COMBINED VOLUME

AFRICAN-AMERICAN ODYSSEY



DARLENE CLARK HINE / WILLIAM C. HINE / STANLEY HARROLD



THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN ODYSSEY

DARLENE CLARK HINE MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM C. HINE
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY

STANLEY HARROLDSOUTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY

PRENTICE HALL
UPPER SADDLE RIVER, NEW JERSEY 07458

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hine, Darlene Clark.

The African-American odessey / Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, Stanley Harrold.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-13-571852-X

1. Afro-Americans. 2. Afro-Americans—History.

C. II. Harrold, Stanley. III. Title.

E185.H533 2000 973'.0496073—dc21

, Stanley. III. Title.

99-29872 CIP

I. Hine, William

Vice President/Editorial Director: Charlyce Jones Owen

Acquisitions Editor: Todd Armstrong

Editor-in-Chief of Development: Susanna Lesan

Development Editors: David Chodoff and Gerald Lombardi

Director of Production and Manufacturing: Barbara Kittle

Production Editor: Louise Rothman Manufacturing Manager: Nick Sklitsis

Prepress and Manufacturing Buyer: Lynn Pearlman

Marketing Director: Gina Sluss Marketing Manager: Sheryl Adams

Creative Design Director: Leslie Osher

Cover and Interior Design: Ximena Tamvakopoulos

Editorial Assistant: Holly Jo Brown

Cover Art: Aaron Douglas, Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery Through Reconstruction, 1934. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art & Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation (Detail).

Photo Research Supervisor: Beth Boyd

Photo Researcher: Barbara Salz

Assistant Manager Art Production: Guy Ruggiero

Electronic Art Creation: CartoGraphics

Credits and acknowledgments for materials borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook, appear on pages C-1 to C-5.

This book was set in 10/12 Janson Text by The Clarinda Company and was printed and bound by Courier Westford. The cover was printed by Phoenix Color Corp.

©2000 by Prentice-Hall Inc. A Pearson Education Company Upper Saddle River, New Jersey 07458

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

0-13-571852-X

Prentice-Hall International (UK) Limited, London

Prentice-Hall of Australia Pty. Limited, Sydney

Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Toronto

Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., Mexico

Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi

Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., Tokyo

Pearson Education Asia Pte. Ltd., Singapore

Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda., Rio de Janeiro

To Carter G. Woodson and Benjamin Quarles

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Darlene Clark Hine received her undergraduate education at Roosevelt University and her master's and Ph.D. degrees from Kent State University. She is John A. Hannah Professor of History at Michigan State University. Her most recent book, A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America (1998), was cowritten with Kathleen Thompson. Her earlier books include Speak Truth to Power: Black Professional Class in United States History (1996); Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History (1994); Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950 (1989); and Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas (1979). She is editor of The State of Afro-American History, Past, Present, and Future (1986), co-editor (with Elsa Barkley Brown and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn) of a two-volume set, Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia (1993); More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas, co-edited with David Barry Gaspar (1996); and Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora, co-edited with Jacqueline McLeod (1999). Professor Hine is also co-editor of the Blacks in the Diaspora series published by Indiana University Press. She is president-elect of the Organization of American Historians (2000-2001).

William C. Hine received his undergraduate education at Bowling Green State University, his master's degree at the University of Wyoming, and his Ph.D. at Kent State University. He is a professor of history at South Carolina State University. He has had articles published in several journals, including Agricultural History, Labor History, and the Journal of Southern History. He is currently writing a history of South Carolina State University.

Stanley Harrold, Professor of History at South Carolina State University, received his bachelor's degree from Allegheny College and his master's and Ph.D. degrees from Kent State University. He is co-editor of Southern Dissent, a book series published by the University Press of Florida. A recipient of two National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowships during the past decade, Professor Harrold is a historian of nineteenth-century American reform. His books include: Gamaliel Bailey and Antislavery Union (1986), The Abolitionists and the South (1995), and Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America (co-edited with John R. McKivigan, 1999). He has published articles in Civil War History, Journal of Southern History, Radical History Review, and other journals. His current projects include a short history of the American abolitionists and a study of biracial antislavery activism in antebellum Washington, D.C.

ne feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideas in one dark body." So wrote W. E. B. Du Bois in 1897. African-American history, Du Bois maintained, was the history of this double-consciousness. Black people have always been part of the American nation that they helped to build. But they have also been a nation unto themselves, with their own experiences, culture, and aspirations. African-American history cannot be understood except in the broader context of American history. American history cannot be understood without African-American history.

Since Du Bois's time our understanding of both African-American and American history has been complicated and enriched by a growing appreciation of the role of class and gender in shaping human societies. We are also increasingly aware of the complexity of racial experiences in American history. Even in times of great racial polarity some white people have empathized with black people and some black people have identified with white interests.

