In this lesson, students draw on their previous studies of American history and culture as they analyze primary sources from "Jackie Robinson and Other Baseball Highlights, 1860s-1960s" in the American Memory collection. A close reading of two documents relating to Jackie Robinson's breaking of the racial barrier in professional baseball leads to a deeper exploration of racism in the United States, both in and out of sports. Students will: analyze primary documents closely; research documents specific to the history of race relations in mid-20th century United States; and draw conclusions moving from the specific documents to the broader society and test them for validity. The lesson plan is suited to American history and American studies classes for grades 9 through 12, and should take two to three hours. A procedure contains: an overview; an introduction to primary sources; an analysis of Jackie Robinson's letter; and an analysis of Branch Rickey's speech. Contains resources used and student handouts. (PM)
Jackie Steals Home.

By

Arnold Pulda
Ah, baseball! The crack of the bat, the smell of the leather, the sight of green grass in the inner city . . . and the potential for deepening our understanding of the history of the United States.

In this lesson students draw on their previous studies of American history and culture as they analyze primary sources from Jackie Robinson and Other Baseball Highlights, 1860s-1960s in American Memory. A close reading of two documents relating to Jackie Robinson's breaking of the racial barrier in professional baseball leads to a deeper exploration of racism in the United States, both in and out of sports.

Objectives

Students will:

- Analyze primary documents closely.
- Research documents specific to the history of race relations in the mid-20th century United States.
- Draw conclusions moving from the specific documents to the broader society and test them for validity.

UCLA SSCNET National Center
for History in the Schools
Era 9, Standard 4:

"Students should understand the struggle for racial and gender equality and for the extension of civil liberties."

Time Required

Two to three hours

Recommended Grade Level

Grades 9-12

Curriculum Fit

American history and American studies curricula
Resources Used

(May be printed for classroom use.)

The Historian's Sources, Learning Page:

Section 1: What are Primary Sources?
Section 2: Analysis of Primary Sources
Section 3: Types of Primary Sources

Jackie Robinson and Other Baseball Highlights, 1860s-1960s, American Memory:

Letter from Jackie Robinson to Branch Rickey, 1950:

- Image of Page One
- Image of Page Two
- Transcription

Branch Rickey's Speech to the "100-Percent Wrong Club"
Special Presentation: Baseball, the Color Line, and Jackie Robinson

Additional Online Resources:

Beyond the Playing Field: Jackie Robinson, Civil Rights Advocate

The National Archives and Records Administration site focuses on Robinson's activities as a civil rights advocate.

Jackie Robinson

This teacher- and student-friendly site provides a perspective from an African-American organization. Questions at the beginning of each section make the content easily accessible to researchers.

Jackie Robinson: Race, Sports and the American Dream

A site chronicling the proceedings of a conference at Long Island University to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Robinson's first year in baseball.

The Jackie Robinson Interview: 50th Anniversary

This comprehensive site, covering Robinson's life in and out of sports, includes the recording of an interesting interview that Robinson gave in 1962.

Jackie Robinson Society at the University of Texas

In 1997 the Society celebrated the 50th anniversary of Robinson's debut in the major leagues. The site includes a brief analysis of Robinson's participation in the civil rights movement.

Teammate Jackie Robinson and the Negro Leagues of Baseball

The site gives broad view of Robinson's life as a baseball player and his relationship with some of his teammates, such as Pee Wee Reese, a chronology of Robinson's life, and links to other relevant sites.

Student Handout One: Introduction to Primary Sources
Student Handout Two: Analysis of Jackie Robinson's Letter
Student Handout Three: Analysis of Branch Rickey's Speech
Procedure

Overview

Students will need to bring considerable knowledge to this lesson, including a basic understanding of race relations in the United States, as well as a more specific understanding of the history of race relations after the Civil War, in both the South and the North. For example, students must be familiar with the concept of "separate but equal" from their study of the Supreme Court case Plessy v. Ferguson, and with the struggle, during the twentieth century, to end segregation and achieve civil rights for African Americans. Students may be familiar with the role of white men within the sports community, both opposed to (Ty Cobb, Enos Slaughter) and supporting (Branch Rickey, Pee Wee Reese) the civil rights movement.

While research on these themes could consume an entire course, this lesson focuses narrowly on two documents, each worthy of close reading and analysis. Students will find in this exercise a wealth of ideas that will lead them to further research on the important, interesting, and relevant topic of the history of race relations in the United States. Other sub-themes may occur to students, such as the place of sports in American life, and the conflict between urban and rural values in the United States (suggested by the location of ballparks in the center of busy cities.)

In addition to drawing on general background knowledge, students should be familiar with the information contained in the Special Presentation, Baseball, the Color Line, and Jackie Robinson.

Note: This lesson works well off line. Pages may be printed from the web and used as handouts.

Step One: Introduction to Primary Sources

1. Students read Primary and Secondary Sources in What are Primary Sources? (The Historian's Sources: Section 1).

2. Students receive copies of Student Handout One, Introduction to Primary Sources.

3. Using the handout, students answer the following:
   1. What is the difference between a primary and a secondary source?
   2. Give two familiar examples of each type of source.

4. Students read Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources from Analysis of Primary Sources (The Historian's Sources: Section 2).

5. Using the handout, students give brief answers to questions 1-6 of Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources for each of the two primary sources:
   2. Branch Rickey's 1956 speech to the "100-Percent Wrong Club."

6. Using the handout, students answer the questions:
   1. What type of primary source is Robinson's letter?
   2. What type of primary source is Rickey's speech?

Step Two: Analysis of Jackie Robinson's Letter

1. Students read the Special Presentation, Baseball, the Color Line, and Jackie Robinson

2. Students read Jackie Robinson's 1950 letter to Branch Rickey, first page one and page two of the letter in
its graphic form, and then the transcription of the letter.


4. Using the handout, students answer the following questions, giving one-to-two sentence explanations of their answers.

   1. In which form do you prefer reading the document? Is one form or the other more meaningful to you? Why?
   2. Why do you think it was difficult for Robinson to write this letter to Rickey?
   3. Why was Rickey's leaving Brooklyn harder on Robinson than on everyone else?
   4. What did Robinson mean when he wrote "Baseball is like that"?
   5. What "small part" did Robinson play in contributing to Rickey's success in Brooklyn?
   6. In your opinion, to what "misunderstanding" was Robinson referring?

Step Three: Analysis of Branch Rickey's Speech

1. Students read Branch Rickey's speech to the "100-Percent Wrong Club."

2. Students receive copies of Student Handout Three, Analysis of Branch Rickey's Speech.

3. Using the handout, students answer the following questions:

   1. In the fourth paragraph of his speech, Rickey seems to be saying that he desired to bring a black player to the St. Louis ballclub. Why did this effort fail?
   2. According to Rickey, what were the four factors that were necessary for him to bring a black player to the major leagues successfully?
   3. Rickey stated that "the greatest danger, the greatest hazard, I felt was the negro race itself." What did he mean by that?
   4. Rickey stated that, according to the historian Frank Tannenbaum, four things were necessary for the acceptance of black players in baseball. What were those four factors?
   5. When Rickey stated, "I am completely color-blind," do you take him at his word?
   6. Do you think that the following statement made by Branch Rickey was true in 1956?

      America is,--it's been proven Jackie,--is more interested in the grace of a man's swing, in the dexterity of his cutting a base, and his speed afoot, in his scientific body control, in his excellence as a competitor on the field,--America, wide and broad, and in Atlanta, and in Georgia, will become instantly more interested in those marvelous, beautiful qualities than they are in the pigmentation of a man's skin.

   7. What did Rickey mean when he referred to "the last syllable in a man's name"?

Evaluation

Teachers may use traditional assessment tools to measure students' understanding of this unit with a test after the unit's completion. Teachers may also require a demonstration of students' findings, such as a thematic presentation or slide show using tools available to them in the school computer lab or at home.
Use the following topics for additional student research and reporting:

1. While serving in the Army during 1942, Jackie Robinson caused an incident when he refused to move to the back of a bus. Ask students to link the event to other protests, similar or dissimilar, individual or collective, black or white, and draw conclusions as to their effectiveness.

2. Branch Rickey's strategy in breaking the color line in baseball has been widely judged a success. To what extent is that judgment due to the fact that Robinson proved to be a marvelous ballplayer? What might have happened had Robinson performed poorly on the field?

3. After his retirement from baseball, Robinson expressed his disillusionment with certain matters. What was the cause of his disillusionment? Did he have good reason to be disappointed?
When Jackie Robinson took the field as a Brooklyn Dodger in 1947, he became the first African American to play major league baseball in the twentieth century. Materials that tell his story, and the history of baseball in general, are located throughout the Library of Congress.

The special presentation called Baseball, the Color Line, and Jackie Robinson, 1860s-1960s is a time line in five sections. It draws on approximately thirty items—manuscripts, books, photographs, and ephemera—from many parts of the Library. The first three sections of the presentation describe the color line that segregated baseball for many years, the Negro Leagues, and Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson—two men who played key roles in integrating the sport. The last two sections of the presentation explore Robinson's career as a Dodger and his civil rights activities.

The special presentation called "Early Baseball Pictures, 1860s-1920s" features 34 intriguing photographs and prints arranged in the following categories: Baseball Beginnings, Game Day in the Majors, Players, Non-Major League Baseball, Major League Teams and Games.

These special presentations are an illustrated reference aid in the By Popular Demand series. The aid includes an extensive, annotated Bibliography and links to Related Web Sites that further describe America's "national pastime."

The mission of the Library of Congress is to make its resources available and useful to Congress and the American people and to sustain and preserve a universal collection of knowledge and creativity for future generations. The goal of the Library's National Digital Library Program is to offer broad public access to a wide range of historical and cultural documents as a contribution to education and lifelong learning.

The Library of Congress presents these documents as part of the record of the past. These primary historical documents reflect the attitudes, perspectives, and beliefs of different times. The Library of Congress does not endorse the views expressed in these collections, which may contain materials offensive to some readers.

Special Presentations

Baseball, the Color Line, and Jackie Robinson, 1860s-1960s
This lesson introduces students to primary sources -- what they are, their great variety, and how they can be analyzed. The lesson begins with an activity that helps students understand the historical record. Students then learn techniques for analyzing primary sources. Finally, students apply these techniques to analyze documents about slavery in the United States.

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Download Lesson Materials
Lesson Overview

Student Lesson

Section 1: What Are Primary Sources?

Primary and Secondary Sources

Primary and Secondary Sources

Historians use a wide variety of sources to answer questions about the past. In their research, history scholars use both primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources are actual records that have survived from the past, such as letters, photographs, articles of clothing. Secondary sources are accounts of the past created by people writing about events sometime after they happened.

For example, your history textbook is a secondary source. Someone wrote most of your textbook long after historical events took place. Your textbook may also include some primary sources, such as direct quotes from people living in the past or excerpts from historical documents.

People living in the past left many clues about their lives. These clues include both primary and secondary sources in the form of books, personal papers, government documents, letters, oral accounts, diaries, maps, photographs, reports, novels and short stories, artifacts, coins, stamps, and many other things. Historians call all of these clues together the historical record.

The Historical Record

The historical record is huge. It contains literally billions of pieces of evidence about the past. Despite its huge size, the historical record gives us just a tiny glimpse of the past. Most of what happened in the past was never documented. Many sources of information about the past have been lost or destroyed. Some primary sources were accumulated simply by accident.

