THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
A History of African Americans

Combined Volume
Third Edition

Clayborne Carson
Stanford University

Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner
Haverford College

Gary B. Nash
University of California, Los Angeles
Brief Contents

1 Ancient Africa 1
2 Africa and the Atlantic World 26
3 Africans in Early North America, 1619–1726 46
4 Africans in Bondage: Early Eighteenth Century to the American Revolution 67
5 The Revolutionary Era: Crossroads of Freedom 91
6 After the Revolution: Constructing Free Life and Combating Slavery, 1787–1816 113
7 African Americans in the Antebellum Era, 1816–1832 137
8 African Americans in the Reform Era, 1831–1850 161
9 A Prelude to War: The 1850s 187
10 Civil War and the Promises of Freedom: The Turbulent 1860s 209
11 Post–Civil War Reconstruction: A New National Era 235
12 The Post-Reconstruction Era 257
13 “Colored” Becomes “Negro” in the Progressive Era 283
14 The Making of a “New Negro”: World War I to the Great Depression 306
15 The New Politics of the Great Depression 331
16 Fighting Fascism Abroad and Racism at Home 356
17 Emergence of a Mass Movement against Jim Crow 380
18 Marching toward Freedom, 1961–1966 402
20 The Search for New Directions During a Conservative Era, 1979–1991 452
21 Continuing Struggles over Rights and Identity, 1992–2004 473
22 Barack Obama and the Promise of Change, 2004–Present 496
Contents

Maps xv
Revel™ Videos xvii
Revel™ Source Collection Documents xix
Preface xxiii
About the Authors xxvii

1 Ancient Africa 1
African Storytelling and African American History 1
1.1 From Human Beginnings to the Rise of Egypt 3
1.1.1 Human Beginnings in East Africa 4
1.1.2 The Rise of Egyptian Civilization 6
1.1.3 Debates over Black Egypt 7
1.1.4 Egypt and Nubia 8
1.1.5 Egypt after the Greek Conquest 10
1.2 The Spread of Islam 11
1.2.1 The Origins of Islam 11
1.2.2 Islam’s Great Reach 12
1.3 The Kingdoms of West and Central Africa 12
1.3.1 The Kingdom of Ghana 14
1.3.2 The Kingdom of Mali 16
1.3.3 The Kingdom of Songhay 17
1.3.4 The Forest Kingdoms of Ife and Benin 17
1.3.5 The Kingdoms of Kongo and Ndongo 18
1.4 African Culture 19
1.4.1 Family and Community 20
1.4.2 Religion 20
1.4.3 Social Organization 22
1.4.4 Music, Dance, and Art 23
Conclusion 25
Chapter Review 25
Key Terms 25
Questions for Review and Reflection 25

2 Africa and the Atlantic World 26
King Nomimansa Meets Diogo Gomes 26
2.1 Africa and Europe: The Fateful Connection 28
2.1.1 Portugal Colonizes the Atlantic Islands 28
2.1.2 The Plantation System: A Model for Misery on the Atlantic Islands 30
2.2 Africa and the Rising Atlantic World 31
2.2.1 Initiating the Atlantic Slave Trade 31
2.2.2 Sugar and Slavery 34
2.2.3 European Competition for the Slave Trade 36
2.3 The Trauma of Enslavement 37
2.3.1 Capture and Sale in Africa 37
2.3.2 The Middle Passage: A Floating Hell 39
2.3.3 Sale in the Americas 40
2.4 Early Africans in North America 41
2.4.1 Africans and the Spanish Conquest in the Americas 41
2.4.2 Africans in Early Spanish North America 43
Conclusion 44
Chapter Review 45
Key Terms 45
Questions for Review and Reflection 45

3 Africans in Early North America, 1619–1726 46
Anthony Johnson and His Family in the Early Chesapeake 46
3.1 The First Africans in English North America 49
3.1.1 The Chesapeake Colonies 49
3.1.2 The Northern Colonies 51
3.2 The Fateful Transition 54
3.2.1 England Captures the Slave Trade 54
3.2.2 South Carolina as a Slave Society 54
3.2.3 Bacon’s Rebellion and Slavery in the Chesapeake 55
3.2.4 Africans Resist 56
3.3 Defining Slavery, Defining Race 57
3.3.1 Laws Defining Social and Racial Relations 57
3.3.2 Restrictions on Free Black People 58
3.3.3 South Carolina’s Slave Code 59
3.4 Slavery and Race North of the Chesapeake 60
3.4.1 Slave Codes in New England 60
3.4.2 Slavery and the Law in the Mid-Atlantic 61
3.5 Beyond English Boundaries 61
3.5.1 Africans in Spanish America 62
3.5.2 Slavery in French Colonies 63
Conclusion 65
Chapter Review 66
Key Terms 66
Questions for Review and Reflection 66

