

# Milestones in African American History, 1865–2020



*Allan Rohan Crite, School's Out, 1936 (Smithsonian American Art Museum)*

## Milestones in African American History, 1865–2020

BY JOHN M<sup>c</sup>NAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

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**GRADE LEVELS:** 9–12

**RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION:** Six 45-minute class periods

### UNIT OVERVIEW

This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute’s Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on textual primary source materials. These skills will enable students to understand, summarize, and evaluate documents of historical significance.

The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020. Students will read and view a scholarly essay, legislation, political cartoons, government reports, judicial decisions, and works of art. You will assess students’ understanding through class discussion and activity sheets.

Students will be able to

- Analyze primary source documents using close-reading strategies
- Demonstrate an understanding of a scholarly essay
- Draw logical inferences and summarize the essential message of a written document
- Compose summaries of the major points in a document
- Compare and contrast the proposals made by different writers
- Develop a viewpoint, present it, and write a response to an essential question based on textual and visual evidence

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How have African Americans maintained a sense of community?
- How have African Americans advocated for freedom and equality?
- What legislation has expanded African Americans' rights?
- What obstacles have constrained African Americans' freedom and equality?
- How have African Americans clarified the meaning of “freedom”?
- What political causes and civic values have unified Americans of different races?

## COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7: Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9: Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RL.9-10.4: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in the text, including figurative and connotative meanings; analyze the cumulative impact of specific word choices on meaning and tone (e.g., how the language evokes a sense of time and place; how it sets a formal or informal tone).

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RL.11-12.1: Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.9-10.1.C: Propel conversations by posing and responding to questions that relate the current discussion to broader themes or larger ideas; actively incorporate others into the discussion to broader themes or larger ideas; actively incorporate others into the discussion; and clarify, verify, or challenge ideas and conclusions.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on [grade-level] topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.W.9-10.1 and 11-12.1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

## MATERIALS

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- Source 2: “The Georgetown Election—The Negro at the Ballot Box” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, March 16, 1867, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.09, p. 172.
- Source 3: “The Fifteenth Amendment signed by President Grant, March 1870,” lithograph published by C. Rogan, Savannah, GA, 1871, The Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/2006678638](https://www.loc.gov/item/2006678638).
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- Source 24: Woody Guthrie, “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard,” 1946. Words and Music by Woody Guthrie, ©Copyright Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. (BMI), [woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Blinding\\_of\\_Isaac\\_Woodard.htm](https://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Blinding_of_Isaac_Woodard.htm).
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## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### THE AFRICAN AMERICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

by Peniel Joseph, University of Texas at Austin

African American history since the end of the Civil War has been marked by a struggle to achieve Black citizenship and dignity in the face of systemic racism, violence, and segregation. The period of Reconstruction, from 1865 to 1877, ushered in an at-times-hopeful era of forging the groundwork for interracial democracy. The passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the US Constitution ended racial slavery, guaranteed birthright citizenship, and established voting rights for Black men. The Freedmen's Bureau aided the newly liberated four million African American citizens and Black elected officials at the local, state, and federal level pass social welfare legislation that included the creation of the first public schools. Black men were elected to the US House of Representatives, the US Senate, and other elected positions, and African American clerical and civic leaders erected new churches, schools, and civic and fraternal organizations that pursued land, literacy, and political and economic empowerment.

The promise of Reconstruction proved to be relatively short-lived. White supremacy, in the form of convict-lease systems that racially profiled, arrested, and incarcerated Black men and women for loitering, theft, and, at times, made-up crimes, criminalized the entire African American community. Black farmers, who were initially promised forty acres and a mule by the federal government, were quickly relegated to sharecropping on the same tracts of land they had once toiled in bondage. This system of debt peonage turned newly freed Black families into serfs whose subordinate caste continued despite articulations of legal equality. The late nineteenth-century American South featured rituals of lynching and racial terror directed against Blacks that re-established White supremacy in the aftermath of Civil War and Reconstruction. The racial terror of violent groups such as the Ku Klux Klan was aided and abetted by the so-called "Black Codes" that restricted African American access to voting rights, segregated public accommodations and transportation, and created a two-tiered system of racial discrimination and economic impoverishment that came to be called "Jim Crow."

The "Redeemer South" constructed an elaborate mythology around the nation's past, justifying racial slavery as a benign system that civilized Blacks and rationalizing the Civil War as a conflict over states' rights and federal overreach rather than a struggle over the humanity of African Americans. Narratives portraying the Klan as heroes, Black men as rapists, and African Americans as shifty, lazy, and criminal became popularized not just in the South but around the nation. Ida B. Wells, the African American journalist and anti-lynching crusader, sought to dispel these myths in newspaper articles and books that eventually forced her to leave the South in fear of violent reprisals.

African Americans resisted these racist caricatures of themselves by organizing and voting with their feet, by migrating away from the South by the millions. The Great Migration of the first half of the twentieth century found Black folk hoping to feel the warmth of other parts of a nation they continued to love, despite America's stubborn refusal to love them back.

Black migration to cities such as Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, and Detroit transformed urban America. Black migrants created businesses, newspapers, civic and fraternal organizations, churches, and schools that led to the literary and cultural innovation of the Harlem Renaissance, the musical genius of blues, ragtime, and jazz, and—through participation in World War I—a new more militant identity.

The New Negro emerged from the crucible of war, migration, and racism of the Jazz Age to demand full and equal citizenship. W. E. B. Du Bois, the first Black American to receive a PhD from Harvard University, helped found the NAACP, which would become the nation's most important civil rights organization. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association attracted three to five million Blacks in America, Canada, the Caribbean, Africa, and Latin America during the 1920s. The group's blend of cultural pride in Black history, call for political self-determination, and focus on collective empowerment helped galvanize Black political activism during this era.

But violence shadowed efforts at racial progress. Dozens of racial pogroms formed archipelagos of Black death in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Anti-Black massacres in Chicago, East St. Louis, Atlanta, and Rosewood, Florida, were sparked by unfounded rumors of Black criminality against Whites that were in fact rooted in jealousy of Black success. The most tragic instance of this kind of racial terror took place in May 1921 in the all-Black

Greenwood section of Tulsa, Oklahoma. Mobs of Whites razed Greenwood, killing upward of three hundred Black people, burning hundreds of buildings, and dropping incendiary devices from airplanes on unsuspecting residents.

Black life during the Great Depression took a marked turn for the worse, with African Americans occupying the lowest rung of the nation's economic ladder. The New Deal's inauguration of social welfare programs, from Social Security to agricultural subsidies, denied Black people equal opportunity. Black women toiled as domestic workers, sometimes for no pay, in a desperate effort to keep families from starving. Civil rights activists looked to the international arena, where anti-colonial movements took on urgent new meaning against the shadow of World War II.

Black America promoted a "Double V" wartime campaign that defined the struggle as a global fight against fascism and domestic confrontation with racism. African Americans fought in segregated military units, took on the meanest, dirtiest jobs in a revived domestic economy, and vowed to turn democracy into reality after the conflict ended.

The seeds of the modern Civil Rights Movement were forged in the proving ground of world war. The movement's heroic period, between the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court desegregation decision and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, defined the quest for Black dignity and citizenship as global in scope, one that required the fundamental transformation of American democracy. These years featured dramatic sit-ins, the desegregation of schools via military escorts, the March on Washington where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his iconic "I Have a Dream" Speech, and the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that, almost a century after the Civil War, finally ended legal segregation in public life.

The Black Power Movement, embodied in the activism of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Angela Davis, called for Black political self-determination against White supremacy in bold—at times belligerent—strokes. Black Power activism inaugurated a movement for the election of African American politicians, the creation of Black studies programs and departments in higher education, community control over public schools, and pride and dignity in African and African American history. Black Power activists highlighted the contradiction between race and democracy, challenging the nation to live up to its highest ideals expressed in the founding documents.

The watershed legal victories and political legislation of the 1960s brought about varying degrees of racial progress. Black voting rights dramatically increased political representation and affirmative action programs opened up more access to corporate and elite higher education spaces than before.

But systemic racism continued, exemplified by the shift the country took in the aftermath of Martin Luther King's assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968. King's hopeful vision for interracial democracy popularized in the first half of the decade had become more sober before his death. He characterized America as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world," criticized the Vietnam War, and organized a multiracial Poor People's Campaign destined to camp-in at the nation's capital until every American received a guaranteed income.

America, especially its Black population, found themselves at a crossroads in 1968. The choice proved stark. Choose King's "Beloved Community" free of racial segregation and economic injustice or "Law and Order," a thinly veiled racially coded effort to suppress Black protest and urban rebellion with a new and enhanced system of incarceration, punishment, and premature death rooted in long-simmering battles over citizenship, dignity, and democracy that dated back to the Reconstruction era and before.

Since the 1970s, despite the election of America's first Black president in Barack Obama, the nation has steadfastly chosen "Law and Order" over the "Beloved Community." In many ways the Black Lives Matter demonstrations that began in 2013 and reached a fever pitch seven years later reflect the long and winding road traveled by African Americans. The journey along this stony road has always been in the pursuit of Black dignity and citizenship that simultaneously exalts the highest American democratic ideals even as it bumps headlong into democratic systems and structures that consistently, if painfully, refuse to acknowledge the simple fact that Black lives do, indeed, matter.

*Peniel Joseph is a professor of public affairs and holds the Barbara Jordan Chair in Ethics and Political Values at the University of Texas at Austin. He is also the founding director of the LBJ School's Center for the Study of Race and Democracy. Joseph is the author of The Sword and the Shield: The Revolutionary Lives of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. and Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America.*



## LESSON 1

### RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1877

BY JOHN McNAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

#### OVERVIEW

Lesson 1 focuses on the progress toward equality and justice African Americans achieved in the context of the discrimination and violence they faced during Reconstruction. After reading the essay or discussing the subject matter in class, students will read and engage with an array of textual and visual primary sources. They will demonstrate their comprehension of the historical issues through critical analysis and assessment of the primary sources, completion of activity sheets, class discussions, and the development of a viewpoint supported by the evidence.

*John McNamara worked for more than thirty years as a teacher, assistant principal, principal, and district supervisor of social studies, K–12, in New York City and New Jersey. Ron Nash taught high school history and special education in New Jersey for more than thirty-five years. They are project consultants for the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.*

GRADE LEVELS: 9–12

RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION: One 45-minute class period

UNIT OVERVIEW: This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on primary sources. The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020.

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- What legislation has expanded African Americans' rights?
- What obstacles have constrained African Americans' freedom and equality?

#### MATERIALS

**Optional: Historical Background** (This essay, written at a college level, is provided as a teacher's resource, but you may choose to share it with students.)

- "The African American Struggle against Racism since the Civil War" by Peniel Joseph, Professor of Public Affairs and Barbara Jordan Chair in Ethics and Political Values, University of Texas at Austin.
- Document Analysis: Important Phrases and Critical Thinking Questions

#### Activity Sheets

- Details, Description, and Decision (Lesson 1)
- Critical Thinking: Reconstruction
- Comparative Analysis: Reconstruction

#### Primary Sources and Activity Sheets, Set 1: Reconstruction, 1865–1877

- Source 1: The Reconstruction Amendments (Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments) and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, *100 Milestone Documents*, National Archives, ourdocuments.gov and "An Act to Protect All Citizens in Their Civil and Legal Rights, March 1, 1875," 18 Stat. 335–337, *Statutes at Large*, Law Library of Congress, loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/43rd-congress.php.

- Source 2: “The Georgetown Election—The Negro at the Ballot Box” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, March 16, 1867, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.09, p. 172.
- Source 3: “The Fifteenth Amendment signed by President Grant, March 1870,” lithograph published by C. Rogan, Savannah, GA, 1871, The Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/2006678638](https://www.loc.gov/item/2006678638).
- Source 4: The Black Code of the Parish of St. Landry, Louisiana, 1865: Excerpts from “Ordinance Relative to the Police of Negroes Recently Emancipated Within the Parish of St. Landry,” in “The Condition of the South: Documents Accompanying the Report of Major General Carl Schurz,” *Senate Executive Documents for the First Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States, 1865–66*, vol. 1 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 93–94. Available on the Internet Archive, [archive.org/details/senateexecutived00unit](https://archive.org/details/senateexecutived00unit).
- Source 5: A Report on the Freedmen of Louisiana, 1865: *Excerpts from Thomas W. Conway, The Freedmen of Louisiana: Final Report of the Bureau of Free Labor, Department of the Gulf, to Major General E. R. S. Canby, Commanding* (New Orleans, 1865), pp. 12, 17, 30, 36, and 37. Available on the Internet Archive, [archive.org/details/freedmenoflouisi00unit](https://archive.org/details/freedmenoflouisi00unit).
- Source 6: A Report on the Colfax Massacre in Grant Parish, Louisiana, 1873, excerpts from *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, for the Second Session of the Forty-third Congress, 1874–’75*, vol. 5 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 12–14. Available on Google Books, [books.google.com/books?id=zqQFAAAAQAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=zqQFAAAAQAAJ).
- Source 7: “The Union as It Was” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, October 24, 1874, p. 878, The Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/2001696840/](https://www.loc.gov/item/2001696840/).
- Source 8: “Is This a Republican Form of Government?” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, September 2, 1876, The Library of Congress, [loc.gov/resource/cph.3c16355/](https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c16355/).

## PROCEDURE

1. The scholarly essay by Professor Peniel Joseph is written at a college level to provide you with information to share with your students through a class discussion. If you choose, you may have students read the essay and complete the activity sheet as homework or in class.

You may choose to “share read” the essay in class by having the students follow along silently while you begin to read aloud, modeling prosody, inflection, and punctuation. Then ask the class to join in with the reading after a few sentences while you continue to read aloud, still serving as the model. This technique will support struggling readers as well as English language learners (ELL).

Depending on the students’ experience with close reading texts, you may choose to complete the activity sheet with the whole class or model the selection and analysis of the first phrase and the first critical thinking response.

2. If you have assigned the reading and the activity sheet, reconvene the class after they have completed the activity and discuss their responses.
3. Display Essential Question(s) for the class as the framework for the lesson.
4. Decide whether to share read the documents (as described in Procedure 1 above) and model with the students how to complete the activity sheets. The students may work individually, in pairs, or in small groups.
5. Distribute Primary Sources, Set 1: “Reconstruction, 1865–1877” with the accompanying activity sheets. You may distribute all of them or make a selection based on the time available and the needs of your students.

6. Students, whether individually or collaboratively, will view, discuss, analyze, and assess the texts and illustrations, completing “Details, Description, and Decision” for each illustration and “Critical Thinking: Reconstruction” based on all the primary sources.
7. Once the students have completed this activity, facilitate student discussion about the opposing forces that advanced racial equality and justice but also allowed discrimination and violence to persist during Reconstruction.
8. You may distribute “Comparative Analysis: Reconstruction” and ask the students to complete the chart and/or respond in writing to the Summary Assessment question or an Essential Question. Make sure they cite evidence from the primary sources to support their viewpoint.

## LESSON 2

### THE JIM CROW ERA, 1880–1930

BY JOHN McNAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

#### OVERVIEW

Lesson 2 focuses on the discrimination, segregation, and violence directed against African Americans during the Jim Crow era between 1880 and 1930 and their fight to draw attention to the inequities. Students will examine and assess court decisions, speeches, and other documents from this period. They will demonstrate their comprehension through completed activity sheets and class discussion. As an assessment, you may also ask them to respond orally or in writing to an Essential Question.

*John McNamara worked for more than thirty years as a teacher, assistant principal, principal, and district supervisor of social studies, K–12, in New York City and New Jersey. Ron Nash taught high school history and special education in New Jersey for more than thirty-five years. They are project consultants for the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.*

GRADE LEVELS: 9–12

RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION: One 45-minute class period

UNIT OVERVIEW: This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on primary sources. The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020.

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How have African Americans advocated for freedom and equality?
- What obstacles have constrained African Americans' freedom and equality?
- How have African Americans clarified the meaning of "freedom"?

