February 1946, Sergeant Isaac Woodard was traveling by bus through South Carolina when, during an unscheduled stop, he asked the white driver if he could use the restroom. The

driver refused permission and cursed Woodard, who responded in kind. When the bus arrived in Batesburg, the driver informed police chief Lynwood Lanier Shull that Woodard had been unruly during the trip. Boarding the bus, the police chief arrested Woodard for disturbing the peace. When he protested that he had done nothing wrong, Shull savagely beat the discharged sergeant, blinding him in both eyes. The president, deeply troubled by this brutal act, vowed to take action. Under Truman's direction, the Justice Department prosecuted Schull for violating Woodard's civil rights, but an all-white jury found him not guilty. The beating of Sergeant Woodard and the acquittal of his assailant had a profound effect on President Truman. From that point on, he was determined to end legalized discrimination and racial violence from American life.

In December 1946, one month after Schull's acquittal, Truman issued an executive order creating the President's Committee on Civil Rights to investigate civil rights abuses and propose federal statutes that would prevent them in the future. As the committee began its work, Truman continued to call for an end to racial discrimination. On June 29, 1947, the president spoke at the annual meeting of the NAACP, the first chief executive to ever do so. Standing on the steps of the **Lincoln Memorial**, Truman committed the **federal government** to ensuring equal rights for African Americans. Four months later, the president was given the tools to make his commitment real when his civil rights committee presented him with its 178-page report on October 29, 1947. Entitled *To Secure These Rights*, the report not only catalogued egregious abuses of civil rights, but also recommended federal action to protect the constitutional liberties of all Americans.

Despite the considerable political risks, Truman sent a special message to Congress on February 2, 1948, proposing a set of laws designed to secure full equality for African Americans. The president's ambitious program included the creation of a civil rights commission and a Justice Department civil rights division to investigate and prosecute violations of civil liberties, establishment of a federal commission to prevent discrimination in the workplace and ensure fair employment practices, antilynching legislation, outlawing segregation in facilities servicing interstate transportation, and further protection for the right to vote.

As might be expected, Truman's message ignited a political firestorm in the American South. Bitterly opposed to his proposals, white southern Democrats attempted to deny Truman their party's presidential nomination. When that failed, they formed the States Rights or **Dixiecrat** Party, and nominated **Strom Thurmond** of South Carolina for president. Although 82 percent of the American people were reportedly opposed to the presidents' civil rights program, Truman defeated Thurmond and Republican Thomas E. Dewey in the November election. The Dixiecrats were unable to prevent Truman's election, but their allies in Congress did successfully block Truman's civil rights measures from becoming law. In the face of congressional inaction and the hatred of Southern reactionaries, the president remained unbowed. On July 26, 1948, Truman issued two executive orders that weakened the bonds of legalized

segregation. Executive Order 9980 required all federal departments to insure equal employment opportunities for all applicants regardless of race, color, religion or national origin and established a Fair Employment Board to oversee compliance. The second one, Executive Order 9981, was even more radical.

For decades, one of the most segregated institutions in the country was the U.S. military. Denied opportunities to advance, most black servicemen were prevented from service in combat units and were allowed only to engage in menial activities. In the Marines, for example, blacks could only enlist as kitchen personnel while in the army, only one African American in 70 was a commissioned officer. Appalled by this, Truman ordered military commanders to integrate the armed forces. High-ranking military leaders, most notably army chief of staff General Omar Bradley, bitterly denounced the plan, but again Truman refused to back down. Before the end of his presidency in January 1953, Truman also appointed African American lawyer William Hastie to the U.S. Court of Appeals and integrated federal housing programs.

Truman was the first American chief executive to commit the power of the federal government to the elimination of legalized segregation. Although conservatives in Congress blocked most of his civil rights program, Truman courageously ignored Southern reactionaries such as the Dixiecrats and integrated both the armed forces and federal bureaucracy. At the same time, in calling attention to the discriminatory nature of Jim Crow segregation through the creation of the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights and his address to the NAACP, Truman laid bare the plight of African Americans and emboldened their struggle to achieve social and political equality. *See also* Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation.

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Cartoon from *New York Star*, November 26, 1948. President Harry S. Truman banned discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, which had the effect of reducing social segregation in civilian life after World War II. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-86571.

Wayne Dowdy

Tulsa Riot of 1921

The Tulsa riot of May 31 and June 1, 1921, was the last of the terrible **World War I**–era riots. Like many of the other riots, from East St. Louis in 1917 to the riots of the summer of 1919 in such places as Chicago; Elaine, Arkansas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Washington, DC, it involved an attack on an African American community. Like those other riots, the causes were both long-standing conflicts between the expectations of the white community and the increasing prosperity and self-confidence of the African American community in the wake of the war. As the strictures of **Jim Crow** broke down and the African American communities developed and acted on the grand idea of equality, they grew more confident. The communities organized to protect themselves against violence and to protect against the violence and segregation of Jim Crow.

Those long-standing sentiments of the idea of equality (what Oklahoma native **Ralph Ellison** labeled in his novel *Invisible Man* “the great constitutional dream book”) were particularly strong in the Tulsa African American community. In September 1920, following a **lynching** of a young black man in Oklahoma City, the *Tulsa Star*, Tulsa’s leading African American newspaper, criticized the Oklahoma City community for not doing more to prevent the lynching. The *Tulsa Star* boldly stated that Oklahoma City residents had the legal right, indeed, duty to take action to protect against lynchings. They had the right to take life if necessary to uphold the law.

Leaders of Tulsa’s African American section, Greenwood, frequently met in the Williams’ Dreamland Theater to discuss the great ideas of the renaissance, particularly how to respond to violence and threatened lynchings. Those people read and discussed the vehicles of the renaissance, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) *The Crisis*. Moreover, many of those leaders were veterans of the World War. **W.E.B. Du Bois**’s May 1919 editorial in *The Crisis*, “Returning Soldiers,” captures well the sentiments of those African American veterans. “We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.”

Those long-running ideas of equality clashed with Jim Crow in late May 1921. The riot was set off when the sensationalist *Tulsa Tribune* reported on May 31, 1921, that a young African American man, Dick Rowland, had attempted to attack a young white woman, Mary Paige, the day before. That led a mob to collect at the Tulsa courthouse on the evening of May 31. At the same time, African American men met in Greenwood to talk about how to protect Rowland. They decided to make a trip to the courthouse and offer to help protect Rowland. When several dozen African American veterans appeared at the courthouse around 10:00 PM, a police officer tried to disarm them; gunfire ensued, and the riot was on. Throughout the evening, the local units of the Oklahoma **National Guard** and the police department worked to devise a plan to disarm and arrest everyone in Greenwood. The police department hastily deputized hundreds of white men and those who did not have guns were issued them by the police department. Meanwhile, throughout the

night, there was fighting across the railroad tracks that separate white Tulsa from the Greenwood section.

At about daybreak on June 1, the police, their deputies, and the local units of the National Guard crossed the railroad tracks in Greenwood. Amid sometimes fierce fighting, the police, deputies, and National Guard methodically moved through Greenwood. Thousands of Greenwood residents were arrested and taken into custody, then held in what newspapers referred to as “concentration camps” around the city. Others who did not go willingly were shot. As the residents of buildings in Greenwood were taken into custody, they were looted, then burned. The Oklahoma Supreme Court acknowledged in a lawsuit in 1926 that some of the people doing the burning wore deputy police badges.

At one point on the morning of June 1, airplanes appeared overhead. Some claimed that the planes were shooting at Greenwood residents and dropping incendiaries on Greenwood. The city claimed the planes were used only for gathering intelligence about the riot. It is difficult to establish the ways that planes were used, but no one disputes they were in the air.

By about 10:00 AM on June 1, much of Greenwood was on fire or was already burned. By noon, units of the Oklahoma National Guard based in Oklahoma City had begun to restore order. Their commander, General Charles F. Barrett, later recalled that when his troops arrived, they found “[t]wenty-five thousand whites, armed to the teeth, [ravaging] the city in utter and ruthless defiance of every concept of law and righteousness.” Barrett commented about the special deputies that were “the most dangerous part of the mob.”

Even as the riot itself died out, the process of restoring order remained. Thousands of Greenwood residents were held in the concentration camps around the city until a white employer vouched for them. But even once they were released from the camps, they had little place to go, for dozens of blocks of Greenwood were destroyed. Thousands of people were left homeless and for months they lived in tents provided by the Red Cross. Others left Tulsa for good, sometimes walking along the railroad tracks, headed for cities like Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, even Los Angeles. Leaders of the Greenwood renaissance were particularly fearful that they would be prosecuted for inciting riot. A. J. Smitherman, editor of the *Tulsa Star*, fled to Boston, where he continued to work in the newspaper business. During the Christmas holiday of 1921, he published a poem that retold the story of the riot. It included this description of the start of the riot:

So they marched against the mobbists
 Gathered now about the jail,
 While the sheriff stood there pleading,
 Law and order to prevail.
 Thus responding to their duty,
 Like true soldiers that they were,
 Black men face the lawless white men
 Under duty's urgent spur. . . .

However, the final stanza told of the importance of the riot for the lessons it taught the white community—that Greenwood residents would act to uphold the law:

Though they fought the sacrificial
Fight, with banners flying high,
Yet the thing of more importance
Is the way they fought—and why!

The process of recovering was long, and city leaders were in little mood to assist Greenwood residents. While the Red Cross provided assistance and some leaders of Tulsa pledged to make good the damage, Tulsa's mayor responded with a plan to relocate Greenwood further away from downtown Tulsa and to require expensive fireproof materials in rebuilding. Some Greenwood residents attempted to sue the city and their insurance companies, which frequently denied coverage on insurance policies citing "riot exclusion" clauses. The lawsuits were uniformly unsuccessful. So the Greenwood residents who stayed rebuilt using their own resources.

As the years passed, the riot receded from memory. Two events helped change that. In 1982, historian Scott Ellsworth published a book on it, *Death in a Promised Land*; more than a decade and a half later, in the late 1990s, State Representative Don Ross introduced a bill in the Oklahoma legislature that established a commission on the riot. The commission's report, issued in 2001, presented the most comprehensive picture of the riot available; it also led to major controversy around the issue of whether the legislature should pay "reparations" to riot victims.

The legislature issued an apology in 2001, but offered nothing in terms of payments to survivors of the riot. In response, in 2003, lawyers led by Harvard Law School Professor Charles Ogletree filed a lawsuit against the city and state, alleging that they were liable for much of the damage during the riot. The city and state responded that the lawsuit was being filed too late. In 2004, the U.S. District Court in Tulsa dismissed the lawsuit, and the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the dismissal. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case. Thus ended the riot victims' long-running battle to obtain relief through the courts. There are still nearly 100 survivors, and Charles Ogletree continues to press their case for compensation. In April 2007, U.S. Congressman John Conyers introduced a bill in the House of Representatives that would allow the lawsuit to go forward. More than 85 years after the riot, the victims await justice. *See also* Chicago Race Riot of 1919; Elaine Massacre; Houston Riot of 1917; Red Summer; Rosewood; Wilmington Race Riot.

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Alfred L. Brophy

Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment

Beginning during the **Depression** years of **Jim Crow** segregation in 1932, just before Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, the Tuskegee syphilis experiment remains one of the most shocking episodes in the troubled history of human experimentation. Sponsored by the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS), the Tuskegee experiment ran for a full 40 years before the disturbing details of the nontherapeutic and unethical medical trial were disclosed to the American public by Jean Heller of the Associated Press in a story published by the *Washington Star* on July 25, 1972.

Jim Crow–era economic deprivations, racial divisions, and white racial prejudices provide an essential framework for understanding what happened to the victims of the Tuskegee study and why the experiment was allowed to continue for so long. The South’s post-**Reconstruction** regime of legally sanctioned and violently enforced racial **apartheid** trapped many rural African Americans in a vicious cycle of debt peonage, illiteracy, fear and ill health. Adding insult to injury, white Americans also invented and circulated a number of negative stereotypes of blackness. One of the most common post–Civil War misrepresentations of African American men was that of the “brute” or “black beast.” This distorted caricature portrayed black men as primitive, savage, and, in particular, as an uncontrollable sexual threat to white women. White physicians and social scientists echoed and amplified the core ideology of Jim Crow, discovering allegedly high incidences of anatomical irregularities, constitutional weaknesses, and venereal diseases among the black population—with syphilis rates among African American males becoming a chief preoccupation of white public health officials.

The Tuskegee experiment had its immediate origins in a 1929 Julius Rosewald Foundation–funded PHS study designed to determine the prevalence, and implement methods for control, of syphilis among rural black males in six counties spread across five Southern states. This privately financed health plan initiative was discontinued in the fall of 1930, but not before researchers had identified Macon County, **Alabama**, as the study’s area of greatest need. Tragically, as few of the syphilis sufferers discovered in Macon County had ever received any treatment, they were later targeted (by then–assistant surgeon general Taliaferro Clark) as an “unparalleled opportunity” to develop a new research project, examining “the effect of untreated syphilis on the human economy.” In total, 400 men, already infected with syphilis, and a further 200 serving as uninfected controls, were selected for the experiment, centered at Tuskegee Institute’s John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital. In addition to prominent white physicians and public health officials, several black medical professionals played key parts in the research. Perhaps the most notable African American involvement came from public health nurse Eunice Rivers, who acted as a trusted liaison between the men in the study and the PHS doctors. There has been much debate as to nurse Rivers’s knowledge of and complicity in the experiment. By way of understanding her position, historian Susan Reverby explains that the complex world of Tuskegee’s race, class, gender, and professional politics created peculiar pressures that sometimes forced individuals like Rivers into contradictory and compromising roles.

The men were recruited via a number of coercive and deceptive incentives—such as the offer of “special free treatment” (including painful diagnostic procedures, such as spinal puncture), free transport to and from hospital, free hot lunches, and free burial insurance (but only after permission for an autopsy had been granted). None of the subjects enrolled in the study were ever provided with appropriate or adequate treatment; indeed, they were discouraged and even actively prevented from seeking treatment outside the program and were also denied the most effective antibiotic therapy against the disease—penicillin—when it eventually became widely available in the 1940s. Nor were the men properly or fully informed that they were human guinea pigs participating in a medical research experiment. Instead they were told that they were being treated for “bad blood,” a vernacular term used to describe several illnesses in the rural black community (including syphilis, anemia, and fatigue). This was a group of very vulnerable patients, with few alternatives, who were victims of a long-term cruel combination of racial discrimination and medical callousness.

Racism and exploitation have deep roots in American medicine, especially in the Southern states. For example, in neighboring Montgomery County, Alabama, during the era of antebellum slavery, Dr. James Marion Sims performed a variety of medical experiments on slave men, women, and infants. Between 1844 and 1849, Sims developed a method of repairing injuries suffered during childbirth and later gained international fame as the “father of American gynecology.” However, Sims owed the perfection of his surgery to the role of enslaved women, upon whom he conducted repeated operations (without anesthesia). In the same era, Southern medical schools demonstrated what has been termed “postmortem racism,” encouraging the use of black cadavers (many obtained without permission and stolen from graveyards) in anatomical training and the use of black body parts in medical museums. This long history of medical abuse and differential treatment created a legacy of mistrust and fear towards white physicians in the African American community, often resulting in an understandable reluctance to participate in clinical trials.

The 1972 media exposé led to the termination of the study. However, by this stage, a number of the men had died and many family members had been infected. The most positive outcome of the tragedy was the crucial role it played in making Americans rethink the ethics of human experimentation. It gave impetus to the National Research Act of 1974, making written informed consent of human subjects a fundamental condition of participation in medical research trials. Furthermore, in July 1973, Macon County civil-rights attorney Fred Gray filed a \$1.8 billion class-action lawsuit, which resulted in an out-of-court settlement a year later for \$10 million to be divided among the study’s living participants and heirs of the deceased.

On May 16, 1997, in the presence of eight survivors of the study, family representatives of the deceased, political activists, and historians, President William J. Clinton issued a formal federal apology for the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment. As a commitment to long-term efforts heal the wounds inflicted by the study, the Clinton administration also supported the building of a National Center for Bioethics in Research and Health Care at Tuskegee University, which opened in 1998. The study also left a cultural legacy, becoming

the subject of poems, documentaries, a play and HBO award-winning movie, *Miss Evers's Boys*. See also *Folk Medicine; Health Care*.

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Stephen C. Kenny

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U.S. Supreme Court

Over the years, the U.S. Supreme Court has played a pivotal role in African Americans' fight against racial segregation. However, this role has been tenuous, at best. The previous statement is based on the fact that prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment and other congressional enactments promoted the interest of white segregationists rather than that of blacks seeking judicial remedies in order to combat racial segregation and **Jim Crow** laws.

Beginning as early as 1857 in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393, the Court invalidated state efforts to grant freedom to slaves and citizenship to freed slaves. The Court's reasoning, or lack thereof, in *Dred Scott* relegated blacks to the status of property and validated the continuation of slavery in America. The Court concluded as follows:

The question is simply this: Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become—entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities, guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen? . . . We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word “citizens” in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them. . . . [Colonial laws] show that a perpetual and impassable barrier was intended to be erected between the white race and the one which they had reduced to slavery, and governed as subjects with absolute and despotic power, and which they then looked upon as so far below them in the scale of created beings, that intermarriages between white persons and negroes or mulattoes were regarded as unnatural and immoral, and punished as crimes, not only in the parties, but in the person who joined them in marriage.

The *Dred Scott* ruling remained the law of the land until passage of the Civil War Amendments—Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1868), and Fifteenth (1870) Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment granted U.S. and state citizenship, equal protection, and due process of laws “to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof”; and the Fifteenth Amendment provided the right to vote to all male citizens.

Despite the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments; the Court continued to render decisions in opposition to the interest of blacks. For example, even though the *Slaughterhouse Cases*, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 36 (1873), involved the legality of a Louisiana law regulating the slaughtering of animals, the Supreme Court’s ruling in these cases focused primarily on providing a judicial interpretation of what constituted citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court reasoned as follows:

The first section of the fourteenth article, to which our attention is more specifically invited, opens with a definition of citizenship—not only citizenship of the United States, but citizenship of the States. No such definition was previously found in the Constitution, nor had any attempt been made to define it by act of Congress. . . . The first observation we have to make on this clause is, . . . [t]hat its main purpose was to establish the citizenship of the negro can admit of no doubt. . . . The next observation is more important in view of the arguments of counsel in the present case. It is that the distinction between citizenship of the United States and citizenship of the State is clearly recognized and established. Not only may a man be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of a State, but an important element is necessary to convert the former into the latter. He must reside within the State to make him a citizen of it, but it is only necessary that he should be born or naturalized in the United States to be a citizen of the Union. . . . Having shown that the privileges and immunities relied on in the argument are those which belong to citizens of the States as such, and that they are left to the State governments for security and protection, and not by this article placed under the special care of the Federal government.

The 1878 case of *Hall v. DeCuir*, 95 U.S. 485, exemplifies even more the Court’s role in providing credence to racial segregation in America. In *Hall*, the Court declared a Louisiana law ending racial segregation in interstate travel unconstitutional. The Court stated that the Louisiana legislature had engaged in an activity—regulation of interstate commerce—reserved to Congress.

An additional example of the Court’s stance may be found in the *Civil Rights Cases*—*United States v. Stanley*, *United States v. Ryan*, *United States v. Nichols*, *United States v. Singleton*, *Robinson & Wife v. Memphis and Charleston Railroad Company*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883)—in which the Court ruled that the **Civil Rights Act of 1875** did not prevent racial discrimination by private individuals or businesses. The statutory intent of this act was to prohibit private persons from violating the right of “all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States . . . to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the

conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.”

In the *Civil Rights Cases*, the Court stated that “[t]he first section of the Fourteenth Amendment (which is the one relied on), after declaring who shall be citizens of the United States, and of the several States, is prohibitory in its character, and prohibitory upon the states . . . It is State action of a particular character that is prohibited. Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject-matter of the amendment. . . . It does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights; but to provide modes of redress against the operation of State laws, and the action of State officers executive or judicial, when these are subversive of the fundamental rights specified in the amendment.”

As a reactionary response to the Court’s posture on racial segregation, many Southern states passed Jim Crow laws during the 1880s and 1890s. The purpose of these laws was to erect a wall of separation between black and whites. Jim Crow laws required racial segregation in public places, inclusive of public schools, transportation, restaurants, hotels, parks, swimming publics, and other public facilities.

The constitutionality of Jim Crow laws was tested in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). In this case, Homer Plessy challenged the constitutionality of an 1890 Louisiana law requiring all railway companies to separate black and whites passengers. Unlike *Hall*, *Plessy* did not involve the issue of interstate travel. However, the Supreme Court once again issued a ruling that served as yet another obstacle for blacks attempting to secure equal rights and racial justice in America. In *Plessy*, the Court stated as follows:

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other races by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or reestablish a state of involuntary servitude. . . . Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. . . . [E]very exercise of the police power must be reasonable, and extend only to such laws as are enacted in good faith for the promotion for the public good, and not for the annoyance or oppression of a particular class. . . . The argument also assumes that social prejudice may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. . . . Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

Not until 1954, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, did the Court finally interpret the Fourteenth Amendment and applicable congressional enactments as protecting the rights of Black. In *Brown*, the Court overturned its *Plessy* ruling

and finally provided a judicial avenue for black and other integrationists in their fight against the racial segregation of both public and private facilities. *See also Brown v. Board of Education*, Legal Groundwork for; Federal Government; Marshall, Thurgood; *Shelley v. Kraemer*; *U.S. v. Cruikshank*; *U.S. v. Reese*

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Olethia Davis

U.S. v. Cruikshank (1875)

U.S. v. Cruikshank (92 U.S. 542) was a **U.S. Supreme Court** case involving a conspiracy to deny the voting rights of a large group of black men in **Louisiana**. The Supreme Court, in its ruling, set forth the principle that although the **federal government** was supreme over state governments, it could not "grant nor secure rights to citizens" not expressed nor implied under its protection, and that "[s]overeignty, for the protection of the rights of life and personal liberty within the respective States, rests alone with the states." The ruling became a cornerstone in the abrogation of any federal responsibility in ensuring that state governments respect the civil rights of African Americans. In deciding *Cruikshank*, the Court opted for a narrow interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and refused to expand federal jurisdiction, even though the outcome clearly denied justice.

The case began with an incident on Easter Sunday, April 13, 1873, during **Reconstruction**, when a mob of white Democrats attacked and killed about 280 black Republicans in Colfax, Louisiana, during a contested local election. The blacks had sought protection inside the courthouse, which was guarded by a small contingent of so-called Negro Militia. The white mob also purported to be a militia, but it acted under its own authority, and contained many members of the White League and the **Ku Klux Klan**. After the attack, federal officials arrested and tried three white men for leading the mob. The three were convicted under the federal *Enforcement Act of 1870*, which made it a crime to interfere with any citizen's constitutional rights, in this case the right to vote. The defendants then appealed their convictions. Eventually the case worked its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court at the time was anxious to reassert its authority, particularly over matters pertaining to the South, where the legislative branch of government had exercised almost unlimited authority since the end of the Civil War. The Court's ruling in the case was unanimously in favor of the accused. Because the original indictment against the three white men did not allege that their actions were based upon race, their interference with the victims' right to vote was not a federal crime. The Court ruled that the Bill of Rights applied

only to the relationship between citizens and the federal government, not the relationship between citizens and their state government. The First Amendment right to assembly “was not intended to limit the powers of the State governments in respect to their own citizens” and that the Second Amendment “has no other effect than to restrict the powers of the national government.”

The ruling set forth that the Due Process and Equal Protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment protected citizens only from government action, not from the actions of other citizens. Thus, the federal government had no authority to protect blacks, or in theory, any citizen who attempted to vote, from mobs. Such protections would have to come from the state governments. With Southern state governments increasingly in the hands of Redeemers—white Democrats who firmly believed in white superiority and the exclusion of blacks from all aspects of the political process—such protection would not be forthcoming.

The *Cruikshank* ruling seriously hampered federal efforts at Reconstruction. The ruling sent a message to blacks and whites across the South that the federal government would do nothing to ensure the safety of blacks attempting to vote. Instead, ensuring the safety of voters was a state responsibility, and the states ignored that responsibility. More than any other court ruling, *U.S. v. Cruikshank* nullified the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and eliminated blacks from voting booths across the South. With Southern state governments under the control of white Democrats who were committed to white supremacy, and the federal government abdicating any responsibility to ensure the rights of black men to vote, the adoption of Jim Crow legislation was all but inevitable. Not until the passing of the **Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964** would the federal government again take a direct role in ensuring that blacks were able to exercise their right to vote. See also *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

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Barry M. Stentiford

U.S. v. Reese (1876)

In *U.S. v. Reese* (92 U.S. 214), the **U.S. Supreme Court** ruled, with two dissents, that the Fifteenth Amendment the Constitution did not guarantee the right of citizens to vote, but instead only prevented states and the **federal government** from using race, color, or previous condition of servitude specifically as a reason for denying the vote. The case was the first test of the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment, and in its ruling, the Court interpreted the amendment in the narrowest terms possible.

