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LINKING TO OUR PAST

PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

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LINKING TO OUR PAST

The Linking to Our Past Primary Source Packet is designed to familiarize students with a variety of primary source material while exploring themes in African American history. This packet is designed to expose students to a variety of collection material including letters, diaries, broadsides, government documents, telegrams, paintings, prints, museum objects, and paper ephemera. The source material in this packet and the corresponding guiding questions will provide an avenue for integrating museum collections, and the stories they tell, into history curriculum.

READING AND ANALYZING

Linking to Our Past | Themes Explored

- Identity: What forms of material culture help us measure who we are in a society that values American ideals of individualism and liberty and justice as well as African values such as collectivity and ancestral acknowledgement?
- **Freedom:** What does freedom look like for enslaved people and free blacks in a free society? How have gender conventions shaped the quest for freedom? In what ways does the quest for freedom drive the quest for justice? How is the quest articulated through material culture?
- Education: As a cornerstone of upward mobility, how has the quest for education shaped individual and group aspirations? What benefits have been derived from literacy? How does illiteracy define power?
- **Community:** What does community mean to an ever-changing society? How has it been re-fashioned through dislocation and migration? In what ways do community values shape life in slave quarters, churches, mutual beneficial societies, and federated organizations and local clubs?
- **Resistance:** In what overt and covert ways do we resist oppression? What can we learn from reexamining ideals and concepts emboldened in national and state documents and/or documents created by those who have been denied equal opportunities?
- **Justice:** In what areas can we identify the fight for justice? Who were the leaders in the fight for justice? How has the quest for justice changed the cultural landscape?
- **Triumph:** How does post–Civil War and post-civil rights legislation impact life and race relations in America? Where can we identify triumphant moments in Virginia's history through the sustained efforts of African Americans?

Linking to Our Past | Guide & Source Format

We have developed a format that is flexible enough to allow the best interpretation for each document. The organizational structure we have chosen is described below:

- Title: Each item is identified by its type, its creator, and the year it was produced.
- Introduction & Historical Context: This is a sentence or two that is designed to give teachers a quick idea about how the item can be used and the themes covered. This section also includes background historical information students and teachers need in order to better interpret the item.
- **The Document:** This section explores the item, drawing attention to specific passages, phrases, or images, explains obsolete language, and identifies individuals to aid analysis. Transcripts are provided for handwritten manuscript material.
- **Guided Analysis:** The suggested activities are designed to get students to look at each item closely and think about what they mean.

LIST OF SOURCES

Diary, William Gwathmey, 30 Letter, Giles B. Jackson, July 28, Sketch of Arthur Ashe, by Paul November-5 December 1859 1879 DiPasquale, 1993 Painting, Slave Auction, Virginia, Photograph, Leonie Helen Holmes, *All letters are transcribed as by LeFevre Cranstone, c. 1860s 1909 written. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation errors have been Broadside, from the Committee, Speech, Roy Wilkins, 27 February retained. 2 April 1866 1958

OVERALL DISCUSSION AND GUIDING QUESTIONS

OBSERVE

- 1. What do you notice first?
- 2. Find something small but interesting.
- 3. What do you notice that you didn't expect? What do you notice that you can't explain? What do you notice now that you didn't earlier?

REFLECT

- 1. Where do you think this came from?
- 2. Why do you think somebody made this? What do you think was happening when this was made?
- 3. Who do you think was the audience for this item?
- 4. What tool was used to create this?
- 5. Why do you think this item is important?
- 6. If someone made this today, what would be different?
- 7. What can you learn from examining this?

QUESTION

1. What do you wonder about...who? what? when? Where? Why? How?

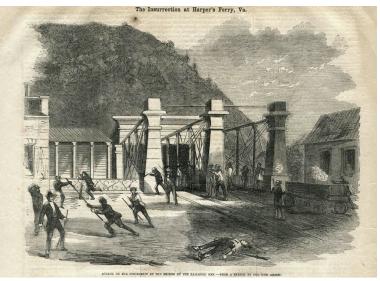
CONTEXT AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR EACH SOURCE

Diary, William Gwathmey, November 30 – December 5, 1859 VMHC call number: Mss1 G9957 c FA2

INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL CONTEXT

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry was a turning point in the sectional crisis. For many in the North, Brown became a martyr to the abolitionist cause. John Brown's raid also convinced many white southerners that militant abolitionists were committed to the destruction of slavery through insurrection and that southern interests could best be protected outside the Union.

In his diary on the date of Brown's execution, William Gwathmey, a King William County planter and physician, described Brown as a "wicked beast[ly] man." His diaries entries on that and subsequent days give us a glimpse into the fear and anger of a white Virginia planter reacting to John Brown's raid.



VMHC Call Number: AP2 F82 o.s

THE DOCUMENT

William Gwathmey's diaries primarily describe weather conditions, farming operations, physician's visits, and church activities. His entries only occasionally reference state or national affairs. Gwathmey's entries on John Brown reveal his significance to southerners. His reference to "old ossawatomie Brown" on 2 December suggests his knowledge of John Brown, his background, and the raid.

Gwathmey wrote that the hanging "occurred without outbreak," revealing a common fear among white southerners that attempts would be made to rescue John Brown. In the entry of 4 December Gwathmey wrote that "old Brown was in this neighborhood callg himself McLane sellg trusses." This statement also attests to the power of rumor. John Brown was never in King William County. Gwathmey's acceptance of a reported sighting of him reveals more about his fears than it does about Brown's travels. Many slaveholders held a paradoxical view of their bondsmen. On the one hand, they believed their slaves were happy, docile, and child-like; on the other, they believed they were potentially violent and vengeful.

While we need to be careful in our interpretation, Gwathmey's claim that Brown was selling trusses (devices worn for support) may be a way of demystifying him. By asserting Brown was nothing more than a common peddler, perhaps Gwathmey was using mockery to deal with the incomprehensible.

Two biblical passages read at church by Brother Turpin, a lay preacher, are included here. Gwathmey, Turpin, and the other whites in the congregation at Beulah found solace in these words, seeing themselves as the true Christians who were being persecuted. What is important here is that John Brown, Brother Turpin, and William Gwathmey all found justification for their actions in the Bible.

Guided Analysis

- 1. Have your students read the diary entries. What do the abbreviations and short-hand suggest? Who was the diary written for? How do you know? Give the students a copy of the typescript and have them guess about the person who kept the diary. What did he do? What was he like?
- 2. If your students don't realize the significance of what they are looking at, draw their attention to the date. Discuss John Brown's career and his raid on Harpers Ferry.
- Discuss Gwathmey's religious faith. Is he a religious person? How do you know? Find the two passages of scripture that serve as the basis for Brother Turpin's sermons. Read the passages. Why did Turpin choose these specific readings? What does Gwathmey hear in these words?
- 4. Gwathmey wrote that Brother Turpin claimed "old Brown was in this neighborhood." Point out to them that John Brown was never in King William County. Why would Brother Turpin believe the man he saw was John Brown? What does this reveal about the fears and concerns of southern slave owners?

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5. Find examples of northern reaction to John Brown. How was the Harpers Ferry raid viewed by northern Democrats? Republicans? Abolitionists? How did Henry David Thoreau view John Brown and the Harpers Ferry raid? Does this tell us more about why the specific Biblical passages were selected?

6. In his attempt to understand the Harpers Ferry raid, William Gwathmey degrades John Brown while seeking solace in the Bible. Ask your students if they have seen others respond to crises in the same way.

