

Contents

<i>Introduction by Tyina L. Steptoe</i>	xix
1876–1896	
Frederick Douglass: Speech to the Republican National Convention, June 14, 1876 <i>Protecting the Black Vote in the South</i>	3
<i>Denver Daily Tribune</i> : “A Threatening Power,” January 12, 1877 <i>A Republican Newspaper Mocks Democratic Fears</i>	6
<i>St. Louis Globe Democrat</i> : The Future of the Negro, April 27, 1877 “ <i>The new order of things</i> ”	8
National Colored Colonization Society: Address to Rutherford B. Hayes, September 15, 1877 “ <i>A worse state of slavery</i> ”	11
Hester Hickman: The Land That Gives Birth to Freedom, 1877; Extending Our Voices to Heaven <i>A Song of the Black Exodus</i>	14
<i>The New York Times</i> : New Homes for Freedmen, January 23, 1879 “ <i>A territory for colored men</i> ”	16
<i>The Chicago Tribune</i> : The Debtor South, May 13, 1879 <i>Sharecropping in Louisiana and Mississippi</i>	19
Benjamin Singleton: from Testimony to the Senate Select Committee, April 17, 1880 “ <i>The father of the exodus</i> ”	28
Stephen Field: Opinion in <i>Pace v. Alabama</i> , January 29, 1883 <i>Upholding Anti-Miscegenation Laws</i>	40
John Marshall Harlan: Dissenting Opinion in <i>Civil Rights Cases</i> , October 15, 1883 “ <i>Universal freedom in this country</i> ”	43

<i>New York Globe</i> : The Civil Rights Decision, October 20, 1883 "Aliens in our native land"	78
Nathaniel S. Shaler: The Negro Problem, November 1884 "The real dangers that this African blood brings"	80
George Washington Cable: The Freedman's Case in Equity, January 1885 "The outrageousness of these tyrannies"	101
Thomas Miller: Speech in Congress on the Elections Bill, January 12, 1891 <i>The Need for a Federal Elections Law</i>	124
Ida B. Wells: <i>Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases</i> , 1892 <i>A Crusade for Justice Begins</i>	128
Frederick Douglass: from <i>The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition</i> , 1893 <i>The Enduring Impact of Slavery</i>	154
Ida B. Wells: from <i>The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition</i> , 1893 <i>Class Legislation and the Convict Lease System</i>	164
Richard T. Greener: The White Problem, May 1894 "The so-called 'Caucasian' intellect"	175
Ida B. Wells: from <i>A Red Record</i> , 1895 <i>Examining Excuses for Lynching</i>	188
Booker T. Washington: Address at the Atlanta Exposition, September 18, 1895 "As separate as the fingers"	197
Clark Howell: To the Editor of <i>The World</i> , September 19, 1895 <i>A Southern Newspaper Editor Praises Washington</i>	202
Republican Members of the South Carolina Convention: To the Editor of <i>The World</i> , September 30, 1895 <i>Defending Black Suffrage</i>	204
Grover Cleveland: To Booker T. Washington, October 6, 1895 <i>Praise from the President</i>	207

Robert Smalls: from Speech in the South Carolina Convention, October 26, 1895 <i>Arguing Against Disenfranchisement</i>	208
Albion W. Tourgée: Brief for the Plaintiff in <i>Plessy v.</i> <i>Ferguson</i> , c. 1895 <i>The Unconstitutionality of Railroad Segregation</i>	214
Henry B. Brown: Opinion in <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> , May 18, 1896 <i>Upholding "equal but separate" Accommodations</i>	250
John Marshall Harlan: Dissenting Opinion in <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> , May 18, 1896 <i>"The wrong this day done"</i>	262

