After Reconstruction ended, Southern states began passing laws that eroded the rights of African Americans by introducing segregation and denying voting rights. African American leaders struggled to protect civil rights and improve quality of life but could not always agree on the most effective strategy.

**Resistance and Repression**

**MAIN Idea** Many African Americans fled the South, but some stayed and joined the Populist Party.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember reading about the rise of sharecropping after the Civil War? Read how African American farmers tried to work together in the late 1800s.

After Reconstruction, many African Americans in the rural South lived in conditions of grinding poverty. Most were sharecroppers, landless farmers who gave their landlords a large portion of their crops as rent, rather than paying cash. Sharecropping usually left farmers in chronic debt. Many eventually left farming and sought jobs in Southern towns or headed west to claim homesteads.

**The Exodusters Head to Kansas**

In the mid-1870s, Benjamin “Pap” Singleton, a former slave, became convinced that African Americans would never be given a chance to get ahead in the South. He began urging African Americans to move west, specifically to Kansas, and form their own independent communities where they could help each other get ahead. His ideas soon set in motion a mass migration. In the spring of 1879, African American communities in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas were swept with a religious enthusiasm for moving to Kansas—seeing it as a new promised land. In less than two months, approximately 6,000 African Americans left their homes in the rural South and headed to Kansas. The newspapers called it “an Exodus,” like the Hebrews’ escape from Egyptian bondage. The migrants themselves came to be known as “Exodusters.”

One of the migrants to Kansas later explained why they went: “The whole South—every State in the South—had got into the hands of the very men that held us as slaves.” The first Exodusters, many possessing little more than hope and the clothes on their backs, arrived in Kansas in the spring of 1879. A journalist named Henry King described the scene:
In 1879, soon after Reconstruction ended, an estimated 6,000–15,000 African Americans left the rural South and headed to Kansas where they hoped to build a better life for themselves.

**Primary Source**

“One morning in April, 1879, a Missouri steamboat arrived at Wyandotte, Kansas, and discharged a load of negro men, women and children, with ... barrels, boxes, and bundles of household effects ... They were not probably a dollar in money in the pockets of the entire party. ... They looked like persons coming out of a dream. And, indeed, such they were ... for this was the advance guard of the Exodus.”

—quoted in *Eyewitness: The Negro in History*

**Forming a Separate Alliance**

While some African Americans fled the South, others joined with poor white farmers who had created the Farmers’ Alliance. Alliance leaders urged African Americans to form a similar organization. In 1886 African American farmers established the Colored Farmers’ National Alliance. By 1890, the organization had about 1.2 million members.

When the Populist Party formed in 1891, many African American farmers joined the new organization. This posed a major challenge to the Democratic Party in the South. If poor whites left the party and joined with African Americans in voting for the Populists, the coalition might be unbeatable.

To win back the poor white vote, Democratic leaders began appealing to racism, warning whites that support for Populism would return the South to “Black Republican” rule, similar to Reconstruction. In addition, election officials began using various methods to make it harder and harder for African Americans to vote. As one Democratic leader in the South told a reporter, “Some of our people, some editors especially, deny that [African Americans] are hindered from voting; but what is the good of lying? They are interfered with, and we are obliged to do it, and we may as well tell the truth.”

**Examiners**: Who were the Exodusters, and why did they migrate to Kansas?
Imposing Segregation

**MAIN Idea** Southern states passed laws that imposed segregation and denied African American men their voting rights.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Can you think of a rule that is unfairly or unevenly enforced? Read about the tactics used to disfranchise African Americans.

After Reconstruction ended in 1877, the rights of African Americans were gradually undermined. Attempts to unify whites and African Americans politically and economically failed. Instead, a movement to diminish the civil rights of African Americans gained momentum as the century ended.

**Taking Away the Vote**

The Fifteenth Amendment prohibits states from denying citizens the right to vote on the basis of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” but it does not bar states from denying the right to vote on other grounds. In the late 1800s, Southern states began imposing restrictions that, while not mentioning race, were designed to make it difficult or impossible for African Americans to vote.

