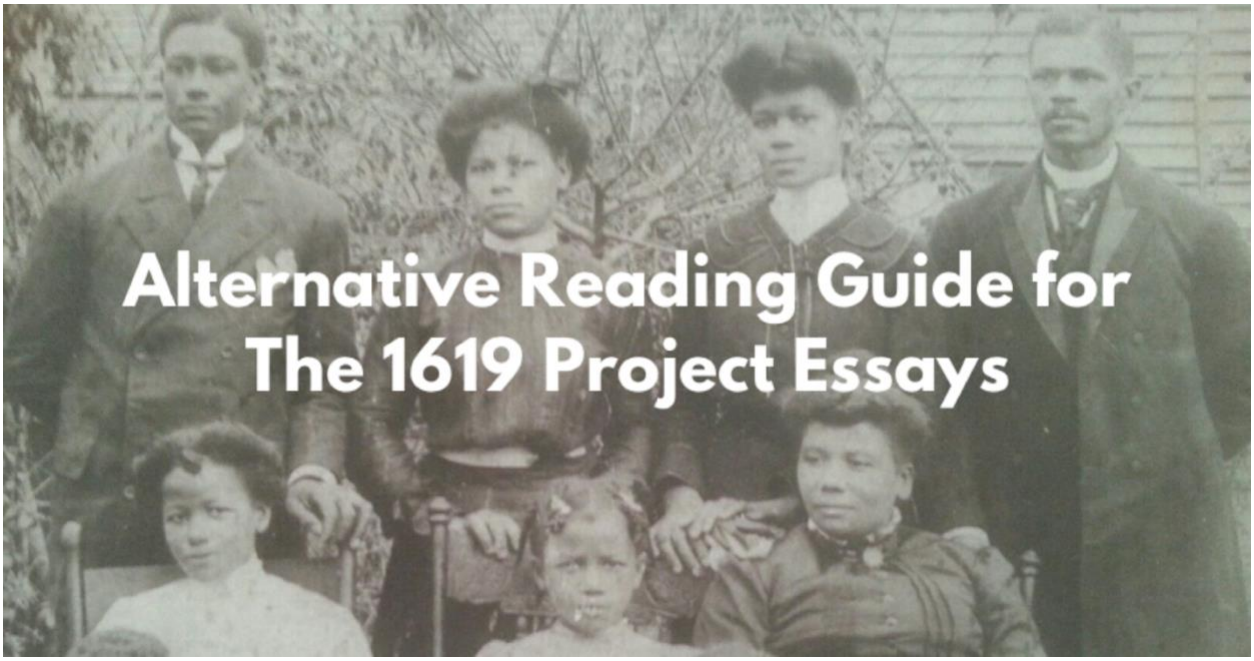
Alternative Reading Guide for The *1619 Project* Essays ©2021



Below are essays from the New York Times 1619 Project and a Pulitzer Center designed reading guide along with a supplemental reading guide and questions. You can find the 1619 essays below in the full issue from the Pulitzer Center.

The 1619 Project, while being accused of some historically fallacious claims, created a groundswell of conversation in the United States. In fact, the response was so monumental that many schools began to use the 1619 Project in their curriculum. This adds a necessary richness to American classrooms where too often the voices and experiences of black Americans, who were instrumental in helping to shape and define America's place in history, have often been downplayed or even ignored. We welcome the new discussion and hope that it continues. The danger we see in using only the 1619 Project as a guide to race relations and black American history is that it drowns out some of the voices of black resilience, strength and true heroism. Much of the 1619 Project focuses on oppression and grievance as the collective voice of the black American experience. This alternative reading guide takes the Pulitzer Center's guide and adds an additional reading to each 1619 Project essay for a more complete picture of the black American experience and contribution to American society. We encourage all classrooms using the 1619 Project to consider adding these or other supplemental readings to expand their curriculum, promote robust dialogue and discussion, and add further dimension to the nuance and complexity of the building of America.

To the coming of a better time,

W.F. Twyman, Jr. & J.D. Richmond

You can download a hard copy of this curriculum and other resources on Truth in Between (Twitter: @truth_inbetween) You can find more materials, resources, support or advice on Critical Social Justice ideology at Counterweight (Twitter: @Counter_Weight_). You can find more discussion on these and other similar issues on the Hold my Drink Podcast. For press inquiries email: richmond@truthinbetween.com.

1. "The Idea of America" by Nikole Hannah-Jones (pages 14–26)

Excerpt: "Our Declaration of Independence, signed on July 4, 1776, proclaims that 'all men are created equal' and 'endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.' But the white men who drafted those words did not believe them to be true for the hundreds of thousands of black people in their midst. 'Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness' did not apply to fully one-fifth of the country. Yet despite being violently denied the freedom and justice promised to all, black Americans believed fervently in the American creed. Through centuries of black resistance and protest, we have helped the country to live up to its founding ideals...Without the idealistic, strenuous and patriotic efforts of black Americans, our democracy today would most likely look very different — it might not be a democracy at all."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: abolitionist, American Revolution, Civil Rights Act, Crispus Attucks, Declaration of Independence, Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Jim Crow, Mason-Dixon Line, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), Reconstruction, W.E.B. Du Bois

Guiding Questions:

- How have laws, policies, and systems developed to enforce the enslavement of black Americans before the Civil War influenced laws, policies, and systems in years since?
- How has activism by black Americans throughout U.S. history led to policies that benefit all people living in the U.S.?

Supplemental:

"The American Soviet Mentality: Collective Demonization Invades Our Culture" by Izabella Tabarovsky, published in Tablet Magazine, June 15, 2020

Excerpt: "All of us who came out of the Soviet system bear the scars of the practice of unanimous condemnation, whether we ourselves had been targets or participants in it or not. It is partly why Soviet immigrants are often so averse to any expressions of collectivism: We have seen its ugliest expressions in our own lives and our friends' and families' lives. It is impossible to read the chasting remarks of Soviet writers, for whom (Boris) Pasternak had been a friend and mentor, without a sense of deep shame. Shame over the perfidy and lack of decency on display. Shame at the misrepresentations and perversions of truth. Shame at the virtue signaling and the closing of rank. Shame over the momentary and, we now know, fleeting triumph of mediocrity over truth."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Soviet, Soviet mentality, unanimous condemnation, collective demonization, collectivism, shame, misrepresentation, perversions of truth, virtue signaling, mediocrity

Guiding Questions:

- How has collectivist demonization in black American culture and consciousness since the Civil Rights Movement influenced black enterprise, achievement and personal agency in years since?
- What has been the impact of black enterprise on American history?

2. "Chained Migration" by Tiya Miles (page 22)

Excerpt: "Slavery leapt out of the East and into the interior lands of the Old Southwest in the 1820s and 1830s."

"As new lands in the Old Southwest were pried open, white enslavers back east realized their most profitable export was no longer tobacco or rice. A complex interstate slave trade became an industry of its own. This extractive system, together with enslavers moving west with human property, resulted in the relocation of approximately one million enslaved black people to a new region. The entrenched practice of buying, selling, owning, renting and mortgaging humans stretched into the American West along with the white settler-colonial population that now occupied former indigenous lands."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Indian Removal Act of 1830, Mexican-American War, westward expansion

Guiding Questions:

- How was the expansion of the U.S. shaped and made possible by slave labor?
- When did free black Americans begin to travel west, and why?

Supplemental:

"From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol" by John Mercer Langston (esp. pgs. 31-33, *found in link*)

Excerpt: "And now, early upon a bright and beautiful October morning in 1834, just as the dawn touched the eastern sky, these inexperienced wayfarers, at the time appointed, quitted the old plantation upon a journey which should prove to them all a new revelation."

"The night was well spent, the moon had reached well-nigh its setting, before he had finished his interesting conversation to the tired travelers – old friends in fact of his, who composed his auditors. He told much of his home in Ohio: how he lived, and what he did there; how he was treated by all classes; when he left home, and what his experiences had been as he journeyed along southward to meet those who were now made so happy by his presence and his prospective assistance. He had left the town in Ohio, to which these friends from and relatives of his (from Louisa County, Virginia) were wending their way, upon the same day, as he supposed, that they had left Louisa Court House; and had expected to meet them sooner; and, if possible, so near their starting-point, as to make it practicable for him to hurry on even so far; spend there at least one day, and pressing his horse and himself in his return, overtake them within fifty miles, certainly, westward of the spot where this agreeable meeting occurred. Now, however, he concluded to go no further; but remaining at once, direct and guide those who must travel the road over which he had just passed."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Self-reliance, success, heroic achievement

Guiding Questions:

- How was the expansion of the U.S. shaped and made possible by free black culture and consciousness?
- Does this Langston essay provide alternative ideas to Chained Migration?

3. "Capitalism" by Matthew Desmond (pages 30–40)

Excerpt: "In the United States, the richest 1 percent of Americans own 40 percent of the country's wealth, while a larger share of working-age people (18-65) lives in poverty than in any other nation belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (O.E.C.D.)."

"Those searching for reasons the American economy is uniquely severe and unbridled have found answers in many places (religion, politics, culture). But recently, historians have pointed persuasively to the gnatty fields of Georgia and Alabama, to the cotton houses and slave auction blocks, as the birthplace of America's low-road approach to capitalism."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: 2008 economic crisis, assets, capitalism, Collateralized Debt Obligations (C.D.O.s), cotton gin, credit, creditor, debts, depreciation, Industrial Revolution, investor, labor union, Louisiana Purchase, mortgage, Organization

Guiding Questions:

- How does the author describe capitalism in the U.S.?
- How did slavery in the U.S. contribute to the development of the global financial industry?
- What current financial systems reflect practices developed to support industries built on the work of enslaved people?

Supplemental:

"Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr" by Ron Chernow (esp. pgs. 12, 216, 240-42, 309, 482, 676, *see Appendix A*)

Excerpt: "Their clothing was old and tattered, and they looked dirty and hungry" (testimony of childhood squalor of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.)

"The fiercest robber baron had turned out to be the foremost philanthropist...By the time Rockefeller died, in fact, so much good had unexpectedly flowered from so much evil that God might even have greeted him on the other side, as the titan had so confidently expected all along."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: triumph, American capitalism, robber baron, philanthropist, competitors, reformers, caricaturists, Spelman College

Guiding Questions:

- How does the author describe capitalism in the U.S.?
- How did capitalism in the U.S. contribute to the development of Historically Black Colleges and Universities like Spelman College?
- What current financial systems reflect practices developed to support industries built on the work of black people since 1900?

4. "Mortgaging the Future" by Mehrsa Baradaran (page 32)

Excerpt: "The Union passed the bills so it could establish a national currency in order to finance the war. The legislation also created the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (O.C.C.), the first federal bank regulator. After the war, states were allowed to keep issuing bank charters of their own. This byzantine infrastructure remains to this day, and is known as the dual banking system. Among all nations in the world, only the United States has such a fragmentary, overlapping and inefficient system — a direct relic of the conflict between federal and state power over maintenance of the slave-based economy of the South."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: bank charters, dual banking system, federal oversight, National Bank Act, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (O.C.C.)

Guiding Questions:

- How are current banking practices in the U.S. influenced by bank administration and regulation practices developed to fund the Civil War?
- How are bank regulation practices established after the Civil War connected to the 2008 economic crisis in the U.S.?

Supplemental:

"The Freedmen's Savings Bank: Good Intentions Were Not Enough; A Noble Experiment Goes Awry" by Office of the Comptroller of the Currency

Excerpt: "At first, all went well. With the Freedman's Bureau helping to publicize it, the Bank attracted millions of dollars from tens of thousands of depositors. The accounts they established were poignantly small. The vast majority of them ranged between $5 and $50, but these small deposits were emblematic of the historic rise of a class of black property owners…The bank's closing…left 61,144 depositors with losses of nearly $3 million."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Frederick Douglass, Henry Cooke, Freedman's Savings Bank

Guiding Questions:

- How are current banking practices in the U.S. influenced by the collapse of the Freedman's Savings Bank?
- How is the collapse of the Freedman's Savings Bank connected to the collapse of subsequent black banks?

5. "Good as Gold" by Mehrsa Baradaran (page 35)

Excerpt: "At the height of the war, Lincoln understood that he could not feed the troops without more money, so he issued a national currency, backed by the full faith and credit of the United States — but not by gold."

"Lincoln assured critics that the move would be temporary, but leaders who followed him eventually made it permanent — first Franklin Roosevelt during the Great Depression and then, formally, Richard Nixon in 1971."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: fiat currency

Guiding Questions:

- Why did the U.S. develop its first national currency, and what role did the Civil War play in its creation?
- How was the value of a national currency in the U.S. determined?

Supplemental:

"Why a Gold Standard is a Very Bad Idea" by Money and Banking

Excerpt: "In his 2012 lecture Origins and Mission of the Federal Reserve, then-Federal Reserve Board Chair Ben Bernanke identifies four fundamental problems with the gold standard:

- When the central bank fixes the dollar price of gold, rather than the price of goods we consume, fluctuations in the dollar price of goods replace fluctuations in the market price of gold.
- Since prices are tied to the amount of money in the economy, which is linked to the supply of gold, inflation depends on the rate that gold is mined.
- When the gold standard is used at home and abroad, it is an exchange rate policy in which international transactions must be settled in gold.
- Digging gold out of one hole in the ground (a mine) to put it into another hole in the ground (a vault) wastes resources."

"Consistent with Bernanke's critique, the evidence shows that both inflation and economic growth were quite volatile under the gold standard."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Gold Standard, Central Bank, monetary policy, fixed exchange rate, Great Depression, convertibility, panic

Guiding Questions:

- Does the Gold Standard provide more economic stability?
- Is the final abandonment of the Gold Standard related to slavery?