#### MATERIALS

##### Primary Sources and Activity Sheets, Set 2: The Jim Crow Era, 1880–1930

- Source 9: The Majority Opinion by Justice Joseph P. Bradley in the US Supreme Court's Civil Rights Cases, 1883, *US Reports* 109 US 3 (1883), pp. 10–11, 13, 14, 20, 23–25, Law Library of Congress, [loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php](http://loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php)
- Source 10: The Dissenting Opinion by Justice John M. Harlan in the US Supreme Court's Civil Rights Cases, 1883, *US Reports* 109 US 3 (1883), pp. 26–27, 61–62, Law Library of Congress, [loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php](http://loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php)
- Source 11: Frederick Douglass's "Lessons of the Hour" Speech, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Lessons of the Hour by Hon. Frederick Douglass, Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, Washington, D.C.* (Baltimore, 1894), pp. 23–24, 27, 29–33, 36, Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/mfd.26001/](http://loc.gov/item/mfd.26001/)
- Source 12: The Majority Opinion in the US Supreme Court's Decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *US Reports*, 163 US 537 (1896), pp. 540, 544, 548, 551–552, Law Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/usrep163537/](http://loc.gov/item/usrep163537/)
- Source 13: The Dissenting Opinion in the US Supreme Court's Decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *US Reports*, 163 US 537 (1896), pp. 559–560, 562–564, Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/usrep163537/](http://loc.gov/item/usrep163537/)

- Source 14: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Mob Rule in New Orleans: Robert Charles and His Fight to Death* (orig. 1900; Durham NC: Duke Classics, 2014)
- Source 15: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, “Lynching Our National Crime” Speech, *Proceedings of the National Negro Conference 1909: New York May 31 and June 1* (New York, 1909), pp. 174–179.

## PROCEDURE

1. You may choose to have the students work individually, in pairs, or in small groups for this lesson.
2. Display one or more of the Essential Questions to serve as the framework for the lesson.
3. Distribute the primary sources with the accompanying activity sheets. You may distribute all of them or make a selection based on the time available and the needs of your students. You may choose to share read the selected texts as described in Lesson 1.
4. Once the students have completed the readings and activity sheets, facilitate class discussion on the legal underpinnings of Jim Crow laws and the commentary of Black and White leaders who spoke out against legal and extralegal intimidation and violence.
5. As an assessment, you may ask the students to respond orally or in writing to an Essential Question. Make sure they cite evidence from the primary sources to support their viewpoint.

## LESSON 3

### THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE AND BLACK ACTIVISM, 1920s AND 1930s

BY JOHN McNAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

#### OVERVIEW

Lesson 3 focuses on how African Americans harnessed politics to artistic achievements during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s. The students will examine and assess prose, poetry, and art from this period. They will demonstrate their comprehension through completed activity sheets, class discussions, and a response to an Essential Question.

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GRADE LEVELS: 9–12

RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION: One 45-minute class period

UNIT OVERVIEW: This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on primary sources. The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020.

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How have African Americans maintained a sense of community?
- How have African Americans advocated for freedom and equality?
- How have African Americans clarified the meaning of “freedom”?

#### MATERIALS

Primary Sources and Activity Sheets, Set 3: The Harlem Renaissance and Black Activism, 1920s and 1930s

- Source 16: Excerpts from W. E. B. Du Bois, “Returning Soldiers,” and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *The Crisis* 18 (May 1919), pp. 13–14. Available online at HathiTrust Digital Library, [catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000502434](https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000502434).
- Source 17: Excerpts from Alain Locke, “Enter the New Negro,” and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Survey* 53 (March 1925): 631–634. Available online at HathiTrust Digital Library, [catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000545594](https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000545594).
- Poems and Poem Analysis activity sheet
  - o Source 18: Langston Hughes, “Let America Be America Again,” 1938, from *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, Arnold Rampersad and David Roessel, ed. (New York: Vintage Classics, 1994), pp. 189–191, The Poetry Foundation, [poetryfoundation.org/poems/147907/let-america-be-america-again](https://poetryfoundation.org/poems/147907/let-america-be-america-again). This poem is being provided as a link and is not included in the handouts. Please share the link with your students if you choose to use this Hughes poem.
  - o Source 19: Claude McKay, “Enslaved,” *Harlem Shadows: The Poems of Claude McKay* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922), p. 32. Available online at HathiTrust Digital Library, [catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100828639](https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100828639).

- Paintings and Details, Description, and Decision
  - o Source 20: Walter Ellison, *Train Station*, 1935, The Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY, [artic.edu/artworks/105800/train-station](http://artic.edu/artworks/105800/train-station)
  - o Source 21: Allan Rohan Crite, *School's Out*, 1936, oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 36 1/8 in. (76.9x 91.8 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Transfer from General Services Administration, 1971.447.18, [americanart.si.edu/artwork/schools-out-5965](http://americanart.si.edu/artwork/schools-out-5965)
  - o Source 22: Palmer Hayden, *The Janitor Who Paints*, ca. 1937, repainted after 1940, oil on canvas, 39 1/8 x 32 7/8 in. (99.3 x 83.6 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of the Harmon Foundation, 1967.57.28, [americanart.si.edu/artwork/janitor-who-paints-10126](http://americanart.si.edu/artwork/janitor-who-paints-10126)
  - o Teacher's Resource: Background on the Artists and Paintings

## PROCEDURE

1. Display one or more of the Essential Questions as the framework for the lesson.
2. Distribute the primary sources with the accompanying activity sheets. You may distribute all of them or make a selection based on the time available and the needs of your students. A separate sheet of background information on the three artists has been provided for your information, which you may share with the students if you choose.
3. Once the students have completed this activity, facilitate student discussion assessing the achievements of African Americans as represented during the Harlem Renaissance in literature, poetry, and art.
4. Ultimately, the students should develop and express a viewpoint, orally or in writing, on an Essential Question. Make sure they cite evidence from the primary sources to support their viewpoint.

## LESSON 4

### THE “DOUBLE V” CAMPAIGN AND *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*, 1940s AND 1950s

BY JOHN McNAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

#### OVERVIEW

Lesson 4 focuses on the discrimination and segregation African Americans experienced during World War II (1940s) and the fight for equality and justice during the 1950s. The students will examine and assess illustrations, a newspaper editorial, lyrics, a US Supreme Court decision, and other documents from this period. They will demonstrate their comprehension through completed activity sheets, class discussions, and a response to an Essential Question.

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GRADE LEVELS: 9–12

RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION: One 45-minute class period

UNIT OVERVIEW: This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute’s Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on primary sources. The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020.

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How have African Americans advocated for freedom and equality?
- What obstacles have constrained African Americans’ freedom and equality?
- How have African Americans clarified the meaning of “freedom”?
- What political causes and civic values have unified Americans of different races?

#### MATERIALS

Primary Sources with Activity Sheets, Set 4: The “Double V” Campaign and *Brown v. Board of Education*

- Lyrics
  - Source 23: Josh White, “Defense Factory Blues,” Lyrics by Josh White. Published by Folk-Blues Music Co. Performed by Joshua White from his 1941 album *Southern Exposure* on Keynote Records K 516, Library of Congress.
  - Source 24: Woody Guthrie, “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard,” 1946. Words and Music by Woody Guthrie, ©Copyright Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. (BMI), [woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Blinding\\_of\\_Isaac\\_Woodard.htm](http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Blinding_of_Isaac_Woodard.htm).
- Source 25: Excerpts from “The Courier’s Double ‘V’ for a Double Victory Campaign Gets Country-Wide Support,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 14, 1942, Pittsburgh Courier Archives
- Source 26: Charles Alston, “Backing the Attack on All Fronts!!!” 1943, Office for Emergency Management, Office of War information, National Archives, Arc ID 535625, [catalog.archives.gov/id/535625](http://catalog.archives.gov/id/535625).



- Source 27: Excerpts from the Unanimous US Supreme Court Opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, et al.*, May 17, 1954, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *US Reports*, 347 US 483 (1954), pp. 492–495, Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/usrep347483/](https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep347483/).
- Source 28: Excerpts from the “Southern Manifesto on Integration,” March 12, 1956, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from “Declaration of Constitutional Principles (Southern Manifesto on Integration),” 102 *Congressional Record* 4515–4516 (1956) (statement of Rep. Howard Smith on *Brown v. Board of Education*), [govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1956-pt4/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1956-pt4-3-2.pdf](https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1956-pt4/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1956-pt4-3-2.pdf).
- Source 29: Excerpts from the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from “An Act to Provide Means of Further Securing and Protecting the Civil Rights of Persons within the Jurisdiction of the United States,” Public Law 85-315, 71 Stat. 634, September 9, 1957, [govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-71/pdf/STATUTE-71-Pg634.pdf](https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-71/pdf/STATUTE-71-Pg634.pdf).

## PROCEDURE

1. Display one or more of the Essential Questions as a framework for the lesson.
2. Distribute the primary sources with the accompanying activity sheets. You may distribute all of them or make a selection based on the time available and the needs of your students.
3. When guiding student analysis of Woody Guthrie’s “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard,” you might want to share additional details about the work’s context. Guthrie was a very popular White folk artist from Oklahoma, and with the lyrics of this song, Guthrie empathizes with the experience of Isaac Woodard, speaking in his persona. Woodard was a real person; he was an African American veteran who was blinded by racists in 1946. You will want to invite students to explore how the lyrics of “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard” convey interracial solidarity. You will also want to convey the ways in which the meaning of Guthrie’s decision to speak as Woodard is complicated by the history of minstrelsy.
4. Once the students have completed this activity, facilitate student discussion on discrimination against African Americans, segregation during World War II (1940s), and the struggles for racial equality and justice during the 1950s.
5. You may ask the students to respond orally or in writing to an Essential Question. Make sure they cite evidence from the primary sources to support their viewpoint.

## LESSON 5

### THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1960s AND 1970s

BY JOHN McNAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

#### OVERVIEW

Lesson 5 focuses on different approaches African Americans employed during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s to fight discrimination and injustice. The students will examine and assess laws, speeches, and illustrations from this period. They will demonstrate their comprehension through completed activity sheets, class discussions, and a response to an Essential Question.

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How have African Americans maintained a sense of community?
- How have African Americans advocated for freedom and equality?
- What legislation has expanded African Americans' rights?
- What obstacles have constrained African Americans' freedom and equality?
- How have African Americans clarified the meaning of "freedom"?
- What political causes and civic values have unified Americans of different races?

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GRADE LEVELS: 9–12

RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION: One 45-minute class period

UNIT OVERVIEW: This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on primary sources. The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020.

#### MATERIALS

- Source 30: Excerpts from the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "An Act to Enforce the Constitutional Rights to Vote, to Confer Jurisdiction upon the District Courts of the United States to Provide Injunctive Relief against Discrimination in Public Accommodations . . ." Public Law 88-352, July 2, 1964, 78 Stat. 241, [govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg241.pdf](http://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg241.pdf)
- Source 31: Excerpts from the Voting Rights Act of 1965, "An Act to Enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for Other Purposes," August 6, 1965, Public Law 89-110, 79 Stat. 437, [govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg437.pdf](http://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg437.pdf)
- Source 32: Excerpts from Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," April 3, 1964, Cleveland, Ohio. Used with permission; [www.MalcolmX.com](http://www.MalcolmX.com).
- Source 33: Excerpts from Martin Luther King Jr., "Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom," May 4, 1966, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Ebony* (October 1966): 27–34. Reprinted by arrangement with The Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor New York, NY. ©1966 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. © renewed 1994 Coretta Scott King.

- Source 34: Excerpts from Stokely Carmichael, “Black Power” Address, University of California, Berkeley, October 29, 1966, with Document Analysis activity sheet. Transcript from *Top 100 Speeches*, AmericanRhetoric.com, [americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stokelycarmichaelblackpower.html](http://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stokelycarmichaelblackpower.html). This is the transcript of the actual speech and retains the grammar and syntax of the spoken word.
- Source 35: Martin Luther King Jr., “Beyond Vietnam--A Time to Break Silence,” Speech at the Riverside Church in New York City, April 4, 1967, and Document Analysis activity sheet. Digital link to transcript “Beyond Vietnam,” American Rhetoric Online Speech Bank, [americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm](http://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm). This speech is being provided as a link and is not included in the handouts. Please share the link with your students if you choose to use this King speech.
- Source 36: Alfredo Rostgaard, “Black Power,” Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, African and Latin America, 1968, Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, [collections.si.edu/search/record/ark:/65665/fd59d40786b63334dde8495fb68ae910482](https://collections.si.edu/search/record/ark:/65665/fd59d40786b63334dde8495fb68ae910482)
- Source 37: Emory Douglas, “Don’t Support the Greedy,” Oakland, California, 1968–1969, Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, © 2024 Emory Douglas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York
- Source 38: Declan Haun, “Where Are White Civil Rights?” Housing Demonstration in Chicago, Illinois, 1966, © Chicago Historical Society, published on or before 2014, all rights reserved, ICHi-036886, images. [chicagohistory.org/asset/4806/](http://chicagohistory.org/asset/4806/)

## PROCEDURE

1. Display one or more of the Essential Questions as a framework for the lesson.
2. Distribute the primary sources with the accompanying activity sheets. You may distribute all of them or make a selection based on the time available and the needs of your students.
3. Once the students have completed this activity, facilitate student discussion of Black activists’ political strategies during the 1960s and 1970s. What level and type of success did they achieve in the battle against racism, discrimination, and injustice?
4. You may ask the students to respond orally or in writing to an Essential Question. Make sure they cite evidence from the primary sources to support their viewpoint.

## LESSON 6

### ADVANCING FREEDOM, 1970s–PRESENT

BY JOHN McNAMARA AND RON NASH (CREATED 2021, REVISED 2024)

#### OVERVIEW

Lesson 6 focuses on Black politics and political culture in the United States since the 1970s. The students will examine statements by African American women, a photograph, and rap lyrics from this period. They will demonstrate their comprehension through completed activity sheets, class discussions, and a response to an Essential Question.

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How have African Americans maintained a sense of community?
- How have African Americans advocated for freedom and equality?
- What legislation has expanded African Americans' rights?
- What obstacles have constrained African Americans' freedom and equality?
- How have African Americans clarified the meaning of "freedom"?
- What political causes and civic values have unified Americans of different races?

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GRADE LEVELS: 9–12

RECOMMENDED TIME FOR COMPLETION: One 45-minute class period

UNIT OVERVIEW: This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ (TLTH) resources, designed to align with the Common Core State Standards. Students will learn and practice skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on primary sources. The six lessons in this unit explore milestones in African American history from 1865 to 2020.

#### MATERIALS

Primary Sources and Activity Sheets, Set 6: Advancing Freedom, 1970s–Present

- Source 39: "The Combahee River Collective Statement," April 1977, and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Zillah Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), pp. 362–372
- Source 40: Melle Mel and Duke Bootee (Edward G. Fletcher), "The Message," 1982, and Document Analysis activity sheet, performed by Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five, Sugar Hill Records, The Library of Congress, [loc.gov/static/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/documents/TheMessage.pdf](https://www.loc.gov/static/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/documents/TheMessage.pdf)
- Source 41: Elsa Barkley Brown, Debra King, and Barbara Ransby, "African American Women in Defense of Ourselves," and Document Analysis activity sheet, from the *New York Times*, November 17, 1991
- Source 42: Barack Obama is sworn in as the 44th President of the United States by Chief Justice John Roberts Jr., January 20, 2009, by Master Sgt. Cecilio Ricardo, US Air Force photo, Department of Defense Imagery

- Source 43: Claudia Rankine, “VI: I knew whatever was in front of me was happening, October 27, 2014,” and Document Analysis activity sheet, from *Citizen: An American Lyric* (Minneapolis: Graywolf Press, 2014). Permission given by Claudia Rankine
- Source 44: Caroline Randall Williams, “You Want a Confederate Monument? My Body Is a Confederate Monument,” and Document Analysis activity sheet, Op Ed, *New York Times*, June 26, 2020, [nytimes.com/2020/06/26/opinion/confederate-monuments-racism.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/opinion/confederate-monuments-racism.html). Permission given by Caroline Randall Williams.