It is in light of these insights that *The African-American Odyssey* tells the story of African Americans. That story begins in Africa, where the people who were to become African Americans began their long, turbulent, and difficult journey, a journey marked by sustained suffering as well as perseverance, bravery, and achievement. It includes the rich culture—at once splendidly distinctive and tightly intertwined with a broader American culture—that African Americans have nurtured throughout their history. And it includes the manyfaceted quest for freedom in which African Americans have sought to counter white oppression and racism with the egalitarian spirit of the Declaration of Independence that American society professes to embody.

Nurtured by black historian Carter G. Woodson during the early decades of the twentieth century, African-American history has blossomed as a field of study since the 1950s. Books and articles have appeared on almost every facet of black life. Yet this textbook is the first comprehensive survey of the African-American experience. It draws on recent research to present black history in a clear and direct manner, within a broad social, cultural, and political framework. It also provides thorough coverage of African-American women as active builders of black culture.

The African-American Odyssey balances accounts of the actions of African-American leaders with investigations of the lives of the ordinary men and women in black communities. This community focus helps make this a history of a people rather than an account of a few extraordinary individuals. Yet the book does not neglect important political and religious leaders, entrepreneurs, and entertainers. And it gives extensive coverage to African-American art, literature, and music.

African-American history started in Africa, and this narrative begins with an account of life on that continent to the sixteenth century and the beginning of the forced migration of millions of Africans to the Americas. Succeeding chapters present the struggle of black people to maintain their humanity during the slave trade and as slaves in North America during the long colonial period.

The coming of the American Revolution during the 1770s initiated a pattern of black struggle for racial justice in which periods of optimism alternated with times of repression. Several chapters analyze the building of black community institutions, the antislavery movement, the efforts of black people to make the Civil War a war for emancipation, their struggle for equal rights as citizens during Reconstruction, and the strong opposition these efforts faced. There is also substantial coverage of African-American military service, from the War for Independence through American wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

During the late nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, racial segregation and racially motivated violence that relegated African Americans to second-class citizenship provoked despair, but also inspired resistance and commitment to change. Chapters on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cover the great migration from the cotton fields of the South to the North and West, black nationalism, and the Harlem Renaissance. Chapters on the 1930s and 1940s—the beginning of a period of revolutionary change for African Americans—tell of the economic devastation and political turmoil caused by the Great Depression, the growing influence of black culture in America, the racial tensions caused by black participation in World War II, and the dawning of the civil rights movement.

The final chapters tell the story of African Americans during the second half of the twentieth century. They relate the successes of the civil rights movement at its peak during the 1950s and 1960s and the efforts of African Americans to build on those successes during the more conservative 1970s and 1980s. Finally, there are portrayals of black life during the concluding decades of the twentieth century and of the continuing impact of African Americans on life in the United States.

In all, *The African-American Odyssey* tells a compelling story of survival, struggle, and triumph over adversity. It will leave students with an appreciation of the central place of black people and black culture in this country and a better understanding of both African-American and American history.

SPECIAL FEATURES

The many special features and pedagogical tools integrated within *The African-American Odyssey* are designed to make the text accessible to students. They include a variety of tools to reinforce the narrative and help students grasp key issues.

- Outlines provide students with a brief overview of the material they are about to read.
- Introductory quotations set the theme for each chapter.
- "Voices" boxes provide students with first-person perspectives on key events in African-American history. Brief introductions and study questions help students analyze these primary source documents and relate them to the text.
- The biographical sketches in the "Profiles" boxes highlight the contributions and personalities of both prominent individuals and ordinary people, illuminating common experiences among African Americans at various times and places.
- Brief chronologies provide students with a snapshot of the temporal relationship among significant events.
- End-of-chapter Time Lines establish a chronological context for events in African-American history by juxtaposing them with events in American history and in the rest of the world.
- Review questions encourage students to analyze the material they have read and to explore alternative perspectives on that material.
- The recommended reading and additional bibliography lists direct students to more information about the subject of each chapter.
- Maps, charts, and graphs help students visualize the geographical context of events and grasp significant trends.

- Abundant illustrations, tied to the text with informative captions, provide a visual link to the African-American past.
- Color inserts provide a sample of the richness of the folk and fine art African Americans have produced throughout their history.

SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

The extensive package of both traditional and electronic supplements that accompanies *The African-American Odyssey* provides instructors and students with an array of resources that combine sound scholarship, engaging content, and a variety of pedagogical tools to enrich the classroom experience and students' understanding of African-American history.

Instructor's Manual with Test. The *Instructor's Manual* provides summaries, outlines, learning objectives, lecture and discussion topics, and audio/visual resources for each chapter. Test materials include multiple choice, essay, identification and short-answer, chronology, and map questions.

