

# Chapter 19

## A Step Backward for Civil Rights

### Chapter Preview

#### TERMS

Jim Crow laws, separate-but-equal doctrine, lynching, Great Migration, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, disfranchise, white primary, grandfather clause, prejudice, anti-Semitism, commute

#### PEOPLE

Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Lucy Craft Laney, Joseph Winthrop Holly, John Hope, Lugenia Burns Hope, Leo Frank

#### PLACES

“Sweet Auburn”





**T**he late 1800s-early 1900s was a period of change in some ways and continuity in others. Georgians had mixed feelings about change. Some, especially whites, wanted to

hold on to the past and return to life as it had been before the Civil War. Among other things, this involved keeping other groups of people in the places in society they had always held. Even though these Georgians accepted the end of slavery, they believed African Americans would have the same status as free blacks before the Civil War—limited freedom, but not equality. Without northern supervision, a new caste system began to emerge in the South.

African Americans in Georgia hoped to have the greater equality that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution seemed to offer. These hopes ran into the determination of most whites to keep them in a place of inferiority. At first, threats and violence became the means of enforcement. Then laws began to change. Racial segregation became established by law and custom. African American men also lost their right to vote through measures designed to get around the Fifteenth Amendment. In spite of that, African Americans built religious, business, and educational institutions that provided for them what was denied them in the white community. While their situations were different from African Americans, other groups also suffered from discrimination, especially Catholics and Jews.

**Left:** The Summit Avenue Ensemble was made up of the five sons (and a neighbor) of Atlanta photographer Thomas Askew. The photograph was included in a series of albums assembled by W. E. B. DuBois under the title “Negro Life in Georgia, U.S.A.” and exhibited at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900. Other examples are on pages 473, 476, 482, and 495.

# Section 1

## African Americans and Segregation

### As you read, look for

- methods used to enforce segregation,
- African American response to segregation,
- African American leaders of the period,
- the birth of the NAACP,
- terms: Jim Crow laws, separate-but-equal doctrine, lynching, Great Migration, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

**Figure 39**  
**Timeline:**  
**1880 to 1915**



1886 Haines Institute founded | 1895 International Cotton Exposition in Atlanta | 1906 Atlanta Race Riot | 1908 Lugenia Burns Hope founded Neighborhood Union; Disfranchisement amendment ratified

1909 NAACP founded

1880 Ware High School founded

1891 Georgia passed law segregating railroad cars

1899 *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* decision

1915 Leo Frank lynched; Ku Klux Klan refounded at Stone Mountain

1880

1885

1890

1895

1900

1905

1910

1915

1881 Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee Institute

1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision

1899 Scott Joplin published "Maple Leaf Rag"

1903 Madam C. J. Walker started an African American hair care business

1911 National Urban League founded

1909 Black explorer Matthew Henson reached North Pole with Admiral Peary



**The late 1800s and early 1900s was a period** when prejudice resulted in growing inequality, separateness, and even violence. As change occurred, those who had enjoyed superiority in southern society based on their race, religion, and gender felt their status threatened. That led to laws, practices, and sometimes violence as white Protestant men tried to maintain their place. African Americans were the major target. By the end of the period, laws and customs had created a second-class citizenship. A major step toward this lower status was the establishment of legalized segregation.

### **The Establishment of Segregation**

One of the most significant methods to maintain white supremacy in society was the passage of segregation laws. As you learned, segregation meant that blacks and whites would be separated in many aspects of their lives. Schools were segregated from the end of the Civil War, and most churches were separate. In practice, some public places such as restaurants were becoming segregated, although no laws required separation. The U.S. Congress had passed a Civil Rights Act in 1875, which made discrimination in public places illegal. But in the 1880s, in a series of cases called the “civil rights cases,” the Supreme Court had said that, while the government could not discriminate, it could not prevent owners of private businesses from deciding who they would serve. That had opened the door to segregation in public spaces.

**Above: Churches tended to be segregated even before the Jim Crow era. Here, members of the First Congregational Church in Atlanta pose for Thomas Askew. Under the leadership of Henry Hugh Proctor (back row, to the right of the mother and child), the church became famous for offering social, cultural, and welfare programs to the black community. U.S. presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft visited the church to see its programs in action.**



**Above:** Most larger towns and cities in Georgia had neighborhoods segregated by race. This photograph taken in 1886 shows an African American neighborhood in Savannah.

## Something Extra!

The *Plessy* decision was eventually overturned, but not until 1954.

### Jim Crow Laws

Throughout the 1890s and early 1900s, both the state of Georgia and local communities passed laws and ordinances calling for segregation, or **Jim Crow laws**. The term *Jim Crow* had been used in the mid-1800s for a type of black character in minstrel shows. White performers blackened their faces and sang and danced in a way that made fun of African Americans. The term became a racial slur. “Jim Crow” was first connected to segregation in the North before the Civil War. There some railroad cars were segregated and called Jim Crow cars. The term survived and became the nickname for the new laws that southern states passed to create a second-class, separate, and inferior position for African Americans.

Jim Crow laws were somewhat like the early Black Codes that southern states had tried to enact right after the Civil War. Those had been disallowed during military Reconstruction. Before the passage of Jim Crow laws, customs and intimidation had already created a system of white superiority in Georgia and other southern states. Jim Crow laws made the practice of segregation legal.

