

▲ Frederick Douglass

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Frederick Douglass Laments the Color Line

In 1883, Frederick Douglass, the famous black leader and former runaway slave, addressed a gathering of African Americans in Louisville, Kentucky. Twenty years had passed since Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation, yet, as Douglass observed, African Americans had not realized their hopes for equality.

“Though we have had war, reconstruction and abolition as a nation, we still linger in the shadow and blight of an extinct institution. Though the colored man is no longer subject to be bought and sold, he is still surrounded by an adverse sentiment, which fetters all his movements. In his downward course he meets with no resistance, but his course upward is resented and resisted at every step of his progress. . . .”

—Frederick Douglass, address in Louisville, Kentucky, 1883

Segregation and Social Tensions

Objectives

- Assess how whites created a segregated society in the South and how African Americans responded.
- Analyze efforts to limit immigration and the effects.
- Compare the situations of Mexican Americans and of women to those of other groups.

Terms and People

Jim Crow laws
poll tax
literacy test
grandfather clause

Booker T. Washington
W.E.B. Du Bois
Ida B. Wells
Las Gorras Blancas

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Record the ways in which different groups challenged Reconstruction.



Why It Matters During Reconstruction, the federal government sought to secure equal rights for African Americans. By the time of the Gilded Age (1877–1900), however, African Americans and other minorities experienced a narrowing of their rights. This turn away from equality for all had a lasting impact on society in the United States. **Section Focus Question: How were the civil and political rights of certain groups in America undermined during the years after Reconstruction?**

African Americans Lose Freedoms

Following the disputed presidential election of 1876, President Hayes removed federal troops from the South. This action allowed southern states to reassert their control over African Americans without concern about federal intervention. Southern governments enacted various measures aimed at disenfranchising, or taking away the voting rights of, African Americans and enacted **Jim Crow laws** that kept blacks and whites segregated, or apart.

States' Governments Limit Voting Rights The Fifteenth Amendment, which became part of the United States Constitution in 1870, prohibited state governments from denying someone the right to vote because of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” After Reconstruction, southern states got around this

amendment by passing a number of other restrictive measures. They enacted a **poll tax**, which required voters to pay a tax to vote. The tax, which began in Georgia, cost voters \$1 or \$2 to vote. Poor African Americans could scarcely afford such a fee. The states also required voters to pass **literacy tests** and “understanding” tests. Because African Americans had been exploited economically and denied an education, these restrictions disqualified many of them as voters.

Southern states also enacted **grandfather clauses**, which allowed a person to vote as long as his ancestors had voted prior to 1866. Of course, the ancestors of the black freedmen did not vote prior to 1866, but the ancestors of many whites did. In other words, grandfather clauses allowed poor and illiterate whites but not blacks to vote. Some southern states also established all-white primaries, meaning only whites had a voice in selecting who got to run in general elections.

In addition, whites resorted to violence to keep African Americans from participating in the political process. As South Carolina senator Ben Tillman put it: “We have done our level best. We have scratched our heads to find out how we could eliminate the last one of them [black voters]. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them.”

As a result of these actions, throughout the Deep South, black participation in politics fell dramatically. In Louisiana, for example, the number of blacks registered to vote plummeted from 130,000 in 1894 to just over 1,300 in 1904. On the eve of World War II, in 1940, only 3 percent of all African Americans in the South could vote.

New Laws Force Segregation As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Jim Crow became a way of life in the South. Initially, some white southerners opposed Jim Crow laws on the grounds that if some aspects of life were segregated, in time all aspects of life would become segregated and this would impose an undue burden on society. “If there must be Jim Crow cars [railroad], there should be Jim Crow waiting saloons. And if there were Jim Crow saloons,” stated a prominent Charleston newspaper writer, “then there would have to be Jim Crow jury boxes and a Jim Crow Bible for colored witnesses.” The whole idea, he concluded, was “absurd.”

Nevertheless, widespread segregation became a reality. In addition to Jim Crow railroad cars and waiting stations, southern states established Jim Crow jury boxes and Bibles, as well as cemeteries, restaurants, parks, beaches, and hospitals. Similarly, in northern states, including those that had civil rights laws that outlawed legal segregation, black migrants found many examples of de facto segregation—actual segregation, such as restrictions on where they were allowed to live and work.