But some historical sources were created and saved by people interested in recording history. People kept journals, wrote diaries and autobiographies, recorded family trees, and saved business and personal letters and papers.

How can the historical record be both huge and limited? What kind of historical records do you leave behind in your daily life?
Do the "Mindwalk Activity" now to help you answer these questions.
Student Lesson

Section 1A: Mindwalk Activity

Limits of the Historical Record | Historical Evidence in Daily Life | Other Types of Historical Evidence

Limits of the Historical Record

*How can the historical record be both huge and limited?*

To find out about the limitations of the historical record, do the following activity:

1. Think about ("mind walk" through) all the activities you were involved in during the past 24 hours. List as many of these activities as you can remember.

2. For each activity on your list, write down what evidence, if any, your activities might have left behind. To help you think of traces that might be left behind, review:
   - Historical Evidence in Your Daily Life
   - Other Types of Historical Evidence.

3. Review your entire list, and what you wrote about evidence your activities left behind. Then answer these questions:
   - Which of your daily activities were most likely to leave trace evidence behind?
   - What, if any, of that evidence might be preserved for the future? Why?
   - What might be left out of an historical record of your activities? Why?
   - What would a future historian be able to tell about your life and your society based on evidence of your daily activities that might be preserved for the future?

4. Now think about a more public event currently happening (a court case, election, public controversy, law being debated), and answer these questions:
   - What kinds of evidence might this event leave behind?
   - Who records information about this event?
   - For what purpose are different records of this event made?

5. Based on this activity, write one sentence that describes how the historical record can be huge and limited at the same time.
When you have finished this activity, go ahead to Analysis of Primary Sources.

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Historical Evidence in Your Daily Life

- Did you create any records of your activities (a diary, notes to yourself, a letter to a friend or relative, an e-mail message, a telephone message)?

- Would traces of your activities appear in records someone else created (a friend's diary, notes, or calendar entry; a letter or e-mail from a friend or relative)?

- Would traces of your activities appear in school records? in business records (did you write a check or use a charge card)? in the school or local newspaper? in government records (did you get your driver's license or go to traffic court)?

- Would anyone be able to offer testimony (or oral history) about your activities (who and why)?

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Other Types of Historical Evidence

Other aspects of the historical record are not records at all, but may still offer evidence about our lives. Traces you left behind in your daily activities might include:

- The trash you have thrown away;

- Material objects you use every day (coins, paper money, stamps, computers);

- Objects in the place you live (especially in your own bedroom);

- Items in your locker at school.

Challenge Questions:

If future archaeologists had the materials above, what could they infer or conclude about your life? What might the materials tell archaeologists about your family, community, region, and/or nation?

Top of Page | Ahead to Analysis of Primary Sources | Back to What are Primary Sources?
Historians analyze historical sources in different ways. First, historians think about where, when and why a document was created. They consider whether a source was created close in location and time to an actual historical event. Historians also think about the purpose of a source. Was it a personal diary intended to be kept private? Was the document prepared for the public?

Some primary sources may be judged more reliable than others, but every source is biased in some way. As a result, historians read sources skeptically and critically. They also cross-check sources against other evidence and sources. Historians follow a few basic rules to help them analyze primary sources. Read these rules below. Then read the questions for analyzing primary sources. Use these rules and questions as you analyze primary source documents yourself.

**Time and Place Rule**

To judge the quality of a primary source, historians use the time and place rule. This rule says the closer in time and place a source and its creator were to an event in the past, the better the source will be. Based on the time and place rule, better primary sources (starting with the most reliable) might include:

- Direct traces of the event;
- Accounts of the event, created at the time it occurred, by firsthand observers and participants;
- Accounts of the event, created after the event occurred, by firsthand observers and participants;
- Accounts of the event, created after the event occurred, by people who did not participate or witness the event, but who used interviews or evidence from the time of the event.

**Bias Rule**

The historians' second rule is the bias rule. It says that every source is biased in some way. Documents tell us only what the creator of the document thought happened, or perhaps only what the creator wants us to think...
happened. As a result, historians follow these bias rule guidelines when they review evidence from the past:

- Every piece of evidence and every source must be read or viewed skeptically and critically.
- No piece of evidence should be taken at face value. The creator's point of view must be considered.
- Each piece of evidence and source must be cross-checked and compared with related sources and pieces of evidence.

Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources

The following questions may help you judge the quality of primary sources:

1. Who created the source and why? Was it created through a spur-of-the-moment act, a routine transaction, or a thoughtful, deliberate process?

2. Did the recorder have firsthand knowledge of the event? Or, did the recorder report what others saw and heard?

3. Was the recorder a neutral party, or did the creator have opinions or interests that might have influenced what was recorded?

4. Did the recorder produce the source for personal use, for one or more individuals, or for a large audience?

5. Was the source meant to be public or private?

6. Did the recorder wish to inform or persuade others? (Check the words in the source. The words may tell you whether the recorder was trying to be objective or persuasive.) Did the recorder have reasons to be honest or dishonest?

7. Was the information recorded during the event, immediately after the event, or after some lapse of time? How large a lapse of time?

When you have finished reading this section, print out Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources to use later in this lesson.

Then go ahead to Types of Primary Sources.
Student Lesson

Section 2A: Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources

The following questions may help you judge the quality of primary sources:

1. Who created the source and why? Was it created through a spur-of-the-moment act, a routine transaction, or a thoughtful, deliberate process?

2. Did the recorder have firsthand knowledge of the event? Or, did the recorder report what others saw and heard?

3. Was the recorder a neutral party, or did the creator have opinions or interests that might have influenced what was recorded?

4. Did the recorder produce the source for personal use, for one or more individuals, or for a large audience?

5. Was the source meant to be public or private?

6. Did the recorder wish to inform or persuade others? (Check the words in the source. The words may tell you whether the recorder was trying to be objective or persuasive.) Did the recorder have reasons to be honest or dishonest?

7. Was the information recorded during the event, immediately after the event, or after some lapse of time? How large a lapse of time?
When analyzing primary sources, historians consider the type of primary source under study. Different primary sources were created for different reasons. Knowing the different types of primary sources will help you evaluate the reliability of primary sources. Read about the different types of primary sources below.

**Published Documents**

Some primary sources are published documents. They were created for large audiences and were distributed widely. Published documents include books, magazines, newspapers, government documents, non-government reports, literature of all kinds, advertisements, maps, pamphlets, posters, laws, and court decisions.

When reviewing published documents, remember that just because something was published does not make it truthful, accurate, or reliable. Every document has a creator, and every creator has a point of view, blind spots, and biases. Also remember that even biased and opinionated sources can tell us important things about the past.

[The past is behind us.]
Gerrit Albertus Beneker (b. 1882). Poster, 1918.
*The Presidential Election of 1920: Introduction*

**Unpublished Documents**

Many types of unpublished documents have been saved, and can be used as primary sources. These include personal letters, diaries, journals, wills, deeds, family Bibles containing family histories, school report cards, and many other sources. Unpublished business records such as correspondence, financial ledgers, information about customers, board meeting minutes, and research and
development files also give clues about the past.

Unpublished documents often come from community organizations, churches, service clubs, political parties, and labor unions in the form of membership lists, meeting minutes, speeches, financial and other records. Government at all levels creates a variety of unpublished records. These include police and court records, census records, tax and voter lists, departmental reports, and classified documents.

[Letter from Mathew Brady to President Abraham Lincoln, asking Lincoln to sit for a photograph], 1865 March 2

Unlike published documents, unpublished records may be difficult to find because few copies exist. For example, personal letters may be found only in the possession of the person to whom the letters were sent. Letters of famous or remarkable people may be collected and eventually published. Keep in mind that letter writers did not intend (and perhaps could not imagine) that their letters would be read by more than one person. Because unpublished documents were seldom meant to be read by the public, they provide interesting clues about the past.

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Oral Traditions/Oral Histories

Oral traditions and oral histories provide another way to learn about the past from people with firsthand knowledge of historical events. Recently, spoken words that make up oral histories have gained importance as primary sources. Historians and others find out about the lives of ordinary people through spoken stories and tales. Oral histories provide important historical evidence about people, especially minority groups, who were excluded from mainstream publications or did not leave behind written primary sources.

Oral histories are as old as human beings. Before the invention of writing, information passed from generation to generation through the spoken word. Many people around the world continue to use oral traditions to pass along knowledge and wisdom. Interviews and recordings of community elders and witnesses to historical events provide exciting stories, anecdotes, and other information about the past.

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Visual Documents and Artifacts

Visual documents include photographs, films, paintings, and other types of artwork. Because visual documents capture moments in time, they can provide evidence of changes over time. Visual documents include evidence about a culture at specific moments in history: its customs, preferences, styles, special occasions, work, and play.
Like other primary source documents, a visual document has a creator with a point of view -- such as a painter, sculptor, or film maker. Even photographs were created by photographers using film and cameras to create desired effects.

Mulberry Street,
New York City [1900]

Think about the creator's point of view when you review visual documents. What was the creator's purpose? Why this pose? Why that perspective? Why that framing? Why this distance? Why this subject? What was included? What was excluded? Using visual documents as primary sources requires careful analysis of the content and the point of view of the creator.

When you have finished reviewing the types of primary sources, go ahead to Primary Source Set: Slavery in the United States, 1790-1865.

Top of Page | Back to Analysis of Primary Sources | Ahead to Primary Source Set

The Library of Congress | American Memory

Questions? Contact us
Lesson Overview

Student Lesson

Section 4: Primary Source Set

This primary source set, "Slavery in the United States, 1790-1865," relates to slavery in the United States before the Civil War. Your teacher will assign you several primary sources. Analyze the primary source documents and make judgments about the quality and reliability of the different primary sources you study. Answer Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources as you examine these materials. Be prepared to discuss your primary source analysis with the class.

For more primary source materials on your subject, use the Internet Resources listed below.

4. Slavery in the United States, 1790-1865

4a. Photographs of Slaves and Slave Life (ca. 1862-1907)

4b. Excerpt from "Report of the Board of Education for Freedmen" (1864)

4c. Excerpt from "What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation?" (1859)

4d. Excerpt from "My Ups and Downs," an interview with Kert Shorrow" (1939)

4e. Excerpt from "Mrs. Lulu Bowers II," an interview with Mrs. Lulu Bowers (1938)


Internet Resources

The following Internet links will help you find additional primary sources relating to slavery in the United States.

African American Perspectives: Pamphlets from the Daniel A.P. Murray Collection, 1818-1907, Library of Congress
http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aap/aaphome.html
http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpahome.html

Basic Readings in U.S. Democracy (from Civnet)
http://civnet.org/resources/teach/basic/content.htm

http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/resources/inres/index.html
http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/resources/inres/ushist/primary.html
Lesson Overview

Section 4A: Primary Source Set
Photographs of Slaves and Slave Life (1862- ca. 1907)

This page contains several photographs of slaves and slave life. To look closely at each photograph, click on the photograph and a larger image will appear. When you have finished looking at the larger image, click on the Back button of your browser to return to this page.

What specific information about slaves and slavery can you see in (or infer from) these photographs?