6. "Fabric of Modernity" by Mehrsa Baradaran (page 36)

Excerpt: "From the first decades of the 1800s, during the height of the trans-Atlantic cotton trade, the sheer size of the market and the escalating number of disputes between counterparties was such that courts and lawyers began to articulate and codify the common-law standards regarding contracts...Today law students still study some of these pivotal cases as they learn doctrines like foreseeability, mutual mistake and damages."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: damages, futures contracts, foreseeability, mutual mistake contracts

Guiding Questions:

- How did increased production of cotton in the South through slave labor influence trade and business in the U.S., and around the world?
- How have the laws and contracts developed before the Civil War to support the cotton industry influenced the financial documents we use today?

Supplemental:

"Commodity Trading – Chapter 1: The History of Commodity Trading" by FX Empire Editorial Board

Excerpt: "Unbelievably Futures Trading dates back to 17th Century Japan. The first ever case noted concerned rice. However, there is also evidence that rice futures were traded in China as far back as 6,000 years ago."

"Future trading is a natural progression of things in response to the difficulties of maintaining a year round supply of products which are dependable on seasons like agricultural crops."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: rice tickets, Chicago Board of Trade 1848

Guiding Questions:

- What is the purpose of agricultural contracts and where did the idea originate?
- Is futures trading a result of slavery?

7. "Municipal Bonds" by Tiya Miles (page 40)

Excerpt: "As the historian David Quigley has demonstrated, New York City's phenomenal economic consolidation came as a result of its dominance in the Southern cotton trade, facilitated by the construction of the Erie Canal. It was in this moment — the early decades of the 1800s — that New York City gained its status as a financial behemoth through shipping raw cotton to Europe and bankrolling the boom industry that slavery made."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: capitalism, Dutch West India Company, insurance, profits, Wall Street

Guiding Questions:

- How did enslaved people contribute to the construction of northeastern cities like New York City?
- How did banks and other financial institutions profit from slavery, even after it was abolished in the North?

Supplemental:

"75 Most Powerful Blacks On Wall Street" (Profiling J. Donald Rice Jr.) by Alan Hughes published in Black Enterprise, November 7, 2011

Excerpt: "Underwritten municipal bond transactions exceeding $245 billion and has extended derivative transactions totaling nearly $30 billion. In 2010, the firm served as a managing underwriter on more than $52 billion in municipal bond issues – a 578% increase in just four years."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: capitalism, Wall Street, entrepreneurship, Rice Financial Products Co., *Black Enterprise Magazine*

Guiding Questions:

- How have black people contributed to the rise of Wall Street?
- How did black Americans profit from the municipal bond market?

8. "A Broken Health Care System" by Jeneen Interlandi (pages 44–45)

Excerpt: "Federal health care policy was designed, both implicitly and explicitly, to exclude black Americans. As a result, they faced an array of inequities—including statistically shorter, sicker lives than their white counterparts."

"One hundred and fifty years after the freed people of the South first petitioned the government for basic medical care, the United States remains the only high-income country in the world where such care is not guaranteed to every citizen. In the United States, racial health disparities have proved as foundational as democracy itself."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Affordable Care Act (A.C.A.), Aid to Dependent Children Act, Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, Freedmen's Bureau, GI Bill, Jim Crow, New Deal, Pullman porters, Reconstruction, Social Security, Wagner Acts of 1935

Guiding Questions:

- How have healthcare policies, city planning, and other government systems in the U.S. limited who has access to healthcare services?
- According to the author, what factors help diseases to spread in a community?

Supplemental:

"Embracing Genetic Diversity to Improve Black Health" by Akinyemi Oni-Orisan, Pharm.D., Ph.D., Yusuph Mavura, M.S., Yambazi Banda, Ph.D., Timothy A. Thornton, Ph.D., and Ronnie Sebro, M.D., Ph.D., published in The New England Journal of Medicine, March 25, 2021

Excerpt: "But our personal experiences as Black male geneticists in science and society have given us a certain perspective on genetics, race, ancestry, and health disparities affecting the Black community."

"There is a remarkably strong correlation between a person's continent of ancestral origin and self-identified race. Thus, we believe that race has both a genetic and a social component."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Genetics, Diversity, Black Health, Aggressions, Microaggressions, Isolation, Imposter Syndrome, Stereotype Threat, Gaslighting, Lack of Mentorship, STEM fields

Guiding Questions:

- In what ways might genetic science improve the quality of health care for those of African descent?
- Do the authors believe race is more a factor of genetic construction or social construction?

9. "Traffic" by Kevin M. Kruse (pages 48–49)

Excerpt: "The postwar programs for urban renewal, for instance, destroyed black neighborhoods and displaced their residents with such regularity that African-Americans came to believe, in James Baldwin's memorable phrase, that 'urban renewal means Negro removal.'"

"In the end, Atlanta's traffic is at a standstill because its attitude about transit is at a standstill, too. Fifty years after its Interstates were set down with an eye to segregation and its rapid-transit system was stunted by white flight, the city is still stalled in the past."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: James Baldwin, New Deal, public transit, redlining practices, segregation laws of the 1890s, urban renewal, white flight

Guiding Questions:

- What policies contributed to neighborhood segregation in the U.S.?
- How have transportation systems reinforced segregation?

Supplemental:

"The World of Patience Gromes" by Scott Davis (esp. pgs. 15, 25, 27, 32, 43, 47, 53, 54, 57, 58, 69, *found in link*)

Excerpt: "I want to tell the story of a black community: its birth in the country at the end of the Civil War, its move from country to city, its disintegration during the war on poverty."

"This community began with black men and women who belonged to the first generation after slavery. They were young, blessed with strong families, and in a position to make a life for themselves."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Richmond, Fulton, Virginia, country, Civil War, war on poverty, first generation after slavery, strong families, their own hands

Guiding Questions:

- How did the move from country to the city contribute to neighborhood segregation in the U.S.?
- How have personal choices reinforced segregation?

10. "Undemocratic Democracy" by Jamelle Bouie (pages 50–55)

Excerpt: "There is a homegrown ideology of reaction in the United States, inextricably tied to our system of slavery. And while the racial content of that ideology has attenuated over time, the basic framework remains: fear of rival political majorities; of demographic 'replacement'; of a government that threatens privilege and hierarchy."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Affordable Care Act (A.C.A.), the black belt, concurrent majority, debt limit, fiscal responsibility, nullification, Populist Party

Guiding Questions:

- According to the author, how do 19th century U.S. political movements aimed at maintaining the right to enslave people manifest in contemporary political parties?

Supplemental:

"The Omega Glory" in the *Star Trek Original Series* (Season 2, Episode 23)

Excerpt: "These words must apply to everyone, or they mean nothing. Do you understand?"

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Holy Words, We The People, meaning, Constitution, Yangs, Kohms, Liberty

Guiding Questions:

- According to Captain Kirk, how does an 18th century U.S. political movement aimed at liberty manifest itself on the planet Omega IV in the distant future?

11. "Medical Inequality" by Linda Villarosa (pages 56–57)

Excerpt: "The centuries-old belief in racial differences in physiology has continued to mask the brutal effects of discrimination and structural inequities, instead placing blame on individuals and their communities for statistically poor health outcomes. Rather than conceptualizing race as a risk factor that predicts disease or disability because of a fixed susceptibility conceived on shaky grounds centuries ago, we would do better to understand race as a proxy for bias, disadvantage and ill treatment. The poor health outcomes of black people, the targets of discrimination over hundreds of years and numerous generations, may be a harbinger for the future health of an increasingly diverse and unequal America."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: anesthesia, gynecology, lung capacity, pulmonary function

Guiding Questions:

- What inaccurate and unfounded assumptions have doctors made throughout history about the bodies of enslaved black people, and how did they attempt to prove those assumptions?
- How have racist medical practices and attitudes influenced the medical treatment that black Americans have received throughout history, and continue to receive today?

Supplemental:

"Are Genetic Factors Involved in Racial and Ethnic Differences in Late-Life Health?" by James V. Neel, published in National Research Council (US) Committee on Population, 1997

Excerpt: "In the United States, when we think about racial or ethnic differences in late-life health (and the possible genetic bases for these differences), our thoughts tend to center on the comparison of blacks and whites, and because there is so much more information on these two groups than any others, this presentation concentrates on some possible differences between them. First, I briefly discuss two well-understood disease entities of early onset that are almost entirely restricted to blacks and use these diseases as a point of departure for the possible health implications of racial and ethnic differences in allele frequencies with respect to single-locus polymorphisms. (An allele is any one of two or more different genes that may occupy the same position on a specific chromosome.)"

Key Names, Dates and Terms: sickle cell anemia, G-6 PD deficiency trait, genetic differences, successful genetic adaptation

Guiding Questions:

- Should people of non-African descent be tested and assessed for the sickle cell trait?
- How has genetic medical research influenced the medical treatment that black Americans have received since sequencing of the human genome, and continue to receive today?

12. "American Popular Music" by Wesley Morris (pages 60–67)

Excerpt: "When we're talking about black music, we're talking about horns, drums, keyboards and guitars doing the unthinkable together. We're also talking about what the borrowers and collaborators don't want to or can't lift — centuries of weight, of atrocity we've never sufficiently worked through, the blackness you know is beyond theft because it's too real, too rich, too heavy to steal."

Key Dates, Names and Terms: appropriation, minstrelsy

Guiding Questions:

- How have popular musical and performance trends throughout history used traditions and styles developed by black Americans?
- How does the author describe black music and blackness in music?

Supplemental:

"Roll Jordan Roll: A Critique of Slavery and a Story of Hope" by Sadie Ray, published in Challenges to Modernity: Blog by Sadie Ray, April 30, 2016

Excerpt: "*They that walked in darkness sang in the olden-days – Sorrow Songs – for they were weary at heart. And so before each thought that I have written in this book, I have a set phrase, a haunting echo of these weird old songs in which the souls of the black slave spoke to men."* (quoting W.E.B. DuBois in *The Souls of Black Folks*)

Key Dates, Names and Terms: Sorrow Songs, Roll Jordan Roll

Guiding Questions:

- How have popular musical and performance trends throughout history used traditions and styles developed by black Americans?
- Does the sorrow song of Roll, Jordan, Roll demonstrate legitimate cultural appropriation?

13. "Sugar" by Khalil Gibran Muhammad (pages 70–77)

Excerpt: "None of this — the extraordinary mass commodification of sugar, its economic might and outsize impact on the American diet and health — was in any way foreordained, or even predictable, when Christopher Columbus made his second voyage across the Atlantic Ocean in 1493, bringing sugar-cane stalks with him from the Spanish Canary Islands. In Europe at that time, refined sugar was a luxury product, the back-breaking toil and dangerous labor required in its manufacture an insuperable barrier to production in anything approaching bulk. It seems reasonable to imagine that it might have remained so if it weren't for the establishment of an enormous market in enslaved laborers who had no way to opt out of the treacherous work."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: 1730 slave code in New York, Haitian Revolution, Hurricane Katrina, racketeering, taxpayer subsidies, triangle of trade, wire fraud

Guiding Questions:

- How is sugar produced, and why was it cultivated in what became the U.S.?
- How has sugar production changed, and how have policies continued to limit who has access to the wealth earned from producing sugar?

Supplemental:

"Tobacco and Slaves" by Allan Kulikoff (esp. pgs. 23, 31-33, 38, 40-41, 47-48, *found in link*)

Excerpt: "Once settlers discovered a market for tobacco in England, they dropped all other economic activities. Planters could take advantage of the tobacco market only if they commanded sufficient labor to increase their output. They therefore used the profits they made from the trade to bring over English servants to work in their tobacco fields."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Tobacco, Slaves, English servants, Indentured servants, racial underclass, Chesapeake Bay, Emigrants

Guiding Questions:

- How is tobacco produced, and why was it cultivated in what became the U.S.?
- How has tobacco production changed, and how have policies continued to limit who has access to the wealth earned from producing tobacco?

14. "Pecan Pioneer" by Tiya Miles (page 76)

Excerpt: "The presence of pecan pralines in every Southern gift shop from South Carolina to Texas, and our view of the nut as regional fare, masks a crucial chapter in the story of the pecan: It was an enslaved man who made the wide cultivation of this nut possible."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: commercial production, commercial market, grafting

Guiding Questions:

- How were pecans initially cultivated in the U.S., and how did Antoine's innovation make their commercial production viable?
- Who are the figures that we learn about when studying innovation in the U.S., and whose stories are missing?

Supplemental:

"George Washington Carver: In His Own Words" by Gary R. Kremer (esp. pgs. 1, 3-6, 10, 16, 22, *found in link*)

Excerpt: "And yet George Washington Carver is also one of the least understood of all our heroes. What manner of man was this person who operated out of a remote Southern black school, took white America as if by storm, and rose to national and even international fame?"

"Conversations left the Milhollands deeply impressed: here, they knew, was a rare individual indeed. They quickly became convinced that the searching, sensitive mind of the future scientist needed to be nurtured and disciplined through formal education. They urged Carver to enroll as a student at nearby Simpson College, but Carver was reluctant. His only previous experience at entering college had ended disastrously. He had applied at Highland College in Kansas and been accepted, sight unseen. When he had tried to register at the all-white school, his obvious blackness had caused the first official he encountered to announce that there had been a mistake: Highland College had never admitted a Negro and had no intention of every doing so. For a young man who had always considered whites to be his friends, that had been a bitter pill to swallow. He could not stand the thought of being rejected once more."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: peanuts, Horatio Alger, Tuskegee Institute

Guiding Questions:

- Why is George Washington Carver better known as an inventor and innovator than "Antoine"?
- How did George Washington Carver rise from slavery to fame and fortune?

