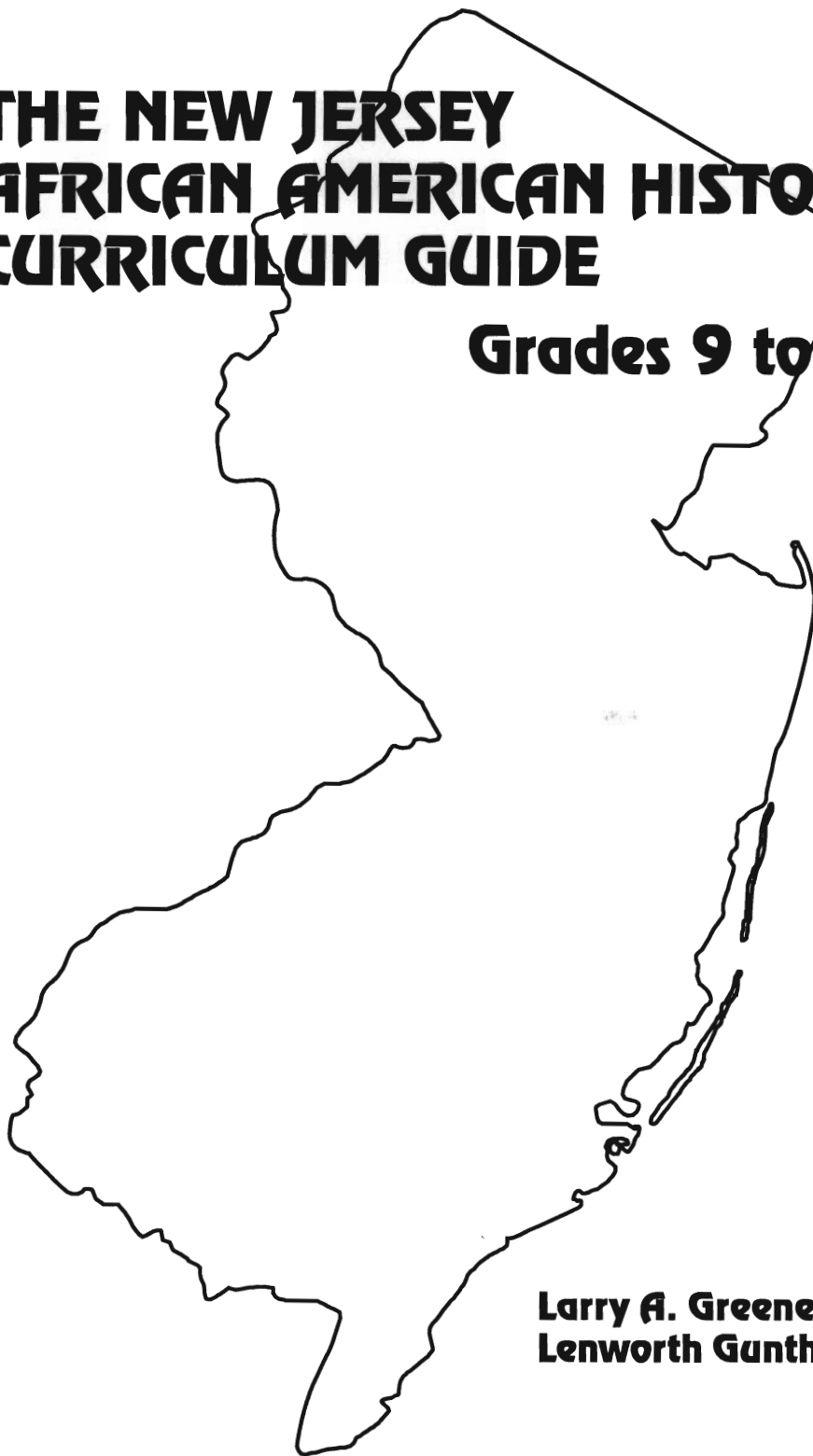


THE NEW JERSEY AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY CURRICULUM GUIDE

Grades 9 to 12



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**Trenton
New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State**

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DEDICATED TO

*Vallie and Ralph Greene
and
Freddy*



FOREWORD

Because the *New Jersey African American History Curriculum Guide: Grades 9 to 12* is a unique educational resource, most persons interested in teaching African American history to New Jersey high school students will welcome its appearance. The guide is the first curriculum resource available to New Jersey high school teachers that weaves the strands of the American, black American, and black New Jersey pasts into a common thread.

This guide is also distinctive because it represents the intersection of three developments. The first of these, greatly separated in time from the remaining two, is historiographical. The guide indeed grows out of efforts begun by a few black Americans before the Civil War to chronicle black achievements and contributions in Africa and America. These early black historians hoped their writings would stimulate racial pride among blacks and refute the white charge of black racial inferiority so as to weaken opposition to emancipation. Concerned that the story of black accomplishments had never been told, they were interested in inclusion, which would ensure that the historical experiences of black Americans were a well-documented part of the general record of the American past.

Although the work of these pioneers and their followers had developed into a well-established tradition of black American history writing by the 1960s, the decade's black social activism spurred efforts to make the black American's active role in shaping the nation's development more manifest. Such efforts,

along with the decade's considerable social agitation and the consciousness-raising experiences that it engendered, encouraged other groups to decry their marginal place in American history and to clamor, like the Afro-American, for a national history more reflective of the nation's pluralistic nature. By the end of the 1960s, therefore, the proposition that in the American historical drama all citizens—irrespective of gender, culture, ethnicity, race, and religion—should be recognized as players had become much more tenable. The implications for the nation's schools were, of course, enormously challenging. It became increasingly apparent that curriculum materials were needed that were informed historically by the nation's heterogeneity, materials that addressed in particular the pasts and cultures of groups often ignored. That such materials were thought to foster greater tolerance for differences among groups and to lessen the divisions of race, color, gender, ethnicity, and religion only strengthened interest in their preparation and use. *The New Jersey African-American History Curriculum Guide: Grades 9 to 12* is thus in part a product of the expanded interest in historical inclusion generated by the social protest of the 1960s.

A more recent development has also figured in this guide's creation. The guide emanates directly from legislation passed in 1988 that authorized the New Jersey Historical Commission to prepare curriculum materials that would "treat the role of Afro-Americans in American and New Jersey history." Without this specific legislation, and its appropriation, it is



ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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PREFACE

As both students and teachers of African American history, we have found the preparation of this curriculum guide to be a labor of love. In it we have tried to suggest the richness and uniqueness of the place of people of African descent in the mainstream record of American and New Jersey life. The guide reveals that from the earliest of times to the present, the story of black Americans has been one of triumphs and tribulations, success and failure, dignity and degradation.

Although our guide by no means records every aspect of a black past that has witnessed both achievement and agony, it treats chronologically those themes, events, concepts, and individuals we believe to have been of major and profound significance in the African American historical experience. The breadth and depth of this story allow it to both stand alone and to be harnessed with the stories of Americans of other races and cultures, that is, similar odysseys that have been or remain to be told. We believe our guide reveals the importance of recognizing the multiracial and multicultural dimension of American life and culture, the advantages gained by emphasizing inclusion and pluralism in recounting the history of America.

We should add that we believe our guide provides help, not hindrance—it is not just “something else to remember”—to our high school colleagues, who are consumed, if not overwhelmed, by long work schedules, pervasive paperwork, and the myriad social concerns now all too common in the classroom. We believe that the guide’s chronological, thematic, and comprehensive focus, as well as its narrative, key words, suggested activities, and bibliographies, will make it particularly helpful to teachers who want to integrate the history of blacks in America, and especially New Jersey, into courses dealing with American history at the 9–12 level. In addition, we believe it will well serve the needs of students in grades 9 to 12 who take courses dealing with such subjects as ethnic studies, world history, and social studies. However it is used, we believe strongly that it will encourage among students of all races and ethnicities a greater tolerance of cultural differences, as well as an appreciation for the singularity of the black historical presence in the United States.

LARRY A. GREENE
LENWORTH GUNTHER



HOW TO USE THIS GUIDE

This guide is organized into fifteen lesson units. Each unit represents one chronological period of the African American experience, beginning with the African antecedents of this experience and ending with the year 1994. Each unit is divided into three main sections. The first, titled *Background*, should be read by teachers before teaching the lesson unit. This section comprises a brief historical overview of the period, the basic historical information needed to teach the unit. In this section teachers will find the unit's key words **highlighted in bold type**. Teachers should define and explain these words for the students to facilitate their understanding of the unit's history content.

In accordance with the commonly accepted practice of scholars in writing history textbooks, as well as the procedure in preparing guides similar to the one here, we have not identified sources for the historical information found in the *Background* section of each unit. With few exceptions, our sources are found in the annotated bibliographies included with the units. The guide's maps have all been prepared by the New Jersey Historical Commission's publications staff; they are based on research by Giles R. Wright, the director of the Commission's Afro-American History Program. And whenever a commonly used phrase of a given historical period is used in the guide, it is placed in quotation marks.

The unit's second section, titled *Core Lesson*, provides activities and resources that will help the students absorb the historical information. Each core lesson has several parts. The first is the theme, the

major point of the lesson unit. Next is an identification of the materials that both the teacher and students should read to ensure full comprehension. Teachers should note in particular that these materials include required readings from three general texts on African American history. Two of the texts are for students: Langston Hughes, Milton Meltzer, and C. Eric Lincoln, *African American History* (Scholastic, 1990) and *The African American Experience: A History* (Globe Book Company, 1992). The third is for teachers: John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (McGraw-Hill, 1994). A fourth book, which provides a succinct overview of black New Jersey history, contains required readings for both students and teachers. It is Giles R. Wright, *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History* (New Jersey Historical Commission, 1988).

The amount of time needed to complete a particular lesson activity is also indicated in the second section. This is followed by the unit's specific learning activities, with their objectives and evaluation methods. Additional learning activities are offered next, followed by "Key Persons," a listing of the unit's major historical figures. Annotated bibliographies, one for teachers and one for students, conclude the section.

The third section features the materials to be used with the lesson (for example, maps, photographs, excerpts); these are to be reproduced and distributed to the students.

Teachers should be mindful that the learning



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

With any undertaking of this scope and magnitude there is an indebtedness owed those sincere and dedicated individuals whose support made it possible. Indeed, many people assisted us over the years and we are eternally grateful and thankful for their concerns and overall help in preparing this guide. Professor Clement Alexander Price of Rutgers University (Newark) is one of those who deserves special mention. He called every so often and kept us on course. The same and more can be said for Giles R. Wright of the New Jersey Historical Commission. His clear historical vision, knowledge, and suggestions, as well as his patience and faith in the project and us, helped in ways too great to express here. Many thanks also to our typists, who helped organize our thoughts, and to our researchers, who rechecked our details. All of you, especially Sandra K. Latson and Margaret Harahan of Seton Hall University, and Gwendolyn Slaton, Essex County College librarian, helped, along with the staff of the New Jersey Historical Commission, to guarantee the neatness and accuracy of our manuscript. Dorothy Frederique's cheerful encouragement and clerical assistance helped us meet deadlines we otherwise might have ignored. Gwendolyn Walker's support and courage gave new and poignant meaning to the words dedication and faith.

We also gratefully acknowledge the members of the project's advisory committee, who read early drafts of our manuscript and made very helpful and

constructive comments. They are Raymond Aklonis, Elizabeth High School, Elizabeth; Jeanette Cascone, historian-educator, Elizabeth; John DeSane, historian-educator, Englewood; Jeanne Holmes, Board of Education, Camden; Aisha Johnson, Principal, Ulysses S. Wiggins Elementary School, Camden; Alma Jordan, Board of Education, Newark; Charlotte McCane, Ridgewood High School, Ridgewood; Clement A. Price, Rutgers University, Newark; and Roberta Tate, Thomas O. Hopkins Middle School, Burlington Township.

June Peggs served as a consultant to the project and suggested historical novels suitable for inclusion in the students' bibliographies. We thank her for her contribution.

A second project consultant, Dr. E. Alma Flagg, also deserves our thanks for editing early drafts of our manuscript.

Further, we owe a special thanks to Cheryl LuSane, who, as another project consultant, provided the guide with early suggestions about student learning activities.

And finally, we are especially indebted to the late Mildred Barry Garvin, among whose many contributions to black history and education in New Jersey was the sponsorship of legislation that provided additional funds for the New Jersey Historical Commission Afro-American History Curriculum Project, of which this guide is a product.



Unit 1

African Beginnings

BACKGROUND

Africa, the ancestral homeland of African Americans, covers 11,700,000 square miles, or one-fifth of the world's land area, and is the second largest continent. With a population of about 700,000,000, or about 60 persons per square mile, Africa is sparsely populated by world standards, having a little over half of the world's average (102 persons per square mile). Two-thirds of the continent lies in the tropics, and it has three major deserts: the Kalahari (South), Namib (South), and Sahara (North). The Sahara's dessication occurred between 5,000 and 3,000 B.C. and resulted in a marked decline in its human and animal life. In the West, Central and Southwest regions, Africa has dense, sprawling rain forests that are often incorrectly referred to as jungles. Lakes and rivers are central to African life as sources of livelihood, commerce, and basic transportation. Africa's major rivers are the Nile (at over four thousand miles the world's longest) in the Northeast; the Zambezi in the Southeast; the Congo in the Southwest; and the Niger, Benue, and Senegal in the West.

The word *Africa* was used by the ancient Romans to refer to their colonial province in the area that is present-day Tunisia and eastern Algeria. Its possible derivations are the Latin word *aprica*, meaning "sunny," and the Greek word *aphrike*, meaning "without cold."

Archeological finds suggest that Africa is the cradle of humankind. The earliest fossil remains of humans, however one defines *human*, have been found in eastern and southern Africa. For example,

if being human is defined as bipedality ("walking upright"), then the remains found in Ethiopia in 1974 of a four-million-year-old apelike creature apply. If defined as "making tools" (tools from stones that were sharpened or flattened), then the fossilized remains unearthed in 1986 in Tanzania's Olduvai Gorge are particularly significant. About two million years old, they were those of *Homo habilis*, the first toolmaker. (Even more recent studies have led to the conclusion that humans first learned to fashion sophisticated tools in Africa, not in Europe, as many experts had thought. These tools, carved from the ribs of large mammals, include double-pointed blades with carved barbs and single points with ridges that could have been used for attachment to spear shafts. They were discovered in Zaire along its border with Uganda and are said to be between 75,000 to 90,000 years old.) If "using fire" defines being human, then the one-million-year-old remains found at Kenya's Lake Turkana of *Homo erectus*, the first creature to both make "hand axes" (pear-shaped, chipped-stone tools) and use fire, are critically important. Finally, it can be noted that the earliest remains of **Homo sapiens**, "thinking/talking man" or modern man, about one hundred thousand years old, have also been found in East Africa.

Although no one disputes the substantial evidence that the earliest human ancestors evolved in Africa and that **migration** from Africa at some point led to the global distribution of humans, there is some disagreement about when, where, and how early humans became transformed into modern humans. One

legends of some ethnic groups (for example, Dogon, Yoruba, Bakuba, and Watutsi) speak of a migration from the general direction of the Nile Valley. Also, objects found in other parts of Africa resemble Egyptian ones and are therefore viewed as having originated in Egypt (headrests, musical instruments, ostrich fans). Further, there are words common to the Egyptian language and the languages of such African groups as the Yoruba and Wolof. Yoruba and Wolof words are among those West African words that have been found among the black residents of the Gullah Islands (Sea Islands) off the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina.

Historically, African societies have been extremely diverse. Some "stateless societies" have featured very simple political structures and have been technologically underdeveloped. Exemplifying this are societies whose economic activities center on hunting and gathering; they include the BaMubuti (so-called Pygmies) of the Ituri Forest in Zaire and the Khoi-San peoples (so-called Bushmen and Hottentot) in southern Africa. **Pastoral** and **nomadic** societies like the Nuer of the Sudan, the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania, and the Karamojong of Uganda have also usually been stateless. And there have been African stateless societies based on settled agriculture. Examples of such societies are the Dogon of Mali, the Kru of Liberia, the Tiv and Ibo of Nigeria, the Kikuyu of Kenya, and the Baule of Ivory Coast.

Other African groups developed high levels of political organization, such as complex empires and centralized kingdoms. Kush (Nubia), located to the south of Egypt, existed between 2000 B.C. and 350 A.D.; with its ruins of palaces, temples, and numerous pyramids, it constitutes an early example of an African civilization highly advanced both politically and materially. Although it was conquered and influenced by Egypt during its early history (Egyptian administrators and priests, craftsmen, and artists introduced Egyptian techniques and art forms), around 920 B.C. an independent Kushite dynasty arose and eventually conquered all of Egypt; between 716 B.C. and 654 B.C. Kushitic rule constituted the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty. Kush lost Egypt to the Assyrians in 654. From that time on Kush was ruled by a single dynasty for a thousand years, a record unequaled on the African continent.

Kush was one of the richest gold-bearing areas of the ancient world. Kush is also important because, with its fall in the fourth century A.D., many Kushites migrated southward and westward, taking with them such concepts as state organization and specialized skills such as iron smelting and metalworking. Since the language of the Kushites has not been deci-

phered, there is much that is not known about this urban, materially advanced, literate state. We do know, however, that it had dynamic relations not only with its immediate neighbors but, through trade, with an international community. In the first century A.D., after the Roman conquest of Egypt, Kush sent ambassadors to Rome, and Emperor Nero sent Roman emissaries to Kush. Around 350 A.D. Kush fell to Axum, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia and the name by which that kingdom was initially known.

Later notable examples of higher forms of political organization are the great medieval West African empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. While all were highly centralized politically and located in the grassland zone of the Western Sudan, they also shared two additional characteristics: participation in the trans-Saharan trade, and interaction with the Islamic world.

The trans-Saharan trade was crucial to the development of all of these empires because, geographically near both the forest region and North Africa, they were able to serve as middlemen for these two areas; they provided a convenient meeting ground for the exchange of goods. It was thus important for each empire in the course of its imperial expansion to bring under its control the key trading centers where goods were exchanged. This control paralleled an attempt to control the sources of the more important items of trade, especially gold.

Gold was by far the key staple in the trans-Saharan trade for, until the exploration of America, the Western Sudan was the world's principal source of gold. After gold, slaves were the next most important export of the Western Sudanic states. Other exported items included spices, kola nuts, shea butter, hides, civet, musk, and ivory. In exchange for its commodities the Western Sudan received such items as salt, horses, cloth of all kinds, copper, silver, beads, glassware, dried dates and figs, and manufactured goods.

With trade came new ideas, especially Islamic ideas; the centers of trade became centers for the propagation of the Islamic faith.

Islam was initially introduced into the Western Sudan by nomadic Muslim groups (for example, Berbers) and traders (Berber, Arab, and native) who worked the internal routes of the Western Sudan. The adoption of Islam enabled wandering traders in particular to find hospitality, as well as a sense of community, among fellow Muslim traders in communities along the trade routes. As these traders moved farther into the interior, they carried Islam with them, stimulating a process of Islamization that ultimately involved the conversion of some chiefs and political rulers. The embrace of Islam by such leaders did not necessarily lead to the rapid Islamization of the bulk

Between 1528 and 1591, the empire, in the absence of a fixed law of succession to the throne, was beset with intrigues, plots, and civil wars following every succession. Such a state of disorganization aided the sudden destruction of Songhay in 1591 by an invading power from the north—the Moroccans—who had the advantage of superior weapons in the form of firearms and cannons. To place it in some kind of time perspective, note that the fall of Songhay occurred roughly one hundred years after Columbus's first voyage to the New World.

Additional evidence of highly sophisticated political structures in traditional Africa can be found in the ruins at Great Zimbabwe, the center of government of Monomopata, the southern African empire that existed between 1425 and 1490. The eleven rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, Ethiopia, dating from the twelfth century, and the castles of Gondar, Ethiopia, the most imposing of which was erected in the mid-seventeenth century, also provide evidence of African societies that had advanced stages of technology.

If there was no monolithic African culture or single "African way of life" in the past, this is equally true today. Present-day Africa is home to over one thousand different **ethnic groups** (often called "tribes"). The traditional cultures of these groups vary

in terms of such traits as language, economic activities, and lineage (**patrilineal** or **matrilineal**). Still, these cultures possess certain similarities (for example primacy of communal rather than individual interests; **partiararchy**; **polytheism**; **polygamy**; respect for elders; and an oral-aural tradition). Thus the often used phrase "diversity within unity" can be used to describe Africa culturally, both in a historical and contemporary sense.

In at least two vital ways Africa continues to have meaning for persons of African descent in America. Africanisms, cultural traditions derived from Africa (also called "African survivals"), constitute one of these. They permeate important aspects of black American culture such as foodways, music, dance, folklore, and religion. Spirit possession in religious worship, an emphasis on verbal communication and performance, and improvisation in musical expression are particular Africanisms common to contemporary African-American life. Black Americans are also profoundly affected by a prevailing negative image of Africa. A view of the continent's inhabitants as uncivilized and noncontributors to human progress is still used to validate the claim by some non-black Americans that blacks are their intellectual inferiors and are thus undeserving of rights and privileges accorded American citizens.

CORE LESSON

Theme

The history and culture of Africa are of immense importance to the history of humankind in general and the history and culture of African Americans in particular.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 1–3 in *The African American Experience: A History* ("Egypt, Kush, and Axum," "Great Empires of West Africa," and "The West African Heritage") or chapters 1–3 and chapter 44 in *African American History* ("Africa: The Land and People," "Ancient Egypt," "Three West African Kingdoms," and "African Legacies in America").

Students should also read the excerpt from Ali A. Mazrui's *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (see page 28) and that from James E. Blackwell's *The Black Community: Diversity and Unity* (see page 30).

Students should study the two maps of Africa (see pages 25 and 26) and the photograph of the Great Sphinx (see page 27).

The teacher should read chapters 1 and 2 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* ("Land of Their Ancestors" and "The African Way of Life").

Museum of Art in New York City or the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia)

2. Visit a museum that has a collection of African art (for example, the New Jersey State Museum, Newark Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art, or University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology).

3. Have students prepare an exhibition for the classroom that is composed of photographs of artifacts representing the material culture of Africans (such as masks, stools, musical instruments, baskets, or pottery).

4. Show students the following two sixty-minute segments from the documentary series *The Africans* (obtainable from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838):

“The Nature of a Continent”

This segment examines Africa as the birthplace of humankind and discusses the impact of geography on African culture and history, including the role of the Nile in the origin of civilization, and the introduction of Islam to Africa from Arabia.

“A Legacy of Lifestyles”

This segment explores how African contemporary lifestyles are influenced by indigenous, Islamic, and Western factors. The program compares simple African societies with those that are more complex and centralized, and examines the importance of family life.

5. Show students the following two segments from the documentary series *Ancient Lives* (obtainable from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838):

“The Village of the Craftsmen”

This segment introduces the land of Egypt at the height of its power: its people, the pharaohs who are buried in the great tombs, and the craftspeople who built these tombs. The program shows the contrast between the lush greenery near the Nile and the aridity of the desert, between the land of the living and that of the dead; Tutankhamen’s tomb and its discovery by Howard Carter; who the villagers were, why their village flourished at the time of Egypt’s greatest power, and why we know so much about them (23 minutes).

“The Valley of the Kings”

This segment features a visit to the tombs of Ipi the workman and Kha the architect, which illustrates the daily round of ancient Egyptian life. Other highlights include: art as a communal activity in ancient Egypt; the tools, furniture, clothes, kitchen utensils, and foods of Ipi and Kha, and the money with which they were paid; how the Egyptians divided the person into body, soul, and image; the colossi of Memnon; the tomb of Tutmose III and what its hieroglyphs and paintings mean (29 minutes).

Key Persons

Sunni Ali. The first ruler of Songhay.

Imhotep. Engineer, physician, adviser to pharaoh Zoser and designer of the first pyramid, the oldest standing building in the world.

heritage of indigenous traditions, Islamic culture, and Western influence, showing how the conflict or synthesis of these forces has determined the Africa of today.

Olaniyan, Richard, ed. 1982. *African History and Culture*. An anthology in which African scholars ably interpret a wide range of aspects of life on their continent.

Turnbull, Colin. 1976. *Man in Africa*. Short, informative anthropological study of African peoples and their customs.

Van Sertima, Ivan, ed. 1983. *Blacks in Science: Ancient and Modern*. A fine collection of essays written by black and white scholars that identifies the scientific contributions of blacks.

FOR STUDENTS

Ayisi, Eric O. 1979. *An Introduction to the Study of African Culture*, 2nd ed. Focuses on family life, sex, marriage, and religion, with a particular emphasis on the Akan-speaking peoples.

Bohannon, Paul and Philip Curtin. 1971. *Africa and Africans*. Short, broad overview of the culture, economics, and history of the African continent.

Davidson, Basil. 1965. *A Guide to African History*. Elementary short survey of African kingdoms and European interaction with the African continent.