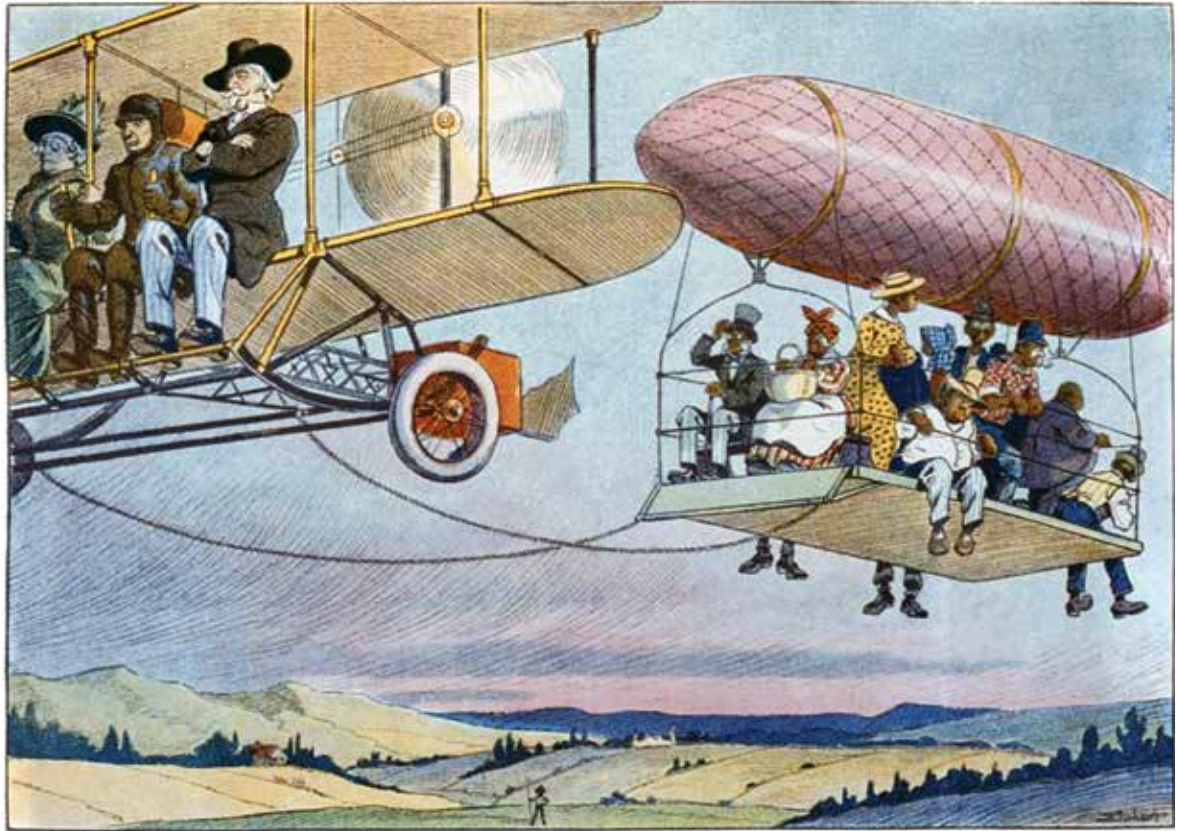
Because segregation by race meant defining race, states passed laws saying how much African heritage a person had to have to be considered black.

### *Plessy v. Ferguson*

Railroad cars were among the public spaces that states segregated. Georgia passed such a law in 1891. A similar Louisiana law was challenged on purpose by African Americans who thought it was unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. Homer Plessy (who was one-eighth African American and seven-eighths white in heritage) challenged the Louisiana law after he was removed from a first-class railroad car. In the famous 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public places could be separate by race, but that they had to be “equal.” This **separate-but-equal doctrine** allowed segregation to continue in the United States for decades.

Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan disagreed with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. He wrote that if the Supreme Court allowed separate train cars, it could lead to many other areas of segregation. He was right. With the separate-but-equal doctrine approved by the Supreme Court, southern states began enacting dozens of state laws and local ordinances to create separate public spaces from cradle to grave, from separate schools and libraries to separate cemeteries. Racial segregation became established by law and custom.

# The Art of Politics



The separate-but-equal doctrine inaugurated by *Plessy v. Ferguson* is satirized in this 1913 *Puck* magazine cartoon entitled "For the sunny South. An airship with a 'Jim Crow' Trailer." It points out the reality of the new segregation laws in the South by showing an airplane towing a separate, but not exactly equal, airship behind it.

## **Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education**

The Supreme Court decision that first applied the separate-but-equal doctrine to education was a case from Georgia—*Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*. The 1899 *Cumming* decision allowed Richmond County to keep a white high school open while closing Ware High School for African American students. The court said the Richmond County Board of Education's decision to use the Ware High money for black elementary schools instead of the high school did not establish discrimination. The decision also acknowledged that not allowing African Americans in white schools was constitutional. In practice, the separate aspect of the doctrine was enforced, but the equal part was not.



**Above:** Even in the segregated South, it was possible for African American business owners and professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, to become quite wealthy. But in spite of such wealth, the Jim Crow laws relegated them to a legal status beneath that of the poorest whites.

### Preventing Equality

These laws affected the lives of both black and white Georgians and had a profound impact on the relationship between the races. Public places became more and more separate. Blacks and whites continued to interact, however, especially in work places. For many African American women, that meant the homes of white families. While African Americans could shop in stores, they could not sit at lunch counters in those stores. Courts used separate Bibles to swear in witnesses. Eventually restrooms and water fountains were separate, as were the waiting rooms in railroad and streetcar stations. African Americans were excluded altogether from some public businesses, such as restaurants and hotels that served whites. In 1905, a Georgia law called for parks to be segregated. In areas where total separation would be expensive, such as theaters, separate areas to sit were designated. “Colored Only” and “White Only” signs began to appear throughout Georgia and the other southern states. They did not come down for decades.

In addition to the laws establishing separate spaces, unspoken rules of how whites and blacks interacted emerged. Whites had the right-of-way on sidewalks and roadways. Whites, including children, called African Americans by their first names. African Americans, on the other hand, had to always use a title when speaking to whites, even children: Mr., Mrs., Sir, Ma’am, Master, or Miss. African Americans did not speak their minds to whites; they were expected to agree and obey.

While some whites and blacks developed close personal relationships, especially between white employers and African American employees, those relationships were never equal. No matter how educated and wealthy African Americans became, they were always considered inferior to any whites.