## PROCEDURE

1. Display one or more of the Essential Questions as the framework for the lesson.
2. Distribute the primary sources with the accompanying activity sheets. You may distribute all of them or make a selection based on the time available and the needs of your students. They may work individually or in groups to complete the readings and activity sheets.
3. Once the students have completed this activity, facilitate class discussion about women as leaders in Black activism and Black political culture since the 1970s.
4. You may ask the students to respond to an Essential Question. Make sure they cite evidence from the primary sources to support their viewpoint.

## Historical Background

### The African American Struggle against Racism since the Civil War

by Peniel Joseph, University of Texas at Austin

African American history since the end of the Civil War has been marked by a struggle to achieve Black citizenship and dignity in the face of systemic racism, violence, and segregation. The period of Reconstruction, from 1865 to 1877, ushered in an at-times-hopeful era of forging the groundwork for interracial democracy. The passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the US Constitution ended racial slavery, guaranteed birthright citizenship, and established voting rights for Black men. The Freedmen's Bureau aided the newly liberated four million African American citizens and Black elected officials at the local, state, and federal level pass social welfare legislation that included the creation of the first public schools. Black men were elected to the US House of Representatives, the US Senate, and other elected positions, and African American clerical and civic leaders erected new churches, schools, and civic and fraternal organizations that pursued land, literacy, and political and economic empowerment.

The promise of Reconstruction proved to be relatively short-lived. White supremacy, in the form of convict-lease systems that racially profiled, arrested, and incarcerated Black men and women for loitering, theft, and, at times, made-up crimes, criminalized the entire African American community. Black farmers, who were initially promised forty acres and a mule by the federal government, were quickly relegated to sharecropping on the same tracts of land they had once toiled in bondage. This system of debt peonage turned newly freed Black families into serfs whose subordinate caste continued despite articulations of legal equality. The late nineteenth-century American South featured rituals of lynching and racial terror directed against Blacks that re-established White supremacy in the aftermath of Civil War and Reconstruction. The racial terror of violent groups such as the Ku Klux Klan was aided and abetted by the so-called "Black Codes" that restricted African American access to voting rights, segregated public accommodations and transportation, and created a two-tiered system of racial discrimination and economic impoverishment that came to be called "Jim Crow."

The "Redeemer South" constructed an elaborate mythology around the nation's past, justifying racial slavery as a benign system that civilized Blacks and rationalizing the Civil War as a conflict over states' rights and federal overreach rather than a struggle over the humanity of African Americans. Narratives portraying the Klan as heroes, Black men as rapists, and African Americans as shifty, lazy, and criminal became popularized not just in the South but around the nation. Ida B. Wells, the African American journalist and anti-lynching crusader, sought to dispel these myths in newspaper articles and books that eventually forced her to leave the South in fear of violent reprisals.

African Americans resisted these racist caricatures of themselves by organizing and voting with their feet, by migrating away from the South by the millions. The Great Migration of the first half of the twentieth century found Black folk hoping to feel the warmth of other parts of a nation they continued to love, despite America's stubborn refusal to love them back.

Black migration to cities such as Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, and Detroit transformed urban America. Black migrants created businesses, newspapers, civic and fraternal organizations, churches, and schools that led to the literary and cultural innovation of the Harlem Renaissance, the musical genius of blues, ragtime, and jazz, and—through participation in World War I—a new more militant identity.

The New Negro emerged from the crucible of war, migration, and racism of the Jazz Age to demand full and equal citizenship. W. E. B. Du Bois, the first Black American to receive a PhD from Harvard University, helped found the NAACP, which would become the nation's most important civil rights organization. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association attracted three to five million Blacks in America, Canada, the Caribbean, Africa, and Latin America during the 1920s. The group's blend of cultural pride in Black history, call for political self-determination, and focus on collective empowerment helped galvanize Black political activism during this era.

But violence shadowed efforts at racial progress. Dozens of racial pogroms formed archipelagos of Black death in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Anti-Black massacres in Chicago, East St. Louis, Atlanta, and Rosewood, Florida, were sparked by unfounded rumors of Black criminality against Whites that were in fact rooted in jealousy of Black success. The most tragic instance of this kind of racial terror took place in May 1921 in the all-Black

Greenwood section of Tulsa, Oklahoma. Mobs of Whites razed Greenwood, killing upward of three hundred Black people, burning hundreds of buildings, and dropping incendiary devices from airplanes on unsuspecting residents.

Black life during the Great Depression took a marked turn for the worse, with African Americans occupying the lowest rung of the nation's economic ladder. The New Deal's inauguration of social welfare programs, from Social Security to agricultural subsidies, denied Black people equal opportunity. Black women toiled as domestic workers, sometimes for no pay, in a desperate effort to keep families from starving. Civil rights activists looked to the international arena, where anti-colonial movements took on urgent new meaning against the shadow of World War II.

Black America promoted a "Double V" wartime campaign that defined the struggle as a global fight against fascism and domestic confrontation with racism. African Americans fought in segregated military units, took on the meanest, dirtiest jobs in a revived domestic economy, and vowed to turn democracy into reality after the conflict ended.

The seeds of the modern Civil Rights Movement were forged in the proving ground of world war. The movement's heroic period, between the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court desegregation decision and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, defined the quest for Black dignity and citizenship as global in scope, one that required the fundamental transformation of American democracy. These years featured dramatic sit-ins, the desegregation of schools via military escorts, the March on Washington where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his iconic "I Have a Dream" Speech, and the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that, almost a century after the Civil War, finally ended legal segregation in public life.

The Black Power Movement, embodied in the activism of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Angela Davis, called for Black political self-determination against White supremacy in bold—at times belligerent—strokes. Black Power activism inaugurated a movement for the election of African American politicians, the creation of Black studies programs and departments in higher education, community control over public schools, and pride and dignity in African and African American history. Black Power activists highlighted the contradiction between race and democracy, challenging the nation to live up to its highest ideals expressed in the founding documents.

The watershed legal victories and political legislation of the 1960s brought about varying degrees of racial progress. Black voting rights dramatically increased political representation and affirmative action programs opened up more access to corporate and elite higher education spaces than before.

But systemic racism continued, exemplified by the shift the country took in the aftermath of Martin Luther King's assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968. King's hopeful vision for interracial democracy popularized in the first half of the decade had become more sober before his death. He characterized America as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world," criticized the Vietnam War, and organized a multiracial Poor People's Campaign destined to camp-in at the nation's capital until every American received a guaranteed income.

America, especially its Black population, found themselves at a crossroads in 1968. The choice proved stark. Choose King's "Beloved Community" free of racial segregation and economic injustice or "Law and Order," a thinly veiled racially coded effort to suppress Black protest and urban rebellion with a new and enhanced system of incarceration, punishment, and premature death rooted in long-simmering battles over citizenship, dignity, and democracy that dated back to the Reconstruction era and before.

Since the 1970s, despite the election of America's first Black president in Barack Obama, the nation has steadfastly chosen "Law and Order" over the "Beloved Community." In many ways the Black Lives Matter demonstrations that began in 2013 and reached a fever pitch seven years later reflect the long and winding road traveled by African Americans. The journey along this stony road has always been in the pursuit of Black dignity and citizenship that simultaneously exalts the highest American democratic ideals even as it bumps headlong into democratic systems and structures that consistently, if painfully, refuse to acknowledge the simple fact that Black lives do, indeed, matter.

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NAME

PERIOD DATE

**Document Analysis: Historical Background**  
**“The African American Struggle against Racism since the Civil War” by Dr. Peniel Joseph**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences related to African American history since the Civil War in Dr. Joseph’s essay are the most informative or important? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase informative or important?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase informative or important?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase informative or important?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How did the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments (1865, 1868, 1870) improve the legal status and civil rights of African Americans?

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2. How did the unfulfilled promises of Reconstruction and the rise of White supremacy in the South in the late nineteenth century relegate African Americans to a subordinate role in American society?

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3. How did the mythology that was created about the “Redeemed South” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries distort US history and adversely affect the lives of African Americans?

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4. How did the “Great Migration” of African Americans to northern cities in the opening decades of the twentieth century transform urban America?

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5. What were the objectives of the “Double V” campaign during World War II?

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6. What were the major achievements of the Civil Rights Movement between 1954 and 1965?

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7. How did the Black Power Movement enhance African Americans’ dignity, pride, and economic and political empowerment?

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**Details, Description, and Decision (Lesson 1)**

Image Title or Number: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>People</b>	<b>Objects</b>
Details: Who are the people/characters in this image?	Details: What objects are included in this image?
Description:	Description:
<b>Action</b>	<b>Overall Assessment</b>
Details: What action/activity is occurring in this image?	Decision: What have I learned about the experiences of African Americans during Reconstruction from this image?
Description:	

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**Critical Thinking: Reconstruction**

*Respond to the following prompts base on evidence in the texts and images.*

- 1. What new rights did Americans secure through the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments? What right did Black men secure through the Fifteenth Amendment?

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- 2. Did the Civil Rights Act of 1875 make Americans freer, more equal, or both? Provide evidence to support your claim.

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- 3. List three events or pieces of legislation during this period that undermined African Americans' freedom.

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- 4. Answer the question posed in the Thomas Nast cartoon: Was Reconstruction a republican form of government? Provide evidence to support your answer.

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### Comparative Analysis: Reconstruction

List five improvements to the lives of African Americans during Reconstruction based on the texts and images in this lesson.

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List five problems or injustices experienced by African Americans during Reconstruction based on the texts and images in this lesson.

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## Source 1: The Reconstruction Amendments and the Civil Rights Act of 1875

### Thirteenth Amendment, 1865

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, nor any place subject to their jurisdiction.

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

### Fourteenth Amendment, 1868 [Excerpts]

(Note: The underlining has been added for emphasis and is not in the original document.)

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

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

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

### Fifteenth Amendment, 1870

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

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

### Civil Rights Act of 1875 [Excerpts]

An act to protect all citizens in their civil and legal rights. . . .

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

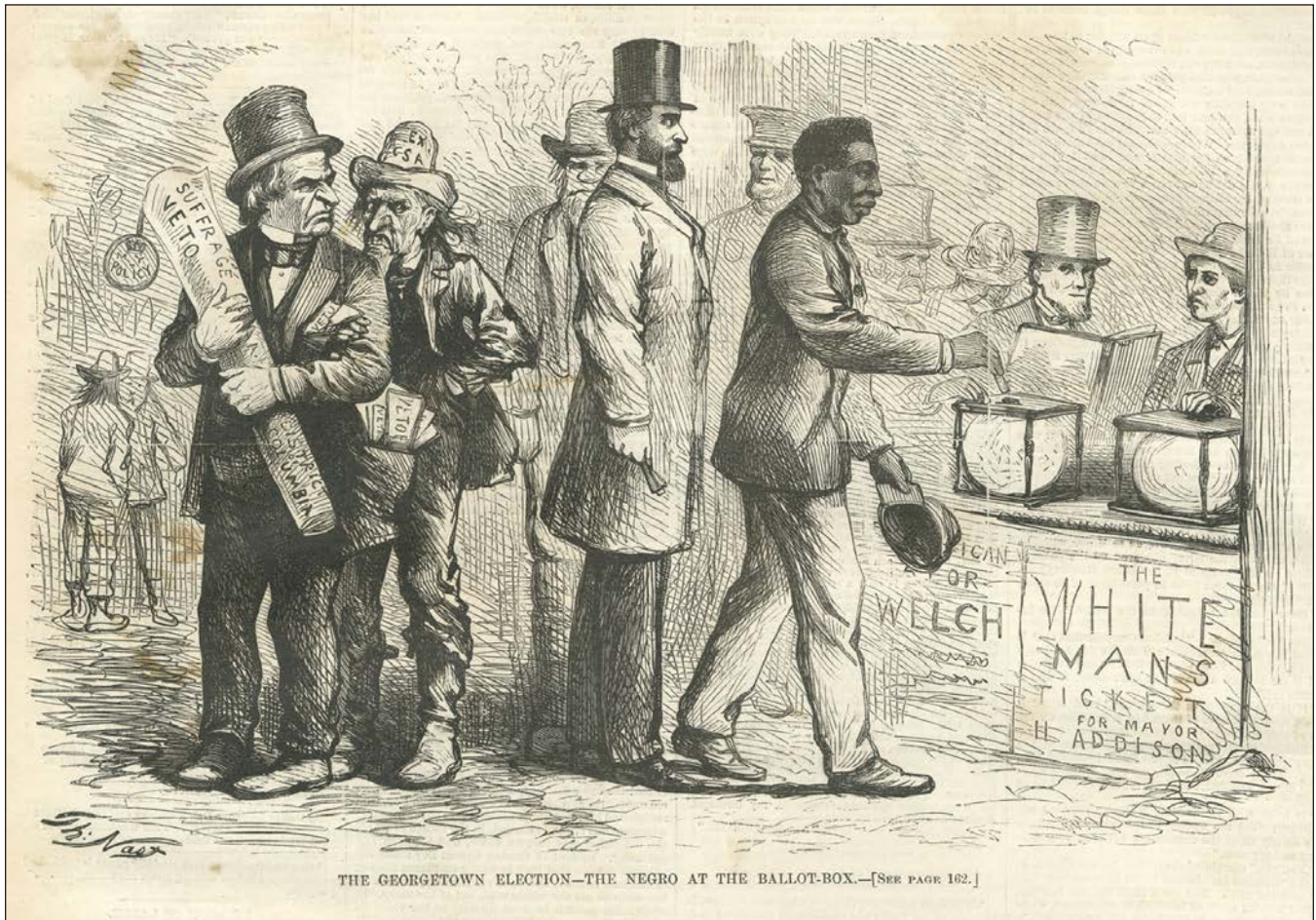
Sec. 2. That any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen . . . the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section

enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved. . . . and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or shall be imprisoned not less than thirty days nor more than one year. . . .

Section 5. That all cases arising under the provisions of this act in the courts of the United States shall be reviewable by the Supreme Court of the United States. . . .

From: Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, *100 Milestone Documents*, National Archives, [ourdocuments.gov](https://www.ourdocuments.gov) and “An Act to Protect All Citizens in Their Civil and Legal Rights, March 1, 1875,” 18 Stat. 335–337, *Statutes at Large*, Law Library of Congress, [loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/43rd-congress.php](https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/43rd-congress.php).

Source 2: Thomas Nast, "The Georgetown Election—The Negro at the Ballot Box," 1867



*Harper's Weekly*, March 16, 1867. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.09, p. 172)



## Source 3: "The Fifteenth Amendment Signed by President Grant," 1870



published by C. Rogan, Savannah, GA, 1871. (Library of Congress)

This print shows President Ulysses Grant with a group of prominent historical figures (including Edwin Stanton, Horace Greeley, Schuyler Colfax, Abraham Lincoln, Robert Smalls, Charles Sumner, William Seward, Hiram Revels, Frederick Douglass, Benjamin Butler, and William Sherman). A portrait of John Brown is hanging on the wall behind the President. Vignettes depict African Americans in military service, at school, on a farm, in court, and voting.

#### Source 4: The Black Code of the Parish of St. Landry, Louisiana, 1865 (Excerpts)

Whereas it was formerly made the duty of the police jury to make suitable regulations for the police of slaves within the limits of the parish; and whereas slaves have become emancipated by the action of the ruling powers; and whereas it is necessary for public order, as well as for the comfort and correct deportment of said freedmen, that suitable regulations should be established for their government in their changed condition, the following ordinances are adopted, with the approval of the United States military authorities commanding in said parish, viz:

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the police jury of the parish of St. Landry*, That no negro shall be allowed to pass within the limits of said parish without a special permit in writing from his employer. . . .

SECTION 2. *Be it further ordained*, That every negro who shall be found absent from the residence of his employer after 10 o'clock at night, without a written permit from his employer, shall pay a fine . . . or in default thereof, shall be compelled to work five days on the public road, or suffer corporeal punishment . . .

SECTION 3. *Be it further ordained*, That no negro shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within said parish. Any negro violating this provision shall be immediately ejected and compelled to find an employer; and any person who shall rent, or give the use of any house to any negro . . . shall pay a fine. . . .

SECTION 4. *Be it further ordained*, That every negro is required to be in the regular service of some white person, or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said negro. . . .