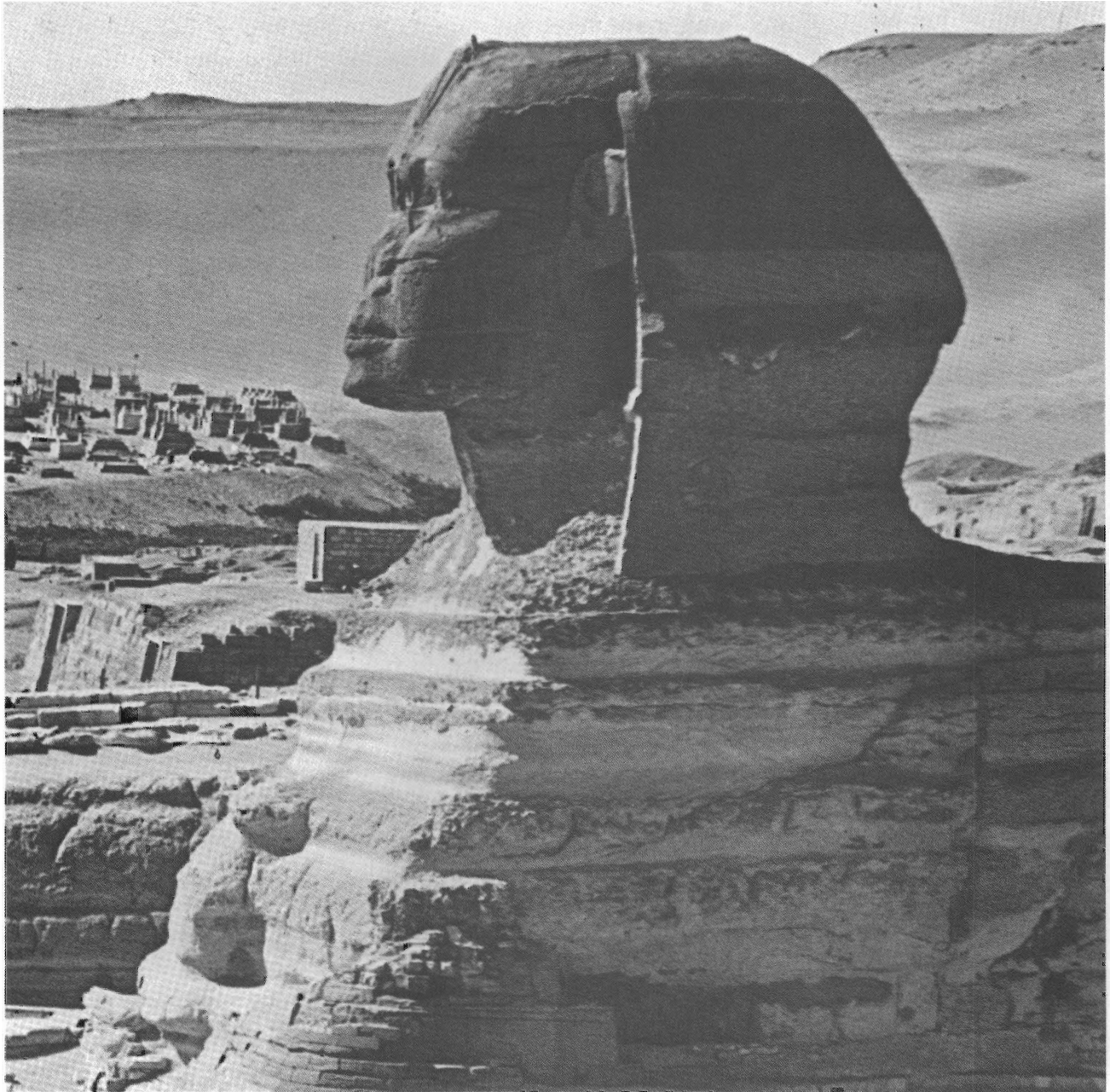
McEvedy, Colin. 1980. *The Penguin Atlas of African History*. Fine collection of simple maps accompanied by an excellent short narrative historical survey.

Shinnie, Margaret. 1970. *Ancient African Kingdoms*. Short, informative examination of the Sudanic, forest, and coastal empires of Africa. It also discusses the ruins at Great Zimbabwe.

Map 1 Africa, 1995



The Great Sphinx (c. 2565)



The facial features of the Great Sphinx, located at Gizeh, have traditionally been thought by Egyptologists to be those of Khafre, the Pharaoh of Egypt when the statue was carved. Recently, however, some scholars offer a different history. They argue that the Great Sphinx reveals a pattern of water erosion rather than wind and sand erosion, and that because water erodes substances more slowly, the statue is older than had been thought. They believe it to be over 9,000 years old. The prognathism of the Great Sphinx—the protrusion of its lower jaw—has long convinced many that its face is likely that of a black person.

**From *GREAT AGES OF MAN: ANCIENT EGYPT*. Photo by Eliot Elisofon, c. 1965
Time-Life Books, Inc.**

In contrast to this tradition of romantic gloriana is what might be called *romantic primitivism*. In this the idea is not to emphasise past grandeur, but to validate simplicity and non-technical traditions. Romantic primitivism does not counter European cultural arrogance by asserting civilisations comparable to that of ancient Greece. On the contrary, this school takes pride in precisely those traditions which European arrogance would seem to despise.

From THE AFRICANS: A TRIPLE HERITAGE by Ali A. Mazrui. Copyright (c) by Ali A. Mazrui; Copyright (c) 1986 by Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association. By permission of Little, Brown and Company.



Unit 2

Africa, Europe, and the Rise of Afro-America, 1441-1619

BACKGROUND

The continuous presence of persons of African descent on soil that became the United States begins in 1619 with the arrival of twenty Africans at Jamestown, Virginia, aboard a Dutch warship from the West Indies. Their arrival was a part of the trans-Atlantic **slave trade**; lasting almost four centuries, (1501–1873) and accompanying the larger process of European colonization of the New World, this trade involved transporting African slaves to the Americas so their labor could be used in the economic development of this vast region.

Since members of all racial groups and some religious groups (for example, Jews, Christians and Muslims) have been enslaved at some point in time, Africans hold no monopoly on serving as slaves. Anglo-Saxons and Franks, for example, were among the Europeans who were enslaved during the Middle Ages. Other Europeans captured and sold each other as late as the mid-fifteenth century. Such activities often invoked the papal wrath, since many of these slaves were Christians shipped to Muslim lands such as the Sultanate of Egypt. The word *slave*, in fact, is derived from the word *Slav*. Slavic groups (for example, Poles, Ukrainians, Serbs, and Croats), often captured by the Crimean Tartars, provided many of the slaves used by the Turks of the Ottoman Empire for the better part of this empire's history (1357–1918). And although **slavery** traditionally existed in some African societies, its nature there, similar to the nature of bondage in some other slave systems found throughout the world, was radically different

from the system found in the Americas. Slaves in Africa, for example, usually did not pass on their status to their offspring, and they often were allowed opportunities for social mobility.

Since non-Africans have been slaves historically, the question arises why Africans were used in the New World slave trade. Two basic theories, each addressing the classic “chicken-or-the-egg” paradox between slavery and racial prejudice, have been offered. The first argues that racial prejudice preceded the slave trade, that Europeans arrived in Africa culturally preconditioned to perceive Africans as inferior to themselves and thus ideally suited for enslavement. This is said to have been particularly true of the English whose language, for example, has numerous negative usages containing the word *black* (for example, *blackball*, *blacklist*, *black market*, *black sheep*). The other theory suggests that Africans were enslaved because they constituted a large and accessible labor supply that was relatively close to the Americas. The European perception of African inferiority, therefore, is regarded as an afterthought, an attempt to rationalize African enslavement after it had been accomplished. As evidence this theory notes that initially Europeans enslaved native Americans and even used the forced labor (**indentured servitude**) of their own kind in the New World. Further, after slavery was abolished in parts of the New World in the nineteenth century (for example, the British Caribbean in 1833), Chinese and East Indians were brought in as indentured servants to replace the freed slaves, usually work-

tance to European slavers often ignored, the trade's paramount cause was the European demand for African labor. Europeans were determined to maintain the trade with or without African assistance. Thus, for Africans, lacking a "continental" (Pan-African) or common identity, the trade was carried out under duress: African groups had to either enslave other groups or risk being enslaved. The crucial factor in this enslavement process was the introduction of firearms by Europeans; an early appearance of firearms in sub-Saharan Africa occurred in 1591 with the Moroccan expedition against the Songhay Empire. Simply put, Africans who acquired firearms could dominate and sell those who lacked them.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many African slaves became part of what was called the **triangular trade**. Under this trading network, rum from the British colonies of North America was carried to West Africa (Guinea Coast) and traded for slaves. These slaves were then carried to the West Indies, where they were used to cultivate sugar. The molasses produced from the sugar was then sold, along with more slaves, to the British colonies in North America. From the molasses rum would be produced in North America and the cycle would start again.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade ended in 1873. Its decline had begun as early as 1803 when Denmark abolished its slave trade. Great Britain and the United States followed in 1808, Holland in 1814, and France

in 1815. After 1808, Great Britain in particular sought to suppress the trade conducted by others by patrolling the West African coast. Other factors influencing the decline of the slave trade were the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833 (owing in great part to the work of abolitionists like William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson), declining profits in the slave trade, and the realization by Great Britain that its interests were better served by using African labor to produce the continent's raw materials for Britain's burgeoning **Industrial Revolution**.

Some scholars, using oral tradition and certain linguistic, archeological, and anthropological evidence, argue that there was an African presence in the New World prior to Columbus' voyage in 1492. This thesis is best presented in Ivan Van Sertima's *They Came Before Columbus* (1976.) Certainly African slaves accompanied the early Spanish explorers of the New World like De Soto and Pizarro. Estevanico, the black Moroccan who accompanied the Spanish during their explorations in the 1530s of what is the present-day Southwest of the United States, was perhaps the best known of these. About 100 slaves were also a part of San Miguel, the 1526 Spanish settlement near present-day Georgetown, South Carolina, which lasted one year. It ended when the Africans rebelled, set fire to the settlement, and the 150 Spanish survivors returned to Hispaniola. The fate of the Africans in San Miguel remains unknown.

CORE LESSON

Theme

The presence of black people in the United States is rooted in the arrival in 1619 of twenty Africans in Jamestown, Virginia, as part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. This trade was the largest incidence of forced migration in human history and involved the arrival of slaves in the New World (and the United States) from West, Central, and even East Africa. It had a profound impact on the African continent.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 4 and 5 in *The African American Experience: A History* ("The Atlantic Slave Trade, 1500–1760s" and "The West Indies, First Stop for Africans, 1500–1760s") or chapter 4 in *African American History* ("New World Slave Trade").

Students should also study Map #3 of the slave trade (see page 39) and read excerpts from Winthrop D. Jordan's *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (see page 40);

b. After students have read the excerpts from Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (see page 44) and Philip D. Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (see page 46), ask them whether Africa benefited overall from, or was harmed by, the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Evaluation: Have the students write a 500-word essay about what responsibility, if any, can be assessed to Africans for engaging in the slave trade. Or have students write a 500-word essay responding to the notion, articulated by some nineteenth century black leaders, that the slave trade could be considered "Providential Design," a grand plan by which Africans were to be taken to the New World, civilized, and then returned to Africa to serve as civilizing agents.

ACTIVITY 4

Explain why the Middle Passage is considered to have been an extremely inhumane and horrific experience for the African slaves transported to the New World.

Have students read the Middle Passage excerpts from Gustavus Vassa's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, Written by Himself* (see page 48) and James A. Rawley's *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A History* (see page 49). Ask students to discuss whether these excerpts support the notion that the conditions of the Middle Passage were particularly horrific.

Evaluation: Have the students imagine they are someone like Gustavus Vassa, an African who experienced the Middle Passage. Ask them to write, as part of an autobiography, a 500-word account of this experience.

Supplemental Activities

1. Show students the program described here from the documentary series *The Africans* (obtainable from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838):

"Tools of Exploitation"

This segment contrasts the impact of the West on Africa and the impact of Africa on the development of the West, looking at the manner in which Africa's human and natural resources were exploited before, during, and after the colonial period. The segment also examines Africa's own traditions of slavery (60 minutes).

2. Show students the film *Sankofa*, written and directed by Haile Gerima, an Ethiopian who is a Howard University film professor. This film depicts the slave trade through a black woman's dream-like remembrances (125 minutes). It can be obtained from Mypheduh Film, 403 K Street, N. W., Washington, D.C. 20001 (202-289-6677).

Key Persons

Olaudah Equiano (Gustavus Vassa). Born in West Africa and placed in slavery in Virginia, he was one of the earliest blacks in America to write his autobiography. In it he detailed the Middle Passage. It was published in 1789 under the title *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, Written By Himself*.

Estevanico. A black Moroccan who accompanied the Spanish explorers of the present-day Southwest in the 1530s.

Rawley, James A. 1981. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A History*. The most comprehensive single-volume study of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, it uses statistics and narrative to highlight the European variations in the trade, national conflicts, and African conditions.

Rodney, Walter. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. In this highly influential study, scholarly but very accessible, Rodney contends that the economic retardation of Africa from the sixteenth century on is attributable first to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and later to European colonialism and neocolonialism.

Williams, Eric. 1944. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Written by an economic historian who later became the first prime minister of a independent Trinidad and Tobago, this classic study makes two key points: the origins of the trade in African slaves across the Atlantic were economic, not racial, and this trade helped considerably to generate the capital used to finance the Industrial Revolution.

FOR STUDENTS

Bradley, Michael. 1981. *The Black Discovery of America*. Using diaries, letters, and journals of the explorers themselves and dated sculptures found in the Americas, this book details the daring voyages of ancient West African mariners to the Americas.

Haley, Alex. 1974. *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*. Drawing on generations of his family's oral tradition, Haley traces his origins back to Kunta Kinte, who was abducted from his home in Gambia and transported as a slave to colonial America.

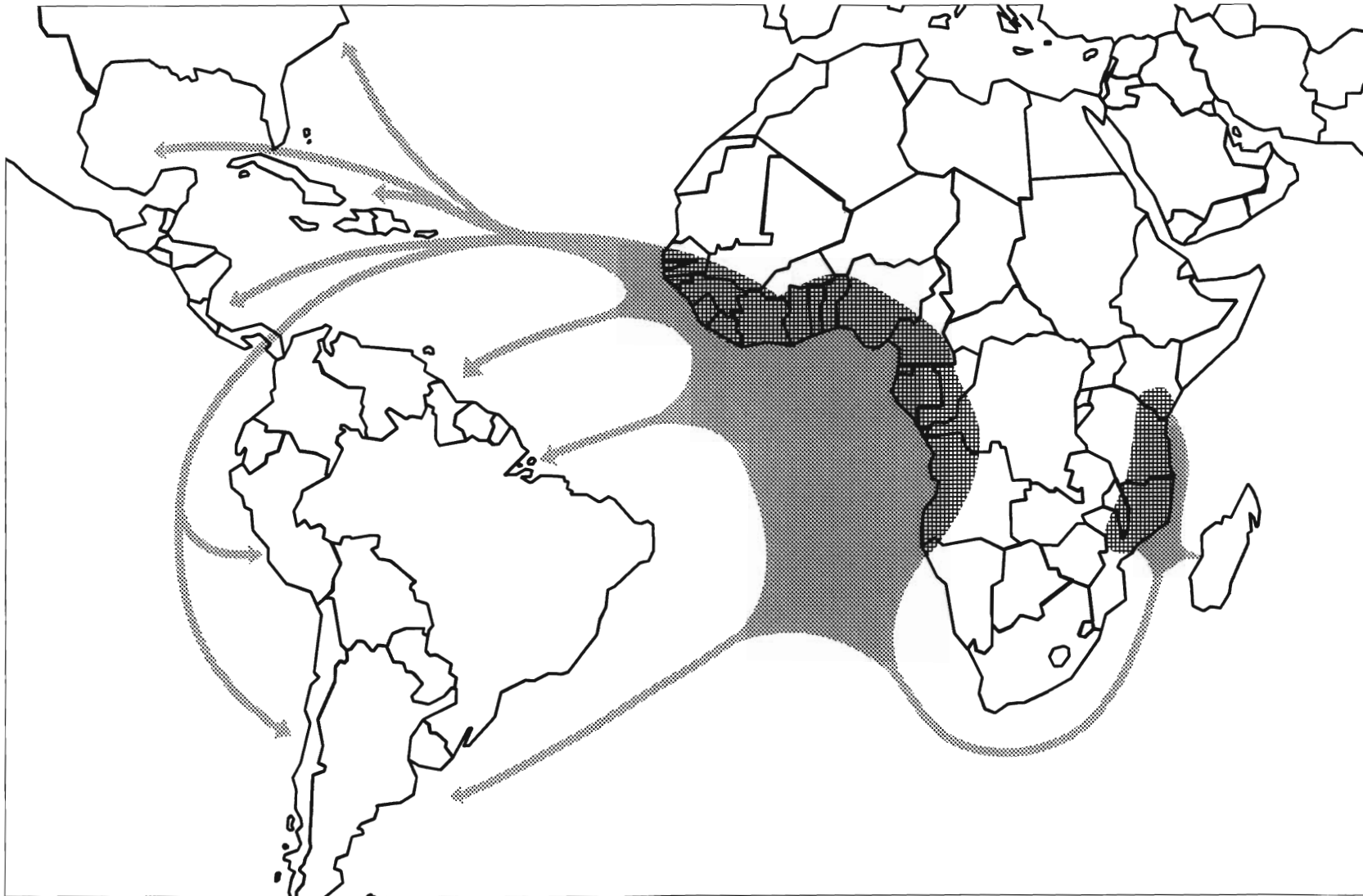
Meltzer, Milton. 1993. *Slavery: A World History*. An updated edition of the author's earlier work on the subject, this study documents the universality of slavery, thereby invalidating the notion that Africans were somehow uniquely suited for their New World bondage. In the Preface, for example, the author writes, "The European immigrant who slurs black Americans whose ancestors came to the New World in chains probably had ancestors yoked in slavery, too."

O'Dell, Scott. 1989. *My Name Is Not Angelica*. Raisha and Konje, her betrothed, are abducted along with others from their village in West Africa and placed aboard a slave ship bound for the Danish West Indian island of St. John. Here Raisha and Konje are purchased by a plantation owner, and Raisha becomes a house servant and Konje a field hand who plots a slave rebellion.

Yerby, Frank. 1971. *The Dahomean*. An epic tale that illuminates the problems, emanating from the slave trade and the dawn of European colonial rule, that an African people experiences.

Map 3

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade



The general directions of the main routes that brought African slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World from the early 1500s to 1873.

Her hande so white as whales bone,
Her finger tipt with Cassidone;
Her bosome, sleeke as Paris plaster,
Held upp two bowles of Alabaster.

Shakespeare himself found the lily and the rose a compelling natural coalition.

'Tis beauty truly blent, whose red and white
Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on.

By contrast, the Negro was ugly, by reason of his color and also his "horrid Curles" and "disfigured" lips and nose. As Shakespeare wrote apologetically of his black mistress,

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;
Coral is far more red than her lips' red:
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.
I have seen roses damask'd, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks.

Some Elizabethans found blackness an ugly mask, superficial but always demanding attention.

Is *Byrrha* Browne? Who doth the question aske?
Her face is pure as Ebonie jeat blacke,
It's hard to know her face from her faire maske,
Beautie in her seemes beautie still to lacke.
Nay, she's snow-white, but for that russet skin,
Which like a vaile doth keep her whiteness in.

Reprinted from **WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550–1812**, by Winthrop D. Jordan. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. Copyright (c) 1968 by The University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

widely pleaded, were only the later rationalizations to justify a simple economic fact: that the colonies needed labor and resorted to Negro labor because it was cheapest and best. This was not a theory, it was a practical conclusion deduced from the personal experience of the planter. He would have gone to the moon, if necessary, for labor. Africa was nearer than the moon, nearer too than the more populous countries of India and China. But their turn was to come.

Reprinted from CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY, by Eric Williams. Copyright (c) 1944 by the University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

trouble to get those who had already survived an attack of smallpox, and who were therefore immune from further attacks of that disease, which was then one of the world's great killer diseases.

From HOW EUROPE UNDERDEVELOPED AFRICA by Walter Rodney. Copyright (c) 1972 by Walter Rodney. By Permission of Howard University Press, Washington, D.C.

original cause. The African adaptation to the demand for slaves might be to change military tactics and strategy to maximize the number of prisoners, without actually increasing the incidence or destructiveness of warfare. In that case, the slave trade might have done little serious damage to the well-being of the African society.

From Philip D. Curtin, THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE: A CENSUS. c 1969 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press).

JAMES A. RAWLEY

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A History (1981)

From Chapter 12, “The Middle Passage”

Men slaves, but not women or children, were placed in shackles as soon as they were put aboard ship. They were bound together in pairs. Left leg to right leg, left wrist to right wrist. Some masters removed the shackles once out to sea, others only during the day, and some not until the destination had been attained. Shipboard security varied with the origins of slaves. Captain James Fraser said he seldom confined Angola slaves, “being very peaceable,” took off the handcuffs of Windward and Gold Coast slaves as soon as the ship was out of sight of land, and soon after that the leg irons, but Bonny slaves, whom he thought vicious, were kept under stricter confinement.

Violently removed from their customary way of life, cramped in narrow, floating quarters, dominated by white-skinned men, despondent and often in trauma, Africans were exposed to acts of brutality, incited to revolt on shipboard and driven to taking their own lives. On the Middle Passage there was little check to sadism and lust. Perhaps the most infamous atrocity in the annals of the slave trade was committed by Luke Collingwood, captain of the *Zong*. In 1781 he loaded his ship at Saint Thomas on the African coast with a cargo of four hundred slaves and proceeded toward Jamaica, 6 September. By 29 November he had lost seven white people, over sixty slaves, and had many more who were sick. Discovering that he had left only two hundred gallons of fresh water, he ascertained that, if the slaves died a natural death, it would be the loss of the shipowners, but if slaves were thrown alive into the sea, it would be the loss of the insurers. He designated sick and weak slaves, and on that day fifty-four were thrown into the sea. On 1 December forty-two more were thrown overboard; on that day a heavy rain enabled the ship to collect in casks enough water for eleven day’s full allowance. Even so, twenty-six more slaves, their hands bound, were thrown into the sea, and ten more, about to be bound for disposal, jumped into the sea.

Reprinted from THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE: A History by James A. Rawley, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright (c) 1981 by James A. Rawley.



Unit 3

African American Slavery in the Colonial Era, 1619–1775

BACKGROUND

Although the twenty Africans brought into Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 arrived by virtue of the slave trade, they actually became **indentured servants**. Thus, they eventually gained their freedom, and some later actually owned slaves themselves. By the 1640s, however, the practices of enslaving Africans for life and hereditary servitude (the permanent enslavement of the children of slaves) had been established in Virginia and, within the following two decades, had achieved legal recognition. The increased importation of tobacco by the English, as their appetite for this commodity soared, facilitated the rise of a large-scale tobacco **plantation** system in Virginia, and by the 1690s most of Virginia's slaves were being imported directly from Africa. With the introduction and legalization of slavery in 1750 in Georgia, a system of black bondage became common to all of the thirteen colonies.

Although a few native American groups were enslaved in colonial America (especially between the 1670s and the early 1700s in Carolina, where predatory raids victimized the Timucas, Gausus, and Apalachees), Africans, for several reasons, became America's prime bondsmen. Indians were familiar with the terrain and could thus easily run away, and there was fear that their enslavement would bring about continual warfare and also disrupt the lucrative fur trade. Europeans, because of their color, could escape and be mistaken easily as free persons.

Because the climate and soil of the South were

suitable for the cultivation of commercial (plantation) crops such as tobacco, rice, and indigo, slavery developed in the southern colonies on a much larger scale than in the northern colonies; the latter's labor needs were met primarily through the use of European immigrants, who usually served indentures of seven years at the most. In fact, throughout the colonial period, Virginia had the largest slave population, followed by Maryland. In South Carolina (Carolina was divided in 1663 into the North Carolina region and South Carolina region and into two colonies in 1701), however, slaves constituted a larger proportion of the total population than in any other colony—sixty per cent of the population in 1765.

In general, the conditions of slavery in the northern colonies, where slaves were engaged more in nonagricultural pursuits (such as mining, maritime, and domestic work), were less severe and harsh than in the southern colonies, where most were used on plantations. Also there could be found in the northern colonies several influential religious groups that had moral precepts that encouraged them to practice a more benign form of slavery. The **Quakers**, the first organized group in the colonies to speak out against slavery, serve as the best example.

