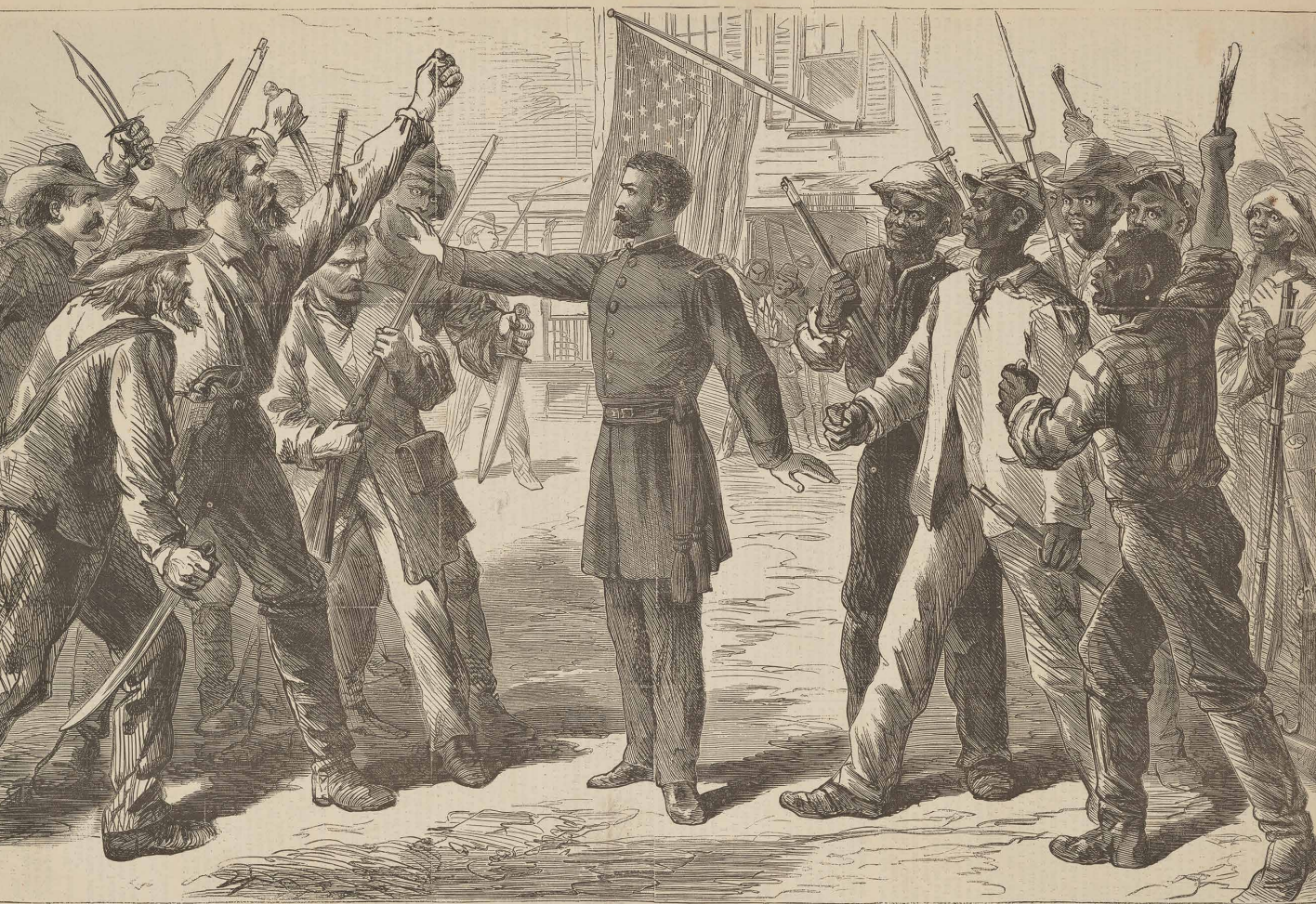




Portrait of a US soldier with his wife and daughters, ca. 1865



THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.—DRAWN BY A. R. WAUD.—[SEE PAGE 467.]

The Freedmen's Bureau, 1868. This *Harper's Weekly* illustration by A. R. Waud depicts the Freedmen's Bureau as a peacekeeping force standing between hostile groups of white and Black Southerners.

MAKE GOOD THE PROMISES

RECLAIMING RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS LEGACIES

Edited by

Kinshasha Holman Conwill and Paul Gardullo

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**In Association with the National Museum of
African American History and Culture**

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Portrait of a woman wearing a US flag, ca. 1865.

For African Americans the end of slavery raised hopes that the nation's founding promises of liberty, justice, and equality would apply to all citizens, regardless of race.



Portrait of a US soldier, ca. 1865. Approximately 200,000 Black soldiers and sailors fought for freedom during the Civil War. Black veterans asserted that their loyalty and sacrifice earned them the right to full citizenship.

Thirty eighth

Congress of the United States of America, at the second session, begun and held at the City of Washington, on Monday the fifth day of December one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

A Resolution

submitting to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of both Houses concurring) That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution namely:

Article XIII.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation

Schuyler Colfax

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Certify that this Resolution
originated in the Senate

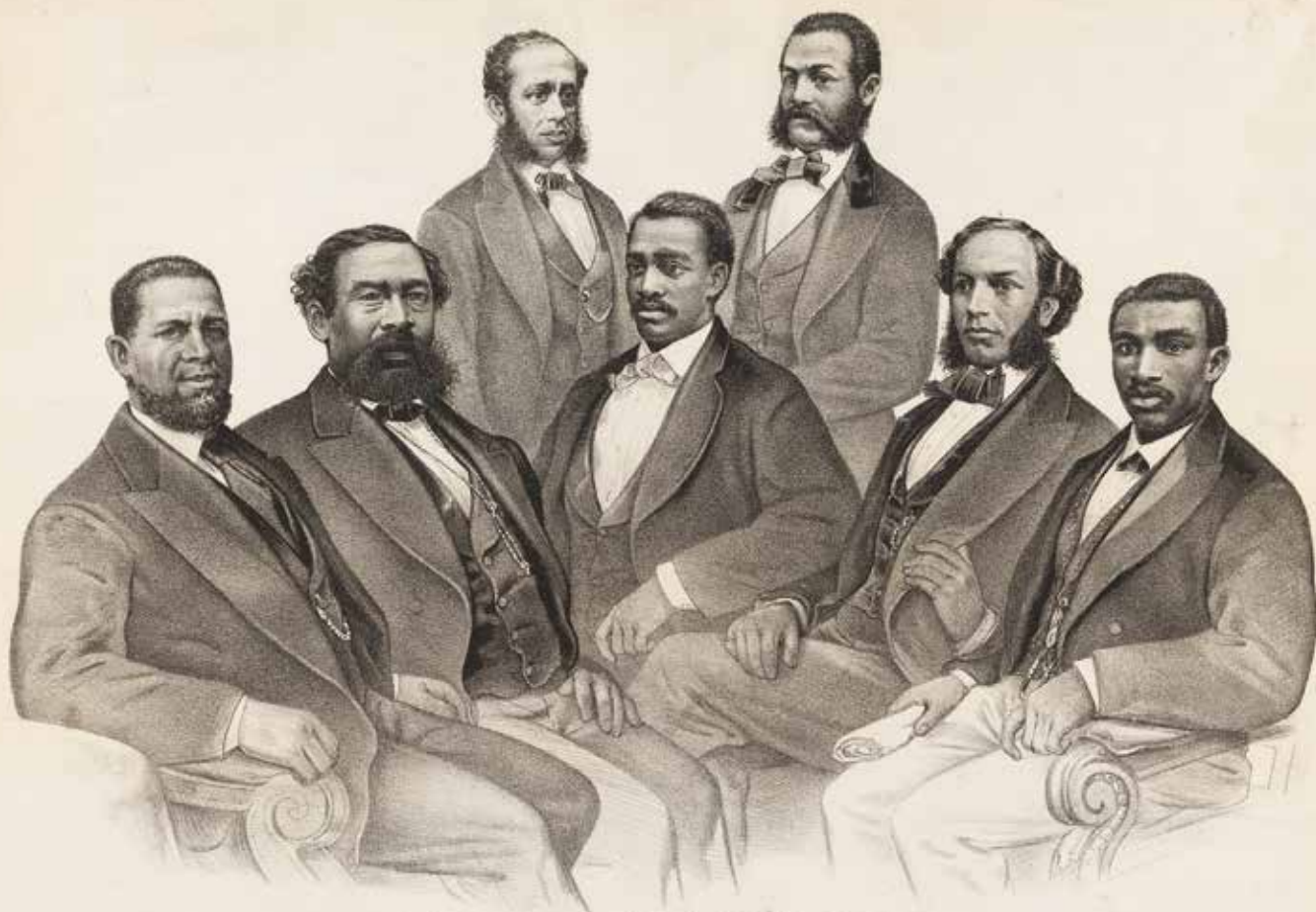
W. W. Murray
Secretary.

To Comdr

Vice President of the United States,
and President of the Senate

Approved, February 1, 1865.

Abraham Lincoln



Engraved according to an Act of Congress in the year 1872 by Currier & Ives in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

U.S. Senator H. R. REVELS, of Mississippi.

BENJ. S. TURNER, M.C. of Alabama.

ROBERT C. DE LARGE, M.C. of S. Carolina.

JEFFERSON H. LONG, M.C. of Georgia.

JOSIAH T. WALLS, M.C. of Florida.

JOSEPH H. RAINEY, M.C. of S. Carolina.

R. BROWN ELLIOTT, M.C. of S. Carolina.

THE FIRST COLORED SENATOR AND REPRESENTATIVES.

In the 41st and 42nd Congress of the United States.

NEW YORK, PUBLISHED BY CURRIER & IVES, 25 NASSAU STREET.

The First Colored Senator and Representatives, 1872.

Left to right: Sen. Hiram Revels (Mississippi), Reps. Benjamin Turner (Alabama), Robert DeLarge (South Carolina), Josiah Walls (Florida), Jefferson Long (Georgia), Joseph Rainey (South Carolina), and Robert Elliott (South Carolina).



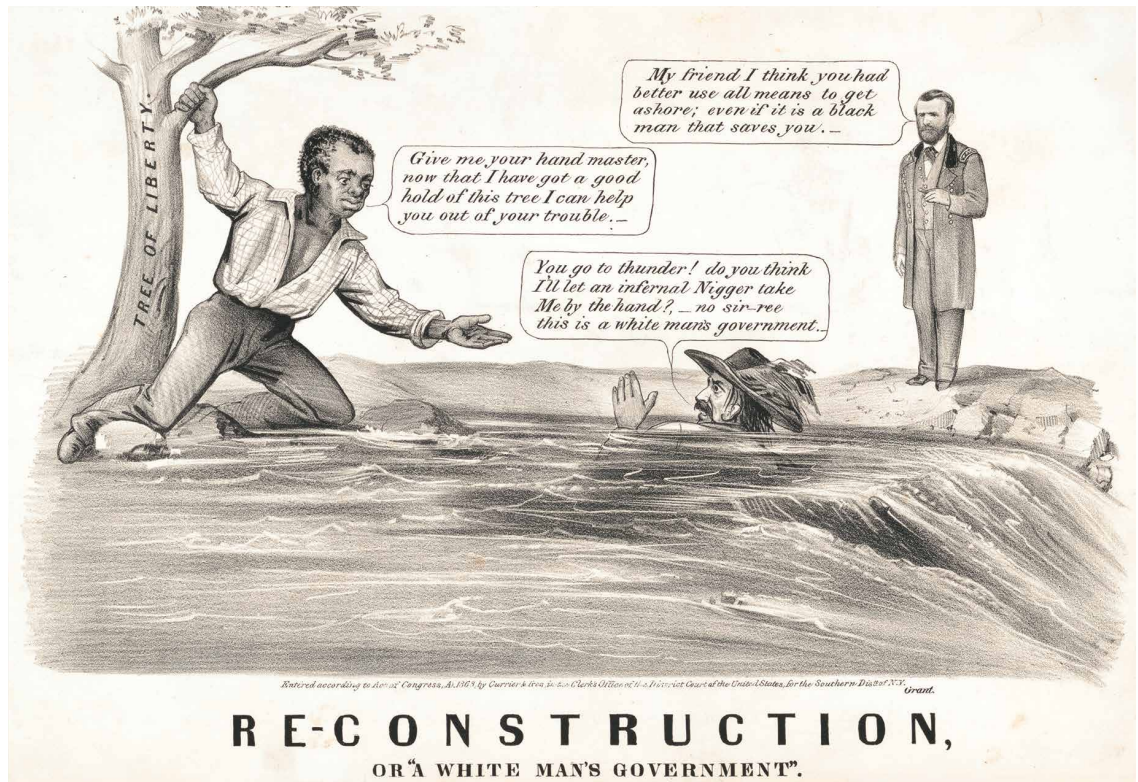
Marriage certificate with tintype portraits of Augustus L. Johnson and Malinda Murphy, 1874.

During Reconstruction, African American couples who had been denied the right to officially marry during slavery embraced marriage as a civil right and claimed the freedom to define their roles as husbands and wives.



MRS. F. E. W. HARPER

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, a writer and activist, gave eloquent voice to the hopes and possibilities that Reconstruction represented for African Americans, women, and the nation.



Re-construction, or 'A White Man's Government,' 1868.

In this political cartoon mocking Southern Democrats who opposed Black civil rights, a Black man clasp the "Tree of Liberty" extends a hand to a drowning white man who refuses to be saved.

Chain gang working on the railroad at Swannanoa Cut, North Carolina, ca. 1885. The convict labor and lease system perpetuated a form of forced labor akin to slavery under the cover of the Thirteenth Amendment's exception clause.





Portrait of Frederick Douglass, 1878. In urging the nation to "make good to us the promises in your constitution," Douglass sounded a call for equality and justice that would continue to echo long after Reconstruction.