SECTION 5. *Be it further ordained*, That no public meetings or congregations of negroes shall be allowed within said parish after sunset; but such public meetings and congregations may be held between the hours of sunrise and sunset. . . . This prohibition, however, is not intended to prevent negroes from attending the usual church services, conducted by white ministers and priests. . . .

SECTION 6. *Be it further ordained*, That no negro shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people, without a special permission in writing from the president of the police jury. . . .

SECTION 7. *Be it further ordained*, That no negro who is not in the military service shall be allowed to carry fire-arms, or any kind of weapons, within the parish, without the special written permission of his employers. . . .

SECTION 8. *Be it further ordained*, That no negro shall sell, barter, or exchange any articles of merchandise or traffic within said parish without the special written permission of his employer, specifying the articles of sale, barter or traffic. . . .

SECTION 9. *Be it further ordained*, That any negro found drunk within the said parish shall pay a fine of five dollars, or in default thereof shall work five days on the public road, or suffer corporeal punishment. . . .

SECTION 10. *Be it further ordained*, That all the foregoing provisions shall apply to negroes of both sexes.

SECTION 11. *Be it further ordained*, That it shall be the duty of every citizen to act as a police officer for the detection of offences and the apprehension of offenders. . . .

From: "The Condition of the South: Documents Accompanying the Report of Major General Carl Schurz," *Senate Executive Documents for the First Session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress of the United States, 1865–66*, vol. 1 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 93–94.

### Source 5: A Report on the Freedmen of Louisiana, 1865 (Excerpts)

#### FREE LABOR AND ITS OPPONENTS.

Men who were strong rebels against the Government, are, almost invariably, strong opponents of free labor. . . . They hire their laborers in a spirit of opposition to them. . . . Men, whose hearts are not sufficiently softened to reconcile them to the change from slave to free labor, can hardly expect that the freedmen will be content to live with them and cultivate their soil. The freedmen are ready and anxious to work. They do not expect to be idle, but they do expect to have their employers recognize the fact that they are as free as others. Employers who show that they do recognize this, and who treat their laborers accordingly, have but little trouble. . . .

#### CONDUCT OF THE STATE AUTHORITIES.

In regard to the authorities of the State [of Louisiana], I can say nothing whatever favorable to the policy of the Government in regard to the freedmen. . . . The orders of the Commanding General of the Department, the laws of Congress, and the orders of the War Department, have been ignored as far as they could be. Many Judges of Courts have been known to say openly that “they did not want to hear d—d n— testimony;” . . . they have made an appearance of observing orders . . . But this superficial respect amounts to no more than simply to secure themselves. . . .

#### CONCLUSION.

. . . Our citizens have been more open and frank to acknowledge that slavery is forever dead. Some relinquish their hold reluctantly. . . . A few, the more rebellious, prefer to kill the negro than to see him free. . . . Those who one week ago yielded up their slaves to freedom, and accepted the new order of things with cheerfulness, are now agitated afresh by the fears of negro suffrage.

#### THIS BUREAU SHOULD BE CONTINUED.

The United States Government, whose decrees have given liberty to the former slaves of the insurgent States, cannot now abandon its own policy or leave those whom it has freed to the mercy of those from whose grasp it has taken them, at least till such time as the power derived by owning property, by education, and by having the right of suffrage, will give them a secure position in which they can defend their own liberty exactly as the white man defends his.

#### INSURRECTION

The freedmen will not engage in any insurrection against the State, or any portion of it. The white population have the character of insurgents exclusively to themselves in this portion of our country. The colored population live much under the control of the Christian religion, and they have no disposition to murder or destroy. They are peaceable, forgiving, merciful. If they are not protected in the enjoyment of the liberty proclaimed to them, they will go away from this country, trusting in God.

— Thomas W. Conway, Assistant Commissioner,  
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, State of Louisiana

From: Thomas W. Conway, *The Freedmen of Louisiana: Final Report of the Bureau of Free Labor, Department of the Gulf, to Major General E. R. S. Canby, Commanding* (New Orleans, 1865), pp. 12, 17, 30, 36, and 37.

### Source 6: A Report on the Colfax Massacre in Grant Parish, Louisiana, 1873 (Excerpts)

April 2, a small body of armed white men rode into the town, and were met by a body of armed men, mostly colored, and exchanged shots, but no one was hurt.

These proceedings alarmed the colored people, and many of them, with their women and children, came to Colfax for refuge, perhaps a majority of the men being armed.

April 5, a band of armed whites went to the house of Jesse M. Kinney, a colored man, three miles from Colfax, and found him quietly engaged in making a fence. They shot him through the head and killed him. This seems to have been an unprovoked, wanton, and deliberate murder. This aroused the terror of the colored people. . . .

April 12, the colored men threw up a small earthwork near the court-house. . . . Easter Sunday, April 13, a large body of whites rode into the town, and demanded of the colored men that they should give up their arms and yield possession of the court-house. This demand not being yielded to, thirty minutes were given them to remove their women and children. The negroes took refuge behind their earthwork, from which they were driven by an *enfilading* fire from a cannon which the whites had. Part of them fled for refuge to the court-house, which was a one-story brick building. . . . The rest, leaving their arms, fled down the river to a strip of woods, where they were pursued, and many of them overtaken and shot to death.

About sixty or seventy got into the court-house. After some ineffectual firing on each side, the roof of the building was set fire to. When the roof was burning over their heads the negroes held out the sleeve of a shirt and the leaf of a book as flags of truce. They were ordered to drop their arms. A number of them rushed out unarmed from the blazing building, were met by a volley, and a number killed and wounded; others were captured. Fifteen of the blacks crept under the floor of the burning building, but were all captured. The number taken prisoners was about thirty-seven. They were kept till dark, when they were led out two by two, each two with a rank of mounted whites behind them. . . . When all the ranks had been formed the word was given, and the negroes were all shot. . . .

The bodies remained unburied till next Tuesday, when they were buried by a deputy marshal from New Orleans. Fifty-nine dead bodies were found. They showed pistol-shot wounds, the great majority of them in the head, and most of them in the back of the head.

Two white men only were killed in this whole transaction. . . . This deed was *without palliation or justification*; it was deliberate, barbarous, cold-blooded murder. It must stand . . . a foul blot on the page of history.

From: *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, for the Second Session of the Forty-Third Congress, 1874-'75*, vol. 5 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 12–14.

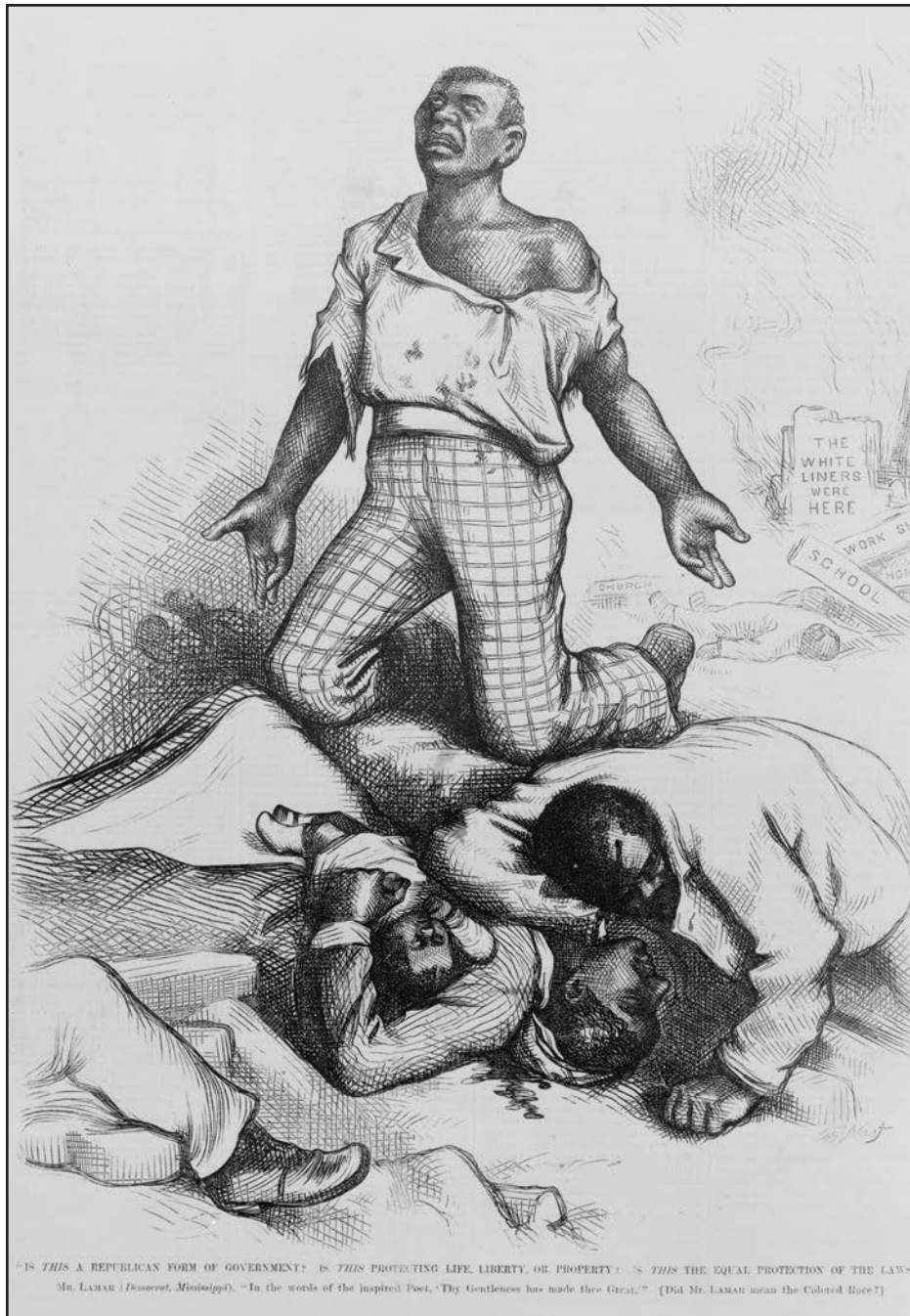
## Source 7: Thomas Nast, "The Union as It Was," 1874



*Harper's Weekly*, October 24, 1874. (Library of Congress)

The text on this illustration states, "The Union as It Was. This Is a White Man's Government. The lost cause, worse than slavery."

Source 8: Thomas Nast: "Is This a Republican Form of Government?," 1876



*Harper's Weekly*, September 2, 1876. (Library of Congress)

The caption on this illustration asks, "Is *this* a republican form of government? Is *this* protecting life, liberty, or property? Is *this* the equal protection of the laws? Mr. Lamar (Democrat, Mississippi): 'In the words of the inspired Poet, "Thy Gentleness has made thee Great.'" [Did Mr. Lamar mean the Colored Race?]" In the background signs read, "The White Liners were here," "School," "Church," "Work Shop," and "Homes."

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**Source 9: Majority Opinions by Justice Joseph P. Bradley in the US Supreme Court’s Civil Rights Cases, 1883 (Excerpts)**

Read each selection from the majority opinion in the US Supreme Court’s Civil Rights Cases and write a brief summary in your own words.

<b>Excerpts from the Majority Opinion</b>	<b>In Your Own Words</b>
<p>The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment . . . , after declaring who shall be citizens of the United States, and of the several States, is prohibitory in its character, and prohibitory upon the States. It declares that: “No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”</p> <p>It is State action of a particular character that is prohibited. Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject-matter of the amendment. . . . It nullifies and makes void all State legislation, and State action of every kind, which impairs the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, or which injures them in life, liberty or property without due process of law. . . .</p>	
<p>And so in the present case, until some State law has been passed . . . adverse to the rights of citizens sought to be protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, no legislation of the United States under said amendment . . . can be called into activity: for the prohibitions of the amendment are against State laws and acts done under State authority. . . .</p> <p>An inspection of the law shows that it makes no reference whatever to any supposed or apprehended violation of the Fourteenth Amendment on the part of the States. . . . It steps into the domain of local jurisprudence, and lays down rules for the conduct of individuals in society towards each other, and imposes sanctions for the enforcement of those rules, without referring in any manner to any supposed action of the State or its authorities. . . .</p>	

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Excerpts from the Majority Opinion	In Your Own Words
<p>But the power of Congress to adopt direct and primary, as distinguished from corrective legislation, on the subject in hand, is sought, in the second place, from the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolishes slavery. . . .</p> <p>The only question under the present head, therefore, is, whether the refusal to any persons of the accommodations of an inn, or a public conveyance, or a place of public amusement, by an individual, and without any sanction or support from any State law or regulation, does inflict upon such persons any manner of servitude, or form of slavery, as those terms are understood in this country? . . .</p>	
<p>. . . We are forced to the conclusion that such an act of refusal has nothing to do with slavery or involuntary servitude, and that if it is violative of any right of the party, his redress is to be sought under the laws of the State. . . . It would be running the slavery argument into the ground to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make. . . .</p> <p>When a man has emerged from slavery, . . . there must be some stage in the progress of his elevation when he takes the rank of a mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws, and when his rights as a citizen, or a man, are to be protected in the ordinary modes by which other men's rights are protected. . . .</p> <p>On the whole we are of opinion, that no countenance of authority for the passage of the law in question can be found in either the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. . . .</p>	

From: "Civil Rights Cases," *US Reports*, 109 US 3 (1883), pp. 10–11, 13, 14, 20, 23–25, Law Library of Congress, [loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php](http://loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php).



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**Source 10: Dissenting Opinion by Justice John M. Harlan in the  
US Supreme Court’s Civil Rights Cases, 1883 (Excerpts)**

Read each selection from the dissenting opinion in the US Supreme Court’s Civil Rights Cases and write a brief summary in your own words.

<b>Excerpts from the Dissenting Opinion</b>	<b>In Your Own Words</b>
<p>The opinion in these cases proceeds, it seems to me, upon grounds entirely too narrow and artificial. I cannot resist the conclusion that the substance and spirit of the recent amendments of the Constitution have been sacrificed by a subtle and ingenious verbal criticism. “It is not the words of the law, but the internal sense of it that makes the law: the letter of the law is the body; the sense and reason of the law is the soul.” . . .</p> <p>The purpose of the first section of the act of Congress of March 1, 1875, was to prevent <i>race</i> discrimination in respect of the accommodations and facilities of inns, public conveyances, and places of public amusement. It does not assume to define the general conditions and limitations under which inns, public conveyances, and places of public amusement may be conducted, but only declares that such conditions and limitations, whatever they may be, shall not be applied so as to work a discrimination solely because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The second section provides a penalty against any one denying, or aiding or inciting the denial, to any citizen, of that equality of right given by the first section, except for reasons by law applicable to citizens of every race or color and regardless of any previous condition of servitude.</p>	
<p>. . . My brethren . . . say that the essence of the law is . . . that such enjoyment shall not be subject to conditions applicable only to citizens of a particular race or color, or who had been in a previous condition of servitude. The effect of the statute, the court says is, that colored citizens, whether formerly slaves or not, and citizens of other races, shall have the same accommodations and privileges in all inns, public conveyances, and places of amusement as are enjoyed by white persons, and <i>vice versa</i>. . . .</p> <p>. . . The statute of 1875, now adjudged to be unconstitutional, is for the benefit of citizens of every race and color. What the nation, through Congress, has sought to accomplish in reference to that race, is—what had already been done in every State of the Union for the white race—to secure and protect rights belonging to them as freemen and citizens; nothing more. . . . The one underlying purpose of congressional legislation has been to enable the black race to take the rank of mere citizens. The difficulty has been to compel a recognition of the legal right of the black race to take the rank of citizens, and to secure the enjoyment of privileges belonging, under the law, to them as a component part of the people for whose welfare and happiness government is ordained. . . .</p>	

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Excerpts from the Dissenting Opinion	In Your Own Words
<p>. . . To-day, it is the colored race which is denied, by corporations and individuals wielding public authority, rights fundamental in their freedom and citizenship. At some future time, it may be that some other race will fall under the ban of race discrimination. If the constitutional amendments be enforced, according to the intent with which, as I conceive, they were adopted, there cannot be, in this republic, any class of human beings in practical subjection to another class, with power in the latter to dole out to the former just such privileges as they may choose to grant. The supreme law of the land has decreed that no authority shall be exercised in this country upon the basis of discrimination, in respect of civil rights, against freemen and citizens because of their race, color, or previous condition of servitude. To that decree—for the due enforcement of which, by appropriate legislation, Congress has been invested with express power—every one must bow, whatever may have been, or whatever now are, his individual views as to the wisdom or policy, either of the recent changes in the fundamental law, or of the legislation which has been enacted to give them effect.</p> <p>For the reasons stated I feel constrained to withhold my assent to the opinion of the court.</p>	

From: Civil Rights Cases, *US Reports*, 109 US 3 (1883), pp. 26–27, 61–62, Law Library of Congress, [loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php](http://loc.gov/law/help/us-reports.php).