15. "The Wealth Gap" by Trymaine Lee (pages 82–83)

Excerpt: "Today's racial wealth gap is perhaps the most glaring legacy of American slavery and the violent economic dispossession that followed."

"The post-Reconstruction plundering of black wealth was not just a product of spontaneous violence, but etched in law and public policy."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Freedmen's Bureau, GI Bill, Home Owners Loan Corporation, New Deal programs (social security, unemployment, minimum wage, etc.), Reconstruction, redlining, zero and negative wealth

Guiding Questions:

- How does a person accumulate and keep wealth in the U.S.?
- How have policy and exclusion from government wealth-building programs limited black Americans' opportunities to accumulate wealth?

Supplemental:

"Black American Culture and the Racial Wealth Gap" by Coleman Hughes, published in Quillette, July 19, 2018

Excerpt: "It's not looking good for the progressive narrative about the racial wealth gap. Still, there is a kernel of truth to it. Researchers at Brandeis followed a nationally representative set of 1,700 families from 1984 to 2009 and measured their wealth gains over that period. They concluded that inherited wealth and length of homeownership accounted for 5 percent and 27 percent, respectively, of the racial disparity in wealth gains. But even if that combined 32 percent could be automatically ascribed to historical racism (which it cannot), that would still leave 68 percent of the gap to be explained by other factors. In short, many commentators have zoomed in on the fraction of the story that can be told without discomfort but have ignored the rest."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: California Alien Land Law of 1913, Nielson Report, Consumer Expenditure Survey, financial health scale, intra-racial disparities, The Parable of the Pedestrian

Guiding Questions:

- How can top-down government policy fix the wealth gap?
- What are some bottom-up approaches for addressing the wealth gap?

16. "Mass Incarceration" by Bryan Stevenson (pages 80–81)

Excerpt: "The United States has the highest rate of incarceration of any nation on Earth: We represent 4 percent of the planet's population but 22 percent of its imprisoned. In the early 1970s, our prisons held fewer than 300,000 people; since then, that number has grown to more than 2.2 million, with 4.5 million more on probation or parole. Because of mandatory sentencing and 'three strikes' laws, I've found myself representing clients sentenced to life without parole for stealing a bicycle or for simple possession of marijuana. And central to understanding this practice of mass incarceration and excessive punishment is the legacy of slavery."

"It's not just that this history fostered a view of black people as presumptively criminal. It also cultivated a tolerance for employing any level of brutality in response."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: 13th Amendment, Black Codes, capital punishment, Reconstruction, sharecropping

Guiding Questions:

- How have laws been written and enforced in the U.S. over the past 400 years to disproportionality punish black Americans?
- How does Stevenson argue that the modern day prison system acts as a continuation of slavery?

Supplemental:

"Racist Police Violence Reconsidered" by John McWhorter, published in Quillette, June 11, 2020

Excerpt: "…it remains true that black people are killed at a rate disproportionate to their percentage of the population. Does this decisively demonstrate racial bias or murderous animus on the part of American law enforcement? Blacks represent about 13 percent of the US population but about a quarter of victims in cop killings. Whites constitute about 62 percent of the population but only half of those killed by the police. With slight fluctuations, these trends have been broadly consistent."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: George Floyd, Tony Timpa, socioeconomic gap, racial animus

Guiding Questions:

- What are some explanations of police shootings that aren't race related?
- How does the number of shootings of black people correlate to the population percentage?

17. "Hope" by Djeneba Aduayom (photography), Nikole Hannah-Jones (introduction), and Wadzanai Mhute (captions) (pages 86–93)

Excerpt: "Leading up to the civil rights movement, Howard was virtually the only law school in the South that served black students. It became an incubator for those who would use the law to challenge racial apartheid in the North and the South and help make the country more fair and democratic."

"The school continues that legacy today, producing more black lawyers than perhaps any other institution. In May, it graduated its 148th class, and the four newly minted lawyers featured here were among the graduates. All of them descended from people enslaved in this country." —Nikole Hannah-Jones

"As a sixth-generation descendant of slavery, I am essentially a part of the first generation of descendants to carry the torch that was lit by my ancestors into true freedom.'' —Septembra Lesane, a recent graduate of Howard University School of Law

Key Names, Dates and Terms: census, estate, Freedmen's Bureau, genealogy, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), property ledgers, will

Guiding Questions:

- What challenges do black Americans face in tracing lineage, and what strategies have been used to address those challenges?
- What similarities and differences do you notice between the stories of the ancestors of the four Howard University School of Law students?
- How do the portraits help tell the stories of the people who are profiled?

Supplemental:

"Simple Justice" by Richard Kluger (esp. pgs.107, 115, 204, 292, 473, *see Appendix B*)

Excerpt: "He was the first African American ever to serve as law clerk to a Justice, and, in view of Frankfurter's didactic bent, it was good for (William T.) Coleman Jr. that he had come well prepared. A *summa cum laude* graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, a *magna cum laude* graduate of Harvard Law School who had served as a *Harvard Law Review* editor, a Harvard Business School graduate for good measure, Coleman withal had been unable to find a job with a law firm in his hometown of Philadelphia, but landed a position there as law clerk to one of the judges for the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit – a job he handled with distinction for two years before Justice Frankfurter summoned him to Washington."

"After his first year, (Charles H. Houston) was elected to the Harvard Law Review, an honor that went to the highest-ranking members of the class. It was more than an honor, though, for the quality of writing and thinking that went into the monthly magazine carried its editors far beyond the demands of normal classroom work. And none of the editors was more purposeful than the first black man ever to serve on the staff."

"Son of a Richmond lawyer who had first established a thriving real-estate business, (Spottswood W. Robinson III) himself proved a successful business-lawyer, dividing his time between teaching at Howard and specializing in realty law as a partner in the firm (Oliver) Hill had established before going into the Army in 1943.''

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Harvard Law Review, Summa Cum Laude, Magna Cum Laude, Son of a Richmond Lawyer, Howard, William T. Coleman Jr., Spottswood W. Robinson III, Charles H. Houston
Guiding Questions:

- Why might black Americans select Harvard Law School over Howard Law School for a legal education?
- Are the sons of black lawyers carriers of black privilege?
- What accounts for the relative disappearance of black law firms since the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s?

18. "Shadow of the Past" by Anne C. Bailey (text) and Dannielle Bowman (photograph) (page 98)

Excerpt: "This spot [pictured] is the site of the largest auction of enslaved people in American history... A photo can't capture the contribution those 436 people made to the economy of their country, or the gifts and talents they lent it. (As part of the Gullah Geechee community, they were among those who gave the world a song of peace, 'Kumbaya.') What you do see are two tracks, intersecting but going in different directions, toward different outcomes — a fitting metaphor, perhaps, for black and white life in America."

Key Names, Dates and Terms: auction, economy, Gullah Geechee community

Guiding Questions:

- How does the author describe the largest auction of enslaved people in American history?
- How do the text and image connect? Why do you think The *1619 Project* concludes with this image and text?

Supplemental:

"This spot [pictured] is the site of the most prestigious historically black college and university in the United States of America. A photo of Howard University's Administration Building can't capture the contributions of tens of thousands of black people made to the economy of their country, or the gifts and talents they lent it. From the moment the first black professor George Boyer Vashon, the first black law school dean John Mercer Langston and the first black president Mordecai Wyatt Johnson graced the Hilltop campus, all Americans would feel the influence and vision of black lawyers, doctors, teachers and scholars throughout the North and South, East and West. Vice-President Kamala Harris is the latest generation of leaders who have known Howard as home. What you see in the red brick buildings at Howard are the physical embodiments of epic vision, steadfastness and resilience in Black America." – W.F. Twyman, Jr.

Key Names, Dates and Terms: John Mercer Langston, George Boyer Vashon, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, Kamala Harris.

Guiding Questions:

- How should we view the achievements of black Americans who built and attended Howard University?
- How does this image and the supplemental readings connect? Why do you think we conclude with this image and text?

19. Broadsheet from the newspaper: “Why Can’t We Teach This?” by Nikita

Excerpt: “Unlike math and reading, states are not required to meet academic content standards for teaching social studies and United States history. That means that there is no consensus on the curriculum around slavery, no uniform recommendation to explain an institution that was debated in the crafting of the Constitution and that has influenced nearly every aspect of American society since.”

Key Names, Dates and Terms: academic content standards, Emancipation Proclamation, Lost Cause ideology

Guiding Questions:

- According to the Southern Poverty Law Center’s study, what are some of the ways in which U.S. history textbooks are “failing”?
- Why do students infrequently learn a full history of slavery in school?
- What are some suggestions that appear in Stewart’s essay for improving education on slavery?

Supplemental:

“Yes, There Really is a War on Math in Our Schools” by Denyse O’Leary, published in Mind Matters News, February 16, 2021

Excerpt: “The Oregon Department of Education (ODE) recently encouraged teachers to register for training that encourages “ethnomathematics,” an education trend that argues, “among other things, that White supremacy manifests itself in the focus on finding the right answer”:

> “The concept of mathematics being purely objective is unequivocally false, and teaching it is even much less so,” the document for the “Equitable Math” toolkit reads. “Upholding the idea that there are always right and wrong answers perpetuate objectivity as well as fear of open conflict.”

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Equitable Math, objectivity

Guiding Questions:

- When addressing the lack of proper education on the history of slavery, does equitable math help redress slavery?
- How does a “focus on finding the right answer” promote racism?

20. Broadsheet from the newspaper: by Mary Elliott (curation and text), Jazmine Hughes (text), and Erica Deeman (photos)

Excerpt: This three part broadsheet features a collection of artifacts and documents from the collection of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, curated by Mary Elliott. The artifacts are accompanied by contextualizing text written by Elliott and Jazmine Hughes. It provides a primary source-driven history of slavery in three time periods:

1. 1455–1775: Slavery, Power, and the Human Cost
2. 1776–1808: The Limits of Freedom
3. 1809–1865: A Slave Nation Fights for Freedom

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Bacon's Rebellion, Benjamin Banneker, cotton gin, Dred Scott, Emancipation Proclamation, Fugitive Slave Act, Middle Passage, Mum Bett, Nat Turner, slave patrols, Stono Rebellion

Guiding Questions:

- What is the effect of seeing and reading these primary sources? How is it similar to and different from reading essays and/or creative works about slavery?
- What is the role of a historian? What does a curator do?
- What is the effect of seeing and reading these primary sources? How is it similar to and different from reading essays and/or creative works about slavery?
- What is the role of a historian? What does a curator do?
- How did Mary Elliott curate this section? What information about slavery is new to you or differently presented from what you learned in school?

Supplemental:

This three part broadsheet (below) features a collection of pictures and documents of black American history from 3 time periods.

1. 1455–1775: Slavery, Power, and the Human Cost
2. 1776–1808: The Limits of Freedom
3. 1809–1865 (and onwards): A Slave Nation Fights for Freedom

Key Names, Dates and Terms: Runaway indentured servant, Manumission Bond, Free Blacks, Lemuel Haynes, Thomas Paul, James Twyman, Richard Holloway Sr., George T. Downing, Boston Police Force 1838, Sergeant William H. Carney, Mifflin Gibbs, The Wellington Rescue (Oberlin), Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Charles Langston, Probate proceedings, Alexander Twilight, Sergeant William H. Carney, Mordecai Johnson, Spottswood W. Robinson III, Oliver Hill, Charles Hamilton Houston, Sadie Taner Mossell Alexander, Edward W. Brooke, William T. Coleman, Jr., Robert and Amy Wilson Brown, Rosa Nell Brown

Guiding Questions:

- What is the effect of seeing and reading these primary and secondary sources? How is it similar to and different from reading essays about slavery in the 1619 Project?
- What is the role of a journalist? What does an ideologue do?
- How did W.F. Twyman, Jr. and J.D. Richmond curate this section?

- What information about freedom during slavery is new to you or differently presented from what you learned in school?

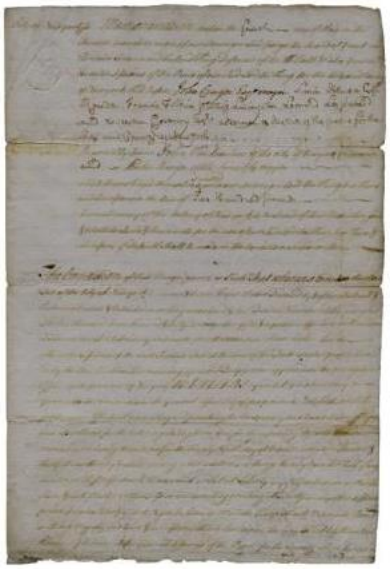
Broadsheet

Curated and written by W.F. Twyman, Jr. & J.D. Richmond

1455 – 1775: Slavery, Power, and the Human Cost

One day in 1677, a teenager left his home in Kent, England and set sail aboard the ship Recovery for the New World. He survived the approximately six-week voyage across the Atlantic Ocean before setting foot on Virginia soil in Middlesex County. He arrived as the indentured servant of Thomas Lee. Within months, that English young man ran away and hid from bondage in the Virginia forest. That runaway would begat a family tree in equal parts black and white that now numbers about 4,000 Twymans in this country. His name was George Twyman I (1661 – 1703) And this is the story of freedom and the human dimension of our American past.

Posted Bond for Manumission of a Slave Named Ann Freed by New York Tavern Keeper Eve Scurlock, May 5, 1757 (pictured).