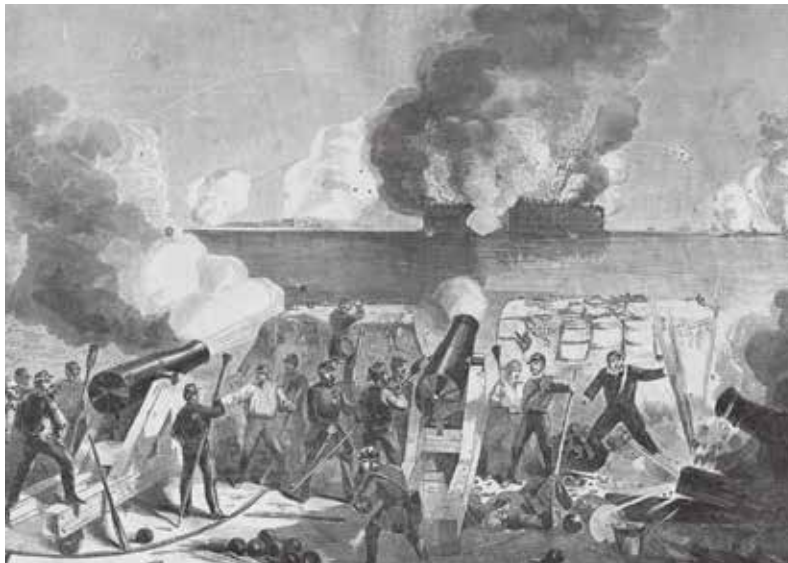


Portrait of Oscar J. Dunn, lieutenant governor of Louisiana and one of the first African Americans elected to statewide executive office, ca. 1868. Between 1865 and 1876, more than 1,500 African American men held public office in Southern state and local governments.



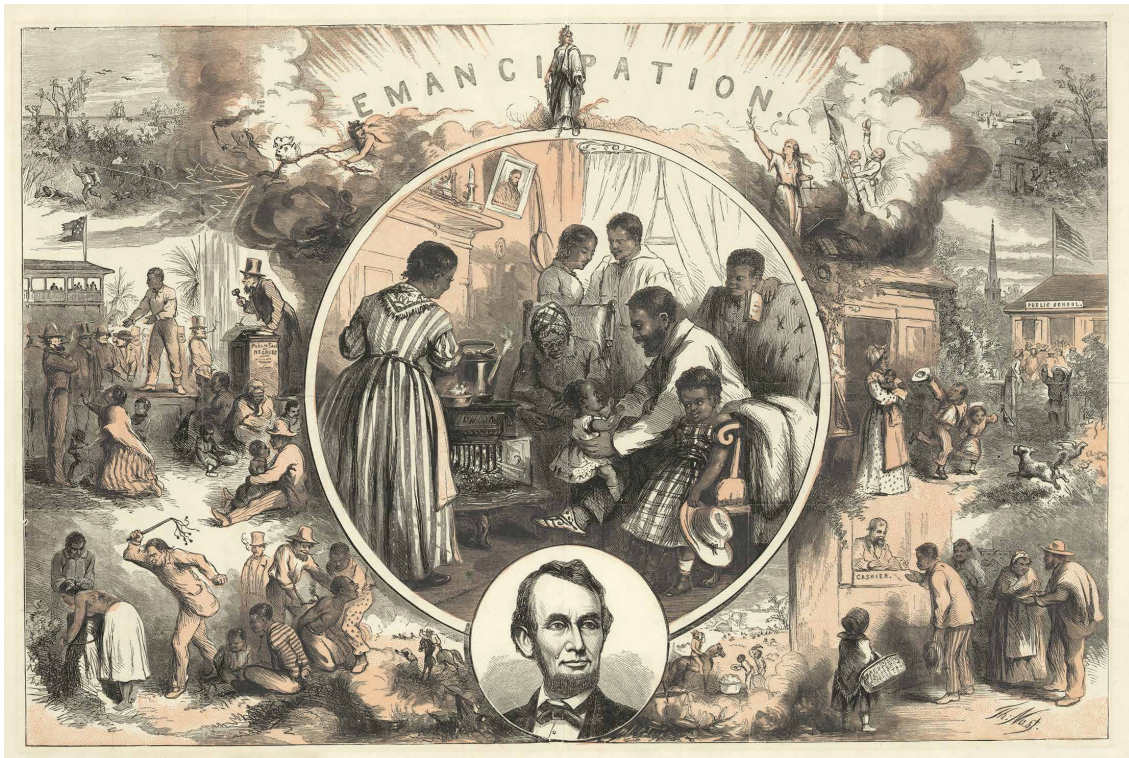
Family standing in front of former slave quarters on the Hermitage Plantation near Savannah, Georgia, ca. 1900. After emancipation, millions of formerly enslaved women, men, and children continued to live in the American South, many on the same lands that their families had worked for generations. Their quest to secure their rights and construct new lives as free people would shape the era known as Reconstruction.

Bombardment of Fort Sumter by the Batteries of the Confederate States, April 13, 1861. This illustration from Harper's Weekly depicts the second day of the thirty-four-hour Confederate attack on the US Army garrison in Charleston Harbor. On April 14, federal troops evacuated, and the Confederate flag was raised over the fort.





Freed children with their teachers, Beaufort, South Carolina, ca. 1862. Along with land, formerly enslaved African Americans sought education as a key to determining their own lives and futures. Many gained their first access to education through schools established by the Port Royal Experiment, a partnership between Northern missionary organizations and the federal government to aid freed people on the US-occupied Sea Islands.



***Emancipation*, 1865.** In this print celebrating the end of the Civil War, illustrator Thomas Nast presented contrasting views of life for African Americans during and after slavery. In place of brutal overseers and the auction block, the coming of freedom would mean sending children to school, receiving wages for one's labor, and providing a safe and loving home for one's family.



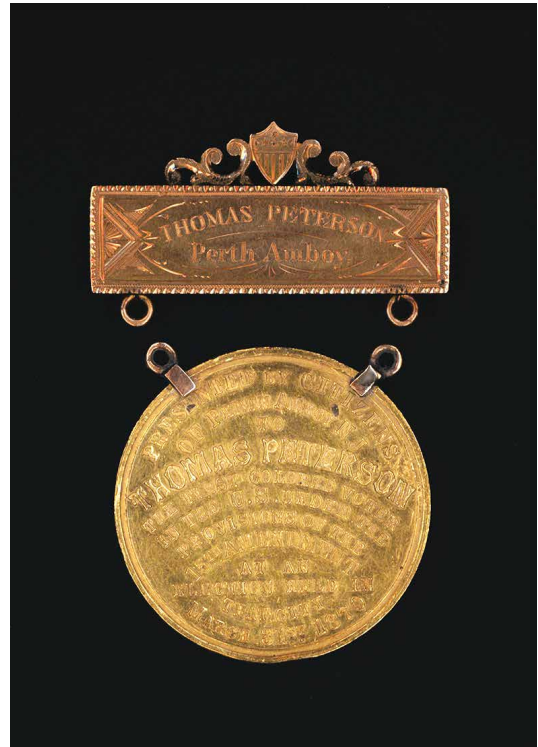
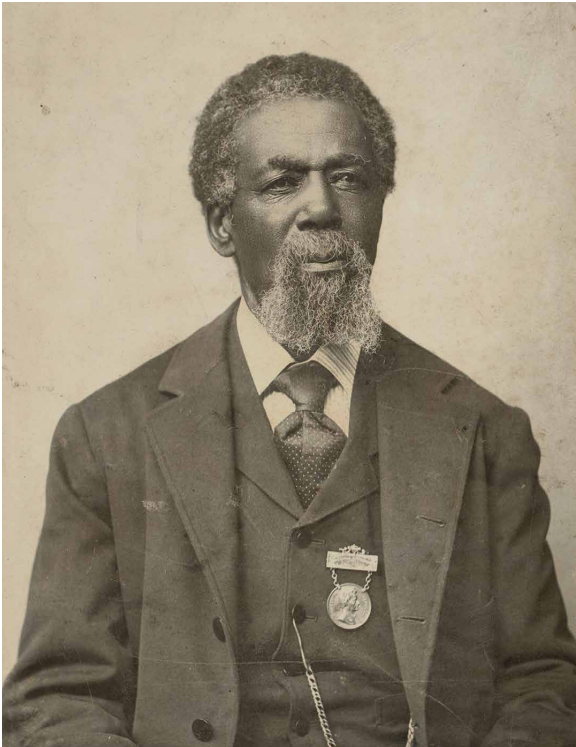
On July 30, 1866, white police officers attacked a gathering of freedmen outside the Louisiana Constitutional Convention, which was meeting to revise the state's laws to include suffrage and civil rights for African Americans. At least thirty-four people were killed. Republicans blamed President Andrew Johnson for the violence, citing his vetoes of civil rights legislation and support for ex-Confederates. This 1867 painting by Thomas Nast depicts "King Andy" overseeing the New Orleans massacre.



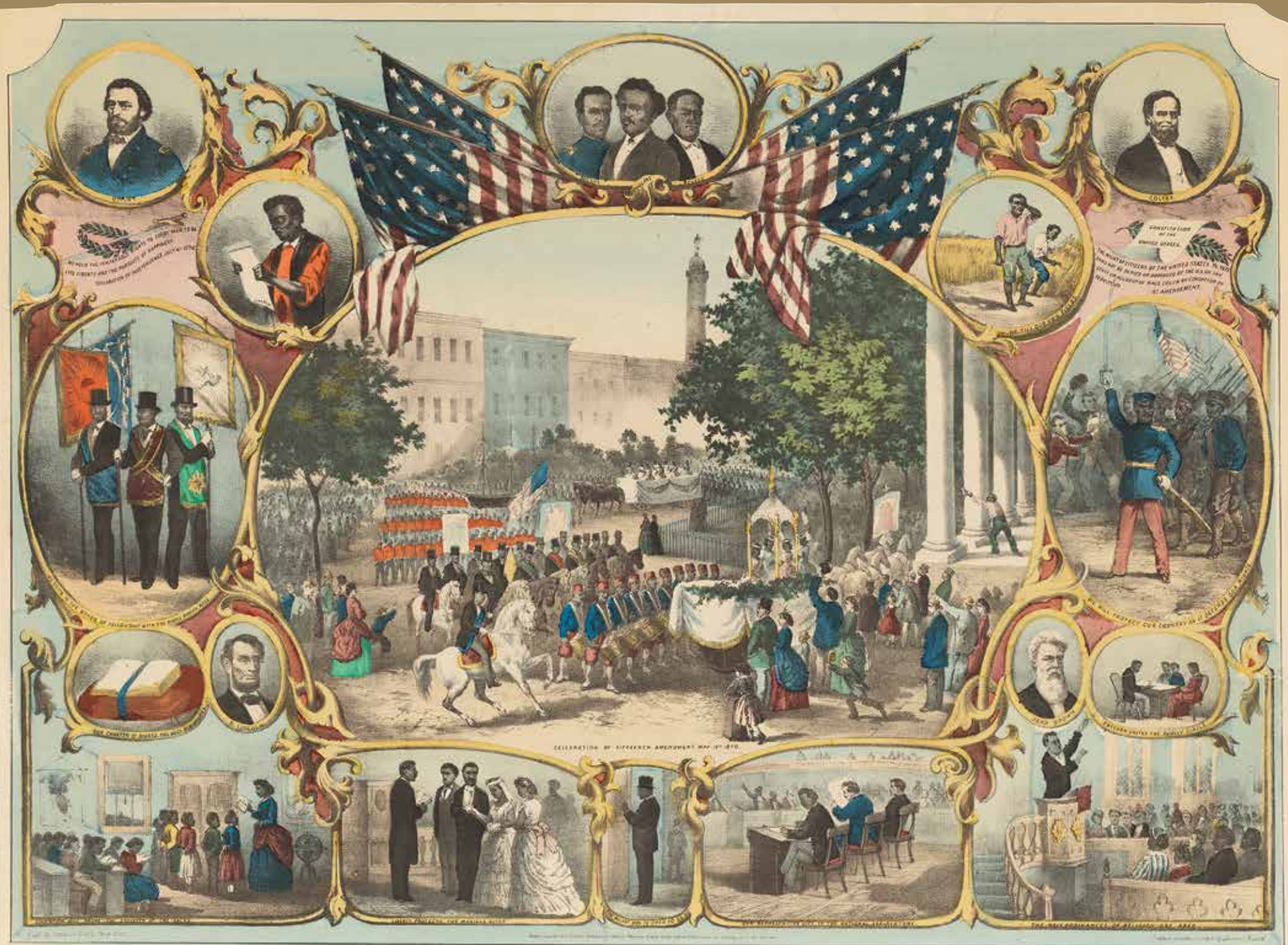
Held in Washington, DC, in January 1869, the National Convention of the Colored Men of America called upon Congress to secure suffrage and other equal citizenship rights for African Americans. Miss H. C. Johnson of Pennsylvania won the right to be admitted as the sole female delegate to the conference. Many other women also attended, as this *Harper's Weekly* illustration *The National Colored Convention in Session at Washington, D.C.* shows.

While the Ku Klux Klan was founded in Tennessee and operated primarily in the South during Reconstruction, support for its terrorist activities and white supremacist agenda reached far beyond the former Confederate states. This photograph of ten young white men, wearing not hoods, but hats labeled "K.K.K." and posing with a skull and crossbones, was taken in Watertown, New York, ca. 1870.





On March 31, 1870, one day after the Fifteenth Amendment was declared ratified, Thomas Mundy Peterson (*above*) voted in a local election in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, a state which had barred Black men from voting since 1807. In 1884, the citizens of Perth Amboy presented him with this gold medal (*right*), which features a bust of Abraham Lincoln on the front and an inscription on the back honoring Peterson as "the first colored voter in the US under the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment." He is wearing the medal in this portrait.



THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

CELEBRATED MAY 19th 1870

The central scene of this chromolithograph depicts the massive parade held in Baltimore, Maryland, on May 19, 1870, to celebrate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Vignettes around the border show African Americans enjoying the liberties and rights of equal citizenship, including voting and political representation, land ownership, military service, religious worship, marriage, and education.

Born in New Jersey and trained as a missionary, Tunis Campbell worked for the Freedmen's Bureau and later served as a Georgia state senator during Reconstruction. In 1865 he purchased 1,250 acres at Belle Ville, Georgia, and established the Belle Ville Farmers Association to promote African American land ownership and economic independence.





Spelman College founders Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles (*standing*) with seminary students, 1886. The first Black colleges and universities in the South were established during Reconstruction, including the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary (later Spelman College), founded in 1881. Many of the women and men who graduated from these institutions became prominent educators as well as community leaders, organizers, and activists for social justice.

RECONSTRUCTING AMERICA 1861–1896

The traditionally defined time frame for Reconstruction is 1865 to 1877. For this timeline, a broader view is taken to see how struggles over citizenship and national identity developed before, during, and beyond the period. The timeline begins in 1861 with the arrival of formerly enslaved freedom seekers at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and ends in 1896 with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, which made second-class citizenship for African Americans the norm for more than fifty years.