Painting, Slave Auction, Virginia, by LeFevre Cranstone, c. 1860s

VMHC Accession Number: 1991.71

INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL CONTEXT

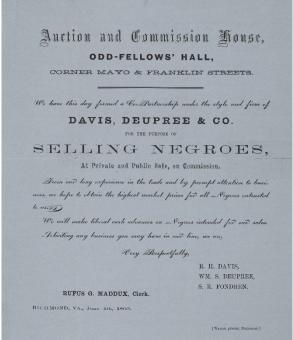
The first known Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619. Although little is known of their status, some were probably treated as indentured servants and freed after a period of five to seven years. The institution of slavery was formalized over a short period of time. In 1662, the House of Burgesses legislated that a child's status—free or slave—was determined by the status of the mother. Although this was not the first act concerning slavery as an institution, the 1662 law placed enslaved women at America's economic foundation. By 1700, at least 20 percent of Virginia's population was enslaved.

LeFevre J. Cranstone, an English artist, created the painting *Slave Auction, Virginia* in 1862. Cranstone's rendering of the

interior world of the auction house highlights the commercial base upon which the institution rested. People were bought and sold like property. A slave was *chattel*, a word defined in law as "a movable article of personal property, any article of tangible property other than land and buildings; a slave."

At the time of this painting in 1862, America was at war over the issue of slavery. Slave auctions, however, continued, and in Virginia's capital the trade was brisk. At the second largest slave trading market in the South, African American families were frequently torn apart. Cranstone's rendering, though well executed, does not convey the grittiness of the auction houses. In keeping with conventions of the time, his dispassionate artistry had to be made suitable for genteel English audiences in a museum setting.

Another artist who painted scenes of a similar style and theme was Eyre Crowe. His paintings, *Slaves Going South After Being Sold At Richmond* and *The Sale of Slaves at Richmond, Virginia, in 1853,* are examples of the kinds of public art that were being exhibited in England at the time.



VMHC Call Number: Broadsides 1860:23

THE PAINTING

Oil on canvas, 11 3/4 x 19 1/2 inches. Original frame. Inscribed and signed on stretcher: "Slave Auction" Virginia/Painted by I. Cranstone Hemel Hempstead Hert.

GUIDED ANALYSIS

- Have your students look at the painting closely. What do they notice about the building? What kind of building is it?
- Have your students identify the individuals in the painting. Who is the man standing on the riser, and what is he doing? Who is the man standing at the podium, and what is he doing? Who is the man seated in the chair, and what is he doing? Who is the man holding the woman on the auction block? How many people are in the building?



VMHC Object Number: 1991.70

- 3. Have your students look closely at the people. From their clothing, can you tell anything about the class or status of the white men present?
- 4. Can you see the expressions on the faces of any of the enslaved African Americans? What might this suggest?
- 5. How many enslaved men are in the picture? In the context of the next question, why do you think the painter chose to depict so many enslaved women? Enslaved children?
- In guiding analysis of primary sources, you may ask students to consider the acronym "SPAM" (Speaker, Purpose, Audience, and Message). In this instance, how might the audience (English society women), shape the message

Broadside, from the Committee, 2 April 1866

INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Was the Civil War fought to preserve the Union? Was it a war for emancipation? Was it a war for southern independence? Was it a war fought to perpetuate slavery? The Civil War has always meant different things to different people. This was as true in 1866 as it is today. In addition to the broadside, two articles from the <u>Richmond Whiq</u> are included following the source discussion questions.

While attending church services on Sunday, April 2, 1865, Confederate president Jefferson Davis was handed a copy of a telegram written by General Robert E. Lee. In his message, Lee informed the War Department that his lines around

Petersburg had been broken, and that he was forced to abandon his position to save the army. This meant that the city of Richmond would fall to forces under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant.

That evening, Jefferson Davis and members of the Confederate government fled the city. To prevent the capture of valuable supplies and to delay Grant's pursuit of Lee, Confederate authorities ordered that tobacco factories and railroad bridges be set afire. High winds carried the fire to adjacent buildings, and early on the morning of April 3, much of the city's business district was in flames. Before the fire was brought under control, 90% of the business district had been destroyed.

As the fire raged, Union troops, including units of

African American soldiers, entered the city.



VMHC Object Number: 1996.132.3

Crowds of black Richmonders cheered wildly. The Reverend Garland White, chaplain of the 28th United States Colored Troop, wrote, "It appeared to me all the colored people in the world had collected." Many white Richmonders were horror stricken by these events, especially by the shock of seeing former slaves embrace the U.S. Army as liberators. The next day, freedmen and women crowded around President Abraham Lincoln as he entered the city and walked to the former White House of the Confederacy and state capital.

Over the next year, former slaves sought to make meaning of emancipation. They searched for family members and struggled against the imposition of Black Codes. They fought for the repeal of laws that restricted their movement. They created a network of mutual-aid societies that provided relief and allowed them the opportunity to participate in civic life. Black men formed militia companies. They also joined the Republican Party and demanded equal rights.

On January 1, 1866, African Americans across the nation celebrated the third anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. However, many Richmond African Americans believed that April 3, 1865, the day the city surrendered to Union forces, should be the date commemorated. Early in 1866, black fraternal organizations and secret societies announced that they were planning a celebration on the first anniversary of Richmond's fall to Union forces—April 3, 1866. For Freedmen and women, the date marked their deliverance from slavery; for many whites, however, it was a humiliating reminder of defeat. Richmond newspapers criticized the choice of dates in the weeks prior to the event. The organizers decided to postpone the celebration, to the relief of many whites. However, on April 2, 1866, the broadside in this lesson appeared throughout the city, announcing the next day's celebration.

Although the <u>Richmond Whig</u> reported much smaller numbers, one source stated that around 2,000 African Americans marched to the state capital. The paraders were arranged by secret society, and they marched in ceremonial garb. At

the capital, they were joined by about 15,000 spectators. The crowd listened to speeches delivered by both white and black orators. The site selected was especially symbolic, as many African Americans were prohibited from entering the capital grounds before emancipation.

The parade took place without violence, but some white employers retaliated by firing black workers who had participated in the festivities. On the eve of the event, the Second African Baptist Church was burned to the ground.

ARCHIVAL CONTEXT

A broadside is defined as information printed on one side of an unfolded sheet of paper. Broadsides are often public notices or announcements and are designed to convey information quickly. In early Virginia, broadsides were posted in courthouses, taverns, and other public places; today, they appear on telephone poles, bulletin boards, and abandoned buildings. This broadside appeared on Richmond streets on April 2, 1866. It became part of our collection shortly after.

THE DOCUMENT

The Emancipation Day celebration was planned by black fraternal organizations and secret societies. Although the individuals who headed up the committee are difficult to identify, J. Cocks was probably Joseph Cox, a free-born tobacco factory worker who was also president of the Union Aid Society, one of Virginia's largest secret societies. In the spring of 1867, Cox sat on the petit jury called to hear the case of former Confederate president Jefferson Davis in his trial for treason. (The trial was never held.) C. Harris may have been Cornelius Harris, a shoemaker and lay preacher who remained politically active for several decades following emancipation. Like Cox, Harris was born free and served as delegate to the Republican Party's state convention in April 1867. Both Cox and Harris were radical Republicans. At the convention, Harris advocated for confiscating the land of former Confederates and redistributing it to the freedmen.