In 1890 Mississippi began requiring all citizens registering to vote to pay a poll tax of $2, a sum beyond the means of most poor African Americans. Mississippi also instituted a literacy test, requiring voters to read and understand the state constitution. Few African Americans born after the Civil War had been able to attend school and those who had grown up under slavery were largely illiterate. Even those who knew how to read often failed the test because officials deliberately picked passages that few people could understand.

Other Southern states adopted similar restrictions. In Louisiana the number of African Americans registered to vote fell from about 130,000 in 1890 to around 5,300 in 1900. In Alabama the number fell from about 181,000 to about 3,700.

Electoral officials were far less strict in applying the poll tax and literacy requirements to whites, but the number of white voters also fell significantly. To let more whites vote, Louisiana introduced the “grandfather clause,” which allowed any man to vote if he had an ancestor who could vote in 1867. This provision, which was adopted in several Southern states, exempted most whites from voting restrictions such as literacy tests.

**Legalizing Segregation**

African Americans in the North were often barred from public places, but segregation, or the separation of the races, was different in the South. Southern states passed laws that enforced discrimination. These laws became known as Jim Crow laws. The term probably refers to the song “Jump Jim Crow,” which was popular in minstrel shows of the day.

**Civil Rights Cases** In 1883 the Supreme Court set the stage for legalized segregation when it overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875. That law had prohibited keeping people out of public places on the basis of race and barred racial discrimination in selecting jurors. The 1883 Supreme Court decision, however, said that the Fourteenth Amendment provided only that “no state” could deny citizens equal protection under the law. Private organizations—such as hotels, theaters, and railroads—were free to practice segregation.

Encouraged by the Supreme Court’s ruling and by the decline of congressional support for civil rights, Southern states passed a series of laws that established racial segregation in virtually all public places. Southern whites and African Americans could no longer ride together in the same railroad cars, eat in the same dining halls, or even drink from the same fountains.

**Plessy v. Ferguson** In 1892 an African American named Homer Plessy challenged a Louisiana law that forced him to ride in a separate railroad car from whites. He was arrested for riding in a “whites-only” car. In 1896 the Supreme Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, upheld the Louisiana law and set out a new doctrine of “separate but equal” facilities for African Americans. The ruling established the legal basis for discrimination in the South for more than 50 years. While public facilities for African Americans in the South were always separate, they were far from equal. In many cases, they were inferior.

**Reading Check** Summarizing How did the Supreme Court help to legalize segregation?
Do states have the right to segregate citizens by race?

★ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896

**Background to the Case**
When Homer Adolph Plessy, a light-skinned man who was one-eighth African American, took a seat in the whites-only section of an East Louisiana Railway train and refused to move, he was arrested. Convicted of breaking a Louisiana law enacted in 1890, Plessy appealed his case to the Louisiana Supreme Court, then to federal Supreme Court. The incident was planned in advance to test the statute, using Plessy, who appeared to be white, to show the folly of the law. Although the words “separate but equal” do not appear in the court responses, the term came to describe a condition that persisted until 1954.

**How the Court Ruled**
The Court upheld the right of states to make laws that sustained segregation. The majority of justices wanted to distinguish between political rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and social rights.

**Primary Source**

**The Court’s Opinion**
“The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but . . . 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 . . . We cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable.”

—Justice Henry Billings Brown writing for the Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*

**Primary Source**

**Other Views**
“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. . . . 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 law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens—our equals before the law. The thin disguise of ‘equal’ accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.”

—Justice John Marshall Harlan writing the lone dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson*

**DBQ Document-Based Questions**
1. **Analyzing Primary Sources** What distinction does Justice Brown make about the rights of citizens?
2. **Identifying Points of View** How does Justice Harlan regard the Court’s decision?
3. **Evaluating** What rights do you think all states should extend to their citizens? Why do you think so?
The African American Response

**MAIN Idea** Some African American leaders focused on practical vocational education, while others pushed for full civil rights and educational opportunities.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How would your life be different without an education? Read on to learn why some early civil rights leaders focused on access to education.

The African American community responded to violence and discrimination in several ways. Ida B. Wells used the press to end violence, while Mary Church Terrell worked in education. Booker T. Washington proposed that African Americans focus on achieving economic goals, rather than political goals. W. E. B. Du Bois argued African Americans should demand equal rights immediately.