Heroes of the Colored Race. This 1881 chromolithograph features a central portrait of Frederick Douglass flanked by the first Black US senators, Hiram Rhodes Revels and Blanche Kelso Bruce. The corner portraits depict four African Americans elected to the House of Representatives during Reconstruction: Joseph Rainey and Robert Smalls of South Carolina, Charles E. Nash of Louisiana, and John R. Lynch of Mississippi.

1861

MAY 23

First freedom seekers arrive at Fort Monroe in Hampton, VA, prompting Gen. Benjamin Butler's order declaring them "contraband" of war who would not be returned to Confederate slaveholders

JULY 25

Congress passes Crittenden-Johnson Resolution, declaring purpose of the war is to "preserve the Union," not to interfere with "rights or established institutions" (i.e., slavery)

AUGUST 6

Confiscation Act: Based on the US seizure of property used for military purposes, all enslaved people who were forced to fight or work for Confederate services are freed of further obligations to their enslavers

SEPTEMBER

Mary Smith Peake, the first African American teacher hired by the American Missionary Association, begins teaching freedpeople in Hampton, VA, the future site of Hampton University

1862

MARCH

Port Royal Experiment: Program established by Northern abolitionists in US-occupied Sea Islands, SC,

to promote education and economic independence for freedpeople

APRIL 16

Emancipation Act: Congress abolishes slavery in the District of Columbia, with monetary compensation to enslavers who claim to support the US; also repeals discriminatory laws restricting the rights of free Black people

MAY 20

Homestead Act opens up millions of acres of public land for free settlement; prompts migration westward and provides later opportunities for African Americans moving out of the South

JULY 2

Morrill Act (Land Grant College Act) sets aside 30,000 acres of federal lands in each state to create colleges for agricultural and mechanical arts

JULY 17

Second Confiscation Act declares people who are enslaved by rebels to be "forever free" if they come within US Army lines

Militia Act authorizes President Lincoln to enroll African Americans in the US armed forces for "constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent"

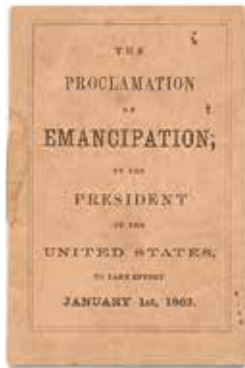
SEPTEMBER 27

L'Union, the first African American newspaper published in the South, is launched in New Orleans, LA

1863

JANUARY 1

Emancipation Proclamation takes effect; US Army begins actively recruiting African American soldiers later in the spring



Reading copy of the Emancipation Proclamation, 1862

MAY 5

War Department establishes Freedman's Village in Arlington, VA, on the confiscated plantation of Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee

JULY 13-16

New York Draft Riots: White working-class mobs, angered by a new federal draft lottery, attack African American homes, businesses, and institutions, including the Colored Orphan Asylum, and kill over 100 people

JULY 18

54th Massachusetts Regiment of US Colored Troops leads assault on Fort Wagner, SC

SEPTEMBER

President Lincoln announces plan to auction 60,000 acres

of confiscated lands in South Carolina, reserving 16,000 acres for sale to African American families in 20-acre plots at \$1.25 an acre

DECEMBER 8

President Lincoln issues Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (Ten Percent Plan); requires former Confederates to accept emancipation but does not address issue of rights for formerly enslaved people

1864

JANUARY-MARCH

James Walker Hood establishes first AME Zion congregations in the South, at Andrews Chapel in New Bern, NC, and Purvis Chapel in Beaufort, NC

MARCH 1

Rebecca Davis Lee Crumpler is the first African American woman to earn a medical degree

APRIL 12

Fort Pillow, TN, Massacre: Confederate troops under the command of Nathan Bedford Forrest kill an estimated 200 Black US soldiers, most after surrendering

JUNE 15

Congress authorizes equal pay, equipment, arms, and health care for African American US troops

OCTOBER 4-7

National Convention of Colored Men held in Syracuse, NY

1865

JANUARY 16

Gen. William T. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 sets aside land in South Carolina and Georgia in 40-acre plots for African American families; origin of term "40 acres and a mule"

MARCH 3

Freedmen's Bureau established; Freedman's Savings Bank and Trust Company incorporated

Congress approves a joint resolution liberating the wives and children of African American US soldiers

MARCH 21

Thousands of freedpeople and US Colored Troops participate in a "Jubilee of Freedom" to celebrate the liberation of Charleston, SC

APRIL 3

US Colored Troops participate in the liberation of Richmond, VA, capital of the Confederacy

APRIL 9

Gen. Robert E. Lee, leader of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, surrenders to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, VA

APRIL 14-15

President Lincoln is assassinated; Vice President Johnson becomes president

MAY 29

President Johnson issues plan for Reconstruction,

which pardons Confederates who take a loyalty oath, returns Confederate lands distributed to freedpeople to former owners, and requires states to abolish slavery but does not address civil rights for African Americans

JUNE 19

"Juneteenth": Enslaved African Americans in Galveston, TX, receive news of emancipation

FALL-WINTER

Colored Conventions held in former Confederate states; African American delegates demand civil rights and protest exclusion from state constitutional conventions

NOVEMBER

AND DECEMBER

Mississippi and South Carolina enact Black codes restricting the freedom of African Americans and compelling them to work for white planters; other Southern states pass similar legislation in early 1866

DECEMBER 4

Republican majority in Congress refuses to seat newly elected Southern members, many of them former Confederate officials

DECEMBER 18

13th Amendment ratified, abolishing slavery throughout the United States; first of three Reconstruction Amendments to the US Constitution giving Congress new power to define and protect civil rights at the federal level

1866

FEBRUARY 7

A delegation of African American men, including Frederick Douglass, meets with President Johnson to lobby for federal protection of civil rights

APRIL 9

Congress passes Civil Rights Act of 1866 over President Johnson's veto; first national law to establish equal civil rights, regardless of race

MAY 1–3

Memphis massacre: Mobs of white civilians and police attack the Black community; 46 African Americans killed, 75 injured; homes, churches, and schools burned

MAY 10

National Woman's Rights Convention held in New York; Frances Ellen Watkins Harper gives a speech addressing Black and white women, "We are all bound up together"

MAY–JUNE

Ku Klux Klan founded by Confederate veterans in Pulaski, TN

JULY 16

Congress passes bill to extend the Freedmen's Bureau over President Johnson's veto; includes provisions to support land ownership, education, and civil rights protections for freedpeople

JULY 24

Tennessee becomes the first former Confederate state to be readmitted to the US

JULY 30

New Orleans massacre: White Democrats attack a parade of mostly Black Republicans outside Louisiana Constitutional Convention, killing at least 34 and wounding over 130

AUGUST

Representatives of Northern and Western Black Baptists meet to form the Consolidated American Missionary Baptist Convention, the first national Black Baptist association

SEPTEMBER 21

All-Black regiments known as Buffalo Soldiers are commissioned in Fort Leavenworth, KS; these military units mainly serve in the Western US until the early 1900s

OCTOBER 24

Oregon legislature bans marriage between white people and people of African, Chinese, native Hawai'ian, or Native American descent; many states pass similar laws against interracial marriage to restrict citizenship and reinforce white supremacy

FALL

Republicans win midterm elections, retain control of Congress

1867

JANUARY 8

Congress grants suffrage to Black male citizens of the

District of Columbia over President Johnson's veto; on January 10, Congress passes Territorial Suffrage Act, allowing African American men in Western territories to vote

JANUARY 10–12

National Equal Rights League Convention of Colored Men held in Washington, DC, to press for voting rights and equal protection under the law for African Americans throughout the country

FEBRUARY 14

Augusta Baptist Institute (future Morehouse College) founded in Georgia

MARCH 2

Howard University charter approved by Congress, Washington, DC



Howard University, late 19th century

MARCH 2

Congress passes the First Reconstruction Act, which places Southern states under military rule until they ratify the 14th Amendment and draft new constitutions granting voting rights to Black men

AUGUST 22

Fisk University incorporated with aid of Freedmen's Bureau, Nashville, TN

OCTOBER

Rev. James H. Holmes becomes the first Black pastor to lead First African Baptist Church of Richmond, VA, since its founding in 1841

DECEMBER

First Southern state constitutional conventions with African American delegates participating are held in Georgia and Virginia

1868

FEBRUARY

Alabama's Reconstruction government establishes the first state-funded public school system in the South, open to all children; by 1870, all Southern states have state-funded public schools

FEBRUARY 24

House of Representatives votes to impeach President Johnson; in May, Senate votes to acquit

APRIL 1

Hampton University founded in Virginia under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau

APRIL

Oscar Dunn is elected lieutenant governor of Louisiana, one of the first African Americans elected to statewide executive office

MAY

State of Georgia begins leasing convicts to provide labor for railroad construction; after 1880, convict leasing

system becomes widespread throughout the South

JUNE

Seven more former Confederate states (Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia) are readmitted to the US; Georgia's admission status is later revoked after white politicians vote to expel African American members from the state legislature

JULY

Democratic Party nominates Horatio Seymour for president on a white supremacist platform

JULY 6

Congress passes a bill allowing for the Freedmen's Bureau to be discontinued in former Confederate states that have rejoined the US

JULY 9

14th Amendment ratified, granting birthright citizenship and promising due process and equal protection of the laws to all residents of the US

SEPTEMBER 28

Opelousas, LA, massacre: The execution of 27 Black prisoners is followed by a series of attacks on African Americans by white Democrats in St. Landry Parish; an estimated 200–300 people are killed

NOVEMBER 3

Republican Ulysses S. Grant elected president with help from newly enfranchised Southern Black voters

NOVEMBER 3

John Willis Menard of

Louisiana is the first African American elected to US Congress but is not seated due to an election dispute



John Willis Menard, ca. 1868

1869

MARCH 27

South Carolina Land Commission established; state-funded program to purchase plantation land for resale on long-term credit helps hundreds of African American families become landowners before ending in the 1890s

MAY 10

First Transcontinental Railroad completed, making coast-to-coast rail travel possible

OCTOBER

Tennessee and Virginia become the first Southern state governments in which white conservative Democrats (Redeemers) regain control, ousting Republicans

DECEMBER

Colored National Labor Union organized in Washington, DC, led by Isaac Myers of Baltimore, MD

DECEMBER 10

Territory of Wyoming extends voting rights to all women, regardless of race. It is the first time American women are granted full voting rights since 1807, when New Jersey rescinded female suffrage

1870

JANUARY 20

Hiram Rhodes Revels of Mississippi is the first African American elected to the US Senate

JANUARY–JULY

Last of the former Confederate states (Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia) are readmitted to the US

FEBRUARY 1

Jonathan Jasper Wright of South Carolina is the first African American elected to a state supreme court

FEBRUARY 3

15th Amendment ratified, stating that a citizen's right to vote cannot be denied "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude"; some women's rights activists oppose the law because it does not ban restrictions based on sex

MARCH 26

Tennessee state constitution makes payment of a poll tax a requirement for voting; repealed in 1873; reinstituted in 1890

MAY 25

Congress passes the first of three Enforcement Acts, authorizing the federal government to protect the civil rights of African Americans in response to violence and terrorism by the Ku Klux Klan

JULY 14

Naturalization Act of 1870 allows immigrants of African descent to become US citizens; Asians and other people of color remain excluded until the mid-1900s

OCTOBER 12

Former Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee dies and becomes a heroic symbol of the Confederacy

DECEMBER 12

Joseph Rainey of South Carolina becomes the first African American to serve in the US House of Representatives

1871

JANUARY 4

Robert H. Wood becomes mayor of Natchez, MS; he is one of the first African Americans elected mayor of a US city

JANUARY 7

William Finch and George Graham become the first African Americans to serve on the Atlanta City Council

MARCH 4

42nd US Congress includes five African American members in the House of Representatives

APRIL 20

Congressional committee organized to investigate Ku Klux Klan violence against African Americans in the South; collects thousands of pages of testimonies; issues report in February 1872

OCTOBER 10

Murder and martyrdom of Octavius V. Catto, a Philadelphia civil rights leader who struggled against racial discrimination in transportation, sports, politics, and society



Octavius V. Catto, ca. 1871

1872

MARCH 21

California Civil Code enacted, includes an 1850 law declaring “all marriages of white persons with negroes or mulattoes are illegal and void”; state supreme court overturns the law in 1948

APRIL 23

Charlotte E. Ray, the first woman to graduate from Howard University’s Law Department, is admitted to

the bar of the District of Columbia and becomes the first African American woman to practice law in the US

MAY 22

President Grant signs the Amnesty Act, which restores civil rights to most former Confederates

JUNE 30

Freedmen’s Bureau is officially abolished

NOVEMBER 5

Republican President Grant wins a second term in the election; number of African Americans elected to state and national political office in the South reaches highest level, will not be matched again until the 1990s

DECEMBER 9

P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana becomes the first African American governor in the United States and serves until January 13, 1873

1873

APRIL 13

Colfax, LA, massacre: Armed groups of white men allied with the Democratic Party attack Black Republicans and state militiamen at the Grant Parish courthouse; over 100 African Americans are killed, including 40 prisoners executed after they surrendered

APRIL

US Supreme Court decision in *Slaughterhouse Cases*

limits the civil rights protections of the 14th Amendment; in *Myra Bradwell v. State of Illinois*, the court rules the 14th Amendment does not protect a woman’s right to practice law

SEPTEMBER 18

Panic of 1873: Closing of US banking firm Jay Cooke and Company triggers major financial crisis, collapse of railroad and banking industries, widespread unemployment; economic depression lasts until 1879

1874

JANUARY 6

Rep. Robert B. Elliott of South Carolina delivers celebrated speech in Congress advocating for the Civil Rights Act

JUNE 29

Freedman’s Savings Bank closes due to mismanagement; thousands of African Americans lose their deposits

NOVEMBER 3

White paramilitary groups allied with the Democratic Party attack African American voters in Barbour County, AL; 7 African Americans are killed and 70 others wounded

NOVEMBER 4

Democrats regain the majority in the US House of Representatives for the first time since 1860

DECEMBER 7

Vicksburg, MS, massacre: White paramilitary groups allied with the Democratic Party attack supporters of Black Republican sheriff Peter Crosby; as many as 75 to 300 African Americans are killed

1875

MARCH 1

Civil Rights Act of 1875 guarantees equal access to public accommodations and public transportation “to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude”

MARCH 5

Blanche Kelso Bruce of Mississippi is the second African American to serve in the US Senate and the first elected to a full six-year term

MARCH 23

Tennessee state legislature passes the first “Jim Crow” law legalizing racial discrimination in public places and public transportation

1876

MARCH 27

US Supreme Court rules in *United States v. Cruikshank* that the 14th Amendment does not apply to actions of individual citizens, just to state officials