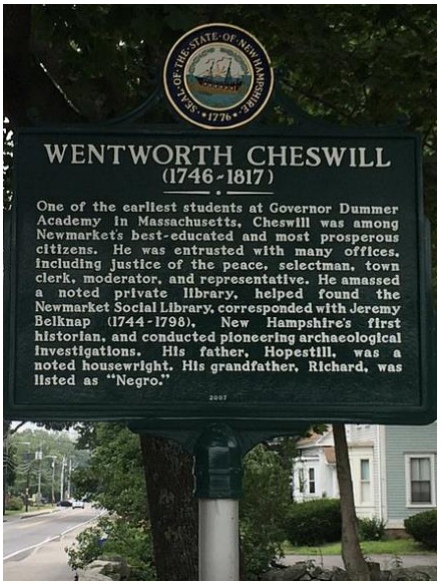
Free black Gideon Gibson confronting colonial power in the South Carolina upcountry (pictured).

The introspection of colonial poet Phyllis Wheatley (pictured). Commander of the Continental Army George Washington praised the poetry of Wheatley and, as an admirer of her work, met with Wheatley at Washington's command headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

By the mid-1700s, tobacco planters in the Chesapeake Bay area were using an African slave labor force attended to by overseers. No longer was the labor force composed of mostly English servants as had been the case from roughly 1607 until around 1690. (Image from Tobacco and Slaves)

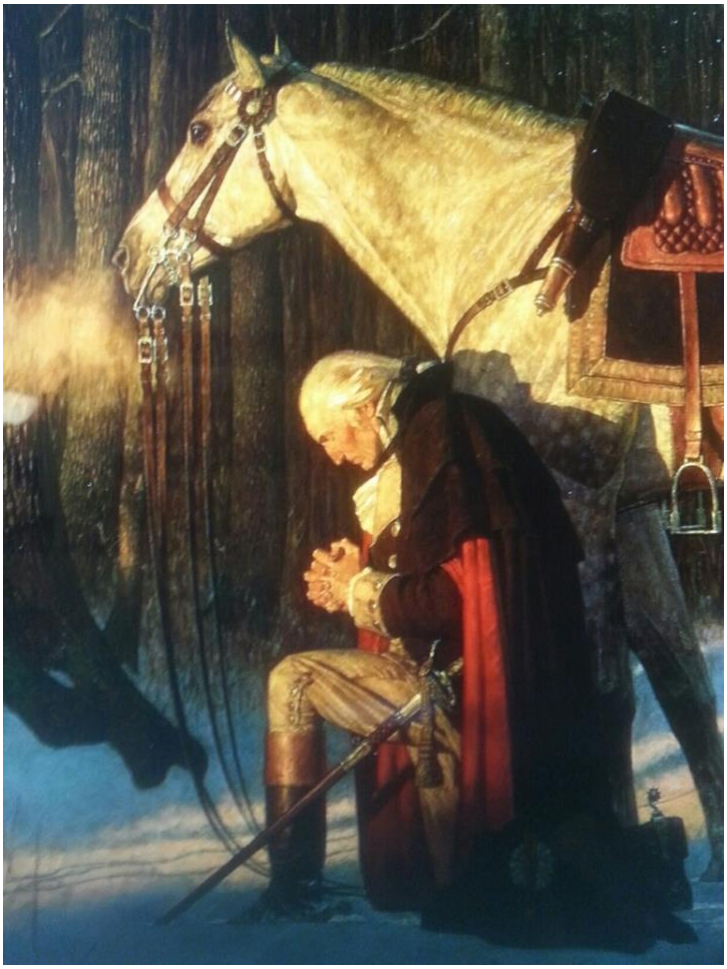
Colonial life between 1607 and 1776 along the eastern coast of what is now the United States was distinguished by continual cycles, twists and turns, in life for blacks and whites. It is clear that we must take care to get the story right: the human dimension of freedom was always and ever present beside the abomination of American slavery. White indentured servants ran away and hid in the Virginia forest and increasingly English servants were phased out in favor of African slave labor for producing the cash crop of tobacco. The nuance and complexity of colonial life meant poor English emigrants craved freedom, white slave masters manumitted slaves and posted expensive bonds so that their wishes of freedom would be respected. At the same time as African men and women toiled in the tidewater and piedmont regions of Virginia, Gideon Gibson was rising up against the colonial power in the upcountry of the Carolinas, and Phyllis Wheatley composed sweet poetry that charmed a future president of the United States. Life was bondage and freedom and much more.

1776 – 1808: The Limits of Freedom



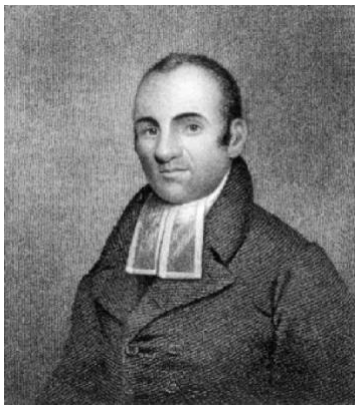
Wentworth Cheswell (1746 – 1817) was the first American of African descent to hold public office in the United States. The grandson of an African slave and the first black to own land in New Hampshire, the marriage of the grandfather to a member of the white Wentworth family "was considered a disgrace to the Wentworth family, who sent them away to the woods of New Hampshire". Cheswell's first elected post was as town constable at the age of 22. He distinguished himself as a schoolmaster, a Revolutionary War soldier, a store proprietor, and started the first library in Newmarket. In his will, Cheswell provided for public access to his private library.

It is said that the slave poet Phyllis Wheatley "became the most famous African on the face of the earth" upon publication of her book *Poems on Various Subjects* in 1773. Wheatley followed up on this breakthrough work with a lyrical tribute to George Washington in October 1775 which concluded: "A crown, a mansion, and a throne that shine/With gold unfading, Washington! Be thine." Warmed and intrigued, Washington wrote a note of invitation to Wheatley for a personal visit at his Cambridge, Massachusetts military headquarters: "I thank you most sincerely for our polite notice of me in the elegant lines you enclosed. And however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your great poetical talents…If you should ever come to Cambridge or near headquarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favour[e]d by the Muses and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am with great respect your obed[ient]t humble servant." Wheatley and Washington met in March 1776.



A short side story – Somewhere in the piedmont of Virginia and a few miles from the birthplace of John Mercer Langston, W.F. Twyman, Jr. arrived late for supper. His hostess was his third cousin which meant they shared the same great-great-grandparents. She welcomed him into her home, and they started to talk about family over a home cooked meal. His cousin happens to be a direct descendant of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings. They were comfortable with each other and neither of them felt they had to play act or perform racial roles for the camera. His cousin simply said she felt Sally was young and in awe of a powerful man like Jefferson while in Paris. She didn't feel Jefferson was capable of rape and she equally felt her ancestor, Sally, while free in Paris, knew what she was doing and agreed to return with Jefferson in a relationship from Paris to Virginia. If a blood descendant of Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson can appreciate the nuance and complexity between her two ancestors, why are total strangers unable to accept a descendant's perception of a past relationship nearly two centuries old? (Image of Jefferson and Hemings family descendants from an unidentified family source.)

The son of an African American servant and a white maid from a prominent family, Lemuel Haynes (1753 – 1833) (pictured) was abandoned by his mother within days of his birth. A kind farming family took the young Haynes in and raised the boy to adulthood. Haynes learned to read the Bible by candlelight. His sermons as a young man so impressed congregants that he was urged to attend college. He did not do so, however, he was awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree in 1804 by Middlebury College. A Revolutionary War soldier at the Battle of Ticonderoga, Haynes settled upon the ministry for his life's work. He would become one of the most influential pastors in Northern New England during his lifetime as he preached from his pulpit in Rutland, Vermont.



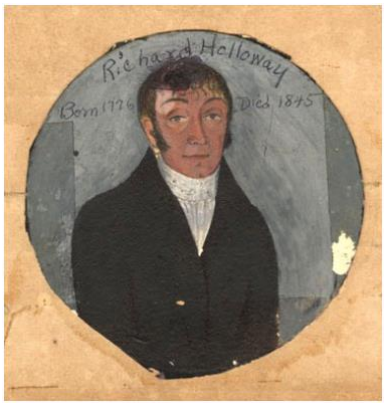
Born in Exeter, New Hampshire, Thomas Paul (1773 – 1831) (pictured) would move to Boston, Massachusetts and pursue a career as a minister and abolitionist. Rev. Paul founded the African Meeting House in Boston and began a long tradition over the generations of achievement in the Paul family. His granddaughter, Susan Paul Smith, would marry the pioneer black lawyer and intellectual George B. Vashon. When Rev. Paul passed away on April 13, 1831, he was remembered in this fashion by the *Liberator:*

"It is our painful duty, to-day, to insert the death of Rev. Thomas Paul, (for many years Pastor of the African Baptist Church in Belknap street) which took place in this city on Wednesday afternoon, at 5o'clock. He died of consumption, age 51 years. Few men ever deserved a higher eulogy than Mr. Paul. In his manners, he was dignified, urbane and attractive; his intellect was assiduously cultivated...As a self-made man, (and, in the present age, every colored man, if made at all, must be self-made) he was a prodigy."

While slavery solidified its hold on Southern culture and consciousness, the limits of freedom for blacks began to expand in the North between 1776 and 1808. Phyllis Wheatley challenged perceptions of black intellectual inferiority with her lyrical words. Wentworth Cheswell won election as town constable in Newmarket, New Hampshire and brought honor to the Cheswell name. And the most influential man in the young nation, George Washington, freed all his slaves upon his death in 1799. No doubt Washington was influenced, in part, by the universal humanity expressed in the poetry of Wheatley.

1809 – 1865 (and onwards): A Slave Nation Fights for Freedom

What is a great story of resilience? There is an embarrassment of riches in our past: "Having received an education at Oberlin College, she determined that, if possible, to devote herself to teaching her people in her native place, Charleston (South Carolina), she went to the Governor of the State, and after much difficulty and delay, obtained permission to open a school. Hardly was it under way, when it was threatened by mob violence, and the authorities intervened to close the school. For six months, she worked and plead, going from Mayor to City Council, from Council to Mayor. Perhaps, her "continued coming wearied" them, for she finally obtained leave to teach, just before the breaking out of the War, on two conditions: First – to admit none but free blacks; and second, to have a white person always present. One-half of her earnings were paid – to a white woman – to sit by in repressive silence." (Source "A Month Among the Freedmen and their Schools. -- No. 5, *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, PA, Friday, July 6, 1866, page 1.)



Born in 1776, Richard Holloway Sr. (1776 – 1845) (pictured) married Elizabeth Mitchell on January 19, 1803. Together, Richard and Elizabeth would have fourteen children, including one son, Richard Holloway Jr. born in 1807. Of the fourteen children, thirteen were sons and one was a daughter. Richard Sr. became a prosperous free black maker of harnesses in Charleston, South Carolina. He joined the Brown Fellowship Society and became an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Richard Sr. accumulated property at a prodigious pace, owning six slaves in 1820, eight slaves in 1830, selling a black woman named Jinne for $450.00 in 1834 and, Sarah and her children Edward and Annette for $945.00 in 1837. By the mid-1840s, Richard Sr. owned 14 houses in Charleston and was one of the most affluent free blacks around town. In a fitting remembrance, his portrait is the earliest surviving portrait of a black American from Charleston. He passed away on June 27, 1845 and was buried in the Brown Fellowship Society cemetery.

There are several reasons to remember Alexander Twilight (1795 – 1857) (pictured) a prominent character in the novel Gotterdammerung by W.F. Twyman, Jr. (Self-published July 3, 2019). One could hold Twilight in historical esteem as the first black college graduate from Middlebury College in 1823. One might celebrate his election to the Vermont State of Representatives in 1836 as the first black member of the Vermont State House. But perhaps the best reason to remember Twilight is for the true grit he displayed before the Board of Trustees of the Orleans County Grammar School in 1834. As principal of the school, Twilight realized he needed more space for his boarding students. Time and time again, he lobbied the Board of Trustees for support and resources. A new building was needed. And time and time again, the Board of Trustees said “no.” Well, Twilight refused to be deferred. He would have to rely on his own determination.

Day by day, Twilight would select a stone from the quarry and move it to the foundation of his designed new school. Day by day, Twilight alone moved stones to the foundation site. Two years later, he placed the last stone in place. The Athenian Hall was born because one man refused to give up in the face of resistance.

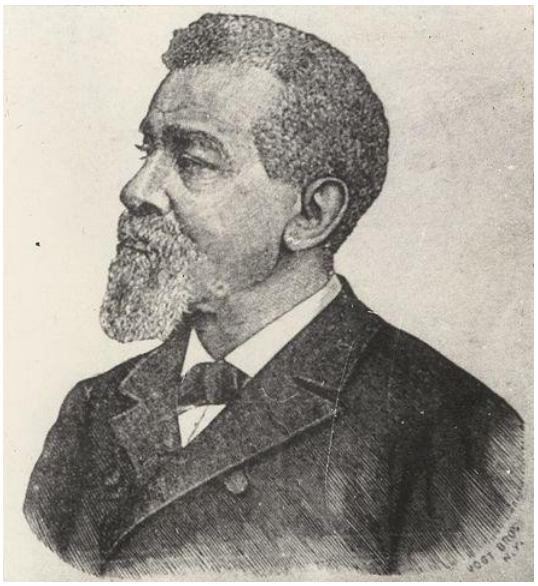
The James Twyman Mansion
This mansion is said to appear about as it did in 1819, except that then it was nearly surrounded by a porch or veranda.