The case began when two inspectors of a municipal election in Kentucky refused to register the vote of a black man, William Garner, in a local election.

Excerpt from *U.S. v. Reese* (1875), pp. 3–6

The Fifteenth Amendment does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one. It prevents the States, or the United States, however, from giving preference, in this particular, to one citizen of the United States over another on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Before its adoption, this could be done. It was as much within the power of a State to exclude citizens of the United States from voting on account of race, &c., as it was on account of age, property, or education. Now it is not. If citizens of one race having certain qualifications are permitted by law to vote, those of another having the same qualifications must be. Previous to this amendment, there was no constitutional guaranty against this discrimination: now there is. It follows that the amendment has invested the citizens of the United States with a new constitutional right which is within the protecting power of Congress. That right is exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This, under the express provisions of the second section of the amendment, Congress may enforce by "appropriate legislation."

It remains now to consider whether a statute, so general as this in its provisions, can be made available for the punishment of those who may be guilty of unlawful discrimination against citizens of the United States, while exercising the elective franchise, on account of their race, &c.

It would certainly be dangerous if the legislature could set a net large enough to catch all possible offenders, and leave it to the courts to step inside and say who could be rightfully detained, and who should be set at large. This would, to some extent, substitute the judicial for the legislative department of the government. The courts enforce the legislative will when ascertained, if within the constitutional grant of power. Within its legitimate sphere, Congress is supreme, and beyond the control of the courts; but if it steps outside of its constitutional limitations, and attempts that which is beyond its reach, the courts are authorized to, and when called upon in due course of legal proceedings, must, annul its encroachments upon the reserved power of the States and the people.

To limit this statute in the manner now asked for would be to make a new law, not to enforce an old one. This is no part of our duty.

We must, therefore, decide that Congress has not as yet provided by 'appropriate legislation' for the punishment of the offence charged in the indictment; and that the Circuit Court properly sustained the demurrers, and gave judgment for the defendants. . . .

MR. JUSTICE CLIFFORD and MR. JUSTICE HUNT dissenting.

MR. JUSTICE CLIFFORD [excerpt]:

I concur that the indictment is bad, but for reasons widely different from those assigned by the court. States, as well as the United States, are prohibited by the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution from denying or abridging the right of citizens of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and power is vested in Congress, by the second article of that amendment, to enforce that prohibition "by appropriate legislation."

Since the adoption of that amendment, Congress has legislated upon the subject; and, by the first section of the Enforcement Act, it is provided that citizens of the United States, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, shall, if otherwise qualified to vote in state, territorial, or municipal elections, be entitled and allowed to vote at all such elections, any constitution, law, custom, usage, or regulation of any State or Territory, or by or under its authority, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Beyond doubt, that section forbids all discrimination between white citizens and citizens of color in respect to their right to vote; but the section does not provide that the person or officer making such discrimination shall be guilty of any offence, nor does it prescribe that the person or officer guilty of making such discrimination shall be subject to any fine, penalty, or punishment whatever.

The election officials were indicted in federal court under Sections 2 and 3 of the Enforcement Act of 1870. Section 2 required that administrative preliminaries to elections be conducted without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, while Section 3 forbade wrongful refusal to register votes where a prerequisite step “required as aforesaid” had been omitted. The ruling held that Section 3 was unenforceable because it did not specifically use the terms “race,” “color,” or “previous condition of servitude.” The Fifteenth Amendment stated that the right to vote would “not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State,” but made no mention about protecting that right from individuals who denied others the right to vote. The Court ruled that the Enforcement Act was still valid at the federal level, but had no authority as far as state or local elections.

The ruling held that all the Fifteenth Amendment did was prevent exclusion from voting specifically on racial grounds. The result of the decision was that states were free to develop literacy tests, grandfather clauses, **poll taxes**, and other means to disenfranchise blacks as long as they did not specifically list race as a reason for denying the vote. The *Reese* decision, along with *U.S. v. Cruikshank*, effectively ended any remaining chance that **Reconstruction** would result in a biracial society, or at least one where blacks would be able to participate in the political process. Following *Reese*, Mississippi led the South in developing a host of requirements for voting, which while they did not specifically mention skin color, had the intended result of disenfranchising most blacks and very few whites. *See also* Mississippi Plan; *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

The Universal Negro Improvement Association was founded and led by **Marcus Garvey**, a Pan-African nationalist, and it became the largest black organization in American history, with millions of followers and tens of thousand of members across the United States. The UNIA enabled Garvey to become one of the most important black leaders of the 1920s. Indeed, one cannot understand the significance of the UNIA without understanding Garvey. Garvey’s passion and charisma, along with his message that blacks should help themselves, unite with one another, and reject integration, caused many other black leaders, such as **W.E.B. Du Bois**, to revile Garvey, while Garvey’s supporters admired him and worked tirelessly for the UNIA.

Marcus Garvey was born on August 17, 1887, in St Ann’s Bay, Jamaica, a British colony at that time. He worked as an apprentice printer and witnessed the terrible living and working conditions on the island as well as the nature of

colonial rule and racism. In 1911, he moved to England, where he met African intellectuals and read widely about African history and culture. This motivated Garvey to work for the advancement of all people of African descent, in Africa and the Americas. When he returned to Jamaica in 1914, he founded the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League. Garvey admired the work of **Booker T. Washington**, particularly Washington's focus on building up the wealth and skills of the black community, and therefore he hoped to develop a trade school along the lines of Tuskegee. However, he found limited opportunities in Jamaica.

With problems mounting in Jamaica, Garvey left for the United States in 1916, as part of an influx of Caribbean immigrants to urban areas, in particular New York City. Garvey decided to tour the United States to speak on black pride and how to restore black greatness—on this tour, he became an amazing orator that captivated all who listened. His message found a receptive audience in black communities facing economic dislocation, racism, segregation and disfranchisement at the height of **Jim Crow**. He organized the first U.S. branch of the UNIA in 1917, and began to publish the *Negro World*, which articulated his **Black Nationalist** ideas and informed readers about the activities of the UNIA. Garvey set up his UNIA headquarters in Harlem, New York City, the home to a new and emerging black disaffected and urban working class.

From his office in New York, Garvey pushed for a back-to-Africa movement, and an Africa free from European colonial rule; a cause he passionately pursued all his life. As a result, he became the most popular black leader in the United States, and the UNIA mushroomed in size, with scores of local chapters throughout the nation. The pageantry and titles of the UNIA also attracted followers in droves. For example, the African Legionaries and Black Cross Nurses in splendid garb marched through the streets on Harlem in a show of black pride—the like of which had never been seen before. But the UNIA was more than just image; it had a real message and agenda. The UNIA focused on the goals of economic advancement and the uniting of all people of African descent. The UNIA funded many black businesses and provided loans and insurances to developing a community. The UNIA certainly invested their money in their mission. For example, evidence survives of dozens of UNIA-funded grocery stores, restaurants, laundries, printing presses, factories, and the like. These businesses served as symbols of black progress but also provided jobs, incomes, and opportunities. The center of UNIA activity was in Harlem, but in cities across the United States, the UNIA owned similar facilities. Thus the UNIA uplifted many African Americans, men and women, and it gave African Americans the belief in their own abilities, and this led to self-help.

UNIA was so successful in part because of Garvey, but there was more to it than that. Timing was a major contributor to the success of the UNIA. The prophet of self-help for African Americans, Booker T. Washington, had died in 1915 and the recently formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League could not fill the void at

that time. The UNIA preached self-help and provided a practical agenda for everyday black men and women to succeed. In addition, after **World War I**, African Americans wanted a new type of country and better conditions; millions had recently moved North in the **Great Migration**, and they needed a leader and an organization that represented them and their aspirations. The UNIA would provide this and much more.

Scholars have debated who joined the UNIA in the United States. From the evidence, it is clear that the membership fell into two categories. There was a cadre of leaders with experience and a history of organizing. Perhaps the most famous was Thomas Fortune, an editor, activist, and ally of Booker T. Washington. Other black leaders from the intelligentsia also became leaders, such as Henrietta Vinton Davies. In addition, many black religious leaders also joined and held prominent positions in the UNIA. Not surprisingly, perhaps, a vast number of local leaders were from the **Caribbean**. The rank and file of the UNIA is also fascinating. All the members (and leaders) were black; there were no white members (as in the case of the NAACP). Most were Americans, and it seems that most were determined to improve their lives. In fact, many were small businessmen, hard-working laborers, and young people who wanted to do well and had determination and belief in self-help and black power. One scholar successfully argues that many of the members or followers of the UNIA were first-generation, Southern-born African Americans living in the urban North. Men and women joined in huge numbers. It is true that the UNIA was rather masculine and somewhat sexist, though for its time, this was not that unusual. However, many women held local leadership positions and played key roles in campaigns, organizing, and recruitment. Women joined in large numbers and worked hard to make the UNIA a success.

In the past, historians have suggested that the UNIA was more dominant in the North than the South of the United States. However, a recent study of black political struggle plausibly argues that in fact the majority the UNIA was located in the South in rural areas and small towns. Over half of the local UNIA divisions were in the South, with **Louisiana** having the most divisions in the South. Although major cities such as New Orleans, Atlanta, and Raleigh had significant UNIA activity, the small towns of the South witnessed the most activity. The UNIA's *The Negro World* was widely circulated in the South and local organizers became radicalized. Many of the organizers and followers of the UNIA in the South would become activists in the modern **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s and 1960s.

Garvey was a charismatic leader, but a poor businessman. Although the UNIA provided thousands of jobs to poor blacks and set up many businesses (black owned and operated) several of the UNIA's ambitious programs failed. For example, in 1919, Garvey purchased three ships and developed the Black Star Steamship Line, selling stock to African Americans, as a symbol of black power. The line failed due to high costs and mismanagement. In the early 1920s, Garvey sought to work with the Liberian government to settle African Americans there, but this also ultimately failed. Garvey also hoped to get the League of Nations to grant the UNIA possession of the former German colony of Tangaruka. This failed too, not least because the European colonial powers

could not allow an independent black nation in Africa. As a result the Pan-Africanist agenda of the UNIA did not succeed in a material sense. Through it all, however, Garvey's adherence to **Black Nationalism**, Pan-Africanism and pro-working class aspirations, made him a hero to his followers.

The UNIA's relationship with other black organizations at the time was very tense. Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA dismissed the work of the NAACP as too narrow and controlled by whites, and Garvey believed that integration was a fool's errand. Indeed, the UNIA did not build alliances with other black organizations and black leaders. The philosophy and political approach of the UNIA was too different to the NAACP and the Urban League, for example. W.E.B. Du Bois despised Garvey and opposed the UNIA (though late in his life, Du Bois adopted many of the tenants of Black Nationalism). **A. Philip Randolph**, a key black leader in Harlem, saw Garvey as a fool. Garvey and the UNIA responded in kind, and the divisions within the black leadership did not help the plight of everyday African Americans, but it does illustrate the gamut of opinion on how to solve the problems of Jim Crow, racism, and political powerlessness.

As Garvey's power and prestige increased and the number of the UNIA's adherents swelled, the U.S. government worried about Garvey's influence and the radicalism of the UNIA as it empowered a restless black urban population, along with disgruntled black intellectuals. Thus, the **federal government** sought to discredit Garvey and smash the UNIA. A young J. Edgar Hoover masterminded the campaign to destroy Garvey and the UNIA. Garvey was arrested on mail fraud charges and was convicted and sentenced to five years in jail in 1925. Without their magnetic leader, the UNIA declined rapidly into a shell of its former self. For example, the businesses owned by the UNIA closed, and much of its property was sold. There was no leader to take over from Garvey; he *was* the UNIA. Although President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in 1927, he was deported back to Jamaica (he was never a U.S. citizen). He left a hero to many African Americans. In Jamaica, Garvey tried to continue the work of the UNIA, but the old magic was lost. In 1935, he left for Great Britain, where he died in 1940 a broken man.

In his lifetime, Garvey worked tirelessly for the equal rights of people of African descent, and he dismissed the idea of integration. He saw the struggle for equality in the United States as only part of the problem facing people of color. The UNIA made a huge difference in the lives of African Americans, particularly the poor. The UNIA empowered blacks, helped the poor with various social programs, and rejected racism and integration. The UNIA was radical with a far-reaching and transformative agenda. In Pan-Africanism, Garvey and the UNIA hoped to unite a mass world movement to liberate Africans from European and white control. In this endeavor, the UNIA failed. However, the legacy of the UNIA and Garvey is crucial. He provided hope and inspiration to a more militant group of younger blacks. In the 1960s, he became an icon to **Malcolm X**, the black power movement, and the independence movements in the Caribbean and Africa.

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James M. Beeby

V

Van Der Zee, James (1886–1983)

James Augustus Joseph Van Der Zee was a noted Harlem photographer who was “discovered” through New York City’s 1967 Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition, *Harlem on My Mind: Cultural Capital of Black America, 1908–1968*. His artistic and sometimes romanticized images are noted for the dignity and pride emanating from the sitters, whether the rich and famous or the average Harlem resident. Plus, the photographs have historic significance. Although self-taught and regularly conversing with only one other photographer, Van Der Zee’s creatively posed images seemed to capture the essence of the subject. He amassed probably the most important collection of African American photographs of the early twentieth century.

Born in Lenox, Massachusetts, to parents who were maid and butler to ex-president Ulysses S. Grant and his wife when they lived in New York City, Van Der Zee and his brothers also assisted their father when he became a sexton in Lenox. While a teenager, he bought his first camera and began to practice photography, already demonstrating his artistic skills. Those early photos from Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York also display his understanding on the use of light.

After moving to New York in 1907, Van Der Zee worked as a waiter and violinist; he later played with Fletcher Henderson’s Orchestra and became first violinist in the John Wannamaker Orchestra. In 1907, he married Kate Brown, but the marriage ended in divorce after eight years because she wanted him to end his involvement in photography and obtain a more secure position for them and their child. “The Picture Takin’ Man” opened his first studio in Harlem, Guarantee Photos on West 135th Street in 1915, with Gaynella Greenlee Katz, a telephone operator whom he married the following year. For over 50 years with her support, he captured thousands of images of the Harlem community, mostly at the G.G.G. studio on Lenox Avenue to which he moved in 1942.

Besides photographing the likes of boxer **Jack Johnson**, Bill “Bojangles” Robinson, Paul Robeson, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., Florence Mills, and Countee Cullen, he also took pictures ranging from tasteful nudes to community groups such as the Black Jews of Harlem. He was also **Marcus Garvey’s**

personal photographer, thoroughly documenting his famous 1924 convention, for instance. Another aspect of his business was photographing the dead at funeral parlors or churches, a common practice at the time so that the family could send the images to relatives in various parts of the country. Toni Morrison's novel *Jazz* (1992) was influenced by one of the images that she saw in *The Harlem Book of the Dead*.

Van Der Zee painted his own backdrops to enhance his images. He also used a double-printing technique, combining two photographs to show what a person might be dreaming or thinking. The technique was not new to photography, but was one that he discovered independently. Some of his photographs exhibit humor, such as a seemingly formal portrait of a woman sitting in a rocking chair ("Undeclared War"). However, when one notices the time on the clock and the old flat irons and dishes by the side of the chair, the implication is that she is waiting for her husband to come and the items are to throw at him, if need be. Other effects that Van Der Zee used in his photographs included adding smoke to cigarettes, touching up wrinkles and hairlines, and doing whatever he could to enhance his sitters. His goal was to add dignity and beauty to the clients in an era in which blacks were still fighting for basic human rights.

It was the *Harlem on My Mind* exhibit that brought national fame to Van Der Zee. By the late 1960s, Van Der Zee stopped photographing but in 1980, he began working again. Gaynella died in 1976, and in 1978, he married Donna Mussendon, who coaxed him out of retirement. At age 86 and still using the heavy 8 x 10 and 5 x 7 view cameras and later confined to a wheelchair, he photographed notables such as Bill Cosby, **Muhammad Ali**, and Cicely Tyson. The style of the images reflected that of his earlier works and he also used some of the same props. James Van Der Zee died in Washington, DC, following the receipt of his third honorary doctorate from Howard University. He was 96 years old.

Both the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC, and the Howard Greenberg Gallery in New York hung an individual exhibition of Van Der Zee's works, titled *Retrospective*, in 1994. Among his acknowledgments are honorary doctorates from Seton Hall University (1976), Haverford College (1980), and Howard University (1983). Other professional awards include the American Society of Magazine Photographers Award (1969), Life Fellowship at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1979), the first Pierre Toussaint Award (1978), the International Black Photographers Award (1979), and the Living Legend Award (1979). The U.S. Postal Service honored him with a postage stamp.

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George H. Junne, Jr.

Veterans Groups

Veterans groups are voluntary fraternal organizations whose members shared a common experience of serving in the U.S. **armed forces**, usually, but not always, during wartime. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, most veterans' groups were segregated, although in some areas outside of the South where blacks were relatively few, black veterans were often allowed to join, either officially or unofficially. In areas with larger black populations, black veterans formed their own groups, although such black groups were usually chapters of larger white-dominated organizations.

During the **Jim Crow** era, the very existence of the black veteran had often been denied, in that the image of the American soldier during wartime shown in movies and books was of a white man. Black participation was usually mildly celebrated during wartime, but forgotten and denied after the fighting ended. As serving in the military has historically been tied to the concept of the citizen, and thus the obligation to serve was often linked to the right to vote, the denial or denigration of black military service was a cornerstone in upholding Jim Crow. In general, veterans groups followed the practice of the U.S. military in that they allowed blacks to join, but segregated them into separate chapters or posts, reserving all state and national leadership positions to white men. Only when the military itself began integrating, albeit slowly, did veterans organizations begin integrating.

American military veterans have formed formal and informal groups since colonial times, but the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of large politically active groups of veterans groups, notably the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), composed of Union veterans from the Civil War. The GAR remained a conservative political voice in the North until age thinned its ranks into oblivion around the end of **World War I**. As the Union army was by the last year of the Civil War almost 10 percent black, and the Union navy in general had black sailors as part of the crews on warships, the potential for black membership in the GAR was high. However, many blacks who served in Union forces in the Civil War came from the South, and many returned to the South following the war, where GAR chapters did not exist. Additionally, in some areas, white veterans did not allow blacks to join the local GAR post. The very low membership of black veterans in the GAR worked against the development of separate GAR chapters for black members. Some chapters, particularly in areas that had been strongholds of abolitionist sentiment before and during the war, occasionally had one or two black members.

Conversely, Confederate veterans groups by the turn of the century increasingly sought to publicize black participation in the Confederate armies, in order to support the post-**Reconstruction** reinterpretation that slavery had

played a minuscule part in causing the war. Some Confederate veterans groups thus maintained an ambivalent stance toward black Confederate veterans, publicizing their existence to the North to refute Northern claims that the South fought to defend slavery, yet at the same time Southern whites denied that blacks had earned the right to exercise their political rights through their service in the Civil War. However, as black participation in the Confederate armies had been minuscule, the black veterans who did exist were more of a novelty to most of the South.

The mass participation in the military during the wars of the twentieth century led to a new flowering of veterans organizations. Prior to World War I, veterans organizations were normally for veterans of a particular war. However, the twentieth century saw the creation of large veterans organizations, reflecting the mass involvement in war that characterized much of the century. The new veterans organizations created in the twentieth century varied in requirements for membership. The American Legion was the broadest, accepting veterans from any branch of the military, regardless of whether the veteran served in war or peace, or if the veteran had volunteered for military service or been drafted. The Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) was more selective, requiring members to have served in combat. Black chapters of these larger organizations began within a few years of their formation. The American Legion began granting charters to black posts in the 1920s. Part of the justification for granting charters to black posts came from the self-images of the American Legion, that it spoke for all veterans and was thus the main voice to lobby Congress regarding veterans' issues. Since all veterans, black or white, benefited from the activities of the American Legion, then black veterans should share part of the financial burden of supporting the Legion's efforts through their dues.

Veterans organizations played several roles in society. Foremost, they gave veterans an opportunity to gather with others who had shared a similar life experience. At the same, their collective voice gave veterans more power in society than they had since the decades after the Civil War. However, veterans organizations tended to follow the Jim Crow practices that existed in the military, and thus most major veterans organizations such as the American Legion and the VFW had separate chapters for black veterans. Only during the 1960s and 1970s would individual chapters drop the color bar. *See also* World War II.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Virginia

During the **Jim Crow** era, the Commonwealth of Virginia, an Upper South state, had some of the strictest laws in the nation that kept nonwhites

subordinated to whites. Additionally, Virginia led the nation in its antimiscegenation laws and in its zealous pioneering efforts at eugenics. The state was also the scene of some of the key events in the **Civil Rights Movement**, which led to the disestablishment of Jim Crow.

Virginia had been the birthplace of black slavery in the United States, and as a colony and into the federal period, Virginia slave owners made much of their wealth exporting surplus slaves for an expanding national market. Laws from the 1830s required emancipated blacks to leave the state within one year of gaining their freedom. The Virginia slave code went beyond that of most slave states, forbidding conversion to Christianity as grounds for granting freedom to slaves. Slaveowners had no legal liability for causing the death of their slaves, either by accident or intentionally. Fearing that literacy in part tended to lead to slave rebellions, the act of teaching a slave to read became a crime.

Following the Civil War and **Reconstruction**, Virginia followed the **Mississippi Plan** to deprive blacks of the right to vote, mainly using poll taxes and property qualifications, which also tended to disenfranchise poor whites. Virginia also used understanding tests, in which an election official would ask the potential registrant to explain a given passage in the Constitution. Usually, the responses of blacks were judged to be insufficient to allow the black person to register to vote.

Virginia's real pioneering efforts were in eugenics, the pseudoscience of improving the population by preventing those deemed "less fit" from reproducing. Its Racial Integrity Act of 1924 required that each child born in the state be assigned to a racial category, and its defining racial characteristics described. The act also specifically outlawed marriages between white and nonwhite persons. Virginia's law went further in this respect than similar laws in other states, in that Virginia made the state of marriage itself a crime if it was between a white and a nonwhite person. Thus, an interracial couple legally married in New York could be arrested if they came to Virginia. Most states with similar laws simply refused to issue marriage licenses to couples of different "races." Virginia also in 1924 passed the Sterilization Act, allowing the state to sterilize anyone deemed "unfit." The law fell hardest on poor uneducated whites and nonwhites who were institutionalized. Virginia's eugenics policies were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1924 in the *Buck v. Bell* ruling, which held that the state had a vested interest in preventing those found mentally deficient from reproducing. Virginia's eugenics program would later be the model for similar programs created by the Nazi Party in Germany in the 1930s.

The linkage of Virginia's antimiscegenation law and its sterilization law stemmed from the work of Professors Arthur Estabrook and Ivan McDougale, who published a deeply flawed 1924 study of a mixed population near Lynchburg of what they termed the "WIN" tribe, which stood for "White, Indian, and Negro." According to Estabrook and McDougale, throughout history, whenever white populations lived for long periods with blacks, the result was the "mongrelization" of the whites, and the decline of society. The heavily biased study concluded that mixed-race persons inherited the "worst" traits of each parent stock, and thus allowing mixed-race people to be created was to be prevented using the full power of the state. Virginia had little interest in

preventing the interbreeding of various nonwhite peoples, and state laws specifically applied only to preventing white and nonwhite mixing.

Despite this fear of racial mixing, and Virginia's strict racial classification laws, where the "one-drop rule" prevailed, as opposed to the one-eighth rule that was more common in the South, a notable exception was enshrined in Virginia law. Most of the so-called First Families of Virginia claimed descent from the Powhatan Pocahontas from her marriage to John Rolfe. To accommodate these families, many of whom were prominent politically or economically, the law declared that persons who were one-sixteenth or less of Indian descent, and otherwise white, were to be considered 100 percent white under Virginia law.