Both Cox and Harris were literate. The misspelling of Cox's name suggests that he was not directly involved in writing and publishing the broadside. Notice that the authors chose to spell the word "coloured" with a "u."

GUIDED ANALYSIS

- 1. Have your students examine the broadside. Ask them how they think broadsides were used.
- 2. After reading the broadside, have your students explain the conflict. Ask them if they think that the organizers were being honest when they wrote, "We do not intend to celebrate the failure of the Southern Confederacy."
- 3. Have your students read the two newspaper articles on the following pages. How do the editors of the *Richmond Whig* view the events that occurred on April 3, 1865?



VMHC Call Number: Broadsides 1866.13

- 4. How do the editors of the *Richmond Whig* describe freedom? Who do they see as responsible for the problem?
- 5. How many African Americans participated in the parade? How many spectators were there? What does the *Whig* say? What does the *Whig* say that northern papers claim? Why is there such a difference? Is there any primary source that is likely to report numbers accurately?
- 6. Why do you think Joseph Cox and Cornelius Harris may have been leaders in Richmond's African American community?

Richmond Whig, 27 March 1866 The Third of April and the Freedman

The rumor that the freedmen of this city and vicinity contemplated celebrating the third of April by a procession, music, and speeches, in commemoration of their deliverance from servitude, has been the cause of considerable feeling and remark among our citizens. The associations connected with that day of terror, which not only witnessed the humiliation of the white population, but the burning of one third of the city, would have made that day an ill-chosen occasion for a jubilee by the colored inhabitants. If not so intended, it would have looked like exultation over their late masters, and would have begotten ill-feelings, and perhaps have led to consequences of an unpleasant nature. We are pleased, therefore, to learn that it has been determined not to have the contemplated celebration; or at least, to defer it to another occasion. Whether this more judicious after-thought was the result of advice from the military officers here, of old citizens in whom the freedmen have confidence, or of their own uninfluenced volition, it is an evidence of good judgment, proper feeling and correct taste, which will be appreciated by the whole community. The negroes born and raised in Virginia understand and appreciate the feelings and characters of the whites, and when not misled and imposed upon by strangers, will set discreetly and with a due regard to all the proprieties, in nine cases out of ten. Bad advice from designing and evil-disposed persons, who do not understand and do not appreciate the relations that subsist between them and the whites, is the danger to which they are most exposed. Fortunately, the colored people have much shrewdness in discriminating character, and in judging between gold and pinchbeck. They can tell a gentleman and a true man almost at a glance. They were, for some time after the great and sudden change in their condition, bewildered, almost distraught. They saw new faces at every turn, and heard from almost every tongue condemnation of their late masters. Their new acquaintances were so warm in their professions of love that they would have deceived wiser men than the negroes. Besides, it seemed unnatural and ungrateful not to listen to and trust those who had made them free. Super-added to this was a vague expectation and fear that the Southern people wanted to re-enslave them and would avail of the first opportunity that offered to do so. They have now had time to collect their wits, to cast about them, to observe men and events, to learn who are their true friends and who are not, and to consider their real interests. They have found out that they upon whom they can most implicitly rely are those among whom they were raised; and they consider carefully before they take any advice that would hazard a misunderstanding with them. It is fortunate for them that they have learned this lesson, for so long as they remain here—and they are likely to close their lives they began them—their prosperity, comfort, respectability, their very bread and meat, depend upon the continued good feeling of the whites. Those who advise them to affect equality, to assume airs, to disregard former relations, or in any way to outrage the feelings of whites, may pretend to be their friends but they are, in fact, their worst enemies.

We are glad therefore, that they have had the good sense to abandon their much talked of 3rd of April celebration. It could not have been otherwise than distasteful to the whole white community. There are other reasons besides, why such a celebration should not take place now. A gathering and procession of thousands and tens of thousands of negroes, enlivened by music, marching under banners, and excited by contact and sympathy, might, without any such purpose originally, by the slightest provocation, such as the ridicule of a thoughtless and mischievous boy, or an accidental fight between a white and colored boy, lose their self-control, presume upon their numbers, and be betrayed into excesses that would entail upon them consequences too fearful to be hazarded at all, much less for merely an unnecessary display.

In every point of view, they have acted wisely in concluding not to have their celebration. They will be just as free without it as with it, and far more comfortable.

Richmond Whig, 10 April 1866 Negro Celebration on the Third of April

The interest and importance of the negro celebration of the third of April were chiefly derived from unpleasant possibilities, which it was feared, might result from it. It passed off, happily, without any such results, for which our thanks are not due to the authority that risked so much to accomplish so little, but to the conservatism of our population and the admirable police arrangements that were made and so efficiently carried out.

We observe that the Northern papers, those especially in the interest of the Radicals, publish the most extravagant accounts of the numbers engaged in the celebration. They say that seven or eight thousand negroes were in the procession, and that twenty-five thousand were on the streets. If this affair is of importance enough to be mentioned, it should be correctly represented. Those accustomed to estimate numbers agree in the opinion that the number in the procession ranged from five to eight hundred. Our own opinion is that it was nearer the former than the latter. It certainly did not exceed the latter. The streets were undoubtedly thronged with negroes who would have been in the streets if there had been no procession, for the day was a holiday. They were not properly a part of the pageant. It is due to the negroes to say that by far the greater number objected to the demonstration as unnecessary and improper. Nearly all who live by their labor continued at their work. The only part they took in the observances was to jeer awkward but gaudily emblazoned marshals as they careened past them, looking as if they would burst with self-importance. The well raised negro has a keen sense of the ridiculous, and a great contempt for those of his own color who put on airs. The loud and hearty guffaw was heard from the sidewalks whenever any uncommon display of vanity was made. Ass far as we could judge, most of those in the procession were the common order of negroes, or young bucks who wanted to show themselves off in their finery, or the hangers-on upon the Freedmen's Bureau. The "colored aristocracy" looked with disdain upon the whole proceeding.

Letter, Giles B. Jackson, July 28, 1879

INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Many people assume incorrectly that the close of Reconstruction meant the immediate curtailment of black political activity. However, the period between the end of Reconstruction and the turn of the twentieth century was a time when widespread black political participation often produced bi-racial coalition governments. In Virginia, the impact of black suffrage is most evident in the period from 1870 to 1885.

Before the Civil War, Virginia had borrowed \$47 million to construct canals, railroads, and turnpikes. Although defeat invalidated all Confederate debt, the state's pre-war obligations were still valid. After the war, Virginia struggled to repay that indebtedness. During the 1870s, two factions materialized with distinctly different ideas about repayment. The "Funders" believed that the state should pay the entire amount, which was owed mostly to northern and European investors. They argued the importance of upholding the state's honor and credit rating. By honoring the state's debts, Funders believed potential investors, whose capital was essential to the rebuilding process, would be more inclined to invest in Virginia. The "Readjusters," on the other hand, believed that part of Virginia's debt should be repudiated and that the newly created state of West Virginia should assume its share of the remainder. They argued that the war destroyed Virginia's capacity to meet its obligations, and that the other southern states had successfully readjusted their pre-war debts.

The controversy grew as the state's financial situation worsened after the Panic of 1873. Appropriations for public services, especially the state's newly established public schools, dried up. Many people feared that payment of the debt would destroy the public education system. Funders and Readjusters both saw the public school system as a catalyst for change. While many Funders rejected public education as a waste of money and a threat to the traditional social order, many Readjusters, both black and white, believed public schools offered their children hope for a brighter future.