Born on August 26, 1781 in Orange County, Virginia, the slave owner, James Twyman (1781 – 1849) entered this world as the unremarkable descendant of the Twyman family. He inherited the surname of his paternal great-great-grandfather George Twyman I (1661 – 1703). Unlike his runaway ancestor, George I, James Twyman inherited a tobacco plantation and a system of black slavery. Black and white Twymans were not strangers to one another and there were shared bloodlines leading back to George I.

"In 1848, James Twyman began making plans to manumit all of his enslaved mulatto families living on this plantation, his genetic relatives. In his last will & testament drafted in 1848, he manumitted all of the enslaved people on the plantation and provided them with a large sum of money *[the equivalent of $350,000 in today's money]* to start a new life in a free state. As a result of these actions," James angered his white Twyman family members. "Members of his family would not allow him to be buried in the Twyman private family burial plot. He is buried in an unmarked grave somewhere on the property."

The will of James Twyman, codifying his act of manumission, was described by writer J. Earl Pratt as "one of the great humanitarian acts of history."

William Cooper Nell (1816 – 1874) (pictured) was born into a vibrant and proud free black community in Boston. Nell attended the all-black segregated Smith School where he was a top student. Denied the city-wide Benjamin Franklin award because of his race, Nell devoted the rest of his life to waging a campaign against segregated public education. Nell was a man of character and principle. He considered practicing law but refused to do so as long as the U.S. Constitution permitted slavery. Nell lived to see the end of American slavery and the presence of black men in Congress.

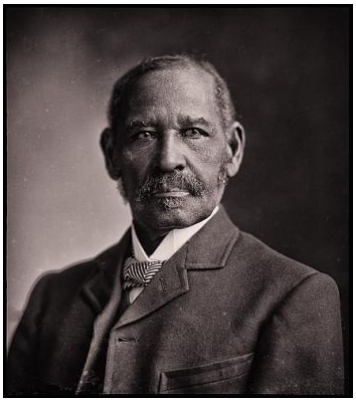


Considered one of the most influential black Americans before the Civil War, George T. Downing (1819 – 1903) (pictured) was born in New York City on December 30, 1819. Downing was a third-generation free black man as his father, Thomas, had been born in 1791 in Chincoteague, Virginia to parents who had been freed by a slave owner, John Downing, who became a Methodist and felt a calling to manumit his slaves. Downing was recognized for his moral act of manumission and so honored by the Methodist congregation.

John Downing arranged for the young Thomas Downing to be tutored and gave land to the parents of Thomas as part of their manumission. From this start, Thomas acquired education and an affinity for refined tastes. By 1819, the enterprising and ambitious Thomas had married a free black woman and moved to New York City. There, he began work in oyster beds which led to the establishment of an eatery serving the leading men of commerce in the city. Thomas became one of the wealthiest black members of the St. Phillip's Episcopal Church.

With this foundation and the parental stress on education, George T. Downing started his own catering business in 1842 at Fourth and Broadway. Downing's work brought him into business dealings with the elite of New York City. He parleyed these relationships into business expansions in Newport, Rhode Island. Downing was a staunch abolitionist and worked with Frederick Douglas to oppose the American Colonization Society. After the Civil War, Downing moved to Washington, D.C. where he continued to exert influence in favor of civil rights.

When Downing passed away on July 21, 1903, he had long since returned to his home in Newport, Rhode Island. The *Boston Globe* lionized Downing as "the foremost colored man in the country," a tireless worker for human liberty.

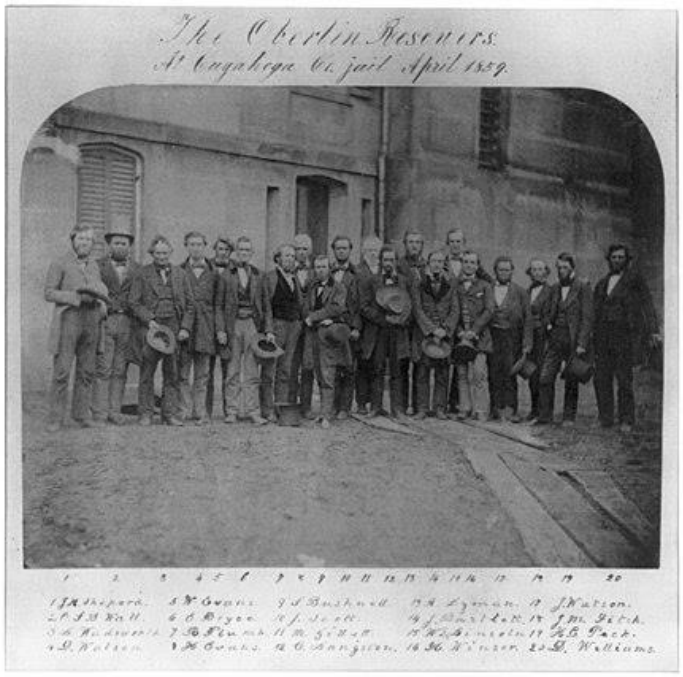


The son of a Philadelphia preacher man, Mifflin Gibbs (1823 – 1915) (pictured) was born into a prominent free black family on April 17, 1823. Gibbs lost his father to sudden death at the age of eight and found himself thrust into a larger world plagued with prejudice and anti-abolitionist sentiment. Gibbs learned the trade of carpentry to sustain himself and his widowed mother. Gibbs knew racial unfairness even though he thirsted for greater opportunity in the larger world. Upon hearing of the discovery of gold in California, Gibbs traveled to the San Francisco area in pursuit of construction work. White workers went on strike to protest his presence. Now, for the average person, such adversity would have created a broken spirit. For Gibbs, adversity led to opportunity. He would work for himself. Gibbs sought out business partners and grew rich importing boots and shoes into the state of California. The very workers who protested his ability to earn a living as a carpenter may have contributed to Gibbs' fortune in the import business. By the late 1850s, Gibbs was a wealthy man.

While slave patrols existed in the antebellum South for enforcement of the slave system, "the first publicly funded, organized police force with officers on duty full-time was created in Boston in 1838." (Pictured - Boston Police watch over the Liberty Bell circa 1903)

"Boston was a large shipping commercial center, and businesses had been hiring people to protect their property and safeguard the transport of goods from the port of Boston to other places," says Potter. "These merchants came up with a way to save money by transferring to the cost of maintaining a police force to citizens by arguing that it was for the 'collective good'."

Sergeant William H. Carney (1840 – 1908) (pictured), born enslaved in Virginia, settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts after escaping bondage via the Underground Railroad. While serving with the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, he was severely injured in the assault on Wagner and saved the national colors after the color bearer fell. "As quick as a thought," recounted Carney years later, "I threw away my gun, seized the colors, and made my way to the head of the column." Carney proclaimed to fellow survivors of the 54th: "Boys, I did but my duty; the dear old flag never touched the ground." On May 23, 1900 President Theodore Roosevelt awarded Carney the Congressional Medal of Honor for his valor 37 years earlier, becoming the first African American to receive the honor."



One day on September 13, 1858, a fugitive slave named John Price was arrested by a United States marshal pursuant to the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The arrest transpired in Oberlin, Ohio, the home of many ardent abolitionists. The situation was not ideal and so the marshal decided he would outsmart the local residents and immediately remove Price to a close by town, Wellington, Ohio for eventual departure to the owner in Kentucky. To their credit and humanity, the Oberlin residents (Oberlin rescuers pictured) upon

hearing the news of the arrest quickly moved into action. They poured into Wellington and fought to free Price on the spot. The marshal and his deputies retreated to a local hotel but to no avail. The rescuers stormed the hotel, found Price in the attic, removed Price from the custody of the marshal and hid Price in the home of a future president of Oberlin College. Eventually, Price was taken to Canada where he was finally free and beyond the grasp of the U.S. Government.

One of the courageous adductors was Charles Langston, older brother of the local attorney John Mercer Langston. A federal grand jury convened and filed indictments against Langston. Langston claimed that the jury could not be impartial. Asked to speak in his own defense, Langston delivered one of the most stirring calls for justice and abolition in the 1850s. Langston spoke to the ages:

> But I stand up here to say, that if for doing what I did on that day at Wellington, I am to go to jail six months, and pay a fine of a thousand dollars, according to the Fugitive Slave Law, and such is the protection the laws of this country afford me, I must take upon my self the responsibility of self-protection; and when I come to be claimed by some perjured wretch as his slave, I shall never be taken into slavery. And as in that trying hour I would have others do to me, as I would call upon my friends to help me; as I would call upon you, your Honor, to help me; as I would call upon you [*to the District-Attorney*], to help me; and upon you [*to Judge Bliss*], and upon you [to his counsel], so help me GOD! I stand here to say that I will do all I can, for any man thus seized and help, though the inevitable penalty of six months imprisonment and one thousand dollars fine for each offense hangs over me! We have a common humanity. You would do so; your manhood would require it; and no matter what the laws might (be), you would honor yourself for doing it; your friends would honor you for doing it; your children to all generations would honor you for doing it; and every good and honest man would say, you had done right! — *Great and prolonged applause, in spite of the efforts of the Court and the Marshal to silence it.*

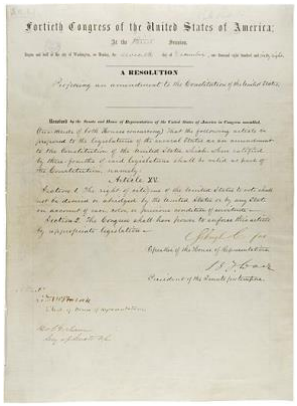
The jury convicted Langston. The judge gave a light sentence: Langston got 20 days in jail.

Before George Washington Carver (1864 – 1943) (pictured), one ate peanuts. That was pretty much the role of peanuts. It took the genius of Carver to translate peanuts from a mere edible snack food into flour, paste, insulation, paper, wall board, wood-starins, soap, shaving cream, skin lotion, antiseptics, laxatives and treatments for goiter. Never again would the simple peanut be just for munching anymore.

There is also the story of Macon B. Allen (1816 – 1894) who walked fifty miles to take the Massachusetts bar examination due to stagecoach discrimination. There is the rise of a former slave, Booker T. Washington (1856 – 1915) (pictured) who became, in freedom, a graduate of Hampton Institute and the founder of Tuskegee Institute. George B. Vashon (1824 – 1878) grew up in a Pittsburgh home steeped in abolitionism. His father, John Vashon, the wealthiest black man in antebellum Pittsburgh, and a national

leader against slavery, had extensive relationships with prominent abolitionists resolved to ending slavery. One such abolitionist, Walter Straton Forward, a Pittsburgh lawyer, congressman and U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Department, would later sponsor George Vashon's legal career.

When not strategizing with abolitionists like Forward, John Vashon might be found running the Underground Railroad from his barbershop or organizing the community to support a private school for Pittsburgh's black youth. George Vashon attended that school, where he soon exhausted the knowledge of the sole instructor. When the public schools desegregated, the young Vashon left the black private school for the better resources of the public school. He excelled and gained admission to Oberlin College in 1840, becoming the first black graduate of Oberlin four years later.


Fortieth Congress of the United States of America;

A RESOLUTION

Article. XV

On February 3, 1870, the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified (pictured). The abolition of slavery by the 13th Amendment in 1865 was no guarantee that black Americans were considered citizens. Indeed, southern jurisdictions enacted Black Codes to assert that blacks were not equal under the law to whites. The 14th Amendment was proposed, and adopted in 1868, to ensure all would benefit from equal protection under the law regardless of skin color or race. There continued to be threats to the franchise exercised by black men which was the driving motive and purpose behind the 15th Amendment. Black communities celebrated the 15th Amendment as evidence that Reconstruction was successful. Abolitionist societies closed up shop as it was felt their work was done.

Onwards…

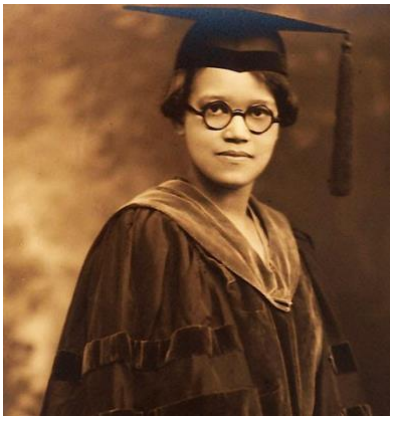
Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia (pictured) is the most prestigious black woman's college in the United States. Founded in 1881 as the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, Spelman received crucial financial support in the early 1880s from one of America's richest men, John D. Rockefeller, Sr. To quote the school's 1901 annual report: "The Lord gives us all these wonderful blessings through the generous hand of Hon. John D. Rockefeller."

The son of slaves, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson (1891 – 1976) (pictured) excelled in scholarship and oratory. He received a PhD from Harvard University and quickly become recognized as a young academic of great potential. In 1926, Johnson was selected as the first black president of Howard University. Johnson had a grand vision for the struggling and unimpressive college on the hilltop in Washington, D.C. Howard could be a world-class institution for the elevation of the black race. And by 1960, President Johnson had achieved his vision for the betterment of America.

The son of a Washington, D.C. lawyer, Charles Hamilton Houston (1895 – 1950) (pictured) was born in 1895 in Washington, D.C. High educational standards were a given in the Houston household, particularly considering Houston was an only child. He graduated from Dunbar High School and then Amherst College with a Phi Beta Kappa key in 1915. What sparked Houston's drive to become a lawyer? Any black man of his generation could understand: "The hate and scorn showered on us Negro officers by our fellow Americans convinced me that there was no sense in my dying for a world ruled by them. I made up my mind that if I got through this way I would study law and use my time fighting for men who could not strike back."