APRIL 5

Mississippi “Pig Law” makes theft of livestock worth more than \$1 a felony; between 1874 and 1882 most Southern states pass similar laws to make more crimes punishable by imprisonment and disqualification from voting, aimed at African Americans

APRIL 14

Freedmen’s Memorial, also known as the Emancipation Memorial, funded by contributions from the newly freed, is dedicated in Washington, DC

JUNE 29

Edward Alexander Bouchet is the first African American to receive a PhD from an American university (Yale), and the sixth American to earn a PhD in physics

JULY 4

Centennial of the Declaration of Independence

JULY AND SEPTEMBER

Massacres in Hamburg and Ellenton, SC: White paramilitary groups attack Republican voters in an attempt to secure Democratic control of state government; over 100 African Americans are killed

OCTOBER

Meharry Medical College, the first medical school for African Americans in the South, is founded in Nashville

NOVEMBER 7

US presidential election in dispute: Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes and Democratic candidate

Samuel Tilden both claim victory in three Southern states (Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina); throws country into political turmoil for several months

1877

MARCH

Compromise of 1877: Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president in exchange for recognizing Democratic control of state governments and ending federal intervention in the South; while regarded as the official end of Reconstruction, African Americans continue to vote, serve in office, and assert their rights

JUNE 14

Henry O. Flipper becomes the first African American cadet to graduate from West Point Military Academy

SEPTEMBER 17

Discouraged about prospects in their home state, the first wave of 350 Black settlers from Kentucky arrive in the “Colored Colony” of Nicodemus in western Kansas

DECEMBER

Georgia ratifies a new state constitution that includes a cumulative poll tax as a voting requirement and disenfranchise persons convicted of various crimes, including larceny

1878

APRIL 21

Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company sends 206 African American emigrants from South Carolina to West Africa



Liberian ship *Azor*, 1878

MAY 11

Ohio state legislature repeals an 1853 law requiring the establishment of separate public schools for African American children; gives school districts the right to organize segregated schools if “in their judgment it may be for the advantage of the district to do so”

1879

SPRING

Peak of the Exoduster Movement: More than 20,000 African Americans migrating from the South pass through St. Louis, MO, on their way to Kansas and other parts of the Great Plains

NOVEMBER 4

The Readjuster Party, a coalition of Black and white voters, wins control of the Virginia state legislature; implements reforms, including abolishing the poll tax and increasing funding for public schools

1881

APRIL 11

Spelman College (formerly the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary) founded in Atlanta, GA

JULY

Washerwomen in Atlanta, GA, organize a massive strike for better wages and working conditions; other domestic workers are also inspired to organize

JULY 4

Tuskegee Institute founded in Alabama by Booker T. Washington

1882

JANUARY 21

South Carolina legislature passes the “Eight-Box Law,” requiring voters to put ballots into separate boxes labeled with names for each elected office, effectively creating a literacy test for voting

MAY 6

Chinese Exclusion Act signed by President Arthur bans the immigration of nearly all Chinese laborers to the US

1883

JANUARY 1

Chicago Tribune begins publishing annual statistics on lynchings in the United States

JANUARY 22

US Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Harris*, involving a white sheriff prosecuted for the lynching of Black prisoners, rules that federal civil rights enforcement law only applies to state action, not crimes committed by private persons



Title page of Wells's *Southern Horrors*, 1892

SEPTEMBER 15

Ida B. Wells refuses to give up her seat on a first-class ladies' train car in Memphis, Tennessee, and is dragged off the train; she sues the

railroad company and wins, but the decision is overturned in 1887

OCTOBER 15

US Supreme Court in the Civil Rights Cases rules the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional; allows for discrimination against African Americans by private businesses including hotels, theaters, and transportation companies

NOVEMBER 3

Racial violence breaks out in Danville, VA, before elections, fueled by white conservative backlash against the interracial Readjuster Party rule; Democrats retake control of the Virginia state legislature on a white supremacy platform

1884

SEPTEMBER 23

Judy W. Reed of Washington, DC, is the first African American woman to receive a US patent for an invention, an improved dough kneader. Sarah E. Goode of Chicago, IL, later receives a patent for a folding cabinet bed

1885

FEBRUARY 21

The Washington Monument is officially dedicated, com-

memorating US president George Washington. The construction of the monument, which had been halted due to lack of funds, was reignited in 1876 by the national tide toward sectional unity

1886

SEPTEMBER 4

After 30 years of fighting for his land and people, Apache chief Geronimo surrenders to the US government—a significant turning point in the struggle between Native Americans and the United States

OCTOBER 28

The Statue of Liberty, a gift from the people of France, is dedicated in New York City

DECEMBER 11

Colored Farmers National Alliance and Cooperative Union is organized in Texas to provide economic and political support for African American farmers; chapters are organized across the South, with 1.2 million members by 1891

1887

FEBRUARY 8

Dawes Act signed into law as part of the federal govern-

ment's goal to "Americanize" Native Americans; effectively breaks up Native American tribes and commandeers land for white settlers

1888

MARCH AND OCTOBER

First banks fully operated by African Americans established: Savings Bank of the Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers in Richmond, VA, and Capital Savings Bank in Washington, DC. Others include the Mutual Trust Company in Chattanooga, TN (1889), and the Alabama Penny Savings and Loan Company in Birmingham, AL (1890)

1890

JANUARY

National Afro-American League established in Chicago, IL; founded by journalist Timothy Thomas Fortune to organize and advocate for African American civil rights

FEBRUARY 18

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is formed. This organization played a pivotal role in advocating for women's right to vote, which would not be secured nationwide until 1920 by the 19th Amendment to the Constitution

AUGUST 30

Congress passes the Second Morrill Act, which supports establishment of 18 Black land-grant universities, most in former Confederate states

NOVEMBER 1

Mississippi state constitution requires poll tax and literacy tests for voting; similar voting restrictions aimed at disenfranchise African Americans follow in other Southern states: Arkansas (1892), South Carolina (1895), Louisiana (1898), North Carolina (1900), Alabama (1901), Virginia (1902), and Texas (1902)

DECEMBER 29

Wounded Knee massacre: US soldiers attack a camp of mostly unarmed Lakota Sioux in South Dakota, killing more than 250 men, women, and children

1891

MARCH 3

Immigration Act signed into law, expanding the regulation of who can immigrate to the US; Ellis Island, an immigrant inspection station, opens in 1892 to enforce the act

1892

JULY 4

Populist Party established;

political platform focuses on issues of land, the rights of labor, criticism of capitalism, railroads, and banks, and champions silver as the base specie for the US economy

OCTOBER 12

The Pledge of Allegiance is first recited in US public schools

OCTOBER 26

Ida B. Wells publishes *South-ern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*, reporting on the increasing number of lynchings of African Americans in the South

1893

MAY 1

The World's Columbian Exposition opens in Chicago, IL, and introduces the public to inventions such as the Ferris wheel, Aunt Jemima pancake mix, Quaker Oats, and the first moving walkway. African American leaders boycott the fair after officials refuse to include an exhibit created by the African American community

MAY 3

Financial panic plunges the nation into a four-year economic depression

JULY 12

Historian Frederick Jackson Turner debuts his "Frontier Thesis," in which he declares the US frontier closed and argues that westward expansion was central to the

development of American democracy. This view would provide support for new US foreign policies aimed at expanding the nation's territory and influence overseas

NOVEMBER 7

Women in Colorado are given the right to vote

1894

SEPTEMBER 10

The United Daughters of the Confederacy is formed to memorialize Confederate soldiers. They promoted the Lost Cause myth of Confederate history by funding hundreds of Confederate monuments across the South and approving textbooks used in public schools

1895

FEBRUARY 20

Frederick Douglass dies in Washington, DC

JUNE 26

W.E.B. Du Bois becomes the first African American to receive a PhD from Harvard University

SEPTEMBER 18

Booker T. Washington gives his "Atlanta Compromise" speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition, proposing how Black

and white Americans could coexist: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress"

1896

MAY 18

US Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* upholds the constitutionality of state-mandated racial segregation in public accommodations and establishes the "separate but equal" doctrine that will define American life for the next half century

JULY 21

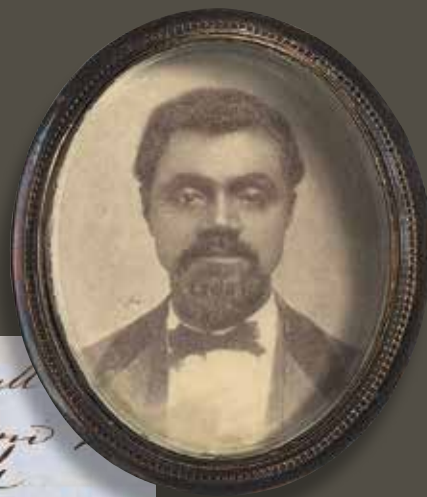
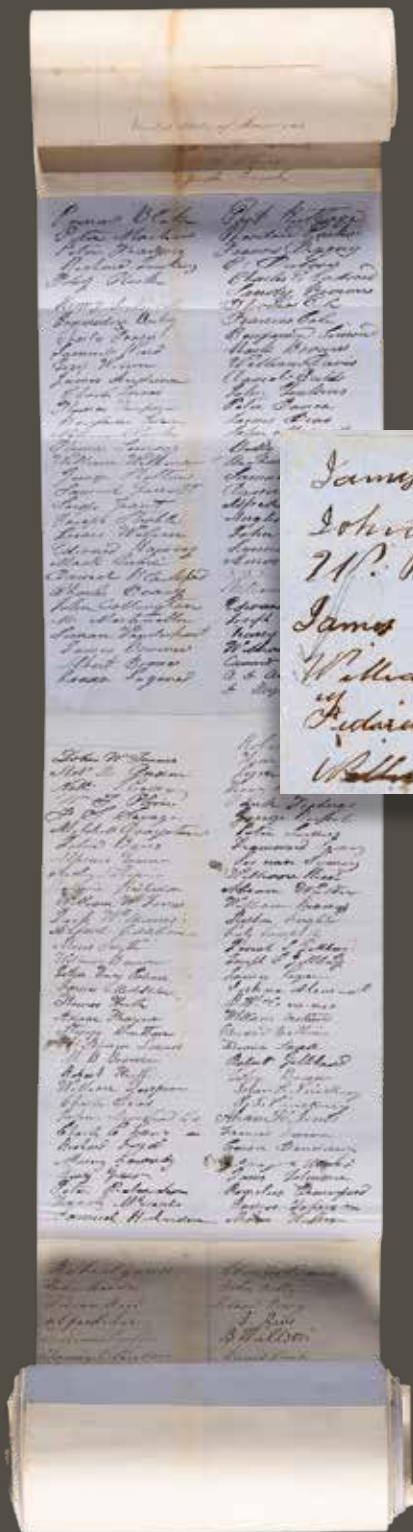
National Association of Colored Women is established in Washington, DC; Mary Church Terrell is elected the organization's president



Mary Church Terrell, ca. 1910

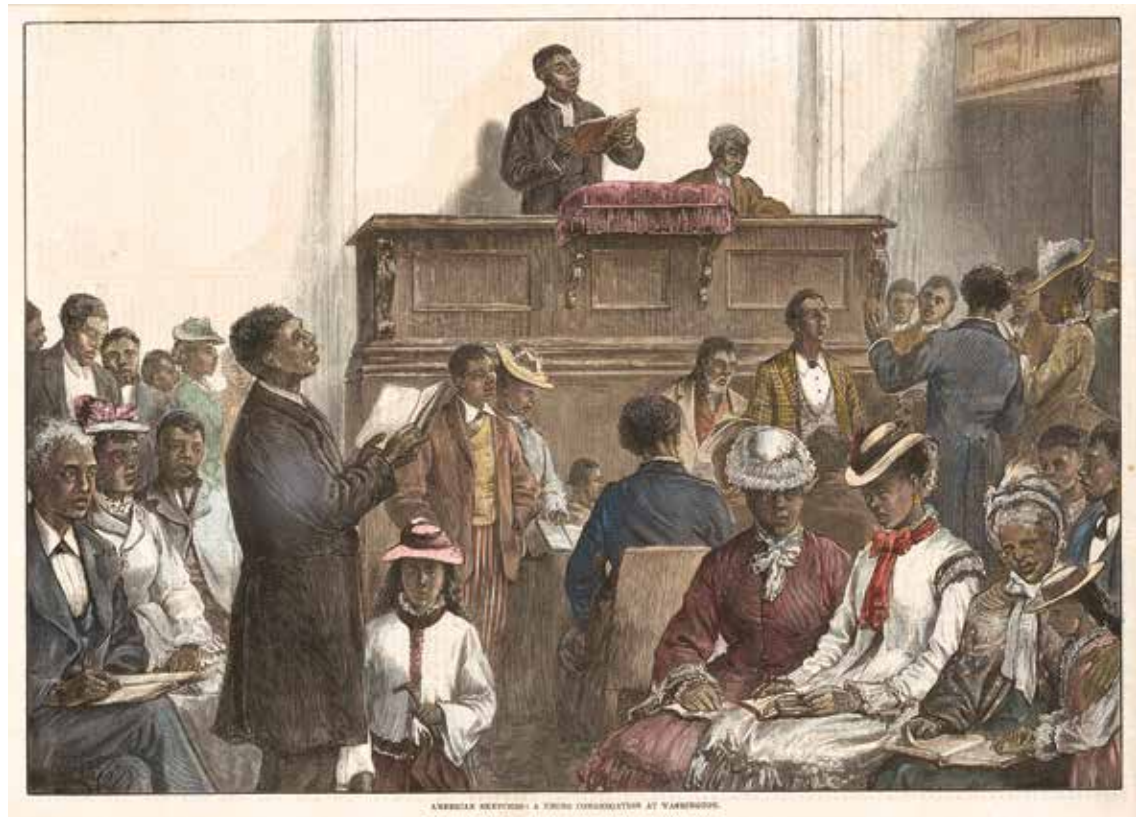
NOVEMBER

George Henry White is elected to Congress as a Representative from North Carolina. After serving two terms (1897–1901), he will be the last African American to serve in Congress until 1929



James . Marshall
 John . Williamson
 W.P. B . Nash
 James . Skinner L
 William . Stuffer L
 David Jones
 William . Sumner L

This 54-foot-long petition bears the signatures of hundreds of men who participated in the State Convention of Colored People of South Carolina, held in Charleston, in November 1865. The petitioners asked Congress to help them secure "our equal rights before the law," including the right to vote. A number of signers, including William Beverly Nash (above left), later served in the state legislature during Reconstruction. Those who could not write their names signed with their marks. (See Appendix B for transcript.)