In 1879, the Readjusters gained control of the General Assembly and, two years later, captured the state house. In addition to scaling back the state debt, which they did in 1882, the Readjusters allocated more money for public services. Among their projects was the establishment of a teacher training school for blacks in Petersburg—the forerunner of Virginia State University.

It would be misleading to suggest that the Readjusters promoted racial harmony. Racial tensions existed and, in fact, eventually led to the demise of the party. But the movement does reveal that the political interests of African Americans and whites were not mutually exclusive.

ARCHIVAL CONTEXT

This letter, written by Giles B. Jackson (1853–1924) to Lewis E. Harvie (1809?–1887), is part of a larger collection of Harvie family papers (Mss1H2636c) that includes more than 3,000 items. Lewis Harvie's letters and accounts represent roughly 75 percent of the collection, which also includes papers of a brother and several children. The collection came to the Virginia Historical Society in 1969, a gift of the estate of one of Harvie's grandchildren, William Byrd Taylor.

Giles B. Jackson, a native of Goochland County, Virginia, was born enslaved. After the Civil War, he worked as a laborer for the Stewart family, a prominent Richmond family. Subsequently, he was employed in the law offices of William H. Beveridge. Beveridge tutored Jackson, who went on to become the first black attorney to practice before the Supreme Court of Virginia. Jackson organized and promoted the Jamestown Negro Exhibit at the Jamestown Tercentennial in 1907. A year later, he published *A History of the Negro Race of the United States*.

Lewis E. Harvie was a planter and railroad president who lived at Dykeland in Amelia County, Virginia. His correspondence, which largely pertains to post-Civil War politics, includes two letters written by Jackson. In the second, dated 30 September 1879, Jackson says that he never received a reply to his earlier letter, but adds "I was at the Capitol

today to see Conl. F. G. Ruffin and he tole me you ware in this city last Sunday and wanted to see me." He then goes on to repeat the offer made in his first letter. From this, we can conclude that Harvie was seeking Jackson's active support.

We do not know whether Jackson ever traveled to Amelia and Nottoway to speak on Harvie's behalf. We do know that Harvie lost the election.

THE DOCUMENT

In this letter, Jackson offers to "take the stump" in Harvie's behalf. This means he will campaign for Harvie by speaking at public gatherings. Your students will likely have a difficult time reading the letter because of poor spelling and handwriting. They may also be surprised by Jackson's use of the word "collord." Draw their attention to the last sentence where Jackson writes, "Excuse my bad writing as I have never been to school one day in my life." Does this information affect the students' view of the author?

While Jackson is polite, he is not deferential toward Harvie. This suggests that Jackson sees theirs as a relationship based on mutual self-interest; Harvie did Jackson a favor and Jackson wants to pay him back. Jackson offers his services, but needs to be reimbursed for his expenses and, most tellingly, will only come if invited by the county committee and if Harvie asks.

GUIDED ANALYSIS

- 1. Have your students refer to the appropriate timeline in their textbooks and introduce the letter to them. Give them the information in the heading (the place and date) and tell them that a black man is writing a white planter. Then ask them what they think the letter might be about.
- 2. Have your students read the letter. What do they learn about Jackson? What do they learn about Harvie? What offer does Jackson make Harvie? Why?
- 3. Describe the relationship between Harvie and Jackson? Are they friends? Did they have a relationship before the Civil War?
- 4. Draw your students attention to the passage in the letter where Jackson writes, "I wrote Them That I would come if I wore invited by the Co Committee and wore ask to do so by you." What does Jackson mean by this?
- 5. Jackson refers to Harvie as "one of the straunge friend to the Free School." Why do you think this is important to Jackson? What does he say about his own education?
- 6. Tell your students that in 1955, the year that Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus, prominent southern historian C. Vann Woodward wrote a book titled, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. The book explored the period between the end of Reconstruction and the turn of the twentieth century, and examined occurrences like the one revealed in this letter. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. called Woodward's book "the Bible of the civil rights movement." Ask your students why Dr. King would find inspiration in the story of Giles B. Jackson and Lewis E. Harvie?

Photograph, Leonie Helen Holmes, 1909

INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1869, the voters of Virginia approved a new constitution and a year later the state was readmitted into the Union. In addition to granting African American men the right to vote, the new constitution mandated that the state maintain a system of free public schools. Access to education was especially important to African Americans, who were among the free schools' most vocal advocates. Although not required by the 1869 constitution, the state's public schools were segregated by race. In an environment where black education was often seen as unimportant, African Americans fought for more school buildings, longer school terms, additional years of instruction for their children, and control of their own schools. And, over time, in black schools as well as white ones, the teaching profession became, predominantly, the province of women.

In post-Reconstruction Virginia, whites often served as teachers in black schools. Some, like Elizabeth Cartland, were committed to working with freedmen; others were incompetent pedants who were unable to get jobs in white schools. (Teachers, however poorly paid, did receive a salary, and salaried jobs were scarce in economically ravaged postwar Virginia.) In some areas, African Americans had little choice but to accept ineffectual white teachers, as there were few qualified blacks to fill positions. Beginning in the late 1870s and early 1880s, however, African Americans in several localities around the state began to push for the replacement of white teachers in black public schools. In the years since the Civil War, they argued, many African Americans had become qualified to teach, and jobs (and salaries) in black schools should be reserved for black teachers. Black parents believed that black teachers had a better understanding of the educational needs of their children. In the wake of Readjuster electoral successes, in 1882 thirty white teachers in Richmond public schools were replaced by African Americans. By 1900, black teachers had replaced whites in almost all the South's rural schools and most of the urban ones as well.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, new ideas concerning education began to take hold, and these ideas cut across racial lines. One-room schools were combined or "consolidated," allowing for age-appropriate instruction. School terms were lengthened. Public money was made available for the establishment of high schools, provided they became accredited. By the time this photograph was taken in 1909, teaching had become a profession—one of the few open to significant numbers of black women."

However, local school boards demanded that female teachers always demonstrate modesty and decorum, and women generally lost their jobs if they got married. Like much of the rest of society, school boards assumed that a woman's husband would provide for her, believing that teaching jobs should be reserved for those who needed to earn a living. School administrators also were concerned that married female teachers might become pregnant. Although we do not know when Leonie Holmes left teaching, she may have done so when she got married.

In this photograph, Leonie Helen Holmes holds a diploma while a second, framed diploma sits at her feet. The diploma on the floor is her diploma from Richmond Colored Normal and High School; the one in her hand is probably a diploma from a six- to eight-week summer "normal"—a special program designed to train teachers. Summer normals were instituted around 1906 as part of the state's efforts to reform public schools by establishing standards for teachers.

Leonie Helen Holmes graduated from Richmond Colored Normal and High School in 1909. The school served as both a secondary school and a teacher-training academy. It was the forerunner of Armstrong High School. As the background suggests, the picture was taken in a photographer's studio. Several photo galleries in Richmond, including Foster Studio, served a racially mixed clientele. Another was operated by J. C. Farley, a black photographer who was no longer active at the time this photograph was taken. George Brown, who had once partnered with Farley, opened his business in 1909, which eventually became the best-known studio in Richmond's Jackson Ward.

Why did Holmes choose Foster instead of a black photographer? It is possible that this picture was taken during the brief period when there was no black photographer operating in Richmond. It is also possible that the Holmes family and Foster knew one another. Of course, it could also be that the Holmes family chose Foster because they liked his work.