Cumberland Landing, Virginia,
Group of "contrabands" at Foller's house.
May 14, 1862

Auction and Negro Sales, Whitehall Street,
Atlanta, Georgia (1864)

To search for additional photographs, see the Search Page of Selected Civil War Photographs from the Library of Congress, 1861-1865.
at the Hermitage,
Savannah, Ga.
[1907?]

To search for additional photographs, see the Search Page of Touring Turn-of-the-Century America: Photographs from the Detroit Publishing Company, 1880-1920.

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The Library of Congress | American Memory

Last updated 06/10/2002
REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR FREEDMEN,
DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
FOR THE YEAR 1864.

{Begin page}
Commanding Department of the Gulf:

General--In compliance with your order, we have the honor to submit the following Report of the Board of Education for Freedmen, Department of the Gulf.

The Report relates the operations of the Board from the date of its organization, March 22d, 1864, to December 31st, same year--a period of nine months.

COLORED SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS.

When, in April, 1862, the guns of Farragut transferred the city of New Orleans from rebel to national rule, no such thing as a "Public School" for colored children, was found in the schedule of the conquest.

No such thing had ever existed in the Crescent City. Even that portion of the colored population, who, for generations, had been wealthy and free, were allowed no public school, although taxed to support the school-system of the city and State. Occasionally a small donation was made from the public fund to a school for orphans, attached to the Colored Orphans' Asylum.

The children of the free colored people who were in good circumstances, known as "Creoles," generally of French or Spanish extraction, when not educated abroad, or at the North, or from fairness of complexion, by occasional admission to the white schools, were quietly instructed at home, or in a very few private schools, of their class.

Even these, although not contrary to law, were really the ban of opinion, but were tolerated, because of the freedom, wealth, respectability and light color of the parents, many of whom were nearly white, and by blood, sympathy, association, slaveholding, and other interests, were allied to the white rather than to the black.

For the poor, of the free colored people, there was no school.

To teach a slave the dangerous arts of reading and writing, was a heinous offence, having, in the language of the statute, "a tendency to excite insubordination among the servile class, and punishable by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than twenty-one years, or by death, at the discretion of the Court."

In the face of all obstacles, a few of the free colored people, of the poorer class, learned to read and write. Cases of like proficiency were found among the slaves, where some restless bondsman, yearning for the knowledge, that somehow he coupled with liberty, hid himself from public notice, to con over, in secret and laboriously, the magic letters.

In other cases, limited teaching of a slave was connived at, by a master, who might find it convenient for his servant to read.

Occasionally, the slave was instructed by some devout and sympathizing woman or generous man, who secretly violated law and resisted opinion, for the sake of justice and humanity.

A single attempt had been made to afford instruction, through a school, to the poor of the colored people, by Mrs. Mary D.Brice, of Ohio, a student of Antioch College, who, with her husband, both poor in money, came to New Orleans in December, 1858, under a sense of duty, to teach colored people.

So many and great were the obstacles, that Mrs. Brice was unable to begin her school until September, 1860. At that time she opened a "school for colored children and adults," at the corner of Franklin and Perdido streets.

The popular outcry obliged her to close the school in June, 1861.
Subsequently receiving, as she believed, a divine intimation that she would be sustained, Mrs. Brice again
opened her school in November following, near the same place; afterwards removing to Magnolia street, on
account of room.

Under Confederate rule, she was repeatedly "warned" to desist teaching.

The gate-posts in front of her house were covered at night by placards, threatening "death to nigger teachers."

When forced to suspend her school, Mrs. Brice stole round at night, especially on dark and rainy nights, the more
easily to elude observation, to the houses or resorts of her pupils, and there taught the eager learners, under every
disability of mutual poverty, often of sore need, in face of imprisonment, banishment, or possible death.

Upon the occupation of the city by our forces, her school was preserved from further molestation, rather by the
moral sentiment of the army than by any direct action; for so timid or prejudiced were many of our commanders,
that long after that time General Emory sent for the Rev. Thomas Conway, to admonish him not to advocate,

publicly, the opening of schools for colored children, as it would be very dangerous!

The school of Mrs. Brice continued to thrive, and subsequently passed under the Board of Education, in whose
employ she is now an efficient and honored Principal.

The advent of the Federal army weakened slavery, and suspended the pains and penalties of its bloody code, and
a few private teachers began to appear, in response to the strong desire of the colored people for instruction.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED PEOPLE.

No public schools were established until October, 1863. The great work was fairly begun by the "Commission of
Enrollment," created by order of Major General Banks, commanding Department of the Gulf.

In February, 1864, was published General Order No. 23, of Gen. Banks, known as the "Labor Order." That order
bridged the chasm between the old and the new. By it the laborer, although a slave, was permitted to choose his
employer. The governing power was shifted from the planter to the Provost Marshal.

In addition to food, clothing, quarters, fuel, medical attendance and wages, instruction for his children was
promised the colored man by the Government. ....

DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNTRY SCHOOLS.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the difficulty of establishing these schools in the country parishes.

Considering the expense and the probability of change in the school districts, the Board decided not to build
school-houses at present, but to avail themselves of such accommodations as could be found.

The parish Provost Marshals were directed to seize and turn over to the Board all buildings designated by our
parents as essential to the schools, taking care not to incommode or irritate any one, beyond the necessities of the

27
Any hesitancy to act, or indifference on the part of the Marshals, was met forthwith by the Provost Marshal General in the shape of a peremptory order, or by the prompt removal of the refractory subordinate. By this means the first obstacles were overcome. Had the Board received from the same office a continuance of the active interest in these schools manifested by General Bowen during his incumbency, we should have had, at this time, at least three thousand additional pupils.

Cabins, sheds, unused houses, were appropriated, roughly repaired, fitted with a cheap stove for the winter, a window or two for light and air a teacher sent to the locality, the neighboring children gathered in, and the school started.

In some of the parishes, so great was the difficulty of obtaining boarding places for our teachers—notwithstanding the efforts of agents and Provost Marshals—that a special order or circular letter was published, (see Appendix D,) by which many of the teachers were provided with temporary homes. But it frequently occurs, that in a desirable locality for a school, it is impossible to obtain boarding for the teachers. In such cases, a weather-proof shelter of some kind—very poor at best—is obtained, some simple furniture provided, and a teacher sent who is willing to undergo the privations—often hardships—of boarding herself, in addition to the fatigues of her school,

Compelled to live on the coarsest diet of corn bread and bacon; often no tea, coffee, butter, eggs, or flour; separated by miles of bad roads from the nearest provision store; refused credit because she is a negro teacher, unable to pay cash because the Government is unavoidably in arrears; subjected to the jeers and hatred of her neighbors; cut off from society, with unfrequent and irregular mails; swamped in mud—the school shed a drip, and her quarters little better; raided occasionally by rebels, her school broken up and herself insulted, banished, or run off to rebeldom; under all this, it is really surprising how some of these brave women manage to live, much more how they are able to render the service they do as teachers.

Despite all the efforts of our agents, the assistance of the Provost Marshals, and the devotion of the teachers, many of these schools would have to be abandoned but for the freedmen themselves. These, fully alive to all that is being done for them, gratefully aid the teachers from their small store, and mount guard against the enemy of the schools, whether he be a rebel, a guerilla, or a pro-slavery professed unionist skulking behind the oath.
Lesson Overview

Student Lesson

Section 4C: Primary Source Set
Excerpt from "What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation?"

African American Perspectives, 1818-1907

What became of the slaves on a Georgia plantation?:

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{Begin handwritten} Life in the Southern States {End handwritten}
WHAT BECAME OF THE SLAVES ON A GEORGIA PLANTATION?
GREAT ACTION SALE OF SLAVES

{Begin handwritten} by Price M. Butler {End handwritten}
AT SAVANNAH, GEORGIA
MARCH 2d 3d, 1859.
A SEQUEL TO MRS. KEMBLE'S JOURNAL.
{Begin handwritten} Savannah, Ga. {End handwritten}
1863.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
The largest sale of human chattels that has been made in Star-Spangled America for several years, took place on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, at the Race-course near the City of Savannah, Georgia. The lot consisted of four hundred and thirty-six men, women, children and infants, being that half of the negro stock remaining on the old Major Butler plantations which fell to one of the two heirs to that estate. Major Butler, dying, left a property valued at more than a million of dollars, the major part of which was invested in rice and cotton plantations, and the slaves thereon, all of which immense fortune descended to two heirs, his sons, Mr. John A. Butler, sometime deceased, and Mr. Pierce M. Butler, still living, and resident in the City of Philadelphia, in the free State of Pennsylvania.

Losses in the great crash of 1857-8, and other exigencies of business, have compelled the latter gentleman to realize on his Southern investments, that he may satisfy his pressing creditors. This necessity led to a partition of the negro stock on the Georgia plantations, between himself and the representative of the other heir, the widow of the late John A. Butler, and the negroes that were brought to the hammer last week were the property of Mr. Pierce M. Butler, of Philadelphia, and were in fact sold to pay Mr. Pierce M. Butler's debts. The creditors were represented by Gen. Cadwalader, while Mr. Butler was present in person, attended by his business agent, to attend to his own interests.

The sale had been advertised largely for many weeks, though the name of Mr. Butler was not mentioned; and as the negroes were known to be a choice lot and very desirable property, the attendance of buyers was large. The breaking up of an old family estate is so uncommon an occurrence that the affair was regarded with unusual interest throughout the South. For several days before the sale every hotel in Savannah was crowded with negro speculators from North and South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, who had been attracted hither by the prospects of making good bargains.

Nothing was heard for days, in the bar-rooms and public rooms, but talk of the great sale; criticisms of the business affairs of Mr. Butler, and speculations as to the probable prices the stock would bring. The office of Joseph Bryan, the Negro Broker, who had the management of the sale, was thronged every day by eager inquirers in search of information, and by some who were anxious to buy, but were uncertain as to whether their securities would prove acceptable. Little parties were made up from the various hotels every day to visit the Race-course, distant some three miles from the city, to look over the chattels, discuss their points, and make memoranda for guidance on the day of sale. The buyers were generally of a rough breed, slangy, profane and bearish, being for the most part from the back river and swamp plantations, where the elegancies of polite life are not, perhaps, developed to their fullest extent. In fact, the humanities are sadly neglected by the petty tyrants of the rice-fields that border the great Dismal Swamp, their knowledge of the luxuries of our best society comprehending only revolvers and kindred delicacies. ...

WHERE THE NEGROES CAME FROM.

The negroes came from two plantations, the one a rice plantation near Darien, in the State of Georgia, not far from the great Okefnokeee Swamp, and the other a cotton plantation on the extreme northern point of St. Simon's Island, a little bit of an island in the Atlantic, cut off from Georgia mainland by a slender arm of the sea. Though the most of the steek had been accustomed only to rice and cotton planting, there were among them a number of very passable mechanics, who had been taught to do all the rougher sorts of mechanical work on the plantations. There were cooperers, carpenters, shoemakers and blacks smiths, each one equal, in his various craft, to the ordinary requirements of a plantation; thus, the cooperers could make rice-tierces, and possibly, on a pinch, rude tubs and tickets; the carpenter could do the rough carpentry about the negro-quarters; the shoemaker could make shoes of fashion required for the slaves, and the blacksmith was adequate to the
manufacture of hoes and similar simple tools, and to such trifling repairs in the blacksmithing way as did not require too refined a skill. Though probably no one of all these would be called a superior, or even an average workman, among the masters of the craft, their knowledge of these various trades sold in some cases for nearly as much as the man—that is, a man without a trade, who would be valued at $900, would readily bring $1,600 or $1,700 if he was a passable blacksmith or cooper. ...