In the years after **World War II**, Virginia's Jim Crow laws came under increasing pressure from several sources. The massive expansion of the **federal government** under the New Deal and especially during the war had led to enormous growth in the northeast part of the state, directly across the Potomac from Washington. Many of the state's new residents were from outside the south and far less inclined to support overt discrimination. Additionally, the State Department put specific pressure on Maryland and Virginia to abolish racial discrimination, at least in the areas around Washington, as they created international difficulties for the United States in trying to bring newly emerging African nations into alliances with the United States and a rejection of the Soviet bloc. However, Virginia politicians, backed by politicians throughout the South, proved unsympathetic to State Department difficulties, and took no immediate actions to lessen at least the more obvious signs of Jim Crow.

Virginia's strict enforcement of Jim Crow led to two important legal challenges that would lead to great victories in abolishing the entire system. In a case that began when a black Virginia woman traveling to Maryland was arrested in 1944 for refusing to get to the back of a Greyhound bus, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Irene Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia* (1946), that racial segregation of bus passengers in interstate travel was unlawful. In 1960, the Court extended the ruling in *Boynton v. Virginia*, which outlawed segregated waiting rooms and other facilities for passengers at bus terminals serving bus lines involved in interstate travel.

Other Jim Crow laws in Virginia would provide fodder for other legal challenges to legalized discrimination. The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case was based in part on the earlier *Davis v. Prince Edwards County School Board, Virginia* case, which was filed by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attorneys. The Davis case began in 1951 out of student protest against the disparities between spending on white and black public school in Virginia.

Following the *Brown* decision, Governor Thomas B. Stanley announced that Virginia would resist integration of its public schools. He then formed the all-white **Gray Commission**, ostensibly to study the impact of the *Brown* decision, but in reality to attempt to avoid implementing it. Its chairman and namesake, **Garland Gray**, was a staunch segregationist. Five years after *Brown*, few school districts were integrated. Some Virginia counties closed their public schools rather than integrate. This tactic was ruled

unconstitutional in the 1964 U.S. Supreme Court ruling of *Griffin v. School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia*.

A legal challenge to Virginia's strict anti-interracial marriage law ended with the nullification of all such state laws nationwide. The 1967 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Loving v. Virginia* held that all state laws banning interracial marriages were unconstitutional. In the ruling, Chief Justice Warren noted "the fact that Virginia prohibits only interracial marriages involving white persons demonstrates that the racial classifications . . . [were] measures designed to maintain White Supremacy." Thus the very extreme nature of Virginia's law helped abolish all such laws nationwide. *See also* Cold War.

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Barry M. Stentiford

Vocational Education

Vocational education, also known as industrial education or curriculum, has, for hundreds of years, provided black Americans with technical and ideological training to replicate and accept their low-wage and servant-class status. Courses in schools at every educational level throughout the nation trained the sons and daughters of slavery as manual laborers, janitors, chauffeurs, laundresses, servants, cooks, maids, porters and bellmen. To "civilize" and control, rather than allow for upward mobility, schools, in both the North and South, before and after the Civil War, subjected blacks to vocational education. Institutionalized by **Booker T. Washington** and like-minded white philanthropists, vocational education became the predominant method of educating blacks through the civil rights period in America with a legacy that continues into present-day segregated schools.

Schools employing vocational education trained blacks for "Negro jobs," those that working-class whites eschewed to move up the socioeconomic ladder. Manual labor, rather than scholarship, defined educational excellence as administrators self-consciously and intentionally provided blacks with very different educational courses than those experienced by whites in America's newly developing public education system. This curriculum has resulted in generations of blacks trained to constitute a docile industrial caste of semi- and low-skilled workers.

Throughout the South, in all forms of education, from elementary and secondary to college, the primary form of education that most blacks received was vocational education. Promoted by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, Booker T. Washington, his mentee, carried on the tradition at Tuskegee Institute. Perceived as the black community's spokesman and voice of authority on educational issues, Washington preached to educational experts nationally to ensure that the burgeoning education being made available to blacks would be vocational.

Guiding this philosophy was Washington's 1895 proclamation, known as the **Atlanta Compromise**. In this highly-publicized speech at the World's Fair, Washington advised the sons and daughters of slaves to be as separate as the fingers on the hand and to cast down ones buckets where they stood to "dignify and glorify common labor." Washington believed that blacks should be trained to excel in the jobs to which they were allotted by whites prior to moving up the social, political, and economic ladder. In these low-skill jobs reminiscent of slavery, Washington advised African Americans to be patient, thrifty, and industrious so that whites would see their diligence and allow them to move up. Industrial education, according to Washington, would promote blacks' achievement within a strict **Jim Crow** system rather than challenge a system which forbid blacks from many occupations, particularly the professions. As such, vocational curriculum promoted the values of Jim Crow laws and perpetuated black citizens' second-class status by training them not only to fulfill but also to accept and validate their menial roles within society.

Elementary and Secondary Education

In the post-**Reconstruction** South through the Civil Rights era, most black children received only the most rudimentary education. School boards and local governments refused to fund public education for black children, instead using blacks' taxes to build schools for white children. Many black parents worked hard to educate their children by contributing funds from their minimal incomes to build schools and hire teachers, but their efforts were often thwarted by the **Ku Klux Klan** and other vigilantes by destroying schools and scaring away teachers. While many children and parents believed in the transformative value of education for social and economic improvement, few children attended school for longer than three or four months a year (so that they could aid their parents in sharecropping) or for more than four years. The schools they attended were often located miles away from home, with no transportation besides their poorly shod feet, in one-room, drafty buildings with dozens of other children of all ages, and a teacher often with little more education than the oldest in the room. As a result, blacks in the South were disastrously uneducated compared with their Northern counterparts, both black and white.

Two historical forces combined to generate thousands of schools in the South for those who clearly needed them, but which also institutionalized vocational education throughout the land. First, nearly abandoned by the defunct Freedmen's Bureau, Southern blacks were desperate for education. Second, a generation of wealth built through America's industrial revolution that saw the rise in a variety of industries, from oil and steel to retail and railroads, found largely Northern white men with philanthropic ideologies seeking worthwhile causes. Believing in the need of training blacks for their own industries and enterprises (though at the lowest level) while simultaneously using their finances for a philanthropic cause, many Northern white philanthropists were attracted to possibilities of building schools and financing teachers, provided that they subscribed to their philosophies.

After Reconstruction, philanthropists stepped into the void created by the Freedman's Bureau's departure and changed the educational landscape for Southern blacks. Many of these men viewed black education as misguided missionary work and set out to train millions of black youth to fulfill their role as menial laborers in the growing industrial economy. The largest donor to these schools was Julius Rosenwald (founder of Sears) who served on the Board of Directors of Tuskegee. Consulting with Washington, Rosenwald donated funds to build nearly 5,000 schools. Although providing schools to many children who otherwise would have been without education, the ideology employed in many of these schools largely replicated the racial hierarchy by ensuring that students attending them would be unable to pursue higher education. Indeed, many philanthropists forbid headmasters from employing a liberal arts curriculum in common schools.

In these schools, vocational education taught black students to be productive and obedient servants, rather than productive citizens. Children learned basic writing and math skills with limited vocabularies. Insufficient desks, pencils, papers, and books were supplemented with a wide variety of tools, such as cooking utensils, gardening tools, and cleaning supplies, necessary for children preparing to enter the servant class. A notable absence in the curriculum of the larger schools is the lack of required academic core curriculum. Many floor plans find not a single room devoted to academic endeavors, but sufficient space for barbering, janitoring, hairdressing, laundries, and rooms for learning how to be a maid. For many children attending these schools, the highest profession to which they could aspire was teaching nonacademic curriculum in the same low-quality schools to which they were subject.

Both children and their parents critiqued this curricular emphasis given their desire to improve their opportunities through education. Students, in particular, sought education that would transcend their parents' daily lives of oppression through menial jobs and transform them into students prepared for higher education and white-collar professions. Therefore, parents counseled their children against enrollment in industrial courses, especially avoiding majoring in this curriculum, and instead encouraged them to take "elective" academic courses.

Although designed for widespread Southern implementation, local black leaders, teachers, and a small number of progressive whites believing in the value of academic education for the black community subverted the emphasis on vocational education. **W.E.B. Du Bois** was a particularly vocal critic of vocational education who recognized the insidious effects that this curriculum would have on generations of black youth and their potential to develop their intellects to the best of their abilities, move out of the segregated caste system in which they were embedded, and integrate into America's social and economic community. Though often required to submit reports to the funding sources, teachers and black leaders nevertheless worked hard to instill their schools with a liberal arts curriculum, hire teachers well-trained for this curriculum, and produce students who could compete with their white counterparts. Particularly in large cities with large populations of black students, educators created academically rigorous learning environments for their students that nurtured both their minds and their spirits by instilling in them a

knowledge of black history and culture. These schools, though they received considerably less funding than those of whites, succeeded in fostering a sense of community, as teachers nurtured African American children and provided them with safe spaces to learn, express their ideas, and develop the tools necessary to survive in a white world.

Vocational education was not just reserved for blacks in Southern schools. In Northern schools, as in the South, black students in segregated schools and in segregated classes within integrated schools were trained to be servants, washerwomen, cooks, bellhops and elevator operators in white-owned homes and businesses. In cities such as Newark, Philadelphia, Boston and New York City, African American children received separate and inferior education similar to that of their Southern counterparts. Interestingly, this vocational training in the North was similar to that received by racialized European immigrants in many urban centers as well. In larger cities, boys and girls often attended sex-segregated junior and senior high schools where young women were taught to cook, sew, and clean while boys were taught to polish shoes, work an elevator, and the most efficient ways to carry luggage. For example, in New York City during the 1950s, the Board of Education assigned white children to academic high schools where they learned subjects necessary for a college entrance diploma, but sent blacks to vocational high schools where they learned to be servants and earned a high school certificate. This was little more than an attendance certificate and did not meet college admission requirements, thereby producing the same underclass of workers prepared only for the lowest-skilled jobs in urban areas.

Therefore, in both the rural South and urban North, blacks attended segregated, underfunded, and academically lacking schools for nearly 80 years prior to efforts to change schools and their curriculum through integration following the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. As schools for Southern white students improved, those for blacks remained in the same impoverished conditions as they had been in the years immediately following slavery. Drafty and rundown, these schools served only to reproduce the social hierarchy in the South by failing to upgrade curriculum during and after the World Wars and continuing to employ industrial education or teach students only the most basic skills. The differences between black and white students widened as high schools were built for white students in areas far from where the (mostly rural) black population lived.

College Level Vocational Education

At the college level, black education, with few exceptions (such as Morehouse, Howard, and Fisk) was similarly abysmal to that found in lower grades. Many colleges could not support or maintain sufficient professors, laboratory equipment, or libraries to provide students with an academically rigorous curriculum beyond the high school level. To improve their colleges financially, administrators collaborated with white philanthropists or state governments dedicated to blacks' political disenfranchisement and economic subordination. Colleges, particularly those including the words, "agricultural," "technical," and "mechanical" were often the only ones available to

blacks. Indeed, many were developed by states required to provide black students with “**separate but equal**” education due to lawsuits challenging the lack of higher education for blacks and their unwillingness to desegregate more prestigious state schools due to the ruling racial ideology of the era.

Blacks attending these colleges learned rudimentary math and reading skills while engaging in trades to pay for their tuition, oftentimes constructing the very buildings in which they were to live and learn. Particularly problematic was that many trades students learned were outdated and of no practical use to these young students. For example, in some schools, black men learned how to make bricks by hand and then bake them out in the sun. However, mechanized brickmaking had already been invented as a more efficient way to make uniformly sized bricks, thereby making this training irrelevant. Others plowed fields with horses and oxen even as tractors and mechanized plows became commonplace. Teachers at these schools were also required to construct school buildings and work in the fields to provide role models of a hard work ethic and the value of hard labor for students.

Students were not taught the most technically skilled careers, such as training that would prepare them to become plumbers, electricians, or printers. Instead, they were trained to be apprentices. For example, in carpentry classes, rather than learning to build an entire house, students learned to make window sashes and frames but little else. These were intentional efforts by the schools to ensure that blacks were not trained to compete with whites for high-skill jobs and to maintain and justify a segregated labor force given the differences in skills. These efforts worked, as many graduates of Hampton in the late 1800s could be found working as porters and waiters.

Many attending schools such as Hampton protested the mediocre commitment to academic subjects and simultaneous exaltations to perform hard labor throughout much of the school year. Those in academic courses found themselves simply reviewing what they had learned in grade school, particularly those in the program of study to become teachers in Southern schools. Students demanded practical and technical training as to all, rather than just the most basic aspects, of the trades to ensure their ability to compete and acquire for jobs in local labor markets. *See also* Black Codes; Education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

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Melissa F. Weiner

Voting Rights Act of 1965

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed on August 6, 1965, under the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson. Its overall purpose was to

outlaw the many discriminatory voting practices that were in place in Southern states following Reconstruction.

The act was passed in an attempt to uphold the intention of another edict ratified 95 years earlier: the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The amendment, adopted in 1870, was the first legislative action taken against “discrimination on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of slavery.” As the attempted **Reconstruction** ended in failure, Southern states began to find ways to keep blacks from voting by using means that were not stated in the Fifteenth Amendment. State officials did this through violence, intimidation, and enacting **Jim Crow** laws that included literacy tests, poll taxes, and grandfather clauses that gave otherwise disqualified voters whose grandfathers voted the right to vote. The effect of putting racially motivated restrictions on the voting process ultimately prevented blacks from gaining any political and economic power.

In 1954, state-sponsored segregation in public schools was ruled unconstitutional in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act eventually overruled any Jim Crow laws that were still in existence. Despite the fact that the Fifteenth Amendment was used to clarify and solidify voting rights, many Southern blacks and other minorities were still denied voting rights through the 1960s. By the mid-1960s, the rights of African Americans and other minorities in the United States was a matter of great importance within the American political system. Each month went by with more demonstrations, more rallies, and more violence towards them. The tipping point was an incident in Selma **Alabama**, when peaceful protestors were meaninglessly attacked by state troopers. President Johnson immediately began pressuring Congress more to generate civil rights legislation. Some of his goals were met when, in 1965, the Voting Rights Bill was passed.

Congress resolved that the antidiscrimination laws of the day were not strong enough to hold up against state officials who were reluctant to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. This spurred legislative hearings that discovered how ineffective much of the legislation had been. Taking one discriminatory practice at a time made no difference—as soon as one biased practice was prohibited, a new tactic, which was not mentioned in any legislation, was instantly adopted.

The National Voting Rights Act of 1965 banned the idea that in order to be considered an eligible voter in the United States, one must first pass a literacy test. This also required for the federal registration of voters in regions that had less than 50 percent of eligible voters registered.

The act also gave the Department of Justice power to act on any unlawful voting practices. It now had jurisdiction over the registration process, changes in voting laws, and any “devices” that could be used to limit voting. The Voting Rights Act had an immediate impact on the empowerment of the African American population throughout the country by doing away with many of the restrictions that state laws had enacted. In 1966, the **U.S. Supreme Court** upheld the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act, stating that “after enduring nearly a century of systematic resistance to the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress might do well to shift the advantage of time and inertia from the perpetrators of evil to its victims.”

Excerpts from the Voting Rights Act of 1965, pp. 1, 3

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Voting Rights Act of 1965."

SEC. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

SEC. 4. (a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State with respect to which the determinations have been made under subsection (b) or in any political subdivision with respect to which such determinations have been made as a separate unit, unless the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in an action for a declaratory judgment brought by such State or subdivision against the United States has determined that no such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: Provided, That no such declaratory judgment shall issue with respect to any plaintiff for a period of five years after the entry of a final judgment of any court of the United States, other than the denial of a declaratory judgment under this section, whether entered prior to or after the enactment of this Act, determining that denials or abridgments of the right to vote on account of race or color through the use of such tests or devices have occurred anywhere in the territory of such plaintiff. An action pursuant to this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. The court shall retain jurisdiction of any action pursuant to this subsection for five years after judgment and shall reopen the action upon motion of the Attorney General alleging that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.

If the Attorney General determines that he has no reason to believe that any such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, he shall consent to the entry of such judgment.

(b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or in any political subdivision of a state which (1) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and with respect to which (2) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 percentum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 percentum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964.

A determination or certification of the Attorney General or of the Director of the Census under this section or under section 6 or section 13 shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register.

(c) The phrase "test or device" shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge of any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of registered voters or members of any other class.

Three months after the passing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, nearly 8,000 African Americans had registered to vote in Dallas County, Alabama. Only months earlier, violence was used against peaceful demonstrators wanting nothing more than to be treated equally. In **Mississippi**, African American voter registration skyrocketed from 6.7 percent of the population prior to the

enactment of the Voting Rights Act to 59.8 percent by 1967. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 also resulted in a huge increase of African American elected officials. According to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, fewer than 1,500 blacks held elective office in 1970, compared to the current estimate of 9,000. Section Five of the act was interpreted very loosely by the Supreme Court until 1970, when Congress eventually decided that the Supreme Court's interpretations were too broad and hearings on the matter were held. The hearing testimonies were filled with examples of discriminatory practices. The testimonies made clear that on the local level, "gerrymandering, annexations, adoption of at-large elections, and other structural changes" were all looped through the national legislation. Furthermore, recognition of the same kinds of discrimination against other ethnic minority groups materialized in the hearings. Regardless, Congress ultimately validated the Supreme Court's position by extending the bill for 12 years.

The *White v. Regester* decision (412 U.S. 755 [1973]), shaped law through the 1970s against many unfair gerrymandered redistricting plans. It determined that some multimember districts were unconstitutionally being used to restrict the power of minority votes. Even in the twenty-first century, restrictions on ballot access and minority vote intensity remain as serious obstacles to voting rights. Such policies as last-minute location changes of heavily minority polling places, discouragement of non-English-speaking citizens from voting, the use of extremely confusing registration requirements, racially centered campaigning, and intimidation and violence all are discouragements and hindrances for many African Americans to be a part of the voting process.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 undoubtedly empowered African Americans and other minority groups with the right to vote. It is also directly responsible for giving members of those communities a say in shaping the social and economic problems that have plagued them for so long, through local, state, and county elected officials. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 remains as a pivotal piece of American legislation and the fight for equality among races. It is a frontier peace of legislature in maintaining ideals of quality, fairness, and tolerance.

Certain provisions of the Voting Rights Act were set to expire in 2007. Congress responded and the Fannie Lou, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization was signed for a 25-year extension by President George W. Bush on July 27, 2006. *See also* Civil Rights Act of 1964.

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Arthur Holst

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Walker, Madam C. J. (1867–1919)

Madam Charles Joseph Walker was an African American beauty culture entrepreneur who came to prominence by successfully marketing her own brand of hair-care and cosmetics products designed and marketed specifically for black female consumers. Alongside the leading African American political figures of the early twentieth-century, **Booker T. Washington**, **W.E.B. Du Bois** and **Marcus Garvey**, Walker worked to encourage black pride and economic independence during an era of extreme white racial discrimination and limited opportunities for blacks. On her death, Madam Walker was the wealthiest African American woman in the United States, perhaps even the country's first black female millionaire.

Born during the turbulent aftermath of the Civil War, she was christened Sarah by her formerly enslaved parents, Owen and Minerva Breedlove. Her early years were ones of hardship, sorrow and struggle, growing up on a cotton plantation in the tiny village of Delta, **Louisiana** (directly across the Mississippi River from Vicksburg). The harsh and febrile environment of Delta orphaned Sarah at the age of six, when both her parents died in a yellow fever outbreak. She and her older sister Louvenia initially survived this calamity by working in the cotton fields, later moving to Vicksburg to work as domestic servants. Sarah was married to Moses McWilliams when she was 14 years old, had a daughter (A'Lelia) at age 19, and became a widow at age 20. Her second marriage to John Davis took place in 1894 and ended in 1903, at which point Sarah traveled to St. Louis where she labored as a laundrywoman and domestic, saving money to educate her daughter, as well as becoming involved with several charities and the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Sarah began to experience hair loss in her mid-twenties, perhaps a physical symptom of her life's many tests and challenges. In response, she sought a relief by carrying out trials with assorted home remedies and popular medicines, such as "Poro," a patented treatment marketed by another pioneering black female entrepreneur, Annie Turbo Malone. Evidently, Sarah experienced positive benefits from these hair and scalp treatments, as it was during this period that she also started to sell such products door-to-door as an agent for Malone. Following a move to Denver, Colorado, in 1905, she met and

married Charles Joseph Walker. Charles Walker was a newspaper owner with a flair for marketing and with his help, and adopted initials, Sarah launched the Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company.

To promote her brand of beauty products, such as Madam Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, she and her husband embarked on an exhausting door-to-door sales drive throughout the country, giving demonstrations, and training sales agents. In 1910, Madam Walker moved her business headquarters to Indianapolis—then the country's largest manufacturing base and a key node in the national railroad network—and expanded the company's reach internationally to the **Caribbean**. Such was the success of the Walker Company, that by 1919 it was reported to have employed over 3,000 workers at the factory, with another 20,000 sales agents spread across the nation. Opening a Pittsburgh-based beauty training school in 1908, the Lelia College for Walker Hair Culturists, Walker helped create new economic opportunities for black women, at a time when, for many, **domestic work** or **sharecropping** was often the only alternative. Madam Walker's influence could also be felt in numerous black colleges throughout the South, where she had gained permission to install beauty parlors and promote the Walker system of hair preparation.

Madam Walker's business career was not without controversy. African American leaders, such as Washington and Garvey, were deeply opposed to the cosmetics industry on the grounds that its hair-straightening and skin-lightening products demeaned black people and promoted white standards of beauty. However, in marked contrast to the explicitly racist language and imagery seen in the advertisements of many white-owned cosmetics manufacturers, the Walker Company's marketing campaigns were highly effective in circulating positive images of black femininity and in fostering racial pride. As well as being a generous supporter of black colleges and charities, Madam Walker encouraged political activism in her employees. Following the **East St. Louis Riot of 1917**, she joined the campaign to have **lynching** made a federal crime and appeared as the keynote speaker at numerous National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fund-raisers on behalf of the antilynching effort.

Madam Walker died at the age of 52. Her daughter A'Lelia, who became a central figure in the **Harlem Renaissance**, succeeded her as president of the C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company. *See also* Cosmetics; Women.

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Stephen C. Kenny

Wallace, George (1919–1998)

George Corley Wallace was an **Alabama** governor who fought desegregation efforts during the 1960s. Wallace was born in Clio, Alabama, on August 25, 1919. As a child, Wallace expressed a great desire to involve himself in politics, seeing it as a way to help him, and others, out of poverty. After

receiving an undergraduate degree from the University of Alabama, he enrolled in law school. Shortly after graduation, he was called to serve his country in the Army Air Corps during the Second World War. Almost immediately upon his return from the Pacific theater, he began a long career of public service. He served as a circuit judge, and later, he served in the Alabama House of Representatives. Wallace initially took a progressive stand on issues of civil rights and integration in particular. This changed dramatically after he lost a gubernatorial election in 1958 to a candidate who took a stronger stand against integration. Wallace blamed his loss on his moderate stand on civil rights issues.

Wallace first gained national attention when he physically stood in the doorway of the building where students at the University of Alabama registered for classes. His intention was to fulfill a campaign promise to physically prevent African American students from registering for classes at an all-white school. While the stand was largely symbolic and completely ineffective in preventing his goal of preserving segregation, this scene was displayed to a national audience by way of network television. This event propelled his political career that would span two decades as an elected official.

During this time in office, he campaigned against the expansion of integration. He regularly spoke against integration and used his position as governor to slow the progress of integration and impede the spread of civil rights for African Americans. He served as Alabama governor for four terms, 1963 to 1967, 1971 to 1975, 1975 to 1979, and 1983 to 1987. He was a presidential candidate for the **Democratic Party** in 1964, 1972, and 1976. He also ran as an independent in 1968. During Wallace's first term as governor, an Alabama governor could not succeed himself. After a failed attempt to eliminate this restriction, he convinced his wife, Lurleen, to run for governor. She succeeded and was governor from 1967 until her death in May 1968. Having his wife in office enabled him to continue to influence Alabama's state government and provided a base of support for his campaign for president through his American Independent Party. Although he won the electoral votes of several Southern states, he came up short in his presidential bid. After his reelection to the Alabama governorship in 1970, he began his third attempt to run for the presidency. This time, he ran for president as a Democrat. After a respectable showing in early primaries, he was shot by a gunman while campaigning at a shopping mall in Maryland. One of the bullets lodged near his spinal cord and left him paralyzed from the waist down. This injury effectively ended his presidential campaign and any future hopes of becoming president. After an easy reelection as Alabama's governor in 1974, he attempted his fourth and final run for the presidency. After weak showings in early primaries, he withdrew from the race. He mounted his final gubernatorial campaign in 1982. Once again, he was successful. He decided not to run for reelection in 1986, citing complications from injuries stemming from the gunshot wounds, which took a toll on his health.