**Ida B. Wells**

In the late 1800s, mob violence increased in the United States, particularly in the South. Between 1890 and 1899, there was an average of 187 lynchings—hangings without proper court proceedings—each year.

In 1892, Ida B. Wells, a fiery young African American woman from Tennessee, launched a fearless crusade against lynching. After a mob drove Wells out of town, she settled in Chicago and continued her campaign. In 1895 she published a book denouncing mob violence and demanding “a fair trial by law for those accused of crime, and punishment by law after honest conviction.” Although Congress rejected an anti-lynching bill, the number of lynchings decreased significantly in the 1900s, due in great part to the efforts of activists such as Wells.

**Mary Church Terrell**

One lynching victim had been a close friend of Mary Church Terrell, a college-educated woman who’d been born during the Civil War. This death, and President Harrison’s refusal to publicly condemn lynching, started Terrell on her lifelong battle against lynching, racism, and sexism.

Terrell also worked with women suffrage workers such as Jane Addams and Susan B. Anthony. In addition to helping found the

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**Booker T. Washington**

1856–1915

Born into slavery on a plantation in Virginia, Booker T. Washington spent his childhood working in the coal mines of West Virginia. At age 16, he heard about the Hampton Institute in Virginia, where African Americans could learn farming or a trade. With little money in his pockets, Washington left home and walked nearly 500 miles to the school, where he was able to work as a janitor to pay for his education.

When the Alabama legislature decided in 1881 to begin a school to train black leaders, Washington was recommended for the job. He borrowed money to buy an abandoned plantation; the students built classrooms, a chapel, and dormitories. The Tuskegee Institute became well-known, attracting prominent scholars such as George Washington Carver to the faculty.

Washington used his influence with white businessmen to raise money for the school. He encouraged the development of black-owned businesses, and he organized the National Negro Business League in 1900. He was a nationally known spokesman for the African American community and advised presidents William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt on political appointments.

What were Booker T. Washington’s most important achievements?

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**W. E. B. Du Bois**

1868–1963

W. E. B. Du Bois was born in Massachusetts a few years after the end of the Civil War. After graduating from Fisk University, Du Bois earned a Ph.D. from Harvard. As a professor at Atlanta University, Du Bois focused his research on race relations in the United States.

The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois’s 1903 collection of essays, had a major impact on its readers. In them, Du Bois directly criticized Booker T. Washington for being too cautious and conservative on civil rights issues. Du Bois believed African Americans needed to insist upon equal treatment and voting rights. He also helped to found the Niagara Movement, the forerunner of the NAACP. In 1910 he began publishing The Crisis, the official magazine of the NAACP.

In his later years, Du Bois turned to socialism and became active in the peace movement. This led to political censure and the State Department’s refusal to allow Du Bois to travel outside the country. When he was permitted to leave, he went to Ghana, where he became a citizen the year he died.

How did W. E. B. Du Bois’s approach to civil rights differ from Washington’s approach?
National Association of Colored Women and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Terrell formed the Women Wage-Earners Association, which assisted African American nurses, waitresses, and domestic workers.

Terrell led a boycott against department stores in Washington, D.C., that refused to serve African Americans. In an address to the National American Women’s Suffrage Association Terrell said, “With courage, born of success achieved in the past, with a keen sense of the responsibility which we shall continue to assume, we look forward to a future large with promise and hope. Seeking no favors because of our color, nor patronage because of our needs, we knock at the bar of justice, asking an equal chance.”

**Calls for Compromise**

The most famous African American of the late nineteenth century was the influential educator **Booker T. Washington**. He proposed that African Americans concentrate on achieving economic goals rather than political ones. In 1895 Washington summned up his views in a speech before a mostly white audience in Atlanta. Known as the Atlanta Compromise, the speech urged African Americans to postpone the fight for civil rights and instead concentrate on preparing themselves educationally and vocationally for full equality.

**Primary Source**

“The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of 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 exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.”