And with that determination and motive, Houston took on the world by storm. He entered Harvard Law School in the fall of 1919. He served on the Harvard Law Review and graduated *cum laude* in 1922. For good measure, he obtained a doctorate in the law in 1923. He returned to Washington, D.C. where he was recruited by Howard President Mordecai Johnson to transform the law school into an instrument of social engineering. Dean Houston devised a long game campaign to attack the foundation of public school segregation in the federal courts throughout the South. He sternly trained his students like Thurgood Marshall and Oliver Hill to go beyond their limits as overachievement was required for a crusade against *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Beloved and respected by his law students, Dean Houston never rested and died of a heart attack in 1950. Four years later, his former pupils Thurgood Marshall, Oliver Hill and Spottswood W. Robinson III secured Houston's vision with a victory before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

When Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander (1898-1989) (pictured) was born in 1898, there were 10 black lawyers living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Only two out of the 10 lawyers earned a living practicing law. From this beginning, Sadie made a way into the history books as a Philadelphia lawyer. Consider the innumerable obstacles in Sadie's path in 1915 as she entered the University of Pennsylvania:



“Not one woman in my class spoke to me in class or when I passed one or more than one woman on the walks to College Hall or the Library. Can you imagine looking for classrooms and asking persons the way, only to find the same unresponsive person you asked for directions seated in the classroom late because you could not find your way?” Let us imagine you came from Outer Space and entered the University of Pennsylvania School of Education. You spoke perfect English, but no one spoke to you. Such circumstances made a student either dropout or a survivor so strong that she could not be overcome, regardless of the indignities.

After three years of intense study, Sadie graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with honors. All of her grades were distinguished. It wasn't enough for the University as the school refused to elect Sadie for Phi Beta Kappa. The slight did not stop Sadie.

On June 15, 1921, Sadie became the first black woman in the United States to earn a PhD in economics.

Sadie became the first African-American woman student at the University of Pennsylvania School of Law where she again encountered prejudice. Student editors selected Sadie for the University of Pennsylvania Law Review in 1926. The dean vowed a black woman would not serve on the Law Review. Only the threatened resignation of a faculty member forced the dean to back down. Alexander again made history as one of the first two black students on the law review. In 1927, Alexander graduated from the law school with honors. She was the school's first black female graduate. And she went on to become the first black woman admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar.

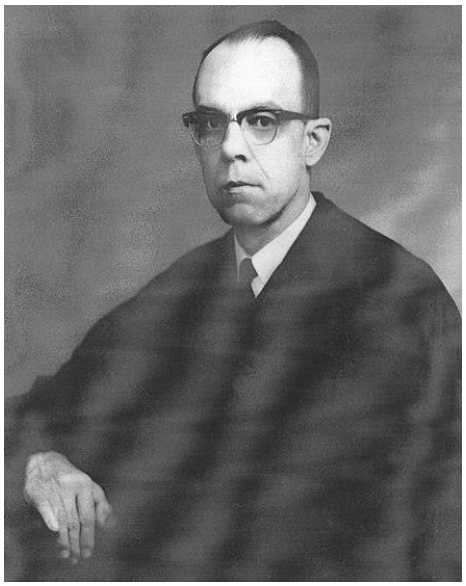
Throughout her career in Philadelphia, Sadie continued to break barrier after barrier – first black female assistant city solicitor in Philadelphia, first black female attorney for the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, first black female appointed to a presidential commission. In a fitting tribute after a long career against all odds, the University of Pennsylvania elected Sadie to Phi Beta Kappa in 1970, a satisfaction denied Sadie for 52 years. She passed away on November 1, 1989.

Whenever an accounting is made of great pioneers in Pennsylvania, the courageous ones who aspired to the bar in the face of raw prejudice, the story of Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander will take center stage.

A descendant of black families with long roots in Chesterfield County, Virginia, Oliver Hill (1907 – 2007) (pictured) left a lasting impact on the state of Virginia. He was born in Richmond, Virginia on May 1, 1907 but received his important education at the Dunbar High School, Howard University and Howard Law School in Washington, D.C. Hill was a classmate, and competitor of, Thurgood Marshall. Marshall would graduate first, and Hill would graduate second in the Class of 1933. Driven to use the law to overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*, both Marshall and Hill were mentored for the exacting task of litigating in southern courts by Dean Charles H. Houston. Hill returned to the city of his birth, Richmond, and formed the law firm Hill, Martin & Robinson with fellow Howard Law School graduates Martin A. Martin and Spottswood W. Robinson III.

Although Hill served as the first black member of the Richmond City Council since Reconstruction, he is remembered far more for his litigation efforts involving public school desegregation in Virginia. He worked arm in arm with Marshall and achieved success in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954.

With Spottswood W. Robinson III's departure to assume the deanship of Howard Law School in 1960 and the death of his partner Martin A. Martin in 1963, Hill reconstituted the firm of Hill, Martin & Robinson as the powerhouse law firm Hill, Tucker and Marsh.



The son of a Richmond lawyer, Spottswood W. Robinson III (1916 – 1998) (pictured), was a graduate of Armstrong High School and Virginia Union University. Robinson left his hometown to attend Howard Law School in Washington, D.C. where he achieved unparalleled grades. He graduated first in his class of 1939 and achieved the highest grade point average in the history of the law school. Unsurprisingly, the faculty took note of this student from Richmond. After graduation, he served as a faculty member from 1939 to 1948. Meanwhile, fellow Howard Law School graduates Oliver Hill and Martin A. Martin were joining forces to create a law firm in downtown Richmond. Robinson joined in the partnership and he would serve as a partner of Hill, Martin and Robinson on North Third Street in Jackson Ward from 1943 to 1960 when he was lured away by Howard to serve as Dean of the law school.

Robinson was the wordsmith for many of the motion papers filed in the public school desegregation in Virginia. It is no surprise that the accomplished Robinson was sought out for appointment to the federal bench by President Lyndon Johnson. Robinson would serve on the U.S. D.C. District Court and the U.S. D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals before concluding his judicial service as Chief Judge of the D.C. Circuit in 1986.

When we fail against the odds, we are one step closer to our destined success. Consider the repeated failures of Edward W. Brooke III (1919 – 2015) (pictured) to win public office in Massachusetts. He lost once. He lost twice. He lost three times. Most would have given up. It was on his fourth try that Brooke won election as Attorney General of Massachusetts in 1962. Brooke would go on to win election as U.S. Senator in 1966 and reelection in 1972. Never give up amidst failure as success awaits on the other side of defeat.

William T. Coleman, Jr. (1920 – 2017) (pictured) was an excellent attorney with an outstanding academic record. Ant yet his life story reminds us that prejudice is like the rain. One has to put up their umbrella and keep moving onward and upwards. Born in Germantown, Pennsylvania on July 7, 1920, Coleman was one of seven black students at his Germantown High School. On one occasion, Coleman delivered a splendid honors presentation to which his teacher replied "Someday, William, you will make a wonderful chauffeur." Well, William would do a little more in life with his intelligence. Coleman graduated *summa cum laude* from the University of Pennsylvania where he was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society. Coleman entered Harvard Law School where he became the third black member of the Harvard Law Review. Coleman graduated first in his class and *magna cum laude* in 1946. It is safe to say Coleman was one of the top law graduates in the country in 1946. Coleman commenced his career with a clerkship for federal judge Herbert F. Goodrich on the Third Circuit Court of Appeals and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter.

However, the specter of prejudice remained ever present. Coleman could not find a job in his hometown of Philadelphia. No firm would hire a black lawyer. Coleman was able to find a legal job in New York City with the law firm Paul Weiss.

Coleman would go on to hold high positions in his legal career – United States Secretary of Transportation, Partner in the Washington, D.C. office of Los Angeles firm O'Melveny & Myers, 19 oral arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court. His life story is a testament to knowing oneself and rejecting the caricatures of others.

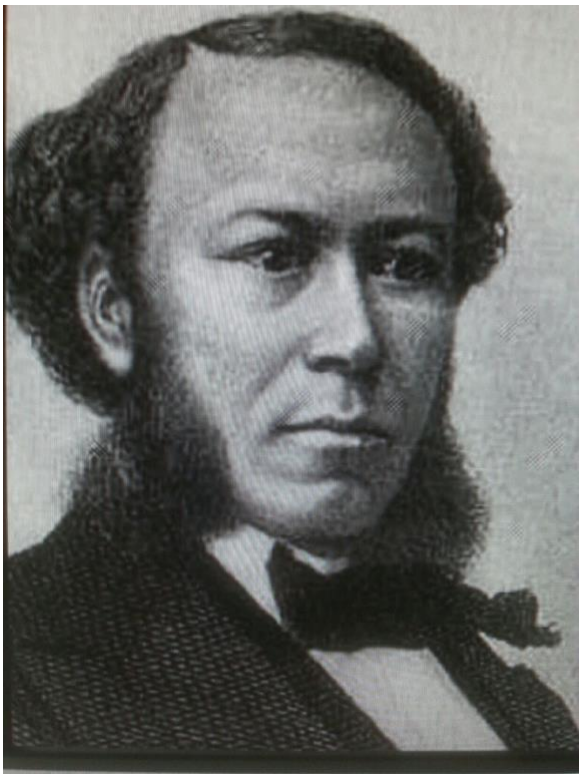
There was human dimension to freedom. The thirst for freedom united whites who were indentured and blacks who were enslaved. And yet the vulnerability of free blacks and the deep prejudices of some whites like the white family members of James Twyman meant one thing: black freedom before the Civil War was not white freedom before the Civil War. Free blacks refused to act like slaves as did the descendants of slaves. This is the singular meaning of this supplement to the *1619 Project*. Remember our ancestors – the founders of Howard and the respectable women of Fulton, the genius of George Washington Carver and the indomitable spirit of Alexander Twilight and the sons and daughters of slaves who aimed high in life. Life is about the journey and the destination, not the past so much.

Bonus: W.F. Twyman, Jr.'s History

During the 1960s, all of the residents who lived on Twyman Road in Chesterfield County, Virginia were Twymans. And all of the Twymans were black.

The Twymans were brothers and first cousins of one another. The marker, Twyman Terrace, marks the boyhood home of the co-author W. F. Twyman, Jr. Twyman Road was annexed by the City of Richmond in 1969.

Today, no Twymans live on Twyman Road.



By marriage, W.F. Twyman, Jr. is related to Joseph Hayne Rainey (pictured). Joseph Hayne Rainey (1832 - 1887) was the first black U.S. Representative. Son of the wealthiest black man in Georgetown, South Carolina, Joseph would escape conscription by the Confederate government and live during the Civil War in Bermuda. Upon conclusion of the Civil War, Rainey returned to Georgetown at the urging of his father, Edward Rainey, who foresaw immense opportunity for Joseph at home. Joseph would become the first black congressman to preside over the U.S. House of Representatives in 1874. Today, his descendants live in Martha's Vineyard, the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., and the sunny climes of Southern California.

As if captured on film in a Norman Rockwell snapshot, Robert and Amy Wilson Brown (pictured), W.F. Twyman, Jr.'s paternal great grandparents, grew old together on their farm in Hickory Hill, Chesterfield County, Virginia. From their porch atop the gentle hill overlooking the railroad tracks, Robert and Amy could see and take in the fruits of theirs labor and enterprise. Twyman Road would one day become a dirt road in the distance. Everyone who lived on Twyman Road was a Twyman. Nearly everyone who lived within a strenuous walk was a sibling or a cousin. This was the world of Robert and Amy Wilson Brown.

The baby front and center in this picture is Rosa Nell Brown (pictured), W.F. Twyman, Jr.'s paternal grandmother. Named after her maternal grandmother Sallie Nell, Rosa knew only the security of property holdings in Hickory Hill and generational membership in the church, Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded by her grandfather, Daniel Brown. Slavery was a distant memory for Rosa. She was the third generation from slavery. When she passed away in 1983, public schools were desegregated, Richmond, Virginia had had a black mayor and her grandchildren were college graduates of St. Augustine's University, Virginia State University, Virginia Commonwealth University, New England Conservatory School of Music, Virginia Tech University, and the University of Virginia among others. The unfolding reality of Rosa's life and generation was relentless ascent.

Appendix A

Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. by Ron Chernow, pgs. 12, 216, 240-42, 309, 482, 676

Lucy and John, darning their clothes and knitting them mittens from woolen homespun.

In this nightmarish situation, Eliza seemed to draw strength from adversity. One Richford native praised her as "a most excellent woman, but one who bore too heavy a burden at that time properly to look after her children. Her husband was away for long periods, and she had to look after their farm of sixty acres and try to make it pay their expenses. She did not know at what time the shopkeepers of the village might shut down on her credit, and she worked very hard."[22]

When John D. later evoked his idyllic, sunlit boyhood in upstate New York, he blotted out Richford from these reveries. Just three when he left there, he retained only a few hazy memories of the place. "I remember very clearly the brook that ran near the front of the house and how careful I had to be to keep far away from it. I remember my mother vaguely at Richford and my grandmother, who lived half a mile or so up the hill."[23] One notes that Rockefeller's earliest memory was associated with caution and that he edited out the absentee father and inebriated grandfather while retaining the strong, enduring mother and grandmother. He always possessed an unusual, self-protective capacity to suppress unpleasant memories and keep alive those things that fortified his resolve.