After his retirement from public service, Wallace spent a great amount of time apologizing for his actions and words that caused so much harm to so many people. He visited with many of the leaders of the civil rights era and other elected African Americans for the purpose of asking their forgiveness.

Many of his former adversaries publicly forgave Wallace for his actions and stated he had a changed heart. Wallace died of heart failure on September 13, 1998. *See also* Folsom, James; National Guard.

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James Newman

Waller, Fats (1904–1943)

Thomas Wright “Fats” Waller, one of the giants of twentieth-century jazz piano, was born in New York City on May 21, 1904. Shortly after his birth, his family moved to Harlem. His father was an assistant pastor at Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.’s Abyssinian Baptist Church; his mother was an organist and singer. Waller developed his skills first on the organ at the church, and later on a piano that his family purchased. He left DeWitt Clinton high school before graduating, finding work as an organist at the Lincoln Theater and spending his late nights playing at “rent parties” in Harlem at which aspiring pianists would compete for the audience’s favor. When he was 16, he met pianist and composer James P. Johnson, who remained a friend and mentor for the rest of his life. Waller played in local clubs and made his first recording on Okeh Records, a label that specialized in “race records” in 1922, backing blues artist Sara Martin. Waller recorded a number of sides for Okeh, both as an accompanist and as a featured artist. He also quickly made a name for himself as a composer. In 1923, he first sold a composition, *Wildcat Blues*, to Clarence Williams, a promoter and publisher who specialized in race music. That same year he landed his first gig on the radio, broadcasting from the Fox Terminal Theater in Newark, New Jersey.

In 1926, Waller began recording on the Victor label. His early musical efforts drew the attention of musicians and jazz audiences, but he was not paid well for his efforts. Black musicians made less than their white counterparts in both studio and live performances. White publishers routinely exploited black composers, although like many of his peers, Waller would sell a composition more than once in an effort to make more money from it. With lyricist Andy Razaf, with whom he collaborated for most of his career, Waller had his first great success composing the songs for the all-black show *Connie’s Hot Chocolates*, which opened in New York’s Hudson Theater in the summer of 1929 and ran for over 200 performances before going on the road. Among the Waller compositions featured was “Ain’t Misbehavin.” In the 1930s, Waller moved to California and performed regularly in the New Cotton Club in Los Angeles. He appeared in two films in 1935, and continued a hectic touring and recording schedule.

Despite his celebrity, Waller still faced discrimination, particularly outside of his native Harlem. He and his fellow musicians were refused accommodations, particularly in Southern and Western states. During a 1943 tour, he

and his manager were refused service in the dining room of a hotel in Omaha, Nebraska, just before Waller was scheduled to play a benefit concert for servicemen in that city. Even in New York City, Waller experienced the risks of crossing the color line. In 1938, two white women approached Waller and his brother Edward as they were getting into a cab, hoping to get Waller's autograph. Their white male escorts, annoyed by the attention paid to the black men, began beating the women. In the altercation that ensued, Edward Waller was shot and seriously wounded by one of the men.

Fats Waller died in the last days of his 1943 tour, after he boarded a train in Los Angeles to return to New York. Despite his early death at age 39, he left behind a remarkable body of work, both as a virtuoso musician and as a prolific and popular composer. *See also* Cinema.

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James Ivy

Waring, J. Waties (1880–1968)

Julius Waties Waring was a federal judge appointed to the Eastern District of **South Carolina** on January 26, 1942. Nominated by U.S. Senator Ellison DuRant ("Cotton Ed") Smith, a white supremacist, Waring was the son of a Confederate war veteran, and for most of his long life he moved in the exclusive circles of the Charleston Club, the St. Cecilia Society, and the Charleston Light Dragoons.

Waring graduated with honors from the College of Charleston in 1900, and passed the bar two years later. In 1913, he married socialite Annie Gammell, and they had one daughter, Anne. In 1920, he established the Waring & Brockinton law firm, became active in South Carolina's white **Democratic Party** politics, and in 1931 was appointed city attorney for Mayor Burnett Maybank's administration. Maybank later became governor (1939–1941) and ultimately a U.S. senator (1941–1954). By 1938, Waring had advanced in the Democratic Party to Charleston's point man for Cotton Ed Smith's senatorial campaign.

During his first two years on the federal bench, Waring functioned as a traditional and rather unremarkable jurist, but in 1945, he began to question Southern mores. That year, Viola Duvall filed a class action suit on behalf of Charleston's black teachers who earned substantially less than the city's white teachers. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attorney **Thurgood Marshall** presented the case, and Waring ruled that if black teachers could offer educational credentials comparable to white teachers, they were entitled to receive comparable pay.

In 1946, Waring divorced his wife of 32 years and married Elizabeth Avery Mills Hoffman, a Northern divorcee and outspoken critic of segregation. When the judge subsequently demanded that black men and women be addressed as Mr., Miss, or Mrs. in his court, abolished segregated jury seating,

and appointed a black bailiff, many of his old friends blamed Elizabeth Waring for turning him against the Southern Way of life. He insisted, however, that “when you’re practicing law you’re representing a particular interest [but] . . . when you’re on the bench you’re not interested in who wins the case. You’re interested in seeing the case handled justly and right.”

Gradually, the Warings became almost completely ostracized by Charleston’s white society, and the judge was no longer welcome at St. Cecelia Society Balls or in the private clubs that he had frequented for over 40 years. Former friends insisted that they had abandoned him because of his scandalous divorce rather than for his new ideas about racial justice.

In the summer of 1946, Waring presided in a suit brought against a white South Carolina police officer by black army veteran Isaac Woodward. After his discharge from the army at Fort Benning, Georgia, Woodward had boarded a bus for **North Carolina**. At the first rest stop, he and the driver argued about how much time the soldier had taken. The police were called and Woodward was charged with drunk and disorderly conduct. When he denied being drunk, the arresting officer beat him so severely that both his corneas were destroyed and he was permanently blinded. The officer’s defense was that he believed Woodward had tried to take his gun. Since there were no witnesses, the jury refused to convict. Waring described both the U.S. attorney’s defense of Woodward and the jury’s verdict as “disgraceful.”

That October, George Elmore, black manager of the Waverly Five and Dime in Columbia, South Carolina, was denied a ballot for the Democratic primary at Richland County’s Ward Ninth precinct. Again, the NAACP brought suit, this time to challenge the constitutionality of the **white primary**. As the Democratic Party was the only party in the state, voting in the primary was more important than voting in the general election, since whoever won the primary won the election. Denying blacks access to the primary effectively denied them voting rights. Thurgood Marshall argued *Elmore v. Rice* before Judge Waring on February 21, 1947, and on July 12, Waring ruled that South Carolina’s Democratic Party could not legally exclude qualified blacks from voting in primary elections, a decision that was upheld on appeal by the U.S. **Supreme Court**. When Democratic Party officials attempted to evade his ruling by requiring that all registered voters swear allegiance to separation of the races, Waring threatened to hold the county chairs in contempt and either fine or imprison them. They backed down, and the votes of 35,000 South Carolina blacks counted that year. Waring became one of the most hated men in the white South. Several attempts were made to impeach him, since federal judgeships are lifetime appointments, but he was never removed.

Waties and Elizabeth Waring scandalized their neighbors by entertaining blacks in their Charleston home, and she outraged the community when, in a 1949 presentation at the city’s black YWCA, she referred to segregationists as “sick, confused and decadent people.” Her address was widely reported in the national press. Both Warings believed that Southern white moderates were more destructive to the cause of black civil rights than virulent segregationists, since moderates maintained that segregation and reform could coexist. Waring knew that was impossible. Southern moderates, and even those who considered themselves liberals, subscribed to what he called “the false god of

gradualism.” Waring knew that voluntary **desegregation** was a Southern pipe dream, and he became a strong advocate of federal intervention to abolish legal segregation.

Early in 1950, Joseph Armstrong DeLaine, black principal of Silver School in Summerton, South Carolina, sued the Clarendon County School District to provide bus transportation for black pupils as it did for whites. Once again, Thurgood Marshall presented the case before Judge Waring, who assured the NAACP attorney that he was wasting the **NAACP Legal Defense Fund**’s time and money in suing to force school districts to fund dual education systems. Waring suggested that Marshall withdraw the suit and refile a class action challenging the constitutionality of segregated schools. Marshall took his advice and, on May 28, 1951, argued *Briggs v. Elliott* before a panel of three federal judges, including George Bell Timmerman, a segregationist; John Parker, a moderate; and Waring. As expected, the NAACP lost the decision, but in a scathing dissent, Waring declared that the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that established the principle of “**separate but equal**” accommodations based on race was unconstitutional. Anticipating the Warren Court’s historic 1954 decision, Waring argued that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. Appealed all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, *Briggs v. Elliott* became one of the four cases heard in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and although the Warren Court never cited his dissent, *Briggs* is perhaps Judge Waring’s greatest contribution to American judicial history.

Waring retired in 1952 and he and his wife moved to New York City, where they were active in a variety of civil rights organizations. To the end of his life, the judge supported the use of aggressive federal intervention to break the back of racial segregation. He died on January 20, 1968, and Elizabeth Waring died a few months later. Both are buried in Charleston’s Magnolia Cemetery.

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Mary Stanton

Washington, Booker T. (1858–1915)

African American leader Booker Taliaferro Washington was born into slavery in a slave cabin on a **Virginia** tobacco plantation to a white father who he did not know and a slave mother who could not read or write. His mother taught him lessons in thrift and virtue. These lessons, in addition to the slave code of ethics, in which it was acceptable to steal from those who enslaved you, would prove useful to Washington throughout his life. After the Emancipation Proclamation was signed, he and his family moved to West Virginia. As a young man, he learned of Hampton Institute and, on October 1, 1872, began his journey to Hampton, Virginia. He completed this journey, by foot and by

railroad. Part of Washington's entrance requirements to Hampton Institute included sweeping the auditorium. He cleaned the auditorium more than once, which is a testament to Washington's diligence, hard work, and personal development.

While Washington had his challengers, he also served as an inspiration to many around the world. His approach has been criticized and dismissed for more overt displays of racial protest and petition for social change. Washington was called "the great accommodator" by **W.E.B. Du Bois** and has even been called an "Uncle Tom" for being too compromising with whites and for going so far as telling jokes in black dialect to white audiences. Washington's accommodating stance and compromise with whites can be understood within the context of the **Jim Crow** South, his Tuskegee project, and his demands for blacks' individual and economic development.

Washington wanted blacks to be self-sufficient but to understand the collective struggle. He pushed for advancement despite oppression and was very devoted and committed to his efforts, despite the overt and more covert obstacles that he faced. Washington believed that both blacks and whites were responsible for making blacks productive and valuable to America's industrial growth. This great compromise was achieved through soliciting the support of whites while urging blacks not to agitate whites or challenge the status quo in demand of civil rights. Washington also called for blacks to forego social parity with whites in favor of greater economic development, and he felt it was possible to be segregated from whites but for there to still be economic ties to whites. He accomplished this by gaining middle- and upper-class whites' economic support for Tuskegee Institute.

Washington wanted to change black America from all angles and did not believe that blacks would forever be second-class citizens. He believed that there were contexts in which blacks would be advanced and have educational and economic opportunities. Washington, therefore, asked blacks to reflect on the accomplishments since the Emancipation Proclamation and how much more can be accomplished if blacks work together and form an economic base for self-sufficiency. This self-sufficiency would also make blacks and whites economically interdependent, rather than blacks being solely dependent on whites, and allow blacks to be prepared for their full citizenship rights and integration in American society.

With integration and assimilation in American society, Washington pushed for blacks to advance but not to isolate themselves socially by servicing blacks only or only supporting businesses because they were black-owned. Washington's challenge to blacks was to maintain an individual will through which the collective will can be mobilized and realized. Individual will included skill attainment, higher education when attainable, sobriety, and devoutness.

Washington was greatly inspired by abolitionist Frederick Douglass because Douglass was also born into slavery and learned and understood the virtues of being self-made and focusing on individual development. Douglass argued that blacks failed to attain a skill base and this failure is the foundation for the "Negro problem." Douglass, therefore, was an advocate of blacks learning a trade so that they can gain parity with whites and have greater opportunities. In agreement with this sentiment, Washington thought that earning a dollar

Booker T. Washington on African American Citizenship

On December 20, 1901, Booker T. Washington appealed to a predominantly white audience at the Outlook Club in Montclair, New Jersey, to focus on the economic security of African Americans, not deportation.

Booker T. Washington addressed the Outlook Club here to-night, and pleased a big audience, who applauded heartily his remarks. His subject was "The Citizenship of the American Negro."

Among other things he said, that there were over 9,000,000 colored people in the United States, and that the way to solve the negro problem is not by deporting the negroes.

"When 600 started for Liberia some time ago some people thought the question had been solved, but 600 black babies were born the next day. Deportation won't work.

"You can't set apart land for the Negroes and wall them in. One wall would not keep the Negroes in, and five walls would not keep the white men out. You can't absorb them, for the minute you get 1 percent of black blood in a white man, he becomes a negro. Nor are there any signs or indications of decay in the race."

The speaker said that with the different colored persons included in our new possessions, altogether over 18,000,000, he thought that the white man had a big problem before him. The speaker recommended as one solution of the problem that the white man make the negro more useful, and help him to secure an education. The negro candidly responds to stimulating influences. The speaker compared two parts of Alabama, one where instruction had been given the negroes and another where dense ignorance prevailed—and showed that intelligence and education had brought in their track land ownership, prosperity, and higher morality.

"The material or industrial betterment of a people," he said, "always improves their morality. Dependence upon law alone will not accomplish everything. Through sympathy, active help, and financial assistance the white people can do much for the negro. The problem will not [go] down till settled in justice and righteousness."

Source: "Citizenship of the Negro: B. T. Washington Tells Montclair People that Education and Kindness Will Solve the Problem," *New York Times*, December 21, 1901.

through a trade was worth more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in white establishments. Industrial education was deemed a necessity by Washington, whereas higher education was an option, not a priority. Washington knew that the majority of blacks would not have access to higher education, although Washington's own children did.

Washington and Douglass both believed that the South was the best place for blacks, that blacks should not move to the North, and that blacks should accumulate wealth in order to be more self-sufficient and have greater opportunities. Both Washington and Douglass also compared the potential for the development and advancement of blacks with the realized development and advancement of Jews. The Jews were admired for their pride, their unity, and their success upon assimilation, despite obstacles. Instead of complaining, blacks should have individual motivation and advancement so that they can advance as a people and actually contribute to society. The importance of learning a trade and the belief that blacks were to blame for the "Negro problem" was deemed simplistic in its logic by the critics of both Douglass and Washington because economic development was not *the* solution to the "Negro problem."

Washington and Douglass differed in that Washington placed greater emphasis on the individual accountability, self-sufficiency, and self-reliance

components of Douglass's message whereas Douglass's overall message was more militant. In his militancy, Douglass maintained an assimilation stance without mocking blacks and making jokes about black dialect in front of white audiences. Douglass was often critical of whites' acts of oppression and partially attributed the conditions of blacks to this oppression. Unlike Washington, Douglass did not make jokes about blacks in front of whites or appear to go too far in his attempts at assimilating. Washington criticized this militancy because it had generally lost its effectiveness. Political and social agitation did not have a substantial grounding in economic development. However, Douglass did not live in the South and, despite the obstacles that Northern blacks faced, could afford to take a more militant approach.

Washington and Du Bois are often presented as adversaries with contrasting and conflicting views; however, they shared the ultimate objective, but differed mostly in strategy. Washington was similar to Du Bois in that he was committed to social change and social action and used various institutions to bring about such change, including Tuskegee Institute and the National Negro Business League. He did not openly discuss all of his affiliations and strategies for change but rather covertly fought for change. Washington knew that change was a process.

Among Du Bois's criticisms of Washington was that his advice was sought by presidents, politicians, philanthropists, and scholars, and that he was made into the Negro representative. Washington's appointment as the Negro representative was seen as a contradiction to the funding and support whites provided to Washington's Tuskegee Institute. This creates the image that Washington's interests and efforts are not purely in the interests of Negroes but are, instead, greatly influenced by whites. Whites supported Tuskegee and upheld him as the only valued black leader as long as he advocated segregation. Washington solicited this support of middle- and upper-class whites to back Tuskegee financially and to keep lower-class whites from interfering with Washington's efforts.

To understand Washington's stance, he must be placed within the context of the Jim Crow South, just as to understand Du Bois's and Douglass's approaches, they must be placed in the more Northern contexts in which they lived. Northern blacks faced inequality but in a different type of an environment, and were more educated, economically independent, and critical. Washington's approach of entrepreneurship and thriftiness appealed to Northern blacks. However Northern blacks did not support Washington's belief that there can and should be protest without the appearance of protest and that fights for civil and political rights should be abandoned in favor of individual and economic development. He felt as though Du Bois and others were showing whites "their hands" rather than focusing on silent protest that would result in the development and true advancement of the Negro. Tuskegee Institute was one example of slow change and long-term investment for a larger goal. In the Jim Crow South, revolt and overt protest would have resulted in Washington being lynched and the struggle being lost.

Washington's efforts had been overshadowed and largely overlooked while Du Bois's and his counterparts' efforts of desegregation and social justice were advanced. Washington's platform appealed to blacks' needs and urged blacks

to forego their more immediate wants. As a result of the increased unpopularity of Washington's approach in favor of the approach of Du Bois and his counterparts, there continued to be a shortage of black entrepreneurs and blacks' consumerism and dependency on whites increased with **desegregation** and an increase in voting and civil rights. Therefore, the efforts of Du Bois and his counterparts were successful in the short term, but blacks failed to become more self-sufficient as Washington envisioned. Washington's message is not completely lost because he continues to serve as a motivation and challenge to black entrepreneurs and blacks who are concerned with individual and collective moral and economic development. *See also* Albany Civil Rights Movement; Atlanta Compromise; Carver, George Washington.

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Rutledge M. Dennis

Watson, Thomas E. (1856–1922)

Thomas E. Watson was a **Georgia** attorney, publisher, and politician who served as a Democrat in the Georgia State House of Representatives (1882–1883), a Populist in the U.S. House of Representatives (1890–1892), and a Democrat in the U.S. Senate (1920–1922). The Populist Party convention nominated him as its vice presidential candidate in 1896 to run with William Jennings Bryan and as its presidential candidate in 1904 and 1908. Watson also ran unsuccessfully to keep his seat in Congress in 1892 and 1894. Although Watson served no more than a total of five years in public office, he exerted a tremendous influence on Southern and national politics with his flamboyant political oratory and his support for other candidates. Watson is best known for his controversial political career and sudden about-face. In the early years he advocated a more egalitarian creed and championed the political and economic rights of poor white and black farmers. In the later years he gained notoriety for his virulent antiblack, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic views.

Watson was born in McDuffie County, Georgia, to a slaveholding family and spent most his childhood on his grandfather's plantation. After attending Mercer University, Watson practiced law but maintained a strong connection to agrarian life. He entered politics at the age of 23 in support of the small farmers who had revolted against the state's leading industrial capitalists. In the 1880s, Watson supported the economic platform of the National Farmers'

Alliance, and in the 1890s, he became a prominent leader in the Populist Party. Both the Alliance and the Populist Party challenged the entrenched power of the **Democratic Party** in the South. Aggrieved farmers called for such reforms as the dissolution of corporate monopolies, government regulation of railroads, a graduated income tax, the establishment of cooperative buying plans, and relief from high-interest credit. Watson discovered that the key to political success lay in soliciting not just the votes of white farmers but also the votes of African Americans. Both the Democrats and the Populists recognized that if the white vote splintered, then the black vote could decide an election. The two parties battled with each other for the political loyalties of black voters and engaged in a variety of tactics, including persuasion, fraud, bribery, and violence.

Poor white and black farmers in the South often struggled with the same economic difficulties, and Populists tried to draw attention to the farmers' common grievances and enemies. In Watson's early career, he labored to build a new political alliance that united the races economically. He pointed out how racial antagonism had been used by white elites to oppress the farming class. When Watson campaigned for his seat in the Georgia Assembly in 1882, he received a substantial number of black votes. In the 1890s, he denounced laws that limited black suffrage and called for the right of African American men to cast a ballot without coercion or fear of intimidation. The Populist leader also spoke out against **lynching** and, at one point, provided refuge to a black minister who was an ardent party member being sought by a mob. Many of Watson's contemporaries considered him to be somewhat radical in his stance. Yet there were limits to biracial cooperation. Watson never promoted the right of African Americans to hold public office. He made it very clear that he did not want "social equality" of the races. For most white Southerners, this phrase conjured up images of intermarriage between the races, blacks socializing with whites, equal access to public accommodations, and interracial schools. Whether Watson genuinely believed in a limited kind of equality or acted out of political expediency is still debated.

After failing a second time to regain his seat in Congress in 1894, Watson retreated from public life and politics for eight years. When he reentered the political fray, he had changed his mind about the merits of black suffrage. In 1906, Watson supported the Democratic candidacy for governorship of Hoke Smith, who championed black disfranchisement and was a vocal advocate of white supremacy. Watson and Smith argued that black political equality would undoubtedly lead to "social equality." During the course of the campaign, white newspapers inflamed racial tensions by detailing alleged sexual assaults on white women by black men and other supposed black criminal atrocities. These lurid reports provoked a riot in which whites attacked and killed dozens of blacks as well as destroyed many black-owned businesses. Shortly after, Smith won the election in an overwhelming victory. Two years later the Georgia legislature rewrote the state constitution to severely curtail, if not abolish, black suffrage.

Watson's alliance with Smith marked the beginning of a significant shift in the tenor of his political rhetoric. He unleashed a fury of vitriolic attacks on Catholics, Jews, and African Americans and earned a reputation as one of

the South's most notorious orators. The year Smith won the election, Watson founded a newspaper, the *Jeffersonian*, and a magazine, *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine*, which he used as mouthpieces for racial and religious bigotry. He warned about black domination, the sexual threats priests posed to white Protestant women, and the danger of the Jewish aristocracy. Watson's frenzied tirades were so outrageous that he provoked the U.S. Post Office to ban the *Jeffersonian* from the mail and the U.S. Justice Department to try him for obscenity. The former Populist leader continued to rail against industrial capitalists and the oppression of the farming class, but his racial and religious obsessions occupied most of his attention from 1910 onward. Watson's reactionary political style was emblematic of a new breed of politicians known as demagogues, who appealed to the prejudices and baser emotions of the people. Until the last day of his life, Watson persisted in lashing out at his perceived enemies. He died in 1922 of a cerebral hemorrhage following a lengthy struggle with illness.

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Natalie J. Ring

Wells-Barnett, Ida B. (1862–1931)

Ida Bell Wells-Barnett fought a battle against slavery's legacy of racism and segregation. She was born enslaved on July 16, 1862, in Holly Springs, **Mississippi**. Under the institution of slavery, her father, James Wells, had learned carpentry, thereby acquiring a higher social status than other enslaved persons. Ida Wells gained an education in schools operated by the Freedmen's Bureau, an organization set up after the Civil War. For a short while, she attended Shaw University, called Rust College until 1890, until her frequent clashes with the president, W. W. Hooper, led to her expulsion. In 1878, a yellow fever epidemic killed over 200 whites and about half as many blacks in Holly Springs, including Wells's parents and her baby sister. Because she was visiting her grandmother, she escaped the deadly virus. She learned of her parents' deaths and her siblings' whereabouts by letter and traveled back to her home after doctors reported safe conditions. Determined to keep the family together, Wells secured a job as a public school teacher at the age of 16. In 1881, she and her brother George and sister Annie joined their aunt in Memphis, where Wells soon began teaching in the city schools.

In September 1883, Wells directly attacked **Jim Crow** segregation by refusing to leave the first-class railroad car to sit in the smoky car reserved for blacks. Whites in the South were unaccustomed to the well-dressed and articulate African Americans more visible as access to education and transportation networks improved. Although middle-class blacks were an affront to

social customs and Southern norms, many adopted respectability to counter racism. Wells, like other blacks who challenged segregation on streetcars and railroads, reasoned that she paid the price to sit in the nicer car and should be treated as such. Her defiance led the railroad conductor to use physical force to remove her from the car. She fought back, biting the conductor and clinging to her seat, but was no match for the other passengers who helped carry her to the second car. Wells filed suit after this incident and another and won cash settlements for both. The Tennessee Supreme Court eventually overturned the rulings but was not able to quiet Wells or end her activism. The incidents and others actually proved to be a major catalyst in her decision to pursue a career in journalism.