ARCHIVAL CONTEXT

Walter Washington Foster and his partners were commercial photographers. Consequently, the images in the collection do not document an era or provide social commentary, but rather they reflect the choices of paying customers. However, knowing that the family of Leonie Helen Holmes paid Foster for this portrait tells us something about their status and their values.

THE PHOTOGRAPH

The subject of this photograph, Leonie Helen Holmes, was born on January 1, 1891 and died on September 11, 1985. She was eighteen years old when this photograph was taken. According to family members, Leonie Holmes married W. S. Watkins, who established a funeral parlor in Richmond. She helped her husband open the business, which was initially located on 619 Brook Avenue, in the heart of Jackson Ward.

According to her grandson, W. S. Watkins III, Mrs. Holmes was a sweet woman with a quiet disposition. She and her husband eventually divorced, although they remained close throughout their lives. She was a lifelong member of Moore Street Baptist Church. Her niece, Ramona Holmes, remembers visiting her aunt at her home on Hancock Street and brushing her long, beautiful hair.

GUIDED ANALYSIS

- 1. Have your students examine the picture closely. Ask them to describe it. Can they guess where it was taken? When? Tell your students that the subject of the photograph is Leonie Helen Holmes. Ask them to look closely at the expression on her face. Can they tell how she feels?
- 2. Ask your students why they think the picture was taken. Point out the two diplomas and explain what they are.
- 3. As an eighteen-year-old beginning her teaching career, what kind of challenges would Holmes have faced?
- 4. Tell your students that W. W. Foster, the photographer who took this picture, was white. Why do they think the Holmes family chose to patronize a white photographer? Why do they think Foster chose to provide a service to a black client?
- 5. Remind your students that Leonie Helen Holmes was both black and female. As an African American living in Virginia in the early 1900s, what challenges did Holmes face? As a woman living in Virginia in the early 1900s, what challenges did she face? Can your students think of other black women who have faced similar challenges?

Speech, Roy Wilkins, 27 February 1958

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important facets of the civil rights movement was the struggle for school integration. During the 1930s and 1940s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) worked within the confines of "separate but equal" in bringing lawsuits to improve black schools. By the late 1940s, NAACP lawyers changed their strategy, arguing that school segregation was unconstitutional because it violated the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

On 17 May 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, declaring racially segregated schools to be inherently unequal. A year later, in a decision known as Brown II, that same court allowed states and localities a good deal of flexibility in implementing the decision, mandating desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

Initially Virginia's reaction to *Brown* was restrained. The day after the 1954 decree was issued, Governor Thomas B. Stanley urged calm, and indicated he would consult state and local officials and "leaders of both races" to determine how *Brown* would be implemented. Quickly, however, resistance solidified. Opposition to the decision was centered in southern Virginia and was led by state senator Garland Gray of Sussex County. Businessmen in Farmville established the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties to fight school desegregation, and local chapters sprang up throughout the state. These organizations were similar to the White Citizens' Councils that were formed in the Deep South. According to one recent scholar of massive resistance, "In their publications and on the stump, the Defenders denounced integration, emphasizing instances of racial tensions in northern schools, the high crime rate among blacks, and alleged communist influence in the civil rights movement." Roy Wilkins responds to these specific charges on pages seven through nine of his speech.

Governor Stanley appointed a legislative commission, chaired by Senator Gray, to prepare Virginia's official response to *Brown*. In November 1955, the Gray Commission issued its findings, calling for the creation of local pupil placement boards and the payment of tuition grants to students to attend private schools, if their public schools were integrated. These measures were designed to limit desegregation, and even give localities the means to prevent it entirely if local officials wanted. However, the Gray Plan allowed for the possibility of integration and several Virginia localities indicated they would desegregate their schools if it was enacted. This was unacceptable to the more ardent segregationists. Behind the scenes, U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr. called for more drastic measures. In a February 24, 1956 speech, Byrd said, "If we can organize the Southern States for massive resistance to this order I think that in time the rest of the country will realize that racial integration is not going to be accepted in the South." Massive resistance meant no integration anywhere in the state.

At the same time Byrd was pushing the state toward total defiance, James J. Kilpatrick, editor the Richmond *News Leader*, wrote a series of editorials calling for Interposition. Interposition meant challenging the federal government's constitutional jurisdiction, claiming that the regulation of public education was one of the powers reserved to the states. Interposition had been invoked before—by James Madison in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798—but had never been recognized as anything other than a rhetorical argument. Virtually every legal mind in the state, including attorney general and future governor J. Lindsay Almond, recognized that the doctrine of Interposition, like secession, had been rendered obsolete by the Civil War. On page two of his speech, Wilkins ridicules the theory of Interposition.

Under Byrd's guidance and using Interposition as rationale, the Virginia General Assembly met in special session in August 1956 to enact legislation designed to maintain segregated schools. One law created a state pupil placement board, ensuring that African American plaintiffs would be assigned to all-black schools. The most significant act, however, and the heart of massive resistance, was a law that allowed the governor to close schools in any district under court order to desegregate. Local schools boards could then petition the state to reopen the schools on an integrated

basis, but if they chose this route, the governor would cut off state funding to that system. This is what Wilkins means with his reference to the "Rube Goldberg monstrosity" on page two.

Despite the efforts of the Byrd and his supporters, the passage of the massive resistance legislation was not a foregone conclusion. Many in the General Assembly opposed the laws, including Kathryn Stone, a delegate from Arlington. Wilkins alludes to Stone's mistreatment on page five, chiding conservative Virginians for their lack of chivalry, civility, and sense of fairness.

During the massive resistance session, legislators also passed seven bills designed to obstruct the efforts of the NAACP. Without mentioning the NAACP by name, these bills required any organization that "engaged in promoting or opposing legislation in behalf of one race or color" to register with the State Corporation Commission and provide lists of members and contributors. Other laws prohibited organizations from encouraging and assisting in desegregation lawsuits. Legislative committees were set up to investigate the NAACP. On pages five and six, Wilkins responds to these laws, claiming that NAACP activities were no different from those engaged in by business and trade associations. His allusion to Virginia's apple growers is a reference to Senator Byrd, an orchardist.

In November 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, causing many Americans to question the quality of their public schools. Supporters of school integration often used the threat of the Soviet scientific supremacy to counter the advocates of school-closing. This is the context for Wilkins's remarks (page two) on the academic failures of Georgia students and his comment, "in the face of this record and in their hour of need, it simply does not make sense for a body of legislators to be planning to close public schools."

Wilkins gave this speech at the Mosque (now the Landmark Theater) on February 27, 1958. At this point, Virginia's massive resistance laws were in effect, but remained untested. In September 1958, under massive resistance, schools were closed in Warren County, Charlottesville, and Norfolk. On January 19, 1959, both the Virginia State Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Virginia's massive resistance legislation. On February 2, 1959, a handful of black students were admitted to previously all-white schools in Arlington and Norfolk.

QUOTE: Since the landing in Jamestown in 1607 this has been our land and we have been its people. We have fought to defend it from Boston Common to Iwo Jima. A famous Virginian inspired us, as he inspired countless others, with his cry of "Give me liberty or give me death!" In the great American tradition, we shall be restless, we shall not be content, and we shall be active until that freedom is ours. Roy Wilkins

ARCHIVAL CONTEXT

This speech was mailed from 404 1/2 N. Second Street, the headquarters of the Richmond Chapter of the NAACP. It was sent to Will Rachal, the editor of the historical society's *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. The speech was accessioned on March 14, 1958, with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People listed as the donor.