Prentice Hall Custom Test. This commercial-quality computerized test management program, available for Windows and Macintosh environments, allows instructors to select from testing material in the *Instructor's Manual with Tests* and design their own exams.

Study Guide (Volumes I and II). This student study aid includes a summary for each chapter, reviews key points and concepts, and provides multiple choice, essay, chronology, and map questions.

Documents Set (Volumes I and II). The *Documents Set* supplements the text with additional primary and secondary source material covering the social, cultural, and political aspects of African-American history. Each reading includes a short historical summary and several review questions.

The African American Odyssey Companion Website. The Companion Website (www.prenhall.com/hine) works with the text to provide students with additional study materials—including questions and labeling exercises—and directs them to appropriate sources on African-American history available on the Internet. A Faculty Module provides instructors with downloadable material from both the Instructor's Manual and the text to aid in course organization.

Living Words: An Audio CD of African-American Oral Traditions. The text comes with an audio CD with examples of the rich oral traditions of African-American culture. In the speeches, songs, stories, and poetry on the CD, students can hear the African roots of those traditions and their links to other cultures. See the end of this volume for a full description.

Microsoft® Encarta® Africana CD-ROM. This remarkable interactive CD-ROM takes students on an unforgettable exploration of the history of African Americans, the great accomplishments of ancient civilizations, and the traditions that Africans brought to the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe, and Asia. Contact your local Prentice Hall representative for information on student discounts of *Encarta® Africana* packaged with *The African-American Odyssey*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparing *The African-American Odyssey* we have benefited from the work of many scholars and the help of colleagues, librarians, friends, and family.

Special thanks are due to the following scholars for their substantial contributions to the development of this textbook:

Peter Banner-Haley, Colgate University
Robert L. Harris Jr., Cornell University
Wanda Hendricks, Arizona State University
Rickey Hill, South Carolina State University
William B. Hixson, Michigan State University
Barbara Williams Jenkins, South Carolina State University
Earnestine Jenkins, University of Memphis
Wilma King, University of Missouri, Columbia
Frank C. Martin, South Carolina State University
Jacqueline A. McLeod, Michigan State University
Freddie Parker, North Carolina Central University
Christopher R. Reed, Roosevelt University
Linda Reed, University of Houston
Robert Stewart, Trinity School, New York
Andrew Workman, Mills College

We are grateful to the reviewers who devoted valuable time to reading and commenting on *The African-American Odyssey*. Their insightful suggestions greatly improved the quality of the text.

Abiodun Goke-Pariola, *Georgia Southern University*Claude A. Clegg, *Indiana University*Delia Cook, *University of Missouri at Kansas City*Mary Ellen Curtin, *Southwest Texas State University*Roy F. Finkenbine, *Hampton University*John H. Haley, *University of North Carolina*at Wilmington

Ebeneazer Hunter, De Anza College
Joseph Kinner, Gallaudet University
Kenneth Mason, Santa Monica College
Andrew T. Miller, Union College
John David Smith, North Carolina State University
at Raleigh
Marshall Stevenson, Ohio State University
Harry Williams, Carleton College
Andrew Workman, Mills College

Many librarians provided valuable help tracking down important material. They include Ruth Hodges, Doris Johnson, Minnie Johnson, Barbara Keitt, Andrew Penson, and Mary L. Smalls, all of Miller F. Whittaker Library, South Carolina State University; James Brooks and Jo Cottingham of the interlibrary loan department, Cooper Library, University of South Carolina; and Allan Stokes of the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina. Kathleen Thompson and Marshanda Smith provided important documents and other source material.

Seleta Simpson Byrd of South Carolina State University and Linda Werbish of Michigan State University provided valuable administrative assistance.

Each of us also enjoyed the support of family members, particularly Barbara A. Clark, Robbie D. Clark, Emily Harrold, Judy Harrold, Carol A. Hine, Peter J. Hine, Thomas D. Hine, and Alma J. McIntosh.

Finally we gratefully acknowledge the essential help of the superb editorial and production team at Prentice Hall: Charlyce Jones Owen, Vice President and Editorial Director for the Humanities, whose vision got this project started and whose unwavering support saw it through to completion; Todd Armstrong, Executive Editor for History, who kept us on track; Todd's Editorial Assistant, Holly Jo Brown; David Chodoff, Senior Development Editor, and Gerald Lombardi, who provided valuable organizational, substantive, and stylistic insights; Leslie Osher, Creative Design Director; Ximena Tamvakopoulos, Art Director, who created the book's handsome design; Louise Rothman, Production Editor, who saw it efficiently through production; Barbara Salz, our photo researcher, who skillfully tracked down the book's many illustrations, some of them from obscure sources; Sheryl Adams, Senior Marketing Manager, who provided valuable insight into the history textbook market; Emsal Hasan, Assistant Editor, who pulled together the book's supplementary material; and Nick Sklitsis, Manufacturing Manager, Lynn Pearlman, Manufacturing Buyer, and Jan Stephan, Managing Editor, who kept the whole team on schedule.