—adapted from *Up From Slavery*

**Du Bois Rejects Compromise**

The Atlanta Compromise speech provoked a strong challenge from **W. E. B. Du Bois**, the leader of a new generation of African American activists. In his 1903 book *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois explained why he saw no advantage in giving up civil rights, even temporarily. He was particularly concerned with protecting and exercising voting rights. “Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season,” he wrote, “that voting is necessary to proper manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism.” In the years that followed, many African Americans worked to win the vote and end discrimination. The struggle, however, would prove to be a long one.

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**Vocabulary**


**Main Ideas**

2. Describing Under what kind of conditions did many African Americans in the South live in after Reconstruction?

3. Identifying How did Southern states restrict African American voting in the 1890s?

4. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the responses of some prominent African Americans to racial discrimination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Response to Discrimination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ida B. Wells</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booker T. Washington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.E.B. Du Bois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Critical Thinking**

5. Big Ideas How did Booker T. Washington’s answer to racial discrimination differ from that of W. E. B. Du Bois?

6. Analyzing Visuals Look at the cartoon on page 251. How does the cartoonist play into white fears?

**Writing About History**

7. Expository Writing Imagine that you are living in the 1890s. Write a letter to the editor of the local newspaper explaining your view of the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson.*

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**History ONLINE**

Study Central™ To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.
**Effects of Industrialization:**

1. **Immigration and Urbanization**
   - Rise of large factories greatly increases the demand for labor in the United States, encouraging immigrants to move to America in large numbers.
   - The increase in industrial jobs encourages large numbers of Americans and immigrants to settle in cities.
   - As cities grow large, pollution, crime, disease, and fire become serious problems.
   - New industrial technology allows cities to grow even larger with the development of the skyscraper, the elevator, and the trolley car.
   - Large urban areas change the nature of politics creating corrupt urban political “machines” such as Tammany Hall in New York.

![](image1.png)

**Effects of Industrialization:**

2. **Farm Problems**
   - Industrialization and new technology increases farm production and creates the ability to ship farm products across the country.
   - Farmers produce huge surpluses, driving down food prices, while a money shortage leads to high interest rates; farmers grow deeper in debt while income falls.
   - High railroad rates in the West combine with high rents for tenant farmers in the South to create a crisis for farmers.
   - Farmers form the Grange, the Alliance, and the Populist Party to help address their concerns.

![](image2.png)

**Effects of Industrialization:**

3. **Changes in Culture**
   - Industrial society initially leads to a strong belief in individualism; Social Darwinism emerges as the idea that government should not interfere in society.
   - Ongoing social problems caused by industrialization lead to Reform Darwinism and the emergence of reformers who want to use government to help solve society’s problems and regulate the economy.
   - New forms of realist and naturalist art and literature depict industrial life in serious and realistic ways.

![](image3.png)

**Effects of Industrialization:**

- Sharecroppers in the South were often trapped in poverty and debt.

- A crowded immigrant community in New York in the early 1900s.

- Settlement houses, such as Hull House (above), helped poor immigrants educate their children and adapt to life in the United States.
INDIANA END-OF-COURSE ASSESSMENT PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP
Read the questions carefully. From the wording of each question, you can see that some have two or three concepts in common. Find the one choice that best answers each question.

Reviewing Vocabulary
Directions: Choose the word or phrase that best completes each sentence.

1. _____ was a philosophy that claimed wealthy Americans bore the responsibility of using their fortunes to further social progress.
   A. Social Darwinism  
   B. Realism  
   C. Gospel of Wealth  
   D. Individualism

2. Immigrant children become knowledgeable about American culture at public schools—a process known as _____.
   A. Americanization.  
   B. nativism.  
   C. Social Darwinism.  
   D. individualism.

3. The rapid increase in the money supply without an increase in the amount of goods for sale caused _____, or the decline in the value of money.
   A. goldbugs  
   B. silverites  
   C. deflation  
   D. inflation

4. The _____ was an informal political group that provided city services in return for votes and political power.
   A. party boss  
   B. political machine  
   C. Populist Party  
   D. Grange

Reviewing Main Ideas
Directions: Choose the best answer to each question.

Section 1 (pp. 214–219)

5. In the late nineteenth century, many labor unions opposed immigration, arguing that immigrants
   A. would work for higher wages.  
   B. eased financial drains on social services.  
   C. assimilated into American culture.  
   D. would accept jobs as strikebreakers.