During the 1870s, the Supreme Court ruled in cases that undermined the civil rights of African Americans. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Jim Crow laws. (See the feature page at the end of this section.) It did so by arguing that as long as states maintained “separate but equal” facilities, they did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. Yet, in reality, separate

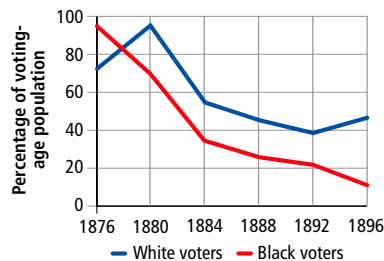
Vocabulary Builder

exploit—(ehk SPLOYT) *v.* to treat someone unfairly in order to earn money or gain an advantage

Rights Denied

As Jim Crow laws spread through the South, African Americans, as shown in the cartoon below, lost freedoms gained during Reconstruction. The change in African American voting patterns evident in South Carolina after 1876 was repeated in other southern states. The graph shows the effects of Jim Crow which kept African Americans from voting.

Voter Turnout in South Carolina, 1876–1896



SOURCE: *The Shaping of Southern Politics*, J. Morgan Kousser



facilities were rarely equal. For instance, in 1915, South Carolina spent nearly 14 dollars for every white student but less than 3 dollars for every black student.

✓ **Checkpoint** In what ways were the rights of African Americans restricted?

African Americans Oppose Injustices

Vocabulary Builder

status—(STAT uhs) *n.* legal position or condition of a person, group, country, etc.

Even during the darkest days of Jim Crow, African Americans refused to accept their **status** as second-class citizens. They established black newspapers, women's clubs, fraternal organizations, schools and colleges, and political associations with the goal of securing their freedom. They did not always agree on the best strategies for achieving their goal. However, they were united in their determination to “never turn back” until they had equality.

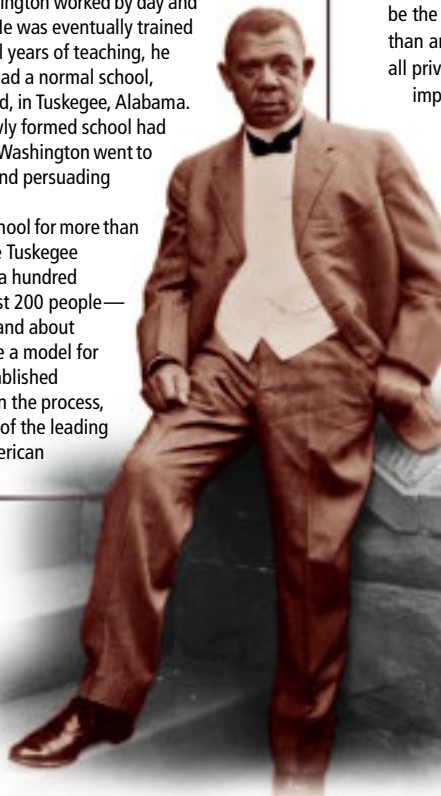
Booker T. Washington Urges Economic Advancement The most famous black leader during the late nineteenth century was **Booker T. Washington**. Born a slave in 1856, Washington argued that African Americans needed to accommodate themselves to segregation, meaning they should *not* focus their energies on seeking to overturn Jim Crow. Instead, he called for blacks to “pull themselves up from their own bootstraps” by building up their economic resources and establishing their reputations as hardworking and honest citizens.

HISTORY MAKERS

Booker T. Washington (1856–1915)

As a child, Booker T. Washington worked by day and went to school at night. He was eventually trained as a teacher. After several years of teaching, he was chosen in 1881 to head a normal school, where teachers are trained, in Tuskegee, Alabama. When he arrived, the newly formed school had no buildings or students. Washington went to work finding a space—and persuading 40 students to attend.

Washington led the school for more than 30 years. In that time, the Tuskegee Institute grew to include a hundred buildings, a staff of almost 200 people—all African Americans—and about 1,500 students. It became a model for many similar schools established throughout the country. In the process, Washington became one of the leading figures in the African American community.