BRIEF CONTENTS

PART I	BECOMING AFRICAN AMERICAN 1
CHAPTER 1	AFRICA 2
CHAPTER 2	MIDDLE PASSAGE 24
CHAPTER 3	BLACK PEOPLE IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1619-1763 46
CHAPTER 4	RISING EXPECTATIONS: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1763-1783 70
CHAPTER 5	AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE NEW NATION, 1783-1820 92
PART II	SLAVERY, ABOLITION, AND THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM: The coming of the civil war, 1793-1861 117
CHAPTER 6	LIFE IN THE COTTON KINGDOM 118
CHAPTER 7	FREE BLACK PEOPLE IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA 140
CHAPTER 8	OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY, 1800-1833 164
CHAPTER 9	LET YOUR MOTTO BE RESISTANCE, 1833-1850 182
CHAPTER 10	"AND BLACK PEOPLE WERE AT THE HEART OF IT": THE UNITED STATES DISUNITES OVER SLAVERY 204
PART III	THE CIVIL WAR, EMANCIPATION, AND BLACK RECONSTRUCTION: THE SECOND AMERICAN

LIBERATION: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE CIVIL WAR 228

CHAPTER 13 THE MEANING OF FREEDOM: THE FAILURE OF RECONSTRUCTION 282

REVOLUTION 227

CHAPTER 12 THE MEANING OF FREEDOM: THE PROMISE

OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1868 256

CHAPTER 11

PART IV	SEARCHING FOR SAFE SPACES 305
CHAPTER 14	WHITE SUPREMACY TRIUMPHANT: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE SOUTH IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY 306
CHAPTER 15	BLACK SOUTHERNERS CHALLENGE WHITE SUPREMACY 332
CHAPTER 16	CONCILIATION, AGITATION, AND MIGRATION: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY 360
CHAPTER 17	AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE 1920S 392

PART V	THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II	417
CHAPTER 18	THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL 418	
CHAPTER 19	BLACK CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE 1930S AND 1940S	444
CHAPTER 20	THE WORLD WAR II ERA AND SEEDS OF A REVOLUTION	470

PART VI	THE BLACK REVOLUTION 499
CHAPTER 21	THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT, 1954–1965 500
CHAPTER 22	THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES, 1965-1980 530
CHAPTER 23	MODERN BLACK AMERICA, 1980-2000 562
	EPILOGUE: "A NATION WITHIN A NATION" 591

CONTENTS

PREFACE XXVII

PART I **BECOMING AFRICAN** AMERICAN 1

CHAPTER 1 AFRICA 2

A Huge and Diverse Land 3 The Birthplace of Humanity 5

Ancient Civilizations and Old Arguments 6 Egyptian Civilization 6

Kush, Meroe, and Axum 7

West Africa 8 Ancient Ghana 9

VOICES AL BAKRI DESCRIBES KUMBI SALEH AND GHANA'S ROYAL COURT 10

The Empire of Mali, 1230-1468 11 The Empire of Songhai, 1464-1591 12 The West African Forest Region 13 Kongo and Angola 15

VOICES A DUTCH VISITOR DESCRIBES BENIN CITY 15

West African Society and Culture 16 Families and Villages 16

PROFILE NZINGA MBEMBA (AFFONSO I) OF KONGO 17

Women 18 Class and Slavery 18 Religion 19 Art and Music 19

Literature: Oral Histories, Poetry, and Tales 20

Conclusion 21 Review Questions 21 Recommended Reading 21 Additional Bibliography 22

CHAPTER 2

MIDDLE PASSAGE 24

The European Age of Exploration and Colonization 26 The Slave Trade in Africa 26 The Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade 27 Growth of the Atlantic Slave Trade 27 The African-American Ordeal from Capture to Destination 30 The Crossing 30 The Slavers 31 A Slave's Story 32 PROFILE OLAUDAH EQUIANO 33

A Captain's Story 34

VOICES THE JOURNAL OF A DUTCH SLAVER 35

PROFILE AYUBA SULIEMAN DIALLO of Bondu 36

Provisions for the Middle Passage 37 Sanitation, Disease, and Death 37 Resistance and Revolt at Sea 38 Cruelty 39 African Women on Slave Ships 39 Landing and Sale in the West Indies 39 Seasoning 41 The End of the Journey: Masters and Slaves in the Americas 43 The Ending of the Atlantic Slave Trade 44 Conclusion 44