Threats and violence became the way to enforce the unspoken rules of racial standing. Children of both races learned these rules early. For black children, learning these rules could be important to their safety and well-being.

As these new forms of racial interaction were emerging, Georgia went through a period of difficult racial tension and sometimes violence. A form of extreme violence was lynching. **Lynching** occurs when a mob of people murder someone. Hanging and shooting were the most common methods of killing. Historians have found that between 1882 and 1930, over 450 Georgians were lynched, around 95 percent of them African Americans. Only Mississippi had more of these murders. Lynching occurred most in Georgia's central and southern rural areas. The most active decades for lynching were the 1890s and the 1910s. In some cases, the victims had been accused of a crime but were not given their due process rights. In other cases, however, the victim had simply angered a white in some way by getting "out of his place" or being "uppity." Mobs of white men lynched without disguise, knowing that there would be no punishment.

### **African American Responses to Segregation**

African Americans had a variety of responses to the Jim Crow laws in the South. Some moved away. In the 1880s, a migration of African Americans from the South to the Great Plains began. During the Civil War, the U.S. Congress had passed the Homestead Act to encourage people to settle in the grassy, flat, windy plains. A family could become the owners of 160 acres of land (one-fourth of a square mile) if they lived on and farmed the land for five years. As attractive as the idea of land ownership was, the lure of living without fear of the KKK and other forms of intimidation and violence was

**Below: The town of Nicodemus was settled during the exodus of 1879, when as many as 40,000 blacks left the South to settle in Kansas. The settlers, called Exodusters, established a number of towns which, like Nicodemus, still exist. The movement was short-lived, declining within a couple of years.**





## Something Extra!

Booker T. Washington's autobiography was titled *Up From Slavery*.

a more important factor for many African Americans who were part of this migration west were known as *Exodusters*.

A.M.E. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, one of those legislators removed from the Georgia General Assembly during Reconstruction, became increasingly concerned that African Americans would not ever have equality in the United States. He was outraged by some of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions that did not live up to the protections that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed. He began to preach that African Americans should migrate to Africa. He visited the continent himself several times in the 1890s.

While C.M.E. Bishop Lucius Henry Holsey did not support leaving the country, he too came to believe that white and black southerners would never be able to live together in harmony. He had become especially disturbed after a particularly horrible lynching in Georgia. He developed the idea that the national government should establish a separate state in the West for African Americans, where they could live peacefully without whites and without discrimination. Neither of those plans had many supporters.

By the early twentieth century, small numbers of African Americans began to move north. Those numbers grew after 1915. In that year, the KKK was re-founded at Georgia's Stone Mountain, and fears of violence against African Americans increased. Another draw to the North was jobs. Factory jobs increased when World War I began in Europe and the Allies bought U.S. goods. Even more jobs were created when the United States entered the war. The numbers of African Americans leaving the South became so great that this movement from South to North became known as the **Great Migration**.

### Booker T. Washington

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, most African Americans did not leave. They had to “cast down [their] buckets” where they were. Those words were spoken by Booker T. Washington, a major leader for the black community during this time. Born into slavery in Virginia, Washington longed as a young boy to attend school, as he saw his white owner's children doing. He



wrote in his autobiography that he “had the feeling that to get into a schoolhouse would be about the same as getting into paradise.” Freed at the end of the Civil War, Washington worked hard in a West Virginia mine before becoming a house boy for the mine’s owner. The mine owner’s wife taught Washington to read. At sixteen, he entered Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he worked his way through school. On the recommendation of his Hampton principal, he became the head of a new school for African Americans in Tuskegee, Alabama. He and his students met in a church while they built the school with their own hands.

Washington believed that African Americans had to acquire the knowledge and skills that would help them find jobs and raise their economic status. He saw that as the number one priority. Therefore he emphasized industrial, or vocational, education. He went around the country supporting African American education and raising money for his school and others. He became friends with some leading northern whites who supported his cause.

In 1895, the organizers of the International Cotton Exposition in Atlanta asked Washington to speak on the opening day. In his speech, Washington seemed to accept segregation by saying that, in their social lives, blacks and whites could be “as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.” He urged whites to employ African Americans. He hoped that equality would come, although he believed it would be gradual. This seeming acceptance of segregation and social inequality in order to get along with southern whites became known as “accommodation.”

Northern and southern white leaders enthusiastically praised Washington’s speech. To Washington, who had lived with southern whites his entire life, this was a practical approach. He believed that it might result in better race relations and a gradual white acceptance of African American equality. After the 1906 Atlanta riot, many began to question Washington’s gradual approach. They began to think that, no matter how much African Americans accomplished, whites would not accept them as social and political equals.

### W. E. B. DuBois

In the early 1900s, an emerging African American leader began to debate Washington’s ideas. William Edward Burghart (W. E. B.) DuBois had grown up in Massachusetts, where he had been born free and had not faced the same racial attitudes. His first encounter with segregation came in 1885 when he went to Nashville, Tennessee, to attend Fisk College. He was profoundly affected by his experience and began to develop his ideas of educating leaders for African Americans, leaders he called the “Talented



**Opposite page:** As the founder and president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Booker T. Washington was the best-known African American in the country. He believed that the reconciliation of the races would be a slow, gradual process. **Above:** Booker T. Washington was famous as a charismatic speaker, drawing large crowds whenever he spoke. His speech at the International Cotton Exposition was warmly received by whites.



**Above:** W. E. B. DuBois, who taught at Atlanta University, was, with Booker T. Washington, a leading spokesman for African Americans. He opposed Washington's philosophy of accommodation, favoring a more aggressive approach to gaining civil rights.

Tenth." He wanted them to have a liberal arts education to develop thinking and leadership skills.