Wells's first articles dealt with her proceedings with the railroad company. She soon adopted the pseudonym, Iola, for her essays, and by the end of 1885, her work commonly appeared in newspaper columns. Wells often used her words to defend black women's virtue from the popular attacks in white and even black writings. Female writers faced resistance from some black men who felt threatened by sharing the literary field with females. The stereotypes surrounding black womanhood, especially the images of the Jezebel and Mammy, proliferated throughout the Jim Crow era. Many white-authored histories portrayed black women as Jezebels, the exact opposite of the ideal woman of the Victorian age. Mammy represented the antithesis of the libidinous Jezebel. Whites portrayed Mammy, who usually served in domestic capacities or as a caregiver to white children, as a woman without sexual desires. Wells wrote to attack the many institutions that became conduits for perpetuating these controlling images of black women. Many times, black men criticized Wells for ignoring society's definition of the proper roles for women.

Along with her teaching, in 1889, Wells became a co-owner of, and a writer for, the *Free Speech and Headlight*, a newspaper founded in Memphis by Taylor Nightingale and J. L. Fleming. Wells used the *Free Speech* as a mouthpiece for the unequal justice meted out to blacks and whites. Her classroom teaching ended in 1891, when the Memphis school board fired her for her criticism of the school system printed in the *Free Speech*. Since her salary as editor paid little, Wells worked to increase the circulation of the newspaper to make ends meet. These experiences mark the beginning of a lifelong crusade to inform the whole society about discrimination in general and **lynching** in particular.

After Wells reported the brutal murders of her associates and prominent members of the Memphis black community, Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Lee Stewart, antilynching became her main cause. The investigation of the brutal murders did not lead to any arrests since local law officials often cooperated with lynch mobs, the pinnacle of white terrorism in the United States. Understood later as motivated by the economic competition the African American businessmen represented, Wells used her reports on the lynching to encourage blacks to leave Memphis. She also chastised the white press that sensationalized the murders and demonized the upstanding black men. On May 21, 1892, the *Free Speech* published a piece by Wells that proclaimed

the falsity of the often-echoed charges of rape that drove mobs to action. She hinted at some white women's willful participation in sexual liaisons with black men, angering whites in Memphis who destroyed her printing press and threatened her life. Wells fled Memphis for Chicago where she joined the staff of the *Age*, a black newspaper edited by T. Thomas Fortune.

In Chicago, Wells worked to correct the conception that mob members were mostly poor or ignorant whites. She also revealed that charges of criminality leveled at the victims of lynch mobs often resulted from racism rather than attempted or actual offenses. At first, Wells, like many whites, believed the charges of rape leveled at lynching's victims until she learned of its falsity firsthand. White men claimed the protection of white womanhood as a major validation for lynching. Like the Jezebel myth, the stereotype of the black male rapist emerged as evidence of the need for the separation of blacks and whites that defined Jim Crow. Wells worked to correct these assumptions on black personalities to end the deadly consequences these negative caricatures often elicited.

Wells was an example of the "new" African American woman in the context of Women's Rights and the Black Clubwomen's Movement of the late nineteenth century. A network of black women supported her crusade from the start. Like larger society, these clubs also reflected racial separation. In the fall of 1892, African American women in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston organized a well-attended reception where Wells delivered an emotional address about the Moss, McDowell, and Stewart lynchings and her exile from Holly Springs. The event drew support from the black press and an audience of over 200 people who provided the finances needed for Wells to publish *Southern Horrors*, her first pamphlet on lynching.

Ida B. Wells' antilynching campaign pamphlets *Southern Horrors* (1892), *A Red Record* (1892), and *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900) reflected a massive increase in violence toward black people after emancipation. In *Southern Horrors*, Wells argued that whites lynched blacks in response to the franchise, since access to the vote represented another privilege many whites in the South reserved for themselves. As such, Wells's essays protested the disenfranchisement of African Americans even though her gender barred her own participation in electoral politics. She then implicated the press that played an integral role in perpetuating the myth of the uncontrolled lust of black men. She also chided those men and women who refused to speak out against lynching. Wells declared that white men shamelessly murdered black men to protect white economic interest rather than white women.

In *A Red Record*, Wells recorded reported lynchings and their supposed causes. The plethora of descriptions of lynchings, all from white-authored sources, proved the compliancy of state police departments and elected officials. Wells played on whites' religious sensibilities by referring to the mobs as Christians. She also laid bare the issues she held with Women's Christian Temperance Union president Frances Willard, who defended the mobs in the name of white women. She finished her second pamphlet by calling for readers to be proactive in spreading the word on lynching. It ended by encouraging readers to support the 1894 Blair Bill that called for investigations into mob

violence. Wells's final pamphlet chronicled the life and death of Robert Charles, whose actions in self-defense set off a mob of whites in New Orleans who then indiscriminately targeted the whole black community. The white press presented Charles as a murderer, but in actuality, his crime was working alongside Henry McNeil Turner in garnering support for emigration to Liberia. This detailed case of unbridled white violence disproved the black beast theory as justification for lynching, and reiterated that perpetrators remained unpunished. Like Wells's other writings, it used religious references and the gendered rhetoric of manhood to plead her case.

Following in the footsteps of the abolitionist Frederick Douglass, Wells carried her message to Europe to gain support for her campaign against lynching in 1893. Many foreign leaders considered America a symbol of freedom and democracy. Wells sought to provide a more nuanced vision of the nation that included the nature of Jim Crow legislation and the extent whites took to keep the races socially separate. She worked to inform other countries about the second-class status afforded African Americans in hopes that these countries would pressure leaders in the United States to protect the black civil rights. She returned to England a year later to conduct a second tour and further articulate her disgust of the U.S. government for seeming to ignore the continued humiliation and discrimination practiced on the basis of race.

In many ways, Wells was the antithesis of the theoretical model of true womanhood, though she did adhere to some prescribed gender roles. In 1895, she married Ferdinand Barnett, a lawyer and owner of the *Chicago Conservator*. After the marriage, she became editor of the *Conservator* and continued to use print media to wage a battle against Jim Crow. As a wife and mother of four children, Wells-Barnett's national influence declined, but not her zeal for antilynching and reform. Before her renown as the major voice of the antilynching campaign, Wells joined with other black leaders to dismantle segregation and discrimination. She held memberships in the National Afro-American League and the Southern Afro-American Press Association, and she became the National Colored Press Association's first female officer. She was also a member of the **National Association of Colored Women** and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and supported suffrage for women. Her writings called for organization and concrete strategies to fight segregation and discrimination. Although Congress never passed the Blair Bill or any other form of antilynching legislation, Wells-Barnett's efforts did lead to a decrease in instances of lynching in the United States.

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Christina L. Davis

White Citizens Council

White citizens councils were established to thwart the spread of civil rights in the South by means of economic retribution against citizens who supported civil rights workers or their cause. Membership consisted primarily of wealthy white business owners and elected officials. Most White Citizens Councils were first established following the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, when the Court reversed the 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, declaring that racial segregation in schools was unconstitutional. The first White Citizens Council was formed in Greenwood, Mississippi, shortly before the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling.

The councils were created to counteract the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and prevent the advancement of integration. Their formation met with varying degrees of success. Councils in Mississippi tended to possess more members than those in other states. The Deep South states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina typically had more councils with more members than in other Southern states such as Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina.

Often referred to as "the white collar Klan," this organization sought to use its economic and political clout to deter and punish an individual's involvement in the NAACP and advancing civil rights. Typically, their activities would involve firing a person, denying a loan, or boycotting the person's business if that person was believed to be involved in supporting integration. Some

"Ask Yourself This Important Question," 1963

The advertisement asks white people to donate to their local Alabama White Citizens Council.

ASK YOURSELF THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION:

What have I personally done to Maintain Segregation?

If the answer disturbs you, probe deeper and decide what you are willing to do to preserve racial harmony in Selma and Dallas County.

Is it worth four dollars to prevent a "Birmingham" here? That's what it costs to be a member of your Citizens Council, whose efforts are not thwarted by courts which give sit-in demonstrators legal immunity, prevent school boards from expelling students who participate in mob activities and would place federal referees at the board of voter registrars.

Law enforcement can be called only after these things occur, but your Citizens Council prevents them from happening.

Why else did only 350 Negroes attend a so-called mass voter registration meeting that outside agitators worked 60 days to organize in Selma?

Gov. Wallace told a state meeting of the council three weeks ago: "You are doing a wonderful job, but you should speak with the united voice of 100,000 person. Go back home and get more members."

It is worth four dollars to prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration efforts in Selma?

If so, prove your dedication by joining and supporting the work of the Dallas County Citizens Council today. Six dollars will make both you and your wife members of an organization which has given Selma nine years of Racial Harmony since "Black Monday."

Source: *Selma Times Journal*, June 9, 1963.

groups sought to gain public support through advertising. Groups would often purchase advertising space in local newspapers to present their thoughts on integration and recruit members.

Some elected officials and other white community leaders openly favored laws that would maintain the status quo in the state's segregation practices. These individuals were often members of White Councils, or worked closely with them. A good example of this is the relationship Alabama governor **George Wallace** enjoyed with White Citizens Councils in his state. These groups would often support his candidacy through votes and monetary contributions. Mississippi's governor during the 1960s, Ross Barnett, also possessed close political ties with these organizations. Despite the strong ties with particular governors in the Deep South, White Citizens Councils were largely ineffective in other parts of the country.

The demise of White Citizens Councils came quickly in many parts of the South, but slowly in the Deep South. The last organized councils existed in Mississippi into the 1970s. Many of their official records were destroyed or sealed by state and local judges. In the later part of the twentieth century, most of the sealed records became available for viewing by the public. It provided a glimpse into the activities and meticulous records some White Citizens Councils kept on the activities of civil rights workers of the time. *See also* Ku Klux Klan.

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James Newman

White Primary

The white primary effectively disenfranchised African Americans by barring their political participation in the nomination of political candidates. Southern Democrats used it to establish a one-party political system by unifying its members behind one candidate and lessening the divisive effect of internal factionalism. In regions that had a black majority, it was used most effectively in combination with the **poll tax**, the literacy and the grandfather clause.

The direct primary, or the direct election of a party's candidate, grew in popularity as a reform measure during the Gilded Age based on the idea that choosing a candidate based on party members' opinion was more democratic than through nomination conventions ruled by party leaders. Local parties throughout the country used it sporadically as early as the 1870s, but by the 1890s it had become more common on in local contests. The first statewide primary in the South, albeit unofficial, occurred in **Louisiana** in 1892, when a bitter fight within the Democrats threatened to split the party and allow a Republican-Populist coalition candidate a chance at victory. To prevent this outcome, which Democrats threatened would mean a return to the **Reconstruction** days of "negro-rule," both sides agreed to deciding the candidate through a preelection primary and to uphold that decision in the general election for the sake of white supremacy. Essentially, they restricted the electorate to include only white Democrats and made the inner-party contest the

more important election, eliminating the effectiveness of third parties on the state level. In the South, since most African Americans voted Republican, the Democratic primary did not need to restrict access to the election by race.

Mississippi installed the first official white primary by law. By 1915, all states of the former Confederacy had joined Mississippi in its institution. Yet, motivations for having a white primary varied from state to state, as did the combination of disenfranchisement laws, so each state had different rules governing the primary. Some Democrats wanted to undermine the Populist Party's efforts at the polls and bring them eventually back into the party of white supremacy. Other Democrats demanded a purification of the vote because of failed attempts to pass prohibition legislation. By the time states instituted primary elections by law, most Southerners assumed the Democratic primary to be for whites only. As a result, some states, such as Texas, did not specifically deny access by race but gave that power to local election officials until circumstances forced a change.

Legal efforts to dismantle the white primary began in 1919 on the grassroots level by black businessmen in Texas after white women gained the right to vote. With a diverse racial and ethnic population, which included many recent immigrants from Europe and Mexico, Texas did not have alternative disenfranchisement laws, such as the literacy clause and the grandfather clause, but relied on the poll tax and the primary, which it restricted to the Democratic Party through a substantial minimum party membership requirement. In 1923, due to a contested election and civil rights cases, Texas changed its ambiguous 1905 law to explicitly restrict primary elections to whites only.

Quickly, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) joined the grassroots movement, led by black attorney R. D. Evans, to combat the white primary in the courts in *Love v. Griffith*, which failed in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1924. After removing local counsel and amassing a white legal team from the Northeast, the NAACP continued their fight after Lawrence Nixon, a black physician in El Paso, was denied the right to vote in a local primary in 1924. In *Nixon v. Herndon*, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Texas white primary law for violating the Fourteenth Amendment. In response, the Texas legislature adapted the election law to restore the white primary by declaring rules for party membership to a private power of state party committees, a private entity. Nixon and the NAACP tested the changed law in *Nixon v. Condon* and, again, won in a 1932 U.S. Supreme Court decision. The Texas legislature, however, continued to adapt its law to maintain white control over elections. When the Democratic Party of Texas passed a resolution to limit its membership to whites only, Richard Grovey of Houston, Texas, challenged the law without the aid of the NAACP in *Grovey v. Townsend* in 1935. In a setback decision, the U.S. Supreme Court found in favor of the Democratic Party by recognizing the right of political parties to decide their own members. The NAACP and black Texans reached a final victory over the white primary in the 1944 U.S. Supreme Court decision of *Smith v. Allwright*. See also New Negro Movement.

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Katherine Kuehler Walters

White, Walter (1893–1955)

Antilynching activist and field secretary to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter Francis White was often described as a voluntary black man whose ability to pass as white offered him a measure of privilege to investigate lynchings, riots, and racial clearances in the South. Yet, that privilege was also a burden for White. His autobiography, *A Man Called White*, begins with the self-justifying words: “I am a Negro. My skin is white, my eyes are blue, my hair is blond. The traits of my race are nowhere visible upon me” (3). Despite that accident of physiognomy and the “magic in a white skin [and] tragedy, loneliness, and exile in a black skin,” White insisted upon maintaining black identity (3). The decision emerged when his family was threatened by a lynch mob during the 1906 Atlanta race riots. Witnessing the cruelty of the mob, White decided not to “tak[e] advantage of the way of escape that was open to” him because he did not want to “be one of the race which had forced the decision” upon African Americans (5).

From the **Harlem Renaissance** to the mid-century, White was famous as an editor and activist, as well as an advisor on civil rights to Presidents **Franklin D. Roosevelt** and **Harry S. Truman**. Both Roosevelt’s establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Commission and Truman’s federal order for the desegregation of the **armed forces** are products of White’s counsel and lobbying. His closeness to both administrations afforded him a pragmatic, voting-based perspective on African American activism and power. In the year leading up to the narrowly won presidential election of 1948 between Democrat Truman, Republican Thomas Dewey, and **Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond**, White argued for the necessity of African Americans in electoral coalitions in his essay “Will the Negro Elect the Next President?” This pragmatism, as well as his continued advocacy of the franchise as the route to change and support for American governmental power, was a countervailing force against the international activism of figures like **W.E.B. Du Bois** and Paul Robeson in the changing political climate of the 1950s and 1960s.

Since the renewed interest in **lynching** triggered by the exhibition *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* in 2000, White’s seminal work *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (1929) was reprinted by the University of Notre Dame Press in 2002. Rather than simply a firsthand account of his lynching investigations in the 1920s and 1930s, the book is, in White’s words, “the first attempt to analyze the causative factors of lynchings” (98). Bringing to bear his travels in the South, including his near-lynching upon being discovered as an African American in Elaine, Arkansas, the book suggests that lynching was an economic phenomenon that consolidated

whiteness along lines of both caste and class. *See also* Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill; Ku Klux Klan.

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Jennie Lightweis-Goff

Williams v. Mississippi

Williams v. Mississippi, 170 U.S. 213 (1898), limited the power of Constitutional amendments and affected Reconstruction in the South. In *Williams*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that disenfranchisement clauses, literacy tests, and the grandfather clause used in *Mississippi* did not discriminate against African Americans by violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 made it unconstitutional to affect the right to vote because of race or previous condition of servitude. As a result of the ruling in *Williams*, many other Southern states adopted qualifications for black voters and effectively limited the numbers of eligible black voters and potential jurors.

In *Williams v. Mississippi*, an all-white jury indicted Henry Williams, an African American man from Mississippi, for murder in 1898. He was sentenced by another all-white jury to be hanged, but Williams challenged the indictment and trial. He argued that he did not receive a fair trial because blacks were excluded from serving on the jury, which constituted a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Since only qualified voters could be eligible for jury duty and Mississippi had literacy and poll tax qualifications for voting, the number of registered black voters was severely limited.

The low number of qualified black voters was in large part due to the implementation of the **Mississippi Plan** by the Mississippi Democrats in 1890. The plan included laws to prevent blacks from voting without disenfranchising poor whites and making explicit reference to race. One law included high literacy and property requirements for African American voters. Another law, the poll tax regulation, enforced an annual tax that a person had to pay in order to vote. Legislators also used a “grandfather clause” to secure the votes of poor whites, since this rule exempted anyone from these tests who had voted or whose grandfathers had voted before 1867. If an African American met all of the requirements to vote, then an “understanding” clause blocked his eligibility. This clause allowed registrars to ask potential voters any questions about the state constitution before registering to vote.

Even though African American voters faced several prerequisites to vote in Mississippi, the Supreme Court decided on April 25, 1898, that the possibility of discrimination did not invalidate the Mississippi provisions. It stated that Williams had not proved that the administration of Mississippi suffrage

provisions was discriminatory because these mechanisms did not directly mention race and there was no evidence that these provisions were given in a discriminatory manner to exclude voters based on race. Hence, literary tests, poll taxes, and other voting requirements tests did not violate the Fifteenth Amendment, provided they were applied to all applicants. The *Williams* decision provided a legal basis for blocking African Americans from voting and serving on juries and ensuring white political supremacy in the South. The ruling also essentially marked the lack of protection of African Americans' civil rights by the federal judiciary. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** later superseded *Williams*, since they prohibited exclusionary tests and devices in states and areas of disproportionate minority voters.

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Dorsia Smith

Williams, Bert (1874–1922)

A century ago, the most famous African American, aside from **Booker T. Washington**, was entertainer Egbert Austin “Bert” Williams. Born on November 12, 1874, in Nassau, Williams immigrated with his family at the age of two years, living first in New York City. The family returned to the Bahamas, but again migrated to the United States, living in Florida and in San Pedro, California. The family’s finances made it impossible for Williams to pursue a college degree, so he began his career as an entertainer with Martin and Selig’s Mastodon Minstrels in 1893. He was joined in the company by George Walker, with whom he would form a successful partnership that would last for over a decade. Beginning in 1896, the two, billed as “The Two Real Coons” found considerable success in vaudeville and in all-black musical reviews.

As minstrel performers, Walker and Williams were remarkable not just as black men in blackface. They also managed to undermine the stereotype “coon” characters as they worked within the conventions of minstrelsy. Despite their reliance on black stage dialect and stereotyped behaviors, the performers often played characters who were as clever and ambitious as the men behind the burnt cork masks.

In 1903, the pair starred in *In Dahomey*, the first all-black musical produced on Broadway. The show toured in England and played for a birthday celebration for the Prince of Wales. The “Cakewalk,” a dance featured in the show, became a sensation on both sides of the Atlantic. Other successes followed, but Walker’s failing health forced his retirement in 1909. In 1910, Williams joined Flo Ziegfeld’s *Follies* as the company’s first black headliner, a move that outraged many of the show’s white cast members. He returned to the *Follies* regularly through 1919. He also appeared in a number of Biograph shorts and recorded dozens of disks for Columbia Records.

Williams called the character he reprised on stage and in recordings the “Jonah Man,” a hard-luck everyman whose misfortune provides the occasion for an audience’s laughter. His signature song, “Nobody,” exemplified the gentle humor and pathos of that character. And while Williams retained the blackface makeup and the speech of the minstrel coon, his dignified stage persona, subtle humor, and precise execution defied the stereotype. Many of his comic monologues obliquely challenged the racial order.

Offstage, Williams found less humor in Jim Crow America. A great celebrity, he still was refused lodging and service while on tour. He confided to his colleague and friend Eddie Cantor that having to ride the service elevator at the back of a hotel would not be so bad had he not still recalled the applause from the evening’s show. His frequent European tours provided a contrast to the burdensome limitations of American life. Williams died on March 4, 1922, a few days after collapsing during a show in Detroit.

Williams insisted that there was nothing “disgraceful in being a colored man” but that he “often found it inconvenient—in America.” Throughout his career, he artfully made clear that distinction. *See also* Minstrelsy.

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James Ivy

Wilmington Race Riot (1898)

Scholars have referred to the events that occurred on November 10, 1898, in Wilmington, North Carolina as a “race riot,” a “coup,” and a “massacre.” The appellation matters less than the fact that racial conflict that occurred marked a turning point in the history of race relations in the city, the state, the South, and the nation. The racial violence unleashed upon the city’s African American population drove the interracial board of aldermen from power and effectively silenced the state’s most successful black business class. The display of force two days after Democratic electoral success set the stage for the introduction of Jim Crow laws that had already taken effect in the Deep South. The lack of federal action on behalf of the city’s black citizens and its interracial government reiterated the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896): the promise of Reconstruction had been broken, and Southern blacks were now at the mercy of lynch mobs and legislators.

In the years before the riot, Wilmington’s black population had established an unprecedented level of economic stability and political influence. African Americans held elected and appointed offices, including seats on the board of aldermen and the federal collector of customs. African Americans performed

essential services for whites and blacks; restaurants, barber shops, and shoe stores were predominantly black-owned businesses. Many of the city's artisans were also black. The city's port industry relied heavily upon black labor. The black community's economic success contributed to its infrastructure, including two black schools, two black fire departments, and several black fraternal organizations. In addition, Wilmington featured the black-owned *Daily Record* that claimed to be the only black daily newspaper in America. Black Wilmingtonians achieved significant influence when the Republican Party formed a coalition with Populists to seize power from Democrats. The Populists compelled the state's farmers to place class interests above racism, and the coalition seized the legislature in 1894. The subsequent 1896 electoral victory of the "Fusion" Party extended the coalition's power to the governor's mansion. The Fusionists eliminated manipulation of local elections by Democrats and permitted the formation of an interracial city government in Wilmington in 1897. However, Democrats did not idly watch their enemies dismantle the white supremacist infrastructure. The 1898 electoral season proved to be a heated contest that determined the state's racial policy for more than a half-century. Wilmington was at the center of that contest.

Furnifold M. Simmons, the chairman of the state's **Democratic Party**, orchestrated the campaign against Fusion rule. He focused upon black office-holding and the perceived threat to white womanhood that Fusion rule represented. Simmons manipulated the fears of the state's agricultural classes to restore Democratic rule. In order to concoct the type of rape scare that white Southerners employed to justify lynch mobs' torture and execution of more than a thousand blacks across the South, Simmons developed a multifaceted propaganda campaign. Raleigh *News and Observer* editor Josephus Daniels circulated reports of black criminality and disrespect, particularly when the white victim was a woman. Sidewalk incidents between the races symbolized the larger struggle between blacks' demands for equality and whites' expectations of subservience. In a short period of time, Democratic newspapers had manufactured a statewide rape scare; the defeat of the Fusion ticket in November was the only solution. Simmons also organized speaking tours across the state, designed to inflame the emotions of whites through fiery oratory. **South Carolina** Senator "Pitchfork" **Ben Tillman** was the greatest attraction, and he helped usher in the third component of Simmons's campaign strategy: the Red Shirts. The Red Shirts were responsible for South Carolina's redemption during Reconstruction, and **North Carolinians** organized their own mounted band of defenders of the race. The armed Red Shirts participated in parades and attended rallies as a display of force. In addition, whites organized White Government Unions, in which membership was compulsory and racial solidarity was preserved.

Wilmington's Democratic press reprinted Georgian Rebecca Latimer Felton's impassioned plea for the protection of white womanhood in August 1898 as a call to arms to all white men. Felton demanded that white men "lynch a thousand times a week if necessary" to rid the South of the black beast rapist and rescue white women. Alexander Manly, the editor of the *Daily Record*, published a response to Felton's comments. He challenged the belief popular among whites that sex between a white woman and a black

man was always rape. On the contrary, Manly argued that many of these affairs were consensual. He chastised white men for their failure to protect their women, who chose black companions as a result. Manly's claim that white women willingly bedded with black men attracted the outrage of white North Carolinians, who perceived the claim as a slander against the purity of white womanhood. The editorial was reprinted frequently and prominently on the pages of Wilmington's Democratic newspapers.