4 Africans in Bondage: Early Eighteenth Century to the American Revolution 67
Venture Smith Defies the Colonial Slave System 67
4.1 Colonial Slavery at High Tide 70
4.1.1 A Rising Slave Population 70
4.1.2 Slave Life in the South 71
### Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Revolutionary Era: Crossroads of Freedom</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Peters Seizes His Freedom</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>British “Tyranny” and a Cry for Freedom</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1</td>
<td>Freedom Rhetoric Exposes Colonial Enslavement</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2</td>
<td>Freedom Fever in the South</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>African Americans and the American Revolution</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>Choosing the British: Black Loyalists</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>Fighting for Independence: Black Patriots</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Rhetoric and Reality in the New Nation</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Continued Slavery in the South</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Emancipation in the North</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>The Northwest Ordinance of 1787</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>The Constitutional Compromise</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1</td>
<td>Roadblocks to Eradicating Slavery</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2</td>
<td>Black Genius and Black Activism</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.3</td>
<td>A More Perfect Union?</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>The Resettlement of African American Loyalists</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1</td>
<td>Black Nova Scotians</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2</td>
<td>Return to Africa</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>After the Revolution: Constructing Free Life and Combating Slavery, 1787–1816</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>The Emergence of Free Black Communities</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>An Expanding Free Black Population</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2</td>
<td>Free Black Work Lives</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.3</td>
<td>Family Life</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.4</td>
<td>New Orleans: A Unique City</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Independent Institutions</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>The Rise of Black Churches</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>African American Schools</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3</td>
<td>An Independent Black Denomination</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Black Revolution in Haiti</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>Self-Liberation in the Caribbean</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>Reverberations in the United States</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>The Further Spread of Slavery</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Slave Resistance</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.1</td>
<td>Fugitive Slave Settlements</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.2</td>
<td>Gabriel’s Rebellion</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.3</td>
<td>Other Uprisings</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Black Identity in the New Nation</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.1</td>
<td>Rising Racial Hostility</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>New Organizational and Family Names</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.3</td>
<td>The Back-to-Africa Movement</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.4</td>
<td>The War of 1812</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter Review</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key Terms</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Questions for Review and Reflection</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>African Americans in the Antebellum Era, 1816–1832</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Black Religion in the Antebellum Era</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1</td>
<td>The African Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.2</td>
<td>Charismatic Preachers</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>The Expansion of Slavery</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1</td>
<td>King Cotton</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.2</td>
<td>The Missouri Compromise</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.3</td>
<td>The Interstate Slave Trade</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Slave Life and Labor</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1</td>
<td>Sunup to Sundown: Working for the Master</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2</td>
<td>Sundown to Sunup: Slaves on Their Own Time</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Resistance and Rebellion</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.1</td>
<td>Denmark Vesey’s Rebellion</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents
ix

9.3 The Changing South 196
  9.3.1 Southern Society and Economy 196
  9.3.2 “The World They Made Together” 198
  9.3.3 Free Black People 198

9.4 Black Exiles Abroad and at Home 199
  9.4.1 The Debate over Emigration 199
  9.4.2 Safe Haven in Canada 200
  9.4.3 The Lure of the Frontier 202

9.5 Regional Crisis 202
  9.5.1 From Moral Suasion to Political Power 203
  9.5.2 The Kansas–Nebraska Act 203
  9.5.3 “Bleeding Kansas” 203
  9.5.4 The Dred Scott Decision 204
  9.5.5 The Lincoln–Douglas Debates 204
  9.5.6 John Brown at Harpers Ferry 205

Conclusion 207

Chapter Review 208
Key Terms 208
Questions for Review and Reflection 208

10 Civil War and the Promises of Freedom: The Turbulent 1860s 209

Martin Delany Becomes the First Black U.S. Army Major 209

10.1 “A White Man’s War” 211
  10.1.1 The Election of Abraham Lincoln 212
  10.1.2 Southern States Secede 212
  10.1.3 Black Volunteers Rejected 213

10.2 War and Freedom 214
  10.2.1 Slaves as Contraband 215
  10.2.2 New Roles for Southern Slaves 216
  10.2.3 The Port Royal Experiment 216

10.3 Emancipation as Military and Political Strategy 217
  10.3.1 Emancipation Possibilities 218
  10.3.2 The Emancipation Proclamation 219