DuBois graduated from Harvard with bachelor's and master's degrees, went to the University of Berlin for two years, and then returned to Harvard for a Ph.D. degree. In 1897, he was recruited to come to Atlanta University where he not only taught, but also worked hard as a scholar studying conditions for African Americans. His famous work *The Souls of Black Folk* was published in 1903. His own findings as he studied problems such as poverty and lynching led him to call for increased action. Two years later, he was among black leaders who met at Niagara Falls to discuss ways of combating racial discrimination. Out of this meeting developed the Niagara Movement. Events of the next few years, including the Atlanta race riot and the loss of the right to vote, convinced DuBois that African Americans would have to stir things up to achieve justice.

The Niagara Movement joined with white liberals in 1909 to form the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**

(NAACP). DuBois started the organization's magazine *The Crisis*. In 1910, he left Atlanta to work full-time with the NAACP in New York. DuBois believed that African Americans should not take a gradual approach to civil rights and equality. He wanted to attack racism. For the next few decades, the NAACP took cases of discrimination to court to try to get the nation to live up to the promises of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

### Reviewing the Section

1. Define: separate-but-equal doctrine, lynching, Great Migration, NAACP.
2. What did the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* accomplish?
3. What did the decision in *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* accomplish?

# Of Special Interest

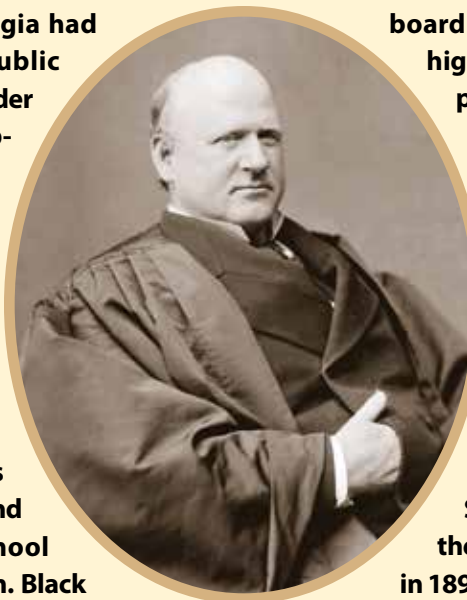
## *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*

**During Reconstruction**, Georgia had founded its first statewide public school system. The 1872 law under which Richmond County established schools separated by race said, "The Board shall provide the same facilities for each, both as regards school houses and fixtures, attainments and abilities of teachers, length of time and all other matters pertaining to education." By 1876, the board operated two schools for whites, one a girls' school and the other a coeducational school in the community of Hephzibah. Black leaders in Augusta asked for a high school.

In 1878, the superintendent of schools gave his support saying, "to grant today the petition of the colored people would be only an act of tardy justice." In 1880, Ware High School was founded, the only high school in the state for African Americans. Within a year, the superintendent wrote, "The Colored High School has been a complete success. . . ."

In 1897, a board committee recommended taking the money going to Ware High School and using it instead to hire additional teachers for the African American elementary schools. Leading black citizens petitioned for Ware to remain open, but the board voted to close it.

African Americans, led by Joseph W. Cumming, James Harper, and John Ladaveze, hired attorneys who asked for a restraining order to stop the



board from collecting taxes for white high schools. Richmond County Superior Court Judge Enoch Callaway agreed with the plaintiffs and ordered the board not to collect tax money for the white school until there was a facility for black students.

The board took the case to the Georgia Supreme Court, which reversed Judge Callaway's decision. Cumming and his co-plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which confirmed the Georgia Supreme Court decision in 1899. The court said that establishing

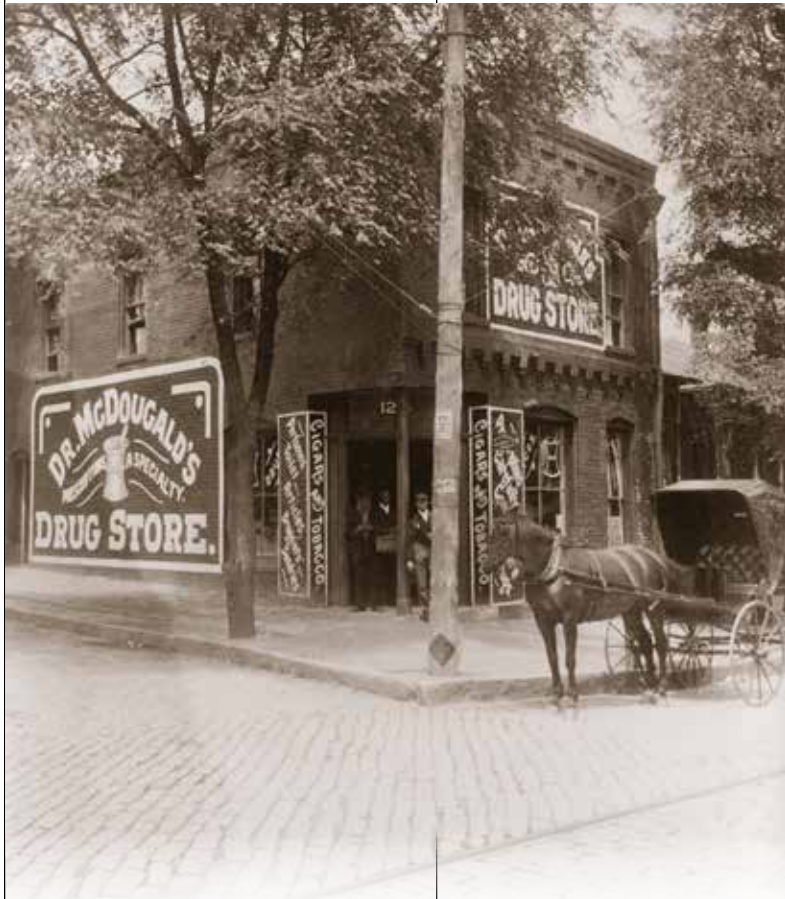
high schools was not required by the laws of the time, so the Board of Education could set them up according to their own judgment. The Supreme Court saw education as a state matter because, at that time, state taxes paid for schools. The federal government, the Court said, had no say unless rights were violated. The Court ruled that because it could find no "desire or purpose to discriminate," the Board of Education did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice John Marshall Harlan (*pictured*) wrote that the African American plaintiffs had failed to demonstrate that the school board had been motivated by "hostility . . . because of race." The *Plessy* case had allowed for separation but required equality. In the *Cumming* decision, it was clear that defending equality was going to be a challenge for the African American community.