The election, held on November 8, 1898, brought the results Simmons expected—a statewide Democratic victory. Predictions of polling-place violence proved incorrect, although electoral fraud was rampant. However, Wilmington's city government, which was decided in off-year elections, remained in Fusion hands. In a series of secret meetings, Wilmington's leading white businessmen developed a plot to seize power from the interracial government. Their plot began to unfold the day after the election, when the city's white men gathered at Thalian Hall to discuss the city's Negro Problem. The rally produced the White Declaration of Independence, which declared an end to interracial cooperation in Wilmington and demanded Manly's expulsion. Former Confederate officer Alfred Moore Waddell, a popular campaign speaker, assumed a leading role. He presented the document to the leaders of the black community, who had little choice but to accept the restoration of white supremacy in the city. Their acceptance letter did not reach Waddell in time as a result of an unfortunate turn of events, and on the morning of November 10, a white mob gathered, prepared to carry out the declaration's tenets. City and state Democratic leaders may not have intended to unleash hell in Wilmington, but the party's campaign rhetoric enflamed racial tensions and drove many white men to their breaking points by instilling in them the fear of the imminent assault upon their wives and daughters.

Waddell led the mob to Manly's office. Members of the mob searched the office, although Manly had already fled Wilmington. During their examination of the building, someone started a fire and the building burned beyond repair. Rumors of bloody racial clashes circulated, and tensions boiled over into gun battles across town. The city's black population was at a disadvantage; the conspirators had blocked their attempt to arm themselves ahead of certain violence. In response to the chaos in Wilmington, Fusion governor Daniel Russell ordered the Wilmington Light Infantry to restore order. Russell was unaware that the infantry's commander, Walker Taylor, was one of the conspirators; the state militia entered the conflict on the side of the white mobs. The riot transformed into a coup as the conspirators' plot further developed. The city's board of aldermen was convened at city hall, where they were instructed to resign one-by-one, and the Democratic leaders instructed remaining members to appoint new members. This element of the plot revealed the conspirators' savvy: the reconstitution of the board of aldermen followed the letter of the law. Skirmishes continued throughout the day, but the conflict came to an end by nightfall. The death toll remains unknown; estimates range from a few blacks to more than 100. Actual numbers are difficult to pinpoint because many blacks simply left the city. Some hid in the surrounding swamps after fighting broke out; others boarded trains bound for the North, leaving behind the dead dream of Wilmington. In addition to those who voluntarily

fled, the city's new leadership banished leading members of the Fusion Party and the black community, effectively crushing any potential opposition to the new order. City officials, residents, and outside observers appealed to President William McKinley for assistance, but his action did not extend beyond a short-lived investigation into the events of November 10. Federal inaction preserved and validated the riot and coup that restored white supremacy in Wilmington.

In 1899, the state legislature instructed railroad companies to observe the principle upheld by the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. In 1900, North Carolina voters ratified a suffrage amendment that followed the Louisiana model, including a literacy test, poll tax, and grandfather clause. Public facilities such as hospitals and libraries set aside black sections. The delegation of blacks to separate facilities informed them that their race was inescapable; despite black Wilmingtonians' economic success, their class did not matter in the eyes of their white counterparts. Although the state's Democratic leadership, particularly paternalistic Governor Charles B. Aycock, offered minimal state funding to programs for blacks, these resources required black submission to white authority.

The events of 1898 provided a model for whites to employ in order to suppress African Americans. Georgia gubernatorial hopeful Hoke Smith borrowed heavily from Simmons's campaign strategy in order to win the Democratic nomination. Memories of the riot served as a warning to those who intended to challenge the order established by revolution of 1898. For example, the governor reminded black activists in Wilmington that whites had once punished black advances with brute force, a thinly veiled warning that they would meet a similar fate if they continued to challenge Jim Crow. Memories of the riot continued to inspire fear within the African American community and suspicion of the city's white leaders. In this climate, Jim Crow continued to thrive on the events on November 10, 1898. *See also* Beaumont, Texas, Race Riot; Detroit Race Riot of 1943; Tulsa Race Riot.

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J. Vincent Lowery

Wisdom, John M. (1905–1999)

John Minor Wisdom served on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit for nearly 42 years. Wisdom was born on May 17, 1905 to a white, wealthy, and conservative New Orleans family. He graduated college from Washington and Lee University. After attending Harvard for one year of graduate study in literature, Wisdom pursued a law degree at Tulane University in New Orleans. Upon graduating first in his class, he began what became a successful law practice with former classmate Saul Stone.

In the early 1950s, Wisdom greatly helped to revitalize the **Republican Party of Louisiana**. Because of Wisdom's commitment to the Republican Party and Dwight D. Eisenhower's subsequent victory in Louisiana during his Presidential election, Eisenhower appointed Wisdom to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1957. As a member of the Fifth Circuit, Wisdom considered himself as one of the four liberal judges, a group comprised of Richard Rives, John Brown, and Elbert Tuttle. Together, this group advanced civil rights.

For example in *United States v. Louisiana* (1964), Wisdom opposed Louisiana's use of citizenship tests that called for citizens, in particular black citizens, to interpret part of the Constitution. As in other Southern states, "interpretation" tests were used to disenfranchise potential black voters but rarely potential white voters. Often writing opinions for the Court, Wisdom wrote the following in *United States v. Louisiana* (1964): "The new test, or any other procedure more demanding than those previously applied to the white applicants, will have the effect of perpetuating the differences created by discriminatory practices of the past." Wisdom's decision was upheld by the passing of the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**.

Wisdom was also a leader in enforcing school desegregation. On June 25, 1962, Wisdom, joined by Judge John Robert Brown, announced the court's decision in *Meredith v. Fair* (1962) by ordering the admission of **James Meredith**, a black American, to the University of **Mississippi**. Another important case regarding school desegregation was *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education* (1966), which involved the public schools in Birmingham, **Alabama**. Citing the failure of courts to implement *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), Wisdom asserted that districts would need to take "affirmative action to reorganize their school systems by integrating the students, faculties, facilities, and activities." Furthermore, Wisdom acknowledged the legitimacy of race-conscious action:

The Constitution is both color blind and color conscious. To avoid conflict with the equal protection clause, a classification that denies a benefit, causes harm, or imposes a burden must be based on race. In that sense, the Constitution is color blind. But the Constitution is color conscious to prevent discrimination being perpetuated and to undo the effects of past discrimination.

In addition to these cases, Wisdom authored opinions involving the **Ku Klux Klan**, products liability, insurance, and the relationship among taxes and oil and gas operations. Looking back on his career, Wisdom believed that total desegregation should have been ordered in the 1954 *Brown* decision, for *Brown II* allowed Southern states to move with "all deliberate speed" in desegregating schools. Never retiring from the Fifth Circuit, Wisdom died on May 15, 1999. Through his actions and words, John Minor Wisdom influenced the ways in which civil rights were implemented throughout the South and consequently the nation. *See also* U.S. Supreme Court.

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Michelle A. Purdy

Women

Long before **Booker T. Washington’s** Atlanta Exposition Address in 1895 or the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, African American women created clubs and organizations devoted to rescuing and protecting women from the worst abuses of **Jim Crow**. False impressions of African American women’s impropriety, indolence, and immorality were widespread in American political and popular culture since the 1890s. The specious rationale of white chastity and nonwhite promiscuity became symbols of racial antagonism, as well as catalysts of intolerance generating terrible violence. Yet, Jim Crow also had the consequence of marginalizing African American women by race, gender, and class. The narrative of African American women in the twentieth century often demonstrates their difficult navigation of Jim Crow, often by relying heavily on some aspects of their identity over others. However, African American women’s politics and culture have maintained their strong challenge to negative stereotypes, lack of visibility, racism, and sexism by promoting a variety of positive images and taking control of their own representation.

Rise and Peak of the Club Movement, 1890–1920

Respectability emerged as an important element in the early twentieth-century history of African American woman. The popular stereotypes of African American women characterized them as sexually and morally indiscriminate, lazy, and difficult to control. African American women organized to combat the insults. In 1893, middle-class black women of Boston formed the New Era Club and published a monthly magazine called the *Woman’s Era* that featured articles on fashion, healthy, and family life. In 1895, the president of the New Era Club, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, issued a nationwide call to black women to form a national organization representing black women. The women were compelled to organize after journalist James W. Jacks wrote an open letter to the nation’s largest newspapers claiming that black women were “prostitutes, thieves, and liars.”

Ruffin drew together 104 women in Boston in order to confer on issues facing African American women in particular. The group in Boston created the National Federation of Afro-American Women in 1895. A year later this group merged with another national group, the Colored Women’s League of Washington DC, and in 1896, the **National Association of Colored Women (NACW)** was formed. The NACW elected Mary Church Terrell as its first president, and adopted the self-help phrase “Lifting as We Climb” as its motto. The NACW stressed the moral, mental, and material advancement of

African American women. It was also the largest black organization in the United States until 1920. In 1914, the NACW had 50,000 members in 1,000 clubs nationwide. During this same period, the NAACP had 6,000 members and 50 local branches.

However, most African American women in the early twentieth century were not middle class or college-educated like the women of the NACW. African American women, 95 percent of whom lived in the South prior to World War II, were domestic servants and farmers. A small fraction of black women worked as businesswomen, teachers, and nurses. For instance, **Madame C. J. Walker** became a millionaire selling cosmetic products, while Maggie Lena Walker (no relation) presided over the highly prosperous St. Luke's Penny Savings Bank. Between 1880 and 1914, 97 percent of married white women were homemakers, and at the same time, 46 percent of all married black women worked outside the home. One-fourth of all black women had no children and made no plans to have children. Education and literacy were keys issues in black families and black communities. Education led the way out of poverty and disenfranchisement for all African Americans. For example, during the school year, few black children worked. They were kept out of the workforce as many months as possible during the school year.

Black women played a pivotal role in the spiritual and social welfare activities of the church, which served as an instrument of political liberation during Jim Crow. The two main denominations among African American communities were the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and the Baptists. African American women, particularly the Women's Convention of the National Baptist convention, concentrated their efforts on programs of moral, spiritual, and emotional support with social welfare and private charity. The AME church operated 25 schools around the country for blacks, and the

THE TWO PATHS

WHAT WILL THE GIRL BECOME

BAD LITERATURE

FLIRTING--COQUETTERY

FAST LIFE DISSIPATION

AN OUTCAST

Copyright, 1903, by J. A. Herbel.

THE above represents a beautiful little girl at seven—as pure as a sunbeam. Going to the left you see her at thirteen reading Sapho—a vile novel. At nineteen a *Flirt*. At twenty-six a step lower—*Fast Life*, and at forty, the last stage, an *Outcast*.

To the right we have a brighter picture—*Study and Obedience*, *Virtue and Devotion*. Next, *motherhood*—Woman's greatest blessing. At sixty, an honored and beloved grandmother.

STUDY--OBEDIENCE

VIRTUE--DEVOTION

A LOVING MOTHER

AN HONORED GRANDMOTHER

Advice for parents who want to raise respectable African American daughters, from *Golden Thoughts on Chastity and Procreation*, by John William Gibson, 1903. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-02926.

Baptist church oversaw nearly 14 colleges and universities for blacks. From the church, women followed a path into the profession of teaching, one of the most respectable vocations for African American women.

Suffrage Movement, World War I, and the 1920s

Black clubwomen advocated for women's voting rights on a national scale, arguing that when African American women won the right to vote, Jim Crow and the disenfranchisement of African American men would be reevaluated, then dismantled. Elite black women also claimed they had a special duty to educate working-class women about their political rights. The woman suffrage movement drew African American women to the cause from across the country. **Ida B. Wells-Barnett** worked for the suffrage movement in Illinois, and **Mary Church Terrell** lobbied for suffrage in Washington, DC.

Woman suffrage became the most hotly debated political issue in the country between 1910 and 1920. The movement also suffered from the divisions caused by fears of racial mixture and black political power. A deep rift between white suffragists and black suffragists emerged by 1915 over African American women's voting rights. The woman suffrage movement also threatened to overturn the racial etiquette of the day, since disenfranchisement laws had stripped black men of their political power. White Southern men generally were opposed to granting any black person, man or woman, the right to vote. Facing white opposition in the South, white suffragists opted to ask black women to distance themselves from the suffrage movement. For the sake of political expedience, white suffragists said they could not afford black women's support. Conservative white suffragists campaigned for literacy tests and understanding clauses, in order to limit the number of black voters.

At the same time that the suffrage movement gathered strength, **World War I** also influenced the lives and labor of African American women. Racial segregation in the military during World War I presented a difficult challenge to African Americans who chose to serve the country. Black women, for their part, did their best to maintain the home, family, and community during the war. One primary concern was dealing with the food rations, as well as looking out for working black women who found short-term jobs in factories. Black women's club work filled in the gaps left by the war, by leading literacy training, domestic science courses, and food conservation classes. Black women also got together to make comfort kits for black soldiers, which held scarves or mittens, cigarettes, a Bible or other reading material, and a pen and paper. African American women also formed recreation clubs for black soldiers or sent soldiers these comfort kits through the mail.

World War I also ignited a mass relocation of African Americans, known as the **Great Migration**. Demographical studies estimate that between 1910 and 1920, some 500,000 blacks moved from Southern states to the Northern cities. African American women moved from rural areas to urban areas in Southern states, and then from Southern states to Northern states. The Great Migration presented unprecedented opportunities to working-class black women, particularly Southern domestic workers, to earn higher wages and gain autonomy over the work they did. Creating a more pleasant work

environment and maintaining agency over one's labor were objectives that resounded among Southern black domestics. They found nontraditional employment in areas outside of the South, though African American newspapers initially focused on the movement of black working men migrating to the North. Black women's wartime employment also cultivated greater interest in **labor unions**, which African American labor experts predicted would lead to job security and economic advancement.

In the postwar period, growing populations of African Americans in Northern cities took greater interest in mass political and artistic movements, such as **Marcus Garvey's** movement and the **Harlem Renaissance**. Women were active members of the Garvey movement of the 1920s, particularly Garvey's wife, Amy Jacques Garvey. She was chiefly responsible for publishing a collection of Garvey's papers, lectures, and addresses in the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. African American women wrote some of the most important novels of the Harlem Renaissance—Zora Neale Hurston and *Their Eyes Were Watching God*; Nella Larsen and *Passing*; Jessie Fausett and *There Is Confusion*. African American women also engaged in sharp political debates about the artistic and political purposes of African American literature. Zora Neale Hurston was joined by her friends, **Langston Hughes** and Wallace Thurman, in arguing that literature must remain true to its subjects and present all aspects of African American life, including the seedy or embarrassing sides.

The Great Depression and World War II

The **Great Depression** devastated the middle-class America and brought an abrupt end to the Harlem Renaissance, but most blacks only saw a slight change in their economic status. The majority of black farmers were at the mercy of an agricultural system that exploited their labor. One of the key problems of the Depression was the collapse of crop prices, especially corn, wheat, and cotton. Many black families of the South, who were sharecroppers or tenant farmers, found themselves nearly pushed off the farm and into very hard times. In the North, blacks lost jobs that they had held all through the 1920s. Blacks in the North often worked in low-paying jobs such as garbage collection, domestic services, cooks, and janitors. As desperation set in, whites in the North and South competed for these jobs and pressured employers to hire only whites.

The effects of the Great Depression were deeply felt among African American women and domestic work. In the 1920s, black women workers concentrated on domestic service and laundry work. At the peak of the Depression, many middle-class families and even upper-class families could no longer afford domestic service. With the large numbers of impoverished women coming into the cities, white families with women found that they could pay almost nothing and still employ desperate women. In 1935, two black women, Marvel Cooke and Ella Baker, published an exposé of the exploitation of women laborers and they called it "The Bronx Slave Market." Cooke and Baker described how in the Bronx, black women gathered on street corners and waited for affluent white women to select them for one day's labor. The

women received wages as low as 15 to 25 cents per hour, for two or three hours a day.

The outbreak of World War II propelled the second wave of the Great Migration. More than 300,000 African American men abandoned **sharecropping** and took jobs in the defense industry. Between 1940 and 1944, the percentage of black women workers in the industrial workforce increased from 6.8 percent to 18 percent, and nearly 400,000 African American women labored in factories and defense plants. Domestic service witnessed a transformation in wages and working conditions. Good-paying industrial and defense labor jobs allowed more American families to earn significantly more money, which in turn allowed them to hire domestic workers. The demand for domestic workers reached such heights that domestic workers actually set their own wages.

In terms of military service, African Americans contributed to the war effort chiefly as members of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. The nurses were stationed in England, Scotland, and parts of Europe. African American women also served in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, since the army and navy granted admission to black women as nurses in January 1945.

Civil Rights Movement

African American women played crucial roles in the **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s and 1960s. Gender segregation within the Civil Rights Movement stifled much of women's work. It was a bitter pill for many black woman activists to swallow. Yet, African American women participated on every level of the movement. They completed the necessary, unglamorous clerical and logistical work: they typed memos, ran the offices, connected outsiders to neighborhoods, wrote legal briefs, wrote affidavits, wrote speeches, ran neighborhood organizations, participated in **sit-ins**, and registered voters.

African American women also achieved a number of firsts in the Civil Rights Movement. **Autherine Lucy** and Vivian Malone Jones were the first African Americans to desegregate and graduate from the University of Alabama. Pauli Murray became the first African American to receive a law degree from Yale University in 1965. Ada Lois Sipuel broke the color barrier at the University of Oklahoma Law School in 1949. Dorothy Counts was joined by three other students in 1957 who desegregated Harding High School in Charlotte, North Carolina. Mamie Till Mobley provided the emotional foundation of the Civil Rights Movement by allowing the country to see the battered, murdered body of her son, **Emmett Till**, who was lynched in 1955. **Rosa Parks** was a long-time member of the NAACP, whose arrest ignited the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**. **Constance Baker Motley** was a coleader in the NAACP **Legal Defense Fund**. Ella Baker encouraged students to follow nonviolent resistance as a discipline and to form the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**. **Fannie Lou Hamer**, an outspoken activist, led the **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party**. Indeed, the success of the Civil Rights Movement depended heavily on the work of women, both ordinary citizens and prominent leaders.

By the mid-1960s, the growing issue of sexism in the Civil Rights Movement led African American women to approach other protest organizations. The

formation of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 came about during a brainstorming session and included the prominent voices of Pauli Murray and Aileen Hernandez. African American women found that political questions relating to gender—equal pay, equal opportunity, maternity leave, child care, welfare for mothers—had remained unresolved. NOW promised to put those issues on the forefront. NOW also made popular the act of “consciousness raising” and the notion of the “personal is political.”

However, NOW had trouble appealing to women of color. An early claim that white women were oppressed like slaves offended African American women; similar missteps with other women of color appeared to indicate that the race remained a divisive factor even among groups facing gender oppression. As a result, African American women did not join mainstream women’s rights organizations in large numbers. The competing oppressions of race, gender, and class divided African American women’s loyalties, as it had during the suffrage movement.

African American women continued to address the lingering effects of Jim Crow, primarily by forming organizations to define themselves and their consciousnesses. The 1970s witnessed a tremendous growth in black women’s organizations, including the National Black Women’s Feminist Organization and the Combahee River Collective. Bolstered by a new generation of activists, African American women have carried on the steady work of maintaining the political agenda of the Civil Rights Movement and challenging the movement to embrace a wider vision of civic equality for all Americans. *See also* Domestic Work; Nadir of the Negro.

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Nikki Brown

Woodward, C. Vann (1908–1999)

C. (Comer) Vann Woodward was an eminent American historian whose scholarship focused primarily on the South and Southern race relations. He was the author of the revisionist (and now classic) book, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955), which opened a new field of the study of racial segregation in the United States.

Born in Vanndale, Arkansas, on November 13, 1908, he received a PhD from Emory University in 1930, an MA from Columbia University in 1932, and a PhD from the University of North Carolina in 1937. He subsequently taught history at the University of Florida (1937–1939), the University of

Virginia (1939–1940), Scripps College (1940–1943), Johns Hopkins University (1946–1961), and Yale University (1961–1977). He was professor emeritus at Yale from 1977 to 1999.

Woodward's book *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (1951) won the Bancroft Prize and established him as one of the leading historians of the American South. He received the Pulitzer Prize in 1982 for *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (1981), his edited edition of a Confederate woman's Civil War diaries. He married Glenn Boyd MacLeod in 1937, and they had one son.

Woodward was active in the **Civil Rights Movement** during the 1950s and remained politically active until the end of his life. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1953 asked him, along with John Hope Franklin, to assist in preparing the legal brief for the *Brown v. Board of Education* case before the U.S. **Supreme Court**. Two years later, he published his controversial and best-selling *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. The book was to become so influential that **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, would refer to it as “the historical Bible of the civil rights movement.”

Strange Career was based on a series of lectures Woodward had delivered at the University of Virginia. The book overturned the conventional historical approach to the Southern system of legal segregation, which up to that time had been assumed by historians to have developed immediately after **Reconstruction** (1867–1877), and was understood to have returned the South to a system of racial separation that had functioned under **slavery**. The history of race relations in the South was more complicated than that, Woodward argued, with rigid legal segregation not being solidified into law until the 1890s. Under slavery, he insisted, Southerners had lived unsegregated lives, with whites maintaining dominance over blacks by other means. Between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century, a variety of racial accommodations characterized the South, involving varying degrees of tolerance, experimentation, and integration. Racial segregation in the legal form that was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1954 was a product of the New South and not the Old South, according to Woodward.

Woodward characterized the rise of a legal system of segregated churches, schools, jobs, waiting rooms, and public places as developing in the 1890s. It represented a sharp break, an aberration in his view, in the history of the South—which had previously been characterized by unequal, but never spatially separated, relations between the races. Segregation, he argued, had emerged primarily as a tool of wealthy, white Southern elites, who used it to combat the threat of white and black Populism, in a kind of divide-and-conquer stratagem. Woodward's book was primarily responsible for establishing the term “Jim Crow” as a shorthand term for the whole system of legal segregation, disenfranchisement, **lynching**, and violence against blacks that marked the South in the twentieth century.

Woodward's thesis has had strong critics as well as supporters. The critics have suggested that Woodward seriously underestimated the racial segregation that existed in Southern cities, and in the North as well, before the 1890s. They point to continuities with slavery times, rather than discontinuities. Woodward responded often to his critics, revising *Strange Career* in

1957, 1966, and 1974. After his retirement, he published *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History*, a memoir of his career as an historian.

Woodward's conclusions have been considerably modified by recent scholarship. Nonetheless, his *Strange Career* remains still the only full-length study of the history of racial segregation across the South. Whatever its shortcomings, Woodward's book was the first to recognize that Jim Crow was not a natural, unchanging phenomenon, but a series of man-made institutions with a checkered history that could be studied.

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Anthony A. Lee

Works Progress Administration

On May 6, 1935, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** issued Executive Order 7034, which created the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Authorized by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, the WPA was established to alleviate unemployment caused by the **Great Depression**. Between 1935 and 1943, the WPA employed 8.5 million Americans in the completion of 1.5 million publicly financed projects, which ranged from the building of bridges and schools to the writing of travel guidebooks, the painting of murals in public buildings, and the production of theatrical performances.

The **federal government** expressly forbade discrimination in the hiring of workers for WPA projects, but unemployed African Americans soon found that this directive was ignored by relief administrators in the South. In most instances, it was more difficult for African Americans to qualify for WPA jobs, and they were paid less than their white co-workers. This was especially true in Atlanta, where white workers were paid \$32.66 per month while their black counterparts received a mere \$19.29. In addition, blacks were restricted to manual and unskilled positions regardless of education, experience, or ability. Only 100 African Americans out of 4,000 WPA workers in St. Louis worked in white-collar positions. In Memphis, administrators removed blacks from the relief rolls in order to force them to pick cotton on nearby farms. On the whole, fewer African Americans were able to qualify for relief work, with only 350,000 employed annually. As a result of these restrictive measures, only 11 African American supervisors were in the whole of the Southern states five years after the program began.

Many Southern whites, in spite of their success in restricting African Americans from fully benefiting from the WPA, deeply resented the fact that black WPA workers labored outside their traditional work roles, and did all they could to discourage participation. For example, armed guards monitored the labor of female construction workers in Jackson, **Mississippi**. White Southern Democrats also opposed the program because it was perceived to strengthen the power of the federal government over that of the states. Nor were they sanguine in 1936 when President Roosevelt received 76 percent of black votes,

which resulted in African Americans becoming a powerful voting bloc within the **Democratic Party**. Consequently, the WPA was frequently used as a weapon by conservative Democrats to castigate Roosevelt's **New Deal** reforms.