... None of the Butler slaves have ever been sold before, but have been on these two plantations since they were born. Here have they lived their humble lives, and loved their simple loves; here were they born, and here have many of them had children born unto them; here had their parents lived before them, and are now resting in quiet graves on the old plantations that these unhappy ones are to see no more forever; here they left not only the well-known scenes dear to them from very baby-hood by a thousand fond memories, and homes as much loved by them, perhaps, as brighter homes by men of brighter faces; but all the clinging ties that bound them to living hearts were torn asunder, for but one-half of each of these two happy little communities was sent to the shambles, to be scattered to the four winds, and the other half was left behind. And who can tell how closely intertwined are the affections of a little band of four hundred persons, living isolated from all the world beside, from birth to middle age? Do they not naturally become one great family, each man a brother unto each?

It is true they were sold "in families," but let us see: a man and his wife were called a "family," their parents and kindred were not taken into account; the man and wife might be sold to the pine woods of North Carolina, their brothers and sisters be scattered through the cotton fields of Alabama and rice swamps of Louisiana, while the parents might be left on the old plantation to wear out their weary lives in grief, and lay their heads in far-off graves, over which their children might never weep. And

no account could be taken of loves that were as yet unconsummated by marriage; and how many aching hearts have been divorced by this summary proceeding no man can ever know. And the separation is as utter, and is infinitely more hopeless, than that made by the Angel of Death, for then the loved ones are committed to the care of a merciful Deity; but in the other instance, to the tender mercies of a slave-trade. These dark-skinned unfortunates are perfectly unlettered, and could not communicate by writing even if they should know where to send their missives. And so to each other, and to the old familiar places of their youth, clung all their sympathies and affections, not less strong, perhaps, because they are so few. The blades of grass on all the Butler estates are outnumbered by the tears that are poured out in agony at the wreck that has been wrought in happy homes, and the crushing grief that has been laid on loving hearts.

But, then, what business have "niggers" with tears? Besides, didn't Pierce Butler give them a silver dollar a-piece? which will appear in the sequel. And, sad as it is, it was all necessary, because a gentleman was not able to live on the beggarly pittance of half a million, and so must needs enter into speculations which turned out adversely.

Top of Page

HOW THEY WERE TREATED IN SAVANNAH.

The negroes were brought to Savannah in small lots, as many at a time as could be conveniently taken care of, the last of them reaching the city the Friday before the sale. They were consigned to the care of Mr. J. Bryan, Auctioneer and Negro Broker, who was to feed and keep them in condition until disposed of. Immediately on their arrival they were taken to the Race-course, and there quartered in the sheds erected for the accommodation of the horses and carriages of gentlemen attending the races. Into these sheds they were huddled pell-mell, without any more attention to their comfort than was necessary to prevent their becoming ill and unsaleable. Each "family" had one or more boxes or bundles, in which were stowed such scanty articles of their clothing as were not brought into immediate requisition, and their tin dishes and gourds for their food and drink.
there being no sign of bench or table. They eat and slept on the bare boards, their food being rice and beans, with occasionally a bit of bacon and corn bread. Their huge bundles were scattered over the floor, and thereon the slaves sat or reclined, when not restlessly moving about, or gathered into sorrowful groups, discussing the chances of their future fate. On the faces of all was an expression of heavy grief; some appeared to be resigned to the hard stroke of Fortune that had torn them from their homes, and were sadly trying to make the best of it; some sat brooding moodily over their sorrows, their chins resting on their hands, their eyes staring vacantly, and their bodies rocking to and fro, with a restless motion that was never stilled; few wept, the place was too public and the drivers too near, though some occasionally turned aside to give way to a few quiet tears. They were dressed in every possible variety of uncouth and fantastic garb, in every style and of every imaginable color; the texture of the garments was in all cases coarse, most of the men being clothed in the rough cloth that is made expressly for the slaves. The dresses assumed by the negro minstrels, when they give imitations of plantation character, are by no means exaggerated; they are, instead, weak and unable to come up to the original.

There was every variety of hats, with every imaginable slouch; and there was every cut and style of coat and pantaloons, made with every conceivable ingenuity of misfit, and tossed on with a general appearance of perfect looseness that is perfectly indescribable, except to say that a Southern negro always looks as if he could shake his clothes off without taking his hands out of his pockets. The women, true to the feminine instinct, had made, in almost every case, some attempt at finery. All wore gorgeous turbans, generally manufactured in an instant out of a gay-colored handkerchief by a sudden and graceful twist of the fingers; though there was occasionally a more elaborate turban, a turban complex and mysterious, got up with care, and ornamented with a few beads or bright bits of ribbon. Their dresses were mostly coarse stuff, though there were some gaudy calicoes; a few had earrings, and one possessed the treasure of a string of yellow and blue beads. The little children were always better and more carefully dressed than the older ones, the parental pride coming out in the shape of a yellow cap pointed like a mitre, or a jacket with a strip of red broadcloth round the bottom. The children were of all sizes, the youngest being fifteen days old. The babies were generally good-natured; though when one would set up a yell, the complaint soon attacked the others, and a full chorus would be the result.

The slaves remained at the Race-course, some of them for more than a week, and all of them for four days before the sale. They were brought in thus early that buyers who desired to inspect them might enjoy that privilege, although none of them were sold at private sale. For these preliminary days their shed was constantly visited by speculators. The negroes were examined with as little consideration as if they had been brutes indeed; the buyers pulling their mouths open to see their teeth, pinching their limbs to find how muscular they were, walking them up and down to detect any signs of lameness, making them stoop and bend in different ways that they might be certain there was no concealed rupture or wound; and in addition to all this treatment, asking them scores of questions relative to their qualifications and accomplishments. All these humiliations were submitted to without a murmur, and in some instances with good-natured cheerfulness—where the slave liked the appearance of the proposed buyer, and fancied that he might prove a kind "Mas'r."
recognized with seeming pleasure by all. The men obsequiously pulled off their hats and made that indescribable sliding hitch with the foot which passes with a negro for a bow; and the women each dropped the quick curtsy, which they seldom vouchsafe to any other than their legitimate master and mistress. Occasionally, to a very old or favorite servant, Mr. Butler would extend his gloved hand, which mark of condescension was instantly hailed with grins of delight from all the sable witnesses.

... Mr. Walsh mounted the stand and announced the terms of the sale, "one-third cash, the remainder payable in two equal annual instalments, bearing interest from the day of sale, to be secured by approved mortgage and personal security, or approved acceptances in Savannah, Ga., or Charleston, S. C. Purchasers to pay for papers." The buyers, who were present to the number of about two hundred, clustered around the platform; while the negroes, who were not likely to be immediately wanted, gathered into sad groups in the back-ground, to watch the progress of the selling in which they were so sorrowfully interested. The wind howled outside, and through the open side of the building the driving rain came pouring in; the bar down stairs ceased for a short time its brisk trade; the buyers lit fresh cigars, got ready their catalogues and pencils, and the first lot of human chattels was led upon the stand, not by a white man, but by a sleek mulatto, himself a slave, and who seems to regard the selling trade; the buyers lit fresh cigars, got ready their catalogues and pencils, and the first lot of human chattels was led upon the stand, not by a white man, but by a sleek mulatto, himself a slave, and who seems to regard the selling of his brethren, in which he so glibly assists, as a capital joke. It had been announced that the negroes would be sold in "families," that is to say, a man would not be parted from his wife, or a mother from a very young child. There is perhaps as much policy as humanity in this arrangement, for thereby many aged and unserviceable people are disposed of, who otherwise would not find a ready sale. ...

... It seems as if every shade of character capable of being implicated in the sale of human flesh and blood was represented among the buyers. There was the Georgia fast young man, with his pantaloons tucked into his boots, his velvet cap jauntily dragged over to one side, his cheek full of tobacco, which he bites from a huge plug, that resembles more than anything else an old bit of a rusty wagon tire, and who is altogether an animal of quite a different breed from your New York fast man. His ready revolver, or his convenient knife, is ready for instant use in case of heated argument. White-neck-clothed, gold-spectacled, and silver-haired old men were there, resembling in appearance that noxious breed of sanctimonious deacons we have at the North, who are perpetually leaving documents at your door that you never read, and the business of whose mendicant life it is to eternally solicit subscriptions for charitable associations, of which they are treasurers. These gentry, with quiet step and subdued voice, moved carefully about among the live stock, ignoring, as a general rule, the men, but tormenting the women with questions which, when accidentally overheard by the disinterested spectator, bred in that spectator's mind an almost irresistible desire to knock somebody down.

And then, all imaginable varieties of rough, backwoods rowdies, who began the day in a spirited manner, but who, as its hours progressed, and their practice at the bar became more prolific in results, waxed louder and talkier and more violent, were present, and added a characteristic feature to the assemblage. Those of your readers who have read "Uncle Tom,"--and who has not?--will remember, with peculiar feelings, Legree, the slave-driver and woman-whipper. That that character is not been overdrawn, or too highly colored, there is abundant testimony. Witness the subjoined dialogue: A party of men were conversing on the fruitful subject of managing refractory "niggers;" some were for severe whipping, some recommending branding, one or two advocated other modes of torture, but one huge brute of a man, who had not taken an active part in the discussion, save to assent, with approving nod, to any unusually barbarous proposition, at last broke his silence by saying, in an oracular way, "You may say what you like about managing niggers; I'm a driver myself, and I've had some experience, and I ought to know. You can manage ordinary niggers by lickin' em, and givin' em a taste of the hot iron once in awhile when they're extra ugly; but if a nigger really sets himself up against me, I can't never have any patience with him. I just get my pistol and shoot him right down; and that's the best way." ...
others having resigned the contest, and then the poor creature on the block, conceiving an instantaneous preference for one of the buyers over the other, would regard the rivalry with the intensest interest, the expression of his face changing with every bid, settling into a half smile of joy if the favorite buyer persevered unto the end and secured the property, and settling down into a look of hopeless despair if the other won the victory. ...

... Many other babies, of all ages of baby-hood, were sold, but there was nothing particularly interesting about them. There were some thirty babies in the lot; they are esteemed worth to the master a

hundred dollars the day they are born, and to increase in value at the rate of a hundred dollars a year till they are sixteen or seventeen years old, at which age they bring the best prices. ...

... The highest price paid for a single man was $1,750, which was given for William, a "fair carpenter and caulkier."

The highest price paid for a woman was $1,250, which was given for Jane, "cotton hand and house servant."

The lowest price paid was for Anson and Violet, a gray-haired couple, each having numbered more than fifty years; they brought but $250 a piece. ...

...And now come the scenes of the last partings--of the final separations of those who were akin, or who had been such dear friends from youth that no ties of kindred could bind them closer--of those who were all in all to each other, and for whose bleeding hearts there shall be no earthly comfort--the parting of parents and children, of brother from brother, and the rending of sister from a sister's bosom; and O! hardest, cruellest of all, the tearing asunder of loving hearts, wedded in all save the one ceremony of the Church--these scenes pass all description; it is not meet for pen to meddle with tears so holy.