## Section 2

# African American Institutions and Life

**As you read, look for**

- the development of African American urban communities,
- educational opportunities for African Americans.



**Above:** Dr. McDougald's Drug Store is typical of the types of businesses found in the African American downtown neighborhoods of Georgia's larger towns and cities.

**As African Americans in Georgia found** themselves discriminated against and increasingly segregated, many took action to build lives as best they could under the limitations they faced. Among other things, they turned to their churches, which became important places of comfort, hope, and fellowship. Men and women worked hard to support themselves and their families on farms and in towns and cities. They founded businesses and educational and cultural institutions.

### City Life

It was easier for African Americans to build a better life for themselves in urban areas. Cities became home to the artisans, professionals, and businessmen who would become the foundation of an African American middle class. In the cities, women and some men could find work as domestic servants. Those who could get an education could teach or

practice other professions. In spite of Jim Crow laws, African Americans built religious, educational, and business institutions that gave them what was denied them in the white community. African Americans owned barber shops, restaurants, theaters, and drug stores. In every city, African American families owned funeral homes that prepared their departed for their final resting places.



Each city in Georgia developed a second downtown of businesses, professional offices, retail stores, and entertainment facilities that served African Americans. These bustling neighborhoods provided public spaces away from whites. There, African Americans could be themselves, removed from the behaviors they had to display when around whites. In Atlanta, that area was Auburn Avenue, also known as “Sweet Auburn.” It was home to Atlanta Life Insurance Company, to Citizens Trust Bank, to shops and stores, and to the now-famous Ebenezer Baptist Church. Like similar neighborhoods in other cities, Sweet Auburn had social clubs and fraternal organizations such as the Masons. When Atlanta formed a chapter of the NAACP, its offices were on Auburn Avenue. One of the most successful African American newspapers, the *Atlanta Daily World*, was there as well. Other towns in Georgia had smaller, but similar, African American business and cultural districts. While many African Americans had homes in other areas of their towns, the African American downtown was where they went for services and entertainment.

### Schooling

African Americans had a strong interest in education during this period. In addition to attending public schools, African Americans themselves founded schools for their children. This was especially important at the secondary, or high school, level because public high schools were not required. In Augusta, former slave and Atlanta University graduate Lucy Craft Laney

**Above:** The Odd Fellows Building on Auburn Avenue, built in 1911, was the first large, black-owned, multi-use structure in Atlanta, with shops, offices, and an auditorium.

## Something Extra!

In 1992, Sweet Auburn, a National Historic Landmark since 1976, was named an endangered historic place. Since 1994 efforts to restore and revitalize the area have been made.



founded a school named the Haines Institute in 1886. There, young men and women received a classical education that included Latin, mathematics, sciences, and liberal arts courses. Laney became widely recognized as a leader in education for African American youth. She and Henry McNeal Turner were the first African Americans whose portraits hung in the state Capitol building. In Albany in 1908, Joseph Winthrop Holly founded the Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute as an elementary and secondary school. The state eventually took over his institution; today, it is Albany State University.

African American education in the South got a major boost when a Philadelphia Quaker named Anna Jeanes established a fund to pay well-qualified black teachers to help improve schools and communities. These “Jeanes supervisors” began summer programs for teachers to sharpen their knowledge and skills, worked to develop a standard curriculum for African American schools, and offered programs to enhance community life. Georgia began with six Jeanes teachers and gained many more over the next two decades.



## Higher Education

Religious organizations, usually northern ones, were responsible for all of the first colleges for African Americans. Most began as high schools to prepare young men and women for college-level work. Atlanta became the center of higher education for African Americans.

The oldest of the Atlanta colleges was Atlanta Baptist College, founded by the American Missionary Association. This northern group had worked to end slavery before the Civil War. After the war, it became very involved in the education of African Americans. Plans for the school began in 1865. By the 1870s, college work had begun. The school, later known as Atlanta University, was the first major source of African American teachers such as Lucy Laney. The establishment of Clark College, founded by the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, followed in 1869. In 1883, Clark founded Gammon School of Theology (now the Interdenominational Theological Center) to train ministers for the many African American churches being founded. Atlanta University and Clark College merged in 1986 to form Clark Atlanta University.

The only African American college for males in the United States began in 1869 as Augusta Baptist Institute. It moved to Atlanta in 1879; by 1897, it was awarding college degrees. Its early support came from the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and the school took the name of the secretary of that organization, Henry L. Morehouse.

In 1898, Morehouse hired a new faculty member, John Hope. Born in Augusta to a white father and an African American mother, Hope had completed his college degree at Brown University in Rhode Island. After teaching for one year in Tennessee, he and his bride Lugenia moved to Atlanta. In



**Above:** Morehouse College moved to Atlanta in 1879. **Below:** John Hope, seen here with his wife Lugenia and their two sons, served as president of both Morehouse College and Atlanta University. **Opposite page, above:** Lucy C. Laney founded Haines Institute in 1886. **Opposite page, below:** The Haines Institute cadets of 1900.





## Something Extra!

The Neighborhood Union was entirely run by women.



**Above:** Richard Wright, Sr., was the founding president of Georgia's first public college for African Americans, initially named the Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youth. It became Georgia State College in 1932 and was renamed Savannah State College in 1950. This photograph shows Richard Wright in the uniform of army paymaster during the Spanish-American War. His rank of major was the highest held by an African American at that time.

1906, Hope became the school's first African American president. By then, he was already a known figure in African American education. Hope was also active in many causes for African Americans, including the Niagara Movement and the NAACP. In 1929, Hope made Atlanta University the first African American graduate school in the country.