### Source 11: Frederick Douglass, “Lessons of the Hour” Speech, 1894 (Excerpts)

Do not ask me what will be the final result of the so-called negro problem. I cannot tell you. I have sometimes thought that the American people are too great to be small, too just and magnanimous to oppress the weak, too brave to yield up the right to the strong, and too grateful for public services ever to forget them or fail to reward them. I have fondly hoped that this estimate of American character would soon cease to be contradicted or put in doubt. But the favor with which this cowardly proposition of disfranchisement has been received by public men, white and black, by Republicans as well as Democrats, has shaken my faith in the nobility of the nation. I hope and trust all will come out right in the end, but the immediate future looks dark and troubled. I cannot shut my eyes to the ugly facts before me.

Strange things have happened of late and are still happening. Some of these tend to dim the lustre of the American name, and chill the hopes once entertained for the cause of American liberty. . . . The Supreme Court has surrendered. . . . It has destroyed the civil rights Bill, and converted the Republican party into a party of money rather than a party of morals. . . . We may well ask what next? . . .

. . . Principles which we all thought to have been firmly and permanently settled by the late war, have been boldly assaulted and overthrown by the defeated party. . . . The cause lost in the war, is the cause regained in peace, and the cause gained in war, is the cause lost in peace. . . .

I come now to another proposition held up just now as a solution of the race problem, and this I consider equally unworthy. . . . This proposition is to colonize the colored people of America in Africa, or somewhere else. . . .

Colonization is no solution of the race problem. It is an evasion. It is not repenting of wrong but putting out of sight the people upon whom wrong has been inflicted. Its reiteration and agitation only serve to fan the flame of popular prejudice and encourage the hope that in some way or other, in time or in eternity, those who hate the negro will get rid of him. . . .

I now come to the so-called, but mis-called “Negro Problem.” . . . It is a formula of Southern origin, and has a strong bias against the negro. . . . It has been accepted by the good people of the North, as I think, without investigation. . . . I repeat, and my contention is, that this negro problem formula lays the fault at the door of the negro, and removes it from the door of the white man, shields the guilty, and blames the innocent. Makes the negro responsible and not the nation.

Now the real problem is, and ought to be regarded by the American people, a great national problem. . . . But how can this problem be solved? I will tell you how it can *not* be solved. It cannot be solved by keeping the negro poor, degraded, ignorant, and half-starved. . . . It cannot be done by ballot-box stuffing, by falsifying election returns. . . . It cannot be done by repealing all federal laws enacted to secure honest elections.

It can, however, be done, and very easily done, for where there’s a will, there’s a way! Let the white people of the North and South conquer their prejudices. . . . Let the South . . . give up the idea that to degrade the colored man, is to elevate the white man. . . . Put away your race prejudice. Banish the idea that one class must rule over another. Recognize the fact that the rights of the humblest citizen are as worthy of protection as are those of the highest, and your problem will be solved; and, whatever may be in store for it in the future, . . . based upon the eternal principles of truth, justice and humanity, and with no class having any cause of complaint or grievance, your Republic will stand and flourish forever.

From: Frederick Douglass, *Lessons of the Hour* by Hon. Frederick Douglass, Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, Washington, D.C. (Baltimore, 1894), pp. 23–24, 27, 29–33, 36, Library of Congress.

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## Document Analysis: Frederick Douglass's "Lessons of the Hour" Speech, 1894

### Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences in Frederick Douglass's speech are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. Why had Frederick Douglass's faith "in the nobility of the nation" and "the cause of American liberty" been shaken and undermined by recent circumstances and events?

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2. What was Frederick Douglass's view on the proposal to colonize African Americans in Africa?

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3. According to Frederick Douglass, how could the race problem in the United States be resolved?

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**Source 12: The Majority Opinion in the US Supreme Court's Decision in  
*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896 (Excerpts)**

Majority Opinion of the Supreme Court delivered by Justice Henry Billings Brown

This case turns upon the constitutionality of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, passed in 1890, providing for separate railway carriages for the white and colored races. . . .

The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children. . . .

. . . We think the enforced separation of the races, as applied to the internal commerce of the State, neither abridges the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprives him of his property without due process of law, nor denies him the equal protection of the laws, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. As was said by the Court of Appeals of New York in *People v. Gallagher*; . . . "this end can neither be accomplished nor promoted by laws which conflict with the general sentiment of the community upon whom they are designed to operate. When the government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized and performed all of the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed."

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane. . . .

From: *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *US Reports*, 163 US 537 (1896), pp. 540, 544, 548, 551–552, Law Library of Congress.

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## Document Analysis: The Majority Opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896

### Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences in this Supreme Court decision are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. According to Justice Brown, what were the main objectives and limitations of the Fourteenth Amendment?

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2. On what grounds did Justice Brown argue that racial segregation did not violate the meaning and provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment?

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3. According to Justice Brown, how would race-based prejudice eventually subside?

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Source 13: The Dissenting Opinion in the US Supreme Court's Decision  
in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896 (Excerpts)

Dissenting Opinion of the Supreme Court delivered by Justice John M. Harlan

. . . In view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. . . . Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.

In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott case*. It was adjudged in that case that the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves were not included nor intended to be included under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and could not claim any of the rights and privileges which that instrument provided for and secured to citizens of the United States; that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution they were "considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them."

The recent amendments of the Constitution, it was supposed, had eradicated these principles from our institutions. But it seems that we have yet, in some of the States, a dominant race—a superior class of citizens, which assumes to regulate the enjoyment of civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race. . . . Sixty millions of whites are in no danger from the presence here of eight millions of blacks. The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. . . .

. . . We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. . . .

I am of opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that State, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several States of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the States, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race; and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community called the People of the United States. . . .

For the reasons stated, I am constrained to withhold my assent from the opinion and judgment of the majority.

From: *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *US Reports*, 163 US 537 (1896), pp. 559–560, 562–564, Library of Congress, [loc.gov/item/usrep163537/](https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep163537/)

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Document Analysis: The Dissenting Opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences in this dissenting Supreme Court opinion are the most important or powerful?  
Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. What did Justice John M. Harlan mean when he wrote, “Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens . . . in respect of civil rights”?

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2. On what grounds did Justice Harlan argue that the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* undermined the results of the Civil War; the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments; and the future of peaceful race relations in the United States?

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3. Why did Justice Harlan believe that the Separate Car Act of Louisiana, the basis for the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, was “inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that State, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States?”

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**Source 14: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Mob Rule in New Orleans*, 1900 (Excerpts)**

Read each selection from the pamphlet *Mob Rule in New Orleans* and write a brief summary in your own words.

Excerpts from the Pamphlet	In Your Own Words
<p>The bloodiest week which New Orleans has known since the massacre of the Italians in 1892 was ushered in Monday, July 24, by the inexcusable and unprovoked assault upon two colored men by police officers of New Orleans. Fortified by the assurance born of long experience in the New Orleans service, three policemen, Sergeant Aucoin, Officer Mora and Officer Cantrelle, observing two colored men sitting on doorsteps on Dryades street, between Washington Avenue and 6th Streets, determined, without a shadow of authority, to arrest them. One of the colored men was named Robert Charles, the other was a lad of nineteen named Leonard Pierce. The colored men had left their homes, a few blocks distant, about an hour prior, and had been sitting upon the doorsteps for a short time talking together. They had not broken the peace in any way whatever, no warrant was in the policemen's hands justifying their arrest, and no crime had been committed of which they were the suspects. The policemen, however, secure in the firm belief that they could do anything to a Negro that they wished, approached the two men, and in less than three minutes from the time they accosted them attempted to put both colored men under arrest. The younger of the two men, Pierce, submitted to arrest, for the officer, Cantrelle, who accosted him, put his gun in the young man's face ready to blow his brains out if he moved.</p>	
<p>The other colored man, Charles, was made the victim of a savage attack by Officer Mora, who used a billet and then drew a gun and tried to kill Charles. Charles drew his gun nearly as quickly as the policeman, and began a duel in the street, in which both participants were shot. The policeman got the worst of the duel and fell helpless to the sidewalk. Charles made his escape. . . . In any law-abiding community Charles would have been justified in delivering himself up immediately to the properly constituted authorities and asking a trial by a jury of his peers. He could have been certain that in resisting an unwarranted arrest he had a right to defend his life, even to the point of taking one in that defense, but Charles knew that his arrest in New Orleans, even for defending his life, meant nothing short of a long term in the penitentiary, and still more probable death by lynching at the hands of a cowardly mob. He very bravely determined to protect his life as long as he had breath in his body and strength to draw a hair trigger on his would-be murderers. How well he was justified in that belief is well shown by the newspaper accounts which were given of this transaction. Without a single line of evidence to justify the assertion, the New Orleans daily papers at once declared that both Pierce and Charles were desperadoes, that they were contemplating a burglary and that they began the assault upon the policemen. . . .</p>	

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Excerpts from the Pamphlet	In Your Own Words
<p><i>The New Orleans Picayune</i> of the same date described the occurrence, and from its account one would think it was an entirely different affair. Both of the two accounts cannot be true, and the unquestioned fact is that neither of them sets out the facts as they occurred. Both accounts attempt to fix the beginning of hostilities upon the colored men, but both were compelled to admit that the colored men were sitting on the doorsteps quietly conversing with one another when the three policemen went up and accosted them. <i>The Times-Democrat</i> unguardedly states that one of the two colored men tried to run away; that Mora seized him and then drew his billy and struck him on the head; that Charles broke away from him and started to run, after which the shooting began. <i>The Picayune</i>, however, declares that Pierce began the firing and that his two shots point blank at Aucoin were the first shots of the fight. As a matter of fact, Pierce never fired a single shot before he was covered by Aucoin's revolver. Charles and the officers did all the shooting.</p>	

From: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Mob Rule in New Orleans: Robert Charles and His Fight to Death* (orig. 1900; Durham NC: Duke Classics, 2014).

### Source 15: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, “Lynching, Our National Crime” Speech, 1909 (Excerpts)

The lynching record for a quarter of a century merits the thoughtful study of the American people. It presents three salient facts:

First: Lynching is color line murder.

Second: Crimes against women is the excuse, not the cause.

Third: It is a national crime and requires a national remedy.

Proof that lynching follows the color line is to be found in the statistics which have been kept for the past twenty-five years. . . .

A new mob movement started in the South. This was wholly political, its purpose being to suppress the colored vote by intimidation and murder. . . . In a few years, the purpose was accomplished, and the black vote was suppressed. But mob murder continued. . . .

During the last ten years from 1899 to 1908 inclusive the number lynched was 959. Of this number 102 were white while the colored victims numbered 857. . . . Twenty-eight human beings burned at the stake, one of them a woman and two of them children, is the awful indictment against American civilization—the gruesome tribute which the nation pays to the color line.

Why is mob murder permitted by a Christian nation? What is the cause of this awful slaughter? This question is answered almost daily—always the same shameless falsehood that “Negroes are lynched to protect womanhood.” . . .

Is there a remedy? . . . The only certain remedy is an appeal to law. Lawbreakers must be made to know that human life is sacred and that every citizen of this country is first a citizen of the United States and secondly a citizen of the state in which he belongs. . . .

Federal protection of American citizenship is the remedy for lynching. Foreigners are rarely lynched in America. If, by mistake, one is lynched, the national government quickly pays the damages. . . . If the government has power to protect a foreigner from insult, certainly it has power to save a citizen’s life. . . .

As a final word, it would be a beginning in the right direction if this conference can see its way clear to establish a bureau for the investigation and publication of the details of every lynching, so that the public could know that an influential body of citizens has made it a duty to give the widest publicity to the facts in each case . . . to try to influence the daily papers of the country to refuse to become accessory to mobs either before or after the fact. Several of the greatest riots and most brutal burnt offerings of the mobs have been suggested and incited by the daily papers of the offending community. If the newspaper which suggests lynching in its accounts of an alleged crime, could be held legally as well as morally responsible for reporting . . . a long step toward a remedy will have been taken. . . .

Time was when lynching appeared to be sectional, but now it is national—a blight upon our nation, mocking our laws and disgracing our Christianity. . . .



Ida B. Wells-Barnett was a civil rights activist who led the anti-lynching crusade in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. She was an investigative journalist, a powerful orator, and a co-founder of the NAACP. (Photograph by Sallie E. Garrity, Chicago, 1893. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.)

From: *Proceedings of the National Negro Conference 1909: New York May 31 and June 1* (New York, 1909), pp. 174–179.

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**Document Analysis: Ida B. Wells-Barnett's "Lynching, Our National Crime" Speech, 1909****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this speech are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

- 1. (a) What three important facts about lynching did Ida B. Wells-Barnett want Americans to know?  
(b) According to Wells-Barnett, why did lynching and mob murder of African Americans greatly increase during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

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- 2. What, according to Wells-Barnett, was the only “certain” remedy to the crime of lynching?

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- 3. According to Wells-Barnett, how did many newspapers contribute to the problem of increased lynchings and mob murders of African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

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Source 16: W. B. B. Du Bois, “Returning Soldiers,” 1919 (Excerpts)

We are returning from war! *The Crisis* and tens of thousands of black men were drafted into a great struggle. . . . We fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideals, we fought in far-off hope; for the dominant southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington, we fought in bitter resignation. For the America that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality and devilish insult. . . .

But today we return! . . . We stand again to look America squarely in the face and call a spade a spade. We sing: This country of ours, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed, is yet a shameful land.

It *lynches*.

And lynching is barbarism of a degree of contemptible nastiness unparalleled in human history. Yet for fifty years we have lynched two Negroes a week, and we have kept this up right through the war.

It *disfranchises* its own citizens.

Disfranchisement is the deliberate theft and robbery of the only protection of poor against rich and black against white. The land that disfranchises its citizens and calls itself a democracy lies and knows it lies.

It encourages *ignorance*.

It has never really tried to educate the Negro. A dominant minority does not want Negroes educated. It wants servants, dogs, whores and monkeys. . . . It cries in contemptible hypocrisy: “They threaten us with degeneracy; they cannot be educated.”

It *steals* from us.

It organizes industry to cheat us. It cheats us out of our land; it cheats us out of our labor. . . . It keeps us consistently and universally poor, and then feeds us on charity and derides our poverty.

It *insults* us.

It has organized a nation-wide and latterly a world-wide propaganda of deliberate and continuous insult and defamation of black blood wherever found. . . .

This is the country to which we Soldiers of Democracy return. . . . It was right for us to fight. The faults of *our* country are *our* faults. Under similar circumstances, we would fight again. But by the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if now that that war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land.

*We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting.*

Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.

From: W. E. B. Du Bois, “Returning Soldiers,” *The Crisis* 18 (May 1919), pp. 13–14.

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**Document Analysis: W. E. B. Du Bois's "Returning Soldiers," 1919**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this article are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. According to W. E. B. Du Bois, why was the United States “a shameful land” of indignities and “devilish insults” for African Americans?

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2. According to Du Bois, how had the United States historically lied and cheated, robbed, and insulted African Americans?

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3. Based on the text, what battle were African American veterans facing after their return from World War I?

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### Source 17: Alain Locke, “Enter the New Negro,” 1925 (Excerpt)

. . . Subtly the conditions that are moulding a New Negro are moulding a new American attitude.