Primary Source

“The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than artificial forcing. . . . It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges.”

—Booker T. Washington, Atlanta Exposition address, 1895

In addition to speaking and writing, Washington poured his energies into the Tuskegee Institute, a school in Macon County, Alabama. Under Washington, Tuskegee became known for providing “industrial education,” sometimes referred to as vocational education. Such an education, as Washington had suggested in his Atlanta Exposition address, would prepare African Americans to exercise the privileges of citizenship.

W.E.B. Du Bois Attacks Washington's Ideas

A native of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, **W.E.B. Du Bois**, who earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1896, criticized Washington's willingness to accommodate southern whites. Echoing the spirit of the abolitionists, he argued that blacks should demand full and immediate equality and not limit themselves to vocational education. Du Bois

did not feel that the right to vote was a privilege that blacks needed to earn. He also argued that Washington wrongly shifted the burden of achieving equality from the nation to “Negro’s shoulders” alone. You will learn more about the conflict between Washington and Du Bois in the next chapter.

Ida Wells Crusades Against Lynching One African American woman who fought for justice was **Ida B. Wells**. Born into slavery in 1862, Wells grew up in Holly Springs, Mississippi. Her father, James Wells, became a prominent local businessman and raised her to fight for the rights of African Americans. As a young adult, Wells moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where she worked as a schoolteacher and became active in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Wells bought a local newspaper, renamed it *Free Speech*, and wrote numerous articles that condemned the mistreatment of blacks.

In 1892, after a mob attack on close friends in Memphis, she wrote an editorial attacking the practice of lynching in the South. “Eight Negroes lynched since last issue of the ‘Free Speech,’” Wells declared. “If Southern white men are not careful, they will over-reach themselves and public sentiment will have a reaction.”

Local whites responded to Wells’s editorial by running her out of town. In exile, Wells embarked on a lifelong crusade against lynching. She wrote three pamphlets aimed at awakening the nation to what she described as the “southern horrors” of legalized murder. She also toured Europe and helped organize women’s clubs to fight for African American rights.



Checkpoint How did Wells, Washington, and Du Bois protest the mistreatment of African Americans?

Chinese Immigrants Face Discrimination

During the same time that Jim Crow arose in the South, Chinese immigrants faced racial prejudice on the West Coast. In 1879, California barred cities from employing people of Chinese ancestry. Several years later, San Francisco established a segregated “Oriental” school. Elsewhere, mobs of whites attacked Chinese workers, saying they had taken “white” jobs. Congress responded to these attacks by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the country.

Like African Americans, brave Chinese immigrants challenged discrimination. Saum Song Bo questioned why he should support a fund-raising drive to build the Statue of Liberty. “That statue represents Liberty holding a torch which lights the passage of those of all nations who come into this country,” Bo wrote in a letter published in *American Missionary* in 1898. “But are the Chinese allowed to come? As for the Chinese who are here, are they allowed to enjoy liberty as men of all other nationalities enjoy it?”

Chinese immigrants also turned to the federal courts to protect their rights but with mixed results. In 1886, in the case of *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, the U.S.

Forging a New Life

Frequently faced with job discrimination, some Chinese immigrants, such as the ones shown here, managed to start their own businesses. These immigrants pose proudly in front of their own grocery store.



Supreme Court sided with a Chinese immigrant who challenged a California law that banned him and other Chinese from operating a laundry. In 1898, the Court ruled that individuals of Chinese descent, born in the United States, could not be stripped of their citizenship. Yet the Court upheld the Chinese Exclusion Act and several other discriminatory measures.



Checkpoint How did Chinese immigrants use the court system to protest discrimination?

Mexican Americans Struggle in the West

Like African Americans and Asian Americans, Mexican Americans struggled against discrimination in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. At the center of their struggle stood land. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed at the end of the Mexican-American War, guaranteed the property rights of Mexicans who lived in the Southwest prior to the war. Still, four out of five Mexican Americans who lived in New Mexico lost their land, as did Mexican Americans in other southwestern states.