One of the best-known African American women was Lugenia Burns Hope, wife of John Hope. Born and raised in Missouri, she had worked as a young woman in charitable social service work in St. Louis. She attended art and business school in Chicago. After marrying John and moving to Atlanta, she became the leader in efforts to provide day care and kindergarten for African American children in the neighborhood around Morehouse. In 1908, she founded the Neighborhood Union to provide the African American community with medical, educational, employment, and recreational services. She was head of the Union's board of managers until 1935. Lugenia was also a founder of Atlanta's chapter of the NAACP. Like her husband, she was an activist and strong supporter of civil rights. She was one of the leading African American women in the suffrage movement.

Paine College in Augusta was an unusual joint effort of southerners. The predominantly white Methodist Episcopal Church South and the Colored (now Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church came together in 1882 to found a Methodist institution to educate young African American men and women. Like other colleges, Paine began as a high school and by the early 1900s granted its first college degrees.

The first state-supported institution for African Americans was founded in 1890 in Savannah. If the state had not offered higher education to African Americans, it would have lost its funding under the Second Morrill Act. This law required states to provide agricultural and industrial educational opportunities for all citizens. The school began its first year in Athens but moved in 1891 to Savannah. The five faculty members were all graduates of Augusta's Ware High School, where Richard Wright, Savannah State's head, had been principal. Wright's son graduated from the new college in 1895 and went on to earn a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, a testimony to the quality of education he had received at Savannah State.

### Reviewing the Section

1. Why did African Americans develop their own business districts?
2. What institution founded the most colleges for African Americans during this period?
3. What organization did Lugenia Burns Hope found? What was its purpose?

# Discovering Georgia

## Spelman College

In 1881, two New England missionaries and teachers, Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles, got support from the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society to found an educational institution specifically for African American women. Working with the Atlanta Friendship Baptist Church, the two women began with eleven students in the church's basement. Many of these first students were former slaves. The early goals were simple—give African American women and girls a basic education.

Packard and Giles met fellow Baptist John D. Rockefeller at a church conference. The encounter resulted in a major donation from the oil baron. Initially named the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, the school was renamed Spelman Seminary. In recognition of Rockefeller's gift, the school name honored the parents of his wife Laura Spelman Rockefeller.

The school grew quickly in both numbers of students and educational offerings. The church basement proved far too small and, thanks to Rockefeller's generosity, the school moved to a nearby nine-acre site. Spelman Seminary granted its first high school diplomas in 1887. In 1888, the school was officially chartered, and Sophia Packard became its first president. In 1891, Harriet Giles began an eighteen-year presidency.

The school began awarding college degrees in 1901, but did not take the name Spelman College until 1924. Five years later, Spelman was one of the founding members, along with Morehouse College and Atlanta University, of Atlanta University Center. Spelman taught undergraduate women, Morehouse taught undergraduate men, and Atlanta University provided graduate education.

For decades, Spelman's presidents were white women. In 1953, Spelman hired its first male president, and, in 1987, its first African American female president, Johnetta Cole. Today, Spelman is a respected liberal arts college with over two thousand students studying many different disciplines.

**Below:** Today, Spelman College attracts students from all over the United States, and from many other countries.



## Section 3

# Voting Rights



**Above:** State representative Thomas Hardwick made one of the first attempts to disfranchise black voters with legislation. Twice he introduced bills that would have required voters to pass a literacy test. The bills did not pass, but the idea of a literacy test resurfaced in the form of a constitutional amendment passed in 1908.

### As you read, look for

- the white primary,
- the Atlanta Riot of 1906,
- disfranchisement of African Americans,
- terms: **disfranchise**, **white primary**, **grandfather clause**.

**Segregation was not the only attempt to force African Americans** into a second-class position in southern society. Georgia's white politicians were determined to maintain political control. To do that, many began to urge that African American men not have a voice in the political process. That goal led to the successful effort to **disfranchise** (take the right to vote away from) African American men.

In the 1880s and 1890s, many African American men could still vote and take part in politics in spite of white efforts to keep them from doing so. The poll tax established by the 1877 constitution kept many poor—blacks and whites—from voting. Threats and violence kept other African Americans away from the polls or “convinced” them to vote for the Democrats. But many did manage to pay their poll taxes and vote, sometimes bravely defying the KKK. A new effort at reform in the 1890s convinced white Democrats that they needed to erect new barriers to remove African Americans from politics altogether.

### White Primaries

In 1900, another major step toward disfranchisement was the Democratic Party's rule that its primaries for statewide offices would be open to whites only. By giving African Americans no part in choosing the Democratic candidates, they would have very little influence in state politics. In spite of protests by African American leaders, the **white primary** remained. After the decision, only about 10 percent of potential black voters actually voted.

However, the white primary did not cover the general election. In areas where blacks outnumbered whites, African Americans might be able to elect officials by voting for candidates from the Republican or another party.

In 1899 and again in 1901, state representative Thomas Hardwick had introduced a bill that would put a stop to *all* African American voting. The bill would have required voters to pass a literacy test. To make sure that il-

literate poor whites were not eliminated, a provision called a **grandfather clause** was added to Hardwick's bill. The grandfather clause tied the ability to vote to whether one's father or grandfather was able to vote right after the Civil War. Since African Americans did not have voting grandfathers then, they were not able to vote. The Hardwick bill, however, was never approved.

## The Atlanta Riot of 1906 and the 1908 Election

Over the next few years, events led more whites to call for a disfranchisement law. The media had contributed to an atmosphere of racial tension by writing sensational stories. Some of those stories were about alleged (supposed) attacks on white women by black men. In 1906, articles about such attacks (none of which were ever proved) led a white mob to gather in downtown Atlanta. Mayor James Woodward came out and pleaded with the crowd to go home. But the mob moved through downtown Atlanta, attacking African Americans and smashing African American businesses. Although the militia and police were called out, they could not bring calm; only a heavy rain in the night slowed things down.