6. What was the major cause of Chinese immigration to the United States in the early nineteenth century?
   A. Many Chinese were escaping severe unemployment and famine.  
   B. Many Chinese were escaping religious persecution.  
   C. Many Chinese left to avoid required military service.  
   D. Many Chinese left to break away from the class system and move up the social ladder.

Section 2 (pp. 222–227)

7. Working-class individuals who resided in cities usually lived
   A. in streetcar suburbs.  
   B. in tenements.  
   C. in fashionable districts downtown.  
   D. away from the central city.

8. Who was the leader of Tammany Hall during the 1860s and 1870s?
   A. Thomas Nast  
   B. James Pendergast  
   C. William Tweed  
   D. Thomas Pendergast

Need Extra Help?
If You Missed Questions . . . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Go to Page . . . 231–232 218 242–243 227 218 217 225 227

Go On
Section 3 (pp. 230–239)

9. The nineteenth-century philosophy of Social Darwinism maintained that
   A. the government should have control over the means of production and the marketplace.
   B. all social class distinctions in American society should be eliminated.
   C. economic success comes to those who are the hardest working and most competent.
   D. wealth and income should be more equally distributed.

10. The Interstate Commerce Act (1887) was designed to regulate interstate commerce by requiring
    A. railroads to increase rebates to high-volume users.
    B. railroads to charge higher rates for short hauls.
    C. states to regulate interstate railroad traffic.
    D. the federal government to regulate railroad rates.

Section 4 (pp. 242–247)

11. Populists supported federal ownership of railroads because they thought the government would
    A. increase access to railroads in rural areas.
    B. make the trains run on time.
    C. manage the railroads in the public interest.
    D. collect enough revenue to allow it to eliminate the graduated income tax.

Section 5 (pp. 248–253)

12. The ruling from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was based on the Supreme Court's interpretation of the
    A. necessary and proper clause from Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution.
    B. free speech provision of the First Amendment.
    C. equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment.
    D. voting rights provision in the Fifteenth Amendment.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. In 1890 the Populists formed the People's Party and supported
    A. the subtreasury plan where farmers could store crops in warehouses to force prices up.
    B. limited governmental regulations for the railroad companies.
    C. the election of senators by state legislatures.
    D. the free coinage of gold.

Base your answer to question 14 on the chart below and your knowledge of Chapter 6.

**Farm Prices, 1870–1900**

- **Wheat (per bushel)**
- **Corn (per bushel)**
- **Cotton (per lb.)**

![](chart.png)

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States.*

14. What happened to crop prices between 1870 and 1880?
   A. The price of cotton increased as the price of wheat and corn decreased.
   B. The price of wheat, corn, and cotton increased.
   C. The price of cotton, wheat, and corn stayed the same following an initial increase.
   D. The price of wheat significantly decreased as the price of cotton decreased steadily.
15 Which of the following concepts is associated with the Gospel of Wealth?

A survival of the fittest  
B laissez-faire  
C unregulated competition  
D philanthropy

16 The “new” immigrants to the United States between 1890 and 1915 came primarily from

A southern and eastern Europe  
B northern and western Europe  
C East Asia  
D Latin America

17 What attitude does the cartoon express about immigrants coming to the United States?

A Immigrants were welcome to the United States.  
B Immigrants had to pass by dogs to gain entry.  
C Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists were welcome.  
D Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists were not welcome.

Constructed Response

Directions: Write a short essay in response to each of the following questions. A well-written essay will:

- address all parts of the question  
- incorporate information from the chapter  
- cite facts, examples, and details relevant to the question  
- use a logical and clear plan of organization  
- use correct spelling and grammar

18 Select one immigrant group discussed in Section 1 and describe the reasons that people immigrated from that country or region and the types of occupations they entered in the United States.

19 Explain the functions—positive and negative—of political machines in the late nineteenth century.

20 Explain the purpose of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Why was it not effective in preventing the creation of new trusts and monopolies?

21 Summarize the platform adopted by the Populist Party in 1892. Explain how it was intended to help America’s farmers.

22 Explain the Supreme Court’s ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson and its long-term impact on civil rights in the United States.

History ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 6 at glencoe.com.