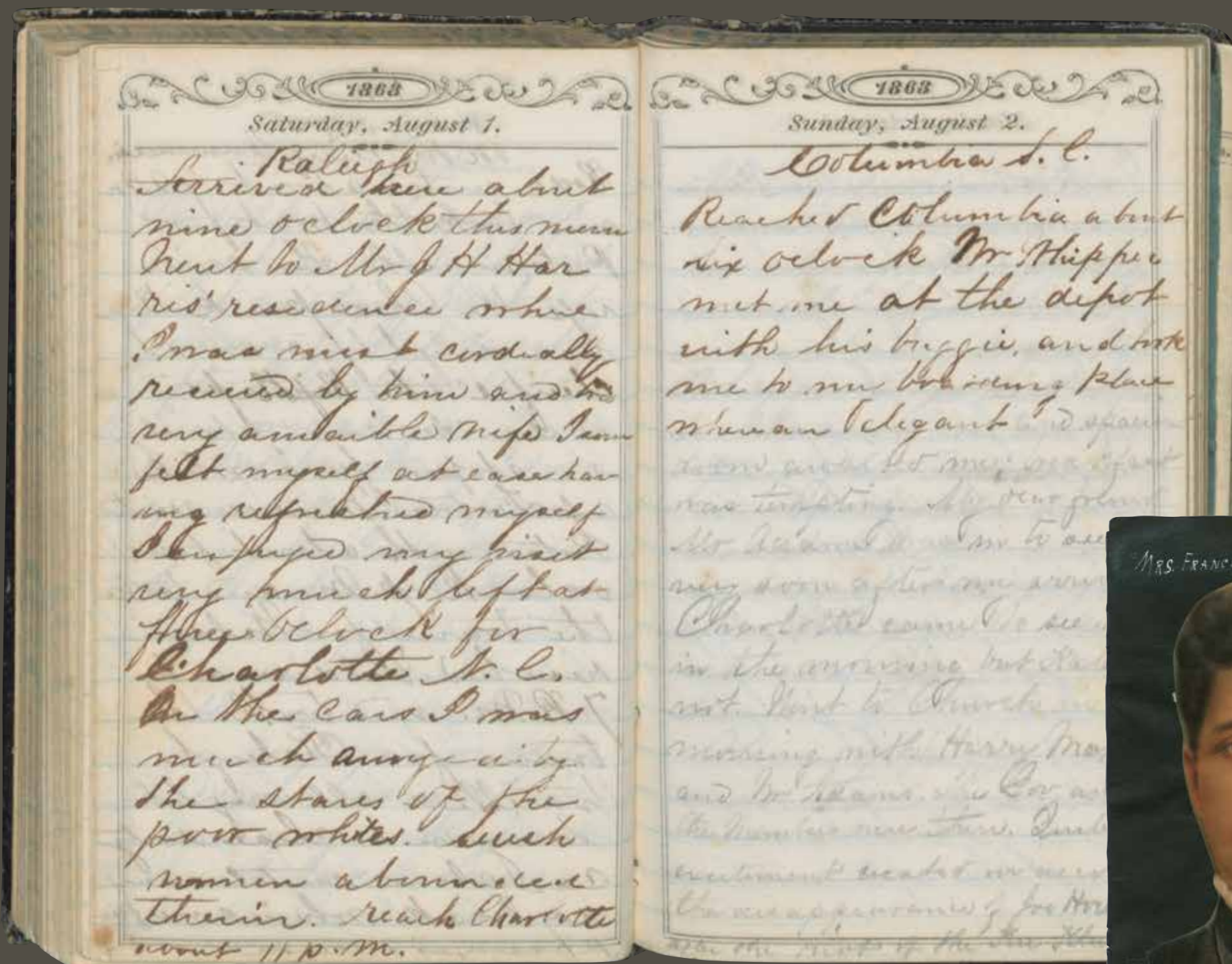


A Negro Congregation at Washington, from The Illustrated London News, 1876.

As African Americans claimed their rights as free citizens, they also claimed the right to freely practice their faith. Independent Black churches became the cornerstones of Black communities, serving as sites for schools and political meetings, as well as for religious services. After Black men gained the right to vote and run for office, many ministers also became leaders in local, state, and national politics.

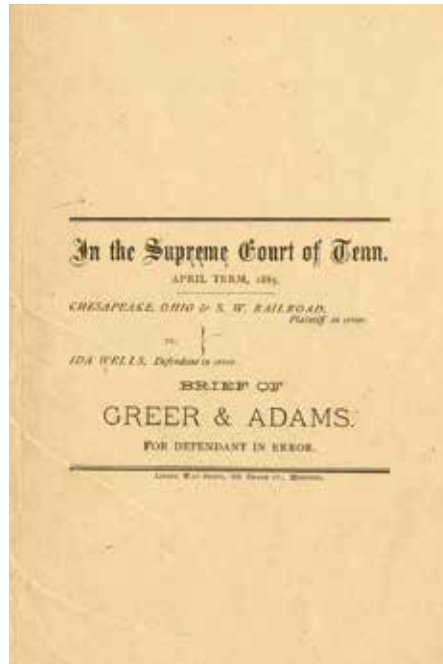
Right: Frances Anne Rollin Whipper's diary, 1868. In this diary, kept during the year she married South Carolina state legislator William J. Whipper, Rollin recorded her observations on political as well as personal events. These entries from August 1-2 describe a trip on a desegregated train car ("I was much annoyed by the stares of the poor whites") and news of a Ku Klux Klan attack. (See Appendix B on page 202 for transcript.)

Opposite: Portrait of Frances Anne Rollin Whipper, ca. 1870s. A prominent advocate for women's rights during the Reconstruction era, Frances Anne Rollin Whipper was an author, intellectual, and educator who took an active interest in the political affairs of her native state of South Carolina. Through her work, she asserted a vital place and voice for Black women in politics.





Portrait of a woman, ca. mid-1800s. During the Reconstruction era, Black women took varied and concerted actions to claim their freedom, define their political and social status, and assert their womanhood. An act as seemingly simple as sitting for a photograph provided an empowering opportunity for a Black woman to break free of the confining, distorting lens of white society and present herself to the world as she desired to be seen.



The Chesapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railroad v. Ida Wells, 1885. After a white conductor forced Ida B. Wells off a train for refusing to move out of the first-class car, Wells sued the railroad company for damages. The Circuit Court of Shelby County ruled in Wells's favor, stating that she was "refused the first-class accommodations to which she was entitled under the law." The Supreme Court of Tennessee overturned the decision on appeal.



Portrait of Ida B. Wells, ca. 1893. Born in Mississippi in 1862, Wells attended college and worked as a schoolteacher before rising to prominence as a journalist and civil rights activist. Her campaign against lynching brought worldwide attention to racial violence and injustice in the Jim Crow South.



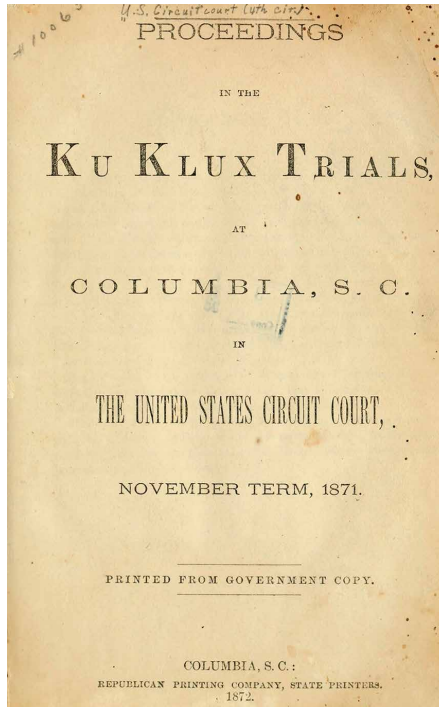
News photograph of Recy Taylor, 1944. After six white men abducted and raped her one night on her way home from church in Abbeville, Alabama, Taylor refused to remain silent. She reported the crime to authorities, and when they refused to charge her attackers, she told her story to the press. Taylor's determination to seek justice, despite threats to her life and family, exposed the assaults on freedom, security, and dignity that Black women confronted in their daily lives.



Above: #SayHerName campaign activists at the Women's March on Washington, January 21, 2017. The march provided a venue for hundreds of thousands to protest and give voice on the National Mall and across the nation to deep-rooted connections between issues of gender, sexuality, race, oppression, and liberation. A protester's poster from the march (bottom) quotes self-described "Black lesbian, mother, warrior, poet" Audre Lorde: "Revolution is not a one-time event."

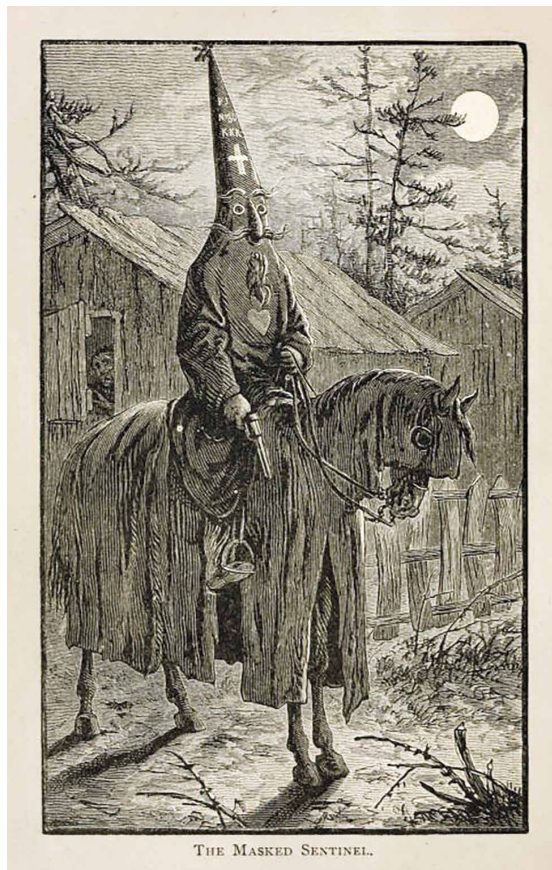
Revolution
is not a one
time event

—AUDRE LORDE



Proceedings of the Ku Klux Trials. The Enforcement Acts, passed by Congress in 1870 and 1871, empowered the federal government to prosecute the Ku Klux Klan and others who conspired to prevent Black men from voting. During federal grand jury investigations, hundreds of African Americans came forward to testify about being terrorized by the Klan. In South Carolina, this testimony led to the indictment of 220 Klansmen for civil rights violations, but only five were ultimately tried and convicted.

The Masked Sentinel, 1879. This illustration appeared in *A Fool's Errand*, an account of the Ku Klux Klan's terrorist activities written by white attorney and civil rights activist Albion Tourgée. The uniform white robes and pointed hoods associated with the modern Ku Klux Klan did not appear until the 1900s. During the organization's first phase in the 1860s and 1870s, Klan members wore various disguises while terrorizing local citizens—many of whom knew and recognized the men despite their masks.

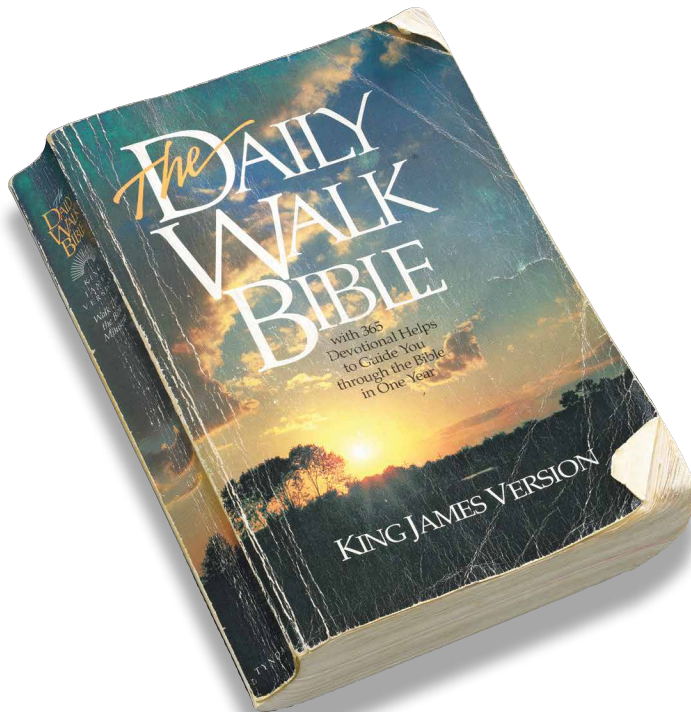




From the 1870s to the 1890s, groups of armed white men wearing red shirts terrorized and murdered Black voters in Southern states. The Red Shirts served as a para-military arm of the Democratic Party, using violence and intimidation to overthrow the Republican-led Reconstruction state governments and restore white supremacist rule in the South. Their campaign of terror succeeded. In the picture (above), Red Shirts gather to intimidate voters at a polling place in North Carolina.



The white supremacist terror campaigns that began during Reconstruction reached a horrific climax on November 10, 1898, in Wilmington, North Carolina. Declaring war on "Negro domination," armed mobs of Red Shirts and militia men attacked Black neighborhoods and overthrew the city government, which was led by an interracial board of aldermen. Black leaders were arrested and forced out of town. Here, the mob stands in front of the destroyed offices of the *Daily Record*, Wilmington's Black newspaper.



Bible owned by Polly Sheppard, survivor of the Emanuel AME Church massacre. A longtime member of Mother Emanuel, Sheppard had been in church business meetings all day on June 17, 2015. She did not plan to attend Bible study that night, so she left her Bible at home. Her friend, Myra Thompson, who was leading a study of the parable of the sower from the book of Mark, convinced her to stay. As one of only three people to survive the shooting, Sheppard continues to use this Bible for spiritual guidance, comfort, and strength.



Family on Smith's Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina, 1862. After gaining their freedom, African Americans on the Sea Islands sought to claim ownership of the lands they had cultivated during slavery. They knew that owning land was the key to full freedom and economic independence. For a brief time, the federal government supported their aspirations, but after the war ended, most of the land allocated to freed people was returned to its former owners.