Review Ouestions 45 Recommended Reading 45

Additional Bibliography 45

CHAPTER 3

BLACK PEOPLE IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1619-1763 46

The Peoples of Eastern North America 48 Eastern Woodlands Indians 48

The British and Jamestown 49	Benjamin Banneker 79
Africans Arrive in the Chesapeake 50	African Americans in the Wa
Black Servitude in the Chesapeake 50	Black Loyalists 81
Race and the Origins of Black Slavery 51	Black Patriots 82
PROFILE ANTHONY JOHNSON 52	The Revolution and Emancip
The Emergence of Chattel Slavery 53	The Revolutionary Impact
Bacon's Rebellion and American Slavery 54	The Revolutionary Promise
Plantation Slavery, 1700-1750 54	Conclusion 88
Low-Country Slavery 56	Review Questions 89
VOICES A DESCRIPTION OF AN EIGHTEENTH-	Recommended Reading 90 Additional Bibliography 90
CENTURY VIRGINIA PLANTATION 57	gp,
Slave Life in Early America 58	
Miscegenation and Creolization 59	CHAPTER 5
The Origins of African-American Culture 60	AFRICAN AMERICA
The Great Awakening 61	NATION, 1783-1820
VOICES A POEM BY JUPITER HAMMON 62	
Language, Music, and Folk Literature 62	Forces for Freedom 94
The African-American Impact on Colonial	Northern Emancipation 94
Culture 63	PROFILE ELIZABETH FR
Slavery in the Northern Colonies 63	The Northwest Ordinance of
Black Women in Colonial America 65 Black Resistance and Rebellion 65	Antislavery Societies in the N
Black Resistance and Rebellion 65 Conclusion 67	South 98
	Manumission and Self-Purch
Review Questions 68	The Emergence of a Free Bi
Recommended Reading 68	South 99
Additional Bibliography 68	Forces for Slavery 99
	The United States Constituti
CHAPTER 4	Cotton 100
RISING EXPECTATIONS: AFRICAN	Conservatism and Racism
AMERICANS AND THE STRUGGLE	The Emergence of Free Black
FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1763-1783 70	The Origins of Independent I
The Crisis of the British Empire 72	VOICES RICHARD ALLEN WITH ST. GEORGE'S C
PROFILE CRISPUS ATTUCKS 74	The First Black Schools 105
The Declaration of Independence and African	Black Leaders and Choices

Americans 75 The Impact of the Enlightenment 75 African Americans in the Revolutionary Debate 76 Black Enlightenment 76

VOICES BOSTON'S SLAVES LINK THEIR FREEDOM TO AMERICAN LIBERTY

Phillis Wheatley 78

VOICES PHILLIS WHEATLEY ON LIBERTY AND NATURAL RIGHTS 79

Panneker 79 icans in the War for Independence 80 ists 81 ots 82 on and Emancipation 84 tionary Impact 85 tionary Promise 87 88 ions 89 d Reading 90

AMERICANS IN THE NEW 1783-1820 92

IZABETH FREEMAN 96

est Ordinance of 1787 97 Societies in the North and Upper n and Self-Purchase 98 ence of a Free Black Class in the

verv 99

States Constitution 99

n and Racism 101 ce of Free Black Communities 102 of Independent Black Churches 103

HARD ALLEN ON THE BREAK GEORGE'S CHURCH 104

ack Schools 105 Black Leaders and Choices 106

VOICES ABSALOM JONES PETITIONS **CONGRESS ON BEHALF OF FUGITIVES** FACING REENSLAVEMENT 107

PROFILE JAMES FORTEN 108

Migration 109 Slave Uprisings 109 The White Southern Reaction 110 The War of 1812 111 The Missouri Compromise 111

THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR. 1793 - 1861 117

CHAPTER 6 LIFE IN THE COTTON KINGDOM 118

PROFILE SOLOMON NORTHUP

The Expansion of Slavery 121 Slave Population Growth 121 Ownership of Slaves in the Old South 121 Slave Labor in Agriculture 122 Tobacco 123 Rice 123

Sugar 124 Cotton 125 Other Crops 126

House Servants and Skilled Slaves 127

PROFILE APRIL ELLISON

Urban and Industrial Slavery 128 Punishment 129 The Domestic Slave Trade 130

VOICES FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON THE **READINESS OF MASTERS TO USE THE WHIP 130**

Slave Families 131

VOICES A SLAVEOWNER DESCRIBES A NEW PURCHASE 132

Children 132 Sexual Exploitation 133 Diet 134 Clothing 134 Health 135 The Socialization of Slaves 135 Religion 136

The Character of Slavery and Slaves 136

Conclusion 137

Review Questions 137

The Jacksonian Era 142 Limited Freedom in the North 144 Black Laws 144 Disfranchisement 145 Segregation 146 Black Communities in the Urban North 147 The Black Family 147