As the last family stepped down the block, the rain ceased, for the first time in four days the clouds broke away, and the soft sunlight fell on the scene. The unhappy slaves had many of them been already removed, and others were now departing with their new masters. ...
American Life Histories, 1936-1940

[My Ups and Downs]

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MY UPS AND DOWN'S

Written By: Mrs. Ina B. Hawkes
Research Field Worker, Georgia Writers' Project, Athens -
Edited By: Mrs. Maggie B. Freeman
Editor, Georgia Writers' Project, Athens - WPA Area -6

October 9, 1939
[Kert Shorrow?] (Negro)

Route # 1, Athens, Georgia

Mrs. Ina B. Hawkes

MY UP'S AND DOWN'S

It was just a small Negro shanty, just off the highway. I went up to the front door. I noticed it was open, but I found the screen door shut and latched.

I came back down off the porch and walked around the house. I saw an old Negro woman coming down a little grassy lane. I walked up to meet her. She looked a little tired. She had a white cotton sack on her back where she had been picking cotton and a big sun hat on. She looked up and appeared very much surprised to see me.

"Good morning, Aunty. Do you live here?" she said, "Good morning, Miss. Yes, man, I lives here. I aint been here so long though. Is der something I can do for yo?"

I told her that I wanted to talk to her a little while if she had time. She said, "Yes'um, but you see I don't want to be [empolite?] cause I won't raised dat way. But if you will come in I will talk to you while I fix a little dinner. I works in the field all I can."

About that time I saw a small boy coming around the house with his cotton sack.

"My name is [Sadie?]," she said, "and dis is my great grandson here. I'se got seventeen chillun, Honey."

"How did you manage with so many children, Aunty?" I asked. "By the help of the Lawd. We didn't have much, but you know what the old frog said when he went to the pond and found jus a little water, don't you? Well, he said, "A little is better than none.' Dat's de way I all'ers felt about things.

"I was born and raised in Walton County. But dey is done changed things back over der so much. I was over der to see my daughter while back and, Lawdy mussy, chile, dey is done built a new bridge ah didn't know nothing about.

"Here, Sammy, make mama a fire in de stove while I gits a few things ready to cook."

The little boy had a kerosine lamp over the blaze and, before I could stop myself, I had yelled at him to get it away from that blaze. Aunt Sadie said, "Dat's right, Miss. Correct him. Chillun des days don't see no danger in nothing.

"Back in my day as far back as I can remember

my mother and father was [Marse?] Holt and Mistess Holt's slaves. 'Case we chilluns wus too, but slavery times wus over fo I wus big nuf to know very much 'bout hit.

"But I do know about [Marse?] Holt and Mistess Holt. Lawd, child, dey was de best people in de world I do think. Ole Mistess use to make us go to bed early. She would feed us out under a walnut tree. She wouldn't let us eat lak chilluns do now. We would have milk and bread, and dey would always save pot liquor left over from the vegetables. They put corn bread in it. We little Niggers sho' injoyed hit though. Sometimes we would get syrup and bread and now and then a biscuit.
"[Marse?] and Mistess died, but Ma and Pa and we chillun just stayed on and waked hard. Pa and Ma both wus good farmers. But, Honey, talk 'bout slavery times, hit's mor lak slavery times now with chillun dan it wus den. 'Cause us didn't have to go to de fields til we wus good size chillun. Now de poor things has to go time dey is big nuf to walk and tote a cotton sack.

"Miss Ruth is [Marse?] and Mistess Holt's daughter. I wus fortunate to know Miss Ruth. She larnt me to say my A B C's. If I didn't know them or say them fast nuf she would slap me and make me do hit right". She got up and went over to an old washstand and got an old blue back speller. "Here," she said, "look at dis and you will see whut she taught me wid. You can see why I loves dat book. I don't let nobody bother wid dat.

"I sits and looks at my little book lots of times and think of dem good old days. I went to regular school two months in my life.

"I thought I wus grown when I hopped up and married."

..."My life, Honey, is jus been ups and downs . Me and pa and the chilluns always jus had to stay home and work 'cept on Saddays. We would always go to town and church on Sundays. We would fix a big box of oats and get up soon Sadday morning, and Tom and the boys would hitch up old Buck to the cart. Yes, dat old ox wus jus as fast as anybody's mule. He would take us to town and bring us back safe.

"I never will forget one Sadday we wus in town. It wus a treat to jus go to town for us, the lights wus so pretty, but coming home dat day a man stopped us. Me and Tom had most of the chilluns with us. He said he wanted to take our pictures, so he could save it and show it ot his grandchilluns.

"We jus sold old Buck in 1934. He wus gitting old and couldn't plow and git 'bout lak he used too. And we needed a mule too.

"Lawdy, dere's Tom now. He come in the back door, a little man not much older looking than I is."....
Lesson Overview

Section 4E: Primary Source Set
Excerpt from "Mrs. Lulu Bowers II"

American Life Histories, 1936-1940

[Mrs. Lula Bowers, II]

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{Begin handwritten} Beliefs Customs - Customs {End handwritten}

Accession no. - 10160
Date received - 10/10/40
Consignment no.
Shipped from Wash. Off.
Label
Amount - 4p.
"There is a great change in the men and women, too, from what it used to be. It used to be that the men tended to all the business. Now most all the business is tended to by the women!

I remember the first woman free dealer. She was Mr. Ned Morrison's grandmother. She was the first free-dealer I ever heard of. Her husband was an excellent man but no business man. He had a large farm to manage after the war, with free labor. He'd get so mad with the negroes that he'd just let them go, and give up. So she had to take charge. She went to the courthouse and got an appointment. She was the only woman I know that got an appointment to run her own farm. Now women run their farms if they want to.

"The churches and schools wasn't much. They got free-schools for three months then. Now they get it for nine.

"The roads weren't good either like they are now. And it was so hard to get anybody to work on the roads. Each farmer had to send a certain amount of hands to work the roads, and someone had to oversee the work. My father was generally the one.

"In slavery time we had three slave quarters - ten houses in each quarter. The houses were kept nice, kept clean. And there was one special house where they kept the children and a nurse. The houses were log-houses, and they didn't have any windows more than ten or twelve inches square. And they had shutters, not sash. The hinges for the shutters were made in the blacksmith shop. They wouldn't have but two rooms. Very often they wouldn't have lumber enough to put in the partition, and would have to hang up sheets between the rooms.

They'd ceil them with clapboards from the woods. Their furniture was just anything that they could get - little stools, and little benches, and just anything. They'd use the back of their old dresses for quilts.

The clothes of the slaves were spun at home and made by their mistresses. They'd weave them white, then dye cloth. They'd go in the woods and get bark and dye them.
"The slaves had bread and hominy, and what little meat they could get hold of now and then. There were a lot of cattle in this country. And they raised a lot of geese, and guineas, and such like. Most of the slaves were doctored by their owners. Dr. Nathan A. Johnston was the first doctor I knew anything about. They'd rake soot off the back of the chimney and make a tea out of it for the colic. Called it soot-tea. I've seen my grandmother do it a many a time! The slaves didn't have any education in that day. They'd have Sunday Schools for the white people and for the slaves. The old people would write down what the children had to say. They had no books then, and paper was so scarce they sometimes had to use paste-board. When the slaves wanted to go off on a visit they were given tickets, and allowed to go for just so many hours.

"After the war, military rule was oppressive for a while; but they got so they dropped that. There was much lawlessness. There was no law at all, and they couldn't manage the negroes at all. There was a man that came from Beaufort named Wright, and he controlled them. He was a northerner but he was a good man. He and his wife came. They stayed in three different homes when they were here. Only three homes would take those people in! One of them was a relative of mine. She said one night Mrs. Wright said she would make a pudding for them all - what she called Hasty Pudding. So my aunt got out the sugar, and eggs and seasonings for her; but the 'Pudding' proved to be just Fried Hominy - cold hominy sliced and rolled in egg and flour and fried. They had a son and a daughter. After a while they came, too,"

Source: Mrs. Lula Bowers, 79, Luray, S. C.

(Second interview.)
E. W. Evans (Negro)
610 Parsons Street, S.W.

Brick Layer Plasterer

by Geneva Tonsill

"My parents were slaves on the plantation of John H. Hill, a slave owner in Madison, Georgia. I wuz born on May 21, 1855. I wuz owned and kept by J. H. Hill until just befo' surrender. I wuz a small boy when Sherman left here at the fall of Atlanta. He come through Madison on his march to the sea and we chillun hung out on the front fence from early morning 'til late in the evening, watching the soldiers go by. It took most of the day.

"My master wuz a Senator from Georgia, 'lected on the Whig ticket. He served two terms in Washington as nator. His wife, our mistress, had charge of the slaves and plantation. She never seemed to like the idea of ving slaves. Of course, I never heard her say she didn't want them but she wuz the one to free the slaves on the
place befo' surrender. Since that I've felt she didn't want them in the first place. ...

The next week after Sherman passed through Madison, Miss Emily called the five ... wimmen ... women ... that wuz on the place and tole them to stay 'round the house and attend to things as they had always done until their husbands come back. She said they were free and could go wherever they wanted to. See ... she decided this befo surrender and tole them they could keep up just as befo' until their husbands could look after a place for them to stay. She meant that they could rent from her if they wanted to. In that number of ... wimmen ... women ... wuz my mother, Ellen, who worked as a seamstress for Mrs. Hill. The other ... wimmen ... women ... wuz aunt Lizzie and aunt Dinah, the washer- ... wimmen ... women ... , aunt Liza ... a seamstress to help my mother, and aunt Caroline ... the nurse for Miss Emily's chilluns.

"I never worked as a slave because I wuzn't ole 'nough. In 1864, when I wuz about nine years ole they sent me on a trial visit to the plantation to give me an idea of what I had to do some day.

{Begin page no. 2}  

The place I'm talkin' about, when I wuz sent for the tryout, wuz on the outskirts of town. It wuz a house where they sent chilluns out ole 'nough to work for a sort of trainin'. I guess you'd call it the trainin' period. When the chilluns wuz near ten years ole they had this week's trial to get them used to the work they'd have to do when they reached ten years. At the age of ten years they wuz then sent to the field to work. They'd chop, hoe, pick cotton ... and pull fodder, corn, or anything else to be done on the plantation. I stayed at the place a whole week and wuz brought home on Saturday. That week's work showed me what I wuz to do when I wuz ten years ole. Well, this wuz just befo Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea and I never got a chance to go to the plantation to work agin, for Miss Emily freed all on her place and soon after that we wuz emancipated.

"The soldiers I mentioned while ago that passed with Sherman carried provisions, hams, shoulders, meal, flour ... and other food. They had their cooks and other servants. I 'member seeing a woman in that crowd of servants. She had a baby in her arms. She hollered at us Chillun and said, 'You chilluns git off dat fence and go learn yore ABC's.' I thought she wuz crazy telling us that ... for we had never been 'lowed to learn nothing at all like reading a writing. I learned but it wuz after surrender and I wuz over tens years ole.

"It wuz soon after the soldiers passed with Sherman that Miss Emily called in all the ... wimmen ... women ... servants and told them they could take their chillun ... to the cabin and stay there until after the war. My father, George, had gone with Josh Hill, a son of Miss Emily's to wait on him. She told my mother to take us to that cabin until a place could be made for us.