To the U S Direct Tax Commissioners for the State of South Carolina,

The Undersigned, residents of Ladies Island, loyal citizens and heads of families hereby make application to preempt the following tracts of land in accordance with instructions of the President of the United States, approved Dec 31, 1863, said tracts being a part of the Pleasant Point plantation on Ladies Island and bounded & described as follows viz;

Cut-off Creek

Black Horse Creek

Mulberry Hill Creek

Pasture Hill

Burgin's Ground

Tom Gillison

Adam Green

Mary ~~James~~ Brown

Nancy Wilson

Tom Gillison

North^{ly} by Cut off Creek East^{ly} by Mulberry Hill Creek, South^{ly} by land taken up by Adam Green, West^{ly} by Black Horse Creek, containing twenty acres
Witness Geo H Hull Tom Gillison his X mark

North^{ly} by land taken up by Tom Gillison East^{ly} by Mulberry Hill Creek South^{ly} by land taken up by Mary ~~James~~ Brown, West^{ly} by Black Horse Creek, containing twenty acres
Witness Geo H Hull Adam Green his X mark

North^{ly} by land taken up by Adam Green East^{ly} by Mulberry Hill Creek & Flat Dam South^{ly} by land taken up by Nancy Wilson West^{ly} by Black Horse Creek & the pasture & field, containing twenty acres.
Witness Geo H Hull Mary ~~James~~ Brown his X mark

North^{ly} by land taken up by Mary ~~James~~ Brown East^{ly} by Flat Dam, South^{ly} by land taken up by Tom Gillison, West^{ly} by the Pasture field, containing twenty acres
Witness Geo H Hull Nancy Wilson her X mark

North^{ly} by land taken up by Nancy Wilson East^{ly} by Flat Dam & Burgin's Ground Creek South^{ly} by Burgin's Ground Creek & West^{ly} by the Pasture field, containing twenty acres
Witness Geo H Hull Tom Gillison his X mark

Ladies Island January 29th 1864

In January 1864, three men and two women submitted this application to purchase tracts of land from the Pleasant Point plantation. The application references an order issued by President Abraham Lincoln on December 31, 1863, which allowed "any loyal person" residing in South Carolina to purchase land owned by the US government, in twenty-acre parcels at the price of \$1.25 an acre. Lincoln's order gave preference to heads of families and to wives of men serving in the US military.

P27

Edisto Island S.C.

Oct 28th 1865.

To the President of these United States.

We the freedmen of Edisto Island South Carolina have learned from you through Major General O O Howard commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau with deep sorrow and painful hearts of the possibility of government restoring these lands to the former owners. We are well aware of the many perplexing and trying questions that burden your mind. and do therefore pray to god (the preserver of all. and who has through our late and beloved President (Lincoln) proclamation and the war made us a free people) that he may guide you in making your decisions. and give you that wisdom that cometh from above to settle these great and important questions for the ^{best} interest of the country and the colored race: Here is where secession was born and nurtured. Here is where we have toiled nearly all our lives as slaves, and were treated like dumb driven cattle, This is our home, we have made these lands what they are. we were the only true and loyal people that were found in possession of these lands. we have been always ready to strike for liberty and humanity yea to fight if need be to preserve this glorious union. Shall not we who are freedmen and have been always true to this Union have the same rights as are enjoyed by others? Have we broken any law of these United States? Have we forfeited our rights of property in land? — If not then! are not our rights as a free people and ^{born} citizens of these United States

A committee of freedmen on Edisto Island, South Carolina, sent this petition to President Andrew Johnson in October 1865, urging him not to return the land granted to them by the government to its former Confederate owners.

"This is our home," they declared. "We have made these lands what they are." The committee also petitioned


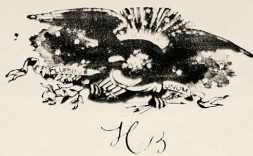

Gen. Oliver Otis Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, to support their claims as loyal and rightful owners of the land. (See Appendix B for transcript.)



John Summer residence near Dunlap, Kansas, ca. 1880s. In the late 1870s, as conditions grew worse for African Americans in the South under white Democratic rule, many decided to seek better opportunities elsewhere. The desire to own homesteads drew migrants to the Great Plains, where they established “colored colonies” in places like Dunlap, Kansas; Boley, Oklahoma; and Sully County, South Dakota. But unlike their white counterparts, Black homesteaders faced discriminatory laws and practices that blocked their efforts to acquire good land and build wealth.

Founded in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1898 by Callie House and Isaiah Dickerson, the Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association was part of an early nationwide reparations movement. The organization lobbied Congress to provide pensions for formerly enslaved African Americans, based on the model of pensions issued to US military veterans. It also served as a mutual-aid society, offering insurance and burial assistance benefits. By the end of 1899, the group had 34,000 members.

THE MAURY COUNTY EX-SLAVE CONVENTION



ISAIAH DICKERSON MRS. CALLIE HOUSE

Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty & Pension Association

WILL CONVENED AT

Columbia, Tenn., March 24th to 27th, 1899.

....

Every ex slave and friend is cordially invited to take part in this great and grand work. Come and exchange views one with the other upon the great ques-

White Marsh Farm	White Marsh Farm	St Thomas's Manor	Newtown continued	St Inagoes cont'd	St Inagoes cont'd
James about 35	Charles son 18	Charles 38	James 28	Henry (m'd off) 28	Wate 1 45
Charles son 18	Joseph son 18	Benedict 35	Riselle his daughter 7	Emeline 11	James son 42
Belley his daughter 18	Ketty his daughter 18	John son 24	Henry daughter 24	Annabella 8	Frank 1 20
Henry Kelly daughter 18	Ketty m'd off 23	Lam 30	James 24	Elizabeth 7	Sam 1 14
Charles de de 35	Wary his daughter 6	John Butler 35	Rose Anne his wife 24	Billy 6	Rachael 1 11
Ruthy de de 6	Lam his son 24	John Boyle 21	Charlotte 23	Billy 5	Alexander 1 16
Robert Jones son 35	Elizabeth de daughter 1	George 55	Henry m'd off 23	Harriet 5	Charlotte 1 7
Ketty his wife 30	Billy 30	John daughter 30	Julia Anne 20	Robert 1 43	Emeline 1 6
Connelius his son 15	Sally m'd off 28	Daniel 50	Edie (m'd off) daughter 24	Mary 1 35	Matt 1 3
Francis de de 12	William his son 21	James 53	Greenfield 24	Harbison 1 16	Child 1
Susan de daughter 10	Henry Anne de daughter 15	Barnard 35	James 2 21	Robert 1 14	Lock ran away 40
Gabriel de son 5	Robert (m'd off) 12	William 15	Frederick 19	James 1 12	Abelina 32
Peter de son 35	Henry 35	John 14	Sybil 19	Bridget 1 11	Matt 10
Jackson 29	Harriet m'd off 18	James 12	Christina 2 18	Mary Jane 1 10	Ginny 7
Elizabeth 1	Elizabeth his daughter 23	Henry 10	Harriet 19	Susan 8	Harbison 4
James Jones son 25	John de son 21	Francis 1 8	Emeline 14	Sally Anne 1 7	Child 1 2
John his wife 22	Henry Ellen daughter 17	Stephen Anne 30	Elmore 2 14	Gilly 1 6	Ketty 2 55
James then daughter 13	Henry m'd off 15	Henry 2 his daughter 19	Henry 19	Charles 1 5	Elizabeth his daughter 20
George then son 26	Matthew m'd off 11	Betsy 2 daughters 19	Marina 19	Child 1 2	Rose m'd off 28
Ketty his wife 28	Betsy m'd off 30	Ketty 1 son 1 daughter 19	Belva 19	Billy Burke 1 28	Ketty 2 53
John his son 4	Arthur his son 14	Margaret 1 daughter 19	James 19	Rose tough m'd off 28	Peter (m'd off) 3 37
John de de 4	Edith 10	Emily 2 sons 2 daughters 19	Henry 19	Phil 3 53	John 3 33
Eliza de de 12	Henrietta 7	Charlotte 10	John 19	Billy his wife 33	Nick 1 30
Sally about 35	Harriet Anne 4	Henry 35	John 19	John 2 8	Sally 56
John his eldest son 40	Richard 35	Louisa 35	John 19	George 1 30	Stephen m'd off 36
Michael his wife 40	James 34	James 34	John 19	Joseph m'd off 32	Henry 1 22
James then son 20	Margery 36	Mary 36	John 19	Henry 3 75	Frederick 1 20
Anderson de 15	John his son 35	Mary 35	John 19	Henry 3 70	Ginny m'd off 3 19
Louisa then daughter 14	Henry m'd off 30	Henry 30	John 19	Henry m'd off 30	his child 2
John then son 10	Henry his daughter 30	Henry 30	John 19	Ketty 3 38	Belle m'd off 32
Billy & Sally 2 sons 10	Mary de de 33	Henry 33	John 19	Gabe (m'd off) 38	Nathan 2 64
Ketty her daughter 35	James (m'd off) 30	Dina his wife 65	John 19	Daniel 35	Henry his wife 30
John his son 5	James m'd off 30	John 57	John 19	Louisa 32	James not married 30
John (m'd off) 30	John 45	John his wife 57	John 19	Harriet ran away 38	
Henry his wife 24	Billy 42	Billy 42	John 19	Henry 24	
Robert then son 3	Elizabeth m'd off 20	Stephen 49	John 19	Harriet son 7	
Charles then son 15	Harriet his son 37	Sarah his wife 48	John 19	Louisa 5	
Sally his wife 44	Kelly 35	Abraham 49	John 19	Betsy 35	
Henry daughter m'd off 17	Edward de son 33	Henry m'd off 59	John 19	Henry 12	
Margaret de 15	William de 31	Betty 46	John 19	Annabella 10	
David de son 17	John de son 30	Bennett 2 15	John 19	Greenfield 5	
Elizabeth de daughter 15	Maria m'd off 20	Clare his wife 42	John 19	Daniel 4	
Anna 13	Maria his daughter 35	John m'd off 51	John 19	Billy not married 28	
Harriet 1	William de son 30	Harbison m'd off 37	John 19		

Census document listing the names and ages of the enslaved men, women, and children, "272 in all," sold from Maryland Jesuit plantations in 1838 to pay the debts of Georgetown University. After the university launched an initiative in 2015 to examine its institutional ties to

slavery, these individuals became known as the Georgetown University 272 (GU272). The GU272 Descendants Association was founded in 2016 to unite and advocate for families whose ancestors were enslaved by the Society of Jesus.





Mélisande Short-Colomb was one of the first two GU272 descendants admitted to Georgetown University in 2017. She is a descendant of Abraham Mahoney and Mary Ellen Queen, two enslaved people sold by the Jesuits in 1838. On campus, Short-Colomb cofounded the GU272 Advocacy Team to raise awareness and lobby for restorative justice. She wore this button (*bottom, previous page*), printed with her ancestor's name, during a 2019 student referendum campaign for a tuition fee to benefit GU272 descendants.

Seabrook Plantation, Edisto Island, South Carolina, 1862. When the Civil War began, this Sea Island cotton plantation, owned by J. Evans Eddings, was home to 119 enslaved women, men, and children. Many continued to live and work on the land after emancipation. Through the land, the people of Edisto maintained connections to their ancestors and established deep-rooted legacies of culture, memory, and history that their descendants continue to uphold and pass on today.



Century Plant 85 years old.

Seabrook's Plantation.



Point of Pines slave cabin on Edisto Island, South Carolina, as it appeared in 2013. Built in 1853 to house enslaved plantation workers, this 16 ft. x 20 ft. cabin continued to serve as a home for generations of African American families until the 1980s. Today, the preserved cabin is the centerpiece of the *Slavery and Freedom* exhibition at the National Museum of African American History and Culture, where the many layers of its history are revealed and shared with the public.



Balcony pew (*right*), from Presbyterian Church (*above*), ca. 1876 on Edisto Island, South Carolina. After white residents fled the island in 1861, in advance of US troops, freed people held their own worship services in this church, led by a Black minister. They also established a school at the church. In 1866, white members returned and reclaimed ownership of the building. Rather than go back to the segregated balcony, the Black congregants left and established a new church, which they named Edisto Presbyterian Church.





Group of men, women, and children at Cassina Point Plantation, Edisto Island, South Carolina, 1862.

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, the newly freed residents of Edisto Island laid claim to the lands that their families had cultivated for generations. They established their own communities based on kinship networks, cultural traditions, and a strong sense of place. They also transformed the landscape by building farms and homesteads, schools, churches, and other institutions to support and secure self-determination.

used to belong to Jackson Talley and ^{was} bought by Mr. Bright, Boydton, C.A. You will please send the inclosed letter to my sister Jane, or some of her family, if she is dead - I am, very respectfully,

your obedient servant,
Hawkins Wilson -

Dear Sister Jane,

Your little brother Hawkins is trying to find out where you are and where his poor old mother is - Let me know and I will come to see you. I shall never forget the bag of biscuits you made for me the last night I spent with you - your advice to me to meet you in Heaven has never faded from my mind and I have endeavored to live as near to my God, that if He saw fit not to suffer us to meet on earth, ~~we~~ might indeed meet in Heaven. I was married in ¹⁸⁶⁷ ~~1867~~ ^{city} on the 10th ~~month~~ by Rev. Samuel Osborn to Mrs. Martha White, a very intelligent and lady-like woman - You may readily suppose that I was not fool enough to marry a Texas girl - My wife was from Georgia and was raised in that state and will make me very happy - I have learned to read, and write a little - I teach Sunday School and have a very interesting class. If you do not mind, when I come, I will astonish you in religious affairs. I am sexton of the Methodist Episcopal Church ^{Colored}. I hope you and ^{all} my brothers and sisters in Virginia will stand up to this church; for I expect to live and die in the same - When I meet you, I shall be as much overjoyed as Joseph was when he and his father met.