The Struggle for Employment 148 The Northern Black Elite 149

VOICES MARIA W. STEWART ON THE CONDITION OF BLACK WORKERS 149

Black Professionals 150 Artists and Musicians 150

PROFILE OKAH TUBBEE 151

Black Authors 152 African-American Institutions 153 Black Churches 153 Schools 153

VOICES THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PITTSBURGH EDUCATION SOCIETY 156

Voluntary Associations 156 Free African Americans in the Upper South 157 Free African Americans in the Deep South 159 Conclusion 161 Review Questions 162 Recommended Reading 162 Additional Bibliography 162

CHAPTER 8 OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY, 1800-1833 164

A Country in Turmoil 166 Political Paranoia 166 The Second Great Awakening 167 The Benevolent Empire 168

Abolitionism Begins in America	168	3
From Gabriel to Denmark Vesey	16	9
The American Colonization Socie	ety	171
Black Nationalism and Colonizati	ion	171
Black Opposition to Colonization	17	2
Black Women Abolitionists 172		

PROFILE MARIA W. STEWART 173

VOICES A BLACK WOMAN SPEAKS OUT ON THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION 174

The Baltimore Alliance 175 David Walker's Appeal 176

VOICES WILLIAM WATKINS OPPOSES COLONIZATION 176

PROFILE DAVID WALKER 177

Nat Turner 178
Conclusion 180
Review Questions 180
Recommended Reading 180
Additional Bibliography 183

CHAPTER 9

LET YOUR MOTTO BE RESISTANCE, 1833-1850 182

A Rising Tide of Racism and Violence 184

Antiblack and Anti-Abolitionist Riots 184

PROFILE HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET 185

Texas and the War against Mexico 186

The Response of the Antislavery Movement 187

The American Anti-Slavery Society 188

Black and Women's Antislavery Societies 188

PROFILE SOJOURNER TRUTH 190

The Black Convention Movement 190
Black Community Institutions 191
Black Churches in the Antislavery Cause 191
Black Newspapers 191
Moral Suasion 192

VOICES FREDERICK DOUGLASS DESCRIBES AN AWKWARD SITUATION 193

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty Party 194 A More Aggressive Abolitionism 194 The Amistad and the Creole 195 The Underground Railroad 195
Canada West 196
Black Militancy 197
Frederick Douglass 198
Black Nationalism 198

VOICES MARTIN R. DELANY DESCRIBES HIS VISION OF A BLACK NATION 199

Conclusion 200
Review Questions 201
Recommended Reading 201
Additional Bibliography 202

CHAPTER 10

"AND BLACK PEOPLE WERE AT THE HEART OF IT": THE UNITED STATES DISUNITES OVER SLAVERY 204

Free Labor versus Slave Labor 206

The Wilmot Proviso 206

California and the Compromise of 1850 206

Fugitive Slave Laws 207

VOICES AFRICAN AMERICANS RESPOND TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW 209

Fugitive Slaves 209
William and Ellen Craft 210
Shadrach 210
The Battle at Christiana 210

PROFILE THOMAS SIMS, A FUGITIVE SLAVE 211

Anthony Burns 211
Margaret Garner 212
The Rochester Convention, 1853 212
Nativism and the Know-Nothings 212
Uncle Tom's Cabin 213
The Kansas-Nebraska Act 213
Preston Brooks Attacks Charles Sumner 215
The Dred Scott Decision 215
Questions for the Court 216
Reaction to the Dred Scott Decision 216
White Northerners and Black Americans 217
The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 217

PROFILE MARTIN R. DELANY 218

Abraham Lincoln and Black People 219 John Brown and the Raid on Harpers Ferry 219

Planning the Raid 219 The Raid 220 The Reaction 220 The Election of Abraham Lincoln 221 Black People Respond to Lincoln's Election 222 Disunion 223 Conclusion 223 Review Questions 223 Recommended Reading 224 Additional Bibliography 224

PART III THE CIVIL WAR. EMANCIPATION, AND BLACK **RECONSTRUCTION:** THE SECOND AMERICAN **REVOLUTION 227**

CHAPTER 11

LIBERATION: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE CIVIL WAR 228

Lincoln's Aims 230 Black Men Volunteer and Are Rejected 230 Union Policies toward Confederate Slaves 230 "Contraband" 231 Lincoln's Initial Position 231 Lincoln Moves toward Emancipation 232 Lincoln Delays Emancipation 233 Black People Reject Colonization 234 The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation 234 Northern Reaction to Emancipation 234

Political Opposition to Emancipation 235 The Emancipation Proclamation 235 Limits of the Proclamation 235 Effects of the Proclamation on the South 236