While law enforcement officials tried to control events on Monday and Tuesday, white groups continued to attack black neighborhoods. African Americans had gotten weapons to defend themselves and, in some places, were able to ward off attackers. A meeting of African Americans near Clark College south of the downtown resulted in a shoot-out with the militia and the arrest of many African Americans. Calm was not restored until Tuesday when a group of white leaders met with black leaders. When all was over, many had died, although the exact numbers are not known. Most believe that two whites died and twenty-five or more African Americans.

African American leader and Atlanta University professor W. E. B. DuBois was not in Atlanta at the time of the riot. As he rushed home, he wrote a poem, "The Litany of Atlanta," to capture the feeling: "Red was the midnight; clang, crack and cry of death and fury filled the air. . . ." Some blacks left Atlanta after the riot, and many began to question whether whites would ever treat them fairly. News of the riot made the pages of newspapers all over the country. Atlanta's image as a modernizing and progressive city was destroyed.

In such an atmosphere, many white politicians called for disfranchisement. One prominent leader was Tom Watson, who had changed his position on voting rights. He now believed that blacks had to be eliminated from voting altogether to ensure they could not decide the outcome of any election. In the 1907 governor's election, Watson supported Hoke Smith when Smith agreed to support disfranchisement of African Americans through the methods Hardwick had tried to pass earlier.



**Above:** The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot made headlines all over the country and did considerable damage to the city's reputation. The story even made the front pages in Europe, as this newspaper published in Paris attests.

## Something Extra!

The Atlanta Race Riot started in the Five Points area of downtown Atlanta. Today, that area is Woodruff Park.



**Above:** Former Populist leader Tom Watson became an outspoken advocate of disfranchising black voters following the 1906 riot. He threw his support to Hoke Smith in the governor's race when Smith agreed to support a literacy test amendment.

You learned in Chapter 18 that Smith was a progressive who supported many reforms, including changes that would prevent corruption in elections. To get Watson's support, Smith supported disfranchisement. Smith claimed it would be a way to clean up political campaigns by eliminating attempts to buy the vote of African Americans or intimidate them into voting a certain way. It would also eliminate from politics the growing class of educated middle-class and wealthy African Americans in Georgia's cities. Smith won the Democratic primary. Since the Democrat always won the general election in statewide contests, Smith became governor.

### **The Disfranchisement Amendment**

In 1908, Governor Hoke Smith supported a state constitutional amendment that called for a literacy test. It allowed a person to register to vote if he could “correctly read in English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State and correctly write the same . . . when read to them by any one of the registrars.” The amendment had a provision that, if a person had a physical disability that made him unable to read, he could demonstrate an “understanding”

of a clause read to him. It also allowed any man to register who had fought for the United States in a war or for the Confederacy in the Civil War or was a descendant of such a person. This was Georgia's grandfather clause, because many of those registering were the grandsons of Confederate veterans.

Georgia voters ratified this amendment on October 7, 1908, by a margin of two to one. At that time, only one African American, W. H. Rogers of McIntosh County, remained in the state legislature. When he resigned, Georgia had no African Americans in the General Assembly until the 1960s. For Hoke Smith, the legacy of his accomplishments as a progressive was marred by his support of disfranchisement.

Losing the right to vote meant that African Americans had almost no way to influence politics, laws, or government policy. White politicians could now do what they wanted without having to worry about the African American vote. The black community would not be heard when demanding better education, improvements to their neighborhoods, or fairer treatment. The lack of a voice in politics meant that the inequalities of the Jim Crow system became even greater in the decades to follow.

### **Reviewing the Section**

- 1. Define: white primary, grandfather clause.**
- 2. What led to the Atlanta Race Riot of 1906?**
- 3. What voting requirement was designed to prevent African Americans from voting?**

# Section 4

## Catholics and Jews

### As you read, look for

- discrimination against other groups,
- the Leo Frank case,
- terms: **prejudice**, **anti-Semitism**, **commute**.

**Segregation in the South was based on race**, and African Americans bore the worst of the discrimination and **prejudice** (an irrational hostility toward another person, group, or race). However, other groups faced attacks from the white Protestant majority. In fact, in periods when racism against blacks was at its highest, other minority groups also saw increases in prejudice and discrimination. In the late 1800s, a wave of anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish feeling spread throughout the United States as more Catholics and Jews came

### Something Extra!

Father Abram Ryan in Augusta was known as the “poet-priest of the Confederacy.”

**Below: Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Augusta was completed in 1900.**





**Above:** After Augusta's Sacred Heart Catholic Church closed in 1971, it fell into disrepair. In 1987, the building was restored and reopened as the Sacred Heart Cultural Center, serving as a popular location for social and cultural events. It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. **Opposite page, above:** Leo Frank was accused and convicted of murder based more on his religion and the fact that he was a northerner than on any concrete evidence. **Opposite page, below:** When Governor Slaton commuted Frank's sentence from death to life in prison, he required protection from the National Guard.

into the country. In Georgia, both became targets of threats and even violence.

## Anti-Catholicism

The first major immigration of Catholics had occurred before the Civil War when a fungus began killing Ireland's potato crop, a major food source. By the late 1800s, Catholic immigrants were also coming from Italy, central Europe, and other areas.

In Georgia, Catholics supported the Confederacy, fought with other Georgians during the Civil War, and wrote pro-South writings, including sermons, newspaper articles, and columns. Irish Catholics had helped build Georgia's railroads. They had been generally well accepted in the state. By the end of the 1800s, however, alarm at the growing numbers of Catholics and their political power, especially in the Democratic Party, led to growing anti-Catholicism. In the 1890s, the American Protective Association, an organization in the North and Midwest, started chapters in Georgia. Catholics were a major target of the organization. When the KKK was reestablished in 1915, Catholics became one of its targets. For the KKK, being a "true American" meant being white and Protestant.