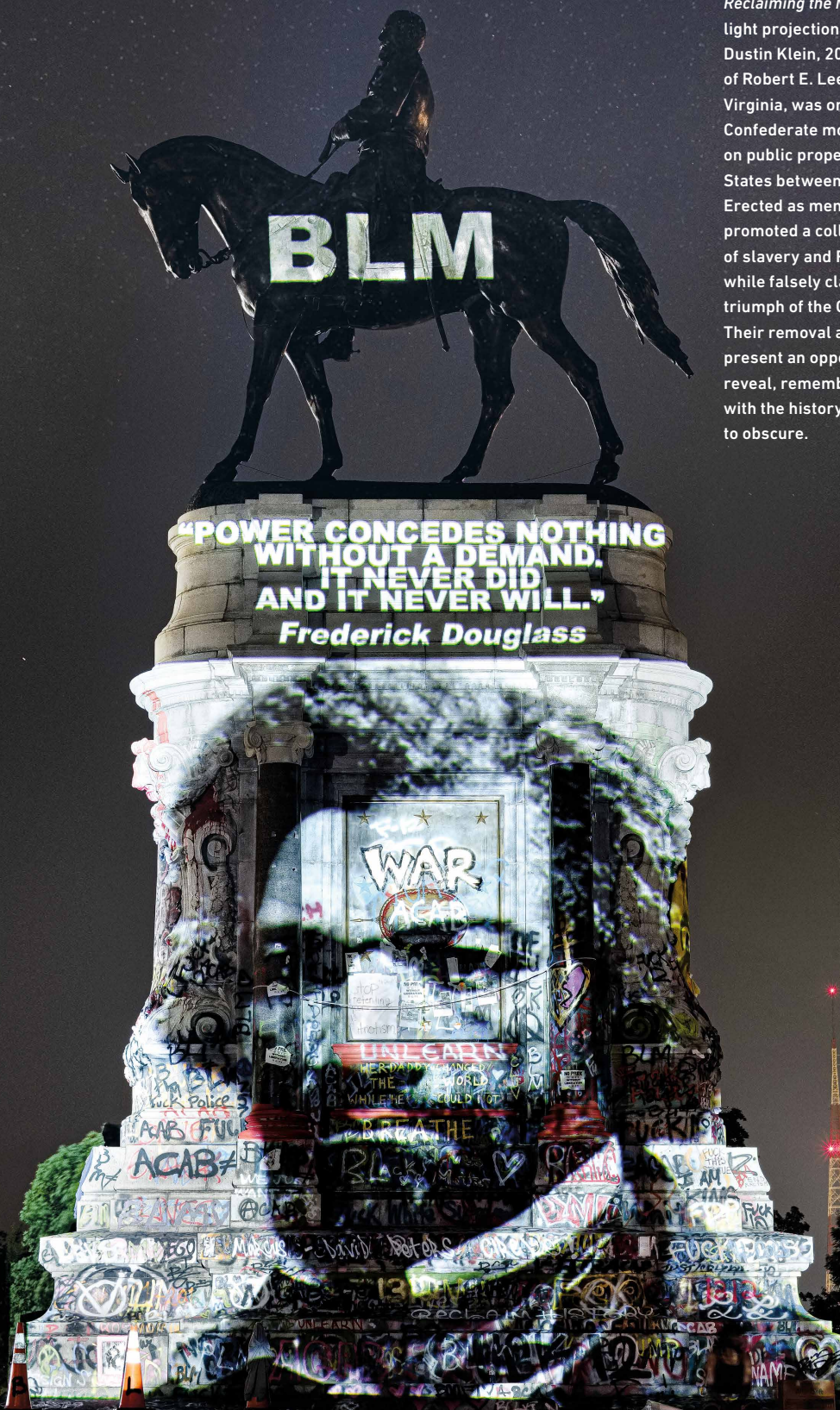
With freedom, many people sought to reunite with relatives. In 1867, twenty-four years after he was separated from his family in Virginia and sold away to Texas, Hawkins Wilson wrote to the Freedmen's Bureau office in Richmond. "I am anxious to learn about my sisters," he began. "I am in hopes that they are still living." Wilson included this letter to his sister, Jane, hoping it would find its way to her. (See Appendix B for transcript.)

Henry Hutchinson and his wife, Rosa, raised their family on Edisto Island, South Carolina. They owned and operated a cotton farm as well as a cotton gin that served the community of Black farmers on Edisto until the 1930s.





The Hutchinson House on Edisto Island, South Carolina, as it appeared around 1900. Henry Hutchinson built this house in 1882 on land acquired by his father, Jim Hutchinson. The house, which still stands today, symbolizes the island's legacies of family, land, and freedom.



Reclaiming the Monument, light projection by artist, Dustin Klein, 2020. This statue of Robert E. Lee in Richmond, Virginia, was one of over 600 Confederate monuments built on public property in the United States between 1890 and 1950. Erected as memorials, they promoted a collective forgetting of slavery and Reconstruction, while falsely claiming the triumph of the Confederacy. Their removal and reclaiming present an opportunity to reveal, remember, and reckon with the history they were built to obscure.

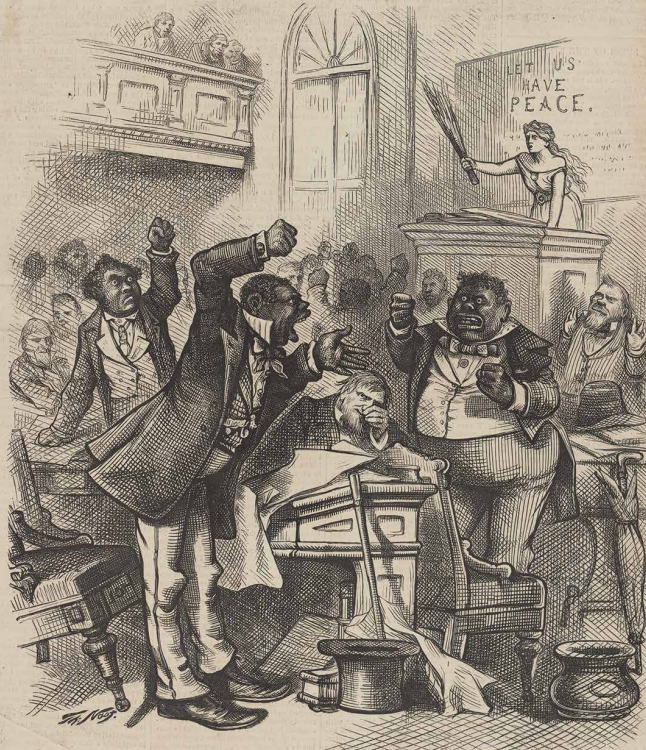
HARPER'S WEEKLY.

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

Vol. XVIII.—No. 898.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1874.

[WITH A SUPPLEMENT.
PRICE TEN CENTS.]



COLORED RULE IN A RECONSTRUCTED (?) STATE.—[See Page 242.]

(THE MEMBERS CALL EACH OTHER THIEVES, LIARS, RASCALS, AND COWARDS.)

COLUMBIA. "You are Aping the lowest Whites. If you disgrace your Race in this way you had better take Back Seats."

Colored Rule in a Reconstructed (?) State, from *Harper's Weekly*, 1874. During Reconstruction, white Southern Democrats used racist propaganda to portray Black Republican officeholders as corrupt and incompetent and argue that African Americans were unfit for equal citizenship. These stereotypical depictions, reproduced in Northern newspapers and later in the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*, became ingrained in American popular culture. They also became "evidence" cited by white supremacist scholars like William Dunning to support their pro-Confederate histories of Reconstruction.

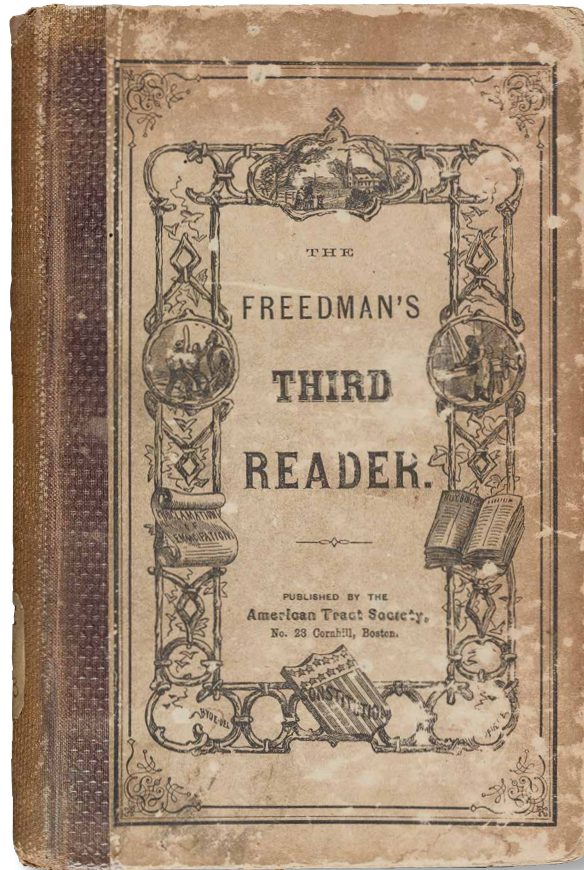


In 2017, the Washington National Cathedral removed two stained-glass windows honoring Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson that had been installed in 1953. The removal was prompted by the massacre at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, and the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. These events drew national attention to the embrace of Confederate symbols by white supremacists. The National Cathedral initially removed the Confederate battle flags, before deciding to remove the entire windows.



W.E.B. Du Bois (*standing, right*) and staff in the offices of *The Crisis*, the journal of the NAACP. Du Bois served as founding editor of *The Crisis* from 1910 to 1934. Under his leadership, the monthly magazine became a major platform for civil rights advocacy, political commentary, and promotion of African American history and culture.

The Freedman's Third Reader, 1866. Published by the American Tract Society, a Christian evangelical organization based in Boston, Massachusetts, this textbook reflects the missionary mindset of many Northern abolitionists who traveled to the South to help educate formerly enslaved African Americans. The reading lessons, based on stories from the Bible as well as American history, celebrated the demise of slavery as a victory for Christian values and democratic ideals.





Freedmen's school in North Carolina, ca. 1868. As freedom spread across the South during the Civil War, demands for education followed. The first "freedmen's schools," which educated girls and boys as well as adults, were established by Northern missionaries in areas

occupied by the US Army. Newly freed African Americans soon began building their own community schools, often as part of churches, with teachers and supplies provided by the Freedmen's Bureau and Northern aid societies.



Carter G. Woodson with issues of *The Negro History Bulletin*, ca. 1948. Known as the Father of Black History, Woodson dedicated his career to eradicating myths and misconceptions about the achievements of African Americans. Woodson created Negro History Week (the fore-runner to Black History Month) in February 1926, choosing the date to coincide with African American traditions of commemorating the birthdays of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln.



Celebrate and Commemorate Freedom, light projection at the National Museum of African American History and Culture, November 2015. Opened to the public in September 2016, the Museum created an unprecedented space for presenting Black history on a national scale.

Its mission, in the words of renowned historian John Hope Franklin, is to “tell the unvarnished truth” about the past in order to help all Americans better understand the present and map a pathway to a more just future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Make Good the Promises: Reclaiming Reconstruction and Its Legacies is a work of remembrance and honor for the Reconstruction period, one of the most complex, misunderstood, and supremely significant periods of American history. It is a companion volume to the exhibition *Make Good the Promises: Reconstruction and Its Legacies*. Both represent the National Museum of African American History and Culture's continued exploration of the core narrative of slavery and freedom, central to the Museum's mission to present the American story through an African American lens. Realizing a task of such significance was dependent on the assembling of an exceptional array of scholars, editors, designers, and other professionals.

We are indebted first to the contributors to this volume, a distinguished group of historians, scholars, and educators whose critical knowledge of the period and its modern consequences brilliantly animate these pages. We thank Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Mary Elliott, Candra Flanagan, Katherine Franke, Thavolia Glymph, Hasan Kwame Jeffries, Kathleen M. Kendrick, and Kidada E. Williams for their remarkable and illuminating insights. We offer a special word of profound gratitude to Eric Foner, author of the book's foreword and the premier scholar on the Reconstruction period. His guidance has been invaluable to the Museum's development. Smithsonian secretary and founding NMAAHC director, Lonnie G. Bunch III, was the original champion of the exhibition and publication, and we thank him for this support. Director Emeritus Spencer R. Crew, preface author and one of the exhibition's cocurators, was a stalwart advocate throughout and is due our deepest gratitude.

This publication marks another milestone in the Museum's work with our stellar colleagues at Smithsonian Books. We are extraordinarily grateful to have worked on this singular publication with colleagues who have collaborated on a library of publications that have added to the literature on African American history and culture. Director Carolyn Gleason's keen editorial gifts and production acumen were critical in honing the content, design, and overall realization of the book. Our heartfelt thanks to senior editor Jaime Schwender whose unfailing diligence and generosity lifted our work at every step, and assistant editor Julie Huggins for her research and editorial support. A very special word of thanks to Gary Tooth of Empire Design Studio whose evocative and elegant design set the perfect tone for the publication. We also offer our

immense gratitude to editor Karen D. Taylor for her deft navigating and honoring of the diverse voices of an array of writers.

We offer special thanks to the indefatigable Doug Remley, for his knowledge, research, recommendations, and ideas and for identifying the distinctive images that so aptly augment the narrative. Our sincere gratitude goes to the other members of our publications team, Danielle Lancaster and Jaye Linnen.

Kudos to our other museum colleagues, especially Kevin Lowell Young, Andrew W. Mellon Director, whose support helped make this publication possible. We extend our appreciation to Carlos Bustamante, Dorey Butter, Ruthann R. Uithol, Constance S. Beninghove, Emily Houf, Joseph A. Campbell, Mike Biddle, Jeannine Fraser, Shrita Hernandez, Gretchen Beasley, Eric Dixon, John Lutz, Adam Martin, Fleur Paysour, Debora Scriber-Miller, Taima Smith, Tiffanie Warner, the Museum's Cataloging and Digitization Team, and to all who contributed their insight and acumen at key moments to bring this publication to life.

I offer my deepest gratitude to my coeditor Paul Gardullo. His devotion to and depth of knowledge of African American history has never been more vividly evident as in this publication and the larger project, including his role as project director on the companion exhibition. His nuanced articulation of the contours of this vexed subject was irreplaceable. His passion, compassion, and thorough scholarship were bulwarks of our work together.

We also acknowledge with gratitude our literary agent, Marie Dutton Brown, for her wise counsel, and our publisher, Tracy Sherrod, of Amistad for being a supportive partner in this remarkable journey.

Finally, we are in debt to Frederick Douglass and all the courageous women and men, historical and contemporary, who endured extraordinary challenges and faced unimaginable obstacles, with unerring devotion, to insist that America make good on the promises of her Constitution. Their legacy persists in these pages and in the lives, laws, institutions, and communities of this nation.

—Kinshasha Holman Conwill, Coeditor

APPENDIX A

Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution

AMENDMENT XIII

Section 1.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Passed by Congress January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.

AMENDMENT XIV

Section 1.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3.

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5.

The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Passed by Congress June 13, 1866. Ratified July 9, 1868.

AMENDMENT XV

Section 1.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2.

The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Passed by Congress February 26, 1869. Ratified February 3, 1870.

APPENDIX B

Document Transcriptions

Petition of Colored Citizens of South Carolina for Equal Rights Before the Law, and the Elective Franchise, 1865 (detail shown on page 89)

Justin S. Morrill Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled.