However, this new phase of things is delicate; it will call for less charity but more justice; less help, but infinitely closer understanding. This is indeed a critical stage of race relationships because of the likelihood, if the new temper is not understood, of engendering sharp group antagonism and a second crop of more calculated prejudice. In some quarters, it has already done so. Having weaned the Negro, public opinion cannot continue to paternalize. The Negro today is inevitably moving forward under the control largely of his own objectives. What are these objectives? Those of his outer life are happily already well and finally formulated, for they are none other than the ideals of American institutions and democracy. Those of his inner life are yet in process of formation, for the new psychology at present is more of a consensus of feeling than of opinion, of attitude rather than of program. Still some points seem to have crystallized.

Up to the present one may adequately describe the Negro’s “inner objectives” as an attempt to repair a damaged group psychology and reshape a warped social perspective. Their realization has required a new mentality for the American Negro. And as it matures we begin to see its effects; at first, negative, iconoclastic, and then positive and constructive. In this new group psychology we note the lapse of sentimental appeal, then the development of a more positive self-respect and self-reliance; the repudiation of social dependence, and then the gradual recovery from hyper-sensitiveness and “touchy” nerves, the repudiation of the double standard of judgment with its special philanthropic allowances and then the sturdier desire for objective and scientific appraisal; and finally the rise from social disillusionment to race pride, from the sense of social debt to the responsibilities of social contribution, and off-setting the necessary working and commonsense acceptance of restricted conditions, the belief in ultimate esteem and recognition. Therefore the Negro today wishes to be known for what he is, even in his faults and shortcomings, and scorns a craven and precarious survival at the price of seeming to be what he is not. He resents being spoken for as a social ward or minor, even by his own, and to being regarded a chronic patient for the sociological clinic, the sick man of American Democracy. For the same reasons, he himself is through with those social nostrums and panaceas, the so-called “solutions” of his “problem,” with which he and the country have been so liberally dosed in the past. Religion, freedom, education, money—in turn, he has ardently hoped for and peculiarly trusted these things; he still believes in them, but not in blind trust that they alone will solve his life-problem. . . .

From: Alain Locke, “Enter the New Negro,” *Survey* 53 (March 1925): 632.

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**Document Analysis: Alain Locke’s “Enter the New Negro,” 1925**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this essay are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME\_\_\_\_\_  
PERIOD DATE**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. According to Alain Locke, how did the mindset and outlook of African Americans change during the 1920s?

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2. How, according to Locke, did African Americans pursue and develop new “inner objectives” and “outer objectives” for their lives during the 1920s?

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3. Based on the text, how did African Americans of the 1920s view social “solutions” to their “problem”?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

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## Poem Analysis

Author and Title \_\_\_\_\_

### Important Phrases

Which phrases in this poem are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

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\_\_\_\_\_

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Assessment**

Using your analysis of the poetic phrases as evidence, state and briefly explain the central message or theme of this poem.

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**Source 19: Claude McKay, "Enslaved," 1921**

Oh when I think of my long-suffering race,  
For weary centuries despised, oppressed,  
Enslaved and lynched, denied a human place  
In the great life line of the Christian West;  
And in the Black Land disinherited,  
Robbed in the ancient country of its birth,  
My heart grows sick with hate, becomes as lead,  
For this my race that has no home on earth.  
Then from the dark depths of my soul I cry  
To the avenging angel to consume  
The white man's world of wonders utterly:  
Let it be swallowed up in earth's vast womb,  
Or upward roll as sacrificial smoke  
To liberate my people from its yoke!

From: Claude McKay, *Harlem Shadows: The Poems of Claude McKay* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922), p. 32.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

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### Details, Description, and Decision (Lesson 3)

Image Title or Number: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>People</b>	<b>Objects</b>
Details: Who are the people/characters in this painting?	Details: What objects are included in this painting?
Description:	Description:
<b>Action</b>	<b>Overall Assessment</b>
Details: What action/activity is occurring in this painting?	Decision: What have I learned about the experiences of African Americans during Harlem Renaissance from this painting?
Description:	

Source 20: Walter Ellison, *Train Station*, 1935

(The Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY)

Source 21: Allan Rohan Crite, *School's Out*, 1936

Allan Rohan Crite, *School's Out*, 1936, oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 36 1/8 in. (76.9x 91.8 cm.).  
(Smithsonian American Art Museum, Transfer from General Services Administration, 1971.447.18)

Source 22: Palmer Hayden, *The Janitor Who Paints*, ca. 1937

Palmer Hayden, *The Janitor Who Paints*, ca. 1937, repainted after 1940, oil on canvas, 39 1/8 x 32 7/8 in. (99.3 x 83.6 cm) (Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of the Harmon Foundation, 1967.57.28.)

## Background on the Artists and Paintings

Allan Rohan Crite (1910–2007) was raised in Boston and graduated from Harvard University. His paintings often depict the ordinary daily lives of the African American community in Boston, showing crowded streets and parks, housing projects, and urban neighborhoods. They often feature realistic settings and show African Americans as real people experiencing joy and sorrow, supported by the strength of family and the community.

Walter Ellison (1899–1977) was born in Georgia and studied at the Art Institute of Chicago in the 1920s. His art depicts the lives and experiences of African Americans who similarly participated in the Great Migration and moved from the rural South to cities in the North and Midwest for economic, educational, and social opportunities. In this painting Ellison employs the railroad as a metaphor for the passage to freedom. Just as the Underground Railroad helped enslaved African Americans escape to freedom during the first half of the nineteenth century, the railroad assisted African Americans escape the institutionalized discrimination and segregation of the South during the first half of the twentieth century.

Palmer Hayden (1890–1973) personally experienced economic adversity as an artist, which required him to take several jobs to support himself. His paintings often resemble artistic snapshots that display the determination, pride, strength, and perseverance of African Americans in realistic settings during their daily routines. Hayden described his portrait *The Janitor Who Paints* as “a sort of protest painting” representing the economic and social hardships experienced by many African Americans. Here he challenges the viewer to ascertain whether the man in the painting is a professional artist who is forced to support himself and his family by working as a janitor or an amateur artist who is merely painting portraits of his family and others in his spare time.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

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### Song Analysis

Creator and Title \_\_\_\_\_

#### Important Phrases

Which phrases in these lyrics are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Phrase 3:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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NAME

PERIOD DATE

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**Assessment**

Using your analysis of the song lyrics as evidence, state and briefly explain the central message or theme of this song.

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**Source 23: Josh White, “Defense Factory Blues,” 1941**

Went to the Defense factory  
Trying to find some work to do,  
Had the nerve to tell me, “Black boy,  
Nothing here for you.”  
My father died,  
Died fighting 'cross the sea.  
Mama said his dying  
Never helped her or me.  
I'll tell you brother  
Well, it sure don't make no sense  
When a Negro can't work  
In the national defense.  
I'll tell you one thing  
That boss man ain't my friend.  
If he was he'd give me  
Some democracy to defend.  
In the land of the free  
Called the home, home of the brave,  
All I want is liberty,  
That is what I crave.

From: Josh White, “Defense Factory Blues,” Lyrics by Josh White. Published by Folk-Blues Music Co. Performed by Joshua White from his 1941 album *Southern Exposure* on Keynote Records K 516.

**Source 24: Woody Guthrie, “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard,” 1946**

My name is Isaac Woodard, my tale I'll tell you;  
I'm sure it'll sound so terrible you might not think it true;  
I joined up with the Army, they sent me overseas;  
Through the battles of New Guinea and in the Philippines.

On the 13th day of February 1946  
They sent me to Atlanta and I got my discharge pin;  
I caught the bus for Winslow, going to meet my wife,  
Then we were coming to New York City to visit my parents both.

About an hour out of Atlanta, the sun was going down,  
We stopped the bus at a drugstore in a little country town;  
I walked up to the driver and I looked him in the eye,  
“I'd like to go to the washroom, if you think we got time.”

The driver started cursing, and then he hollered, “No!”  
So, then I cussed right back at him, and really got him told.  
He said, “If you will hurry, I guess I'll take the time!”  
It was in a few short minutes we was rolling down the line.

We rolled for thirty minutes, I watched the shacks and trees,  
I thought of my wife in Winsboro waiting there for me.  
In Aiken, South Carolina, the driver he jumped out;  
He came back with a policeman to take me off the bus.

“Listen, Mr. Policeman,” I started to explain,  
“I did not cause no trouble, and I did not raise no cain.”  
He hit me with his billy, he cursed me up and down,  
“Shut up, you black bastard”; and he walked me down in town.

As we walked along the sidewalk, my right arm he did twist;  
I knew he wanted me to fight back, but I never did resist;  
“Have you your Army discharge?” I told him, yes, I had;  
He pasted me with his loaded stick down across my head.

I grabbed his stick and we had a little run, and had a little wrastle;  
When another cop run up with a gun and jumped into the battle;  
“If you don't drop that sap, black boy, it's me that's dropping you.”  
So I figured to drop that loaded sap was the best thing I could do.

They beat me about the head and face and left a bloody trail  
All down along the sidewalk to the iron door of the jail;  
He knocked me down upon the ground and he poked me in the eyes;  
When I woke up next morning, I found my eyes were blind.

They drug me to the courtroom, and I could not see the judge;  
He fined me fifty dollars for raising all the fuss;  
The doctor finally got there but it took him two whole days;  
He handed me some drops and salve and told me to treat myself.

It's now you've heard my story, there's one thing I can't see,  
How you could treat a human like they have treated me;  
I thought I fought on the islands to get rid of their kind;  
But I can see the fight lots plainer now that I am blind.

From: Woody Guthrie, “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard,” 1946. Words and Music by Woody Guthrie, ©Copyright Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. (BMI)

### Source 25: The “Double V” Campaign, Pittsburgh Courier, 1942 (Excerpts)

*The Pittsburgh Courier was a prominent African American newspaper that launched the “Double V” campaign in February 1942. The campaign linked the fight for democracy abroad in Europe and Asia during World War II with the fight for equality and full citizenship rights for Black Americans at home.*

Last week, without any public announcement or fanfare, the editors of The Courier introduced its war slogan—a double “V” for a double victory to colored America. We did this advisedly because we wanted to test the response and popularity of such a slogan with our readers. The response has been overwhelming. Our office has been inundated with hundreds of telegrams and letters of congratulations, proving that without any explanation, this slogan represents the true battle cry of colored America. . . .

Americans all, are involved in a gigantic war effort to assure the victory for the cause of freedom—the four freedoms that have been so nobly expressed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. We, as colored Americans, are determined to protect our country, our form of government and the freedoms which we cherish for ourselves and for the rest of the world, therefore we have adopted the Double “V” war cry—victory over our enemies at home and victory over our enemies on the battlefields abroad. Thus in our fight for freedom we wage a two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who would enslave us. WE HAVE A STAKE IN THIS FIGHT—WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO!

From: “The Courier’s Double ‘V’ for a Double Victory Campaign Gets Country-Wide Support,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 14, 1942, Pittsburgh Courier Archives.

Source 26: Charles Alston, "Backing the Attack on All Fronts!!!," 1943



Office for Emergency Management, Office of War information (National Archives)

Charles Alston's illustration for National Negro Newspaper Week shows figures who represent the African American community and their important contributions on the agricultural, industrial, and military fronts to the US victory in World War II.

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**Document Analysis: World War II**

Based on the evidence from the primary sources you have examined, respond to the following:

- 1. Briefly explain the economic and social aspects of racial discrimination that African Americans experienced during the 1930s and World War II (1941–1945).

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- 2. Briefly explain how African Americans responded to and confronted these aspects of racial discrimination through the “Double V” campaign.

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- 3. Briefly explain the paradox of the “Double V” program during World War II for African Americans as they confronted issues of democracy, equality, opportunity, and racism in the United States.

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**Source 27: Unanimous US Supreme Court Opinion in  
*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, et al.*, 1954 (Excerpts)**

Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court:

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896, when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

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

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

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

“Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.”

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

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

From: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, et al.*, *US Reports*, 347 US 483 (1954), pp. 492–495, Library of Congress.

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**Document Analysis: *Brown v. Board of Education, 1954*****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this Supreme Court decision are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

\_\_\_\_\_  
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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How did Chief Justice Earl Warren view the role of education in American society?

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2. What was Chief Justice Warren’s position on the following question: “Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?”

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3. Why did Chief Justice Warren conclude that the doctrine of “separate but equal” had no place in public education?

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**Source 28: “Southern Manifesto on Integration,” 1956 (Excerpts)**

The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The Founding Fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. They framed this Constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the fundamentals of government against the dangers of temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public officeholders.

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the 14th amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the States. . . .

In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in 1896, the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14th amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal public facilities. . . . This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and commonsense, for parents should not be deprived by Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding. . . .

From: “Declaration of Constitutional Principles (Southern Manifesto on Integration),” 102 *Congressional Record* 4515–4516 (1956) (statement of Rep. Howard Smith in the House of Representatives, March 12, 1956).

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**Document Analysis: “Southern Manifesto on Integration,” 1956**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this “Manifesto” are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

\_\_\_\_\_  
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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How did the authors and signers of the “Southern Manifesto” argue that the justices on the Supreme Court had abused their judicial power?

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2. (a) Briefly compare the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment in the “Southern Manifesto” and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.
- (b) Which interpretation more accurately reflects the intentions of Congress when the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868? Briefly explain your view.

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**Source 29: The Civil Rights Act of 1957 (Excerpts)**

. . . Sec. 104 (a) The Commission shall —

(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; . . .

(2) study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and

(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution. . . .

Sec 131. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes is to be amended as follows:

. . . “No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate. . . .”

From: Civil Rights Act of 1957, Public Law 85-315, 71 Stat. 634, September 9, 1957.

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## Document Analysis: The Civil Rights Act of 1957

### Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences in this law are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME

PERIOD DATE

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How did the Civil Rights Act of 1957 strengthen African Americans' citizenship and voting rights?

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2. Which provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is the most significant? Briefly explain why.

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### Source 30: The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Excerpts)

An Act to enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes. . . .

#### Title I: Voting Rights

“No person acting under color of law shall . . . (b) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting. . . . [or] (c) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election. . . .”

#### Title II: Injunctive Relief Against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation

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

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action: (1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests. . . . (2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises. . . . (3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment. . . .

#### Title III: Desegregation of Public Facilities

Sec. 301. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied equal utilization of any public facility . . . the Attorney General is authorized to institute . . . a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate. . . .

#### Title IV: Desegregation of Public Education

Sec 401. As used in this title . . . “Desegregation” means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but “desegregation” shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance. . . .

#### Title V: Commission on Civil Rights

Sec. 504. (a) Section 104(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 . . . is further amended to read as follows: “Duties of the Commission Sec. 104. (a) The commission shall—(1) investigate allegations in writing . . . that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin. . . . (f) The Commission . . . may hold such hearings . . . [and] issue . . . an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission . . . to produce pertinent, relevant and nonprivileged evidence . . . [or] to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof.”

#### Title VI: Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs

Sec. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

#### Title VII: Equal Employment Opportunity

Sec. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive an individual of employment opportunities, or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. . . .

From: "An Act to Enforce the Constitutional Rights to Vote, to Confer Jurisdiction upon the District Courts of the United States to Provide Injunctive Relief against Discrimination in Public Accommodations . . ." Public Law 88-352, 78 Stat. 241, July 2, 1964.



### Source 31: The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Excerpts)

. . . Sec. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

Sec. 3. (a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the courts shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission . . . to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment. . . .

Sec. 4. (a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State. . . . (c) The phrase “test or device” shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge on any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of registered voters or members of any other class. . . .

Sec. 5 Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to . . . the prohibitions set forth in Section 4(a) . . . shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting . . . different from that in force or effect on November 1, 1964, such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court and . . . until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote. . . .

From: “An Act to Enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for Other Purposes,” August 6, 1965, Public Law 89-110, 79 Stat. 437.

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**Document Analysis: The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in these two laws are the most important or powerful? Choose two for each document and give the reason for each choice.

*The Civil Rights Act of 1964*

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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*The Voting Rights Act of 1965*

Phrase 1:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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\_\_\_\_\_

Phrase 2:

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\_\_\_\_\_

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME

PERIOD DATE

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 strengthen African Americans' citizenship rights and opportunities for economic, educational, political, and social equality?