As best we can tell, Rockefeller knew nothing of Nancy Brown and the seamy side of Richford existence, yet he carried through life a vague sense of an infernal place. "I shudder to think of what I should have been if I had remained in Richford all my life," he later confided. "There were many men who hunt a little, fish a little, and drink whiskey a little, and only attain a little success in life, and all for the lack of a little religion."[24] Of his family's decision to leave Richford, Rockefeller offered an economic explanation that probably served as the standard cover story of his childhood: stingy soil. "The country there is beautiful," Rockefeller would say, "but the settlers wasted their energy in trying to get the stumps out of the ground, and trying to make crops grow in the poor soil."[25] The true reason, of course, was Eliza's horror at the town's low moral tone, as reflected by its single church; she was probably also eager to remove the children from the influence of her boisterous, drunken Rockefeller in-laws and expose them to the steadier Davisons. By no coincidence, the Rockefellers moved to Moravia, three miles from the Davison farm, where

Harriet E. Giles (left) and Sophia B. Packard, the founders of Spelman Seminary, later Spelman College, who recruited Rockefeller as the school's major donor in the early 1880s.
(Courtesy of the Spelman College Archives)

in his interest by his Spelman wife, sister-in-law, and mother-in-law. When it came to black education and welfare, Rockefeller displayed unwonted ardor. "Kindly assure the colored people of my sympathy for and interest in them and tell them, I hope they will in addition to securing knowledge from books, strive to learn to do all kinds of work, and better than any other class of men," he wrote to one minister friend in the late 1880s.[67] Reciprocating the personal tone of his correspondence, Sophia Packard always saluted him as "Dear Brother" or "Dear Friend." Amid the hectic rounds of his life, Rockefeller always found time to send letters and small, thoughtful gifts to Packard and Giles to buck up their morale.

Rockefeller's involvement in the Atlanta school was at first cautious but gradually acquired irresistible momentum. In late 1882, the Atlanta school bought nine acres and five buildings that had housed Union occupation troops. By late 1883, the fast-growing school had enrolled 450 students, the mortgage on the barracks property was coming due, and the school wavered on the edge of fiscal crisis. At this point, Packard and Giles entreated Rockefeller for a donation to secure the school on a permanent footing: "Give it a name; let it if you please be called Rockefeller College, or if you prefer let it take your good wife's Maiden name or any other which suits you."[68] Although Rockefeller retired the $5,000 debt, he humbly declined to use his own name. Instead, in a fitting tribute to his in-laws, he opted for the Spelman name, thus giving birth to Spelman Seminary, renamed Spelman College in 1924. It developed into one of America's most respected schools for black women, counting Martin Luther King, Jr.'s mother and grandmother among its many prominent alumnae.

On April 11, 1884, Rockefeller and his family went by train to Atlanta to celebrate the school's third anniversary, and 450 students packed the chapel to glimpse their patrons. Rockefeller adored Negro hymns and spirituals and now heard them in abundance. After the opening hymn, Sophia Packard exclaimed, "I bless the Lord that I have lived to see this day."[69] In a string of brief speeches, Cettie Rockefeller paid tribute to the liberating power of song, sister Lute memorialized their father's abolitionist work, and their mother told how the Spelman home had been a stop on the Underground Railroad. Though Rockefeller virtually never spoke in public, he delivered a talk of unaffected eloquence: "It is in your hearts to make the school one that people will believe in. God will take

these small beginnings to do a great work. I am thankful to be here."[70] When Rockefeller sat down, it was announced, amid sustained cheers and hosannas, that the school had been renamed Spelman Seminary.

As a paradigm of future Rockefeller philanthropy, several things about Spelman should be flagged for attention. In a delicate balancing act, Rockefeller gave enough to get projects under way, yet not so much as to obviate future fund-raising. In 1886, Rockefeller Hall was dedicated, which included dormitory rooms and a beautiful chapel. During the coming years, he gave another eleven acres plus the money for additional dormitories, a laundry, a dining hall, and numerous other buildings, creating a lovely, elegant campus. Presented with architectural plans for one new building, he commented, "My suggestion is to err in getting what seems at present too much room rather than not enough. I judge the crop of colored folks will be large."[71] In the 1890s, Rockefeller sent his own landscape architects to redesign the campus, and he himself selected the trees and shrubbery.

Yet for all this fervent support, Packard and Giles had to struggle for years to keep the school afloat. With one check, Rockefeller might have relieved their anxiety forever, but he wanted to avert excessive dependence and keep alive a creative ambiguity about his intentions. While briefly serving on the Spelman board of trustees, he preferred to remain slightly detached and subtly enigmatic, never telegraphing his plans too far in advance.

Another cardinal principle of Rockefeller philanthropy was to rely upon expert opinion. Many of his gifts to Spelman Seminary were channeled through Dr. Henry L. Morehouse, the field secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which increasingly functioned as a conduit for Rockefeller's wholesale philanthropy in education. Taxed by too many pleas for money, Rockefeller wrote to Morehouse on December 24, 1883, and inquired whether "to avoid having all these people from every part of the country calling" on him it might not be "much better for the cause" for him "to give all through the Home Mission Society."[72] Frederick T. Gates later took credit for this sane, efficient method of giving through umbrella groups that would then allocate money locally, but the idea had already taken root in Rockefeller's mind. In these early years, one also sees Rockefeller using contributions to stimulate collaboration from others as he inched toward the concept of matching grants. For instance, in 1886, he pledged $30,000 to Morehouse,

hoping that it would prove the catalyst for a $150,000 fund drive.

Since Rockefeller believed in meritocracy, not aristocracy, he favored educational opportunities for minorities. Spelman Seminary taught nursing, teaching, printing, and other useful trades, but the focal point was training young black women for a good Christian life. Some of the first graduates went to the Congo as missionaries. As Packard and Giles told Rockefeller several years later, "God is blessing the school spiritually as well as temporally; a number [of students] have entered upon the Christian life since the term commenced. We believe the salvation of the race and our country depends upon the Christian training of these girls who are to be future mothers and educators."[73] In the early years, Spelman Seminary encouraged a Victorian gentility among the students, turning out well-bred young ladies in hats and gloves. At the same time, it evinced much of the practical, enterprising spirit espoused by Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, who stressed vocational training for blacks. Before long, this approach to black education would be anathematized as futile and condescending by W.E.B. Du Bois and other critics who thought blacks capable of the same higher education as whites and felt they were doomed to mediocrity by vocational training. But whatever its early imperfections, Spelman College ultimately evolved into one of the most highly regarded institutions for black women in America.

college, and operated more in a world of facts than theories. Having skipped college, he never automatically recommended it to young people, telling one minister, "I should say in general the advantage of education is to better fit a man for life's work. I would advise young men to take a college course, as a rule, but think some are just as well off with a thorough business training."[27]

Yet precisely because Rockefeller had missed college, no school could stake a claim on him. While he had the option of distributing his educational largesse widely, such dispersed giving didn't jibe with his philosophy. In religion and education no less than in business, Rockefeller thought it a mistake to prop up weak entities that might otherwise perish in the evolutionary race. "I think mistakes are made by organizing too many feeble institutions—rather consolidate and have good, strong working church organizations," he wrote in 1886—a remark that could have applied to his educational views.[28] In the long run, Rockefeller transposed to philanthropy the same principle of consolidation that had worked so well for him in business. Worn down by masses of people clamoring for his money, Rockefeller knew that he now needed a larger and more efficient method for disposing of his fortune. Without it, he would lapse into the slipshod amateurism that he detested. Dr. Strong and Dr. Harper had planted a vision of a large project in his mind, but it would require the careful tending of a lapsed Baptist minister named Frederick T. Gates to bring this seed to glorious life.

While Rockefeller was casting about for some means to spend money more liberally without compromising his scrupulous standards, a group of Baptist leaders met in Washington in May 1888 to form the American Baptist Education Society (ABES). The driving force behind this new association was Dr. Henry Morehouse, the executive officer of the American Baptist Home Mission Society who had advised Rockefeller on Spelman Seminary. Morehouse thought Baptist education was in a woeful state and urgently in need of reform. For Rockefeller, the new group was providential, promising to serve as a handy conduit for channeling large amounts of money to worthy, well-researched Baptist schools.

To serve as executive secretary of the new group, Morehouse drafted a fiery, articulate young Baptist minister, the thirty-five-year-old Frederick T. Gates,

who had recently resigned a pastorate in Minnesota and now gravitated toward more worldly affairs. Soon after he assumed the post, Gates championed a Baptist university in Chicago to fill a glaring void. The eastern churches held more money, but the fastest-growing part of the membership resided in the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes region. Before writing his report, he conducted an intensive study of Baptist education with prosecutorial zeal and ministerial fervor and he confirmed many of the arguments that Thomas W. Goodspeed had adduced. Because many Baptists schools were located in rural backwaters, midwestern congregants often attended schools of other denominations. Having tripled in size in two decades and ranking as America's second largest metropolis with 1.7 million residents, Chicago seemed the optimal site for a major college.

Gates presented his findings in a richly detailed report that exhibited the exhaustive research that would endear him to Rockefeller. At the beginning, Gates, still unfamiliar with his patron, believed that Rockefeller would respond better to a bold plan than something tentative or equivocal. Hence, he portrayed this new Baptist university as the nucleus of a national educational network, confiding to Morehouse, "A scheme so vast, so continental, so orderly, so comprehensive, so detailed, will in my view capture a mind so constituted as Mr. Rockefeller's is."[29] On October 15, 1888, he electrified a Baptist convention in Chicago with an impassioned paper entitled "The Need for a Baptist University in Chicago, as Illustrated by a Study of Baptist College Education in the West."

The Gates report has often been credited with convincing Rockefeller to opt for Chicago, yet William Rainey Harper provided timely assistance. Two weeks after Gates made his sensational address, Dr. Harper spent ten hours at Vassar with Rockefeller and then joined him on the train to New York. During this momentous day, Rockefeller first declared his intention to found a Baptist university in Chicago. As Harper informed Goodspeed, "[Rockefeller] himself made out a list of reasons why it would be better to go to Chicago than to remain in New York."[30] Rockefeller leaned toward the Midwest for several reasons. He feared the complications that might result from the bullheaded Dr. Strong's leadership of any New York school. He also worried that an eastern school might be encrusted with tradition, whereas a Chicago school could "strike out upon lines in full sympathy with the spirit of the age."[31] Then there was a political dimension that

their impoverished schools scandalized northern educators. Kentucky was the sole southern state with compulsory school-attendance laws, which were then all but universal in the North. Yet as the rich philanthropists alighted at the celebrated showcases of black education—Hampton Institute in Virginia, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama, the Rockefellers' own Spelman Seminary in Atlanta—the trip had its share of inspirational interludes. "The trip has been a constant revelation to me," Junior told newspaper reporters upon his return. "Tuskegee was especially interesting. Mr. [Booker T.] Washington is a truly remarkable man. His school is doing a wonderful work for the race. I'm glad I made the trip."[2] Junior described the journey to Ogden as "the most instructive experience of my life."[3] In an elated mood, he sat down and wrote an enthusiastic report about it to his father.

Senior's interest in southern black education antedated this junket by two decades, going back to 1882 when Spelman Seminary was still operating from a leaky church basement. In his own travels through the South, he often attended black Baptist churches on Sunday mornings. Each of his children had been matched to a black scholarship student whose education was paid for by the family, and for several years Junior corresponded with his "adopted" black student at Hampton Institute. In 1900, the Rockefeller family had virtually made over the Spelman campus, paying for a new hospital, two dormitories, a dining hall and kitchen, a power plant, and a residence for the school president. During the 1901 train tour, Junior addressed students in the Spelman chapel and was feted with gospel music. Noting the new buildings bequeathed by the Rockefellers, the school's annual report that year rang with resounding hosannas for the family: "The Lord gives us all these wonderful blessings through the generous hand of Hon. John D. Rockefeller."[4]

Before the 1901 trip, Senior had toyed with establishing a trust fund for black education instead of funneling all his money through the American Baptist Education Society—part of his evolution away from the limitations of sectarian giving. That the 1901 trip might be the prelude to some big benefaction was hinted at when Junior told Ogden, "For several years the question of colored education has been much in our minds and in our thoughts. We have endeavored to arrive at some plan which might help in working out this great question."[5] For all the noble sentiments behind the Millionaires' Special, black educa-

tion remained an inflammatory issue among southern whites, who feared it might weaken segregation. As the chartered train circled back toward New York, the missionary spirit of the passengers suffered a jarring clash with political realities when Henry St. George Tucker, the president of Washington and Lee University, boarded the train in Virginia to deliver a rebuke to the prevailing euphoria:

> If it is your idea to educate the Negro you must have the white of the South with you. If the poor white sees the son of a Negro neighbor enjoying through your munificence benefits denied to his boy, it raises in him a feeling that will render futile all your work. You must lift up the "poor white" and the Negro together if you would ever approach success.[6]

Perhaps because his auditors did not fully fathom the implications of this admonition, it was lustily applauded. If it tempered naive talk with a gritty touch of political realism, it also opened the way for some egregious concessions to the more bigoted southern whites.

As well-meaning, paternalistic men eager to alleviate the suffering of blacks but not wanting to threaten the established order, these rich northern reformers typified their time and were perhaps unusual only in having any concern for black welfare at all. Nevertheless, their political compromises rendered them vulnerable to charges of racism, especially among purists champing at piecemeal reform. One is frankly taken aback by the views of some of these men committed to bettering black education—views often indistinguishable from those of the southern whites they criticized. When Ogden convened a group called the Southern Education Board, its executive secretary, Edgar G. Murphy, declared that the two races "must dwell apart," "must live apart," and "must be schooled apart."[7] Even Frederick T. Gates yanked his children from the Montclair, New Jersey, public schools because "some of the colored and of the foreign-born children were ill mannered, filthy, and unsanitary."[8] He favored vocational training for blacks, not intellectual equality with whites. "Latin, Greek and metaphysics form a kind of knowledge that I fear with our colored brethren tend even more than with us to puff up rather than to build up," he had written ten years earlier. "The colored race is not ready it seems to me for high culture."[2] Such attitudes gave a foretaste of the way that the Rockefeller

perfected a monopoly that indisputably demonstrated the efficiency of large-scale business. In creating new corporate forms, he charted the way for the modern multinational corporations that came to dominate economic life in the twentieth century. But in so doing he also exposed the manifold abuses that could accompany untrammeled economic power, especially in the threat to elected government. As architect of the first great industrial trust, he proved the ultimately fragile nature of free markets, forcing the government to specify the rules that would ensure competition and fair play in the future.