{Begin page no. 3}  

"I said I wuz born a slave but I wuz too young to know much about slavery. I wuz the property of the Hill family from 1855 to 1865, when freedom wuz declared and they said we wuz free. ...
"The true test of the progress of a people is to be found in their literature"
-- Daniel Alexander Payne Murray

Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress

Search by Keywords | Browse the Subject or Author Index

The Daniel A. P. Murray Pamphlet Collection presents a panoramic and eclectic review of African-American history and culture, spanning almost one hundred years from the early nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries, with the bulk of the material published between 1875 and 1900. Among the authors represented are Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Benjamin W. Arnett, Alexander Crummel, and Emanuel Love.

The mission of the Library of Congress is to make its resources available and useful to Congress and the American people and to sustain and preserve a universal collection of knowledge and creativity for future generations. The goal of the Library's National Digital Library Program is to offer broad public access to a wide range of historical and cultural documents as a contribution to education and lifelong learning.

The Library of Congress presents these documents as part of the record of the past. These primary historical documents reflect the attitudes, perspectives, and beliefs of different times. The Library of Congress does not endorse the views expressed in these collections, which may contain materials offensive to some readers.

Special Presentation
The Progress of a People

Understanding the Collection

Timeline of African American History, 1852-1925:

Working with the Collection

How to view: Text | Images and illustrations
These life histories were written by the staff of the Folklore Project of the Federal Writers' Project for the U.S. Works Progress (later Work Projects) Administration (WPA) from 1936-1940. The Library of Congress collection includes 2,900 documents representing the work of over 300 writers from 24 states. Typically 2,000-15,000 words in length, the documents consist of drafts and revisions, varying in form from narrative to dialogue to report to case history. The histories describe the informant's family education, income, occupation, political views, religion and mores, medical needs, diet and miscellaneous observations. Pseudonyms are often substituted for individuals and places named in the narrative texts.
The Internet resources in this directory represent selected Web sites, compiled by the Social Science Education Consortium, that are rich in content that supports humanities education, are broadly accessible to the educational community, and are sustainable over the long term. They are grouped by topic.

Follow the links to Web sites of interest to you. To return to these pages, use your browser's Back button. The Library of Congress does not endorse or maintain the sites in this directory unless otherwise noted. Please direct any comments on the content of these Web sites to the respective site administrator or webmaster.

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Primary Source Resources

  http://www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/amdocs_index.html

- **American Hypertexts** - Many classic texts in U.S. history, including *The Education of Henry Adams, Letters from an American Farmer* (Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur), *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Thomas Jefferson), and *My Twenty Years at Hull House* (Jane Addams). A project of the University of Virginia.
  http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/hypertex.html

- **Avalon Project at Yale Law School: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy** - Documents in U.S. history from as early as the 1630s through the 20th century.
  http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm

- **Bartleby.com: Nonfiction** - Numerous historic documents are available here, ranging from inaugural addresses of the presidents to 19th-century essays to works by authors as diverse as John Reed, Booker T. Washington, Ben Franklin, and Margaret Sanger.
  http://www.bartleby.com/nonfiction/

- **A Chronology of U.S. Historical Documents** - "Classic" political documents, some presidential state of the union addresses, and many presidential inaugural addresses. Maintained at the University of Oklahoma Law Center.
  http://www.law.ou.edu/hist/

- **Documenting the American South** - Primary sources on Southern history, literature, and culture from the colonial period through 1920. From the University of North Carolina.
  http://docsouth.unc.edu/dasmain.html

- **Douglass Archives of American Public Address** - Approximately 100 articles, speeches, and documents by people ranging from Jane Addams to Theodore Roosevelt to Huey Newton. Maintained at Northwestern University.
  http://douglass.speech.nwu.edu/

- **EyeWitness: History Through the Eyes of Those Who Lived It** - Ibis Communications presents eyewitness accounts of historic events from the 17 century to the 20th.
  http://www.ibiscom.com/index.html

- **From Revolution to Reconstruction: Texts** - Several hundred historical documents arranged by period. Maintained at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands.
  http://odur.letrug.n1/~usa/D/index.htm

- **Historical New York Times Project** - *The New York Times* is putting selected historic newspapers online to illustrate how major events were covered by journalists of the time.
The History Channel - This site includes a collection of speeches in audio and text formats, as well as a variety of teaching aids.
http://www.historychannel.com

History Matters: Many Pasts - More than 600 documents dating from the turn of the century, selected to reveal the lives of "ordinary Americans," and edited for use by students.
http://historymatters.gmu.edu/browse/many_pasts/

The History Place - In addition to primary sources, this site presents essays, movie reviews, and other teaching and learning aids.
http://www.historyplace.com

Images of American Political History - More than 500 documents related to political history, including maps, broadsides, and photographs. Maintained as part of the Teaching Politics site of William J. Ball of the College of New Jersey.
http://teachpol.tcnj.edu/amer_pol_hist/index.htm

Legal Information Institute - Comprehensive information about the Supreme Court and its decisions dating from 1990; 600 historic decisions are also provided.
http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/

Making of America - Collection of social history sources from the 19th century. A project of the University of Michigan.
http://moa.umdl.umich.edu/

National Archives and Records Administration - Searchable databases of documents from the National Archives. The Exhibit Hall presents collections of documents on wide-ranging topics (e.g., Elvis meets Nixon, WPA art, gifts given to presidents, founding documents), and the Digital Classroom provides teaching resources.
http://www.archives.gov/index.html

National Security Archive - This archive from George Washington University is a repository for declassified documents that journalists and scholars have obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.
http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/

New York Public Library Digital Library Collection - Visual and text sources on such topics as the history of the performing arts and African Americans in the 19th century.
http://digital.nypl.org

Oyez Project: U.S. Supreme Court Multimedia Database - Information on selected Supreme Court cases from the past 35 years, with sound recordings of the Court's proceedings. Maintained at Northwestern University.
http://oyez.nwu.edu/

Presidential Libraries of the National Archives and Records Administration - History of the presidential library system, plus links to the libraries of every president since Hoover. Many of the specific libraries have interesting primary sources posted--from the daily schedule of President Carter to the correspondence of President Roosevelt and State Department press releases on the U-2 spy incident during the Eisenhower administration.
http://www.archives.gov/nara/president/overview.htm

Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library: Duke University - Numerous collections of primary sources are available here; particular strengths are the history of advertising, women's
• **Smithsonian National Museum of American History** - More than 20 online exhibits on such topics as Japanese American internment, the presidency, the paint-by-number craze of the 1950s, sweatshops, the national anthem, and clocks.
  http://americanhistory.si.edu/

• **Speech and Transcript Center** - Links to speeches and presentations from many sources, including government officials, plus links to testimony before Congress and reports from government agencies.
  http://gwis2.circ.gwu.edu/~gprice/speech.htm

• **Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1820-1940** - Primary source documents in women's history, organized around particular topics. Questions for students' use in analyzing the documents are provided. From Binghamton University.
  http://womhist.binghamton.edu/
Student Lesson

Section 5: Discussion

You have examined at least two different primary source documents. Summarize your findings. Did other students in the class examine the same documents? Do they have the same observations that you and your group do? What is different? What is the same? What do you think about the sources of the documents? Are they believable? Why or why not?

Discuss the following questions with your classmates:

1. What was slavery like for African-Americans in the period before the Civil War?
2. Was any document completely believable? Completely unbelievable? Why or why not?
3. Did some types of sources seem less believable than other kinds of sources? Why do you think this is true?
4. What information about slavery did each document provide? How did looking at several documents expand your understanding of slavery?
5. If you found contradictory information in the sources, which sources did you tend to believe? Why?
6. What generalizations about primary historical sources can you make based on this document set?
7. What additional sources (and types of sources) would you like to see to give you greater confidence in your understanding of slavery?
Mr. Branch Bixby
Pittsburgh C.C. Club
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Mr. Bixby,

I have been intending to write for about a month now and seems that finding the right words come hard so I will attempt to put them down.

It is certainly tough on everyone in Brooklyn to have you leave the organization but to me it is much worse and I don't mind saying so (my family) hate to see you go but realize that baseball is like that and anything can happen. It has been the first experience I have had being associated with you.

I want to thank you very much for all you have meant not only to me and my family but to the entire county and particularly the members of our race. I am glad for you as that I had a small part to do with the success of your and must admit it was your constant guidance that enabled me to do it. Regardless of what happens in the future it all can be placed on what you have done and believe me I appreciate it.

I don't know the circumstances that caused you
sell but I am smart enough to know that a person does not
call a young thing unless there is some misunderstanding
place but I do want to wish you and your family the very be
of everything and sincerely hope that you are able to bring
Pittsburgh just what you did to Brooklyn and St. Louis. I do
to end my playing in Brooklyn as it means so very much
if I have to go any place I hope it can do with you

my wife joins me in saying thanks very much Mr. Rocky a
we sincerely hope that we can always be regarded as your fri
and whenever we need advice we can call on you as usual
regardless of other we may be

my very best wishes to you and yours and a hope for
your continued success

Sincerely yours

Jackie Robinson
Letter from Jackie Robinson to Branch Rickey, [1950].
(Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Branch Rickey Papers.)

Mr. Branch Rickey

c/o Pittsburgh B.B. Club


Dear Mr. Rickey,

I have been intending to write for about a month now and it seems that finding the right words come hard so I will attempt at this time to put them down.

It is certainly tough on everyone in Brooklyn to have you leave the organization but to me its much worse and I don't mind saying we (my family) hate to see you go but realize that baseball is like that and anything can happen. It has been the finest experience I have had being associated with you and I want to thank you very much for all you have meant not only to me and my family but to the entire country and particularly the members of our race. I am glad for your sake that I had a small part to do with the success of your efforts and must admit it was your constant guidance that enabled me to do it. Regardless of what happens to me in the future it all can be placed on what you have done and believe me I appreciate it.

I don't know the circumstances that caused you to sell but I am smart enough to know that a person does not sell a growing thing unless there is some misunderstanding some place but I do want to wish you and your family the very best of everything and sincerely hope that you are able to bring to Pittsburg just what you did to Brooklyn and St. Louis. I hope to end my playing in Brooklyn as it means so very much but if I have to go any place I hope it can be with you.

My wife joins me in saying thanks very much Mr. Rickey and we sincerely hope that we can always be regarded as your friend and whenever we need advice we can call on you as usual regardless of where we may be.

My very best wishes to you and yours and a hope for your continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Jackie Robinson
Rickey describes the problems he felt he faced in the 1940s, when he decided to integrate major league baseball. He also discusses events that influenced his decision and factors that he thinks will reduce racial prejudice. This version of the text reproduces the spelling and punctuation of the original typed transcript. (For additional information on the Branch Rickey Papers, you can leave this site and read a summary catalog record for the collection.)

Speech by Branch Rickey for the "One Hundred Percent Wrong Club" banquet, Atlanta, Georgia, January 20, 1956. Broadcast on WERD 860 AM radio. (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Branch Rickey Papers)

"Dr. May, gentlemen, -- ladies and gentlemen. My plane doesn't leave until tomorrow at 10:35 A.M. and I haven't a thing to do between now and then but to talk if I get the chance, -- and I feel like talking.

"I asked Mr. Lawson and several others today about my time limit, and I think I was rather insistent upon it, -- and I never did get a time limit and I just concluded that I would talk as long as I pleased. I don't know what time you gentlemen have engagements for tomorrow morning's work but I want to talk about a thing or two.

