

# From Slavery To Freedom

A HISTORY  
OF AFRICAN  
AMERICANS

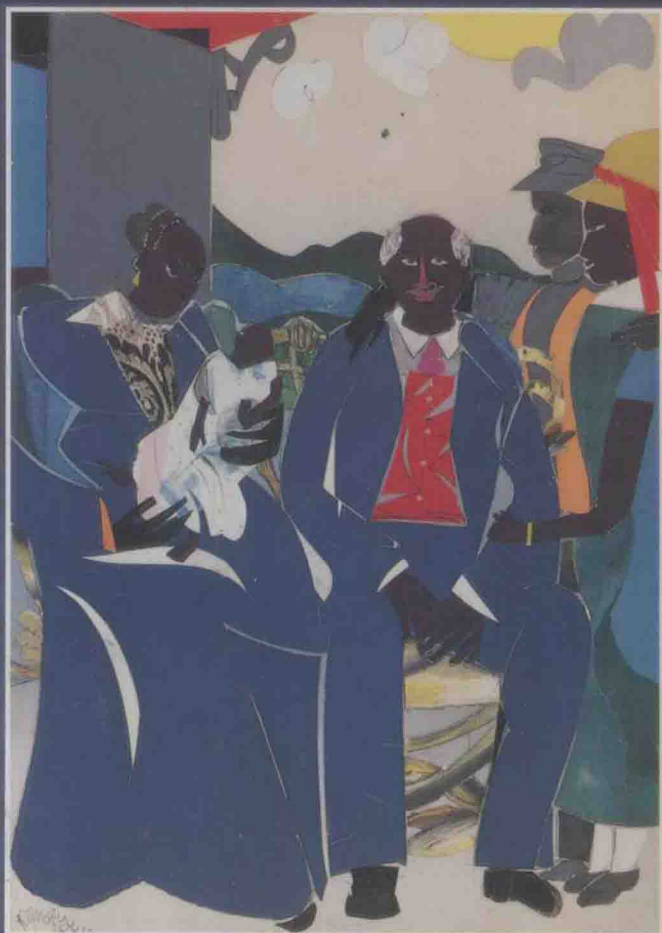
SEVENTH EDITION

VOLUME ONE

From the Beginnings  
through Reconstruction



Mc  
Graw  
Hill




JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN  
ALFRED A. MOSS, JR.



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A History of African Americans  
Volume One: From the Beginnings  
through Reconstruction




SEVENTH EDITION

John Hope Franklin  
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McGraw-Hill, Inc.

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A History of African Americans

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# From Slavery to Freedom

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Volume One: From the Beginnings through Reconstruction


# About the Authors

**John Hope Franklin** is the James B. Duke Professor Emeritus at Duke University and, for seven years, was Professor of Legal History at Duke University Law School. Born in Oklahoma in 1915, he graduated in 1935 from Fisk University. Harvard University awarded him the master's degree in 1936 and the doctorate in 1941. Professor Franklin has taught at Fisk, St. Augustine's College, North Carolina Central University at Durham, and Howard University. He was Chairman of the Department of History at Brooklyn College and at the University of Chicago, where he remains the John Matthews Manly Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of History. He was a Fulbright Professor in Australia and Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University in England.

Dr. Franklin is a former President of the Southern Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the American Studies Association, the American Historical Association, and the Society of Phi Beta Kappa. Among Dr. Franklin's awards are the Jefferson Medal of the Council for Advancement and Support of Education, the Clarence Holte Literary Prize, The Jefferson Medal of the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities Charles Frankel Award, presented by President Clinton in 1993. He holds one-hundred honorary degrees. Dr. Franklin recently received the National Medal of Freedom from President Clinton and the Spingard Award.

Among his many published works are *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* (1943), *The Militant South 1800–1860* (1956), *Reconstruction after the Civil War* (1961), *The Emancipation Proclamation* (1963), *Racial Equality in America* (1976), *A Southern Odyssey* (1976) *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (1985), *Race and History* (1989), and *The Color Line: Legacy for the Twenty-First Century* (1993).

**Alfred A. Moss, Jr.** is Associate Professor of History at the University of Maryland, College Park. After completing his undergraduate work at Lake Forest College, Dr. Moss received his master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1972. He was then awarded his doctorate in 1977, also from the University of Chicago. A graduate of the Episcopal Divinity School, he is also an Episcopal priest. Dr. Moss is the author of *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* (1981) and numerous articles; co-author of *Looking at History* (1986); and co-editor of *The Facts of Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of John Hope Franklin* (1991).