THE DOCUMENT

This document consists of eleven typewritten legal-sized pages. The twelfth page is the back of page eleven and has been included to show how the speech was addressed and mailed. Wilkins begins his speech with the sentence, "I appreciate this opportunity to talk again with our members and friends in Virginia (and with our opponents) in the continuing discussion on public school desegregation and the status of Negro citizens in America." Ask your students to think about how an audience that includes both supporters and opponents shaped Wilkins's message. Was Wilkins actually addressing opponents, or was he referring to the invited members of the General Assembly?

Roy Wilkins was a journalist and civil rights leader who served as executive director of the NAACP for twenty-two years. Of him, one biographer writes, "His tenure characterized him as a pragmatist and strategist who believed that reasoned arguments, both in the courtroom and in public discourse, would sway public opinion."

GUIDED ANALYSIS

- 1. Begin this activity by viewing or listening to Martin Luther King's I Have a Dream speech. Discuss the speech with your students. Ask about King's audience. Who was Dr. King addressing? Where was the speech given? Under what circumstances? Remind your students of the obvious—that King's speech was taped and televised.
- 2. Have your students read the first paragraph of Roy Wilkins's speech. Who was his audience? Where was the speech given? Under what circumstances? How was his speech different from Dr. King's? Does this difference reflect the different styles of the two men, or the different audiences? Or does it reflect both?
- 3. As your students watch Dr. King's speech, have them listen for the following passage: "I have a dream that one day down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right down in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and while girls as sisters and brothers." Ask your students what Interpositon means. Have them refer to pages one and two of the Wilkins speech and figure it out.
- 4. Have your students read the first four pages of Wilkins's speech. What does he say about Interposition, massive resistance, the importance of public schools, and states' rights?
- 5. Have your students read the rest of the speech. According to Wilkins, why does the Virginia General Assembly target the NAACP? What evidence does Wilkins cite to show the futility of this effort? What evidence does Wilkins cite to demonstrate that the NAACP represents African Americans in Virginia and the rest of the South.
- 6. In debate, speakers often try to prove the hypocrisy of an opponent's arguments. Have your students find examples that demonstrate Wilkins's attempts to prove that the segregationists are hypocrites—that their actions contradict their own values and beliefs.
- 7. Remind your students that the Civil Rights movement and the Cold War occurred at the same time. How does Wilkins use anti-communism and the Soviet threat to his rhetorical advantage? Draw your students' attention to Wilkins's defense against charges that the NAACP is pro-Communist (pages eight and nine). What does Wilkins say? Point out to your students that both advocates and opponents of integration tried to show that their opponents were unpatriotic.
- 8. Read your students the following paragraph from an article in the Richmond Times-Dispatch the day after the Wilkins speech. "About 30 minutes after the program began, 150 seats reserved for invited members of the General Assembly were still empty. Because all the other seats in the 5000-seat Mosque were filled, persons who were standing were invited to fill the empty seats." Ask your students what this suggests about the members of the General Assembly. Then ask them what this suggests about both the general public's interest in the subject and the nature of political discourse. Can they image 5,000 people today sitting in an auditorium and listening to a Wilkins-style speech on a political issue? How do we get information about political issues today? Are we better informed?
- 9. Ask students to ponder the effect of the "all deliberate speed" message sent by the Court in Brown II. Did the implied breathing room granted to states encourage responses like Virginia's massive resistance?

Sketch of Arthur Ashe, By Paul Dipasquale, 1993

INTRODUCTION

After meeting Arthur Ashe in 1992, Paul DiPasquale, a sculptor known for public art, received permission to create a statue of the tennis champion. DiPasquale produced nine crayon and pencil studies for the statue the following year. After Ashe died in 1993, his wife, Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe, along with other family members, approved the portrait studies. Moutoussamy-Ashe also suggested the non-profit mentoring organization Virginia Heroes Incorporated as a possible source for funds. In 1993 the president and board of Virginia Heroes voted to raise \$400,000 to complete the fabrication and installation of the twenty-four-foot high bronze and granite monument.

The statue, located on Richmond's Monument Avenue, was unveiled on July 10, 1996. Had Ashe lived, he would have been fifty-three years old that day. The location of the statute sparked controversy. Critics opposed the site selected for the Ashe statue, a historic thoroughfare dotted with monuments to Confederate leaders. Southern heritage groups were the most vocal opponents, although a sizable minority of African Americans also objected to the placement of the statue because of Monument Avenue's association with the Confederacy.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

What it is, is controlled cool, in a way. Always have the situation under control, even in losing. Never betray an inward sense of defeat. Arthur Ashe

Born on July 10, 1943, Arthur Ashe, Jr., was the son of Arthur Ashe, Sr., and Mattie Cordell Cunningham Ashe. At the age of twenty-eight, Mattie Ashe died. Arthur, Jr., was only six years old at the time. A year later, he met a Virginia Union University student, Ronald Charity, on the segregated Brook Road tennis courts where Charity was practicing. Charity taught Ashe how to play tennis. When he grew older, Ashe received additional training from Dr. Robert Walter "Whirlwind" Johnson of Lynchburg, Virginia. Johnson was a leader in the American Tennis Association, the black counterpart to the all-white United States Lawn Tennis Association. During the summer months, Ashe attended Johnson's camp, where Althea Gibson had also trained.

During his senior year in high school, Ashe relocated to St. Louis, Missouri, for additional tennis instruction. There, racial segregation was not as rigid. Ashe trained on indoor courts with hardwood surfaces, the challenge of which helped him develop. He also competed with whites as well as blacks. In 1960, Ashe became the first African American to win the national Junior Indoors Singles title. A year later, he won his second national title at the National Interscholastic Tournament, held at the University of Virginia. Ashe also graduated with the highest grades in his high school class. He accepted an athletic scholarship from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), from which he graduated in 1966 with a degree in business administration.

In 1967, Ashe entered the army for a two-year tour of duty. After leaving the army, he resumed his tennis career and soon became the top-ranked player in the world. In 1975, Arthur Ashe became the first African American to win the gentlemen's singles championship at Wimbledon.

In 1977 Ashe married Jeanne Moutoussamy, a photographer, and they had a daughter whom they named Camera. After heart surgery in 1979, Ashe announced his retirement from competitive tennis. In 1982 he was named Virginian of the Year by the Virginia Press Association. That same year, the city of Richmond named a new athletic center in his honor. In 1983 Ashe became co-founder of Artists and Athletes against Apartheid. Ashe researched and wrote *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete,* a comprehensive three-volume work published in 1988. He conceived of a mentoring program for at-risk youth called Virginia Heroes in 1990. For his post-tennis career, he was selected Sportsman of the Year in 1992 by *Sports Illustrated*.

Ashe said that it was his demeanor that set him apart from other tennis players. "What it is, is controlled cool, in a way. Always have the situation under control, even in losing. Never betray an inward sense of defeat." Ashe became known as "The Iceman" by some of his colleagues because of his seeming nonchalance and detached attitude.

Monument Avenue and the erection of the Arthur Ashe Statue (Read the Richmond Times-Dispatch article)

Designated as a National Historic Landmark in December 1997, Monument Avenue represents the Old and the New South. Upon entering Richmond from the west along Monument Avenue, visitors are greeted at Roseneath Road by the Arthur Ashe statue. Unveiled in July 1996, the placement of the statute prompted international discussion and debate. Although Monument Avenue was never designated as a memorial to the Confederacy, in the minds of many it took on that role.