During the colonial period slaves resisted their bondage in various ways. Their forms of protest included the murder of their owners, sabotage (of crops, animals, and tools), suicide, and running away. Some of the runaways in Georgia and South Caro-

were in fact the sites of considerable holdings of slaves. In West Jersey (Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, and Cape May counties), where Cooper's Ferry (Camden) was the principal port of entry for slaves, both the presence of a significant number of Quakers with antislavery sentiments and a tendency to rely on white immigrants for the area's labor needs lessened the development of slavery.

Since most slaves in New Jersey worked on small farms that had about three bondsmen, they generally experienced a milder form of bondage than their counterparts in the South. Also, as in other northern colonies, more slaves in New Jersey were used in nonagricultural pursuits than in the South. They were, for example, employed in Charles Read's ironworks in Burlington County, in copper mining on the

Schuyler family lands in Bergen County, and in the skilled trades. Still, New Jersey was one of the few northern colonies where slave conspiracies occurred. Perhaps the most significant was discovered in Somerville in 1734; as a result of that discovery thirty blacks were apprehended, one hanged, several had ears cut off, and others whipped. Subsequent slave plots surfaced in 1741 in Hackensack, for which two slaves were executed by burning, in 1772 in Perth Amboy, and in 1779 in Elizabethtown.

Some whites also voiced protest against slavery in New Jersey, as in many of the other colonies by the time of the American Revolution. The Quaker John Woolman of Mount Holly, as reflected in his 1754 publication, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, was one of the earliest of these.

CORE LESSON

Theme

The enslavement of Africans in colonial America, emanating from the arrival in 1619 of twenty slaves in Jamestown, Virginia, encompassed all of the colonies. The scope and nature of slavery in the northern colonies, however, differed considerably from the institution in the southern colonies, the former generally being milder than the latter.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 6, 10, and 11 in *The African American Experience: A History* ("Africans in the Thirteen Colonies, 1619–1760," "The Tyranny of Slavery, 1619–1860," and "Armed Resistance to Slavery, 1658–1860") or chapters 5–8 in *African American History* ("How Africans Came to America," "Slaves in the New World," "Slavery and the Law," and "Slave Revolts").

Students should study Map #4 of the original thirteen colonies (see page 57) and read the "Runaway Slave Notices" (see page 58).

Students and the teacher should read pages 18–23 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*. They should also read Larry A. Greene, "A History of Afro-Americans in New Jersey," *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* (June, 1994), for information on blacks in New Jersey in the colonial period and later.

The teacher should read chapter 4 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* ("Colonial Slavery").

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

Harry Hosier (“Black Harry”). An early black Methodist evangelist who accompanied Francis Asbury in spreading Methodism and was highly regarded for his preaching talents.

George Leile. An exhorter also associated with the Silver Bluff, South Carolina, black Baptist church. He later organized the first Baptist church in Jamaica.

John Woolman. A Mount Holly Quaker whose 1754 *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* was one of the earliest antislavery documents in the colonies.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Cooley, Henry S. 1896. *Slavery in New Jersey*. One of the first scholarly studies of New Jersey slavery, covering its beginning in the colonial era to its abolition in the early nineteenth century. Despite the study’s age, it contains valuable information about slavery’s legal history in New Jersey.

Greene, Lorenzo Johnson. 1942. *The Negro in Colonial New England*. Time has not diminished this study as the most comprehensive work on blacks in colonial New England. It is most informative in illustrating the regional differences between slavery in the South and New England.

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. 1992. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*. Explores the development of an Afro-Creole culture in the eighteenth century, with an emphasis on the dynamic impact of African demographics on African cultural retention in America.

MacManus, Edward. 1973. *Black Bondage In the North*. A comprehensive state-by-state analysis of the origins and development of slavery in the northern colonies and states. The work contains important information on slavery in New Jersey.

Morgan, Edmund. 1975. *American Slavery, American Freedom*. An award-winning work by a premier historian of early American history. It explores the simultaneous development of freedom for whites and the institution of slavery for blacks in the colonial and national eras.

Mullin, Michael. 1992. *Africa in America*. A comparative study of slave acculturation and resistance in the American South (especially Virginia and the Carolinas) and British Caribbean (Jamaica and Barbados).

Nash, Gary. 1974. *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. A valuable study of the cultural interactions of the three major groups in colonial America—European, Native American, and African.

Price, Clement Alexander. 1980. *Freedom Not Far Distant: A Documentary History of Afro-Americans in New Jersey*. Included in this excellent collection of documents relating to New Jersey’s black history are those from the colonial and revolutionary eras. These are most useful in demonstrating the origins and constraints of slavery in New Jersey.

Sobel, Mechal. 1987. *The World they Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth Century Virginia*. An innovative work that examines the process by which black and white societies shaped, transformed, and shared each others’ values despite the harsh and oppressed conditions of black slaves.

MATERIALS



Runaway Slave Notices (1772–1781)

Thirty Dollars Reward.

RUN-AWAY from the subscriber, living at Connecticut Farms, near Elizabeth-Town, New Jersey, the 13th of March, a negro man named BRET: He is the same fellow the Salmons have had at Weyoming for three years past; is stout and well made, near 6 feet high, about 33 years old: Had on when he went away, a red great coat half worn, a blue coat and a Kersey jacket of the same colour, with flat white metal buttons, buckskin breeches, and black and white stockings. He can read and write, and 'tis supposed will forge a pass. Whoever takes up and secures the said fellow in either Philadelphia or Easton goal so that his master may get him again, shall have the above reward, and all reasonable charges for bringing him to the subscriber. . . . 'Tis probable he may endeavour to get to the Mississippi; and in case taken there, and sent to New York, the above reward will be paid by Hugh Gaine. . . . If apprehended, unless well secured, he will endeavour to make his escape, being strong and very artful. Those that harbour said fellow, may depend on being prosecuted by

JECAMIAH SMITH.

—*The New-York Gazette; and The Weekly Mercury*, No. 1124, May 10, 1773.

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.

RUN-away from Samuel Ogden, of Boontown, in the County of Morris, and Province of New-Jersey, on Sunday the 18th of October last: A Negro Man named Mingo or Tim, he is about 30 years of Age, has a Scar either on his Nose or on one of his Cheeks; is about 5 feet 7 or 8 Inches high, plays on the Violin, speaks good Dutch and English, and is much addicted to Strong drink: Had on when he went away a dark brown broad cloth Coat, with brass Philadelphia buttons, a brown broad cloth waist-coat, with basket mohair Buttons, a Pair of red coating Trowsers, a ozenbrig Shirt and wool Hat. He was formerly the property of Isaac Wilkins, Esq; of West-Chester, about which Place it is not unlikely he may be lurking. Whoever apprehends said Negro and returns him to his master, or secures him in any of his Majesty's goals, shall be paid the above Reward, and all reasonable charges by

SAMUEL OGDEN.

[1772]

FORTY SHILLINGS Reward.

RUN AWAY from the subscriber on Saturday last, the 26th instant, a Negro Man named Peter, about twenty years of age, about 5 feet high, a clumsy looking fellow, stoops a little in his walk. Had on and took with him, a light coloured wilton coatee, a red napditto, a clouded knit waistcoat, light coloured jean breeches with silk garters, black plush ditto, almost new

any of his Majesty's gaols, so that his master may have him again, shall receive the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by

ELIJAH CLARK.

—*Newcastle Gaol, April 28, 1773.*

Ten Dollars Reward.

RUN-away last Thursday from the Subscriber, at Newark, a certain Negro Fellow named Jack, about 25 years old, a square well-built Fellow, pretty black, Guiney born, and spoke bad English: He took with him several Sorts of Cloths, his Master's Gun, and a Grenadier's Sword, with Brass Mountings: He is supposed to have had on a good Beaver Hat cocked in the Fashion, a light coloured fine Cloth Jacket, without Sleeves, and may wear a Blanket Coat, he has a Scar right down his Forehead to his Nose, his country Mark, can handle a File, and understands the Brass Founder's Business. Whoever takes up the said Fellow, and delivers him to Mrs. Wilkins, near Ogden's Furnace, in Newark, shall have the above reward; or in New-York, to

JACOB WILKINS.

—*New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, June 25, 1776.*

RAN AWAY,

From the subscribers last night,

A Negro named Joe, and a Negro Woman named Hester: the man is about five feet six or seven inches high, well set, full faced, of an open countenance, was formerly a servant to a British officer, speaks the German language well; had on and took with him a brown great coat badly dyed, white pewter buttons with the letters U.S.A. in a cypher, a great coat with red cuffs and cape and yellow buttons, white jacket and leather breeches, a pair of boots and a pair of shoes, two or three pair of stockings, and two or three shirts. The wench is small though well made, and has a lively eye, being bred in Carolina has the manners of the West India slaves; she had on a red striped linsey short gown and petticoat and took with her a dark brown cloak and sundry other clothes. Whoever takes up and secures the above Negroes shall receive Six Spanish milled dollars each, and reasonable charges.

ROBERT L. HOOPER,

ROBERT HOOPS

Trenton, Jan. 8, 1781

New Jersey Archives



Unit 4

Blacks in the Revolutionary Era, 1776–1789

BACKGROUND

African Americans had an appreciable presence in the Revolutionary War. In fact, the first person to die in the Boston Massacre, regarded as the first critical event in the American effort to separate from the British, was a black seaman: Crispus Attucks. Following this, blacks participated in other outbreaks of hostility between the colonists and the British before the Declaration of Independence. During June 1775, for example, they were among the Minutemen alerted by Paul Revere; they were at Lexington and Concord; and they were members of the Green Mountain Boys. Peter Salem, Salem Poor, and Prince Hall, who later founded the first black lodge of Freemasons, were among the blacks who fought at Bunker Hill in July of 1775.

Because the colonists often offset manpower shortages by using blacks to aid in their wars against native Americans, it is not surprising that blacks participated in pre-Revolutionary War skirmishes against the British. In fact, virtually all colonial militias had black participants, though they generally forbade the actual recruitment of blacks. South Carolina enlisted blacks in its militia as early as 1703, and blacks participated in the French-and-Indian War (1754–1763). Still, in July of 1775, at a council of war held by George Washington, an order was sent to recruiting officers not to enlist blacks, or vagabonds, or enemies of liberty to America. In November of 1775, however, **Lord Dunmore's Declaration** was issued; it promised freedom to any slave who left his American owner and joined the British forces. One consequence of this

act by the royal governor of Virginia was the decision by several thousand blacks to cast their lot with the British. One of the most notable was a fugitive slave from Shrewsbury (Monmouth County), Titus Cornelius, later known as Colonel Tye. After participating in the Battle of Monmouth (1778), he led several successful raids on the farms of Americans in Monmouth County before being killed in 1780. A second result of Dunmore's declaration was the reversal of the American policy of excluding blacks from military service. As of December 31, 1775, free blacks could enlist, and one who did was Oliver Cromwell. Born free in Columbus (Burlington County) in 1752, he enlisted in a company attached to the Second New Jersey Regiment, an enlistment later reinforced with the passage in 1777 of the New Jersey Militia Act. Along with several blacks, including Prince Whipple, he crossed the Delaware with Washington on December 24, 1776, and he later saw action at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Yorktown. His honorable discharge was signed by General George Washington on June 5, 1783. By the end of the war, he had become one of about five thousand blacks of the total of three hundred thousand who fought on the American side. Blacks were present at all the major battles in New Jersey, such as Trenton (1776), Princeton (1777), Fort Mercer (1777), Monmouth (1778), and Springfield (1780), as well as those elsewhere, such as Saratoga (1777), Savannah (1779), and Yorktown (1781). Most black soldiers were free and from the northern colonies, but some were slaves

Number 459 (its charter number). Prince Hall, a free black, organized this body and became its Master. The Free African Society, perhaps the earliest black benevolent organization, was the other. It was established in Philadelphia, and Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and Cyrus Bustill were among its more prominent organizers. Bustill (1732–1806) is of particular interest because he was a New Jersey native. The great-great-grandfather of Paul Robeson, he was born a

slave in Burlington and manumitted in 1769 by his third owner, who taught him to be a baker. Shortly thereafter, he moved to Philadelphia, where he became a leader of the black community (he baked bread for Washington’s troops at Valley Forge in 1777). Aside from his work with the Free African Society, he established and taught in one of the early free schools for blacks in Philadelphia.

CORE LESSON

Theme

Black people participated fully in the American Revolutionary War and in the political, economic, and social changes it wrought. In some ways this conflict benefited African Americans and in some ways it did not.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 7 and 8 in *The African American Experience: A History* (“The American Revolution: Liberty for All?” and “Forging a New Constitution”) or chapter 10 in *African American History* (“Black Fighters for Freedom”).

Students should also read the sections provided from the United States Constitution (see page 69) and “Prime’s Petition” (see page 70).

The teacher should read chapter 5 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (“That All May Be Free”) and Frances D. Pigeon’s *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era*. Pigeon’s book is suitable for student use as well. It is out of print and you will have to photocopy portions of it for students to read.

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

Objectives/Activities

ACTIVITY 1

Evaluate the reasons why blacks fought on the American or the British side during the Revolutionary War, and **assess** the appropriateness of the choices black people made.

a. Tell the students to imagine that they were black during the time of the American Revolution. Ask them to choose which side—British or American—they would have supported. This question may be best addressed by dividing the class into two sides to contest it. Since a war is often written from the point of view of the winners, which makes the losers “wrong,” ask the students to try to forget what they know about American history since the Revolution.

Supplemental Activities

Visit the Old Barracks Museum in Trenton. Its living history performers portray several black New Jersey personalities of the Revolutionary War period (including Oliver Cromwell).

Key Persons

Richard Allen. A founder of the Free African Society in 1787, he founded the First African Methodist Church, sometimes called “Mother Bethel,” in Philadelphia in 1794. In 1816, in the same city, he founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which is the oldest black religious denomination.

Crispus Attucks. An escaped slave who worked as a seaman on a ship near Boston, he was the first person killed in the Boston Massacre and was thus the first person to die in the cause of the American Revolution.

Cyrus Bustill. A native of Burlington, and the great-great-grandfather of Paul Robeson, he baked bread for Washington’s troops at Valley Forge and later helped found the Free African Society.

Oliver Cromwell. A free black from Burlington County who served with distinction as a private in the Continental Army, he crossed the Delaware with Washington and saw action at all the major battles of the American Revolution.

Prince Hall. A free black who served in the Revolutionary War, he later founded the first black lodge of Freemasons.

Absalom Jones. A founder of the Free African Society and the founder of the First African Episcopal Church (1794 in Philadelphia).

Salem Poor. Born a free black in Massachusetts, Poor enlisted in a Massachusetts militia company and served with valor at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Prime. A slave owned by the Loyalist Absalom Bainbridge of Princeton, he escaped from his owner during the Revolutionary War, fought on the American side, and later successfully petitioned the New Jersey legislature for his freedom.

Peter Salem. Born a slave in Massachusetts, Salem was freed for participating in the French and Indian War, was one of the Minutemen who fought at Lexington and Concord, and is believed to have fired the shot that killed British Major John Pitcairn at the Battle of Bunker Hill, thus contributing to the moral victory the patriots claimed for this skirmish.

Lucy Terry. The first known black American to write a piece of literature, a short doggerel titled “Bars Fight” written in 1746 when she was sixteen years old.

Colonel Tye. Monmouth County-born slave who joined the British forces after Lord Dunmore’s Declaration and then led several successful raids against the patriots in Monmouth County.

Phillis Wheatley. One of the earliest black American writers, this native of Africa, after being granted

FOR STUDENTS

Collier, James Lincoln and Christopher Collier. 1980. *War Comes to Willy Freeman*. The first part of the Arabus Family Saga, a trilogy of novels. Willy Freeman is thirteen when the story begins, during the last two years of the Revolutionary War. Her father, a free man, has been killed fighting against the British, and her mother has disappeared. Willy makes her way to Fraunces Tavern in New York, her uncle Jack Arabus having told her that Sam Fraunces may be able to help her.

—. 1981. *Jump Ship To Freedom*. The second part of the Arabus Family Saga, this book focuses on Daniel, a slave belonging to Captain Ives. Daniel and his mother plan to buy their freedom with the soldiers' pay notes from the American Revolution earned by Daniel's father, who dies on a sea voyage. Mr. Ives takes the notes away from Daniel's mother, but Daniel manages to steal them back. Captain Ives then forces Daniel onto a ship bound for the West Indies, where he will be expected to work in the cane fields.

—. 1984. *Who is Carrie*. The final part of the Arabus Family Saga, this story is created around a kitchen slave named Carrie. A curious young person, Carrie is always getting into mischief, partly because of her inquisitiveness about her unknown personal history. She works in Sam Fraunces's famous tavern, which enables her to become part of the history of the post-Revolutionary War era. Eventually Carrie pieces together a plausible account of her background.

Crow, Jeffery J. 1983. *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina*. Readers will find that African Americans in North Carolina during the American Revolution were active, not passive, beings who, in the face of adversity, struggled to maintain their dignity and African heritage.

Davis, Bruce. 1976. *Black Heroes of the American Revolution*. While history books have long extolled the white heroes of America's Revolutionary War, they have generally neglected to mention the black men and women who contributed enormously to the winning of this country's independence. This book is a tribute to the nameless and countless black soldiers who fought gallantly in the hope of winning their own independence.

Diamond, Arthur. 1992. *Prince Hall: Social Reformer*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series published by Chelsea House Publishers, with Nathan Irvin Huggins as the senior editor. The series biographies are written in a "straightforward, colorful style for young adults" and are "richly illustrated with photographs, art and documents." Each biography contains a bibliography and complete chronology of the subject's life.

Klots, Steve. 1991. *Richard Allen: Religious Leader/Activist*. Another biography that is part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.

Quarles, Benjamin. 1961. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. This work remains the best general study of the military role of blacks in the American Revolution. It thoroughly examines the policies of Britain and America on the recruitment of blacks.

Articles of the United States Constitution Pertaining to Slavery

Article I, Section 2, Clause 3

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.

Article I, Section 9, Clause 1

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Article V

The Congress whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

State, the Court ordered that your Petitioner should remain in Custody of the Law, until an issue could be tried between the State and the said John Vanhorne—

That in the Term of May 1786 the said Issue came on to be tried when, after a full and fair Hearing, a verdict and Judgment passed in Favour of the State, and your Petitioner by order of Court, was delivered into the Hands of Mr Furman—

Thus is your poor Petitioner the Slave of the State of New Jersey and liable to be sold as their Property— but he earnestly implores that he may be delivered from a Situation so distressing, and by the Compassion and Munificence of The Honourable The Legislature, entitled to that Liberty to defend, secure and perpetuate which the Fields of America have been dyed in the Blood of her Citizens—

Were your poor Petitioner to be sold, his Price would scarcely amount to the fifth Part of a Copper-penny to each Taxable in the State— and your poor Petitioner cannot believe that one Person can be found who would not willingly contribute the fifty Part of a Penny to release a human Being from a Bondage which must otherwise continue until his Eyes are closed in Death—

That your poor Petitioner is the more encouraged to hope for Success in this his humble application from observing the Goodness of the Legislature in a like Instance, manifested by their Act of 1 September 1784 in the Case of Negro Peter—

Your Petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays that The Honourable The Legislature, being ascertained of the Truth of the Facts set forth in his Petition, will grant him leave to present a Bill for his Emancipation.

And your humble Petitioner as in duty bound, etc.

Trenton 6 November 1786

his
Negro ——— Prime
mark



Unit 5

Slavery and Abolition in Post-Revolutionary and Antebellum America, 1790–1860

BACKGROUND

Between 1790 and 1860, American slavery expanded on a grand scale: federal census records show the 1790 slave population of seven hundred thousand increased to nearly four million in 1860. This growth was linked to the phenomenal increase in cotton cultivation in the South. The invention in 1793 of the cotton gin was one factor in the emergence of the **Cotton Kingdom**. The gin separated (cleaned) the cotton seed from the fiber, making the “short” staple variety of cotton, which would grow anywhere but was harder to clean, more commercially profitable than the “long” staple variety, which was easy to clean but would only grow in the low-lying areas of Georgia and South Carolina. The Industrial Revolution, which began in England in the 1770s, was a second factor. Since the first commodity produced was cotton cloth, a great demand for cotton first for the mills of England and later for the mills in the northern states (particularly Rhode Island and Massachusetts) was created.

Accompanying slavery’s rapid growth was its expansion westward into the fertile virgin lands of the New and Lower South and its continued decline in the North. New Jersey, in fact, with its passage of the Abolition Act in 1804, became the last northern state to abolish slavery. Under the provisions of this gradual abolition law, all children born of slaves after July 4, 1804, were to be freed after serving as apprentices to their mother’s masters—females after twenty-one years and males after twenty-five. This law was superseded by New Jersey’s Abolition Act of 1846, which

declared, “That slavery in this state be and it is hereby abolished, and every person who is now holden in slavery by the laws thereof, be and hereby is made free” and that “the children hereafter to be born to all such persons shall be absolutely free from their birth, and discharged of and from all manner of service whatsoever.” Although this act appeared to emancipate all the state’s slaves, this was not the case, for it also provided that every slave “shall, by force and virtue of this act . . . become an apprentice, bound to service to his or her present owner, and his or her executors or administrators; which service shall continue until such person is discharged therefrom, as is hereinafter directed.” Under the law’s provisions, therefore, all slaves were relegated to the status of “apprentices” for life, actually a modified form of slavery; this made New Jersey the last northern state to have slaves (the 1860 U.S. Census lists eighteen for New Jersey). The apprenticeship system ensured that slave owners would continue to support their slaves and that slaves would not become wards of the state (in 1846 there were nearly seven hundred New Jersey slaves, most over fifty-five years of age). It also afforded slaves greater legal protection. They could sue for their freedom if abused; they could not be sold without their written consent; they could not be sold out of the state.

Shortly after the enactment of New Jersey’s initial abolition law, the American slave trade closed. However, the 1808 slave-trade ban did not completely end slave imports to the United States and it is esti-

Opposition to slavery, especially after 1830, was also manifested in the growth and increased militancy of abolitionist societies in the North. Prominent white abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison, founder of the antislavery newspaper **The Liberator** in 1831 and of the **American Anti-Slavery Society** in 1833, joined black abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, William Wells Brown, Henry Highland Garnet, and David Walker in taking a forceful stand against slavery. Walker's "**Appeal**," which some white southerners believed gave impetus to Nat Turner's insurrection, was an 1829 essay that suggested that if the American colonists were justified in their revolt, then slaves were justified in using force to break the chains of their bondage. The 1852 novel **Uncle Tom's Cabin**, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, also helped generate opposition to slavery.

Among the activities that bound many abolitionists was the **Underground Railroad** (UGRR), a secret network that helped slaves escape from the South and whose greatest figures were the conductor Harriet Tubman and the stationmaster William Still, a New Jersey native. It is estimated that forty thousand fugitive slaves came North via this network between the early 1830s and the start of the Civil War; many settled in Canada, where slavery had been abolished in 1833. Because of its geographical location between Pennsylvania and New York, New Jersey was an integral part of the UGRR's eastern corridor, with stations in such communities as Salem, Woodbury, Camden, Mount Laurel, Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, Princeton, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, Newark, and Jersey City. Because New Jersey became a "free state" with its passage of the Abolition Act of 1804, some UGRR participants decided to settle in the state. In the process they helped create all-black communities (for example, Saddlertown in Haddon, Camden County) and expand others (for example, Lawnside, Camden County, and Timbuctoo, Burlington County) that served as havens for fugitive slaves.

The notion that a better life for blacks could be secured through migration, so evident with the Underground Railroad, was also central to the work of those active in the colonization movement. Convinced that an egalitarian multiracial society in America was impossible, they sought to repatriate free blacks to Africa. The movement's key organization was the **American Colonization Society** (ACS), which was formed in 1816 by prominent white Americans, one of whom, Robert Finley, was a Presbyterian minister from Basking Ridge. Finley was also the principal organizer in 1817 of the New Jersey Colonization Society, ACS's New Jersey auxiliary. Some blacks were also attracted to the possibilities of colonization as

the solution to the poverty and discrimination that free blacks faced in America, as well as a means of achieving the goal of Christianizing and uplifting members of their race in Africa. In fact, as early as 1815, Paul Cuffe, a wealthy black Quaker shipowner from Massachusetts, transported thirty-eight blacks to Sierra Leone, West Africa. And between 1816 and the Civil War, twelve thousand free blacks, including some from New Jersey, were settled in Liberia. Still, although black interest in emigration increased in the years immediately preceding the Civil War, by and large the efforts of ACS were opposed by the black antebellum leadership. Many saw ACS's work as a slaveholders' plot to get rid of free blacks, thereby robbing bondsmen of an important group that spoke on their behalf.

While the slave population had grown considerably by 1860, so too had the free black population, increasing from roughly 59,000 in 1790 to 488,070, of whom 250,787 were in the South and 237,283 in the North. Of the two groups, the free black northerners played a larger role in shaping black institutional life during this period. For example, in 1827, Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm founded in New York City **Freedom's Journal**, the first black newspaper. Earlier, in 1816, Richard Allen had established in Philadelphia the first black religious denomination—the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, many of whose early churches were organized in New Jersey, especially Salem's Mount Pisgah AME Church, one of the five congregations present at the 1816 AME founding conference.