# Preface to the Seventh Edition

In the nearly half-century since this work first appeared, interest in the subject it covers has quickened considerably. This is evident in the spate of works dealing with various aspects of the subject, in the increase in the number of course offerings in the field at both the secondary and higher-education levels, and in the use of materials related to it in the discussion and formulation of public policy. These developments have in turn had their effect on the several revisions through which this work has gone, and we are ever mindful of the importance of maintaining the integrity and reliability of this work as a contributor to the ongoing discussion of the problems inherent in forging a society characterized by equality, justice, and mutual respect.

In designating the group under discussion as African Americans, we are recognizing the changes that have characterized such designations in previous years. Even during the lifetime of this book, there have been three distinct names by which the group has been called: Negro, black, and African American. (Afro-American and person of color were in use before the end of the nineteenth century.) While African American is increasing in current usage, there is no reason to believe that this is a final designation; for the political and cultural winds that produced it continue to blow, perhaps sweeping before them earlier designations and bringing forth at some later time a designation as yet unknown.

It would be improper as well as awkward to use African American to describe the group before the end of the Civil War. Neither the group nor any others, in law or in practice, conceived of any designation other than black, person of color, or Negro. In recognizing the changes that have come in recent years, we must take care not to impose recent designations on persons of an earlier period. Thus, we have made every attempt to use terms

that seem consonant with the period under consideration, recognizing that the search for stylistic felicity invites variation in terminology as long as it is accurate for its own time.

We have made every effort to keep abreast of the wide-ranging and significant scholarship in the field. It has affected our thinking, our approach, even our perspective. At times its effect is quite obvious in the correction of statements of "facts" in earlier editions and in new interpretations gained from new research. Most often its effect is in the way it informs our view of the problem with which we deal and the sense of security it provides in helping us sort out the complexities and meanings of those problems. These effects are at times so subtle as not to be discernable, but this does not diminish their importance. We have also sought to make even more significant, some of the features that we introduced in the sixth edition. An example is a marked increase in the number of "box" quotations that provide primary sources that add flavor as well as authority to much of the discussion. Another example is the increased attention given to popular cultures and the role of women. New features in which we, along with the publisher, take particular pride, are the color photographs of early African artifacts and a gallery, in full color, of twentieth-century African-American art. To the many scholars and laypersons who have written on the subject or who have been generous enough to write us and make suggestions, we are grateful for their assistance.


Several scholars, distinguished in the field, have reviewed the Sixth Edition of this work and have given us the benefit of their searching examinations. They are John L. Dabney, San Bernadino Valley College; Joseph Harris, Howard University; Earl Lewis, University of Michigan; Freddie L. Parker, North Carolina Central University; Marshall F. Stevenson, Ohio State University; and Walter B. Weare, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. In addition, several friends and colleagues have read portions of the manuscript, made suggestions in the area of their specialty, and assisted in other ways to improve the work. Among them are Eric Anderson, Marie Perinbam, Janet Ewald, Robert E. Steele, John Whittington Franklin, Christaud Geary, Genna Rae McNeil, Robyn Muncy, Winthrop R. Wright, George C. Wright, Paul Huebner, Jehu Hunter, Major Clark, Paul Finkelman, and S. O. Y. Keita.

Our families continue to give us their support in every possible way, for which we are most grateful. Margaret Fitzsimmons, beginning in 1964, has served as personal assistant and secretary-editor for five editions of this work. In her various capacities in seeing the book through to completion, she has become indispensable. In expressing our gratitude for all that she has done, we accept all responsibility for errors of fact and judgment.

*John Hope Franklin  
Alfred A. Moss, Jr.*

*January 1, 1994*





# Preface to the Sixth Edition

Forty years ago, one author, with the assistance and encouragement of many others, wrote the first edition of this work. In succeeding years, with the passage of time and the quickening of events, he prepared four succeeding editions, each of which went through numerous printings. Two considerations have led to some major changes in the preparation of the Sixth Edition, which will mark the fortieth anniversary of the book's initial appearance. One has been the growing diversity of interests as well as the increasing complexity of the problems facing Negro Americans, brought on by numerous shifts in strategies initiated by their adversaries as well as by themselves. This has required the constant monitoring and evaluation of virtually everything that occurs. The very magnitude of the task beckons more than one mind and one set of hands. The other is that with the passage of time, the original author has recognized the need for the collaboration of a younger person whose different perspectives and ample energies would assist in giving the new edition the freshness that it requires and deserves.