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2. How did the Voting Rights Act of 1965 strengthen the voting rights of African Americans?

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### Source 32: Malcolm X, “The Ballot of the Bullet Speech, 1964 (Excerpts)

. . . All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. . . .

. . . I don't even consider myself an American. If you and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. Those Honkies that just got off the boat, they're already Americans. . . . Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. As long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet.

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation; you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution. . . .

. . . I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare. . . .

So it's time in 1964 to wake up . . . . let them know your eyes are open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet. If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get on out of the country; you should get back in the cotton patch; you should get back in the alley. . . .

And now you're facing a situation where the young Negro's coming up. They don't want to hear that “turn the-other-cheek” stuff. . . . There's new thinking coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month, and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death. . . .

. . . I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. . . . And that's the way every Negro should get.

Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality. What's good for the goose is good for the gander.

Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite. . . .

Let the world know how bloody his hands are. Let the world know the hypocrisy that's practiced over here. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the ballot or the bullet. . . .

From: Malcolm X, “The Ballot or the Bullet,” April 3, 1964, Cleveland, Ohio. Used with permission; [www.MalcolmX.com](http://www.MalcolmX.com).

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: Malcolm X's "The Ballot or the Bullet" Speech, 1964****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this speech are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. Although Malcolm X called the White man a “common problem,” why did he state that he was not “anti-white”?

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2. Why did Malcolm X state that he was “not an American”?

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3. According to Malcolm X, how did the following statement apply to African Americans: “Sitting at the table doesn’t make you a diner, unless you eat some of what’s on that plate”?

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4. According to Malcolm X, under what circumstances was it permissible to “get violent”?

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**Source 33: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., “Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom,” 1966 (Excerpts)**

. . . I am convinced that for practical as well as moral reasons, nonviolence offers the only road to freedom for my people. In violent warfare, one must be prepared to face ruthlessly the fact that there will be casualties by the thousands. . . .

This is no time for romantic illusions about freedom and empty philosophical debate. This is a time for action. What is needed is a strategy for change, a tactical program which will bring the Negro into the main stream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the nonviolent movement.

Our record of achievement through nonviolent action is already remarkable. . . . Even more remarkable is the fact that this progress occurred with a minimum of human sacrifice and loss of life.

Not a single person has been killed in a nonviolent demonstration. . . .

There are many people who very honestly raise the question of self-defense. This must be placed in perspective. It goes without saying that people will protect their homes. . . . But the mere protection of one's home and person against assault by lawless night riders does not provide any positive approach to the fears and conditions which produce violence. . . .

In a nonviolent demonstration, self-defense must be approached from quite another perspective. One must remember that the cause of the demonstration is some exploitation or form of oppression that has made it necessary for men of courage and good will to demonstrate against evil. . . .

It is always amusing to me when a Negro man says that he can't demonstrate with us because if someone hit him he would fight back. Here is a man whose children are being plagued by rats and roaches, whose wife is robbed daily at over-priced ghetto food stores, who himself is working for about two-thirds the pay of a white person doing a similar job and with similar skills, and in spite of all this daily suffering it takes someone spitting on him and calling him a n— to make him want to fight. . . .

I must continue my faith that is too great a burden to bear and that violence, even in self-defense, creates more problems than it solves. Only a refusal to hate or kill can put an end to the chain of violence in the world and lead us toward a community where men can live together without fear. . . .

If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory. If one needs more adequate education, shooting the principal will not help, or if housing is the goal, only building and construction will produce that end. To destroy anything, person or property, can't bring us closer to the goal that we seek.

The nonviolent strategy has been to dramatize the evils of our society in such a way that pressure is brought to bear against those evils by the forces of good will in the community and change is produced. . . .

From: Martin Luther King Jr., “Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom,” May 4, 1966, *Ebony* (October 1966): 27–34. Reprinted by arrangement with The Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor New York, NY. ©1966 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. © renewed 1994 Coretta Scott King.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: Martin Luther King Jr. "Nonviolence," 1966**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this article are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. According to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., what are the benefits of nonviolent protest?

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2. What were Dr. King's views on using violence in self-defense?

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3. Why did Dr. King find it "amusing . . . when a Negro man says that he can't demonstrate with us because if someone his him he would fight back"?

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4. How did Dr. King propose that we "put an end to the chain of violence?"

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5. Why did Dr. King believe that violence would not achieve the goals of the Civil Rights Movement?

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### Source 34: Stokely Carmichael, “Black Power” Address, 1966 (Excerpts)

. . . Now we are now engaged in a psychological struggle in this country, and that is whether or not black people will have the right to use the words they want to use without white people giving their sanction to it; and that we maintain, whether they like it or not, we gonna use the word “Black Power.” . . . We are not going to wait for white people to sanction Black Power. We’re tired waiting; every time black people move in this country, they’re forced to defend their position before they move. It’s time that the people who are supposed to be defending their position do that. That’s white people. They ought to start defending themselves as to why they have oppressed and exploited us. . . .

How can we build institutions where those people can begin to function on a day-to-day basis, where they can get decent jobs, where they can get decent houses, and where they can begin to participate in the policy and major decisions that affect their lives? . . . We need to be able to . . . fight to control the basic institutions which perpetuate racism by destroying them and building ones. . . . We maintain that we cannot have white people working in the black community, and we mean it on a psychological ground. . . . Black people must be seen in positions of power, doing and articulating for themselves, for themselves. That is not to say that one is a reverse racist; it is to say that one is moving in a healthy ground. . . .

We have taken all the myths of this country and we’ve found them to be nothing but downright lies. This country told us that if we worked hard we would succeed, and if that were true we would own this country lock, stock, and barrel. . . . It is we who have picked the cotton for nothing. It is we who are the maids in the kitchens of liberal white people. It is we who are the janitors, the porters, the elevator men. . . . Yes, it is we who are the hardest workers and the lowest paid. . . . Are you willing to start building new institutions that will provide economic security for black people? That’s the question we want to deal with. . . .

We must question the values of this society, and I maintain that black people are the best people to do that because we have been excluded from that society. . . . We ought to think whether or not we want to become a part of that society. . . . And that is precisely what it seems to me that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] is doing. . . . We want to touch on nonviolence because we see that again as the failure of white society to make nonviolence work. I was always surprised at Quakers who came to Alabama and counseled me to be nonviolent, but didn’t have the guts to start talking to James Clark [the Sheriff of Selma, Alabama] to be nonviolent. . . .

In conclusion . . . we have to wage a psychological battle on the right for black people to define their own terms, define themselves as they see fit, and organize themselves as they see fit. . . . The question is, How are we going to facilitate those matters, whether it’s going to be done with a thousand policemen with submachine guns, or whether or not it’s going to be done in a context where it is allowed to be done by white people warding off those policemen. . . . How are white people who call themselves activists ready to start move into the white communities. . . . building new political institutions to destroy the old ones that we have? . . . So that we can start, then, to build a new world. . . .

We are on the move for our liberation. We have been tired of trying to prove things to white people. We are tired of trying to explain to white people that we’re not going to hurt them. We are concerned with getting the things we want, the things that we have to have to be able to function. The question is, Will white people overcome their racism and allow for that to happen in this country? If that does not happen, brothers and sisters, we have no choice but to say very clearly, “Move over, or we’re going to move on over you.”

From: Stokely Carmichael, “Black Power” Address at the University of California, Berkeley, October 29, 1966. Transcript from Top 100 Speeches, AmericanRhetoric.com.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power" Address, 1966****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this speech are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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\_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. Why, according to Stokely Carmichael, were he and other civil rights leaders “not going to wait for white people to sanction Black Power”?

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2. According to Carmichael, what myths about Black people had long existed in this country? How could these myths be corrected?

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3. Why did Stokely Carmichael believe that White society cause the failure of nonviolence?

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4. How did Carmichael challenge and envision the future of Black–White relations and the Black Power liberation movement?

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NAME

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**Document Analysis: Martin Luther King Jr., “Beyond Vietnam,” 1967**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this speech are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

- 1. According to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., what was the “cruel irony” of sending African American and White youth to fight in Vietnam?

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- 2. How did US involvement in the Vietnam War undermine Dr. King’s message that “social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action” in the minds of many young African American men?

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- 3. How and why did King reference Langston Hughes’s words, “America never was America to me / And yet I swear this oath—America will be” in his speech?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

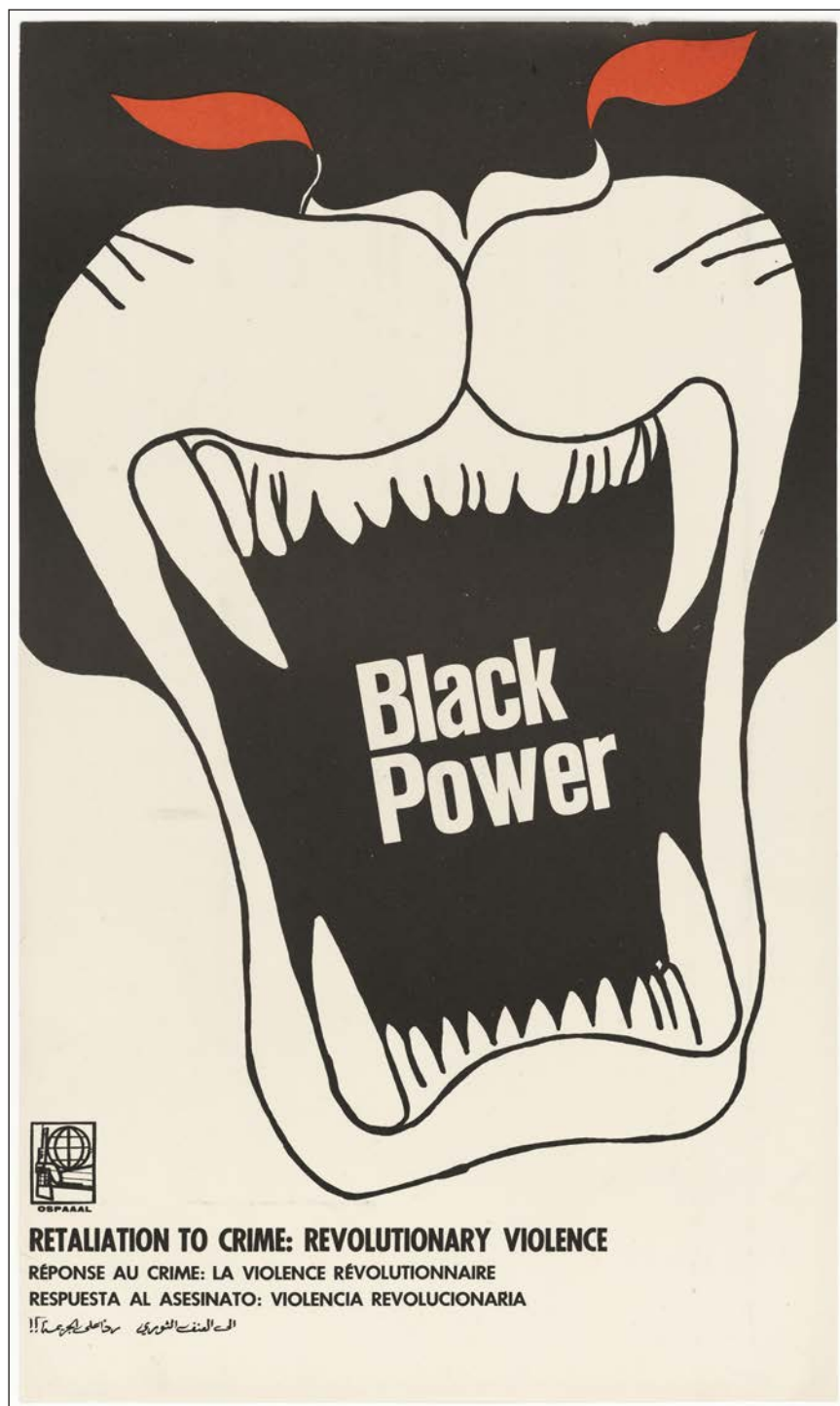
PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Details, Description, and Decision (Lesson 5)**

Image Title or Number: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>People</b>	<b>Objects</b>
Details: Who are the people/characters in this image?	Details: What objects are included in this image?
Description:	Description:
<b>Action</b>	<b>Overall Assessment</b>
Details: What action/activity is occurring in this image?	Decision: What have I learned about the experiences of African Americans during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s from this image?
Description:	

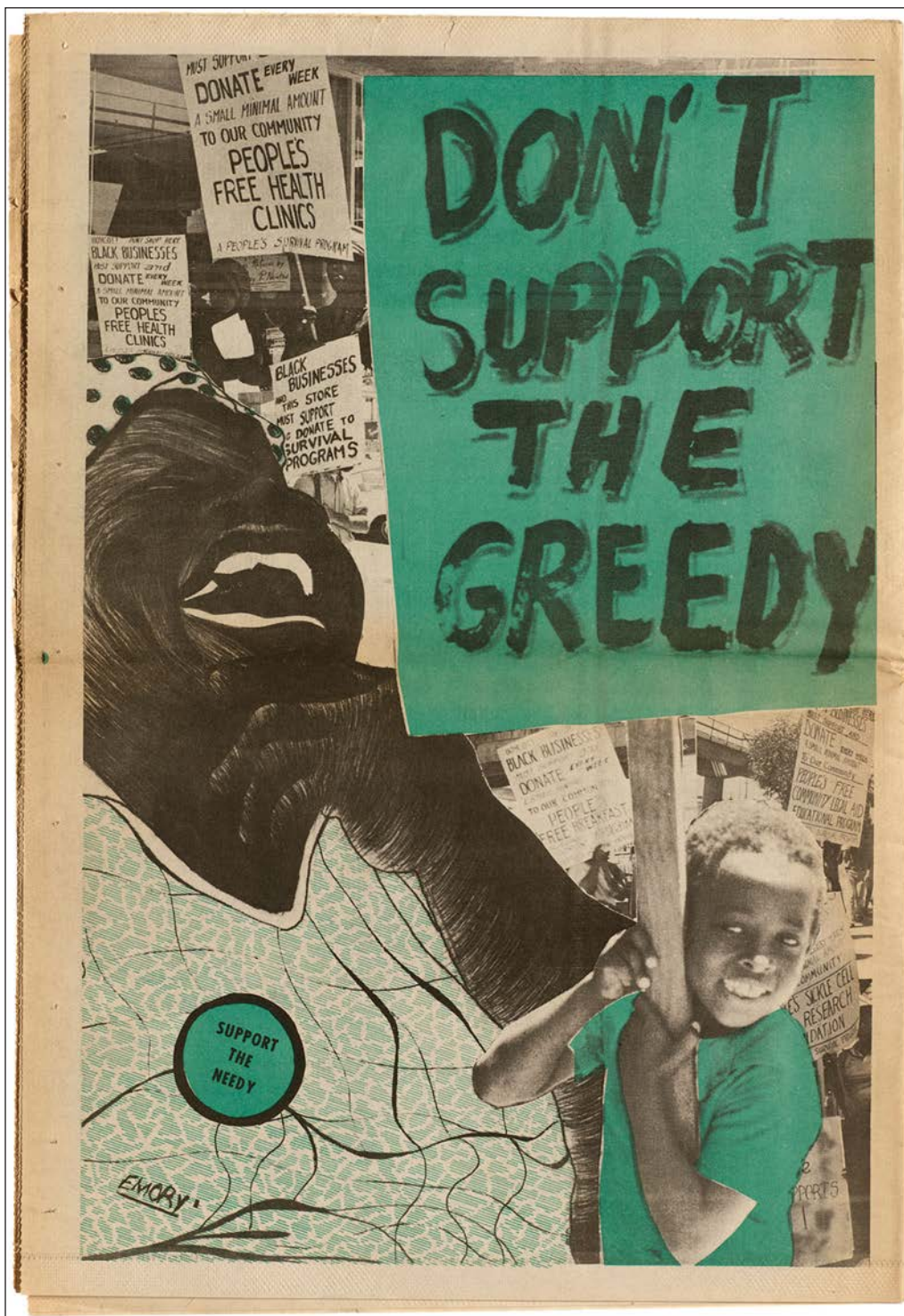
Source 36: Alfredo Rostgaard, "Black Power," 1968



Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, African and Latin America, 1968. (Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture)



Source 37: Emory Douglas, “Don’t Support the Greedy,” 1968–1969



Oakland, California, 1968–1969. (Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture. © 2024 Emory Douglas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York)

Source 38: Declan Haun, Housing March in the Bogan Neighborhood of Chicago, 1966



(Chicago History Museum)

### Source 39: “The Combahee River Collective Statement,” 1977 (Excerpts)

We are a collective of Black feminists who have been meeting together since 1974. During that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As Black women we see Black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face. . . .