The Catholic community tried to fight back against the prejudice. Prominent Catholics who were well respected in their communities spoke out, trying to correct untruths. Georgia's Catholics also established the Catholic Laymen's Association in 1916. Among other things, the group printed pamphlets explaining their religion and trying to correct misperceptions that other Georgians had about them.

## Anti-Semitism and the Lynching of Leo Frank

Another minority that faced prejudice in the early twentieth century was one of Georgia's oldest groups, the Jewish community. Jews in Georgia's towns and cities had been important figures in business and the professions. Many had served in government from as early as the Revolution. As had happened with Catholics, however, the arrival of Jews into the country in the late 1800s had led to a flare-up of anti-Jewish prejudice called **anti-Semitism**. In Georgia, the events surrounding the case of Leo Frank revealed how deep the hostility had become by the 1910s.

In 1913, Leo Frank was the manager of a pencil factory in Marietta owned by his brother-in-law. He had moved to Georgia from the North. On the night of April 26, janitor Jim Conley reported that he found the dead body of young Mary Phagan, a worker in the factory. She had come to collect her wages the previous day. Leo Frank, the last person to admit seeing her alive, was arrested and tried. Sensationalist newspaper stories of the trial

suggested that being northern and Jewish were evidence enough against Frank. Found guilty, Frank received a death sentence. Outcries of protest against the verdict and the way the trial was conducted came from all over the country. Frank, however, lost his appeals in court.

One person who was afraid that justice had not been done was Georgia Governor John Marshall Slaton. He was troubled by the lack of concrete evidence, by contradictions in Jim Conley's story, and by his growing conviction that Frank was an innocent man. He carefully reviewed the evidence and the trial transcripts, including going to the scene himself. At the end of his term, the governor used his constitutional power to **commute**, or change, Frank's sentence from death to life in prison. He thought that more time might eventually lead to more evidence and a new trial. Frank was transferred to the state prison in Milledgeville. Many people did not agree with Slaton's commutation decision. The Georgia National Guard had to be called out to protect the governor. When his term ended a few days later, Slaton and his family left the state under police protection, and they did not return to Georgia for years.

Those opposed to Frank were outraged. A group of Marietta citizens, many of them well known, decided to carry out "justice" themselves. Organized as the Knights of Mary Phagan, they traveled to Milledgeville in August 1915, took Frank from prison, carried him to Marietta, and lynched him. They took pictures of themselves with the hanging body. None of the men was ever charged with the crime. Several of these Knights of Mary Phagan joined with former Methodist minister William J. Simmons when he reestablished the KKK on Thanksgiving evening that very year.



## Something Extra!

Seventy-one years after Leo Frank was hanged, the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles issued Leo Frank a pardon based on the state's failure to protect him while in custody; it did not officially absolve him of the crime.

### Reviewing the Section

1. Define: prejudice, anti-Semitism, commute.
2. Who was Leo Frank?
3. Who were the Knights of Mary Phagan?



# Chapter Review

## Chapter Summary

### Section 1 African Americans and Segregation

- During this period, Georgia passed Jim Crow laws that segregated public facilities such as railroad cars, parks, and theaters.
- In its 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public places could be separated by race. This was the separate-but-equal doctrine that lasted until 1954.
- The Georgia case *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* applied the separate-but-equal doctrine to education.
- In response to segregation and violence, some African Americans left Georgia for the North. This movement was called the Great Migration.
- Two leaders of the black community during this period were Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois.
- The NAACP was founded in 1909.

### Section 2 African American Institutions and Life

- In urban areas, African Americans built thriving communities during this period. Atlanta's black downtown was called "Sweet Auburn."
- African Americans valued education and founded schools (especially high schools) and institutions for higher education. Some of the institutions founded during this period are now known as Clark Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College.

- John and Lugenia Hope were important supporters of education for African Americans. John Hope became Morehouse's first African American president, and Lugenia Hope founded the Neighborhood Union.

### Section 3 Voting Rights

- In 1900, the Democratic Party in Georgia instituted a white primary, designed to disfranchise African Americans. Since the winner of the Democratic primary usually won the general election, African American influence in politics decreased.
- In 1906, Atlanta experienced a terrible race riot. Many African American businesses were destroyed, and many African Americans left the city.
- In 1908, Georgia voters ratified a constitutional amendment that disfranchised African American voters by requiring a literacy test. A grandfather clause exempted those whose fathers or grandfathers had fought in the Civil War.

### Section 4 Catholics and Jews

- During this period, Catholics and Jews were also the subjects of prejudice.
- In 1915, after being found guilty of murdering a young girl, but having his sentence commuted to life in prison, Leo Frank was taken from prison in Milledgeville and lynched by a group of white Marietta citizens.



## Understanding the Facts

1. Define *Jim Crow laws*, and explain their effect on society.
2. Explain the roles of John and Lugenia Burns Hope in Atlanta's African American community.
3. Describe how the white primaries functioned and explain their impact on black voters.
4. Define *disfranchise*, and explain the methods that were used to disfranchise black voters.



## Developing Critical Thinking

Develop a chart or other visual aid that compares and contrasts Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. Include their background, education, and opinions on social issues.



## Writing Across the Curriculum

Imagine you are a newspaper reporter covering the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case at the U.S. Supreme Court. Now that you know the verdict, write a news article for your paper that describes the basic facts of the case and the court decision.



## Extending Reading Skills

Reread pages 483-486. What inferences (conclusions) can you make about the effect African Americans' desire for education had on their ability to build a prosperous community?

**Right:** This photograph was part of the W. E. B. DuBois collection "Negro Life in Georgia, U.S.A." shown in Paris. Why do you think he included it?



## Exploring Technology

Use your favorite search engine to locate the text of the "5 Fingers Speech" given by Booker T. Washington at the 1895 International Cotton Exposition in Atlanta. Evaluate the content of the speech and compare it to what you understand as Washington's social stance.



## Practicing Your Skills

After reading and reflecting on the social positions of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, decide which man had the best idea about solving racial issues. Write a persuasive essay that states and supports your position.