In this new collaboration we have learned much from each other, and it is our fond hope that our readers will benefit greatly from this joint effort. We have broadened our coverage, expanded our interests, and strengthened our grasp of the basic historical problems with which we have had to deal. We have reexamined every word of the Fifth Edition, reorganized much of the material, rewritten portions, and added a great deal that is entirely new. With the remarkable increase of excellent works in African, Caribbean, and Latin American history, we have not been inclined to repeat or summarize the findings of the scholars in those fields. Rather, we have confined our


treatment of those areas to matters of obvious and immediate relevance to the history of Negroes in the United States. Meanwhile, we have brought our treatment of the subject as close to the present as we dared, remembering the wise adage that "current history is not really history, but current events."

As we have reexamined many aspects of the history of black Americans, we have become indebted to many authors for the remarkably rich outpouring of writings on the subject in recent years. Some are mentioned in the text, some in the bibliographical notes, and others remain nameless. We are grateful to them for their contributions to our own knowledge as well as to the field. Several of our colleagues have been especially helpful, among them Marie Perinbam, Eric Anderson, Winthrop R. Wright, Robert Steele, Milton Morris, Janet Ewald, and Evelyn Brooks. In addition, numerous teachers, students, and others who have used earlier editions of this book have been generous in offering corrections, criticisms, and helpful suggestions for its improvement. We also gratefully acknowledge the comments from the following reviewers: Hayward Farrar, Leon F. Litwack, Alan Schaffer, Donald Spivey, and George C. Wright. The libraries, such as the Library of Congress, the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center of Howard University, the Library of the University of Maryland at College Park, North Carolina Central University Library, the Duke University Library, and the Durham County Library, especially its Stanford Warren Branch, have been indispensable. We are deeply grateful to all of these individuals and institutions.

Our families have been generous with their patience and assistance. Serving as personal assistant and secretary-editor, Margaret Fitzsimmons has presided over the preparation of various editions of this work over the past twenty-three years. She has again performed these various functions for this edition, and with greater efficiency, resourcefulness, and wisdom than ever before. We are most grateful to her. Over her protests, we assume responsibility for errors of fact and judgment.

*John Hope Franklin  
Alfred A. Moss, Jr.*

*July 4, 1987*



# Preface to the Fifth Edition

It has been more than thirty years since the first edition of this work appeared. These have been momentous years in the history of the world, and Negro Americans, like all others, have been deeply affected by what has transpired. The emergence of the atomic age as well as the space age, either event of sufficient significance to change the course of human history, occurred in this brief period. In like fashion the Black Revolution, with its far-reaching impact on virtually every aspect of life among black Americans, has affected their position in American society as well as the manner in which other Americans view them. The recency of these events, and the consequent lack of adequate perspective, make it difficult to evaluate them with any measure of confidence, and the danger of distortion or exaggeration is very real. I have made every effort to avoid such difficulties. At the same time I have recognized the fact that all events are not of equal importance.


Since the publication of the fourth edition, many works in the general field of Afro-American history have appeared. Some of them have been highly significant and have compelled students of the field to reconsider earlier findings and conclusions. This present edition takes into account these recent developments in historical scholarship, and I am grateful to the many scholars whose works have proved so valuable. I am also grateful to the colleagues, students, and teachers who have been kind enough to offer suggestions or call my attention to errors in previous editions. It would not be possible to revise this work without the continuing assistance of such persons. My research assistants, Michael Lanza and Patrick Thompson, assisted me in more ways than I can acknowledge, and I am grateful to them.

My secretary and administrative assistant, Margaret Fitzsimmons, has not only typed and checked the manuscript but has, as usual, assumed numerous responsibilities beyond the call of duty. She would even be willing to assume some responsibility for textual and other errors, but I can only thank her deeply and assume those myself.

*John Hope Franklin*

*Chicago, Illinois*

*May 30, 1979*



# Preface to the Fourth Edition

The comments I made in the preface to the third edition regarding the quickened pace of events are even more true for the period since 1966 than before that date. The growing interest in the history of Negro Americans and their greater involvement in the current struggle for equality are part of the far-reaching changes that have occurred in the status of blacks that may be regarded as revolutionary. These developments have made the revision of this work extremely difficult. The study and evaluation of vast quantities of new material, while shedding much light on many aspects of the history of Negro Americans, have also increased the difficulties of revision.