Arguably, the Works Progress Administration was the most efficient public works program in the history of American government. It averaged a payroll of \$2,112,000 per month between the years 1935 and 1941, which provided significant assistance to destitute Americans. For African Americans in particular, the WPA provided much needed employment despite the fact that it condoned segregation and discrimination. At its height, the WPA was the greatest source of income for African Americans living in the Southern United States, while a quarter of a million black citizens were taught to read as a result of their involvement in the program. Perhaps more importantly, in giving African Americans employment outside of agriculture and domestic service, the Works Progress Administration strengthened their resolve in the struggle to dismantle legalized segregation.

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Wayne Dowdy

World War I

World War I involved the United States directly for only about a year and a half. The war occurred during one of the worst periods of oppression of black people in the United States since the end of **slavery**. Yet, the war also began to unleash forces that would, in the long run, begin the dismantling of **Jim Crow**. About 400,000 black men, and some black women, served in the American military during the war, which subjected them to both the military's version of Jim Crow, while at the same time exposing many of them to a world beyond Jim Crow in Europe. Additionally, the economic mobilization of the war years brought new economic possibilities, and began the **Great Migration** of blacks from the rural South to the urban South, and eventually to the urban North. However, in the two years following the end of the war, blacks were victims of the worst racial violence since **Reconstruction**.

Jim Crow was justified in part by the idea that black men were naturally cowards, or that they would not fight for the United States. Most history of black participation in previous wars had been largely purged from historical memory. Men who would not fight were not fit to vote. Thus, many in the military and government, especially Southern whites, were hesitant over the idea of using blacks in combat. While most racists had little problem with using blacks in the military in support or transportation units, the idea of arming blacks and training them to kill Germans threatened to undermine the whole Jim Crow system. Black leaders put pressure on the **federal government** to allow black men to serve in the infantry, hoping that a strong showing of black men defending the United States would give a moral

argument for allowing black men to vote. Under pressure from blacks and their white liberal allies, the government adopted a policy whereby Selective Service was instructed to induct blacks as well as whites, and for the army to create new infantry regiments and even divisions of black men.

When the United States declared war on the Central Powers in April 1917, the regular army contained two infantry and two cavalry regiments of African Americans, for a total of almost 10,000 black men. This number included an influx of 4,000 men who joined during a recruiting drive in 1916. Of these four black regiments, three remained in the United States throughout the war, while one served in the Philippines. The National Guard contained another 10,000 black men, almost all of whom were from Northern states. However most black men who served in the military during the First World War, like their white counterparts, entered the military through Selective Service. Thirty-four percent of black registrants were later drafted, compared to 24 percent for whites. A total of 13 percent of draftees were black, although blacks constituted only around 10 percent of the total population. However, in the spring and early summer of 1917, whites were actively sought for voluntary enlistment into the military, whereas most blacks were denied enlistment, so that the eventual wartime army roughly reflected the ratio of blacks to whites in the nation. **W.E.B. Du Bois**, among other black intellectuals, urged blacks to support the war effort fully, believing that black opposition would be used to justify further oppression, whereas faithful support of the nation during wartime would bring recognition of the rights of blacks as Americans. In September 1917, Emmett J. Scott, former secretary to **Booker T. Washington**, was appointed special assistant to the U.S. secretary of war. Scott's mission was to assure that Selective Service did not discriminate.

With the war coming at the height of the Progressive Era, the army attempted to use "scientific" intelligence testing to place drafted men into the most suitable position. Two professors, Walter D. Scott, and Robert Yerkes, developed a series of questions that they believed measured innate intelligence, but actually tested familiarity with upper middle-class white culture. With 90 percent of blacks from the rural South illiterate, their knowledge of, for example, characters in the works of Charles Dickens was limited. According to the tests, almost half of all white and 89 percent of black draftees rated as "morons." While white supremacists tried to use the tests as "proof" that blacks were inferior to whites, the tests also showed that, on average, black Northerners outscored rural white Southerners. Such reports angered white Southerners, and the army disregarded the tests.



African American soldiers following Lincoln to patriotic service, 1918. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-2426.

Excerpt from “Negro Troops in France,” 1919

Robert Russa Moton (1867–1940) was an African American author and educator. He was appointed principal of Tuskegee Institute in 1915, following the death of Booker T. Washington, and served in that position until he retired in 1935. This letter written by Moton, who visited France after the war, urged black soldiers to rise above Jim Crow upon their return to the United States.

A letter that I saw written by a lady overseas to another lady in the United States, stated that the writer had been told by the Colonel of a certain unit, whose guest she was, that he would not feel it safe for her to walk, even with him, through this camp of Negro soldiers.

Another letter from a high official in a very important position with the overseas Negro troops, written unofficially to a very prominent official on this side, stated, that, in the 92nd Division alone, there had been at least thirty cases of the unmentionable crime.

Another rumor, equally malignant and damaging, was to the effect that the fighting units commanded by Negro officers had been a failure. On other words, "the whispering gallery," which was most active in France on phases of life overseas, said that the 92nd Division, in which Negroes in American took special pride, and with good reason, had failed utterly; that, wherever they had been engaged, the Negro officers had gone to pieces; and that in some cases the men had to pull themselves together after their officer had shown the "white feather" [shown cowardice].

Moton's remarks to black soldiers later in his trip:

The record you have made in this warm, of faithfulness, bravery, and loyalty, has deepened my faith in you as men and as soldiers, as well as in my race and country. You have suffered hardships and many privations. You have been called upon to make many sacrifices. Your record has sent a thrill of joy and satisfaction to the hearts of millions of white and black Americans, rich and poor, high and low. Black mothers and wives, sweethearts, fathers, and friends have rejoiced with you and with our country in your record.

You will go back to America as heroes, as you really are. You will go back as you have carried yourselves over here—in a straightforward, manly, and modest way. If I were you, I would find a job as soon as possible, and get to work. To those who have not already done so, I would suggest that you get hold of a piece of land and home as soon as possible, and marry and settle down. Save your money, and put it into something tangible. I hope no one will do anything in peace to spoil the magnificent record of your troops have made in the war.

Source: *Southern Workman*, May 5, 1919, 219–24.

Most blacks who served in the military during the war served in the army. The Marine Corps admitted no blacks, while the navy took in about 1 percent. Of 400,000 blacks who served in the war, some 42,000 served in combat, a ratio slightly lower than for whites. Before the war, the black regular army regiments were stationed in the West or at overseas posts, as with most white regiments. However, the needs of the rapid mobilization for the war made necessary the construction of large mobilization and training camps, the majority of which were in the South, where land was cheaper and the warmer climate would allow more training over the winter of 1917–1918. Many blacks in the army assumed that their status as soldiers of the United States would protect them from Jim Crow, and for many Northern blacks, their time at training camps in the South would be their first experience with Jim Crow.

However, the army was sensitive to the opposition it faced from Southern political leaders over the very idea of arming and training black men, and bringing large numbers of them together. Southern political leaders often protested to the federal government when they found a black unit was to be

stationed nearby. Among Southern whites, the use of black men by the federal government during the Civil War and Reconstruction was seen as an act of barbarity. The army feared the backlash from any incident that might occur. As a result, the army imposed strict Jim Crow-style regulations over its black soldiers, and in general sought to ship black units to Europe quickly, often before they had been properly trained or equipped. However much the army attempted to mollify Southern whites by keeping the black soldiers under tight control, incidents were bound to occur.

The worst incident came on August 23, 1917, at Camp Logan, near Houston, Texas, involving soldiers from the 24th Infantry regiment, one of the four black regular army regiments. Many members of the 24th were relatively new soldiers, and the regiment had only recently been transferred to the South, where it was providing protection for a new training facility while it was under construction. However, the 24th, as with many regular regiments, had recently lost many of its long-term noncommissioned officers who had been assigned to the newly forming regiments in the national army. Additionally, many of the soldiers in the 24th had little firsthand experience with Jim Crow, and assumed their status as soldiers of the United States would shield them. Instead, the soldiers found themselves constantly harassed by civilians and police. When one of their own was arrested by local police, about 100 soldiers from two battalions used their army weapons in an attempt to free him. In the resulting melee, 16 white people died, including five policemen, and about a dozen others wounded. In the aftermath, the army tried by courts-martial 155 men in all. Nineteen of the men were hanged by the army, with no advanced public notice. The incident shocked blacks, who saw it as a **lynching**. Throughout the South, white communities interpreted the violence in Houston as an example of what happens when Northern blacks come to the South, and whites in the South became even more vigilant in ensuring Northern blacks respect the color line. The secretary of war, Newton D. Baker, a liberal, told President Woodrow Wilson that Jim Crow was the cause of the problems with the black units.

Racial violence between white civilians and black soldiers, such as in Houston, was used to justify keeping black soldiers in labor battalions and not issuing them weapons. As labor units, the African Americans performed superbly. One regiment, working as stevedores at a French port, was expected to unload 6,000 tons a month, based on French estimates. In September 1918 alone, they unloaded 800,000 tons. But many blacks, both soldiers and civilians, resented their serving only as laborers and clamored for black combat units. The army relented and reluctantly agreed to create more infantry units. Since segregation was the rule of the day in the army, black units were not comingled with white units. Instead, the army took the various black National Guard regiments and battalions and mixed them with newly formed regiments of black draftees, to create two new divisions, the 92nd and the 93rd.

Blacks also wanted to see black officers, not just black enlisted men. The army had, at the start of the war, very few black officers. Indeed almost all of the officers in the four black regular army regiments were white, although almost all of the officers in the black National Guard units were black. The highest ranking black officer at the start of the war was Lieutenant Colonel

Charles A. Young, a West Point graduate who served with the 10th Cavalry in Arizona. The army received complaints from Southern congressmen when white Southern junior officers were assigned to the 10th, which would mean serving under Colonel Young. Despite a flawless record, including combat in Cuba and Mexico, Young was forcibly retired, extensively on medical grounds, but in reality to placate Southern congressmen. Colonel Young appealed his retirement, but was not returned to active service until just before the war ended. Southern congressmen insisted that in no situation would white men be commanded by a black man. They dropped their opposition to the army creating a black Officers Candidate School only when the Army assured them that black officers would never command white troops. At Fort Des Moines in Iowa, some 639 black men received commissions—106 as captains and the rest as lieutenants—out of 1,250 candidates. Almost all of these black officers were then assigned to the new black infantry regiments in the national army. However, even as officers, these men soon found that the army treated them as inferiors and subjected them to the same Jim Crow as enlisted black soldiers.

Prejudice against black soldiers within the army created the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure of black soldiers in battle. The most notorious example was the 92nd Division. The division suffered from poor training, lack of equipment, no artillery, and uneven officer quality. While some of the officers, especially the lower-ranking officers, were black, most officers, including all the higher-ranking officers, were white. Many of the white officers assigned to black units were either the castoffs from other divisions or self-identified racists in the belief that they “knew how to handle blacks.” Thrown into battle on unfamiliar terrain two days after arrival in the Argonne, two battalions from the 368th Regiment failed in combat, while others performed well. The failure of some elements of the 92nd was projected to the entire division, and then to all black soldiers. The failure of the 92nd was cited as “proof” that blacks were naturally unfit for combat. As a result, most black combat soldiers had their weapons taken away and were employed in manual labor, especially as stevedores. This stigma would last through **World War II**.

In sharp contrast to the experience of the 92nd Division was that of the 93rd. The 93rd Division was “loaned” to the French Army, in part to ward off pressure from the French to take control of the entire American Expeditionary Force. While the French army was segregated by colonial or metropolitan origins of each regiment, it was not technically segregated on the color line. More importantly, the French had no stereotype of Africans or blacks being cowards or unfit to serve as soldiers. The French separated the four regiments of the 93rd and attached them to French divisions. Black American officers were shocked to find that French officers treated them as equals, as brother officers, something that never occurred in the U.S. Army. With French equipment, proper training, and capable leadership, the African American regiments performed well, earning 550 French decorations, including 180 of the Croix de Guerre, while suffering 35 percent casualties. They held their front for 191 days without losing territory, while capturing many Germans. The French government was so pleased with the performance of the black American soldiers that it heaped honors and praise on the fighting

ability of the black Americans, which in turned led to the U.S. government requesting that the French cease its high praise, lest the black Americans come home demanding that they be treated as equals.

The worst period of violence against blacks came in the two years after the war, when postwar economic readjustment put many strains on American society. While labor violence erupted in Washington State and Oregon, and in Boston, the police strike took the occupation of the city by the State Guard to restore order, the worst violence in the nation was racial. Mississippi had the worst violence since the end of Reconstruction. Some whites bemoaned that they would have to lynch thousands of black men in order to restore the status quo as it had been before the war. Whites feared black men who had fought Germans—a white people—in Europe, and who had been “spoiled by French whores,” would forget their place in America. While black Americans would celebrate units such as the 369th Regiment, the “Harlem Hellfighters,” which saw heroic service with the French army, white America soon forgot all about black service and loyalty during the war, and instead subjected blacks to increased racism and savage violence, lest blacks think the war might change race relations in the nation. The experience would be a bitter lesson for black Americans. *See also* Armed Forces; National Guard; Red Summer; Veterans Groups.

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Barry M. Stentiford

World War II

World War II was a pivotal event in history as it marked the emergence of modern America. The country came out of the war as a world economic and military power. Thousands of war veterans moved to the middle class thanks to housing and education loans through the federal **G.I. Bill** (officially known as the Serviceman's Readjustment Act). The role of government changed as did the place of African Americans and women in society. During the war, factories increased production to provide war goods to the armed services. The creation of this defense industry allowed African Americans and women to attain better-paying factory jobs that were never open to them before. After working in factories during the war, American women began to permanently move out of the home and into the workforce, changing gender and family dynamics. Many African American workers left the rural South to take advantage of job opportunities in the cities of the North and West. New types of jobs were open to black women, as many moved out of domestic positions and into the service sector. Most African Americans were eager to contribute to the war effort. Many black men, in an attempt to show their patriotism joined the armed forces. Segregation in the military and the treatment of blacks as second-class citizens at home angered many blacks and prompted them to

advocate for equality in America as the country was fighting for freedom and against Fascism in Europe.

Migration

During the war, the nation's factories increased production to make goods for the war, providing much needed jobs in the wake of the **Great Depression**. Since many white men had gone to war, women and African Americans took their places in factories. The availability of better-paying factory jobs attracted rural blacks to industrial centers all over the country. African Americans living in rural areas of the South migrated to Southern cities, which were industrializing for war production. Hundreds of thousands of Southern blacks who wanted to escape violence and **Jim Crow** chose to leave the South completely, migrating to cities in the North and West. This migration, often referred to as the **Second Great Migration**, caused various effects in the places from which migrants left and those to which they traveled. Many blacks found better-paying positions during the war in factories producing goods for the military. This notwithstanding they also faced discrimination in their new homes. Moreover, overcrowding of black communities and subsequent expansion of black residence into other communities, competition over war industry employment, unequal access to skilled employment, and race antagonisms were all effects of the World War II migration.

Blacks moved en masse to cities in the West such as Oakland and Los Angeles, where huge shipyards and new aerospace industries were located. African Americans also moved to cities with heavy industry—for example, steel and automobile factories, which could be easily converted to produce war goods. The black populations of Detroit and Chicago skyrocketed during the war. Black migrants also continued to settle in New York City even though the city's factories converted to wartime production much later than other cities because of the lack of heavy industry.

The influx of blacks in Northern and Western cities caused changes to the population of these cities, which often led to racial tension and competition over jobs and resources. As more and more blacks moved into Western cities in areas where they had never lived, African American faced increased discrimination from white residents. In these new areas of black settlement like Los Angeles and Richmond, California, black residence was restricted to declining neighborhoods.

In Detroit and Chicago, cities with a large black population, more and more blacks moved there, settling in the existing black neighborhoods and straining the community resources available. Because the number of blacks skyrocketed in these cities and the areas where they could reside did not, the migration resulted in overcrowding of black neighborhoods, higher mortality rates, and increased crime. The standard of living in many of these urban black communities declined.

Black Labor

Though the industries of the North and West attracted Southern blacks, there were factors pushing them to leave the South. Technological innovations

displaced agricultural black laborers in the South, prompting many to look for employment in urban factories. The mechanical cotton picker made the sharecropper system obsolete. Mechanization of farming through the adoption of tractors, harvesters, and sprayers made the need for black farm workers decline. Therefore, World War II provided industrial opportunities for blacks looking to leave a Southern economy that had less and less of a place for them. As the migration continued, the black community in Southern rural areas was gradually erased.

Many black migrants were not initially able to take advantage of the labor shortages in the early years of the war, especially in construction, heavy industry, and the aircraft industry. Employers hired white workers, ending white unemployment, while blacks remained without jobs, without training, and deprived of income because of reductions in Depression-era federal relief programs. Many companies, especially aviation factories that produced planes for the military, refused to employ black workers, a policy supported by the trade unions representing white workers. The United States Employment Service (USES), a federal agency, continued to fill “white only” requests from factory employers. The Employment Service’s general policy was to operate according to the pattern of the local community; therefore, if industries in a community did not hire black workers, their office would not, either. The policy of the USES reinforced discriminatory hiring practices of employers. For these reasons, during the early war years, African Americans often had trouble finding any position other than custodian in war industries.

In the South, where much defense industry was located, the National Youth Administration could not enroll blacks in training programs. There were no technical schools for blacks in the South, and because of Jim Crow laws, blacks could not enroll in white schools to learn these skills. In their efforts to exert greater control in government worker recruitment, Southern governors increasingly relied on closed shop agreements with trade unions of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). This collusion between local governments and the AFL would restrict who received the expanding employment benefits, a fact that had large implications for African Americans since they were often excluded from AFL membership. Southern employers preferred to use white women instead of blacks to fill labor vacancies in order to preserve the racial configuration and power relations of Southern society. In this way, federal mobilization agencies became the battleground over labor control in the South.

In 1943, circumstances in the labor market changed that prompted factories nationwide to open their doors to black workers. Increased demands for war production and a manpower shortage forced factories to hire black workers. With labor shortages becoming more acute each day and the government considering plans for manpower allocation, employers began to relax the bars to hiring, and unions found it more difficult to maintain restrictive policies. African Americans began to find skilled and semiskilled positions in the nation’s factories, earning more money than they had before. Black women in particular moved out of domestic jobs and into jobs in factories and service industries.

Social Effects of the Migration

In the South, employment of blacks in factories unsettled race relations. Whites in the rural South who were anxious about **miscegenation** openly resented wage increases for African Americans. These advances made Negroes too independent in their eyes, which was a dangerous development because it would foster African Americans' quest for social equality. Many blacks received war jobs, and some even managed to obtain skilled positions in plants. In general, however, the most menial and work-intensive jobs were given to black workers. White workers largely rose in status and income, but black workers entering the labor market took over the worst positions. Moreover, the traditional labor system of the South was being disrupted. To ensure adequate and efficient war production, the War Manpower Commission recruited Southern black workers to move to the Midwest and West Coast. This further undermined the low-wage labor system of Southern industries and large-scale agriculture.

The migration affected social and racial patterns in Northern and Western cities also. In Western cities, where few blacks had lived before the war, the migration had enormous employment and social effects. The massive wartime influx of black migrants to Los Angeles and San Francisco changed the racial and regional composition of the population. The arrival of unskilled migrants who would work for less pay prompted a restructuring of production methods from craftsmanship to mass production. In response, unions tightened their control on membership, excluding black workers. The Brotherhood of Boilermakers, the AFL craft union for shipyard workers, was the most vocal opponent of the new labor process.

In reaction to black migration white residents often placed more stringent social controls on African Americans. Between 1940 and 1945, over 340,000 black people migrated to California to take advantage of employment opportunities in the new war industries. After the passage of Executive Order 8802 banning race discrimination in defense industries, black workers accelerated their movement into the state. As black newcomers flooded the cities, whites abandoned them, confining African Americans to isolated neighborhoods. Increased racial segregation, changing economic and social relations, forging of bonds between black old-timers and newcomers, and expansion of the black industrial workforce were all results of the migration. Municipalities from Los Angeles to San Francisco responded to the influx of black migrants by establishing more stringent social, political, and economic restrictions on all black residents, newcomers and longtime residents alike. Local newspapers and police departments began to characterize crime in racial terms, giving a distorted picture of black criminal activity and stigmatizing the entire community.

The new migration also had political effects. The influx of new black working class voters and the corporatist nature of municipal politics during the war enabled a coalition of labor, blacks, and other progressive groups to mount an attack on conservative rule. Under the leadership of a united labor movement, this coalition grew to become major contenders in postwar urban politics, especially in Oakland.

Variations of the patterns and processes in California were at work in Detroit, Chicago, and New York City as well. Centers of production provided blacks with greater economic and social opportunities, and facilitated the rise of the black middle. However, due in part to migration, the cities' blacks faced pervasive discrimination and competition from whites, which caused blacks to have to endure inferior employment opportunities, substandard housing, inadequate health facilities, inferior education, and problems with drugs, crime, and insecurity. The migration of blacks to urban areas during World War II indelibly affected the social, political, and economic landscape of American cities.

Blacks in the Military

African Americans had been treated as second-class citizens for more than a century in the United States. Many blacks believed that white Americans would more likely see blacks in this country as full citizens if they proved their love for and dedication to the country. As in **World War I**, black men volunteered as soldiers fighting to defend the nation and its democratic principles in an effort to demonstrate their bravery and their status as American citizens. Most black soldiers, however, were never accepted as equals. When blacks enlisted in the military, many were placed in segregated combat units, training schools, and camp facilities. Moreover many black soldiers, though trained, never saw actual combat. Instead they made up the service and supply units, often acting as porters and messmen, the same positions to which many black men had been relegated as civilians.

African American organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League (NUL), and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) pressured the government to end segregation in the armed forces. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, and **A. Philip Randolph**, president of the BSCP, met with President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** and other military officials to express their views. These leaders advocated for integration of the military and asked the **federal government** to denounce discriminatory practices, goals that were not fully reached until President **Harry S. Truman**'s executive order in 1948.

Black soldiers were also targets of racial violence in American cities. Mobs of whites attacked black soldiers, many of whom were in uniform. During the war, incidents of racial violence increased as they had in previous American wars. Racial violence took place involving white and black soldiers in several American cities including Alexandria, **Louisiana** (1942); Florence, **South Carolina** (1942); Phoenix, Arizona (1942); Flagstaff, Arizona (1943); and Valleg, California (1943). Violence broke out between black soldiers and white soldiers, police, and civilians in these incidents.

The Riots of 1943

The challenges to equality that African Americans faced during the war exploded in 1943. More than 240 racial incidents occurred in 47 different towns and cities during that year. Full-scale race riots broke out in Detroit, Harlem, and Los Angeles, and numerous lynchings occurred in a number of

different states. Tensions between whites and blacks in many cities were exacerbated by migration, overcrowding in defense centers, competition for jobs, and conflict over housing. These tensions erupted in violence and in some cases escalated to race riots.

The **Detroit Race Riot of 1943** was the most infamous and destructive race riot that year. A dispute between black youths and whites over access to the Belle Isle amusement park started the riot. The violence moved to the black section of the city, and African Americans began to stone white-owned stores and cars driven by whites. Many blacks rioted out of frustration about limited economic opportunities, police brutality, substandard housing, segregation, and inadequate recreational facilities. White rioters were acting out racial prejudice, and many were angry about having to compete with blacks for jobs, housing, and recreational facilities. The two days of racial violence ended with nine whites and 25 blacks dead. Nearly 700 people were injured. The riot resulted in nearly \$2 million worth of property stolen or damaged before state and federal troops regained order.

Similar dynamics set off a riot in Harlem less than two months later. The frustration blacks felt at employers' continued refusals to employ them in higher-paying war industries contributed to an explosion of discontent in the summer of 1943. On the night of August 2, a riot began in response to a white police officer shooting an off-duty black soldier. The police charged the soldier with interfering in the arrest of a black woman in the lobby of a Harlem hotel. False rumors circulated accusing the officer of having killed the soldier who was trying to defend his mother. In response to the rumors, black rioters broke store windows, looted, damaged property, and attacked policemen. By the morning of August 3, five persons had been killed, 400 injured, and hundreds of stores had been looted. Property damage was estimated at \$5 million. Many African American leaders believed this burst of violent action was an outgrowth of the lack of economic opportunities for New York City's African Americans.

The underlying causes of the racial violence in Detroit and New York City illustrate how African Americans felt in other centers of defense production during the war. Police violence and competition over limited resources and jobs contributed to a rash of racial conflicts between whites and blacks during the war. Though violence was one manifestation of black frustration, black leaders and black organizations sought other methods to alleviate some of the problems blacks in cities faced.