The fiercest robber baron had turned out to be the foremost philanthropist. Rockefeller accelerated the shift from the personal, ad hoc charity that had traditionally been the province of the rich to something both more powerful and more impersonal. He established the promotion of knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, as a task no less important than giving alms to the poor or building schools, hospitals, and museums. He showed the value of expert opinion, thorough planning, and competent administration in nonprofit work, setting a benchmark for professionalism in the emerging foundation field. By the time Rockefeller died, in fact, so much good had unexpectedly flowered from so much evil that God might even have greeted him on the other side, as the titan had so confidently expected all along.

Although Junior moved into Kykuit after Rockefeller's death, he knew that his father was inimitable, and so he decided to retain the *Jr.* after his name. As he was often heard to say in later years, "There was only one John D. Rockefeller."[26]

Appendix B

Simple Justice by Richard Kluger, pgs. 107, 115, 204, 292, 473

6:57 AM SIMPLE JUSTICE: THE HISTORY OF BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION AND BLACK AMERICA'S...

disease was rampant. Young black men with college educations had to take jobs as bellhops and busboys. Decent young black women sold their bodies as prostitutes and many others sold theirs as domestics. To express their displeasure over the separate bathing areas provided along the Potomac during the stifling summer, black militants of the day were reduced to staying away. Even the proudest blacks, though, could not avoid segregation when the school term began. Washington was one of the very few places in the country where Jim Crow schools were both separate and equal—or nearly equal. They would grow less so as the District's black population jumped sharply in the twentieth century, but when Charles Houston went to grade school and high school, a black teacher earned perhaps 10 percent less than a white teacher and taught perhaps only five or six more pupils per class. This relatively small differential served to graft the segregated system to the community without protest from black parents and especially from black teachers, who would otherwise have been thrown onto the job market, for almost nowhere in America then did black teachers teach white pupils. So Charlie Houston went to all-black schools in Washington and probably suffered little disadvantage in the quality of teachers or facilities available to him. The M Street High School he attended was roomy, well equipped, and built only three years before he was born. Nearly all of its teachers had degrees from leading Northern colleges and instilled their own intellectual appetites among the student body. Examinations showed that M Street High's student body outperformed its white counterpart at other high schools in the District; more than likely, it was the finest all-black secondary school in America. Charlie Houston was class valedictorian. At the age of sixteen, he went off to college in Massachusetts.

At Amherst, where black students were not entirely a novelty, young Houston proved a precocious scholar. He was friendly enough, but reserved and indulged in little levity. He had a fine memory and a gift for clear written and oral expression, both of which he harnessed in his studies. Besides winning membership in Phi Beta Kappa, he was selected as one of several class valedictorians at graduation. His topic, by way of declaring his pride of race at a time it was being badly battered by events elsewhere in the nation, was the life and work of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the Negro poet who had died nine years earlier at the age of thirty-four. Dunbar was the first American poet to make sig-

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6:58 AM SIMPLE JUSTICE: THE HISTORY OF BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION AND BLACK AMERICA'S...

row Wilson lay gravely ill in the White House in the fall of 1919 as Charles Houston left his home in the nation's capital for the three-year course of study at Harvard University's School of Law, the largest, most competitive, and probably the best law school in the country.

From the start, it was evident that he had a mind ideally contoured for a career at law. He relished the kind of abstract thinking needed to shape the building blocks of the law. He had a clarity of thought and grace of phraseology, a retentive brain, a doggedness for research, and a drive within him that few of his colleagues could match or understand. After his first year, he was elected to the *Harvard Law Review*, an honor that went to the highest-ranking members of the class. It was more than an honor, though, for the quality of writing and thinking that went into the monthly magazine carried its editors far beyond the demands of normal classroom work. And none of the editors was more purposeful than the first black man ever to serve on the staff.

Early in his Harvard days, Houston was drawn by the swirl of nervous energy, noisy intellect, and joyous combat surrounding the bantam dynamo of the law-school faculty—Professor Felix Frankfurter. Just back from Washington, where he had spent several years as a government lawyer investigating severe instances of high-handed treatment of labor, Frankfurter began his second stint at Harvard with fresh enthusiasm. The intensity and roving brilliance of the man were turning him into a legend. He became Charles Houston's mentor and exemplar. A perpetual-motion machine, Frankfurter would be challenging and exhausting his students in the classroom one hour and pursuing any of a dozen extracurricular causes the next. When he was not fighting totalitarian abuses by government in those years Houston saw him close-up, Felix Frankfurter was lending counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union, of which he was a founder, or the NAACP, on whose legal advisory committee he served. Or he was investigating the nature of crime in Cleveland at that city's invitation, or negotiating in London at the side of Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann, or arguing for the legality of a minimum-wage law before the United States Supreme Court, or writing articles for the *New Republic*, or hassling with Harvard president Abbott Lawrence Lowell over the imposition of a Jewish quota on the university's admissions policies. For all that, he was a peerless teacher, in or out of the classroom, and those of his students to whom he took a fancy were

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often invited to the childless home he made with his wife, Marion. Charles Houston was "one of my students whom I saw intimately," Frankfurter would later recall. No doubt Houston knew that the Viennese-born professor was the only Jew on the law-school faculty and had overcome a good deal of hostility in the pursuit of his provocative activities; no doubt Frankfurter saw in the young black man a brilliance and a dedication that, if properly nurtured, would produce a badly needed leader of his race.

Houston graduated in the top 5 percent of his class and decided to stay on another year to work with Frankfurter for the graduate degree of Doctor of Juridical Science. Back home in Washington, they had just dedicated the Lincoln Memorial. The Negroes in the crowd were allotted a special section far off from the platform and across a road.

Houston's year as an advanced scholar of the law was used not only to polish his skills but to broaden his outlook. Frankfurter stressed the uses of history, economics, and sociology in the practice of law and close awareness of contemporary events—a lesson he had learned early from his own mentor, Louis Dembitz Brandeis, then seated on the Supreme Court. "What I care about profoundly," Frankfurter wrote a few years after Houston had left Cambridge, "is that men should know what they think and why they think it." He saw that emerging confidence now in Charlie Houston and helped him win the law school's Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, worth $1,800, after he was awarded his doctorate in 1923. Houston studied in Spain and traveled to Italy, was dubbed Doctor of Civil Law by the University of Madrid, and came home to Washington as the best-educated black American ever to study the law. In training, brilliance, and sense of mission at a comparable stage of life, he greatly resembled Du Bois, a generation his senior and then at the height of his influence, but Houston disciplined the racial fury at work inside him, whereas Du Bois had been likely to let his rage smolder a little and then go off like a firecracker in a deep canyon.

Admitted promptly to the District of Columbia bar, Houston joined his father's already busy law office in 1924. It was not the kind of practice likely to bring a man instant fame or fortune, but for the next five years he worked hard at turning himself into a thoroughly professional lawyer with a passion for getting the little things right. Mostly there were personal-injury cases, commercial matters involving small businesses, wills, and domestic problems, and

Charles Houston, though, neither sought nor won a federal position. His new dream was to put Houston & Houston back on its feet and then turn it into a haven for public-interest lawyers who might have fallen from grace in their communities for championing unpopular causes.

"I have had the feeling all along that I am much more of an outside man than an inside man; that I usually break down under too much routine," he wrote his father on April 14. "Certainly for the present, I will grow much faster and be of much more service if I keep free to hit and fight wherever circumstances call for action." As an afterthought, he noted that in the previous ten tumultuous years his financial situation had not improved. "I will come home with debts practically closed out, more insurance and no money saved. But I would not give anything for the experience that I have had."

The feeling was mutual at NAACP headquarters. Recalls Roy Wilkins, later to succeed Walter White as executive secretary of the NAACP: "Charlie was never afraid to challenge an idea. He operated from the certainty of his own intellect. He knew that when the chips were down, he had what it takes in that sharp, brilliant mind of his. Walter was slightly different—he didn't have that same certainty. Charlie Houston passed through here and left a lot of sparks."

Between the time Charles Houston threw himself against the tide of white supremacy in a steaming Missouri courtroom in the summer of 1936—while in Berlin throngs watched an African American sprinter kick cinders on Teutonic claims of racial supremacy—and the final adjudication of the *Gaines* case at the end of 1938, America had undergone a bloodless revolution. At its center was the issue of the power and reach of the Supreme Court. The question came down to whether the Justices, in their priestly raiment and putatively higher wisdom, could stymie the rest of government in its earnest effort to meet the needs of a public under severe economic distress.

One of the basic justifications for the establishment of the Supreme Court had been to shield property-owners and creditors from the grasp of the landless, the luckless, the reckless, the penniless, the unscrupulous, and other unsavory multitudes. For if a man were not free to apply his energy, ingenuity, courage, and ruthlessness to the quest for maximum rewards—and be sheltered by the new national government in the

had been my responsibility to decide how to proceed in the wake of *Sipuel*, *Sweatt*, and *McLaurin*," he says, "I would not have had the courage to go after segregation *per se*—and certainly not at the public-school level. I would first have tried to erode the separate-but-equal doctrine at places where attendance was not compulsory [i.e., the college level]."

Of even greater value to Marshall was the cold-eyed counsel of thirty-year-old William T. Coleman, Jr., who had clerked the year before for Felix Frankfurter. He was the first African American ever to serve as law clerk to a Justice, and, in view of Frankfurter's didactic bent, it was good for Coleman that he had come well prepared. A *summa cum laude* graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, a *magna cum laude* graduate of Harvard Law School who had served as a *Harvard Law Review* editor, a Harvard Business School graduate for good measure, Coleman withal had been unable to find a job with a law firm in his hometown of Philadelphia, but landed a position there as law clerk to one of the judges for the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit—a job he handled with distinction for two years before Justice Frankfurter summoned him to Washington. The jurist's vitality amazed Coleman. "He was interested in everything," the stocky lawyer recalls. "By eight in the morning, he had read five newspapers. He'd already have discussed foreign affairs with the Australian Prime Minister and taken a stroll with Dean Acheson. By the time we law clerks arrived at the office at nine, he'd be ready to give us a seminar on government until ten or eleven." Coleman worked closely with the Justice on his opinions and acquired insight into his mental processes while stretching his own. "Frankfurter would never say to us, 'I want you to support this or that opinion.' He would say, 'What do you think of this case?' Or, 'Have you read these cases? They'll interest you, I think.' " When Coleman left Frankfurter's service, the Justice wrote him, "What I can say of you with great confidence is what was Justice Holmes's ultimate praise of a man: 'I bet on him.' I bet on you, whatever choice you may make and whatever the Fates may have in store for you." In time, Coleman cracked every color bar in Philadelphia, was made a partner in its most powerful law firm, joined the previously all-white Midday Club, was named the first black director of Pan American World Airways, became president of the Legal Defense Fund, and entered the Cabinet of President Gerald R. Ford. But in 1950, all his superb training and credentials notwithstanding, he still could not get a job as a Philadelphia lawyer, and

To undertake it, Hill needed reinforcements. He got them in the form of two partners, jovial, heavy-set Martin A. Martin and frail, earnest Spottswood W. Robinson III, who had achieved the best academic record in the history of Howard Law School. James Nabrit, who taught him and then helped corral him for the Howard faculty for ten years, says, "Spot was the best student of the law I ever taught. He was a superb pleader and writer and yet a modest man. He didn't have much of a voice, but he did very well in court. He was always reading, always thinking, and worked harder than anyone I have ever known." Son of a Richmond lawyer who had first established a thriving real-estate business, Robinson himself proved a successful businessman-lawyer, dividing his time between teaching at Howard and specializing in realty law as a partner in the firm Hill had established before going into the Army in 1943. By the time Robinson quit Howard in 1949 to devote full time to his practice and NAACP work, Hill had come back from the war overseas and resumed fighting on the home front. The victories started coming now. In Fauquier County, about forty miles due west of Washington, a Negro who would not let his son walk to school along Route 29 because he said it was too dangerous found himself convicted in county court of violating the state compulsory-school-attendance law. Hill, suing on the ground that the county had failed to provide bus transportation for the black youngster, lost the case in the Virginia circuit court but won on appeal in the state's highest court. It was a vital precedent in the equal-transportation area, as *Alston* had been for equalizing salaries.

In 1948, Robinson was named special NAACP counsel in Virginia and set out with W. Lester Banks, state executive secretary for the association, on a fact-finding tour of the black school systems of the Old Dominion, spurring African American challenges to the unequal facilities and preparing for legal action. "The black people just wanted some leadership, someone to lean on," says Banks of the warm reception he and Robinson received as they logged 30,000 miles a year in his old Chevrolet. "It wasn't like in the Deep South, where people were still worried about getting lynched. But you knew you were up against a stone wall when it came to segregation and discrimination."

To turn the tide, Hill and Robinson began appearing before school boards all over Virginia, and when they were rebuffed, as they almost always were, they filed lawsuits—dozens of them. "We had actions going