The **Colored Convention Movement** is still another example of black antebellum organizational zeal. Organized in 1830 in Philadelphia with Richard Allen as its first chairman, it consisted of black leaders—the black intelligentsia—mainly from northern cities meeting periodically (1830; 1831; 1832; 1833; 1834; 1835; 1843; 1847; 1848; 1853; 1855; and 1864) to debate and formulate strategies and goals designed to better the condition of the race. New Jersey was represented in all of the conventions except for those held in 1830, 1831, 1843, 1848, and 1853. And when as an outgrowth of this movement blacks in individual states began to convene their own assemblies or state conventions, black New Jerseyans followed suit. In 1849 they held a convention in Trenton to plan a campaign for securing the franchise that, given to them and women in the state's 1776 constitution, was lost through legislation passed in 1807. Their plea for the franchise was perhaps presented in its most eloquent form in an 1850 address to the citizens of New Jersey made by the Salem native John S. Rock, doctor, dentist, and, in 1865, the first black accredited

Students should read the excerpt from Solomon Northrup’s *Twelve Years A Slave* (see page 85), study the national map (see page 83) and New Jersey map (see page 84) of routes of the Underground Railroad (Map #5 and Map #6, respectively), and read John S. Rock’s “Address to the Citizens of New Jersey” (see page 86).

Students and the teacher should read pages 25–44 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

The teacher should read chapters 6–10 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (“Blacks in the New Republic,” “Blacks and Manifest Destiny,” “That Peculiar Institution,” “Quasi-Free Blacks,” and “Slavery and Intersectional Strife”).

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

Objectives/Activities

ACTIVITY 1

Recognize that slaves were able to forge a community with a distinctive ethos and culture.

Ask students why it was important that slaves were able to develop a sense of community among themselves. Have students identify some of the distinctive features of the slave community as they pertain to family life, religion, foodways, folklore, and music.

Evaluation: One feature of the slave community was the “extended family.” Have students write a 500-word essay describing the extended family and indicating how in several ways it was of value to the slave community.

ACTIVITY 2

Identify the main variables that determined the nature of the slave experience.

Indicate to students that one factor defining the slave experience was the particular crop cultivated. Have students discuss whether, if they were slaves, they would have preferred cultivating cotton, sugar, or rice.

Evaluation: Indicate to students that another factor was whether the slave was a house servant or field hand. Have students read Solomon Northrup’s *Twelve Years a Slave* (see page 85). Have them then write a short play in which the two main characters, one a house slave and the other a field hand, discuss why they would not want to exchange places.

ACTIVITY 3

Explain the Underground Railroad and New Jersey’s place in this network.

Have students examine Map #5 (see page 83) and Map #6 (see page 84). Have them assume they were a fugitive slave from Georgia, and then ask them to locate on Map #5 that part of Canada’s Ontario Province near Detroit where some fugitive slaves established several all-black communities.

Evaluation: Have students assume the identity of an Underground Railroad stationmaster in Burlington County. Have this person write a letter to a stationmaster in Middlesex County explaining the help he gave recently to a fugitive slave from Virginia.

ACTIVITY 4

Describe the problems free antebellum blacks faced in the North and the kinds of institutions and organizations they established in building a community life.

District of Columbia in 1791 and wrote and published a widely distributed annual almanac between 1792 and 1797.

John Brown. Led the 1859 raid on the federal arsenal in Harper's Ferry, Virginia.

William Wells Brown. Leading abolitionist, he was the author of a slave narrative and one of the earliest books on African American history.

Samuel E. Cornish. A cofounder of *Freedom's Journal*, outstanding abolitionist, and pastor of the Plane Street Presbyterian Church in Newark in the early 1840s.

Paul Cuffe. Wealthy black Quaker shipowner from Massachusetts. As an early emigrationist, he transported thirty-eight blacks to Sierra Leone in 1815.

Martin R. Delany. A physician and leader in the Colored Convention Movement, he was a strong advocate of emigration, making a trip to Nigeria in 1856.

Frederick Douglass. Runaway slave who became a prominent abolitionist and black spokesperson.

Robert Finley. Presbyterian minister who organized the New Jersey Colonization Society.

Henry Highland Garnet. Clergyman, editor, and diplomat, he is perhaps best remembered as a prominent abolitionist.

William Lloyd Garrison. A leading white abolitionist, he founded the antislavery newspaper *The Liberator*.

Jarena Lee. Native of Cape May and probably the first woman preacher in the AME Church, she was also one of the few black women writers of the antebellum period, publishing her autobiography in 1836.

Gabriel Prosser. Led the slave rebellion in Richmond, Virginia, in 1800.

John S. Rock. A doctor, dentist, and lawyer who was a native of Salem, he was a leading abolitionist and was the first black permitted to practice before the U. S. Supreme Court.

John Russwurm. One of the earliest black graduates of an American college (Bowdoin, 1826) and a cofounder of *Freedom's Journal*, he later emigrated to Liberia, where he became one of the country's leading government officials.

William Still. A native of Shamong (Indian Mills) in Burlington County, he was a major figure in the Underground Railroad in Philadelphia and later wrote of his experiences in assisting fugitive slaves in the classic *The Underground Railroad*, published in 1872.

Harriet Beecher Stowe. Author of the famous antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Sojourner Truth. Leading African American female abolitionist.

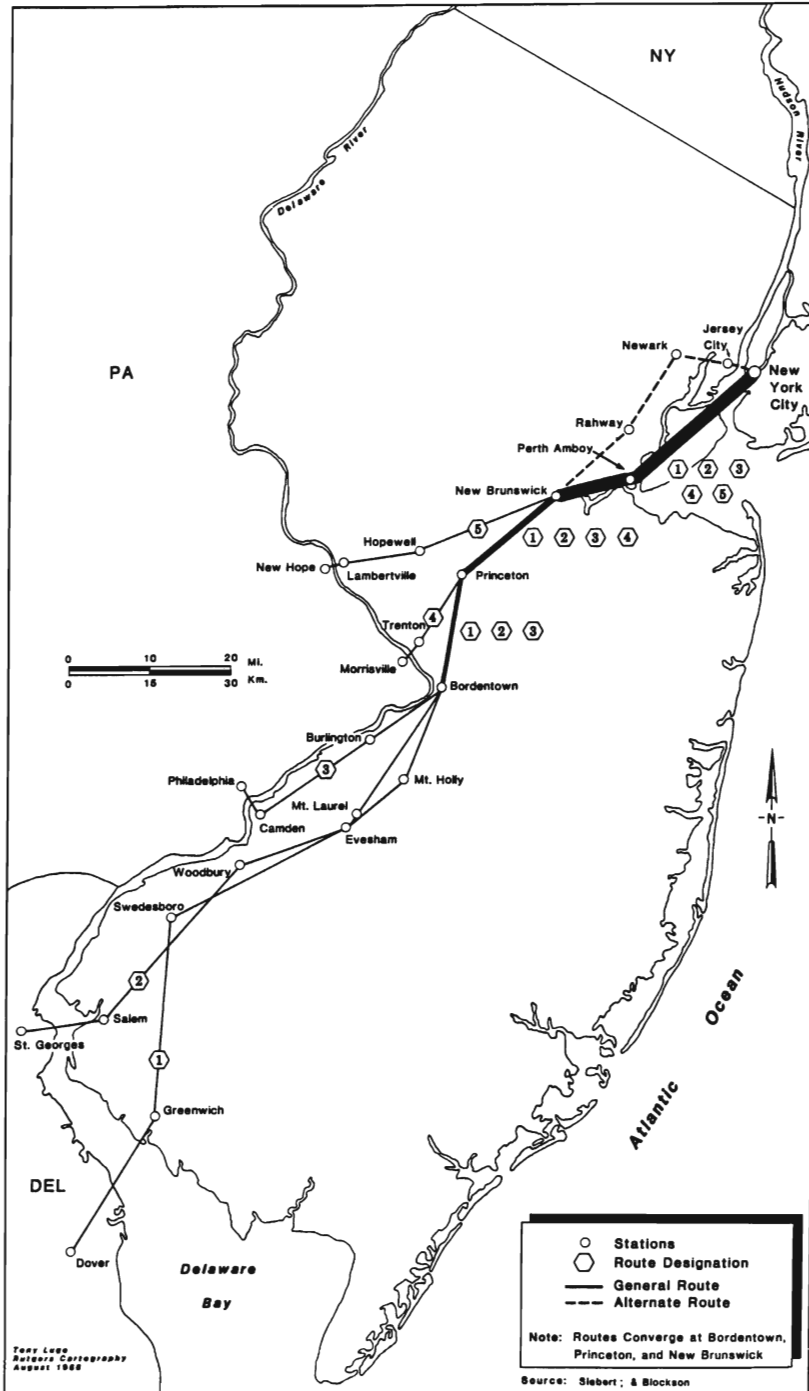
Harriet Tubman. The most famous person identified with the Underground Railroad, she returned

- Bontemps, Arna, ed. 1969. *Great Slave Narratives*. Bontemps, the well-known novelist and poet, selected three interesting and compelling slave narratives for this volume. It is excellent for student use.
- Borzendowski, Janice. 1989. *John Russwurm: Publisher*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Brown, William Wells. 1853. *Clotel; Or, The President's Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States*. One of the earliest novels written by an African American, this attack on slavery takes the form of the claim that Thomas Jefferson fathered several slave children, including a beautiful young girl sold at an auction. Historical in scope in tracing the lives of three generations of black women, it emphasizes the disruption of family life that occurred under slavery.
- Conley, Kevin. 1990. *Benjamin Banneker: Scientist/Mathematician*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Diamond, Arthur. 1989. *Paul Cuffe: Merchant and Abolitionist*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Douglass, Frederick. 1845. *The Narrative of Frederick Douglass*. This is the first of three autobiographies by the most famous black leader, abolitionist, and orator of the antebellum era. This volume covers the slavery part of his life and his escape to freedom. Students should find this book very interesting and enjoyable.
- Douty, Esther M. 1968. *Forten the Sailmaker, Pioneer Champion of Negro Rights*. James Forten of Philadelphia, businessman, abolitionist, champion of black rights, and a staunch opponent of the repatriation of American blacks to Africa, is the subject of this fine biography.
- Edwards, Lillie. 1990. *Denmark Vesey: Slave Revolt Leader*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Hamilton, Virginia. 1987. *The Mystery of Drear House*. A sequel to *The House of Dies Drear*, the book focuses on Thomas Small and his family, who live in Drear House, an Underground Railroad station.
- . 1988. *Anthony Burns: The Defeat and Triumph of a Fugitive Slave*. This is a biography of an escaped slave from Virginia who was captured in Boston in 1854, arrested, tried, and subsequently returned to slavery. The narrative begins at the time of Burns's arrest and uses a skillful flashback technique to reveal his early life. Burns, who died at the age of twenty-eight, overcame two periods of bondage, taught himself to read and write, and finally realized his lifelong dream of becoming a minister.
- Hansen, Joyce. 1988. *Out From This Place*. This companion to *Which Way Freedom* follows Easter, Obi's companion, in escape. She joins a group of slaves that escapes to the islands off the South Carolina coast. Here the group works on a plantation for pay and is given the opportunity to buy land. The story reveals Easter's hunger for education and her determination to control her own life.
- Huggins, Nathan Irvin. 1990. *The Life of Frederick Douglass: Slave and Citizen*. Within the context of Douglass's life as a fugitive slave, abolitionist, journalist, and diplomat, this biography explores the black quest for freedom in the nineteenth century from the antebellum period through Reconstruction.

MATERIALS



Map 6 Underground Railroad Routes in New Jersey, 1860



JOHN S. ROCK

Address to the Citizens of New Jersey (1850)

Citizens, in addressing you in favor of a disfranchised portion of the *legal* tax-payers of New Jersey, I feel, from the success our enterprise has already been crowned with, that intelligence, humanity and justice, may be styled characteristics of the citizens of this State.

Knowing, then, that I am speaking to an intelligent and human people, who believe that noble sentiment set forth in the Declaration of Independence, that “all men are created free and equal,” etc. I take the liberty of speaking freely to you, being one of the disfranchised, and I do not believe your hearts are so callous as not to listen to the voice of the oppressed.

Although the above Declaration declares that “all men are created free and equal,” those noble words, in their common acceptance, do not and cannot apply to the disfranchised people I am now speaking of; because, indirectly, you deny the disfranchised are men. You say that all men are created free and equal and at the same time, you *deny* that equality, which is nothing more nor less than denying our manhood. If we are not free and equal, (according to the Declaration of Independence), we are not men, because “*all* men are created free and equal.”

We confess there is something about this we never could understand. We are denied our rights as men, at the same time are taxed in common with yourselves, and obliged to support the government in her denunciations. If we are not men, why are we dealt with as such when we do not pay our taxes, or when we infringe the laws? Whenever we become delinquent in the one, or a transgressor in the other, there is then no question about our manhood; we are treated as men, to all intents and purposes. If we are men, when our taxes are due, and men when we transgress the laws, we are men when our taxes are not due, and when we do not transgress the laws.

There are many reasons why colored men should be enfranchised. We have been reared in this State, and are acquainted with her institutions. Our fidelity to this country has never been questioned. We have done nothing to cause our disfranchisement; on the contrary, we have done all a people could do to entitle them to be enfranchised.

It is said, “there is not sufficient intelligence amongst us to warrant the restoration of those rights,” and that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the government, etc.; but they do not say we do not have sufficient intelligence and knowledge of the government, to warrant us to pay our taxes, because we cannot thoroughly understand how the money goes!

If we, who have always been with you, do not understand something of the regulations of this country, how miserably ignorant are the thousands of voters who arrive in this country annually, who know nothing of this government, and but little of any government! There is no just plea, and apology for you to shut every avenue to elevation, and then complain of



Unit 6

African Americans and the Civil War, 1861-1865

BACKGROUND

Spurred by Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860 and South Carolina's continued articulation of its 1832 doctrine of **nullification**, eight states seceded from the Union between December 1860 and April 1861 and established a provisional government. In March 1861 in his First Inaugural Address, Lincoln indicated that although he had no intention of interfering with slavery where it existed, he would not permit secession, a confirmation of his initial intent to preserve the Union and not end slavery. Lincoln, in fact, regarded blacks as the intellectual inferiors of whites; believing the two races could not coexist peacefully, he supported black emigration as the solution to the nation's racial problem. In 1862, for example, he implemented a pilot colonization project that used federal funds to settle about five hundred blacks on an island off the southern coast of Haiti.

By September 1862, Lincoln's initial position regarding the war and slavery had changed. In this month he issued a preliminary **Emancipation Proclamation**: effective January 1, 1863, it made the abolition of slavery a war aim—a military objective. The untiring efforts of the abolitionists, who constantly reminded Lincoln of the military advantages of freeing the slaves, helped produce this document. The slaves themselves, who from the outset of hostilities constantly escaped to the Union lines, were also a factor. An estimated five hundred thousand of them (12.5 percent of the total slave population) ran away from their owners during the war. Thus, while the Emancipation Proclamation applied only to the Con-

federate-held states and territories and actually freed no slaves, it did encourage more of them to escape. This loss of slaves eventually helped impair the South's capacity to pursue the war.

Aside from emancipation, the Civil War also affected blacks through their participation in the war—their military service. Northern blacks were initially rejected when they volunteered to fight, since their participation implied equality and blacks were believed to be too servile and cowardly to fight whites; "this is a white man's war," went a common expression in the North. However, because Union field commanders often found it expedient to use slaves, blacks actually saw action in the Civil War before their service was officially sanctioned. In May 1862, for example, General David Hunter declared slaves free in the South Carolina Sea Islands and impressed them into service, allowing them to fight along the Georgia coast before their regiment was disbanded.

By the summer of 1862, the official policy of not using blacks had been changed. Declining white manpower, linked to a series of military defeats that lowered northern morale and a war-weariness that sapped the willingness of many northern whites to join the army, forced the government to reconsider its exclusion of blacks. As a consequence, on July 17, 1862, Congress passed two acts providing for the enlistment of black soldiers. The first was the Confiscation Act, which empowered the President "to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of the re-

Jersey failed to ratify it. This amendment, which fulfilled the unfinished work of the Emancipation Proclamation, freed all slaves.

In March 1865, several months before the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, the **Freedmen's Bureau** (officially, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands), the first federal welfare agency, was established. Charged with furnishing aid to ex-slaves in the form of food, clothing, medical services, education, and the supervision of work contracts, it lasted throughout most of the Reconstruction era. It also assisted white refugees in their efforts to recover from the war. Its first director, General Oliver Otis Howard, was a founder and the first

president of Howard University.

Among earlier wartime efforts to assist ex-slaves were those on the Sea Islands (Gullah Islands) of South Carolina, which Union forces captured in November 1861. One notable participant in these efforts was Charlotte Forten, a black woman. A member of the famous Forten family of Philadelphia, she had received her training as a teacher in Massachusetts. She taught on Saint Helena Island between 1862 and 1864 as a part of the "social experiment" designed to prove that freedmen were as capable of self-improvement as whites. Her diary covering these two years is an important source of information about the life and culture of newly freed slaves.

CORE LESSON

Theme

The Civil War, in which blacks participated in appreciable numbers, brought about the end of slavery and therefore constitutes a pivotal point in African American history.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapter 17 in *The African American Experience: A History* ("The Civil War and the End of Slavery") or chapters 20 and 21 in *African American History* ("The House Divides" and "War's End Brings Freedom").

Students should read the Emancipation Proclamation (see page 95).

Students and the teacher should read pages 27–29 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

The teacher should read chapter 11 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* ("Civil War").

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

Objectives/Activities

ACTIVITY 1

Explain the main ways in which the Civil War facilitated the emancipation of African Americans. Point out to the students the role of the Emancipation Proclamation (see page 95) in encouraging slaves to seek freedom. Have students analyze this proclamation and respond to the assertion that it actually freed no slaves. Ask them to explain why it didn't apply to areas over which Lincoln exercised authority.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

- Bernstein, Iver. 1990. *The New York City Draft Riots*. Examines the white political climate in New York City before, during, and after its 1863 draft riot, one of the worst racial incidents in American history.
- Billington, Ray A., ed. 1953. *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten*. Includes a biography of a remarkable northern free black who educated ex-slaves in South Carolina during the Civil War. A touching and detailed early northern eyewitness account of the slaves, their society, and the changing times.
- Cook, Adrian. 1974. *The Armies of the Streets*. Details the grassroots white forces at work in the New York City draft riot of 1863.
- Cornish, Dudley. 1956. *The Sable Arm*. Cornish details the part played by black soldiers in the northern army.
- Cox, LaWanda. 1981. *Lincoln and Black Freedom*. A study of Abraham Lincoln's racial attitudes and public policy and goals regarding the status of slavery and freedom.
- Durden, Robert F. 1972. *The Gray and the Black*. Most detailed study of Confederate military and social policies regarding slaves and free blacks in the South. Highlights the four-year debate over the question of arming the slaves.
- Franklin, John Hope. 1963. *The Emancipation Proclamation*. Short, but detailed study of Lincoln's order to free the slaves. Franklin examines its intentions, perceptions of it, and the document's impact on blacks and whites.
- Glatthaar, Joseph T. 1990. *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers*. The author explores the personal lives and world of white Union Army officers who led black troops in the Civil War and their relations on and off the battlefield.
- McPherson, James. 1965. *The Negro's Civil War*. A documentary history that reveals how black Americans felt and acted during the war for the Union.
- Quarles, Benjamin. 1953. *The Negro in the Civil War*. A comprehensive study of black soldiers in the war, and the political and social context of their recruitment, use, and impact.
- Wiley, Bell Irvin. 1938. *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865*. First major study of the economic and military roles played by slaves and free African Americans as conscripted and voluntary laborers for the Confederacy.
- Zilversmit, Arthur, ed. 1971. *Lincoln on Black and White*. Short but comprehensive selection of the Abraham Lincoln's speeches about race relations, white views, and blacks.

FOR STUDENTS

- Bradford, Sarah. 1989. *Harriet Tubman: The Moses of Her People*. This book is a fascinating account of the woman who led more than three hundred fugitive slaves to freedom via the Underground Railroad.

MATERIALS



City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk & Portsmouth []); and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

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

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

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

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

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

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward,
Secretary of State



Unit 7

The Reconstruction Era, 1865–1877

BACKGROUND

At the end of the Civil War the crucial question was, How was the defeated South to be treated? During the early period of **Presidential Reconstruction** (1865–1866), the Confederate states were treated very leniently, in keeping with Lincoln's argument that they had never left the Union. After Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson continued Lincoln's moderate Reconstruction plan, and by December 1865 all of the former Confederate states, with the exception of Texas, had established new governments that had been recognized by the presidency.

During 1865 and 1866 the newly formed southern state governments, dominated by former Confederates (Democrats), enacted the infamous **Black Codes**. These were laws designed to reestablish white supremacy and return African Americans to conditions similar to slavery. They prohibited blacks from voting; purchasing or leasing land in certain areas; testifying in court against whites; and bearing arms or congregating in large numbers. They also, in attempting to eliminate vagrancy, literally forced blacks to sign exploitive and binding labor contracts, imposing heavy penalties on African Americans not employed by whites and fining those absent from work.

The vagrancy provisions of the Black Codes also threatened the considerable physical movement that many ex-slaves undertook in the early post-Civil War period; they often viewed their ability to come and go as they pleased as confirmation of their freedom. Thousands moved to different plantations or cities in search of work or went about the South seeking to

reunite scattered families. Postwar black geographical mobility also involved many freedmen returning "home" to their original plantation as a consequence of the massive uprooting and displacement of African Americans that occurred during the Civil War.

The Black Codes alarmed southern blacks, and they held people's conventions all over the South in protest. These meetings constituted the first general black political movement ever organized in the region. The Black Codes also infuriated the **Radical Republicans** (including Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania), who claimed the South had left the Union and should be treated as a conquered territory. They were further convinced of the need to seize control of Reconstruction when large numbers of African Americans were killed, injured, and intimidated in 1866 in race riots in Memphis (May) and New Orleans (July), and through the emergence of secret white terroristic organizations like the **Ku Klux Klan** (organized in 1866).

Using their considerable power in Congress, the Radicals began to orchestrate the passage of a series of laws designed to provide southern blacks with equal civil and political rights. One such law was the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (April), which granted African Americans national citizenship and entitled them to sue and be sued, to give evidence, and to buy, sell, and inherit land. Another was the **Fourteenth Amendment**. Ratified in July 1868, it made blacks both national (American) citizens and citizens of the states

Planters charged high prices and outrageous interest rates for food and clothing purchased by sharecroppers on credit at the plantation store (with the crop as lien). From this arose a form of debt **peonage** whereby insolvent croppers became tied to the land. Unable to repay debts from one year to another, they were legally required to work indefinitely for the same unscrupulous planters.

Next to landownership, the freedmen most desired education. They saw it not only as a mechanism for acquiring greater personal autonomy, but also as a vehicle for upward social mobility and a means for accomplishing such specific tasks as reading the Bible or a labor contract. Thus, after the war, young and old former slaves flocked to the newly organized schools (many held in black churches), often learning in the same classroom. In the forefront of efforts to satisfy the former slaves' tremendous hunger for education were black northern churches and northern freedmen's aid societies that were often sponsored by religious denominations. Such churches and societies sent teachers, black and white, into the South to instruct the ex-slaves. The Freedmen's Bureau also played a major role in efforts to educate the former slaves; it often supplied the school buildings while the freedmen's aid societies paid the salaries of teachers. Part of the overall effort to educate southern blacks during Reconstruction was the establishment of a remarkable number of institutions of higher learning. For example, just between 1865 and 1870 the following were established: Atlanta University, Virginia Union University, and Morgan State University (1865); Fisk University (1866); Talldega College, Morehouse College, Howard University, Johnson C. Smith University, Barber Scotia College, and Rust College (1867); Hampton University (1868); Tougaloo College (1869); Benedict College and Allen University (1870).

The religious life of southern African Americans also underwent considerable change during Reconstruction. There was a tremendous growth in the number of black Christians in the South. This development was aided in particular by the proselytizing activities of black missionaries from the North; they represented both white religious bodies (such as the Episcopal Church and Presbyterian Church) and black denominations (such as the AME and AME

Zion). The second development was the establishment of an autonomous religious life, best expressed in the creation of separate black churches. By the end of Reconstruction the vast majority of African Americans who had been affiliated with white churches had withdrawn from them, in large part because these institutions continued to discriminate against blacks (for example, by seating them in separate pews). Many of these withdrawals were led by black Baptist and Methodist exhorters who proceeded to establish separate congregations. The founding in 1870 of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was an additional expression of this desire for autonomy.