"I feel a little remote, -- the speaking spot is not as close as I would like it. I should like to feel that each one of you were my guests tonight at my own home, and that I could talk to you just as I would if you were there. And I am going to try to maintain that attitude of mine from my remarks that I am very close to you and whether you may agree with what I have to say or not, you will know that I am trying to be intimately confidential and frank about my remarks.

"Now I could talk at some length, of course, about the problem of hiring a negro ball player after an experience of 25 years in St. Louis, -- where at the end I had no stock at all in the club and no negro was permitted to buy his way into the grandstand during that entire period of my residence in St. Louis. The only place a negro could witness a ball game in St. Louis was to buy his way into the bleachers, -- the pavilion. With an experience of that kind in back of me, and having had sort of a "bringins up" that was a bit contrary to that regime, -- milieu, in St. Louis, I went to Brooklyn.

"Within the first month in Brooklyn, I approached what I considered the number one problem in the hiring of a negro in professional baseball in this country. Now that is a story and that could be a fairly long speech. Namely, - ownership. Ownership must be in line with you, and I was at that time an employee, not at that time a part owner of the club. And when ownership was passed, then five other things presented themselves. This is not my speech. I am just giving you this as a preliminary. But I want to get out of the road of this thing, and have you say that, -- well, I wish he had talked about that thing.

"The second thing was to find the right man as a player. I spent $25,000 in all the Caribbean countries, -- in Puerto Rico, Cuba, -- employed two scouts, one for an entire year in Mexico, to find that the greatest negro players were in our own country.
"Number one was ownership, number two is the man on the field, number three the man off the field. And number four was my public relations, transportation, housing, accommodations here, embarrassments, -- feasibility. That required investigation and therein lies the speech. And the Cradle of Liberty in America was the last place to make and to give us generous considerations.

"And the fifth one was the negro race itself, - over-adulation, mass attendance, dinners, of one kind or another of such a public nature that it would have a tendency to create a solidification of the antagonisms and misunderstandings, -- over-doing it. And I want to tell you that the committee of 32, -- it was called, in Greater New York -- eminent negro citizens, and Judge Kazansky, and my secretary and myself, -- those 32 men organized all eight cities in the National League and did a beautiful job of it. And for two years not one of those things was attempted or done and I never had any embarrassments in Brooklyn. They did have a great trainload of people go to see you play in Montreal and Buffalo and other places, -- and I tried to stop that but I was too late.

"But the greatest danger, the greatest hazard, I felt was the negro race itself. Not people of this crowd any more than you would find antagonisms organized in a white crowd of this caliber either. Those of less understanding, - those of a lower grade of education frankly. And that job was done beautifully under the leadership of a fine judge in New York who became a Chairman of an Executive Committee. That story has never been told. The meetings we had, two years of investigations -- the Presidents of two of the negro colleges, the publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier, a very helpful gentleman he was to me, a professor of sociology in New York University, and a number of others, the LaGuardia Committee on Anti-Discrimination, Tom Dewey's Committee in support of the Quinn-Ives Law in New York state.

"And sixth was the acceptance by his colleagues, -- but his fellow players. And that one I could not handle in advance. The other five over a period of two and one-half years, I worked very hard on it. I felt that the time was ripe, that there wouldn't be any reaction on the part of a great public if a man had superior skill, if he had intelligence and character and had patience and forbearance, and "could take it" as it was said here. I didn't make a mistake there. I have made mistakes, lots of mistakes.

"A man of exceptional courage, and exceptional intelligence, a man of basically fine character, and he can thank his forbearers for a lot of it. He comes from the right sort of home, and I knew all this, and when somebody, somewhere, thinks in terms of a local athletic club not playing some other club because of the presence on the squad of a man of color. I am thinking that if an exhibition game were to be played in these parts against a team on whose squad was Jackie Robinson, -- even leaving out all of the principle of fair play, all the elements of equality and citizenship, all the economic necessities connected with it, all the violations of the whole form and conceptions of our Government from its beginning up to now, -- leave it all out of the picture, he would be depriving some of the citizens of his own community, some wonderful boys, from seeing an exhibition of skill and technique, and the great, beautiful, graciousness of a slide, the like of which they could not see from any other man in this country. And that's not fair to a local constituency.

"I am wondering, I am compelled to wonder, how it can be. And at the breakfast, recently, when a morning paper's story was being discussed and my flaxen hair daughter said to me, "He surely didn't say it." I thought, yes it is understandable. It is understandable. And when a great United States Senator said to me some few days after that, "Do you know that the headlines in Egypt are terribly embarrassing to our State Department?" And then he told me, in part, a story whose utter truthfulness I have no reason to doubt, about the tremendous humiliation - "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," - "where we are talking about extending to all civilizations, tremendous and beautiful freedoms, and the unavoidable, hypocritical position it puts us in internationally," "How could anybody do it," said my daughter.

"That night we had a family discussion. It lasted a long time. My five daughters were there, mother was there, auntie was there, four sons-in-law were there, - it was Christmastime. And I said to them what I want to say to you tonight. It is understandable that an American with a certain background, certain exposures in the field of education, would resent a more or less a plausible inheritance in regard to the assimilation, the relationship, the acceptance in our present life of the negro.
"The whole thing as a difference between the acceptance in Brazil, for instance, Spanish and Portuguese countries, and the British West Indies and America, a very remarkable thing, but understood by all historians and all writers on the subject. Portugal was the first one to import slaves from Africa, - took them into Portugal. It was the last one to give up the slave trade. 19,000,000 go into one country alone in South America, - imported slaves over a period of over four hundred years. Now, slavery antedated negro slavery, - oh many years, really thousands of years, before any negro was taken out of Africa. It was an accident, a misfortune, a thing that could be remedied. All slavery throughout the centuries preceded African importation of slaves. It was the result of war, it was a result of debt. There were several things that led to it, but always there was manumition in front of the man. Freedom obtainable. And the laws going back clear beyond Seneca, and Cicero refers to it, - all the way through all those centuries, manumition was a comparatively easy thing. The law of that time, all of it - Plato, the Roman jurisprudence is based upon it, that you can become free. You may be a slave today, - you can be a Moor, you can be a Greek, you can be a man of high intelligence. Slavery was a matter of accident or misfortune. And the Spanish Law, - the Latin nations inherited that law both in its enactment and in its interpretation were favorable to manumition, - making men free. It was not a matter of color at all and the law supported that and the importation of slaves into South America, and all of South America, into Mexico earlier, a few were there subsequently, and in all the Caribbean countries which are now predominant, - all of it came in the line of probable manumition, so that when, say, 90% of all the slaves who had been slaves came to be free in Brazil, for example. Then would come in the other importations and the other men who were slaves. There was a group of qualified free men to take care of the small number, 10%, who were slaves. That was Latin America.

"They had no problems such as we had here in the south following the Civil War, where there was nobody to take care of a great number of free men and no previous free men in the colored race to adapt themselves to those conditions. And, of course, there was disgraceful governmental conduct. Now the difference, miracle that it is, mystery that it is, and yet greed at the bottom of it the slave trade was immensely profitable, - Liverpool was, - I was going to say, was built out of it, and America followed suit on it. And whereas the law that men are equal long before, I say, the negro came into the picture.

"The church has always, and it has been a tendency of the Christian church too to undertake to establish the equality of all men in the sight of God. And to the extent which that prevailed to that extent it became inevitable that all men should ultimately become free. That was the greatest force in the world, - to give every man moral stature. Of course the Emancipation Proclamation by Lincoln made the southern negro slave free, but it never did make the white man morally free. He remained a slave to his inheritances. And some are even today.

"I believe that a man can play baseball as coming to him from a call from God.

"I was in Cleveland at a dinner when I was a youngsters, - just out of college, and a man in Cleveland who was called, editorially in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, on the occasion of his death, the foremost citizen of Cleveland, - George Shurtliffe was his name. I never had met him except at that luncheon that day up there in the cupola of that building, 12 or 13 gentlemen around the table, and I was asked to take a job, - a certain job that I had never thought about taking. And I didn't feel that I was qualified for the job, and I didn't no whether I wanted it, - I was quite ill at ease about it, but the strengthened force of the men who were asking me to take it was influential with me. And we had this dinner and Mr. Shurtliffe was asked to come.

"He was identified with the organization in some capacity, and when we had just about finished the meal, - I was sitting the second one on the left side of the table and he was down yonder at the end, he said to me, "Branch," he said, "do you believe in the call of God?" No, his first question was, - "if you thought God wanted you to do something would you do it?"

"I said, "if I knew what God wanted me to do, I think any boy would."

He said, "do you believe in the call of God?" I didn't answer.

He said, "do you know what the call of God is?"

said, "I don't know that I do," but I said, "I don't think it is a little bird that comes and sits on your ear and
"He said, "I think you are right."

"Well," I said, "Bishop Basford said that to me and it's not original," but I said, "I don't..."

"He said, "would you like to know what I think it is?"

"And I said, "I would," because he was a distinguished man.

"He said that the first thing in the call of God is aptitude. God doesn't want any man to do something that he can't do. He made me define the word in front of those gentlemen.

"He said, the second thing in the call of God is the advice of his friends, and he made me tell him all my friends and we got down from the 8,000 people that had seen that professional football game that fall where I had made a touchdown, - I was a great big fellow, and I couldn't name all those 8,000. I thought they were all my friends. They gave nine rahs with my name on the end of it and it got down to the place where I named my father and mother and then the girl that I had announced I was going to marry. He accepted her. And that made two and then he took a professor in school after questioning me about it. And then he took a boyhood friend that I had grown up with way down in the hills of southern Ohio, - a country boy. He said, no man has more than a handful of real friends under adversity. He said, they are God's angels -- go talk to them. God speaks to men through his friends. Be careful who your friends are. The second thing he said.

"And the third thing, he said, was opportunity. He said, when you are prepared to do something and your friends all tell you that you should do it and then the chance comes to do it, he said, that's where God shows His face. Now, he said to me, and I didn't quite know what the word meant when he said it. And he said there may be some sophistry about that. But whether there was or not, I have used it often. And I have thought about it in connection with ball players. What should they be doing in this thing that emphasizes the physical over the mental or spiritual or whatnot And what are the weaknesses of opportunity in the field? What are the great chances for moral deterioration on the part of great men who go into this thing where they have been under hours of labor previously and now have leisure time, - the most damnable thing in the world.

"Leisure in the hands of the man who has no creativeness, - lots of young men don't have it. That thing that can write great symphonies, that can write great tragedies in this use of time. I have often wondered where God may come into the picture. There are some boys who shouldn't be playing ball. This chap, and others, - it's a wonderful thing to have a family background and to have something you can hold on to that is basic and firm and strong.

"Character is a great thing to have in an athlete, a team. It's a great thing. And when I wonder if there is any condonation, any explanation, anything that can be done to make an extenuating circumstance out of something that violates the right of a part of our citizenship thoroughout the country when I know that the Man of 1900 years ago spent His life and died for the sake of freedom, - the right to come, to go, to see, to think, to believe, to act. It is to be understood, but it is too profoundly regretted.