1897-1909

<i>The Washington Evening Star</i> : Negro Emigration, October 21, 1897 <i>An Interview with Bishop Henry McNeal Turner</i>	277
<i>The Wilmington Morning Star</i> : Mrs. Felton Speaks, August 18, 1898 <i>A White Southern Woman Defends Lynching</i>	280
<i>The Wilmington Morning Star</i> : A Horrid Slander, August 30, 1898 <i>A Black Editor Responds to Rebecca Felton</i>	282
<i>The Raleigh News and Observer</i> : Defamer Must Go, November 10, 1898 <i>Inciting the Wilmington Insurrection</i>	286
W. H. Council: The Future of the Negro, July 1899 <i>"The terrible, stern reality of the situation"</i>	290
<i>The New Orleans Daily Picayune</i> : To Protect the City; End of a Desperado, July 28, 1900 <i>The Deadly Manhunt for Robert Charles</i>	299
<i>The Richmond Planet</i> : The Butchery at New Orleans; With a Rifle in His Hand, August 4, 1900 <i>Praising Robert Charles: "Bold and defiant to the last"</i>	302
<i>The Navasota Daily Examiner</i> : Campaign Oratory, September 29, 1900 <i>The White Man's Union Holds a Rally</i>	306

George H. White: Speech in Congress in Defense of the Negro Race, January 29, 1901 <i>A Black Congressman's Valedictory Address</i>	309
<i>The Independent</i> : The Negro Problem: How It Appeals to a Southern Colored Woman, September 18, 1902 "Why are we forgotten?"	328
Benjamin R. Tillman: from Speech in the Senate on the Race Problem, February 24, 1903 <i>Advocating White Supremacy</i>	336
<i>The Joplin Daily Globe</i> : Murderer of Leslie Lynched by Angry Mob, April 16, 1903 <i>The Lynching of Thomas Gilyard</i>	380
W.E.B. Du Bois: Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others, 1903 <i>Criticizing Washington's Leadership</i>	391
Charles W. Chesnutt: The Disfranchisement of the Negro, 1903 <i>The Nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment</i>	404
Charles Brantley Aycock: from Speech to the North Carolina Society, December 18, 1903 <i>A Southern Governor Celebrates Disfranchisement</i>	424
William Monroe Trotter to W.E.B. Du Bois, March 26, 1905 <i>Challenging Washington's Leadership</i>	426
Aida Overton Walker: Colored Men and Women on the Stage, October 1905 <i>A Black Vaudeville Star Speaks</i>	428
Mary Church Terrell: What It Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States, October 10, 1906 <i>Segregation in Washington, D.C.</i>	433
<i>The New York Times</i> : Negro Pastors Assail Roosevelt's Army Order, November 19, 1906 <i>Protesting the Brownsville Dismissals</i>	443
Mary Church Terrell: Peonage in the United States: The Convict Lease System and the Chain Gangs, August 1907 "Violation of the thirteenth amendment"	446

Sally Nash: Interview about Life in Rentiesville, Oklahoma, 1903-08, June 22, 1937 <i>Remembering a Black Town in the Southwest</i>	468
<i>San Pedro Daily News</i> : The Candidates and the Negro, October 14, 1908 <i>Rallying the Black Vote for the Republicans</i>	470
<i>The New York Evening Post</i> : Conference on Negroes, February 13, 1909 "The renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty"	472
Platform Adopted by the National Negro Committee, June 1, 1909 <i>Founding the NAACP</i>	476
1909-1919	
<i>Hanford Daily Journal</i> : Lynching Bees in Present Year Numerous, December 17, 1909 <i>Seventy Victims of Mob Violence</i>	481
<i>Los Angeles Times</i> : The Fight and Its Consequences, July 6, 1910 <i>The Johnson-Jeffries Fight</i>	485
William Pickens: Talladega College Professor Speaks on Reno Fight, July 30, 1910 <i>Celebrating Jack Johnson's Victory</i>	488
Lester A. Walton: Concert at Carnegie Hall, May 9, 1912 <i>James Reese Europe and the Clef Club</i>	492
<i>The Austin Daily Statesman</i> : Negroes to Gather Here by Thousands, May 20, 1912 <i>Celebrating Juneteenth</i>	496
Moorfield Storey, W.E.B. Du Bois, Oswald Garrison Villard to Woodrow Wilson, August 15, 1913 <i>Protesting the Segregation of Federal Workers</i>	498
William Monroe Trotter: Address to Woodrow Wilson, November 12, 1914 "A gratuitous blow against ever-loyal citizens"	501
Woodrow Wilson and William Monroe Trotter: An Exchange, November 12, 1914 <i>A White House Confrontation</i>	505