. . . We would like to affirm that we find our origins in the historical reality of Afro-American women’s continuous life-and-death struggle for survival and liberation. Black women’s extremely negative relationship to the American political system (a system of white male rule) has always been determined by our membership in two oppressed racial and sexual castes. . . . There have always been Black women activists—some known, like Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frances E. W. Harper, Ida B. Wells Barnett, and Mary Church Terrell, and thousands upon thousands unknown—who have had a shared awareness of how their sexual identity combined with their racial identity to make their whole life situation and the focus of their political struggles unique. . . .

Although we are feminists and Lesbians, we feel solidarity with progressive Black men and do not advocate the fractionalization that white women who are separatists demand. Our situation as Black people necessitates that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors. We struggle together with Black men against racism, while we also struggle with Black men about sexism. . . .

The major source of difficulty in our political work is that we are not just trying to fight oppression on one front or even two, but instead to address a whole range of oppressions. We do not have racial, sexual, heterosexual, or class privilege to rely upon, nor do we have even the minimal access to resources and power that groups who possess anyone of these types of privilege have. . . .

One issue that is of major concern to us and that we have begun to publicly address is racism in the white women’s movement. As Black feminists we are made constantly and painfully aware of how little effort white women have made to understand and combat their racism, which requires among other things that they have a more than superficial comprehension of race, color, and Black history and culture. Eliminating racism in the white women’s movement is by definition work for white women to do, but we will continue to speak to and demand accountability on this issue. . . .

. . . We believe in collective process and a nonhierarchical distribution of power within our own group and in our vision of a revolutionary society. We are committed to a continual examination of our politics as they develop through criticism and self-criticism as an essential aspect of our practice. . . .

From: *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Zillah Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), pp. 362–372.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: “The Combahee River Collective Statement,” 1977****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this statement are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME

PERIOD DATE

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. Based on the text of the “Combahee River Collective Statement,” how have the lives and political struggles of African American women been historically unique?

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2. What is one major source of difficulty that African American women have encountered in their fight against oppression?

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3. What has historically separated the Black feminist movement and the White feminist movement?

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Source 40: Melle Mel, “The Message,” 1982 (Excerpts)

It's like a jungle sometimes  
It makes me wonder how I keep from going under . . .

. . . Rats in the front room, roaches in the back  
Junkies in the alley with a baseball bat  
I tried to get away but I couldn't get far  
'Cause a man with a tow truck repossessed my car

Don't push me 'cause I'm close to the edge  
I'm trying not to lose my head  
It's like a jungle sometimes  
It makes me wonder how I keep from going under . . .

My brother's doing bad, stole my mother's TV  
Says she watches too much, it's just not healthy  
*All My Children* in the daytime, *Dallas* at night  
Can't even see the game or the Sugar Ray fight  
The bill collectors, they ring my phone  
And scare my wife when I'm not home  
Got a bum education, double-digit inflation  
Can't take the train to the job, there's a strike at the station  
Neon King Kong standing on my back  
Can't stop to turn around, broke my sacroiliac  
A mid-range migraine, cancered membrane  
Sometimes I think I'm going insane, I swear I might hijack a plane!

My son said, “Daddy, I don't wanna go to school  
'Cause the teacher's a jerk, he must think I'm a fool  
And all the kids smoke reefer, I think it'd be cheaper  
If I just got a job, learned to be a street sweeper  
Or dance to the beat, shuffle my feet  
Wear a shirt and tie and run with the creeps  
'Cause it's all about money, ain't a damn thing funny  
You got to have a con in this land of milk and honey . . .

. . . You'll admire all the number-book takers  
Thugs, pimps and pushers and the big money-makers  
Driving big cars, spending twenties and tens  
And you'll wanna grow up to be just like them, huh . . .

You say “I'm cool, huh, I'm no fool”  
But then you wind up dropping outta high school  
Now you're unemployed, all null and void  
Walking round like you're Pretty Boy Floyd . . .

Til one day, you was found hung dead in the cell  
It was plain to see that your life was lost  
You was cold and your body swung back and forth  
But now your eyes sing the sad, sad song  
Of how you lived so fast and died so young, so . . .

From: Melle Mel and Duke Bootee (Edward G. Fletcher), “The Message,” 1982, performed by Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five, Sugar Hill Records. (Library of Congress)

NAME

PERIOD DATE

**Document Analysis: Melle Mel's "The Message," 1982**

**Important Phrases**

Which phrases in these lyrics are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. What lyrics convey the scale of poverty in the rapper's neighborhood?

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2. In your own words, what are these lyrics telling us about the results of living in these conditions?

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3. Why doesn't the son want to go to school? How does the father respond? Provide lyrics to support your answer.

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4. What do these lyrics suggest was a significant obstacle to African American freedom? How did Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five hope to overcome this obstacle?

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**Source 41: Elsa Barkley Brown, Debra King, and Barbara Ransby,  
“African American Women in Defense of Ourselves,” 1991**

As women of African descent, we are deeply troubled by the recent nomination, confirmation and seating of Clarence Thomas as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. We know that the presence of Clarence Thomas on the Court will be continually used to divert attention from historic struggles for social justice through suggestions that the presence of a Black man on the Supreme Court constitutes an assurance that the rights of African Americans will be protected. Clarence Thomas’ public record is ample evidence this will not be true. Further, the consolidation of a conservative majority on the Supreme Court seriously endangers the rights of all women, poor and working class people and the elderly. The seating of Clarence Thomas is an affront not only to African American women and men, but to all people concerned with social justice.

We are particularly outraged by the racist and sexist treatment of Professor Anita Hill, an African American woman who was maligned and castigated for daring to speak publicly of her own experience of sexual abuse. The malicious defamation of Professor Hill insulted all women of African descent and sent a dangerous message to any woman who might contemplate a sexual harassment complaint.

We speak here because we recognize that the media are now portraying the Black community as prepared to tolerate both the dismantling of affirmative action and the evil of sexual harassment in order to have any Black man on the Supreme Court. We want to make clear that the media have ignored or distorted many African American voices. We will not be silenced.

Many have erroneously portrayed the allegations against Clarence Thomas as an issue of either gender or race. As women of African descent, we understand sexual harassment as both. We further understand that Clarence Thomas outrageously manipulated the legacy of lynching in order to shelter himself from Anita Hill’s allegations. To deflect attention away from the reality of sexual abuse in African American women’s lives, he trivialized and misrepresented this painful part of African American people’s history. This country, which has a long legacy of racism and sexism, has never taken the sexual abuse of Black women seriously. Throughout U.S. history Black women have been sexually stereotyped as immoral, insatiable, perverse; the initiators in all sexual contacts—abusive or otherwise. The common assumption in legal proceedings as well as in the larger society has been that Black women cannot be raped or otherwise sexually abused. As Anita Hill’s experience demonstrates, Black women who speak of these matters are not likely to be believed.

In 1991, we cannot tolerate this type of dismissal of any one Black woman’s experience or this attack upon our collective character without protest, outrage, and resistance.

As women of African descent, we express our vehement opposition to the policies represented by the placement of Clarence Thomas on the Supreme Court. The Bush administration, having obstructed the passage of civil rights legislation, impeded the extension of unemployment compensation, cut student aid and dismantled social welfare programs, has continually demonstrated that it is not operating in our best interests. Nor is this appointee. We pledge ourselves to continue to speak out in defense of one another, in defense of the African American community and against those who are hostile to social justice no matter what color they are. No one will speak for us but ourselves.

From: *New York Times*, November 17, 1991.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: “African American Women in Defense of Ourselves,” 1991****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this proclamation are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. Why did the women who signed this proclamation believe that the confirmation of Clarence Thomas as a US Supreme Court justice would be “an affront not only to African American women and men, but to all people concerned with social justice”?

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2. Based on the text of this proclamation, how have African American women been negatively stereotyped throughout US history?

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3. Why did the signatories of this proclamation believe that the allegations of sexual harassment by Justice Clarence Thomas toward Anita Hill involved both gender and racial discrimination?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Details, Description, and Decision (Lesson 6)**

Image Title or Number: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>People</b>	<b>Objects</b>
Details: Who are the people/characters in this image?	Details: What objects are included in this image?
Description:	Description:
<b>Action</b>	<b>Overall Assessment</b>
Details: What action/activity is occurring in this image?	Decision: What have I learned about the experiences of African Americans since the 1970s from this photograph?
Description:	

Source 42: Cecilio Ricardo, "Barack Obama Is Sworn In as the 44th President of the United States," 2009



(US Air Force photo, Department of Defense Imagery)

**Source 43: Claudia Rankine, “I Knew Whatever Was in Front of Me Was Happening,” 2014**

I knew whatever was in front of me was happening and then the police vehicle came to a screeching halt in front of me like they were setting up a blockade. Everywhere were flashes, a siren sounding and a stretched-out roar. Get on the ground. Get on the ground now. Then I just knew. And you are not the guy and still you fit the description because there is only one guy who is always the guy fitting the description. I left my client’s house knowing I would be pulled over. I knew. I just knew. I opened my briefcase on the passenger seat, just so they could see. Yes, officer rolled around on my tongue, which grew out of a bell that could never ring because its emergency was a tolling I was meant to swallow. In a landscape drawn from an ocean bed, you can’t drive yourself sane—so angry you are crying. You can’t drive yourself sane. This motion wears a guy out. Our motion is wearing you out and still you are not that guy.

Then flashes, a siren, a stretched-out roar—and you are not the guy and still you fit the description because there is only one guy who is always the guy fitting the description. Get on the ground. Get on the ground now. I must have been speeding. No, you weren’t speeding. I wasn’t speeding? You didn’t do anything wrong. Then why are you pulling me over? Why am I pulled over? Put your hands where they can be seen. Put your hands in the air. Put your hands up. Then you are stretched out on the hood. Then cuffed. Get on the ground now.

From: Claudia Rankine, “VI: I knew whatever was in front of me was happening, October 27, 2014” in *Citizen: An American Lyric* (Minneapolis: Graywolf Press, 2014). Permission given by author and poet Claudia Rankine.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: Claudia Rankine, “I Know Whatever Was in Front of Me Was Happening,” 2014****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this essay are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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NAME

PERIOD DATE

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**Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How does the African American poet Claudia Rankin express her feelings of fear regarding possible encounters with police officers?

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2. Based on your historical knowledge from the textual and visual documents, why do you think that this African American poet experiences these feelings of apprehension and fear?

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**Source 44: Caroline Randall Williams, “You Want a Confederate Monument?  
My Body Is a Confederate Monument,” 2020**

NASHVILLE — I have rape-colored skin. My light-brown-blackness is a living testament to the rules, the practices, the causes of the Old South.

If there are those who want to remember the legacy of the Confederacy, if they want monuments, well, then, my body is a monument. My skin is a monument.

Dead Confederates are honored all over this country — with cartoonish private statues, solemn public monuments and even in the names of United States Army bases. It fortifies and heartens me to witness the protests against this practice and the growing clamor from serious, nonpartisan public servants to redress it. But there are still those — like President Trump and the Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell — who cannot understand the difference between rewriting and reframing the past. I say it is not a matter of “airbrushing” history, but of adding a new perspective.

I am a black, Southern woman, and of my immediate white male ancestors, all of them were rapists. My very existence is a relic of slavery and Jim Crow.

According to the rule of hypodescent (the social and legal practice of assigning a genetically mixed-race person to the race with less social power) I am the daughter of two black people, the granddaughter of four black people, the great-granddaughter of eight black people. Go back one more generation and it gets less straightforward, and more sinister. As far as family history has always told, and as modern DNA testing has allowed me to confirm, I am the descendant of black women who were domestic servants and white men who raped their help.

It is an extraordinary truth of my life that I am biologically more than half white, and yet I have no white people in my genealogy in living memory. No. Voluntary. Whiteness. I am more than half white, and none of it was consensual. White Southern men — my ancestors — took what they wanted from women they did not love, over whom they had extraordinary power, and then failed to claim their children.

What is a monument but a standing memory? An artifact to make tangible the truth of the past. My body and blood are a tangible truth of the South and its past. The black people I come from were owned by the white people I come from. The white people I come from fought and died for their Lost Cause. And I ask you now, who dares to tell me to celebrate them? Who dares to ask me to accept their mounted pedestals?

You cannot dismiss me as someone who doesn’t understand. You cannot say it wasn’t my family members who fought and died. My blackness does not put me on the other side of anything. It puts me squarely at the heart of the debate. I don’t just come from the South. I come from Confederates. I’ve got rebel-gray blue blood coursing my veins. My great-grandfather Will was raised with the knowledge that Edmund Pettus was his father. Pettus, the storied Confederate general, the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, the man for whom Selma’s Bloody Sunday Bridge is named. So I am not an outsider who makes these demands. I am a great-great-granddaughter.

And here I’m called to say that there is much about the South that is precious to me. I do my best teaching and writing here. There is, however, a peculiar model of Southern pride that must now, at long last, be reckoned with.

This is not an ignorant pride but a defiant one. It is a pride that says, “Our history is rich, our causes are justified, our ancestors lie beyond reproach.” It is a pining for greatness, if you will, a wish again for a certain kind of American memory. A monument-worthy memory.

But here's the thing: Our ancestors don't deserve your unconditional pride. Yes, I am proud of every one of my black ancestors who survived slavery. They earned that pride, by any decent person's reckoning. But I am not proud of the white ancestors whom I know, by virtue of my very existence, to be bad actors.

Among the apologists for the Southern cause and for its monuments, there are those who dismiss the hardships of the past. They imagine a world of benevolent masters, and speak with misty eyes of gentility and honor and the land. They deny plantation rape, or explain it away, or question the degree of frequency with which it occurred.

To those people it is my privilege to say, *I am proof*. I am proof that whatever else the South might have been, or might believe itself to be, it was and is a space whose prosperity and sense of romance and nostalgia were built upon the grievous exploitation of black life.

The dream version of the Old South never existed. Any manufactured monument to that time in that place tells half a truth at best. The ideas and ideals it purports to honor are not real. To those who have embraced these delusions: Now is the time to re-examine your position.

Either you have been blind to a truth that my body's story forces you to see, or you really do mean to honor the oppressors at the expense of the oppressed, and you must at last acknowledge your emotional investment in a legacy of hate.

Either way, I say the monuments of stone and metal, the monuments of cloth and wood, all the man-made monuments, must come down. I defy any sentimental Southerner to defend our ancestors to me. I am quite literally made of the reasons to strip them of their laurels.

From: *New York Times*, June 26, 2020, [nytimes.com/2020/06/26/opinion/confederate-monuments-racism.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/opinion/confederate-monuments-racism.html).  
Permission given by author, poet, and professor Caroline Randall Williams.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Document Analysis: Caroline Randall Williams, “You Want a Confederate Monument?,” 2020****Important Phrases**

Which phrases or sentences in this op-ed are the most important or powerful? Choose three and give the reason for each choice.

Phrase 1:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 2:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

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Phrase 3:

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Why is this phrase important or powerful?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

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### Critical Thinking Questions

1. Why does poet and professor Caroline Randall Williams assert that her body and skin are “monuments” and “standing memories” to the Confederacy?

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2. Why does Professor Williams believe that her racial ancestry and history put her “squarely at the heart of the debate” over the legacy of the Confederacy and its monuments?

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3. Why does Williams contend that monuments to the Old South and the Confederacy must be dismantled and removed because they are symbols of exploitation and hatred? To what extent do you agree or disagree with her viewpoint? Briefly explain your viewpoint.

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