By 1876, Democrats had "redeemed" (restored to home rule) all but three southern states, in the process effecting the withdrawal of federal troops from these states. Factors in the restoration of home rule included the use of violence by white secret orders (for example, the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camelia, and White Brotherhood) to terrorize African Americans and their supporters, and the Depression of 1873–1877, which devastated the southern states' credit, tax rolls, and budgets and allowed the Democrats to gain support for their calls for fiscal retrenchment. Political corruption, which the Democrats used to discredit Reconstruction governments, and the thinking by those Republicans representing northern industrialist/financial interests that such interests could be best realized in the South through an alliance with southern planters/aristocrats, were additional factors. Finally, the racist attitudes of many northerners, reflected in widespread racial discrimination in the North, helped convince them that sectional reconciliation was preferable to erecting a racially egalitarian society in the South. The disputed presidential election of 1876 between the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio, and the Democratic candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York, set the stage for the final demise of Reconstruction: the **Compromise of 1877**. Marking a great retreat from the initial desire of the Radical Republicans to have the national government protect the fundamental rights of blacks as American citizens, the compromise meant that the welfare of African Americans was again in the hands of those who had oppressed them under slavery, those committed to upholding white supremacy.

ACTIVITY 3

Explain the significance of education to the ex-slaves and the various efforts undertaken to educate southern blacks.

Have students read the excerpt from Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (see page 105) and then suggest specific ways that education was important to former slaves. Among these should be: as a vehicle for social mobility; as protection for entering into labor contracts; reading the Bible; and as a general means of self-improvement. Have students assess the importance of these factors. Are some of the reasons for an interest in education shared by other ethnic groups in American society?

Evaluation: Have students reenact a situation in which former slaves, spanning three generations, are students in a one-room school. Have members of each generation indicate why they are interested in learning how to read and write. For example, an elderly person might want to become literate in order to read the Bible. A young adult male might want to become literate in order to read a labor contract.

Supplemental Activities

Have students read Robert C. Morris's *Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861–1870*, (1976), and prepare a book report of 500 words.

Key Persons

Blanche Kelso Bruce. The second black to be elected a United States senator, he represented Mississippi from 1875 to 1881.

Thomas Mundy Peterson. The first black to vote in the United States under the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, he voted in a municipal election in Perth Amboy on March 31, 1870.

P. B. S. Pinchback. One of three African Americans to serve as lieutenant governor of Louisiana, in 1873 he became acting governor and served for forty-three days when the elected governor was impeached.

Hiram Revels. A Republican from Mississippi, he was the first African American to serve in the United States Senate, serving from 1870 to 1871.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Bennett, Lerone. 1967. *Black Power USA*. Romantic general survey of the “Black and Tan” Reconstruction governments, it highlights African American political achievements.

Bullock, Henry. 1967. *A History of Negro Education in the South*. Provides a general introduction to contributions of black and white individuals, churches, and politicians to the creation of schools for the southern freedmen after the Civil War.

Lamson, Peggy. 1973. *Glorious Failure: Black Congressman Robert Brown Elliot and Reconstruction in South Carolina*. Major study of a northern black's noble but doomed efforts to campaign, while he was both in and out of office, for his southern brethren after the Civil War.

Morris, Robert C. 1976. *Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861–1870*. A fine study that examines in particular the work of the Freedmen's Bureau in educating former slaves.

ERIC FONER

Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877 (1988)

From Chapter 5, “The Meaning of Freedom”

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the freedmen's quest for self-improvement was their seemingly unquenchable thirst for education. Before the war, every Southern state except Tennessee had prohibited the instruction of slaves, and while many free blacks had attended school and a number of slaves became literate through their own efforts or the aid of sympathetic masters, over 90 percent of the South's adult black population was illiterate in 1860. Access to education for themselves and their children was, for blacks, central to the meaning of freedom, and white contemporaries were astonished by their “avidity for learning.” A Mississippi Freedmen's Bureau agent reported in 1865 that when he informed a gathering of 3,000 freedmen that they “were to have the advantages of schools and education, their joy knew no bounds. They fairly jumped and shouted in gladness.” The desire of learning led parents to migrate to towns and cities in search of education for their children, and plantation workers to make the establishment of a school-house “an absolute condition” of signing labor contracts. (One 1867 Louisiana contract specified that the planter pay a “5 percent tax” to support black education.) Adults as well as children thronged the schools established during and after the Civil War. A Northern teacher in Florida reported how one sixty-year-old woman, “just beginning to spell, seems as if she could not think of any thing but her book, says she spells her lesson all the evening, then she dreams about it, and wakes up thinking about it.”

For many adults, a craving “to read the word of God” provided the immediate spur to learning. One elderly freedman sitting beside his grandchild in a Mobile school explained to a Northern reporter, “he wouldn't trouble the lady much, but he must learn to read the Bible and the Testament.” Others recognized education as indispensable for economic advancement. “I gets almost discouraged, but I does want to learn to cipher so I can do business,” an elderly Mississippi pupil told his teacher. But more generally, blacks' hunger for education arose from the same desire for autonomy and self-improvement that inspired so many activities in the aftermath of emancipation. As a member of a North Carolina education society put it in 1866, “he thought a school-house would be the first proof of their *independence*.”

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Unit 8

The Rise of Jim Crow and The Nadir, 1878–1915

BACKGROUND

The post-Reconstruction period in the South, which witnessed the rise of the **Jim Crow** system, marked a time when American race relations are thought to have reached their nadir, with whites pursuing efforts to reassert hegemony over blacks on every front, from disfranchisement to school segregation.

The term *Jim Crow* is believed to have originated between 1828 and 1831, when Thomas Dartmouth Rice, considered the “father of minstrelsy,” developed a song-and-dance routine that mimicked an old, crippled slave named James Crow. This routine became immensely popular, and by 1838 the term *Jim Crow* had become synonymous with “Negro.” By the late nineteenth century the term, as used principally by southern whites, had come to refer to a system of racial segregation and discrimination that was beginning to take hold in the South, a system designed to perpetuate the subjugation of African Americans that had occurred under slavery.

Firmly locked in place throughout the South by 1915, Jim Crowism had two cardinal features. One was the legalized separation of the races, which, under slavery, was not necessary because the master/slave relationship implied white supremacy and because the control of slaves was actually best maintained by a large degree of close master/slave contact. Once blacks were freed, however, their social status was unclear, and the white desire to continue to “keep blacks in their place” necessitated a new physical and social distance between the races. Thus, after Reconstruc-

tion, states and local communities passed laws that segregated blacks in virtually every aspect of public and social life (schools, trains, restrooms, water fountains, parks, dance halls, barbershops, penitentiaries, restaurants, theaters, hospitals, asylums, institutions for the blind and deaf, cemeteries). As early as 1870, Tennessee, regarded as having pioneered in effecting Jim Crow legislation, passed a law prohibiting interracial marriages.

The second feature of Jim Crowism was the disfranchisement of African Americans. But, this disfranchisement was gradual. Initially, whites opposed to black political equality did not always bother to disfranchise blacks; sometimes they simply used bribery, violence, intimidation, and ballot-stuffing to record black votes for the Democratic Party. In fact, there were enough black voters between 1877 and 1901 to enable eleven black southerners (all Republicans) to sit in Congress. In 1890, however, Mississippi became the first state to effectively disfranchise African Americans, using a **literacy test** (it required an interpretation of the state constitution) and a **poll tax** as its methods. Other legal methods used in the South were the **grandfather clause** and **white primary**; extralegal methods included violence and terror (for example, **lynchings**, riots) and the denial of credit and employment to blacks. By 1915 the combined use of such methods had effectively stripped southern blacks of the franchise.

Efforts to eliminate black suffrage were basically inspired by the desire to remove the possibility that

South. The exploitive conditions of sharecropping and the violence attendant to political activities were the main motivating factors for this movement. One area to which blacks moved in large numbers was the rural Midwest. Through the **Exodus of 1879**, the first significant movement of blacks out of the South, approximately six thousand migrants from Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee, and Kentucky, trekked to Kansas, where they established, in one instance, an all-black community, Nicodemus (1879). Roughly a decade later, in 1890, about seven thousand blacks from Arkansas joined the “rush” to Oklahoma. Black migration to Oklahoma, which occurred when the black-town idea was attracting considerable interest, also led to the founding of all-black towns (including Langston in 1891 and Boley in 1904), some established with the intent of forming the nucleus of an all-black state in the West. After Reconstruction five thousand other African Americans headed West to become cowboys, participating in the great cattle drives that linked Abilene, Texas, and Dodge City, Kansas.

A second post-Reconstruction black migration pattern was the movement to cities, both southern and northern. New Jersey cities such as Newark were among those in the North that attracted such migrants. One migrant from North Carolina, Timothy Drew, or Noble Drew Ali, established in Newark in 1913 the Moorish Science Temple, the first major expression of the Islamic faith among black Americans. Drew eventually moved this religious group to Chicago, and from it emerged the Nation of Islam of Elijah Muhammad.

Atlantic City, with only fifteen blacks in 1870, experienced the most phenomenal influx of blacks during this period as a result of its growth as a resort center that offered many service jobs traditionally filled by blacks (maids, cooks, butlers, porters). By 1910 it had roughly ten thousand African Americans, the largest black community in New Jersey.

Movement of southern blacks to New Jersey during this period also added one more all-black community: Whitesboro. Probably the last community of its kind established in the state, it was named after George H. White of North Carolina, who left Congress in 1901 as the last black congressman of the post-Reconstruction period. A group of African Americans decided to leave Wilmington, North Carolina, after a race riot in 1898, and White helped them find and purchase land in Cape May County in 1899.

Emigration to Africa also continued to appeal to some southern blacks. During the period about four thousand left the country and settled in Africa, prin-

cipally Liberia. Several groups were responsible for organizing these repatriation efforts: they ranged from the American Colonization Society, to the International Migration Society of the AME Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, to Chief Sam, an alleged Ashanti chief, who in 1915 carried a few hundred blacks from Oklahoma to the Gold Coast (Ghana). These emigration activities provided a continuum for interest in emigration to Africa that was to appear more markedly shortly thereafter in Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Black American leadership adopted essentially two divergent responses to Jim Crowism. Until 1910 the prevailing response was **accommodationism** which deemphasized the pursuit of social and political equality for southern blacks. Its standard-bearer was Booker T. Washington, who as the founder of Tuskegee Institute in 1881, was from the time of his famous 1895 Atlanta Cotton Exposition speech (**1895 Atlanta Compromise**) until his death in 1915 the acknowledged leader of black Americans. (Frederick Douglass, the previously acknowledged leader, died in 1895.) Muting his criticism of Jim Crowism and the terror and violence against southern blacks that accompanied it, he counseled that through self-help, character development (work ethic, frugality, temperance), property accumulation, and industrial (vocational) education blacks would elevate themselves and eventually obtain their citizenship rights. Establishing the **National Negro Business League** in 1900, Washington held up the self-made black businessman as the model for the struggling masses. His principal antagonist was W. E. B. DuBois. A founder of the **Niagara Movement** in 1905 and the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in 1909, DuBois was the most outspoken advocate of full integration and militant protest against white racial injustices. He stressed such measures as demonstrations and litigation. In contrast to Washington's glorification of the black capitalist, DuBois argued that the **talented tenth**, an elite corps of educated blacks, would guide the future course of African American people. He thus stressed an academic education for blacks, one that emphasized the dignity of the mind—the importance of intellect in human affairs.

The debate between Washington and DuBois over the type of education African Americans should receive—industrial education versus academic education—was in particular played out in New Jersey through the establishment in 1886 of the **New Jersey Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth**. Located in Bordentown, its founder, the Reverend Walter A. Rice, an AME minister, was a Washington disciple; the school, reflecting its emphasis

CORE LESSON

Theme

Although the emergence of Jim Crowism in the South and numerous acts of violence against blacks explain why the years between 1878 and 1915 are considered the nadir in American race relations, the modern black community also begins to take form during these years. Nationally, free blacks and former slaves come together to expand black institutional life as part of an effort to cope with the rising tide of racism.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 19–23 in *The African American Experience: A History* (“Miners, Farmers, and Cowhands, 1849–1880,” “African Americans in the New South, 1877–1910,” “Living in the Jim Crow World, 1877–1910,” “Advances in Education, the Arts, and Sciences, 1877–1910,” and “The Civil Rights Struggle, 1900–1941”) or chapters 25–29 in *African American History* (“Segregation Upheld,” “Blacks Pushed Aside,” “Industry and the Black Worker,” “A School is Born,” and “The Liberation Movement”).

Students should read the excerpt from Booker T. Washington’s address at the 1895 Atlanta Cotton Exposition (see page 117) and the excerpt from Dr. W. E. B. DuBois’s article “The Talented Tenth” (see page 119).

Students and the teacher should read pages 45–54 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

The teacher should read chapters 14, 15, and 20 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (“Philanthropy and Self-Help,” “The Color Line,” and “The American Dilemma”).

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

Objectives/Activities

ACTIVITY 1

Describe the key features of Jim Crow after it evolved as a system in the South.

Lead the students in making a list of the areas of public and social life in the South that were segregated. Have the students indicate which form(s) of segregation they believe to have been the most harmful and most humiliating and why. Students, for example, might conclude that disfranchisement was the most harmful, while the refusal of service in public accommodations was probably the most humiliating. Or they might think that being forced to attend an all-black school was more onerous than being denied the vote.

Evaluation: Have the students imagine they are late-nineteenth century journalists. Ask them to write a 500-word newspaper article about what they believe is the most humiliating Jim Crow practice in the South.

ACTIVITY 2

Explain the ways in which blacks responded to the harsh conditions of racial segregation in the South from 1878 to 1915.

5. Take students on a trip to Bordentown to visit the grounds of the old Bordentown School (New Jersey Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth). Known as the “Tuskegee of the North,” it was New Jersey’s most important educational institution for black students.

Key Persons

Noble Drew Ali (nee Timothy Drew). A North Carolinian who migrated to Newark, where in 1913 he established the Moorish Science Temple, black America’s first major Muslim group.

W. E. B. Dubois. A founder of the Niagara Movement and the NAACP, this advocate of militant protest against racial injustice was the foremost black American intellectual from the 1890s until his death in 1963.

Florence Spearing Randolph. An ordained minister who helped build the Wallace Chapel AME Zion Church in Summit, she organized in 1915 the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs, the state’s oldest women’s organization.

Mary Church Terrell. She established the National Association of Colored Women in 1896 to protest disfranchisement and lynching.

Henry McNeal Turner. Bishop of the AME Church (1880–1892) and member of the Georgia legislature during Reconstruction (1868–1870), he was the leading advocate of emigration to Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Madame C. J. Walker. Based on her formula for treating the hair and skin of black women, she became one of the most successful business women of the early twentieth century, amassing a fortune of a million dollars.

Maggie Lena Walker. A successful businesswoman in Richmond, Virginia, she was the first black woman to become president of a bank.

Booker T. Washington. The founder of Tuskegee Institute, he was the acknowledged black leader from 1895 until his death in 1915.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett. A fearless journalist who initiated the early antilynching campaign and helped found the NAACP.

George H. White. The founder of Whitesboro, he served in Congress from North Carolina until 1901; at his departure he was the last black congressman of the post-Reconstruction period.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Bogle, Donald. 1973. *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*. A study that examines the stereotypical and defiant black entertainers who performed in the movies and on the stage from the 1890s to 1970.

explores the southern black's attempts to avoid rural reminders of slavery through migration and industrial, commercial, political, and self-help opportunities in the southern city. White reactions are also examined.

Redkey, Edwin S. 1969. *Black Exodus*. A fine study of African American internal movements and back-to-Africa efforts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Shapiro, Herbert. 1988. *White Violence and Black Response*. A far-reaching study of racial tensions and their physical results. The author looks back into American history and demonstrates the varieties of black responses to white violence, from accommodation and avoidance to militant assertiveness.

Williamson, Joel. 1984. *The Crucible of Race*. This volume examines the psychosexual, cultural, economic and political roots and dynamics of American racism during the Jim Crow period.

Woodward, C. Vann. 1974. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. Woodward explores the de facto and de jure worlds of the beginnings of racial segregation in the late nineteenth century.

FOR STUDENTS

Bundles, A'Lelia. 1991. *Madame C. J. Walker: Entrepreneur*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.

Crockett, Norman L. 1979. *The Black Towns*. This study examines five all-black towns established between 1879 and 1904: Nicodemus, Kansas; Mound Bayou, Mississippi; Langston, Oklahoma; Clearview, Oklahoma; and Boley, Oklahoma. The rationale for such communities as articulated by their founders and supporters is also provided.

Dunbar, Paul Laurence. 1902. *The Sport of the Gods*. This story is about the Hamiltons, a close-knit black family that moves from the South to New York City in the mid-1890s after the father has been unjustly convicted of a crime and sent to prison. The city exacts its toll on the family. The son, Joe, falls in with a fast crowd, becomes an alcoholic, and goes to prison for murder. When the father's innocence is discovered, he is freed and he rescues his wife and returns to their small southern home town.

Durham, Philip, and Everett L. Jones. 1965. *The Negro Cowboys*. A vivid account of the black cowboys and pioneers who migrated west before and after the Civil War.

Klots, Steve. 1994. *Ida Wells-Barnett: Civil Rights Leader*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.

Lester, Julius. 1972. *Long Journey Home*. This book of historical fiction consists of six short stories featuring such characters as a runaway slave (Louis), a black cowboy (Bob Lemmons), and a couple separated by slavery (Jake and Mundy).

McKissack, Frederick and Patricia McKissack. 1990. *W. E. B. DuBois*. This biography emphasizes the dedication, determination, disappointments, and triumphs of the great African American writer, educator, historian, sociologist, and journalist who was an intellectual and one of the most important civil rights leaders of the twentieth century.

MATERIALS



and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down. Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

EXCERPT from “The Talented Tenth” by W. E. B. DuBois in THE NEGRO PROBLEM: A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN NEGROES OF TODAY (1903). Copyright (c) 1969 by Ayer Company Publishers, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.



Unit 9

World War I and the Great Migration, 1915–1920

BACKGROUND

African Americans were very much a part of the effort, in the words of President Woodrow Wilson, “to make the world safe for democracy.” Indeed, between the American entry in World War I (April 1917) and the war’s end (November 1918), roughly 386,000 blacks served in the nation’s armed forces (380,000 in the army, 6,000 in the navy), making up about 10 percent of the total wartime American servicemen population. Approximately 200,000 black soldiers saw service in Europe; 38,000 served as combat troops, while the rest performed backbreaking chores in labor and stevedore battalions. In combat engagement 750 African Americans were killed and 5,000 wounded.

Racial discrimination pervaded the experience of black World War I servicemen. Blacks, for example, were excluded outright from the marines and army aviation corps and were restricted to serving as messmen (for example cooks and stewards) in the navy. It was assumed that blacks were less capable of combat duty than whites, so in order to minimize the number of black combat troops, the four standing black regiments (Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry; Ninth and Tenth Cavalry) all in existence by 1870, were assigned stateside during the war. Only the newly formed Ninety-third Division, composed of national guard units from several states and one regiment of draftees, and the Ninety-second Division, composed solely of draftees, saw combat in France. The four regiments of the Ninety-third were in fact assigned to the French army,

becoming the only American units completely integrated into a foreign army; they wore French uniforms and used French weapons. Further, black draftees were organized overwhelmingly into all-black labor battalions that, both at home and in Europe, performed arduous tasks (loading and unloading ships, felling trees, building and repairing roads and railroads, and building warehouses and supply dumps). Finally, because it was felt that the army and the war effort would be best served by having black troops led by white officers, a ceiling was placed on the advance of black officers beyond the junior grades; all black troops were commanded by whites.

The 38,000 African Americans who saw combat in France fought well on the whole, especially the Ninety-third Division. Members of New York’s famed **369th Infantry Regiment** (the “Men of Bronze”), the division’s first regiment to arrive in Europe, were the first black soldiers to whom the French awarded the Croix de Guerre, their highest military honor. Needham Roberts of Trenton was one of the first two black recipients of this award.

Wartime experience helped many black servicemen resist racial discrimination more aggressively on their return home. Some developed this attitude through training for combat duty. In others it came as part of a broadened world view, acquired by simply leaving home and witnessing alternative living and work situations. And those who traveled to France were generally treated there with a civility that prob-

involving black and white youths near Broome and Montgomery Streets, where the black population had recently increased appreciably. At its height, black and white mobs, armed with revolvers, knives, bottles, clubs, and bricks, fought each other. Many were injured and one black and one white were hospitalized. Fifteen blacks were arrested; the presiding judge at their arraignment questioned the fairness of the arrest of only blacks.

The most serious racial incident of 1917 took place in East Saint Louis, Illinois, when forty-two African Americans were killed. That eight whites lost their lives reflects clearly an increased black tendency, in the face of the upsurge in assaults by whites, to engage in retaliatory violence. This willingness to strike back was even more pronounced several weeks later in Houston, when members of the Twenty-fourth Infantry's Third Battalion, after being insulted and beaten by whites, broke into their camp's ammunition storage room, then marched into Houston and killed fifteen whites while suffering four casualties. Their perfunctory trial, which led to thirteen soldiers being hanged on charges of murder and mutiny, provoked considerable outrage in the black community nationwide.

The year 1919 witnessed an even greater number of riots, some twenty-six taking place during what was called the **Red Summer**. The riot in Chicago

was by far the nation's most devastating; thirteen days without law and order resulted in the deaths of twenty-three blacks and fifteen whites.

Helping to fuel increased interracial friction and strife (the number of black lynchings rose from 36 in 1917 to 76 in 1919) was the 1915 rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta, Georgia. In addition to African Americans, the new Klan targeted Jews, Catholics, and foreigners. In so doing, it reflected both the general **xenophobia** of the wartime period and the rise in **nativist** sentiment that occurred as the **new immigrants** from southern and eastern Europe entered this country between the late nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century on a scale unprecedented in immigration history.

In the face of the upsurge in white racism during and after the war, black nationalist and separatist sentiments appealed to African Americans on a greater scale. Perhaps the growth of the **Universal Negro Improvement Association** (UNIA) exemplifies this best. Brought to this country in 1916 by the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, the UNIA, headquartered in Harlem, began its own newspaper in 1918—*The Negro World*—and in 1919 incorporated the Black Star Line, an ill-fated, three-ship fleet created primarily to effect better international trade and travel opportunities for blacks. By 1919 the UNIA claimed over two million members.

CORE LESSON

Theme

World War I had a tremendous impact on the black American community. Through the demand it created for black labor in northern industrial cities, it effected the first truly massive movement of blacks out of the South. Black veterans, their horizons broadened, contributed to the emergence in the 1920s of what was called the *New Negro*, a black American more given to assuming a defiant protest mode in challenging white racism.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 23–25 in *The African American Experience: A History* (“The Civil Rights Struggle, 1900–1941,” “The Great Migration, 1915–1930” and “Black Nationalism, 1916–1929”), or chapters 30–31 in *African American History* (“World War I” and “Nationalism in the Black Community”).

The students should read the letters of black migrants to the *Chicago Defender* (see page 130) and become familiar with the Great Migration patterns shown on Map #7 (see page 128).

Students and the teacher should read pages 54–68 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

automobile industries respectively while a counterpart who settled in Newark might talk about working on the docks. Northern weather, especially the winters, might also be a topic for discussion.

Evaluation: Have the students pretend they are a Newark journalist in 1919 whose assignment is to write about the recent influx of migrants from the South. The article should include Map #8 (see page 129), on which the journalist should indicate the overall migration patterns associated with the Great Migration as shown on Map #7 (see page 128). It should also offer a profile of a recent black newcomer from South Carolina who points out what he or she likes or dislikes about Newark.

Supplemental Activities

1. Show students the film *Men of Bronze*, an exciting documentary about the all-black 369th Regiment, which served in France under the Fourth French Army during World War I (58 minutes). It can be obtained from Worldview Entertainment, Inc., Killiam Collection, 500 Greenwich Street, Suite 501A, New York, New York 10013 (212-925-4291).

2. Have students read *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (1974) by Florette Henri and Arthur E. Barbeau and prepare a 500-word book report on it.

Key Persons

Robert Abbott. Founder and editor of the *Chicago Defender*, a major black newspaper that encouraged African Americans to leave the South and migrate north.

Marcus Garvey. Jamaican native and black nationalist who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, the largest black mass protest movement ever in the United States.

A. Philip Randolph. Coeditor of *The Messenger*, a labor/socialist publication, and an outspoken opponent of black participation in World War I. He later became the foremost black labor leader as the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids and one of the outstanding civil rights leaders of the 20th century.

Emmett J. Scott. The Secretary of Tuskegee Institute, he served as the adviser on black affairs to the secretary of the army during World War I.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Gerber, David. 1976. *Black Ohio and the Color Line. 1860–1915*. A study that sheds light on the little-discussed problems of the small African American population found in the Mid-West prior to the Great Migration.