PROFILE ELIZABETH KECKLEY 237

Black Men Fight for the Union 238 The First South Carolina Volunteers 238 The Second South Carolina Volunteers 239 The 54th Massachusetts Regiment 240 Black Soldiers Confront Discrimination 240 Black Men in Combat 242 The Assault on Battery Wagner 242 The Confederate Reaction to Black Soldiers 243

VOICES LEWIS DOUGLASS DESCRIBES THE FIGHTING AT BATTERY WAGNER 244

The Abuse and Murder of Black Troops 244

VOICES A BLACK NURSE ON THE HORRORS OF WAR AND THE SACRIFICE OF BLACK SOLDIERS 245

The Fort Pillow Massacre 245 The Crater 245 Black Men in the Union Navy 246 Liberators, Spies, and Guides 247 Violent Opposition to Black People 247

PROFILE HARRIET TUBMAN 248

The New York City Draft Riot 248 Union Troops and Slaves 249

Refugees 249

Black People and the Confederacy 250 The Impressment of Black People 250 Confederates Enslave Free Black People 250 Black Confederates 251

Personal Servants 251 Black Men Fighting for the South 251 Black Opposition to the Confederacy 252 The Confederate Debate on Black Troops 252

Conclusion 253 Review Questions 253 Recommended Reading 254

Additional Bibliography 254

CHAPTER 12

THE MEANING OF FREEDOM: THE PROMISE OF RECONSTRUCTION. 1865-1868 256

The End of Slavery 258 Differing Reactions of Former Slaves 258 Reuniting Black Families 258 Land 259 Special Field Order #15 259 The Port Royal Experiment 260 The Freedmen's Bureau 260 Sharecropping 261

VOICES A FREEDMEN'S BUREAU COMMISSIONER TELLS FREED PEOPLE WHAT FREEDOM MEANS 262

The Black Church 263

Education 265 Black Teachers 266 VOICES A NORTHERN BLACK WOMAN ON TEACHING FREEDMEN 266 Black Colleges 268 Response of White Southerners 268 PROFILE CHARLOTTE E. RAY 269 Violence 269 The Crusade for Political and Civil Rights 270 PROFILE AARON A. BRADLEY Presidential Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson 272 Black Codes 272 Black Conventions 272 The Radical Republicans 274 Radical Proposals 274 The Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill 274 Fohnson's Vetoes 275 The Fourteenth Amendment 275 Radical Reconstruction 276 Universal Manhood Suffrage 276 Black Politics 276 Sit-Ins and Strikes 276 The Reaction of White Southerners 277 Conclusion 278 Review Questions 279 Recommended Reading 279 Additional Bibliography 280

CHAPTER 13

THE MEANING OF FREEDOM: THE FAILURE OF RECONSTRUCTION 282

Constitutional Conventions 284
Elections 285
Black Political Leaders 285
The Issues 286
Education and Social Welfare 286

PROFILE THE GIBBS BROTHERS 287

Civil Rights 288
Economic Issues 288

Land 289
Business and Industry 289
Black Politicians: An Evaluation 289
Republican Factionalism 289

PROFILE THE ROLLIN SISTERS 290

Opposition 291 The Ku Klux Klan 291

VOICES AN APPEAL FOR HELP AGAINST THE KLAN 293

The Fifteenth Amendment 294
The Enforcement Acts 295
The North Loses Interest 295
The Freedmen's Bank 296
The Civil Rights Act of 1875 296
The End of Reconstruction 296
Violent Redemption 297

VOICES BLACK LEADERS SUPPORT THE PASSAGE OF A CIVIL RIGHTS ACT 298

The Shotgun Policy 298
The Hamburg Massacre 299
The Compromise of 1877 299
Conclusion 301
Review Questions 301
Recommended Reading 302
Additional Bibliography 302

PART IV SEARCHING FOR SAFE SPACES 305

CHAPTER 14

WHITE SUPREMACY TRIUMPHANT: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE SOUTH IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY 306