We the undersigned colored citizens of South Carolina, do respectfully ask your Honorable Body, in consideration of our unquestioned loyalty, exhibited by us alike as bond or free;—as soldier or laborer;—in the Union lines under the protection of the government; or within the rebel lines under the domination of the rebellion; that in the exercise of your high authority, over the re-establishment of civil government in South Carolina, our equal rights before the law may be respected;—that in the formation and adoption of the fundamental law of the state, we may have an equal voice with all loyal citizens; and that your Honorable Body will not sanction any state Constitution, which does not secure the exercise of the right of the elective franchise to all loyal citizens, otherwise qualified in common course of American law, without distinction of Color—Without this political privilege we will have no security for our personal rights and no means to secure the blessings of education to our children.

The state needs our vote, to make the state loyal to the Union, and to bring its laws and administration into harmony with the present dearly bought policy of the country, and we respectfully suggest that had the constitution of South Carolina been heretofore, as we now ask that it shall be hereafter, this state would never have led one third of the United States into treason against the nation.

For this object, your petitioners will as in duty bound, ever pray &c.

• • •

**Diary of Frances Anne Rollin Whipper, entry from
August 1–2, 1868 (detail shown on pages 94–95)**

Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of the Carole Ione Lewis Family Collection, 2018.101.1

1868

Saturday, August 1.

Raleigh

Arrived here about nine oclock this morn Went to Mr J H Harris' residence where I was most cordially received by him and his very amiable wife I soon felt myself at ease having refreshed myself I enjoyed my visit very much left at five oclock for Charlotte N. C. In the cars I was much anoyed by the stares of the poor whites. Such women abounded therein. reach Charlotte about 11 p.m.

1868

Sunday, August 2.

Columbia S. C.

Reached Columbia about six oclock Mr Whipper met me at the depot with his buggy, and took me to my boarding place where an elegant and spacious room awaited me. breakfast was tempting. My dear friend Mr Adams was in to see me very soon after my arrival. Charlotte came to see me in the morning but Kate did not. Went to Church in the morning with Harry Maxwell and Mr. Adams. The Gov and all the members were there. Quite an excitement created on account of the disappearance of Joe Howard after the visit of the Ku Klux Klan at night

• • •

**Petition of a Committee of Freedmen on Edisto Island
to President Andrew Johnson, October 28, 1865
(detail shown on page 138)**

Letters Received by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872. Courtesy of the US National Archives and Records Administration, FamilySearch International, and the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Edisto Island S.C. Oct 28th 1865.

To the President of these United States.

We the freedmen Of Edisto Island South Carolina have learned From you through Major General O O Howard commissioner of the Freedmans Bureau. with deep sorrow and Painful hearts of the possibility of goverment restoring These lands to the former owners. We are well aware Of the many perplexing and trying questions that burden Your mind. and do therefore pray to god (the preserver Of all. and who has through our Late and beloved President (Lincoln) proclamation and the war made Us A free people) that he may guide you in making Your decisions. and give you that wisdom that Cometh from above to settle these great and Important Questions for the best interests of the country and the Colored race: Here is where secession was born and Nurtured Here is were we have toiled nearly all Our lives as slaves and were treated like dumb Driven cattle, This is our home, we have made These lands what they are. we were the only true and Loyal people that were found in posession of these Lands. we have been always ready to strike for Liberty and humanity yea to fight if needs be To preserve this glorious union. Shall not we who Are freedman and have been always true to this Union have the same rights as are enjoyed by Others? Have we broken any Law of these United States? Have we forfeited our rights of property In Land?— If not then! are not our rights as A free people and good citizens of these United States To be considered before the rights of those who were Found in rebellion against this good and just Goverment (and now being conquered) come (as they Seem) with penitent hearts and beg forgiveness For past offences and also ask if thier lands Cannot be restored to them are these rebellious Spirits to be reinstated in thier possessions And we who have been abused and oppressed For many long years not to be allowed the Privilege of purchasing land But be subject To the will of these large Land owners? God fobid, Land monopoly is injurious to the advancement of the course of freedom, and if government Does not make some provision by which we as Freedmen can obtain A Homestead, we have Not bettered our condition.

We have been encouraged by government to take up these lands in small tracts, receiving Certificates of the same— we have thus far Taken Sixteen thousand (16000) acres of Land here on This Island. We are ready to pay for this land When Government calls for it. and now after What has been done will the good and just government take from us all this right and make us Subject to the will of those who have cheated and Oppressed us for many years God Forbid! We the freedmen of this Island and of the State of South Carolina— Do therefore petition to you as the President of these United States, that some provisions be made by which Every colored man can purchase land. and Hold it as his own.

We wish to have A home if It be but A few acres. without some provision is Made our future is sad to look upon. yes our Situation is dangerous. we therefore look to you In this trying hour as A true friend of the poor and Neglected race. for protection and Equal Rights. with the privilege of purchasing A Homestead— A Homestead right here in the Heart of South Carolina.

We pray that god will direct your heart in Making such provision for us as freedmen which Will tend to unite these states together stronger Than ever before— May God bless you in the Administration of your duties as the President Of these United States is the humble prayer Of us all.—

In behalf of the Freedmen

Committee	Henry Bram.
	Ishmael. Moultrie.
	yates. Sampson.

• • •

Hawkins Wilson letter to Chief of the Freedmen's Bureau at Richmond, enclosing Hawkins Wilson letter to Sister Jane, May 11, 1867 (detail shown on page 165)

Letters Received, Bowling Green (Caroline County, Assistant Subassistant Commissioner), Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872. Courtesy of the US National Archives and Records Administration, FamilySearch International, and the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.

[Galveston, Tex.] May 11th, 1867—

Chief of the Freedman's Bureau at Richmond;

Dear Sir, I am anxious to learn about my sisters, from whom I have been separated many years— I have never heard from them since I left Virginia twenty four years ago— I am in hopes that they are still living and I am anxious to hear how they are getting on— I have no other one to apply to but you and am persuaded that you will help one who stands in need of your services as I do— I shall be very grateful to you, if you oblige me in this matter— One of my sisters belonged to Peter Coleman in Caroline County and her name was

Jane— Her husband's name was Charles and he belonged to Buck Haskin and lived near John Wright's store in the same county— She has three children, Robert, Charles and Julia, when I left— Sister Martha belonged to Dr Jefferson, who lived two miles above Wright's store— Sister Matilda belonged to Mrs. Botts, in the same county— My dear uncle Jim had a wife at Jack Langley's and his wife was named Adie and his oldest son was named Buck and they all belonged to Jack Langley— These are all my own dearest relatives and I wish to correspond with them with a view to visit them as soon as I can hear from them— My name is Hawkins Wilson and I am their brother, who was sold at Sheriff's sale and used to belong to Jackson Talley and was bought by M. Wright, Boydtown C.H. You will please send the enclosed letter to my sister Jane, or some of her family, if she is dead— I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Hawkins Wilson

[*Enclosure*]

[*Galveston, Tex. May 11, 1867*]

Dear Sister Jane, Your little brother Hawkins is trying to find out where you are and where his poor old mother is— Let me know and I will come to see you— I shall never forget the bag of biscuits you made for me the last night I spent with you— Your advice to me to meet you in Heaven has never passed from my mind and I have endeavored to live as near to my God, that if He saw fit not to suffer us to meet on earth, we might indeed meet in Heaven— I was married in this city on the 10th March 1867 by Rev. Samuel Osborn to Mrs. Martha White, a very intelligent and lady-like woman— You may readily suppose that I was not fool enough to marry a Texas girl— My wife was from Georgia and was raised in that state and will make me very happy— I have learned to read, and write a little— I teach Sunday School and have a very interesting class— If you do not mind, when I come, I will astonish you in religious affairs— I am sexton of the Methodist Episcopal Church colored— I hope you and all my brothers and sisters in Virginia will stand up to this church; for I expect to live and die in the same— When I meet you, I shall be as much overjoyed as Joseph was when he and his father met after they had been separated so long— Please write me all the news about you all— I am writing tonight all about myself and I want you to do likewise about your and my relations in the state of Virginia— Please send me some of Julia's hair whom I left a baby in the cradle when I was torn away

from you— I know that she is a young lady now, but I hope she will not deny her affectionate uncle this request, seeing she was an infant in the cradle when he saw her last— Tell Mr. Jackson Talley how-do-ye and give my love to all his family, Lucy, Ellen and Sarah— Also to my old playmate Henry Fitz who used to play with me and also to all the colored boys who, I know, have forgotten me, but I have not forgotten them— I am writing to you tonight, my dear sister, with my Bible in my hand praying Almighty God to bless you and preserve you and me to meet again— Thank God that now we are not sold and torn away from each other as we used to be— we can meet if we see fit and part if we like— Think of this and praise God and the Lamb forever— I will now present you a little prayer which you will say every night before you go to sleep— Our father who art in heaven &c, you will know what the rest is— Dear sister, I have had a rugged road to travel, since I parted with you, but thank God, I am happy now, for King Jesus is my Captain and God is my friend. He goes before me as a pillar of fire by night and a cloud by day to lead me to the New Jerusalem where all is joy, and happiness and peace— Remember that we have got to meet before that great triune God— My reputation is good before white and Black. I am chief of all the turnouts of the colored people of Galveston— Last July 1866, I had the chief command of four thousand colored people of Galveston— So you may know that I am much better off, than I used to be when I was a little shaver in Caroline, running about in my shirt tail picking up chips— Now, if you were to see me in my fine suit of broadcloth, white kid gloves and long red sash, you would suppose it was Gen. Schofield marching in parade uniform into Richmond— The 1st day of May, 1867, I had 500 colored people, big and little, again under my command— We had a complete success and were complimented by Gen. Griffin and Mr. Wheelock the superintendent of the colored schools of Texas— We expect to have a picnic for the Sunday School soon— I am now a grown man weighing one hundred and sixty odd pounds— I am wide awake and full of fun, but I never forget my duty to my God— I get eighteen dollars a month, for my services as sexton and eighteen dollars a week outside— I am working in a furniture shop and will fix up all your old furniture for you, when I come to Virginia if you have any— I work hard all the week— On Sunday I am the first one in the church and the last to leave at night; being all day long engaged in serving the Lord; teaching Sunday School and helping to worship God— Kind sister; as paper is getting short and the night is growing old and I feel very weak in the eyes and I have a great deal to do before I turn in to bed tomorrow I shall have to rise early to attend Sunday School, I must come to a conclusion— Best love to yourself and inquiring

friends— Write as quickly as you can and direct to Hawkins Wilson care of Methodist Episcopal church, colored, Galveston, Texas— Give me you P. Office and I will write again— I shall drop in upon you some day like a thief in the night.— I bid you a pleasant night's rest with a good appetite for your breakfast and no breakfast to eat— Your loving and affectionate brother—

Hawkins Wilson

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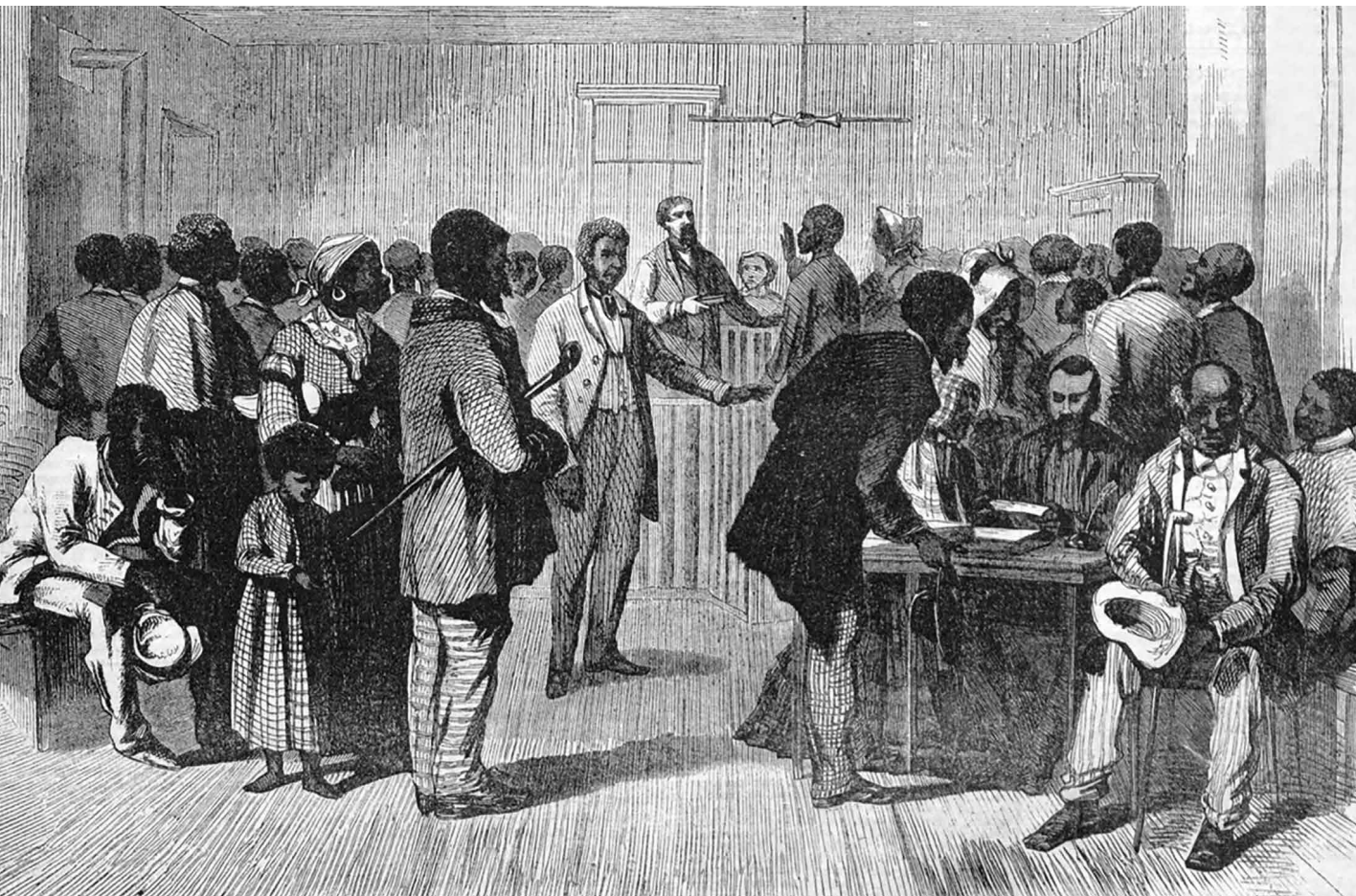
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