Many readers have been most generous in their observations and criticisms, which I have been most pleased to take into account. My research assistant, Rodney Ross, brought to his task a thorough knowledge of the subject and a high quality of scholarship that greatly eased my own task. My secretary, Margaret Fitzsimmons, not only has typed the manuscript but has greatly assisted with stylistic improvements and in eliminating errors and inconsistencies. To these and to many others I am grateful for their help.

*John Hope Franklin*

*Chicago, Illinois  
September 3, 1973*



# Preface to the Third Edition

Almost twenty years ago the first edition of this work appeared. Ten years ago I revised it and brought it up to date. Since that time the very pace at which events have moved has discouraged any effort to prepare a revision that would inevitably be out of date at the time of its publication. It seems fitting, nevertheless, to present a rather extensively revised edition on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the first edition.

I feel constrained to add that even the revolutionary developments of the last decade should not obscure the fact that this is essentially a history and not a contemporary tract. Therefore, these developments have been valuable for the historian not only in themselves but also in the new perspectives they provide as one looks at past, even remote, events. These new perspectives are reflected in some of the revisions of the earlier parts of the book.

The revisions have been greatly facilitated by the generous and helpful criticisms and suggestions of my students, colleagues, and friends. Arthur Spingarn and August Meier have assisted me in correcting several serious errors; and Richard Fuke, my research assistant, has been a virtual collaborator in his critical reading of the text and in his valuable updating of much of the material. To these and all the others who have helped in countless ways I am deeply grateful.

*John Hope Franklin*

*Chicago, Illinois*

*July 4, 1966*



# Preface to the Second Edition

The nine years that have elapsed since this work first appeared have been among the most momentous in the history of the American Negro. The postwar years witnessed vigorous efforts, not always successful, on the part of Negroes and many white Americans to elevate substantially the position of the Negro in American life. The 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in the school desegregation cases was the most dramatic and significant of the frontal attacks on segregation and discrimination, but by no means was it the only one. World attention, moreover, has been focused on the issue of race as never before, and the status of the Negro in the United States has been scrutinized with extreme care by peoples in many other parts of the world. This very scrutiny has had a most salutary effect. The task of the historian in tracing and properly evaluating the numerous developments that have taken place abounds in difficulties, but it nevertheless seems worthwhile at this point to take cognizance of some of the more significant trends.

If this edition is an improvement over the first edition, it is due largely to the able assistance of many persons. The reviewers of the first edition, letters from readers, and my own colleagues and students were not only generous in praise but helpful in pointing out errors and oversights. I am grateful to these careful readers for their thoughtful generosity, and I have taken into consideration their suggestions. The increased interest in the problems of the Negro has stimulated much research and writing in the field; the numerous books and articles on almost every aspect and period of Negro life and history have greatly increased my understanding of the matters with

which this book deals. At many points the influence of these works is reflected. I can only hope that I have done violence neither to the diligent work of others nor to the dramatic events that have transpired.

*John Hope Franklin*

*Washington, D.C.*

*June 15, 1956*





# Preface to the First Edition

In the present work I have undertaken to bring together the essential facts in the history of the American Negro from his ancient African beginnings down to the present time. In doing so it was deemed unnecessary to relate the development of Negro life and history in other parts of the world except where there was a discernible connection with the history of the Negro in the United States. Thus only so much of African history was considered here as evolved in the area from which the vast majority of American Negroes came, and as much more as helped to shape Afro-American institutions in the Old World and the New. On the other hand, it was necessary to consider briefly the Negroes of the Caribbean and of Latin America, because their history belongs to the larger pattern of development of the Negro in the New World. For a similar reason, it was deemed desirable to give some attention to the Negroes of Canada, for they are in a large measure erstwhile citizens or residents of the United States.

I have made a conscious effort to write the history of the Negro in America with due regard for the forces at work which have affected his development. This has involved a continuous recognition of the mainstream of American history and the relationship of the Negro to it. It has been necessary, therefore, to a considerable extent, to retell the story of the evolution of the people of the United States in order to place the Negro in his proper relationship and perspective. To have proceeded otherwise would have been to ignore the indisputable fact that historical forces are all-pervasive and cut through the most rigid barriers of race and caste. It would have been