In 1887, Monument Avenue was proposed to encourage residential development west of the growing city and to announce Richmond's intentions of maintaining its role as the leading city of the South. The founding of the avenue coincided with national movements: the emerging City Beautiful movement encouraged the erection of monuments to national heroes; the American Renaissance movement inspired mostly romanticized interpretations of the nation's history, art, and architecture; and the cult of the Lost Cause venerated Confederate leaders. The Lee Monument was unveiled in 1890 after much debate about its location and sculptor (Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercie, a Frenchman, was eventually given the commission). Monument Avenue took on greater significance after the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy in the mid-1890s, solidifying the city and the avenue's role as a shrine to the Lost Cause. In 1907, two other monuments on the avenue were unveiled: one to J. E. B. Stuart and another to Jefferson Davis. A monument to Stonewall Jackson followed in 1919, and finally, in 1929, a monument was erected to honor Matthew Fontaine Maury.

ARCHIVAL CONTEXT

Paul DiPasquale was commissioned by Virginia Heroes, Inc., to sculpt a statue of Arthur Ashe. As part of his preliminary work, DiPasquale made nine conte crayon studies of his subject. The drawings are approximately 26 inches by 21 inches. They are part of the Virginia Heroes Incorporated Collection, which was acquired by the Virginia Historical Society in 1997. While Virginia Heroes, Inc., owned the sketches, DiPasquale retained the copyright, and the Society needed to get his permission to use the drawings in this project.

THE DRAWING

Featured is one of nine crayon and pencil studies produced by Paul DiPasquale in 1993. (Copyright Paul DiPasquale)

GUIDED ANALYSIS

- 1. Remind your students that Paul DiPasquale met Arthur Ashe. Have them look closely at the sketch. What do they think the artist is trying to say about Ashe?
- 2. Ask your students how the drawing (and the statue) might be different had the artist wanted the public to know that Ashe was a tennis champion?
- 3. Have your students read the newspaper article concerning the placement of the Arthur Ashe statue on Monument Avenue. (Make sure that they understand that Monument Avenue is a historic boulevard lined mostly with grand turn-of-the-twentieth-century homes.) Have them identify and list as many arguments as they can both for and against the placement of the statue on Monument Avenue. Ask, "What is the best argument offered by those in favor of the statue's location?" "What is the best argument offered by those opposed?" (DiPasquale's plaster model of the statue, mentioned in the first paragraph of the article, is currently on display at the Virginia Historical Society.)
- 4. Refer your students to other items on this site, specifically the <u>1866 broadside</u> and the <u>Jerome Baskett letter</u>. Ask them about the issues that arise concerning the Civil War and memory. Do they see examples in their communities?

5. Ask your students about how society remembers and commemorates the past. Can public art and historical commemorations ever please everyone? How would they deal with controversies that arise from events such as Jamestown 2007?

Diary, William Gwathmey, 30 November – 5 December 1859 VMHC Call Number Mss1 G9957 c FA2 Series 2 Box 2

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TRANSCRIPT | Diary, William Gwathmey, 30 November – 5 December 1859

November 30th, 1859.

same weather and work. I called to see bro Js. feeble but without fever and went on to sister Fleet – thank ful to find her better.

December 1st, 1859.

clear and very warm – I went to see bro. Hill with neuralgia in face. in evening sent for to see bro. Js. opened abcess. 4 days haulg the small corn to barn & not filld.

2nd.

same weather and work. George mend ed the culvert made by Figg which leaked & fell in – old ossawatomie Brown to be hanged at Charlestown for murder and insurrection – wicked beast. man. wh. we learn by telgraph occurred without out break. Thankful to hear sister Fleet & Mr. Baylor continue better.

December 3rd, 1859.

cloudy morng – Hands go on haulg corn to house barn in shucks 5th day with two ox carts & wagon. Monthly meeting. which we are privileged to attend except dear Betty. The sermon by bro Turpin from PsXXXI. 15. "My times are in thy hand" was impressive & comforting – we came home in rain.

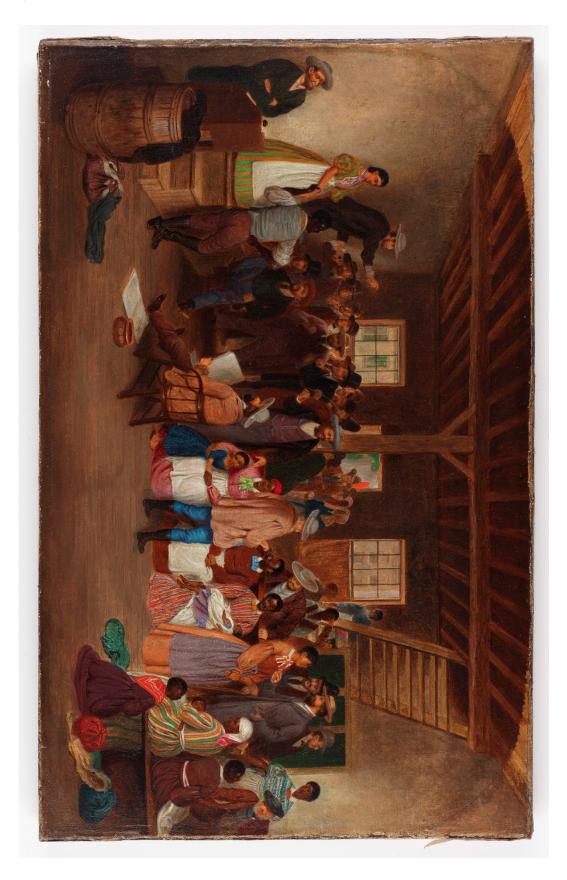
4th.

Lord's day – slight rain all day, a few of us go to meetg sermon by bro. Turpin from John XV. 25. "He hated me without a cause." He came with us in rain I learn today old Brown was in this neighbor hood callg himself McLane sellg trusses – was at Beulah very sanctified. bro. T. thinks partook of sacra ment, 2 years ago. what a hypocrite –

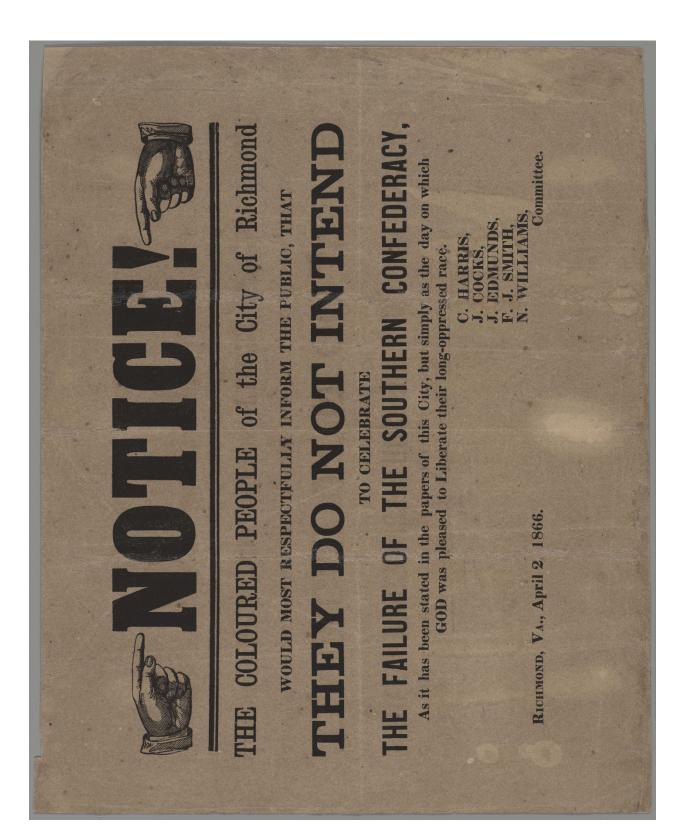
5th.

slight rain all night and day – I was sent for to see bro. Johnson opened abcess – Bro. T. left about 10.00 – Hands do a little towds gathering corn & fix shelter for shucks. Geo. making shoes – Mary yet poorly indeed, appetite fail – ing tho. disease of kidney & bladder seem better R.S.T. returnd with my sulky & Zack.