Green, Constance M. 1967. *The Secret City*. An excellent study of race relations and black life in the nation's capital from its beginning to 1960.

Harris, William. 1982. *The Harder We Run*. A short, data-filled study of black workers from the Civil War to the 1970s that includes an examination of migration and urbanization.

Haynes, Robert. 1976. *A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917*. This story of black soldiers

MATERIALS



Map 8
The United States at the Time of the Great Migration



know where the cars is going to stop to so that he can come where he can take care of me and my children. He get there a while and then he can send for me. I heard they wasnt coming here so I sent to find out and he can go and meet them at the place they are going and go from there to Chicago. No more at present. hoping to hear from you soon from your needed and worried friend.

Montgomery, Ala., May 7, 1917

My dear Sir: I am writing to solicit your aid and advice as to how I may best obtain employment at my trade in your city. I shall be coming that way on the 15th of May and I wish to find immediate employment if possible.

I have varied experience as a compositor and printer. Job composition is my hobby. I have not experience as linotype operator, but can fill any other place in a printing office. Please communicate with me at the above address at once. Thanking you in advance for any assistance and information in the matter.

Augusta, Ga., May 12, 1917

Dear Sir: Just for a little infermation from you i would like to know wheather or not i could get in tuch with some good people to work for with a firm because things is afful hear in the south let me here from you soon as poseble what ever you do dont publish my name in your paper but i think peple as a race ought to look out for one another as Christians friends i am a schuffur and i cant make a living for my family with small pay and the people is getting so bad with us black peple down south hear. now if you ever help your race now is the time to help me to get my family away. food stuf is so high. i will look for answer by return mail. dont publish my name in your paper but let me hear from you at once.

From "Letters of Negro Migrants, 1917-18," by Emmett J. Scott, ed., *The Journal of Negro History*, II (July, 1919). "Letters About Labor Agents," Mobile, Ala., April 26, 1917; "Letters About the Great Northern Drive of 1917," Mobile, Ala., April 25, 1917; Montgomery, Ala., May 7, 1917; and Augusta, Ga., May 12, 1917.



Unit 10

The Decade of the Twenties: From the Great Migration to the Great Depression

BACKGROUND

The passage of the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 restricted the volume of southern and eastern European immigrants entering the United States. The demand for African American labor in the North thus persisted during the 1920s and the large-scale movement of southern blacks to northern industrial centers continued. This movement, peaking between 1923 and 1925, was also prompted by the serious decline in cotton production that began around 1923 with the advent of synthetic fabrics. With the Great Depression, which was rooted in the stock market crash in October of 1929, the northern movement of African Americans declined considerably.

As part of the Great Migration, a steady stream of southern blacks continued to pour into New Jersey in the 1920s; the state's African American population increased by roughly 78 percent (from 117,132 to 208,828). Of the state's major cities, Newark again registered the highest percentage increase in black population; its 38,880 blacks in 1930 were more than double its 16,977 blacks in 1920.

The arrival of black southerners to northern urban centers in the twenties facilitated the continued development of black ghettos. The first and largest of these, which also resulted from a large influx of black Caribbean immigrants, was New York's Harlem. Heightened demand for black housing and various discriminatory housing practices, notably **restrictive covenants**, and **block-busting**, were the principal features of the ghetto-formation process, itself essentially

a function of the exclusion of blacks from white residential areas.

With the rise of the ghettos came a host of major social ills, such as overcrowded and deteriorated housing, inadequate sanitation, a high incidence of communicable diseases, and crime. These features of ghetto life soon led to an equation of ghettos with slums.

Life in the "promised land" witnessed other developments as well. On the political front the expansion of a black electorate enabled African Americans to gain public office in the North for the first time. For example, Oscar DePriest, a Chicago Republican, was elected in 1928 to the House of Representatives, becoming the first black congressman since Reconstruction and the first of his race from the North. It was also during this decade that the first black New Jerseyan was elected to the state legislature. This was Walter G. Alexander, a Republican from Orange, who entered the state assembly in 1921.

The growing ghetto population also facilitated the expansion of the black community's institutional structure, as blacks sought refuge among themselves. Black churches, the community's traditional social centers, multiplied in number and enlarged their congregations; some even held double services in order to accommodate the spiritual and social needs of ghetto dwellers. Storefront churches, appealing to those African Americans who desired a more intimate and emotional form of religious worship, appeared

Franklin Frazier, A. Philip Randolph, Cyril V. Briggs, Hubert Harrison, W. A. Domingo, and Walter White. Alain Locke, a Howard University philosophy professor and the first black Rhodes Scholar, was the foremost advocate and interpreter of the Harlem Renaissance. His anthology, *The New Negro*, published in 1925, was instrumental in conveying the artistic and social goals of the movement. And another Washington, D.C. resident also exemplified the extraordinary scope and character of black intellectual and scholarly life in the 1920s. This was Carter G. Woodson, the "Father of African American History." Founder in 1915 of the **Association for the Study of Negro Life and History** and the *Journal of Negro History* the following year, in 1926 Woodson inaugurated the celebration of **Negro History Week**, which in 1976 was transformed into **Black History Month**.

America's failure to practice democracy on the homefront after World War I also stimulated a defiant mood that enabled the black nationalist UNIA to continue to attract support during the 1920s and to become the largest black American protest movement ever. With its emphasis on African Redemption, race pride, self-help, and black business development, the UNIA replaced "accommodationism" as the major ideology in opposition to the militant integrationism identified with W. E. B. DuBois and the NAACP.

Marcus Garvey was imprisoned in 1925 for using the mails for fraudulent purposes; he was released and repatriated to Jamaica in 1927. His confinement and departure, which separated him from his followers and exacerbated factional disputes and rivalries within the UNIA, hastened the UNIA's decline. The hardships of the Great Depression, which eroded

the financial resources of many Garveyites, also contributed to the UNIA's difficulties. Meanwhile, the NAACP came to play an even greater role in fighting racial injustice, focusing on the passage of a federal antilynching bill and the use of litigation to secure enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Although federal antilynching legislation was never enacted, the NAACP did rally considerable public support for this cause, and the number of lynchings decreased during the 1920s.

Still another important area of organizational activity among African Americans during the twenties was the labor movement. In 1925 A. Philip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids (Pullman Porters). Through serving as the president of this union, the largest black labor body in the nation's history, Randolph emerged as the black community's foremost labor spokesman of all time and one of its most prominent civil rights leaders. A division of the Pullman Porters was organized in 1936 in Jersey City, a key railroad terminal until the 1950s, and Nora Fant, president of this division's ladies auxiliary, was a member of the Ladies Auxiliary International Executive Board.

As the decade began to wind down, the economic prospects of many in the black community began to dim. Indeed, as early as 1927 the demand for black unskilled and semiskilled labor in northern industry had slackened considerably, and it was estimated that a third of the black northern industrial work force was unemployed. With the market crash in October 1929, the economic difficulties of black Americans only worsened.

CORE LESSON

Theme

During the 1920s southern blacks continued to move to northern industrial centers in massive numbers, in the process forming the early black ghettos. By 1990 over 90 percent of the African American population could be found in urban areas, so the rise of these kinds of communities essentially defined the nature of black life for the remainder of the twentieth century.

ACTIVITY 3

Assess the philosophy and activities of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, the largest black mass protest movement ever in the United States.

Have students read the excerpt from Marcus Garvey's article (see page 141). Then divide the class into two groups. Have one group support the black nationalism advanced by Garvey, which was based on his belief that the black race would be best served by the creation of a strong and unified African continent, and that black Americans were key to the realization of this goal. Such a strong pan-African entity would protect the interests of black people irrespective of the country of which they were citizens. Have the other group oppose Garvey's black nationalist thinking, pointing out the need for black Americans to devote all their energies to gaining all of their rights and privileges as American citizens.

Evaluation: Have the students write a 500-word essay in which they discuss the pros and cons of Garvey's militant self-help program, which stressed black nationalism and racial pride.

Supplemental Activities

1. Show students the film *From These Roots* (28 minutes). The Harlem Renaissance, its meaning and significance, is the focus of this documentary. It can be obtained from The Black Filmmaker Foundation, 375 Greenwich Street, New York, New York 10013 (212-941-3944).

2. Show students the film *Marcus Garvey: Towards Black Nationhood* (42 minutes). This documentary examines the career of the pioneer black nationalist from his birth in Jamaica to his death in London. Garvey (1887–1940) captured the imagination of black Americans during the 1920s with his impassioned call for an independent and unified Africa. This film shows how Garvey's legacy inspired the civil rights movement in the United States and black liberation movements throughout the world. It can be obtained from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838).

Key Persons

Walter G. Alexander. This Orange, New Jersey, resident became in 1921 the first African American elected to the New Jersey State Assembly.

Louis Armstrong. Outstanding jazz trumpeter and one of the few truly innovative figures in jazz music.

Contee Cullen. One of the finest poets of the Harlem Renaissance, Cullen is perhaps best known for his "Heritage," which focuses on his African roots.

Oscar DePriest. Chicago Republican who in 1928 became the first African American elected to the House of Representatives after the post-Reconstruction period.

Duke Ellington. Composer and pianist whose orchestra, which came to fame through its 1927 engagement at Harlem's Cotton Club, was one of the most outstanding in the jazz idiom.

Jessie Redmon Fauset. A native of Frederickville, New Jersey, Fauset was a novelist, editor, teacher, and poet whose writings provided the first real and compassionate portrait of black middle-class life.

Langston Hughes. The most famous figure of the Harlem Renaissance, Hughes was a prolific writer of poems, novels, short stories, plays, essays, and librettos.

- Duberman, Martin. 1988. *Paul Robeson*. An exhaustive, definitive biography that offers a broad picture of national and global developments, including the post–World War II years, that served as the backdrop to Robeson’s life.
- Garvey, Amy Jacques ed. 1925. *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. Marcus Garvey built the Universal Negro Improvement Association into the largest mass movement of black people in America or the world. His wife edited this volume of his speeches and writings.
- Hemenway, Robert E. 1978. *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography*. The most comprehensive biography of one of the great literary figures of the Harlem Renaissance.
- Huggins, Nathan ed. 1976. *Voices From The Harlem Renaissance*. An excellent collection of essays, poems, short stories, and excerpts from novels from the Renaissance years. Some of the shorter works would provide a class with an introduction to the themes and ideas current among black intellectuals during this period.
- Martin, Tony. 1976. *Race First*. A positive assessment of Marcus Garvey and the movement he led. It explores the significance of Africa to African Americans in explaining the appeal of Garvey.

FOR STUDENTS

- Bontemps, Arna. 1972. *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered*. A collection of profiles of the gifted literary figures and artists associated with the Harlem Renaissance.
- Ehrlich, Scott. 1988. *Paul Robeson: Singer and Actor*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Frankel, Ronald. 1988. *Duke Ellington: Bandleader and Composer*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Hughes, Langston. 1940. *The Big Sea*. An autobiography by the most famous of the Harlem Renaissance writers whose literary career transcended far beyond the period. Although somewhat long for the average high school student, it is very readable and a fascinating survey of the personalities of the Harlem Renaissance.
- . 1958. *Tambourines To Glory*. This comedic novel, set in the 1920s, describes two radically different Harlem women who decide to start a church of their own. One, Essie, is a good, honest woman; the other, Laura, is motivated simply by the desire to make money and live it up. When they make money, they set in motion a number of hilarious incidents.
- . 1958. *The Langston Hughes Reader: The Selected Writings Of Langston Hughes*. This comprehensive anthology combines highlights from Hughes’s novels, short stories, plays, poems, songs, and essays that made him famous with many previously unpublished writings.
- Johnson, James Weldon. 1927. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. A classic, this work of fiction centers on the life and innermost thoughts of a black man passing for a white man.
- Killens, John O. 1954. *Youngblood*. This novel tells the moving story of a black family, the Youngbloods, living in the 1920s in a Georgia factory town.

MATERIALS





Unit 11

The 1930s: The Great Depression

BACKGROUND

The nation's most devastating economic downturn, the Great Depression, affected blacks more adversely than any other group of Americans. Throughout this economic crisis unemployment rates were considerably higher for blacks than for whites. For example, among male workers in thirteen large cities in 1931 the rate was 31.7 percent for whites and 52 percent for blacks. And in spring 1933 while the general unemployment rate was 25 percent, for blacks it was 50 percent. Also, the percentage of African Americans receiving welfare was higher than that of whites. In 1935, 25 percent of the black population was receiving welfare as opposed to 15 percent of whites.

The reasons for greater black suffering during the Great Depression are linked to racial discrimination. For example, because African Americans were concentrated in those jobs and industries most sensitive to economic cycles and were the "last hired and first fired," they became jobless in disproportionate numbers. Black unemployment was also aided by the racist attitude that whites should not be without work while blacks were employed; this resulted in whites moving blacks out of jobs they had traditionally occupied (such as porters, elevator operators, trash collectors). Further, racial wage differentials (wages for blacks averaged 30 percent less than for whites) caused African Americans to experience the Great Depression in harsher terms than whites. Finally, some New Deal policies had disastrous consequences for blacks. The Agricultural Assistance Agency's crop sub-

sidy program, for example, actually led to the displacement of about 192,000 black sharecroppers because, contrary to the program's rules, they failed to receive any portion of the federal funds given white planters for reducing cotton production.

Because the Great Depression appreciably reduced employment opportunities in the North for blacks, the pace of southern black emigration slowed considerably during the thirties (an estimated three hundred thousand blacks left the South during this period). The Great Depression did, however, increase the number of African American migrant workers. Many were part of a major migratory cycle in which workers started in Florida in the spring, worked their way northward and completed the fall harvest in the North, then returned to Florida to begin the cycle anew. New Jersey was part of this cycle; workers came to the state to work primarily on produce farms in South and Central Jersey.

While the Great Depression generally caused black people to uproot themselves less than in the 1920s, organizational activity among them increased, prompted no doubt by conditions associated with the Great Depression. Some of these efforts were directed toward ameliorating the misery derived from the economic crisis. For example, black churches were spurred to widen their services to the community considerably. These services included providing food, clothing, and housing for the needy. Also, perhaps as a reaction to the despair and pervasive gloom that beset many African Americans, several black religious

Louisiana, and North Carolina. In addition, antieviction activities on behalf of urban tenants, many of whom were black, won it support from some blacks, as did the party's work in defending nine blacks in the celebrated 1931 **Scottsboro Case**.

Finally, African Americans were not unmindful of the rising tide of **Fascism** in Europe during the 1930s, and they were among the earliest and most vocal Americans to condemn it, due in great part to the notion of white supremacy that accompanied fascist ideology. In the case of Mussolini-led Italy, the brutal Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, inspired by Mussolini's grandiose vision of reviving the Roman Empire and his desire to avenge the humiliating defeat of the Italians in 1895 by the Ethiopians at Adowa, aroused black anger. In order to collect funds to aid Ethiopian refugees, blacks formed organizations such as the International Council of Friends of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian World Federation. The Nazi doctrine of Aryan supremacy that emerged from Adolf Hitler's Third Reich in Germany also provoked Afri-

can American anger and resentment. Blacks were particularly incensed by Hitler's snubbing of Jesse Owens during the 1936 Olympics in Berlin after Owens had won an unprecedented four gold medals. Given black opposition to Fascism, the boxing victories of Joe Louis over the Italian Primo Carnera in 1936 and the German Max Schmeling in 1938 (in which Louis avenged his 1936 defeat) acquired a special symbolic meaning for black Americans as "race" victories.

African Americans during the thirties were also well aware of the imperial policies and activities of Japan, the third of the Axis powers that would eventually oppose the United States in World War II. They were particularly aware of Japan's efforts to win their support and allegiance by portraying itself as the savior of the darker races. It was mainly through the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, organized in Chicago in 1932, that Japan sought to convince American blacks that it was the international leader of nonwhites in the struggle against white supremacy.

CORE LESSON

Theme

Black Americans were more adversely affected by the Great Depression than other Americans, and perhaps out of frustration and/or attempts to cope with the agony and misery spawned by the depression, they engaged in considerable organizational activity during the thirties.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapter 27 in *The African American Experience: A History* ("The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1941") or chapter 33 in *African American History* ("Black America and the Great Depression").

Students should in addition read the excerpt from Lester B. Granger's article (see page 150).

Students and the teacher should read pages 54–68 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

The teacher should read chapters 19 and 20 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* ("The New Deal" and "The American Dilemma").

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

life of Jesse Owens, the great track star who won four gold medals at the 1936 Olympics (175 minutes). It can be obtained from Knowledge Unlimited, P.O. Box 52, Madison, Wisconsin 53701-0052 (800-356-2303; 608-836-6660).

3. Show students the film *Almos' A Man* (39 minutes). Adapted from Richard Wright's short story, it depicts a misunderstood black teenage farmworker in the 1930s rural South who thinks that owning a secondhand gun will give him manhood. He gets the gun and accidentally shoots a mule, opening himself anew to ridicule. To pay for the mule he must work for twenty-five months. He chooses instead to hop a freight train, gun in pocket, in search of power and dignity. This film can be obtained from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838).

Key Persons

Mary McLeod Bethune. The founder in 1904 of the Daytona Normal and Industrial School in Daytona, Florida, which is today the Bethune-Cookman College, she was the first black woman to hold a high position in the federal government and the only woman member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "black cabinet" during the New Deal.

Father Divine. Born George Baker near Savannah, Georgia, around 1880, he founded the Peace Mission movement, which during the 1930s became the foremost of the nation's black religious sects.

Daddy Grace. Charles Emmanuel Grace, a native of the Cape Verde Islands, established the House of Prayer for All People, one of the religious sects that black people joined in great numbers during the 1930s.

Joe Louis. The second black man to become heavyweight boxing champion of the world, a crown he won in 1938, Louis was probably the first quintessential "race hero."

Arthur W. Mitchell. Chicago politician who became the first African American Democrat elected to Congress.

Jesse Owens. Great track star, he won four gold medals at the 1936 Olympics, the first person ever to accomplish this feat.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Carter, Dan. 1969. *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South*. One of the most celebrated legal cases of the 1930s involved nine black youths falsely accused of raping two white women in Alabama. The case pitted southern injustice against the feuding defenses of the youths by the NAACP and the Communist Party.

Harris, William H. 1977. *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925–1937*. Harris explores the origins and development of this important black labor union, which became a training ground for black labor leaders and civil rights leaders.

Hear My Cry, a Logan family friend is brought before an all-white jury on a charge of murder.

Weisbrot, Robert. 1992. *Father Divine: Religious Leader*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.

Wright, Richard. 1937. *Native Son*. Set in the 1930s, this is the story of twenty-year-old Bigger Thomas, who, hired as a chauffeur for a rich white family in Chicago, is bewildered by the kindness shown to him by the family and their Irish housekeeper and becomes involved in a tragedy of mammoth proportions.

Yates, James. 1989. *Mississippi to Madrid*. The author, born poor and black in Mississippi, recounts the story of his life: growing up in the Deep South, moving to Chicago, and serving in the International Brigade that fought against Franco's fascists in the Spanish Civil War.

LESTER B. GRANGER

“The Negro—Friend or Foe of Organized Labor” (1935)

WHO HOLDS FIRST claim on the loyalty of the Negro worker—his fellow workers who toil side by side with him, or his employer who hires and pays him, sometimes against the wishes of white labor? Is it wisdom for Negro workers to protect the interest of white labor, which has so often kicked them in the face, or should they line up with employers against labor unions, even to the point of scabbing and strike-breaking?

This is no longer an academic question to be disputed to hairline extremities by soft-handed theoreticians. It is an urgent problem facing the black man in the street every day, the answer to which will have tremendous effect upon the fortunes of Negro populations in every large city of America within the next ten years. Visible results may come even sooner, so amazing is the speed with which our national industrial picture is being transformed under the pressure of economic upheaval. Every day comes account of some new development in Negro-white labor relations—some new problem to be solved presently by black workers for their permanent profit or loss.

A few months ago the staff of a New Jersey white daily newspaper protested to the publisher against unfair working conditions. They were members of the Newspaper Guild, and when their demands were not met they went out on strike. On the staff, and a member of the Guild, was a Negro editorial writer who had been given his chance and promoted from the ranks by the publisher personally. He refused to strike with his fellow union members, stating that the publisher needed him and he could not desert his employer-friend in this hour of need.

In New York, on the other hand, sixty employees of a whole sale drug company went out on strike to protest the dismissal of three workers because of union activities. Among the strikers was a Negro who held an excellent job and stood high in the employer's favor. He walked out on strike, not because of any personal dissatisfaction, but because he resented the boss's attempt to break up the union—because he felt that his own job could not be safe unless his fellow workers were also secure.

Which Negro acted wisely? Was the drug clerk a scatterbrained young fool, as his friends advised, to risk his own prospects in joining with his white fellow workers? Was the newspaper man a treacherous scab, to violate his union pledge and betray the strike for better working conditions? It is a question which comes up with increasing frequency to plague the Negro worker employed with a small concern where close personal relationships are established between worker and boss.

“The Negro—Friend or Foe of Organized Labor” by Lester B. Granger, OPPORTUNITY, XII (May, 1935), pp. 142-144. Reprinted with permission of the National Urban League, Inc.



Unit 12

World War II: The Struggle for Democracy at Home and Abroad, 1940–1945

BACKGROUND

African Americans again saw fit to “close ranks” once the United States entered the war in 1941, notwithstanding their treatment as second-class citizens and the siren call by the Japanese for their support against the United States as World War II approached. But while they viewed Germany and Japan as the aggressors, they also saw the elimination of racial discrimination as a war aim. They sought to use the war to achieve greater opportunities and their full rights as American citizens—to make the **Four Freedoms** (freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear) enunciated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt available to themselves and to wage a **Double V Campaign**: victory against international facism abroad and victory against white racism and bigotry at home.

Official American military policy regarding blacks during World War II can best be described as offering greater opportunity within the framework of segregation, that is, perpetuating the Jim Crow system while improving the treatment of blacks. As evidence of segregation one can point to the continued army policy of organizing blacks into separate units, a policy later adopted by the Army Air Corps and Marine Corps. Additional indicators of military racial discrimination involved the general opposition to blacks serving overseas and engaging in combat, as well as the practice of placing blacks under the command of

white officers. By the war’s end, however, although segregation was still the military’s officially sanctioned policy, the manpower demands of the war, the need for efficiency, and the proddings of civil rights leaders (including Judge William H. Hastie, special adviser to the War Department on racial matters, and his successor, Truman K. Gibson, Jr.) had led the military to discard some of its racist practices. For example, in 1941 African Americans were admitted for the first time to the Army Air Corps; this resulted in the highly publicized training of nearly one thousand African American aviators at famed Tuskegee Institute. A year later the Marine Corps admitted its first blacks; its long tradition (since 1798) of excluding blacks perhaps accounted for it being the only service branch not to have a black officer during the war (the first black Marine officer was commissioned in November 1945). Also in 1942, the navy, in which blacks traditionally had served in certain occupations rather than in separate units, began accepting blacks for “general service” positions like gunners, electricians, radiomen, and machinists. Later, to show that blacks could even operate a modern warship, the navy undertook a limited experiment in having all-black crews (initially under the command of white officers) man both the destroyer USS *Mason*, which served on the North Atlantic convoy route, and a submarine chaser, PC 1264. During the war African Americans

entially ended the Great Depression for blacks, enabling them to make a significant contribution to the war production effort on the home front. With the demand for workers heightened by the expansion in defense production, as well as the removal from the labor force of millions for military service, the need for black participation in the labor market was greatly enhanced. Initially, however, African Americans experienced considerable opposition to their efforts to gain employment in the defense industries. In an attempt to redress this injustice, as well as integrate the armed forces, A. Philip Randolph, the labor and civil rights leader, threatened in January 1941 to mobilize fifty thousand to one hundred thousand blacks to march on the nation's capital in July. He created the **March on Washington Movement (MOWM)** to organize this effort; it inaugurated the tactic of mass protest that would be used so successfully during the modern civil rights movement of the 1960s. President Roosevelt, after several failures to dissuade Randolph from carrying out the march, issued **Executive Order 8802** on June 25, 1941. It prohibited discrimination in employment in defense industries and established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC)** to monitor compliance with the directive. Despite violations of the order, black employment in industrial jobs increased considerably (in 1942 blacks were 3 percent of the war production work force, and in 1944 8.3 percent of this force). The skills of African American workers were also upgraded in wartime training programs, enabling them to occupy skilled and semiskilled jobs. Black women in particular made significant employment gains, leaving domestic work in record numbers to enter defense industry jobs. The overall employment gains of blacks during World War II helped effect the most rapid closing of the white/black income differential at any time in American history. For example, in 1939 the median income of blacks was 41 percent that of whites; in 1950 it was 60 percent that of whites.