Provisional Directorate of the Revolutionary Plan: The Plan of San Diego, January 6, 1915 <i>Plotting the Overthrow of "Yankee tyranny"</i>	514
Francis Hackett: Brotherly Love, March 20, 1915 <i>Reviewing The Birth of a Nation: "vicious and defamatory"</i>	518
<i>Outlook</i> : The Birth of a Nation, April 14, 1915 <i>"An exaltation of race war"</i>	522
W.E.B. Du Bois: "We Should Worry," June 1917 <i>Wartime Opportunities</i>	524
<i>The New York Times</i> : Mob of 3,000 Rules in East St. Louis, May 29, 1917 <i>Mob Attacks on Black Workers</i>	526
Carlos F. Hurd: Post-Dispatch Man, An Eye-Witness, Describes Massacre of Negroes, July 3, 1917 <i>A Deadly Riot in East St. Louis</i>	527
John Pero: from Testimony to the House Select Committee, October 24, 1917 <i>Racial Tensions in East St. Louis</i>	535
James Weldon Johnson: An Army with Banners, August 2, 1917 <i>A Silent March in New York City</i>	541
Ralph Van Deman: Army Intelligence Memorandum on William Monroe Trotter, October 2, 1917 <i>Watching a "Radical colored man"</i>	543
Martha Gruening: Houston: An N.A.A.C.P. Investigation, November 1917 <i>A Rebellion by Black Soldiers</i>	544
<i>The Chicago Defender</i> : Migration and Its Effect, April 20, 1918 <i>The Great Migration North</i>	555
Leonidas C. Dyer: Speech in Congress on the Anti-Lynching Bill, May 7, 1918 <i>The Constitutionality of a Federal Law</i>	557
W.E.B. Du Bois: Close Ranks, July 1918 <i>"The crisis of the world"</i>	568

Cyril Briggs: The American Race Problem, September–December 1918 <i>“Hatred of the unlike”</i>	569
<i>The Right-About</i> : Hell-Fighters Cheered on Homecoming, February 19, 1919 <i>A Black Regiment Returns from France</i>	579
W.E.B. Du Bois: Returning Soldiers, May 1919 <i>“This country . . . is yet a shameful land”</i>	582
Jeannette Carter: Negroes of Washington Were Forced to Protect Themselves, August 2, 1919 <i>“Striking terror into . . . the white mob”</i>	584
James E. Scott: Statement on Attack by Rioters in Washington, D.C., August 4, 1919 <i>“Lynch him”</i>	587
Martina Simms: Washington Riot, August 15, 1919 <i>“They will fight”</i>	588
<i>The Chicago Daily Tribune</i> : Report Two Killed, Fifty Hurt, in Race Riots, July 28, 1919 <i>A City Erupts</i>	589
<i>The Chicago Daily Tribune</i> : Negroes Call on Mayor, Lowden, to Stop Riots, July 31, 1919 <i>“The Causes and Cure” for the Riot</i>	595
A. Philip Randolph: Our Reason for Being, August 1919 <i>A Program for “Negro labor radicalism”</i>	599
Marcus Garvey: Speech in New York City, August 25, 1919 <i>“For a free and independent race”</i>	604
W. A. Domingo and Claude McKay: If We Must Die, September 1919 <i>“The New Negro has arrived”</i>	616
<i>Chronology</i>	621
<i>Note on the Texts</i>	632
<i>Notes</i>	641
<i>Index</i>	701