Abuses and Discrimination Undermine Rights Many factors caused the Mexican Americans to lose most of their land. When Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans laid claim to the same land, U.S. courts put the burden of proof on Mexican Americans to show that they really owned the land. Differences in legal customs, and the fact that much of the land was held communally, not individually, made it difficult for many of them to do so.

In addition, Anglo Americans used political connections to take land away from Mexican Americans. The “Sante Fe Ring,” an association of prominent



INFOGRAPHIC

Discrimination in the West

America's move toward integration was neither smooth nor steady. African Americans were not the only group to suffer discrimination. Mexicans and Chinese immigrants also faced harsh and constant discrimination.

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans were “thrown among those who were strangers to their language, customs, laws and habits.” Although guaranteed the rights of U.S. citizens, Mexicans were subjected to laws limiting their rights as citizens and landowners.

The Burlingame Treaty signed in 1868 guaranteed government protection for Chinese immigrants. Yet, this was hardly the reality. Chinese immigrants were often victims of discrimination and random violence.

Both Mexicans and Chinese immigrants responded to the prejudice with group resistance, lawsuits, and labor strikes.

Surviving harsh conditions, these ►
Mexican women in San Antonio, Texas,
prepare a meal outside their shack.



whites, got the federal government to grant the group control of millions of acres of land in New Mexico. Thousands of Mexican Americans had lived on and farmed this land for many years. Since New Mexico was a territory, not a state, however, Mexican Americans, who comprised the majority of the population, had no representatives in Washington, D.C., to challenge this deal.

Mexican Americans Fight Back Throughout the Southwest—in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California—Mexican Americans fought to maintain their rights. Many Mexicans especially resented the loss of their land. One group, **Las Gorras Blancas**, targeted the property of large ranch owners by cutting holes in barbed-wire fences and burning houses. The group declared: “Our purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the people in general; especially those of the helpless classes.” Supported by a national labor organization, the Knights of Labor, the group also had a newspaper to voice their grievances.

As anti-Mexican feelings increased, a group of Hispanic citizens in Tucson, Arizona, formed the *Alianza Hispano-Americana* in 1894 to protect the culture, interests, and legal rights of Mexican Americans. Within two years, new branches of the organization opened in other cities.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did Mexican Americans lose rights to their land?

Women Make Gains and Suffer Setbacks

Before the Civil War, women played a prominent role in many reform movements, including the drive to abolish slavery. They even began to fight for their own right to vote, to own property, and to receive an education. In the decades that followed the Civil War, women continued to fight for these rights. In some cases, they were successful; in others, they were not.

▼ Violence against Chinese immigrants increased in the West throughout the 1870s and 1880s. In railroad towns and mining camps, angry whites looted and burned Chinese communities.



◀ Chinese immigration papers

Chinese laborers took on the most dangerous jobs while working on the transcontinental railroad. ▶



Thinking Critically

- 1. Analyze Information** Why did anti-Chinese feelings increase during the depression years of the 1870s?
- 2. Draw Conclusions** Were Mexican protest groups such as *Las Gorras Blancas* effective? Explain.

History Interactive*

For: More about discrimination in the West
Web Code: ncp-1607

Fighting for a Constitutional Amendment


Expanding the rights of African Americans left some women's rights activists, such as Susan B. Anthony, angry. Anthony favored abolishing slavery. Yet she felt betrayed when Radical Republicans did not include women in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

In 1869, Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association to fight for a constitutional amendment that would grant women the right to vote. In 1872, Anthony voted in an election in Rochester, New York, an illegal act for which she was tried and ultimately convicted in federal court. While awaiting trial, Anthony toured the nation, delivering a speech titled "Is It a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?" Anthony declared, "Our . . . government is based on . . . the natural right of every individual member . . . to a voice and a vote in making and executing the laws."

Anthony's address failed to convince the nation to enact a women's suffrage amendment. By the time of Anthony's death in 1906, only four western states—Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho—had granted women the right to vote.

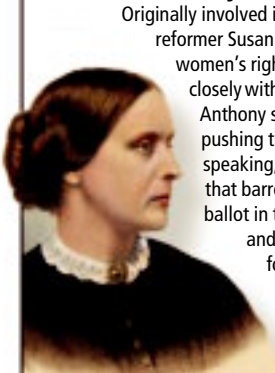
Breaking Down Other Barriers Women's rights activists, however, did achieve some of their other goals. The number of women attending college jumped. By 1900, one third of all college students, nationwide, were women.