1940s Jim Crow and the Beginning of Civil Rights Activism

Increasingly, scholars have identified World War II as a catalyst for black activism and a more militant African American consciousness. African Americans linked the issues of victory over Fascism abroad with victory over racism at home and began a campaign for racial equality. The **Double V Campaign** was the term used for the myriad of activities undertaken by black leaders and organizations to achieve full citizenship for African Americans. "Double V," a term initially used in a newspaper article appearing in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, stood for "Victory at Home and Abroad."

Black workers used the mobilization process and federal programs to gain economic and social mobility. Labor activism was especially important to African Americans because legislation was passed in 1941 prohibiting discriminatory hiring practices in war industries. During the war African American demands for civil rights were focused on the workplace. Black workers and activists, following in the footsteps of A. Philip Randolph, emerged as leaders in local and national struggles for black rights. African Americans used the need for factory workers and fair employment to force the federal government into acting for the equality of black workers. Southern black activists in trade unions and civic organizations, local offices of the NUL and NAACP, and other locally based grassroots groups comprised a national effort to get African Americans jobs in war projects.

Black organizations took action to resist discrimination in 1941. In April Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the NUL, Walter White, leader of the NAACP, Channing Tobias of the YMCA, **Mary McLeod Bethune** of the National Youth Administration and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters asked President Roosevelt to forbid discrimination in the **armed forces** and defense industries. Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox refused to desegregate the armed forces, and Roosevelt did not insist. Afraid of angering employers and Southern Democrats, the president merely issued a statement condemning discrimination. The black delegation felt that this was not enough and proposed a march on Washington, DC, at a meeting in Chicago. Randolph agreed to lead the **March on Washington Movement** and publicly announced plans for such a march to demand an executive order to end racial discrimination in defense industries.

This outpouring of black discontent and the threat of a mass protest forced the federal government to relent. On June 25, 1941, the pressure from the March on Washington Movement pushed President Roosevelt to issue an executive order banning discriminatory hiring practices in industries with government war contracts. Not only did Executive Order 8802 prohibit discrimination in hiring practices, but also prohibited government training programs from discriminating against black workers as well. Finally, the executive order established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission** in the Office of Production Management. The committee was to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the executive order, and take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it found to be valid.

The March on Washington Movement was the beginning of a newer, more militant, outright demand for civil rights; a demand spurred by economic hardships. Black organizations pressured government agencies to enforce fair employment legislation. In 1945, a breakthrough in fair employment



World War II spelled the end of Jim Crow, 1944. Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-86142.

legislation came in New York with the passage of the Ives-Quinn Law, which outlawed discriminatory hiring practices in the state. Black newspapers continuously ran stories on discrimination against black soldiers and workers, informing black readers of the prejudice and rallying support for the activities of black organizations to alleviate these problems. There is also evidence that black servicemen after fighting in the war refused to accept prewar racial practices. Black veterans, many of whom had lived in the South, were more likely to reenlist, and twice as likely to relocate to a different region after the war.

Legacy

Many historians believe that World War II was a catalyst for processes that ended in the ghettoization of urban black communities. Moreover, many use the end of the war as the marker of the beginning of urban decline. They argue that racism prevented blacks from moving into the middle class, and restrictive covenants, redlining, and denial of federal housing loans kept blacks out of the growing suburbs. Consequently, many African Americans were trapped in decaying cities. Moreover, racist implementation of the federal G.I. Bill also gave unfair economic advantage to white war veterans who could use government loans for housing to buy homes in the suburbs and tuition loans to go to college. Using the G.I. Bill, white veterans and their families entered the middle class, while black veterans were not afforded those opportunities. Some link the more militant protests it engendered to the beginning of the **Civil Rights Movement**.

No matter the arguments about the long-term effects of the war, the Second World War was very significant for African Americans. The availability of factory jobs to African Americans, which prompted migration, changed the face of American cities. Black men and women were able to find better-paying jobs in factories, and black women moved out of domestic occupations and into clerical and service positions after the war. For the first time, the majority of blacks no longer resided in rural Southern areas. In fact, after the 1940s, the African American population was no longer concentrated in the South, but spread more evenly throughout the country. World War II created not only modern America, but modern black America as it was known for the rest of the twentieth century. *See also* Zoot Suit Riots.

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Carla J. DuBose

World's Columbian Exposition

The World's Columbian Exposition, held in the city of Chicago, commemorated the 400-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of America in 1492. Between May and October 1893, more than 20 million visitors visited the World's Fair and explored its many attractions. The fairgrounds—designed by the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted—boasted of 400 newly constructed buildings on a 700-acre site, located seven miles south of the Chicago Loop.

The buildings housed cutting-edge examples of new technologies, as well as the achievements of modern farming, mining, and transportation. Visitors saw refrigerated railcars that could carry fresh grapefruit from Florida to other parts of the United States, and watched clocks and listened to alarms that were timed by wire signals sent from Washington, DC. They gaped at a giant cannon made by the German Krupp company, and a huge telescope that would be donated to the University of Chicago. In addition, visitors heard lectures on social, cultural, and historical issues. For example, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner read a paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which raised the question of how the recent "closing" of the Western frontier would shape the future of American democracy, while Jane Addams of Chicago's Hull House spoke on domestic labor and factory work. On a lighter note, fairgoers could gaze at a large map of the United States—made entirely out of pickles. The World's Columbian Exposition, however, was not only meant to entertain; organizers wanted to promote a new vision of Gilded Age society, in which art, industry, and technology fostered cultural cohesion and social stability, in which capital and labor coexisted in harmony (but with capital in command), and in which "civilization," embodied in a hegemonic white manhood, presided over a hierarchy of subordinate races and genders.

The exposition displayed a controversial version of American civilization. Between the 1860s and 1890s, there were wide-ranging challenges from below, as African Americans, industrial workers, and women struggled against the class, race, and gender boundaries that had long defined American society. For instance, black Americans demanded and fought for the abolition of **slavery** and inclusion into the United States as full citizens. However, white Southern resistance and Northern ambivalence led to the collapse of **Reconstruction** during the 1870s, paving the way for new systems of white dominance in the 1880s and 1890s: a vicious **lynching** culture, ongoing economic exploitation, disfranchisement, and segregation. In 1893, African Americans were still struggling to achieve their citizenship rights as guaranteed under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. In industry, cyclical recessions and frequent strikes underlined the persistence of serious class divisions in American society. The Panic of 1873 caused massive

unemployment, and working-class discontent led to violent confrontations between employers and labor in 1877 (the year of the Great Railroad Strike), 1884–1886 (the “Great Upheaval” that concluded with the Haymarket bombing), and 1892 (the year of the Homestead steel strike in Pennsylvania). The political assertiveness of immigrant workers and foreign radicals alarmed many native-born white Americans, who believed their society stood on the brink of collapse. Amid this unrest, social reform causes allowed middle-class women to cultivate new roles in public life, challenging the idea that only men could participate in economic affairs or political activities. The activities of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the settlement house movement, and the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) pointed to the prominence of women in political matters. In response to the various social groups who questioned their authority, well-to-do white men hoped the World’s Columbian Exposition would quell dissent by presenting to the public the social and cultural dividends of industry, technology, and white male supremacy: improved personal convenience, economic opportunity, enhanced communications, and national prestige.

The physical arrangement of the exposition’s grounds and exhibits pointed to the organizers’ social and cultural agendas. The buildings and exhibits of the “Court of Honor” (known as “White City”) provided the architectural and technological centerpieces of the fair. Evoking the earlier empires of Ancient Greece and Rome, organizers constructed nine neoclassical buildings, each made of iron skeletons and skins of gleaming white plaster: “Administration,” “Agriculture,” “Electricity,” “Horticulture,” “Fisheries,” “Machinery Hall,” “Manufactures and Liberal Arts,” “Mines and Mining,” and “Transportation.” According to exhibitors and organizers, the technological achievements of the Industrial Revolution and the grandeur of Western architecture exemplified modern “civilization”—a powerful response to workers, radicals, and unionists who accused industrialists of unrestrained greed. Machinery Hall featured 17 acres of mechanical wonders, offering visitors extensive proof of American civilization’s technological accomplishments. Organizers encoded civilization as synonymous with white manhood, as the main exhibition buildings only featured white males’ inventions. The Court of Honor excluded African American contributions outright, while relegating white women’s cultural achievements to a separate site on the fairgrounds. The fair’s commissioners, composed solely of white men, relegated persons of color to the Midway Plaisance—a tangential section of the fair where visitors could contrast the whiteness of the Court of Honor with caricatures of Egyptian, American Indian, central and southern African, and Persian villages. The titanic whiteness of the Court of Honor starkly contrasted with tiny villages of scantily clad black women and men (in “skirts”) who urged visitors to enjoy a glimpse of primitive society.

That the World’s Columbian Exposition reproduced and justified racial, class, and gender inequalities was not lost on black observers. Because the organizers promoted a segregated event by excluding African Americans from the planning committees and the exhibition halls, the antilynching activist and author **Ida B. Wells-Barnett** called on black Americans to voice their protest by boycotting the fair. White organizers attempted to suppress African

Americans' complaints of discrimination by creating a separate, one-day program known as "Colored American Day." Frederick Douglass, the former slave and lifelong activist on behalf of black civil rights, described the segregated White City as "a whited sepulcher." He also condemned the undignified association of American black men and women with the backward African villagers on the Midway Plaisance.

Both Douglass and Wells-Barnett contributed to a widely read pamphlet, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, which challenged the fair's racial segregation, tokenism, and offensive stereotypes by arguing that African Americans, rather than whites, were the more civilized race. Confronted with white racism and discrimination both inside and outside the fairgrounds, African Americans questioned whites' claims to high civilization. Were segregation, discrimination, and "race hate" the benchmarks of a civilized, forward-thinking people? As Douglass argued, black men and women's many advancements in the handful of years since emancipation proved that African Americans were the better exemplar of progress and civilization; and, he continued, it was African American labor that built so much of America's vaunted civilization.

The white male organizers of the exhibition segregated women's cultural achievements in a separate building, the diminutive Woman's Building (designed by architect Sophia Hayden). Situated away from the Court of Honor and near the Midway Plaisance, women existed—literally—in the space between civilization and savagery. While the Board of Lady Managers at the fair tried to show that women, like men, had made many contributions to modern civilization, the Woman's Building exhibits focused on domesticity, motherhood, the arts, reform, religion, and beauty as pillars of civilized white womanhood. White male organizers insisted that women's activities were not central to American civilization; rather, they were secondary in importance to men's innovations and endeavors. Despite the exclusion of women from White City, white women's partial recognition and actual separation from the Midway's racialized backwardness showed they still enjoyed a more privileged status than African Americans. Organizers thought of white women as closer to civilization than blacks.

After the World's Columbian Exposition concluded in the autumn of 1893, fires swept through the site and burned many of the buildings. While the exposition was over, and much of the fairgrounds were in ashes, the values articulated during the event continued to impact American culture and society. In 1894, for instance, the use of federal troops to put down the Pullman Strike in the Chicago area showed capital's continued commitment to the suppression of challenges from below; and two years later, in 1896, the Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision formally affirmed the practice of racial segregation in the American South. Organizers hoped the exposition would authenticate the greatness of American civilization, but the fair both mirrored and intensified patterns of injustice and prejudice. *See also* Masculinity, Black and White; Jim Crow; Nadir of the Negro; Racial Stereotypes.

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Gregory Wood

Wright, J. Skelly (1911–1988)

As a U.S. attorney, a Federal District Court judge, and a judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals, James Skelly Wright was one of the principal architects in the demolition of **Jim Crow** in Louisiana public schools between 1950 and 1962. Early in his career, Wright earned a reputation for judicial activism for the cause of social justice, a status that remained intact until his death. His rulings also authorized desegregation in higher education, city offices, and public facilities in Louisiana long before other states of the Deep South yielded to the directives of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954.

A native of New Orleans, Wright was born in 1911 to a working class family. He was educated in the New Orleans city school district, then entered Loyola University of New Orleans on an academic scholarship. After completing a degree in Philosophy, Wright immediately entered Loyola University Law School in the early years of the **Great Depression**. When finding gainful employment as an attorney in the midst of the Depression proved impossible, Wright returned to Loyola to teach history and practice law in 1934. He was appointed to assistant U.S. attorney for New Orleans in 1936 and served until the early 1940s, when he joined the Coast Guard during **World War II**. His politically liberal approaches to the law as assistant U.S. attorney caught the attention of President **Harry S. Truman**, who appointed Wright as the U.S. attorney for New Orleans in 1948.

Wright was promoted again to the Federal District Court of the eastern Louisiana district in 1950. At the time, he was the youngest federal judge in the country. The three-judge district court was assigned the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) suit against Louisiana State University (LSU) in Baton Rouge in 1950. Shortly after World War II, the **NAACP Legal Defense Fund** had launched new and inventive attacks against Jim Crow, arguing that segregated colleges and professional schools for blacks were still inherently unequal, given that white students had access to greater resources, better-trained faculty, and more space. The civil rights organization had successfully argued on behalf of Herman Sweatt for his admittance to the University of Texas Law School in the Supreme Court case of *Sweatt v. Painter* in 1948.

Applying the same tactic at LSU, Roy Wilson was the lead plaintiff in a lawsuit challenging the "separate but equal" statutes commonly manipulated to disguise inadequate university education for African Americans. The three judge panel found that LSU must admit African Americans to its law school, despite the proximity and availability of the historically black Southern University in Baton Rouge. It was Wright's first integration order, and it led to the desegregation of the professional and graduate schools at LSU in 1950, followed by the undergraduate schools in 1953.

After the *Brown* decision, the state of Louisiana devised other tactics to evade the segregation order. For instance, Louisiana maintained that segregation was so widespread and long-standing that it could not possibly desegregate in the time specified by *Brown II*, nor would the state be able to undo decades of division that made racial segregation a fixture in Louisiana culture. Recognizing that the state's intention to defy Supreme Court and the *Brown* decision, Wright concluded that "the magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, freeborn Americans, with a right to make our way unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God." In *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* (1961), Wright wrote the opinion for the unanimous decision to throw out Louisiana's attempt at "interposition," or the state's rejection of the *Brown* decision. In Wright's opinion, Louisiana had no protection against desegregation, nor did the state rest on a solid foundation to defy the Supreme Court. Louisiana was ordered to abandon its tactics preventing the desegregation of its public schools.

One of Wright's most noted rulings concerned Tulane University and the issue of racial segregation in admission standards at private universities. In 1962, two African American students, Barbara Guillory and Pearlle Elloie, sued Tulane for illegally using race as a factor in denying them admission. Wright ruled that Tulane must desegregate and admit the two students, despite Tulane's claim that as a private university, it was not bound by the regulations for public institutions and it was not funded by public monies or resources. Wright argued in *Guillory v. Administrators of the Tulane University of Louisiana* (1962) that "Reason and authority strongly suggest that the Constitution never sanctions racial discrimination in our schools and colleges, no matter how 'private' they may claim to be." Wright's decision was overturned on appeal; however, Tulane admitted Guillory and Elloie in the 1964–1965 academic year. The Tulane decision was the last in a long line of Wright's controversial rulings while living in New Orleans. After political pressure from Louisiana's senators prevented an appointment to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court, Wright was promoted to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1962. He relocated from his home in New Orleans to Washington, DC.

Wright's career flourished in Washington. He ruled on the publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971, which triggered the political scandal, and he maintained his socially progressive positions on cases regarding race, poverty, and labor unions. He retired from the bench in 1986 and died of prostate cancer in 1988.

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Nikki Brown

Z

Zoot Suit Riots (June 1943)

The Zoot Suit Riots were race riots targeting mainly Mexican Americans that took place over a series of weeks primarily in East Los Angeles during the month of June 1943. U.S. servicemen on leave, primarily white Southerners, went into minority communities in search of “zoot suiters” to attack violently.

The “zoot suiter” was portrayed in the media as an unpatriotic, juvenile delinquent. The zoot suit style actually evolved much earlier out of African American jazz clubs in **Harlem**, New York, in the 1930s. By the **World War II** era, some teenagers in the Mexican American community adopted this fashion, characterized by the colorful broad-shouldered, narrow-waisted suit with tapered pants. Since there was fabric rationing in place to help the war effort, these young people in baggy clothing were viewed as possibly having fascist sympathies. The mainstream media viewed youth in this subculture as not doing their patriotic duty, even though most of the clothing was bought secondhand in thrift stores. By most estimates, less than 10 percent of Mexican Americans were members of the jitterbug scene.

Mexican Americans continued to experience de jure segregation during this period. They were regularly denied equal access to public facilities such as restaurants, theaters, swimming pools, housing, and schools. The increased demand for workers during wartime did open up some job opportunities that had previously been closed because of race, such as in the defense industry. Majority opinion often begrudged these small economic gains by minorities, with a general view that such progress would cause minorities to forget their proper place in society. Tensions increased when white servicemen on leave carousing would enter into minority, segregated communities, often with the goal of teaching proper respect to uppity minorities. One particular target was the zoot suiter, perhaps because of the negative media accounts. The intimidation included both verbal threats and physical violence. The Mexican American youth did not take these threats lightly and often fought back. Rumors spread between both groups that each was sexually victimizing each other’s women and many skirmishes took place before the outbreak of the

actual riot. It was this atmosphere of superpatriotism, racism, and economic and sexual competition that set the stage for the race riots.

The incident that created the spark for the riot occurred on May 30, 1943. Approximately, 12 servicemen on leave saw some Mexican American women walking on the opposite side of the street and decided to turn around and follow them. Some young men in zoot suits intercepted them. One of the sailors grabbed the arm of one of the civilians and a fight ensued. The servicemen received the worst of it. After they returned to base they planned to retaliate. On June 3, about 50 sailors roamed around looking for zoot suiters to attack. They found only a few young boys, whom they stripped of their clothing and beat up. It was then decided to go into the Mexican American communities of East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights, where there had not been any previous clashes, and attack any Mexican Americans they could find. The Los Angeles police did not step in and stop the rampaging servicemen; instead, they arrested the civilians who had been assaulted. The riots also spread into African American and Filipino communities.

The riots were not quelled until the Mexican ambassador complained to the State Department. There were also fears that the riots might be used as Axis propaganda by the State Department and they ordered the military to control their men. On June 7, the military made Los Angeles off-limits to all military personnel and on June 8, the city banned the wearing of the zoot suit, with violators given a 30-day jail sentence. The clashes subsided, and the governor ordered an investigation of the riots. The committee found that the principal cause of the violence was racism. *See also* Hispanics/Latinos; World War II.

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ABOUT THE EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Editors

Nikki Brown is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of New Orleans.

Barry M. Stentiford is an Associate Professor of History at Grambling State University.

Contributors

Carol Adams-Means is an Instructor in the Department of Communications at the University of Texas, San Antonio.

Regina Barnett is a masters student in the African American and African Diaspora Studies Department at Indiana University.

Jeffrey D. Bass is an Assistant Professor of History at Quinnipiac University in Connecticut.

Michael Beauchamp is a PhD candidate in History at Texas A&M University.

Shannon Smith Bennett is a PhD candidate in History at Indiana University.

James M. Beeby is an Assistant Professor of History at Indiana University Southeast.

Alfred L. Brophy is a Professor of Law at the University of Alabama Law School.

Thomas Brown is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Northeast Lakeview College, Texas.

Joan C. Browning is a freelance writer.

John Russell Burch, Jr., is Director of Library Services at Campbellsville University.

Frank Cha is a PhD candidate in American Studies at the College of William and Mary.

Lauren Chambers is a PhD student in English at the University of Georgia.

Aaron Cooley is a PhD student in Education at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Simon T. Cuthbert-Kerr is a Lecturer in American History at the University of Glasgow, Scotland.

Christina L. Davis is a PhD student in History at the University of Georgia.

Olethia Davis is a Public Law Professor at Troy University in Alabama.

Sharlene Sinegal DeCuir is a PhD candidate in History at Louisiana State University.

Rutledge M. Dennis is a Professor of Sociology/Anthropology and African American Studies at George Mason University.

James I. Deutsch is a Program Curator for the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage in Washington, DC.

Wayne Dowdy is a Senior Librarian and Archivist at Memphis Public Library and Information Center.

Carla J. DuBose is a PhD candidate in American History at the City University of New York, Graduate Center.

Shawntel L. Ensminger is a PhD student at Florida State University.

Kwame Essien is a PhD student in History at the University of Texas at Austin.

Amy Essington is a PhD candidate in History at Claremont Graduate University, California.

Marianne Fisher-Giorlando is the Acting Dean of the College of Professional Studies, Grambling State University.

Monroe Friedman is a Professor Emeritus in Psychology at Eastern Michigan University.

Julieanna Frost is an Assistant Professor of History at Siena Heights University.

Justin D. García is an Instructor of Anthropology at Temple University.

Laura Gimeno-Pahissa teaches U.S. History and Literature at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Ivan Greenberg is an independent scholar writing on civil liberties and social movements.

Skylar Harris is a PhD candidate in History at the State University of New York.

Danielle C. Heard is a PhD candidate in English at Cornell University.

Emily Hess is a PhD student in History at Case Western Reserve University.

Karlos K. Hill is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Arthur Holst holds a PhD in Government from Temple University.

Marilyn K. Howard is an Associate Professor in the Departments of Social and Behavioral Sciences and the Humanities at Columbus State Community College.

James Ivy is an Instructor in the Department of English of Trinity University, San Antonio.

Eric R. Jackson is an Associate Professor and Assistant Chair of the Department of History and Geography at Northern Kentucky University.

Sherita L. Johnson is an Assistant Professor of African American Literature at the University of Southern Mississippi.

George H. Junne, Jr., is a Professor and Chair of Africana Studies at the University of Northern Colorado.

Gregory Kaliss is a PhD student in History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Stephen C. Kenny is a Lecturer in History at the School of History, University of Liverpool, England.

Steven E. Knepper is a PhD student in English at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.

Karen Kossie-Chernyshev is an Associate Professor of History at Texas Southern University.

Jeffrey Kraus is a Professor of Government and Politics and Associate Provost at Wagner College in New York.

Anthony A. Lee is an Adjunct Professor of History at West Los Angeles College.

Jennie Lightweis-Goff is a Graduate Instructor in the College Writing Program at the Rush Rhees Library in Rochester, New York.

James W. Loewen is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of Vermont.

J. Vincent Lowery is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Mississippi.

Angie Maxwell is a PhD candidate in American Studies at the University of Texas in Austin.

Louis Mazzari is an Assistant Professor of History and English at Bogazici University in Turkey.

Barbara McCaskill is an Associate Professor of English and General Sandy Beaver Teaching Professor at the University of Georgia.

Douglas Milford is the Associate Director of Academic Services for Professional MBA Programs at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Mark Edwin Miller is an Assistant Professor of History at Southern Utah University.

William A. Morgan is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Texas.

James Newman is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Idaho State University.

Yusuf Nuruddin is a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Africana Studies Program, University of Toledo.

Barbara A. Patrick is an Assistant Professor of Public Administration at Mississippi State University.

Mika'il A. Petin is Associate Director of African American Studies and the African American Studies Research and Resource Center at George Mason University in Virginia.

Brian Piper is a graduate student in American Studies at the College of William and Mary.

Michelle A. Purdy is a PhD student in Educational Studies at Emory University.

Sanjeev A. Rao, Jr., is an Adjunct Professor of History at Monmouth University in New Jersey.

Alyssa Ribeiro is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Pittsburgh.

Natalie J. Ring is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Texas at Dallas.

Mario Marcel Salas is an Assistant Professor of Political Science/Government at Northwest Vista College in San Antonio.

Mark Schultz is an Associate Professor of History at Lewis University in Illinois.

Donald Scott is a history journalist and columnist.

Dorsia Smith teaches English at the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras.

John Matthew Smith is a PhD student in History at Purdue University.

Mary Stanton is a writer and independent scholar.

Kevin Strait is a PhD candidate in American Studies at George Washington University.

Gregory S. Taylor is an Assistant Professor of History at Chowen College.

Jack A. Taylor III is an Adjunct Instructor of Ethnic Studies at Bowling Green State University in Ohio.

Gabriel H. Teninbaum is an Assistant Professor of Legal Writing at Suffolk University Law School in Boston.

Jennifer Jensen Wallach is an Assistant Professor of History at Georgia College and State University.

Katherine Kuehler Walters is a PhD student in History at Texas A&M University.

Thomas J. Ward, Jr., is an Assistant Professor of History at Rockhurst University in Missouri.

Melissa F. Weiner is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Quinnipiac University in Connecticut.

Gregory Wood is an Assistant Professor in History at Frostburg State University in Maryland.