Very much connected to the wartime expansion of the African American industrial work force was the migration out of the South of large numbers of blacks in search of industrial employment. It is estimated that over a million blacks left the South during World War II. Many of these migrants, like those who participated in the migration triggered by World War I, settled in New Jersey, especially in such urban centers as Newark, Trenton, Camden, Paterson, and Passaic; they came, again, mainly from southern states along the Atlantic coastline. And for the first time, blacks moved in large numbers to the West Coast: California alone received over 340,000 black southern migrants between 1940 and 1945. Cities (Los

Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, San Diego, Seattle, and Portland in particular) experienced huge increases in their African American populations. States furnishing a disproportionate number of migrants who went to the West Coast during World War II were Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Mississippi.

The large-scale wartime movement of African Americans into the nation's urban centers in search of better economic opportunities helped create racial tensions in these places not unlike those that had contributed to the racial strife that followed World War I. Indeed, against a wartime background of increased urban racial segregation (black ghettos expanded) and racial conflict, sometimes aggravated by scarce housing and black use of parks and other amusement/recreational facilities that had formerly been tacitly reserved for whites, several serious race riots erupted. Buffalo (1943), Harlem (1943), Detroit (1943), and Philadelphia (1944) were the sites of the more notable of such incidents. The greatest loss of life occurred in Detroit (twenty-five blacks and nine whites), but the riots in Harlem and Philadelphia were also significant because they, like the 1935 Harlem riot, were ghetto riots, having the features and characteristics of the civil disorders of the 1960s, (for example, the destruction of property).

In contrast to many unpleasant contacts between the races in northern cities during World War II, there also occurred the formation of a civil rights coalition that was somewhat sustained by the nation's slowly changing attitudes about the treatment of blacks. The work of this coalition, composed largely of blacks and Jews, aided by sympathetic whites among Catholics, Protestants, and non-church goers, assumed many forms. Included were the struggles in Congress and state legislatures for fair employment laws, the desegregation of the governing boards, staffs, memberships, and clients of numerous social organizations and agencies, and the mounting of a number of interracial and interfaith conferences. This pattern of mutual cooperation among men and women of good will of both races continued into the postwar period.

While the black struggle for equality was strengthened by the work and support of various interracial bodies, African Americans, as a consequence of their movement out of the South, also continued to reap benefits from their increased presence in the nation's cities of the North and West. For example, Harlem in 1944 became the second northern district to send a black to Congress. This congressman was Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of the famed Abyssinian Baptist Church (in the 1930s its ten thousand members made it the nation's largest black congregation).

by Reginald W. Maddox at the Memphis train station in 1943 (see page 162). From this they will learn that black servicemen faced racial discrimination in nonmilitary situations.

Evaluation: Have students write a 500-word essay comparing the treatment of blacks as World War II servicemen with their treatment during World War I. The students should indicate which war they, as a black serviceman, would have preferred serving in, and why. In making their comparisons, students should note that blacks were able to serve in the air force and the marines for the first time during World War II.

Or have students imagine that are among the black sailors who were with Reginald W. Maddox when he saw German prisoners of war being served in the restaurant for whites at the Memphis train station. Have them write a 500-word essay about how they would have responded to this incident. The students should be reminded that racial segregation in America was both legally and socially acceptable as late as World War II.

ACTIVITY 2

Assess the significance of oral testimony in documenting the black past.

a. Have students discuss the pros and cons of using oral testimony to reconstruct the past. They should, for example, discuss the reliability of memory as a source of historical documentation. Inform them that critics of oral history cite the fallibility of memory and the likelihood of bias. They argue that subjectivity might color an account of the past; they also contend that oral history involves looking at the past from the perspective of the present, so that the past may be distorted by subsequent changes in values and points of view. Defenders of oral history maintain that memory is likely to be accurate when what is remembered is of interest and significance; they point out that bias can also be found in written primary sources. They stress that with any primary source one must look for plausibility, seek confirmation from other sources, and be aware of potential bias.

b. Have students discuss whether oral history might be of particular significance in recreating the black American past because people of African descent have a strong and rich oral tradition. Students should focus on black “orality,” the special emphasis placed on oral communication in black societies throughout the world as witnessed in the “griot” (oral historian), “talking drum,” games of verbal competition (signifying), and most recently, the emergence of the popular music form rap. Black communities accord considerable admiration and esteem to those who are very skillful and able in verbalizing orally.

Inform students that the use of oral history has grown considerably since the 1960s thanks to a new approach—the “new social history” or “history from the bottom up”—which was spawned by the increased social consciousness that developed during the 1960s. This approach has tended to move history beyond great individuals and events and to focus on nontraditional historical subjects that did not usually generate written records. Students should be informed that oral history helps to democratize historical research; it has facilitated greater study of the black American past. In making this point, introduce students to Theodore Rosengarten’s *All God’s Dangers*, the life history of a black Alabama sharecropper as recounted orally.

Evaluation: Invite a black veteran of World War II to your class and conduct an oral history interview based on the veteran’s World War II experiences with racial discrimination. Have students prepare a 500-word report on that interview that indicates what they learned about World War II and their assessment of the value of oral history.

ACTIVITY 3

Compare and contrast the black migration that accompanied World War II to that accompanying World War I.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Harlem minister who became a civil rights leader and powerful politician in Congress from 1944 until 1967.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Buni, Andrew. 1974. *Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburg Courier: Politics of Black Journalism*. Vann was the nationally known editor of the black newspaper the *Pittsburgh Courier*. He initiated the “Double V Campaign” among African Americans, which sought victory against international fascism abroad and domestic racism at home.

Dalfiume, Richard M. 1969. *Fighting on Two Fronts: Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces, 1939–1953*. The goals of desegregating the armed forces and obtaining jobs in American defense industries were the focus of black leaders during the World War II years. Dalfiume views this protest activity as the forerunner of the modern civil rights movement.

Garfinkle, Herbert. 1969. *When Negroes March*. While World War II stimulated the resurgence of American industry, blacks were disappointed that they did not receive their share of the new jobs. Blacks were also displeased with the racially segregated armed forces. A. Philip Randolph led the March on Washington Movement organization to obtain integrated armed forces, equal employment opportunity in defense industries, and the vote for southern blacks. Garfinkle explores these important issues in detail.

Lee, Ulysses. 1966. *The Employment of Negro Troops*. A good survey of the black contribution to the American military. The work contains valuable information on African American involvement in World War II.

Nalty, Bernard C. 1986. *Strength For the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military*. The most comprehensive one-volume study of African Americans in the armed forces from early American history to the 1980s. The study has excellent chapters on the black soldier in World War II and the desegregation of the military.

Ruchames, Louis. 1953. *Race, Jobs, and Politics: The Story of the FEPC*. The March on Washington Movement organization succeeded in pressuring President Roosevelt to issue an executive order creating the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which enforced anti-discrimination employment policies with companies having government contracts. Ruchames explores the creation, structure, and effectiveness of this agency.

Sandler, Stanley. 1992. *Segregated Skies: All-Black Combat Squadrons of World War II*. The campaign during World War II to acquire combat training for black aviators, their deployment, and their outstanding performance are covered in this thorough study.

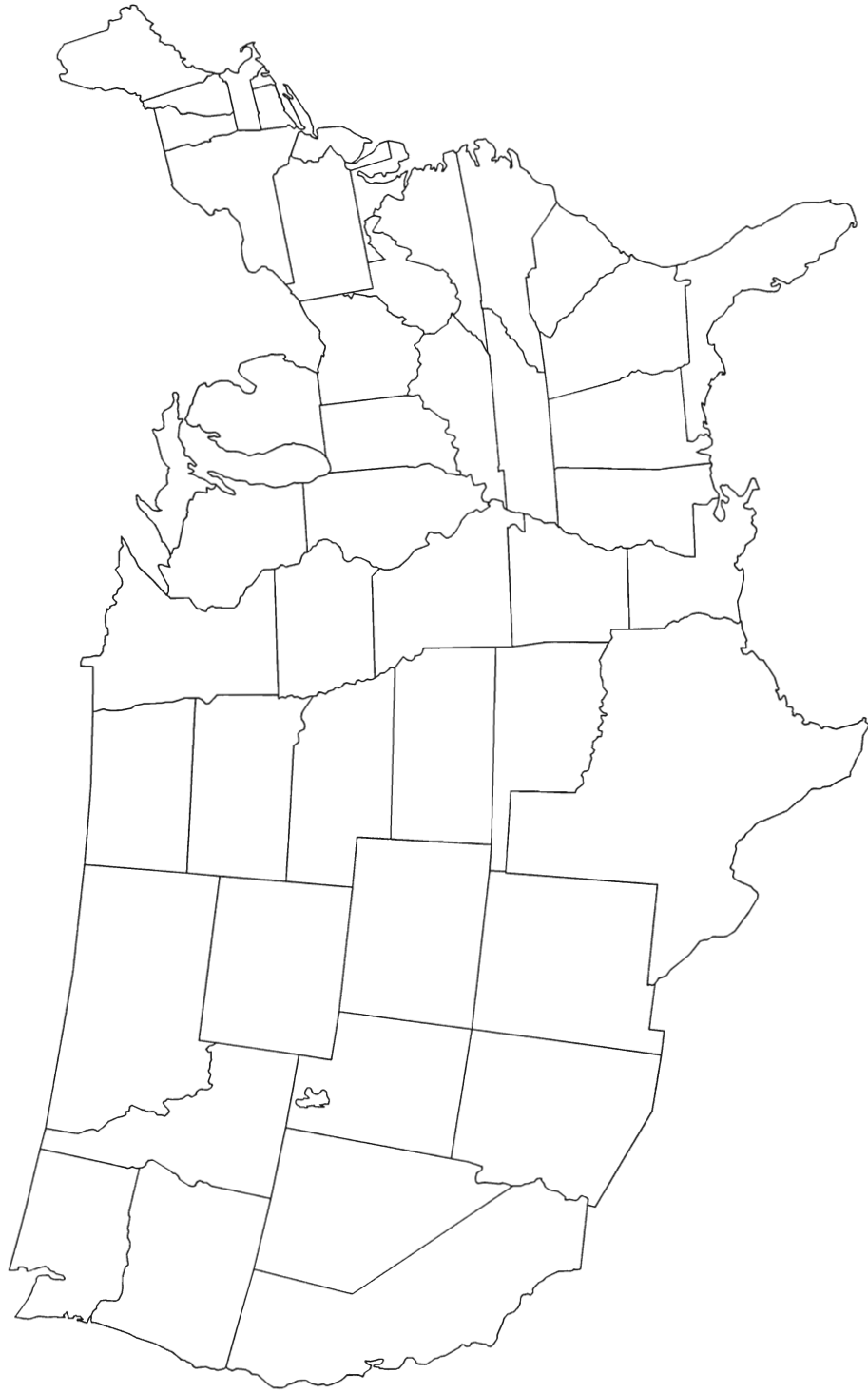
Silvera, John D. 1947. *The Negro in World War II*. A survey of the black contribution to the war effort. It is valuable for its depiction of attitudes on race current during the war years among some segments of the American population.

State of New Jersey. Urban Colored Population Commission. 1945. *New Jersey Negro in World War II*. This study contains interesting data on the social and economic condition of New Jersey’s black population during the war.

MATERIALS



Map 10
The United States During World War II





Unit 13

The Immediate Postwar Years, 1945–1953

BACKGROUND

Because African Americans made important strides during World War II in eliminating racial discrimination, they entered the post-war period with buoyed hopes and an intensified resolve to achieve complete equality. And while that intensified resolve contributed to further improvements in the prospects for the race, and some significant gains were made, the pace of change remained painfully slow as it had during the wartime years.

Indicative of the energy with which African Americans pressed for full equality after the war was the work of various black organizations, often invigorated by World War II veterans whose wartime experiences tended to make them less deferential to white racism on returning home. The NAACP, whose membership between 1940 and 1945 increased from 50,556 to 351,131, was notable among these bodies. Rulings in several important civil rights cases that it brought before the Supreme Court signaled a trend in judicial thinking that would have far-reaching consequences for the demise of segregation, although they did not end Jim Crow immediately. For example, in *Morgan v. Virginia* (1945), the Supreme Court ruled that a Virginia law requiring segregation on interstate bus travel was unconstitutional; in *Henderson v. United States* (1950) it ruled unconstitutional the Jim Crow sections of railroad dining cars; in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) and *Hurd v. Hodge* (1948) it invalidated “restrictive covenants” in state and federal courts, respectively; and in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) it ordered a black admitted to the law school of the University of Texas

because Texas had no separate law school for blacks, marking the first time that the high court directed admission of a black to a previously all-white school.

In several significant ways President Harry S. Truman also contributed to the improved status of African Americans in the postwar period. In 1946 he appointed a distinguished interracial committee to examine the issue of civil rights; its report, *To Secure These Rights*, called for the elimination of racial segregation from American life. One year later, in a strong symbolic gesture, Truman became the first chief executive to address a convention of the NAACP in person. His appointment of William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands (1946) and later to the Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals (1949), made Hastie the highest-ranking black judicial figure up to that time in American history. Truman’s standing in the black community was elevated by his support, albeit somewhat tepid, of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. Of perhaps greatest significance, however, was his issuance of **Executive Order 9981** in 1948. Issued in the face of another threatened march on Washington by A. Philip Randolph (Randolph urged young men, black or white, who opposed racism to refuse to register for the draft) and a strong civil rights plank adopted at the 1948 Democratic National Convention, it ordered an end to segregation in the military. Thus began the slow but steady desegregation of the military, which was not fully accomplished until the mid-1950s.

Perhaps the development that contributed most

Reverend T. J. Jemison, who later served as an adviser to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., during the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott.

The state of New Jersey joined the antidiscrimination efforts of the period. In April 1945 the state legislature passed the Act Against Discrimination, which prohibited discrimination in employment, although enforcement was weak and penalties were mild. Moreover, the state's new constitution, adopted in 1947, contained an antidiscrimination section that banned discrimination in education and in the national guard; it was the first state constitution with such provisions. Marion Thompson Wright, a pioneer in the writing of New Jersey African American history, influenced the drafting of this section with her seminal work, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey*. Published in 1941, it documented the inferior education blacks historically had received in the state's public schools, many of which practiced various forms of segregation. Finally, the Freeman Act, signed by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in 1949 and co-written by NAACP members Herbert E. Tate, Sr., and J. Mercer

Burrell, prohibited discrimination in public accommodations.

A final key development in black life during the postwar years was the continued movement by black southerners, a movement marked by two tendencies. One, in the face of the increased mechanization of agriculture in the South (the first mechanical cotton picker capable of being mass-produced was perfected in 1944) and the continued availability of industrial jobs in northern and western urban centers, was their continued migration to these centers. And for southern blacks moving northward, New Jersey continued to be a major state of settlement, with most of the settlement taking place in cities in the northern part of the state (such as Newark, Jersey City, and Paterson). The second, largely influenced by the increased use of machinery in agriculture, was their movement to cities in the South. Because of such movement, by 1950 about 60 percent of the African American population could be found in cities, a major shift from 1900, when about 90 percent of this population was rural.

CORE LESSON

Theme

Although blacks scored significant gains in their quest for first-class citizenship during this period, they were dissatisfied with the painfully slow pace at which these gains were achieved. Most of these gains were achieved through the time-honored approach of challenging through litigation the legal basis for racial segregation and discrimination.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapter 29 in *The African American Experience: A History* ("Gains and Losses in the Postwar Years, 1945–1960s") or Chapter 35 in *African American History* ("Rights Reaffirmed").

Students should read the resolution of the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs to the 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention (see page 171).

Students and the teacher should read pages 68–77 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

The teacher should read chapters 20–22 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* ("The American Dilemma," "Fighting for the Four Freedoms," and "African Americans in the Cold War Era").

ACTIVITY 3

Describe the kinds of discriminatory practices that black New Jerseyans faced in the immediate postwar period.

Have the class read the resolution of the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs to the 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention (see page 171). Ask students what this document reveals about the forms of racial discrimination in New Jersey after World War II.

Have students imagine they were black New Jerseyans in the immediate postwar period fighting to eliminate racial discrimination. Ask them which of the forms of discrimination identified they would try to eliminate first, and why. This question should prompt different responses from the students. Remind students that their choice could be influenced by the form of racial segregation that was the easiest to abolish. Thus, some students might choose eliminating restrictive covenants, while others might see abolishing segregation in public accommodations as their first target.

Evaluation: Have the students write a short play about a black Trentonian who has been discriminated against in a public accommodation. The play should reenact the incident (for example, being refused service at a restaurant, or being seated in a certain section of a movie theater) and what action, if any, the victim intends to take (such as contacting the NAACP or organizing a boycott of the offending establishment).

Supplemental Activities

1. Show students the film *Go Tell It On The Mountain* (98 minutes). Adapted from James Baldwin's first novel, it centers on a postwar black urban family haunted by tragic memories of the rural South. A stern, domineering preacher and his gifted young stepson come into conflict over the boy's preference for school over church. As the preacher's past unfolds, through flashbacks, we see the roots of his religious rigidity. The film can be obtained from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838).

2. Show students the film *Before You Can Say Jackie Robinson* (65 minutes). This documentary examines the Negro Baseball League, with special emphasis on the Newark Eagles, who won the Negro Baseball League World Series in 1946. It can be obtained from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28 West State Street, Sixth Floor, Trenton, New Jersey 08608 (609-695-4838).

Key Persons

Ralph Bunche. In 1950, because of his work for the United Nations in negotiating the 1948 Arab-Israeli armistice after the creation of Israel in 1948, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the first black so honored.

Daniel "Chappie" James. Captain and pilot during the Korean War, he was the first black American to become a four-star general.

Jackie Robinson. The first African American to integrate major league baseball, he later became a corporate executive and a civil rights spokesperson.

Marion Thompson Wright. A pioneer in the writing of black New Jersey history, she was a professor at Howard University and an associate of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the acknowledged "Father of African American History."

Taulbert, Clifton. 1989. *Once Upon A Time When We Were Colored*. In this touching autobiography, Taulbert discusses his childhood and early youth in Mississippi during the late 1940s and early 1950s, making his personal story a loving testament to the Taulbert family and all black families who kept the faith in the segregated South.

Van Raven, Pieter. 1990. *Pickle and Price*. Set in the rural South in the early 1950s, the main characters of this novel are John Pickle Sherburn, a thirteen-year-old white boy whose father runs a detention farm, and Price Douglas, a black man from Detroit who is serving time at the farm for a crime he didn't commit. Pickle plans Price's escape from the farm, steals his father's truck, and decides to drive Price to Detroit and then head west to California.

Resolution of the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (1947)

WHEREAS, it is the object of the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs to "Work and Serve the Hour" in helping solve the many problems confronting the race, and to study the conditions in cities and counties, with a view to raising the educational, industrial and economic standards of all people and improve the public health and general welfare of the public of the State; and

WHEREAS, for the past 32 years this organization has conducted a program working toward equal opportunity for all people and the full enjoyment of the rights, privileges and benefits of the State of New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, it has long been recognized that the restrictive covenant is a device used by real estate interests in conformity with narrow community attitudes to confine housing areas to favored racial groups and for the exclusion of other groups, most frequently the Jewish and Negro segments of our population; and

WHEREAS, a large percentage of the population of the State of New Jersey, in a general way, was denied opportunity for business and industrial employment (public utilities included) under the existing State Constitution until Executive Order 8802, superseding our state laws, was issued by the late President Roosevelt during the emergency, making such practices unlawful; and

WHEREAS, the recent survey of the school systems of the State of New Jersey, made by the N.A.A.C.P., showed the great extent of the segregation and discrimination in education as practiced in the State of New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, not much success has come out of remedies sought by education and legislation, because the average man holds hard to his prejudices, it is agreed that a strong and forthright declaration set forth in the Bill of Rights of the proposed New Constitution is needed, and will provide for all the people the instrument through which all rights and privileges accorded a citizen might be realized;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that we do respectfully submit to and urge the adoption by the 1947 Constitutional Convention, the following:

1. That this paragraph, as written in the new New York Bill of Rights, be added to section 5 under "Rights and Privileges":

"No person shall be denied the equal protection of this State or any subdivision thereof. No person shall, because of race, creed, color or religion, be subject to any discrimination in his



Unit 14

The Civil Rights and Black Power Era: Gains and Losses, 1954–1970

BACKGROUND

A watershed in black American history was reached in May of 1954 when, in a landmark case, **Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas**, the Supreme Court ruled that the doctrine of separate but equal as applied to public education was unconstitutional. This decision had a tremendous psychological effect on black Americans. In lifting their spirits and emboldening them to try to dismantle the entire Jim Crow system, it gave impetus to the modern civil rights movement.

The Supreme Court's 1954 ruling on school integration also hardened and intensified the opposition of southern whites who favored segregation. They removed their children from public schools and established private all-white "academies." Segregationists organized White Citizens Councils (the first one in Mississippi in July 1954) and they attempted to outlaw the NAACP. They threatened violence against civil rights leaders and called for economic reprisals against blacks and whites who were active in the fight to desegregate schools. A few states, like Georgia, incorporated the Confederate flag into the state flag as a symbolic gesture of defiance. In September 1957, one of the most celebrated instances of white resistance to school integration exploded upon the national scene. Menacing white mobs and the Arkansas National Guard deployed by Governor Orval Faubus barred nine black teenagers from Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. The admission effort was spearheaded by

Daisy Bates, NAACP state president. President Eisenhower was thus forced to federalize the Arkansas National Guard, removing it from Faubus's control, and to send in army troops and federal marshals to restore order and compel Faubus's compliance with a court order admitting the students to the school. A somewhat similar incident involved the efforts of James Meredith to integrate the University of Mississippi in the fall of 1962. When Governor Ross Barnett, after being found in contempt of court, failed to prevent Meredith's admission, a student mob took over the campus. In the rioting that ensued two men were killed. Again federal troops had to be deployed to force compliance with desegregation. This time they were called in by President John F. Kennedy.

December 1, 1955, can be viewed as another turning point in the recent African American past. On that date, in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks refused to obey an order by a driver on the segregated bus system that she yield her seat to a white passenger and stand in the rear Jim Crow section. Five days following her arrest, and in the wake of calls for protest action by community activists JoAnn Robinson of the Montgomery Women's Council and E. D. Nixon, a leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and former state and local NAACP president, the **Montgomery Bus Boycott** began. Its leader was the young Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., acting under the aegis of the newly formed

King, for example, was designated 1963 "Man of the Year" by *Time*, and in 1964 he received the Nobel Peace Prize, at age thirty-five the youngest recipient ever. Largely because of events in Birmingham, President Kennedy became convinced of the need for a new civil rights bill and in June he called for one. Within twenty-four hours of his call, however, violence appeared again in the form of the assassination of the Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers.

In an effort to pressure Congress into passing Kennedy's civil rights legislation, the historic March on Washington was organized. Held on August 28, it drew more than 250,000 black and white demonstrators (one of the largest demonstrations in the history of the nation's capital) and witnessed the delivery of Dr. King's stirring "I Have a Dream" speech. Little more than two weeks later, on September 15, a bomb tore through a Sunday school classroom in a black church in Birmingham, killing four young black girls. Two other African Americans were killed in the unrest that followed. And, of course, the violence that had marked much of the year resonated again in November with the assassination of President Kennedy.

During the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson, Kennedy's successor, the civil rights movement achieved its highest legislative goals; by 1966 there was no enforceable law in the United States that discriminated against blacks on the basis of race. The Kennedy civil rights bill became the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, the most far-reaching and comprehensive civil rights law ever enacted. It forbade racial discrimination in most places of public accommodation and gave the attorney general additional power to protect citizens against discrimination and segregation in voting. It also outlawed racial discrimination in employment by employers and labor unions, establishing an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission with the power to receive, initiate, and investigate charges of discrimination, to bring action in a federal court, and to refer cases to the Justice Department for legal action. A complainant could also bring a private action in a federal court. Another legislative gain in 1964 was the ratification of the **Twenty-fourth Amendment** (passed in 1962), which made unconstitutional the requirement of the poll tax in federal elections. Finally, the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** for all practical purposes eliminated the literacy test as a requirement for voting. It suspended it and similar devices in states and counties that had used them and where less than 50 percent of the adults had voted in 1964. The attorney general was authorized to send federal examiners to register African American voters if local registrars were found

to be negligent in this regard.

President Johnson also made two notable appointments involving blacks. In 1966 he made Robert C. Weaver the first black cabinet member and the first secretary of housing and urban development; in 1967 Johnson named Thurgood Marshall the first black justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. And another first that made African Americans extremely proud during Johnson's presidency, though the president was not responsible for it, was the election in 1968 of Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn, New York, as the first black woman to serve in Congress.

Johnson had not been in office a year when, in addition to civil rights activity in the South, African American anger and dissent assumed another form: the eruption of riots in the nation's urban black ghettos. Some argued that the collective violence manifested was mainly the work of social misfits, criminals and riffraff guided by impulses of opportunism and destruction. Others contended that the urban riots were expressions of political protest that both revealed the lack of access to effective channels for redressing grievances and sought to effect social change.