Painting, Slave Auction, Virginia, by LeFevre Cranstone, c. 1860s VMHC Object Number: 1991.70



Broadside, from the Committee, 2 April 1866 VMHC Call Number: Broadsides, 1866.13



Letter, Giles B. Jackson, July 28, 1879 VMHC Call Number: Mss1 H2636 c 660

Richmond Va Joly 28th 1879 Han Lewis & Harvis Dear may Seem Very Strong to When This letter Comes to hand for hop have had no tree y acquintence so With you The figh Li moh with you Mare last Winter en the When you to Showigh · me to His beceleence, for a pla did not The babli Though l Jeling In Place book e feld ome you a. debt of Grad etule for w Mahllam for me. Though Jan may have all about me. 20 to b for sotten Mon a recalation of the and what Frompo Jaon Apried beleen us while you Wore in the lost send assemble. Enclose you are of the papers Thos Man So Kindly tendased for me to bring you & a ful necalatio Though Neeling after so you get he You Will Pliose Lend 103 L 2 putan mail and oplige n Harrie The neason & Write Shop I Have been the you is Upponto by som of The decking look Your bounty and of nottoway be to come own and Help to Support

Letter, Giles B. Jackson, July 28, 1879 VMHC Call Number: Mss1 H2636 c 660

you to The nech House of Delegates They Hove All 200 Waiten to me and of Ume to send the more in the cost assemble theme Shot you wore one of The Strongs friends to to Ho bollow man That were in The assemble and wor are of The thougs funds to the Free School Those wore in the assemble & Jole them They arau Would do Well to Dend you Bado This Hall To som of the men in nothing to ost meto came and and Laro The Tump for you I wrote Thema that I Wavell Come if I wore insided by The Go Committe and ware of to to do by you e. woold not fail to do all that wore in M Power & Leh you beceled a all Told The all il Coved to Stranken your Succes I will write you too of The nomer of The men That mean me in nichmond a few days aso for nottoway be and off me my opping about Sending you bask The nomes is one tosep Formel of and ane An Aames , Willow of Nottoway to Than post offic is on Jannings Chainsy to Il Wrote to The Sense I seen Then in nichand and I ost fer to let you need than letters I tole Flow you did not Know I were Wailengto flem Consoring Les Non much Write to me as boom to you toto Alline this Ecore my toad Writing or a new been to School are day in my life com

Richmond VA. July 28th 1879

Hon. Lewis E. Harvie Dear Sir it may seem very strang to you when this letter comes to hand for one that haven had no longer acquaintance with you then I have the first time I met with you ware last winter en the Gov[ernor's] office when you so straungly recomned [recommended] me to His Excellency for a place in the Captil though I did not suced in in geting the place bout I fel that I owe you a debt of gradetude for what you done for me. Though you may have for gotten all about me. So to bring you a recalation of me and what transpired beteen us while you ware in the last Genl Assemble I will enclose you one of the papers that you so kindly enclosed for me to bring you to ful recalation of me after you get through reeding the papers you will please send them by the return mail and oblige me [.] Mr Harvie the reason I write this letter to you is that I have been call uppon by sum of the leeding collord men of your county and of nottoway Co to come over and help to support you to the next House of Delegates [.]They have all so writen to me and ask me to send them you record that you made while you wore in the last assemble and I have writen to them and told them that you wore one of the straunge friends to the collord Man that ware in the assemble and wore one of the straunge friends to the Free School that wore in the assemble[.] I tole them thay would do well to send you back this fall [.] So som of the men in nottoway Co ask me to come over and take the stump for you I wrote them that I would come if I wore invited by the Co Committee and wore ask to do so by you I would not fail to do all that ware in my power to get you elected [.] I all told the all I could to stranken you sucses[.] I will write you too of the names of the men that meat me in Richmond a few days ago from Nottoway Co and ask me my oppinon about sending you back[.] The names is one Joseph E. Farrell Jr and one Mr. James T. Miller of Nottoway Co Thair post office is at Jannings Ordinay [.] So I wrote to them sence I seen them in Richmond and I ask them to let you reed thair letters I tole them you did not know I were writeing to them conserning them you must write me as soon as you recive this [.] excuse my bad writing as I never been to school one day in my life I am yours and c Giles B. Jackson Colard

Photograph, Leonie Helen Holmes, 1909 VMHC Object Number: 2003.298.29A



Speech, Roy Wilkins, 27 February 1958 VMHC Call Number: Mss2 W6583 a1

> Address by Roy Wilkins of New York City, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at meeting of the Richmond, Virginia, NAACP at the Mosque, February 27, 1958, 8 p.m.

I appreciate this opportunity to talk again with our members and friends in Virginia (and with our opponents) in the continuing discussion on public school desegregation and the status of Negro citizens in America.

We are here in this meeting tonight, and in this place, because the Commonwealth of Virginia has not been fair. It granted permission to the segregationists to hold a meeting in the chamber of the House of Delegates, but it refused to grant us the use of that chamber. The Fairfax Citizens' Council brought the president of the Little Rock, Ark., Citizens' Council to Virginia for some lectures. That was the right of the Fairfax group and the right of the Arkansas lawyer to speak. But when the General Assembly gave permission for the Arkansas visitor to speak February 4 in the House of Delegates, it was honor-bound at that instant to grant the NAACP the use of the same facilities.

This particular unfairness is a relatively small thing in itself, but it illustrates perfectly the level on which the whole segregation debate is proceeding: the other side apparently does not believe it can win in a fair fight. Our opponents have everything on their side except morality and law. They have money from individuals and organizations. When that is insufficient, they reach into state treasuries and spend the money of all the people to fight part of the people--us. They have complete control of the state and local governments. Why, the General Assembly has done little else for the past couple of years but pass laws against desegregation and against the NAACP. They have control of the economic power-finance, business, agriculture, industry. They handle all law enforcement machinery. And, with a few exceptions, they have the newspapers on their side, pounding home their story day after day, in news stories - often slanted -, editorials, special columns, cartoons and pictures.

Why, then, do they have to resort to a snide trick like turning the State House over to the Citizens' Councils and slamming the door in the face of the NAACP? Well, they must be doing it because, with all their power they don't think they can win in a fair fight.

Let's look at the Virginia record--and what a record it is! The Richmond News-Leader under the editorship of James J. Kilpatrick sounded the call in its editorial of June 1, 1955. It called for resistance and defiance and wound up by

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Sketch of Arthur Ashe, by Paul DiPasquale, 1993 VMHC Object Number: 1997.9.3