Politics 308

Black Congressmen 309

Democrats and Farmer

Discontent 311

The Colored Farmers' Alliance 311

The Populist Party 312

Disfranchisement 312

Evading the Fifteenth Amendment 313

Mississippi 313

South Carolina 313 The Grandfather Clause 313 Segregation 314 Jim Crow 314 Segregation on the Railroads 314 Plessy v. Ferguson 315 Streetcar Segregation 315 VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY v. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration within the South 323 CHAPTER 15 BLACK SOUTHERNERS CHALLENGE WHITE SUPREMACY 332 Social Darwinism 334 Education and Schools 335 The Hampton Model 336 Willed Schools 335 The Hampton Model 336 Critics of the Tuskegee Model 337 VOICES THOMAS E. MILLER AND THE MISSION OF THE BLACK LAND-GRANT COLLEGE 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344 African Americans in the Navy 345
Segregation 314 Jim Crow 314 Segregation on the Railroads 314 Plessy v. Ferguson 315 Streetcar Segregation 315 VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY V. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES MACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 WHITE SUPREMACY 332 Social Darwinism 334 Education and Schools 335 The Hampton Model 336 Washington and the Tuskegee Model 337 VOICES THOMAS E. MILLER AND THE MISSION OF THE BLACK LAND-GRANT COLLEGE 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Jim Crow 314 Segregation on the Railroads 314 Plessy v. Ferguson 315 Streetcar Segregation 315 VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY v. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration with the South 323
Segregation on the Railroads 314 Plessy v. Ferguson 315 Streetcar Segregation 315 VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY v. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration with a the South 323 Social Darwinism 334 Education and Schools 335 The Hampton Model 336 Washington and the Tuskegee Model 336 Critics of the Tuskegee Model 337 VOICES THOMAS E. MILLER AND THE MISSION OF THE BLACK LAND-GRANT COLLEGE 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Plessy v. Ferguson 315 Streetcar Segregation 315 VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY V. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration with the Script 323 Education and Schools 334 Segregated Schools 335 The Hampton Model 336 Washington and the Tuskegee Model 337 VOICES THOMAS E. MILLER AND THE MISSION OF THE BLACK LAND-GRANT COLLEGE 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Streetcar Segregation 315 VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY V. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration within the South 323
VOICES MAJORITY AND DISSENTING OPINIONS ON PLESSY V. FERGUSON 316 Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration the Scuth 323 Migration the Scuth 323 The Exodusters 323 Migration the Scuth 323 Migration subject to the Tuskegee Model 336 Washington and the Tuskegee Model 337 VOICES THOMAS E. MILLER AND THE Mission of the Black Land-Grant College 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
OPINIONS ON PLESSY V. FERGUSON Segregation Proliferates 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 Lynching 318 Voices An Account of a Lynching 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration within the South 323 Washington and the Tuskegee Model 336 Critics of the Tuskegee Model 337 Voices Thomas E. MILLER AND THE Mission of the Black Land-Grant College 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Racial Etiquette 317 Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 Voices an Account of a Lynching 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration within the South 323
Racial Etiquette 317 Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration mithin the South 323 Migration mithin the South 323
Violence 317 Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 Voices an Account of a Lynching 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration route of the South 323 Migration 321 The Exodusters 323 Migration 324 Mission of the Black Land-Grant College 338 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Washington County, Texas 318 The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration guithin the South 323
The Phoenix Riot 318 The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration guithin the South 323 Church and Religion 339 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
The Wilmington Riot 318 Lynching 318 VOICES AN ACCOUNT OF A LYNCHING 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration spithing the South 323 The South 323 The Church as Solace and Escape 340 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Using 318 Voices an Account of a Lynching 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration guithin the South 323 The Holiness Movement and the Pentecostal Church 340 PROFILE HENRY MCNEAL TURNER 341 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
Voices An Account of a Lynching 320 Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration spithing the South 323
Rape 321 Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration spithing the South 323 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration spithing the South 323
Migration 321 The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Migration spithing the South 323 Red Versus Black: The Buffalo Soldiers 342 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
The Liberian Exodus 321 PROFILE IDA WELLS BARNETT 322 The Exodusters 323 Microstion swithing the South 323 Discrimination in the Army 343 The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
The Buffalo Soldiers in Combat 343 Civilian Hostility to Black Soldiers 343 Brownsville 344
The Exodusters 323 Migration mithin the South 323 Brownsville 344
Microstica spithing the South 222
Migration within the South 323 African Americans in the Navy 345
The same of the sa
Black Farm Families 324 The Spanish-American War 345
Sharecroppers 324 Black Officers 345
Renters 324 A Splendid Little War 346
Crop Liens 324 After the War 346
Peonage 325 The Philippine Insurrection 346
VOICES CASH AND DEBT FOR THE BLACK VOICES BLACK MEN IN BATTLE IN CUBA 347
COTTON FARMER 325 Would Black Men Fight Brown Men? 348
Black Rusinesspeonle and Entrepreneurs 348
African Americans and Labor 349
PROFILE JOHNSON C. WHITTAKER 327 Unions 349
African Americans and Southern Courts 328 PROFILE MAGGIE LENA WALKER 350
Segregated fustice 328 Stribes 351
The Convict Lease System 329 Rlack Professionals 352
Conclusion 329 Madicina 352
Review Questions 330
Recommended Reading 330 Music 353
Additional Bibliography 331 Ragtime 353
Jazz 354
The Blues 354