Women also played an increasingly important role in a number of reform movements. Frances Willard led the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). While temperance, or the ban of the sale of liquor, remained Willard's primary goal, she also supported women's suffrage. She argued that women needed the vote to prohibit the sale of alcohol. Like many of WCTU's members, Willard also promoted other social causes, such as public health and welfare reform.

 **Checkpoint** What successes did women achieve in the years after Reconstruction?

HISTORY MAKERS

Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906)



Originally involved in the temperance movement, reformer Susan B. Anthony joined the fight for women's right to vote in the 1850s. Working closely with her friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anthony spent five decades tirelessly pushing the cause by traveling, writing, speaking, and organizing. To challenge laws that barred women from voting, she cast a ballot in the presidential election of 1872 and then refused to pay the fine when found guilty. Shortly before her death, Anthony urged women to continue the struggle for voting rights with the words "Failure is impossible."

SECTION

1

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nca-1602

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** Explain how each person or group challenged discrimination.
 - Booker T. Washington
 - W.E.B. Du Bois
 - Ida B. Wells
 - Las Gorras Blancas

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:**

Summarize Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How were the civil and political rights of certain groups in America undermined during the years after Reconstruction?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Prepare an Outline** Write down notes to answer the following prompt: Explain how issues such as social reform, civil rights, and the economy dominated local politics in the late 1890s. Then, use your notes to prepare an outline to answer the prompt.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Conclusions** How did the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision support the existence of Jim Crow laws?
- 5. Recognize Cause and Effect** How did the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo affect relations between Mexican Americans and white Americans in the Southwest?
- 6. Analyze Information** Do you think women activists during the late 1800s had any effect on the political or social life of the country? Explain.

Can Separate Treatment Be Equal Treatment?

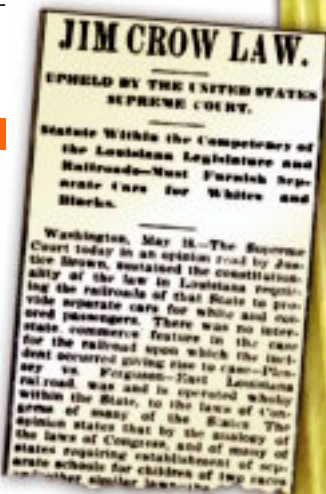
The Fourteenth Amendment, passed during Reconstruction in 1866, guaranteed equal rights to all citizens. By 1890, civil rights and racial equality were not significant issues for whites in the North and South. Already, the Supreme Court was handing down decisions that overturned Reconstruction legislation and encouraged racial discrimination.

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

The Facts	The Issue	The Decision
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• In 1890, Louisiana passed a law allowing railroads to provide "separate but equal" facilities.• Homer Plessy, an African American, sat in the car reserved for whites.• He was arrested when he refused to move to the "colored" car.	In his appeal to the Supreme Court, Plessy argued that the <i>Separate Car Act</i> violated the Fourteenth Amendment.	A 7 to 1 majority declared that state laws requiring separate but equal accommodations for whites and blacks did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment.

Why It Matters

The majority of the Supreme Court reasoned that the Constitution was not intended to protect social equality of race. This interpretation allowed southern states to make laws requiring separate but equal facilities. These racial discrimination laws, known as Jim Crow laws, lasted nearly 60 years before the Court reversed its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). In this case, the Court ruled that separate but equal facilities violated the Fourteenth Amendment.



▲ An article from an 1896 newspaper reporting the *Plessy v. Ferguson* verdict

Connect to Your World

What does it mean to be treated equally? Are there instances where separate treatment is equal treatment? Consider the following situations. Decide what is equal treatment for the individuals in each case. Discuss your conclusions with the rest of the class.

- Two students enter their high school. One of them is confined to a wheelchair.
- Twelfth graders are required to pass algebra in order to graduate. One student has a documented learning disability in math; the other does not.

For: Supreme Court cases

Web Code: nce-1603

A young man in a wheelchair faces the difficulty of entering a building. ▶