Those who viewed the urban disturbances, begun in the summer of 1964, as political acts argued that the main causes of such unrest lay in the sense of frustration, hopelessness, and despair born of such social and economic ills as high unemployment and underemployment rates, poor and overcrowded housing, large numbers of high school dropouts, and frequent instances of police brutality. New York City (Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant), Rochester, Philadelphia, Chicago, and three New Jersey cities (Paterson, Elizabeth, and Jersey City) were among the urban communities affected by civil disorders in 1964. By the end of the 1960s over four hundred disorders, often fueled by the cry of "Burn Baby Burn" and varying in degree of seriousness, had occurred. The most severe in terms of fatalities took place in 1965 in the Watts section of Los Angeles (34 deaths) and in 1967 in Detroit (43 deaths) and Newark (26 deaths). The Newark incident was by far the most devastating, considering how many died in comparison to the size of Newark's black population. It began on July 12 after a black cab driver in the predominately black Central Ward was arrested for a traffic violation and allegedly beaten by the police. The event reinforced a long-held impression of police brutality against black Newarkers. In the next few days there was widespread looting, and numerous fires were set in the Central Ward. The state police and national guard were called in to quell disorders, which ended on July 17. Property damage exceeded 10 million. Other New Jersey ur-

(for example, those unable to obtain college deferments or flee the country to escape the draft), blacks were well represented in the war; 274,937 of the approximate total of 2.8 million Americans who served in the war were black. Moreover, during the war's bloodiest fighting (1968 to 1970), African Americans made up a disproportionate number (21 percent) of the casualties. By the end of hostilities, however, 5,681 black lives had been lost, roughly 12.6 percent of the total 65,869 American casualties.

Second, there was considerable division within the black community over the war. In addition to citing the unfairness of the fewer opportunities blacks had to avoid the war, black war critics charged that the monies spent in pursuing the war could be better utilized in alleviating many of the country's urban problems. In perhaps the most controversial case of black opposition to the war, Muhammad Ali, the world heavyweight boxing champion and a member of the Nation of Islam, refused to be drafted and sought status as a conscientious objector; he received a sentence of five years' imprisonment and a fine of ten thousand dollars before his conviction was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1971. African Americans who supported the war often did so out of a sense of patriotic duty and, in the case of black servicemen, often out of a desire to build a career in an integrated military. In 1967, for example, blacks reenlisted at three times the rate of whites.

Finally, reflecting in part the racial turmoil at home, there was considerable tension between black and white servicemen in Vietnam, especially in the late 1960s when many black draftees held Black Power sentiments. Hate-filled graffiti, written by both blacks and whites, and fights at military bases, sometimes provoked by the flaunting of the Confederate flag and the burning of crosses by white racist servicemen, were among the signs of racial conflict in Vietnam. Many black Vietnam veterans would find that the scars from such racial experiences, as well as those related to combat and drug use, would require years to heal. Indeed, when they returned home, where jobs were scarce and where the general public, including many African Americans, did not regard them as heroes, many veterans had trouble adjusting to civilian life. Some suffered from depression and struggled with drug and alcohol abuse.

In several significant ways the black experience in New Jersey typified that of the larger black population. The ubiquitous ghetto riot was certainly no stranger to the state. Few states, in fact, had more disturbances of this kind than New Jersey, perhaps because it is the nation's most urbanized state. And even the nonviolent direct action approach used to

fight racial segregation in the South found expression in New Jersey. One dramatic example of this was the 1962-63 struggle to desegregate the Englewood elementary schools. As part of this protest effort, African American parents withdrew their children from the all-black Lincoln School and enrolled them in improvised **Freedom Schools** that were established in private homes. The parents even held sit-ins with their children at the three all-white elementary schools before these schools were finally integrated in the fall of 1963 by an order of the state commissioner of education.

Nonviolent methods to eradicate racial discrimination were also seen in the work of the NAACP, in southern New Jersey in particular. In the late 1950s the NAACP in communities like Vineland, Bridgeton, and Glassboro, aided by Dr. Ulysses S. Wiggins, president of the NAACP Camden branch, took the initiative in breaking down racial barriers in elementary schools and public accommodations (such as movies and restaurants). In the early and mid-1960s the focus of black activism in these communities switched to discrimination in employment and public services.

In the early and mid-1960s New Jersey also reflected the strides made in eliminating racial discrimination in housing, perhaps the most dramatic example of this occurred in Willingboro, a planned suburban community established in 1958. By 1962, owing largely to litigation efforts backed by the NAACP, Willingboro had its first African American residents.

The movement to suburbia by New Jersey blacks, as revealed in Willingboro's integration, also mirrored another national pattern. This was the rapid expansion of the black middle class, due in large part to the civil rights movement's success in removing racial barriers in employment, as well as the many well-paying positions African Americans occupied in the Great Society programs of the Johnson administration. In New Jersey, as elsewhere, however, the migration of middle-class blacks from cities to suburbs weakened the social and economic stability of urban black neighborhoods. Additionally, it meant that for the first time affluent blacks were physically separated from the poorer ranks of the race, denying the latter their traditional proximity to viable mainstream role models.

Black New Jerseyans, like their kith and kin across the nation, were also affected by the advent of the postindustrial age. Indeed, structural changes in the economy leading to the decline in unskilled and semiskilled jobs and the expansion of the service sector contributed in large part to the appear-

Objectives/Activities

ACTIVITY 1

Explain the work of the civil rights movement in the South, beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 and ending with the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968.

Point out to the students that the civil rights movement in the South used nonviolent protest. Have them read the summary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s discussion of nonviolent resistance (see page 185), which sets forth his belief that nonviolence resistance is the most desirable form of protest. Then divide the class into two groups, one supporting Dr. King's philosophy of nonviolence and the other opposing it. Have each group argue the merits of its position. Dr. King's position is laid out in the summary. Those opposed to it can suggest that successful nonviolent resistance requires a certain kind of oppressor. For example, if one is dealing with an oppressor who lacks a moral conscience (such as a Hitler), then such an approach risks extermination. Thus, it can be argued that nonviolent resistance should be employed only in those situations where it is likely to prove effective.

Evaluation: Divide the class into several groups and have each group role-play a particular situation where southern African Americans faced discrimination (lunch counters, waiting rooms at bus stations, voter registration, employment at department stores, seating on city buses). Have each group depict the methods used by civil rights activists in desegregating each of the situations listed (boycotts, marches, sit-ins, pickets, freedom rides).

ACTIVITY 2

Describe the causes and consequences of the urban riots of the 1960s.

Lead the students in a discussion that makes them aware of the grievances blacks had that gave rise to the urban disorders of the 1960s. Among these were high rates of black unemployment, police brutality, and poor housing conditions. Students should be informed, too, of the white flight from cities and the social welfare programs (War on Poverty) that occurred as a consequence of the urban riots. Students should also be told that these urban riots have been interpreted in different ways. Some persons have seen them as revolts and rebellions, as acts directed against authority symbols such as the police. Others, at the opposite end of the political spectrum, see nothing political about these disturbances and submit that they are simply the deeds of thugs and the criminal element in the black community. They point to the acts of looting and stealing as evidence of this. Divide the class into two groups, one arguing that the riots were politically motivated expressions of the desire to overthrow the existing political system, while the other group counters that these disorders were essentially the work of criminals and others who, caught up in the hysteria of mob rule, committed acts of vandalism and looting. Make the students aware of the possibility that there is some truth in both positions, that persons involved in these disturbances might have had different motives.

Evaluation: Have students research New Jersey newspapers for articles on a civil disorder that occurred in New Jersey during the 1960s (for example, the Newark riot of 1967). Based on this research, have them write a 500-word essay about the event, pointing out its causes, the area(s) of the city affected, the number of fatalities, the number of arrests, and so on. The students should also indicate how the riot was interpreted by the press: a rebellion or the collective acts of criminals.

Supplemental Activities

1. Show students the television film series *Eyes On The Prize: America's Civil Rights Years*, a comprehensive history of the people, stories, events, and issues of the civil rights struggle in America. The series can be obtained from the New Jersey Council for the Humanities Media Resource Center, 28

Kenneth Gibson. Elected Newark's first black mayor in 1970.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Baptist minister who became the acknowledged leader of the modern civil rights movement and the winner of Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

Thurgood Marshall. A leading lawyer for the NAACP who argued many of its key cases (including *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*), he was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1967, becoming the first black justice.

James Meredith. Integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962.

Elijah Muhammad. Leader of the Nation of Islam, a religious group that espoused a form of black nationalism and contributed much to the conversion of many black Americans to the Islamic faith.

E. D. Nixon. Montgomery community activist who urged that Rosa Parks's arrest be used to test the constitutionality of Montgomery's segregated bus system.

Rosa Parks. Seamstress who refused to obey an order by a driver on segregated bus system that she give up her seat to a white passenger. Her arrest prompted the successful Montgomery bus boycott by blacks.

JoAnn Robinson. Community activist in Montgomery who initiated the call for a boycott of the city's bus system after the arrest of Rosa Parks.

Robert C. Weaver. A Harvard-trained economist who began in 1933 to hold a number of key positions in the federal government, he was appointed secretary of housing and urban development in 1966, becoming the first African American cabinet member.

Malcolm X. Converted to the Nation of Islam, he became its forceful spokesman and an influential figure in raising the level of black political awareness in the early 1960s.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Bartley, Numan V. 1969. *The Rise of Massive Resistance*. Recounts the growth of organized white opposition to public school desegregation and the civil rights movement.

Brown, Claude. 1965. *Manchild in the Promised Land*. An autobiographical account of growing up in Harlem in the 1940s and 1950s.

Burk, Robert. 1984. *The Eisenhower Administration and Black Civil Rights*. Examines political expediency and the growing influence of the civil rights movement, 1953–1960, on President Eisenhower, otherwise a benign opponent of racial change.

Carson, Clayborne. 1981. *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. An in-depth study of the rise, development, and demise of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Farmer, James. 1985. *Lay Bare the Heart*. Farmer, one of CORE's founders, provides in this autobiography a candid and revealing account of the civil rights struggle.

- Marshall, Paule. 1959. *Brown Girl Brownstone*. In this story about racial and cultural conflict, the brown girl of the book's title is a daughter of immigrants from Barbados, and the brownstones are the once socially desirable houses in a section of Brooklyn they have moved into.
- Meredith, James. 1966. *Three Years in Mississippi*. A first-person account of what it was like to integrate the University of Mississippi.
- Moore, Yvette. 1991. *Freedom Songs*. In this first-person narrative, fourteen-year-old Sheryl and her family leave their comfortable Brooklyn home for an Easter visit with Sheryl's grandmother in North Carolina. When Sheryl's nineteen-year-old uncle announces plans to become a Freedom Rider that summer, the entire family is shaken. His tragic death causes Sheryl to pursue her fundraising objectives in New York with even more dedication and conviction.
- Peck, James. 1962. *Freedom Ride*. A first-person account of the Freedom Rides by a white participant.
- Raines, Howell. 1977. *My Soul is Rested*. An oral history account of the civil rights movement from 1955 to 1968, it includes accounts by James Farmer, Rosa Parks, Bayard Rustin, Julian Bond, and Joseph E. Lowery.
- Rummel, Jack. 1988. *Muhammad Ali: Heavyweight Champion*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- . 1989. *Malcolm X: Militant Black Leader*. Part of the Black Americans of Achievement series.
- Shange, Ntozake. 1985. *Betsey Brown*. A novel about a thirteen-year-old girl who comes of age in Saint Louis in 1959 in the midst of court-ordered integration, racism, and class conflict within the African American community.
- Wallace, Terry. 1985. *Bloods: An Oral History of the Viet Nam War by Black Veterans*. Oral testimonies from black veterans of the Vietnam War provide a sense of what they experienced during this war.
- Williams, Juan. 1987. *Eyes on the Prize*. The companion volume to the PBS television series *Eyes On The Prize: America's Civil Rights Years*, it contains profiles and interviews of outstanding personalities associated with the civil rights movement, as well as important documents pertaining to it.

Summary: The Nonviolent Resistance of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In discussing nonviolent resistance in Stride Toward Freedom, Dr. King identified it as having five basic characteristics.

1. Nonviolent resistance means neither cowardice nor passivity. Nonviolent resisters are not cowards but strong individuals; it takes strength to resist the use of violence. If, however, resisters are nonviolent because of fear or because they do not have the means of violence, they are not practicing true nonviolence. Also, nonviolent resistance is not a “do-nothing method”; it is only passive in that the resister commits no physical aggression against the opponent. “The method is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually. It is not passive nonresistance to evil, it is active nonviolent resistance to evil.”

2. The goal of nonviolent resistance is not to defeat anyone, but to create friendship and understanding. Instead of destroying the opponent, the nonviolent resister tries “to awaken a sense of moral shame. . . . The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of non-violence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.”

3. Nonviolent resistance attacks evil rather than the evildoer. There is a distinction between evil and the person committing the evil. Thus, in fighting racial injustice, the struggle is not between races, but rather between “justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness.” Nonviolent resistance seeks “to defeat injustice and not white persons who may be unjust.”

4. Nonviolent resistance involves turning the other cheek, not responding to violence with violence. The nonviolent resister is willing “to accept blows from the opponent without striking back, . . . to accept violence if necessary, but never to inflict it.” Why? King quoted the Indian leader and foremost advocate of nonviolent resistance, Mahatma Gandhi, who said, “Suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason.”

5. Love is central to nonviolent resistance. The nonviolent resister avoids not only physical violence but also spiritual violence, refusing to hate the opponent. To act otherwise would only increase the hatred in the universe. “Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate. This can only be done by projecting the ethic of love to the center of our lives.

Summarized from Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, pp. 83–85 (1958).



Unit 15

Beyond Civil Rights, 1970–1994

BACKGROUND

A major development in the black community between 1970 and 1990 was the decline of the civil rights movement and the weakening of the push for the greater integration of blacks into the mainstream of American society. Several factors contributed to this development. Perhaps the most important was the movement's very success in eliminating de jure discrimination in crucial areas (public accommodations, housing, voting, and employment) and getting many white Americans to see the extent to which racial discrimination violated the nation's basic creed of equality of opportunity. With this success the interest of many African Americans in civil rights groups began to wane as they started to give greater attention to taking advantage of the opportunities wrought by the success itself.

Another factor was the passing from the scene, mainly through death, of most of the civil rights leadership of the 1950s and 1960s. Among the deaths were those of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 and the Urban League's Whitney Young in 1971. A. Philip Randolph and the NAACP's Roy Wilkins retired in 1968 and 1977, respectively. Those who replaced these individuals generally lacked their leadership skills, talents, and/or charisma.

The growth of white conservatism also contributed to a slowing of civil rights progress. The presidential campaigns of Republican Barry Goldwater in 1964 and Democrat George Wallace in 1968, in exploiting white concerns about urban riots, helped encourage this conservatism (often termed the **white**

backlash). By linking the urban unrest and turmoil of the 1960s to the civil rights movement, many whites came to believe that the latter had gone too far, that American society was coming apart, and that law-abiding people like themselves had been forgotten. Richard Nixon, in winning the presidency in 1972, pandered to these sentiments, referring to those who held them as the Silent Majority. As president, he kept the support of many such whites by focusing on returning power to the state and local levels of government, cutting back on funds for some of the Great Society programs, and preventing government officials from taking action against school districts that had not desegregated. Such policies, along with the ethnic competitiveness stimulated by the economic recessions of 1973 and 1979, indeed helped create a racial climate in the nation that displeased most African Americans. They found signs of this climate in the opposition of some whites to **affirmative action**, **quotas**, and **busing**, as well as several **reverse discrimination** suits (the most notable was *Bakke v. University of California* in 1978, in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against a medical school quota admissions policy). Continued white residential flight to the suburbs, aided by **red-lining**, strengthened de facto housing segregation and reinforced black perceptions that the national mood was less supportive of the general well-being and interests of African Americans. In fact, blacks generally perceived this mood as compatible with policies emanating from the White House (excluding the administration of Democrat

majority populations: Newark (160,885); East Orange (66,157); Camden (49,362); Irvington (42,760); Plainfield (30,573); Orange (21,045); Atlantic City (19,491); and Asbury Park (9,977). Trenton, with 43,689 African Americans in 1990, fell 489 shy of having a black majority.

The 1990 U.S. Census also documented that for the first time in this century the percentage of blacks living in the South increased (56 percent versus 52

percent in 1980). Aiding this increase was the return of considerable numbers of northern black retirees, including some from New Jersey, to the South, many to their place of origin. The warmer climate in the South, its lower costs of living (appealing especially to those on fixed incomes), the elimination of Jim Crowism, and concerns about physical safety in urban areas are among the factors that have influenced their movement.

CORE LESSON

Theme

The recent period of black American history has been characterized by a growing white indifference to the black struggle for social justice and an unprecedented bifurcation of the black community into an expanding middle class, benefiting from the victories of the modern civil rights movement, and an expanding underclass that is plagued with the social ills identified with contemporary urban life.

Materials and Preparation

Students should read either chapters 31–34 in *The African American Experience: A History* (“New Directions in the Civil Rights Movement, 1964–1972,” “Marching Off to Vietnam,” “Agenda for Change, 1972–Present,” and “Crossing New Frontiers, 1972–Present”) or chapters 37–42 and chapter 44 in *African American History* (“Styles of Dissent,” “Struggles in Asia,” “The Black Church Today,” “Racism or Economics?,” “The Emergence of Black Women Writers,” “Blacks in Public Office,” and “African Legacies in America”).

Students should read the essay “Reparations for Black Americans” (see page 194).

Students and the teacher should read pages 68–77 in *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History*.

The teacher should read chapters 22–24 in *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (“African Americans in the Cold War Era,” “The Black Revolution,” and “New Forms of Activism”).

Time Period

Each of the activities that follow will take one class period.

Objectives/Activities

ACTIVITY 1

Identify and **assess** the most critical problems facing the African American community today and **evaluate** the role of racism as the cause of these problems.

ACTIVITY 4

Describe the major approaches that exist among blacks in terms of seeking redress for their past mistreatment.

Point out to the students that black Americans have sought redress in a variety of forms (such as reparations and affirmative action). Divide the class into two groups and have them debate the pros and cons of affirmative action. Point out that both blacks and whites can be found on both sides of this issue. For example, some blacks are opposed to affirmative action because they contend it cheapens the accomplishments of its beneficiaries, while some whites argue that it amounts to reverse discrimination.

Or have students read the essay “Reparations for Black Americans” (see page 194) and have them debate the pros and cons of this form of relief. Students should be reminded that both whites and blacks can be found on both sides of this issue as well.

Evaluation: Have the students write a short play in which the main characters are a white student and black student who are seeking admission to the same medical school. Have them debate whether the medical school should give some form of preferential treatment to the black student. The students should be reminded that schools often give preferential treatment to applicants based on a variety of factors, such as whether a parent is a graduate of the school.

Or have students write a 500-word essay in response to “Reparations for Black Americans.” The essay should put forth the position that a black or white American could adopt in stating support for or opposition to reparations.

ACTIVITY 5

Identify and **assess** the significance of the positions in the New Jersey state government held by several African Americans between 1970 and 1994.

Tell students that throughout black American history those African Americans who made a noteworthy accomplishment in a particular field have generally been noted. In light of this, give the students the names of six blacks (listed below) who held important positions in the state government between 1970 and 1994. Then have the students discuss which of these positions—Justice of the Supreme Court; Commissioner of Community Affairs; member of the General Assembly; Secretary of State; member of the State Senate; and Speaker of the General Assembly—they find to be the most important and why. To help students in this activity, divide the class into groups and make each group responsible for researching the basic duties of one of the positions identified and reporting on this position to the class.

James H. Coleman, Jr., in 1994 became the first African American to serve on the New Jersey Supreme Court

Leonard S. Coleman, Jr., in 1982 became the first African American to become a member of the Governor’s Cabinet. Initially appointed the Commissioner of Energy, he subsequently served as the Commissioner of Community Affairs.

Mildred Barry Garvin, in 1978 became the second black woman elected to the New Jersey General Assembly.

Lonna R. Hooks, in 1994 became the first black woman to serve as a member of the Governor’s Cabinet and the first African American to serve as New Jersey Secretary of State.

Colin Powell. Appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1989, the highest military position ever held by an African American.

Clarence Thomas. Appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1991, he was the second African American to serve on the nation's highest tribunal.

L. Douglas Wilder. In 1990 elected governor of Virginia, first black to be elected governor of a state.

Annotated Bibliography and Suggested Reading

FOR TEACHERS

Billingsley, Andrew. 1992. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African American Families*. An examination of the black family, this book looks at its historical and present-day dimensions and offers an optimistic forecast because of the perceived strength, endurance, resilience, and adaptive qualities of the black family.

Blair, Thomas L. 1977. *Retreat to the Ghetto*. A study of the urban economic and social realities confronting African Americans in the 1970s in the wake of civil rights reforms and flight of the urban middle class.

Davis, George and Glegg Watson. 1982. *Black Life in Corporate America*. Racial realities for black executives in the business world from the 1950s to the 1980s, as told to the authors, who also provide an overview.

Dreyfuss, Joel and Charles Lawrence. 1979. *The Bakke Case*. A study of the pivotal California court case that introduced "reverse discrimination" into the vocabulary of race relations and the legal battlefield.

Gans, Herbert J. 1967. *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*. A sociological study of the early years of Levittown, New Jersey, a Burlington County suburban community that, beginning in 1958, was built by the developer, William Levitt. In chapter 14 Gans discusses the community's racial desegregation, including the developer's initial policy in 1958 of excluding African Americans and his decision, in the early 1960s in the face of litigation, to allow blacks to purchase homes in the community. In 1963 the community voted to change its name to Willingboro, its original name; today Willingboro has a black majority population.

Glasgow, Douglas G. 1980. *The Black Underclass*. An examination of the growing problem in the 1970s of black alienation in the cities.

Hacker, Andrew. 1992. *Two Nations, Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. Using the most recent relevant statistical data, the author provides a candid and forthright analysis of contemporary race relations in America.

Pinkney, Alphonso. 1980. *The Myth of Black Progress*. A sociologist discusses the absence of economic gains, spread of social ills, and overall racial impotence that followed the civil rights reforms of the 1950s and 1960s.

Sowell, Thomas, 1983. *The Economics and Politics of Race*.

—. 1984. *Civil Rights: Rhetoric of Reality*. These studies, written by a "black conservative,"

MATERIALS



now affirmative action has grown to include preferential treatment for Hispanics, women, the handicapped and an ever-expanding list of favored groups. This is absurd. By what moral standard should, say, a Marielito, already once rescued by America, enjoy a preference over, say, an Italian-American vet or an Irish cop? A Richmond ordinance struck down two years ago by the Supreme Court assigned 30% of city subcontracts to firms owned by minorities, defined as “Blacks, Spanish-speaking [citizens], Orientals, Indians, Eskimos or Aleuts.” Richmond, capital of the Confederacy, is not known for its mistreatment of Eskimos. Yet under the law, Richmond would have had to prefer an Alaskan Eskimo to a local white in city contracting.

Let us be plain. Richmond’s sin—America’s sin—was against blacks. There is no wrong in American history to compare with slavery. Affirmative action distorts the issue by favoring equally all “disadvantaged groups.” Some of those groups are disadvantaged, some not. Black America is the only one that for generations was officially singled out for discrimination and worse. Why blur the issue?

Reparations focus the issue most sharply. They acknowledge the crime. They attempt restitution. They seek to repay some of “the bondsman’s 250 years of unrequited toil.” They offer the wronged some tangible means to elevate their condition.

For that very real purpose, reparations should be more than merely symbolic. Say, \$100,000 for every family of four. That would cost the country a lot—about 50% more than the cost of our S&L sins—but hardly, for a \$6 trillion economy, a bankrupting sum. (A 10-year 75c gas tax, for example would pay the whole bill.) Recession may not be the best time to start such a transfer, but America will come out of recession.

The savings to the country will be substantial: an end to endless litigations, to the inefficiencies of allocation by group (rather than merit), to the distortion of the American principle of individualism, to the resentments aroused by a system of group preferences. The fact is, we already have a system of racial compensation. It is called affirmative action. That system is not only inherently unjust but socially demoralizing and inexcusably clumsy. Far better an honest focused substitute: real, hard, one-time compensation.

But is not cash-for-suffering demeaning? Perhaps. But we have found no better way to compensate for great crimes. Germans know that the millions they have dispersed to Holocaust survivors cannot begin to compensate for the murder of an entire civilization. Yet for irremediable national crimes, reparations are as dignified a form of redress as one can devise.

Racial preferences, on the other hand, are a demeaning form of racial tutelage. Better the dignity of a debt repaid, however impersonally, than the warm glow of condescension that permeates affirmative action.

It is time to reclaim the notion of color blindness before it is too late. A one-time reparation to blacks would help real people in a real way. It would honor our obligation to right