"Education is a slow process. It may solve it. It is inevitable that this thing comes to fruition. Too many forces are working fast. This so called little Robinson, - we call it the "Robinson Experiment," - tremendous as it will be for Jackie to have so placed himself in relation not only to his own people in this country, but to his whole generation and to all America that he will leave the mark of fine sportsmanship and fine character. That is something that he must guard carefully. He has a responsibility there.

"Frank Tannenbaum, in his book on Slave and Citizen, - he is a professor of Latin American history in Columbia University, points out, - I think it is the bible on the subject - it really is. I'm not sure, I'm not sure that legislators ought to drive against a prominent and very antagonistic minority. I'm not sure that they should drive F.E.C. too fast too far. I'm not sure that the 18th Amendment might repeat itself. That you would have an organization of glued gonisms that would be able to delay the solution of a problem that is now in my judgment fast being solved, and once you once gain an eminence you do not have to recede from it. The educational process is something.
"Four things, says Tannenbaum, is solving this question, with an unrealized rapidity. First, - proximity. Clay Hopper, Jackie's first manager. I've never told it in public. I've never allowed it to be printed if I could help it, took me by the lapels of my coat as he sat there sweating in his underclothes watching a game over on the inside park at Daytona Beach. And this boy had made a great play in the fourth inning and I had remarked about it and the two of us sitting there together, and this boy coming from - I shouldn't have given his name, - forget the name and I will tell you the story. I'll deny that he ever said it. He took me by the front of my coat when in the seventh inning Jackie made one of those tremendous remarkable plays that very few people can make, - went toward first base, made a slide, stabbed the ball, came with it in his left hand glove and as he turned with the body control that's almost inconceivable and cut off the runner at second base on a force play. I took Clay and I put my hand on his shoulder and I said, "Did you ever see a play to beat it?"

"Now this fellow comes from Greenwood, Mississippi. And he would forgive me, I am sure, because of the magnificent way that he came through on it. He took me and shook me and his face that far from me and he said, "do you really think that a 'nigger' is a human being, Mr. Rickey?" That's what he said. That's what that fellow said. I have never answered him until this minute.

"And six months later he came into my office after the year at Montreal when he was this boy's manager. He didn't want him to be sent to him. And he said to me, "I want to take back what I said to you last spring." He said, "I'm ashamed of it." "Now," he said, "you may have plans for him to be on your club," - and he was, "but," he said, "if you don't have plans to have him on the Brooklyn club," he said, "I would like to have him back in Montreal." And then he told me that he was not only a great ball player good enough for Brooklyn, but he said that he was a fine gentleman. Proximity. Proximity, says Tannenbaum, will solve this thing if you can have enough of it. But that is a limited thing, you see.

"And the second thing, says Tannenbaum, is the cultural inter-twining through the arts, through literature, through painting, through singing, through the professions, where you stabbed through the horizontal strata of social makeup, and you make vertical thrusts in that cultural inter-twining. That inevitably will help solve this problem, - and believes with rapidity.

"And third, the existence in our democracy here of a middle class, the middle class in Great Britain, - the middle class in probably every country, I think, that makes secure, if anything does, a democracy such as we know. This group here like this, - these groups throughout America of all colors. That existence in this country will bring it about surely and faster than people know.

"And fourth, the recognition of the moral stature of all men, that all humans are equal. This thing of freedom has been bought at a great price. That all men are equal in the sight of God. That all law must recognize that men are equal, - all humans are equal by nature. The same pains, and the same joys, and in our country the same food, the same dress, the same religion, the same language, the same everything. And perhaps quite as questionable an ancestry civically in this country on the part of the black men as we can trace many of the forbearers in the white race of the other settlers of this country.

"Gentlemen, it is inconceivable to me that in view of domestic tranquility and home understanding that anywhere, anytime, anybody, can question the right of citizens of this country for equal economic opportunity under the law. How can it be. And how can anyone in official authority, where more attention is given to remarks than would come from an ordinary civilian, be so unremindful of his country's relationship that he could bring us into [?] and disgrace internationally.

"These four things I mention will work, I think, in due time with a sureness that will make possibly the very next generation wonder and look back, as I said that you quoted me in Cincinnati, I had forgotten that I had ever said it look back with incredulity upon everything that was a problem to us today in this country, and will wonder what the issue was all about. I am completely color-blind. I know that America is, - it's been proven Jackie, - is more interested in the grace of a man's swing, in the dexterity of his cutting a base, and his speed afoot, in his scientific body control, in his excellence as a competitor on the field, - America, wide and broad, and in Atlanta, and in Georgia, will become instantly more interested in those marvelous, beautiful qualities than they are in the pigmentation of a man's skin, or indeed in the last syllable of his name. Men are coming to be regarded of value.
based upon their merits, and God hasten the day when Governors of our States will become sufficiently educated that they will respond to those views."

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have just heard a rebroadcast of the 100% Wrong Club's Banquet, held at the Walnut Room of the Matahara Apartments and tape recorded by Station WERD for presentation at this time. This is Atlanta's voice of progress, WERD, 860 on your dial. The time in Atlanta is 5:00 o'clock and it is time for "Sounds" from the 860 spot.
Baseball Highlights

Baseball, the Color Line, and Jackie Robinson--About the Collection

click on a date to view a chapter of the time line
1860s-1890s  1900s-1930s  1940-1946  1947-1956  1957-1972

1997 marks the 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson's rookie season for the Brooklyn Dodgers. When he stepped onto Ebbets field on April 15th, 1947, Robinson became the first African American in the twentieth century to play baseball in the major leagues -- breaking the "color line," a segregation practice dating to the nineteenth century. Jackie Robinson was an extremely talented multi-sport athlete and a courageous man who played an active role in civil rights. This Web site reference aid was created to commemorate his achievements and describe some aspects of the color line's development and the Negro Leagues. This aid also illustrates how historical collection materials located throughout the Library of Congress can be drawn together to tell a story.

The Robinson story is in five chapters. By clicking on different sections of the time line bar you can go to:

Drawing the Color Line : 1860s-1890s
Barnstorming & the Negro Leagues : 1900-1930s
Breaking the Color Line : 1940-1946
Robinson as a Dodger : 1947-1956
Robinson's Later Career : 1956-1972

Selection Criteria

While the Library of Congress does not have collections that focus solely on Jackie Robinson, the baseball color line, or the Negro Leagues, diverse original materials relevant to all of these topics can be found through the Library's numerous reading rooms. With the goal of representing many different media, Library staff selected and reproduced approximately 30 interesting items created between the 1860s and the 1960s, including manuscripts, photographs, ephemera, and books. Narrative information drawn from encyclopedia articles, published biographies, and baseball histories established the context for understanding the original materials

The Library holds additional original materials that could not be reproduced here, either because they are still under copyright protection (for example, NBC radio broadcasts), or, because digitization would be very expensive (for example, the full-length movie The Jackie Robinson Story).

This illustrated reference aid introduces a multi-faceted man and a variety of complex issues, topics, and events that risk oversimplification in any short retelling. Books listed in the Bibliography should be consulted for further information.

The breadth of resources at the Library of Congress is impressive, but other libraries and organizations also offer a wealth of information on these subjects. Selected sources are listed in the Related Web Sites section.
Index to Materials Used

Materials used in this special presentation are located throughout the Library of Congress (see list below). In general, primary sources are found in specific Library divisions according to format, while secondary resources listed in the Bibliography are in the general collections of the Library. For more information about how to conduct research using both primary and secondary sources at the Library of Congress, consult Thomas Mann's *A Guide to Library Research Methods* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

**General Collections**


**Geography and Map Division**


**Manuscript Division**


NAACP Records. Citation for Jackie Robinson, 41st Spingarn Medalist, December 8, 1956.

Branch Rickey Papers. *Baseball game program* for Kansas City Monarchs and Indianapolis Clowns, 1954. 10 pages.


Branch Rickey Papers. Letter from Jackie Robinson to Branch Rickey, July 13, 1946.

Branch Rickey Papers. Letter from Jackie Robinson to Branch Rickey, [1950]
Branch Rickey Papers. Transcript of interview with Branch Rickey by Davis J. Walsh [1955?].

Branch Rickey Papers. Speech by Branch Rickey for the "One Hundred Percent Wrong Club" banquet, Atlanta, Georgia, January 20, 1956. Broadcast on WERD 860 AM radio.


Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division


Movie stills for The Jackie Robinson Story. Copyright by RKO Radio Pictures, 1950.

Music Division

"Did You See Jackie Robinson Hit That Ball?" Words and music by Buddy Johnson, June 1949.

Prints and Photographs Division

First Nine of the Cincinnati (Red Stockings) Base Ball Club. Color lithograph by Tuchfarber, Walkley & Moellman, Cincinnati, Ohio, c1869.

The Maine Base Ball Club. Photographic print, copyright by Geo. C. Mages, Chicago, 1898.


Serial and Government Publications Division


1860s-1890s 1900s-1930s 1940-1946 1947-1956 1957-1972
Read Primary and Secondary Sources and answer the following questions:

1. What is the difference between a primary and a secondary source?

2. Give two examples of each type of source that you are familiar with.

   Primary Sources:
   1. 
   2. 

   Secondary Sources:
   1. 
   2. 

Read Questions for Analyzing Primary Sources and give brief answers to questions 1-6 for each of these documents:

- Jackie Robinson's 1950 letter to Branch Rickey:
  1. 
  2. 
  3. 
  4. 
  5. 
  6.
• Branch Rickey's 1956 speech to the "100-Percent Wrong Club":
  1. 
  2. 
  3. 
  4. 
  5. 
  6. 

Read Types of Primary Sources, answer these questions:

  1. What type of primary source is Robinson’s letter?
  2. What type of primary source is Rickey’s speech?
Read Jackie Robinson's 1950 letter to Branch Rickey, first page one and page two of the letter in its graphic form, and then the transcription of the letter. Answer the following questions, explaining your answers in one or two sentences:

1. In which form do you prefer reading the document? Is one form or the other more meaningful to you? Why?

2. Why do you think it was difficult for Robinson to write this letter to Rickey?

3. Why was Rickey's leaving Brooklyn harder on Robinson that on everyone else?

4. What did Robinson mean when he wrote "Baseball is like that"?

5. What "small part" did Robinson play in contributing to Rickey's success in Brooklyn?
6. In your opinion, to what "misunderstanding" was Robinson referring?
Read Branch Rickey's speech to the "100-Percent Wrong Club.", and answer the following questions:

1. In the fourth paragraph of his speech, Rickey seems to be saying that he desired to bring a black player to the St. Louis ballclub. Why did this effort fail?

2. According to Rickey, what were the four factors that were necessary for him to bring a black player to the major leagues successfully?

3. Rickey stated that "the greatest danger, the greatest hazard, I felt was the negro race itself." What did he mean by that?

4. Rickey stated that, according to the historian Frank Tannenbaum, four things were necessary for the acceptance of black players in baseball. What were those four factors?

5. When Rickey stated, "I am completely color-blind," do you take him at his word?
6. Do you think that the following statement made by Branch Rickey was true in 1956?:

"America is,--it's been proven Jackie,--is more interested in the grace of a man's swing, in the dexterity of his cutting a base, and his speed afoot, in his scientific body control, in his excellence as a competitor on the field,--America, wide and broad, and in Atlanta, and in Georgia, will become instantly more interested in those marvelous, beautiful qualities than they are in the pigmentation of a man's skin."

7. What did Rickey mean when he referred to "the last syllable in a man's name"?
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