10.4 “Men of Color, to Arms!” 221
  10.4.1 Colored Troops 221
  10.4.2 The Fight for Equal Pay 224
  10.4.3 Black Women and War 225

10.5 1863: The Tide Turns 225
  10.5.1 Victory at Gettysburg 225
  10.5.2 Anti-Draft Riots 226
  10.5.3 Grant and Sherman Lead Union Victories 226
  10.5.4 “Forty Acres and a Mule” 227

10.6 An Incomplete Victory 227
  10.6.1 The Assassination of President Lincoln 228
  10.6.2 The Thirteenth Amendment 228
  10.6.3 The Freedmen’s Bureau 229
  10.6.4 Black Codes and Sharecropping 230

A01_CARS3357_03_SE_FM.indd   9
11/8/17   3:57 PM
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.6.5 Black Education</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.6 The Fourteenth Amendment</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Review</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Terms</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions for Review and Reflection</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3.2 Segregated or Integrated Schools?</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3.3 Education and Gender Identity</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4 The Lure of Cities</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4.1 Urban Community Life</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4.2 Federal Appointments</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4.3 Black Towns</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5 The Economics and Politics of Unity</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5.1 Unions</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5.2 Interracial Alliances and Populism</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.6 Finding a Place to Uplift the Race</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.6.1 Migration within the South</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.6.2 Western Soldiers, Pioneers, and New Opportunities</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.6.3 Rethinking Africa</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.7 Terror and Accommodation</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.7.1 Campaign against Lynching</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.7.2 The Atlanta Compromise</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Review</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Terms</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions for Review and Reflection</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 “Colored” Becomes “Negro” in the Progressive Era</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Church Terrell and the NACW</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1 Racial Segregation</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.1 “Separate but Equal”</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.2 Progressivism and White Supremacy</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.3 “Colored” Becomes “Negro”</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2 The Problem of the “Color Line”</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.1 Pan-Africanism</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2 Black Americans and the Spanish-American War</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.3 The Brownsville Incident</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3 Accommodation or Agitation?</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.1 Opposition to Washington</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.2 The Niagara Movement and the NAACP</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4 Black Culture</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4.1 Music, Poetry, Composition</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4.2 Sports</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5 Black Progress</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5.1 Harlem and the Urban League</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5.2 Churches and Clubs</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5.3 New Charismatic Leaders</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6 The “New Abolition”</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6.1 The NAACP Legal Assault</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6.2 The End of Booker T. Washington and Accommodation</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6.3 The Amenia Conference</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 21 Continuing Struggles over Rights and Identity, 1992–2004

Oprah Winfrey and Social Healing

21.1 A New Day for African Americans?
   21.1.1 Racial Dilemmas of the Clinton Presidency
   21.1.2 The Lani Guinier Affair
   21.1.3 Ending Welfare and Continuing Poverty

21.2 Race and the Criminal Justice System
   21.2.1 The O. J. Simpson Case
   21.2.2 The Prison System of Racial Control
   21.2.3 The Million Man March and Racial Atonement

21.3 Rethinking the Meaning of Race
   21.3.1 A Difficult “Conversation on Race”
   21.3.2 Affirmative Action and Reparations
   21.3.3 Redefining Black
   21.3.4 2000 Census Documents a Multiracial Nation

21.4 Democracy and the Legacy of Race
   21.4.1 The Disputed 2000 Election
   21.4.2 African Americans in an Interdependent World

## 22 Barack Obama and the Promise of Change, 2004–Present

Barack Obama’s Call for a New Direction

22.1 A Divided Nation

22.2 Hurricane Katrina’s Challenge to Conservative Government

22.3 The Long Presidential Campaign
   22.3.1 Primaries
   22.3.2 The General Election
   22.3.3 A Historic Election

22.4 The Obama Presidency and African Americans
   22.4.1 A New Political Era?
   22.4.2 The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act Becomes “Obamacare”
   22.4.3 Obama’s Black Critics
   22.4.4 Organizing #BlackLivesMatter

22.5 Resuming the Struggle for Voting Rights

22.6 Obama’s Uncertain Legacy

22.7 The 2016 Election

Conclusion

Chapter Review

Key Terms

Questions for Review and Reflection

Appendix

Credits

Index
## Maps

1.1 Early Hominid Sites  
1.2 Human Migrations Out of Africa  
1.3 Egypt in the New Kingdom  
1.4 Map of Roman Provinces in North Africa  
1.5 The Spread of Islam  
1.6 West African Kingdoms, 700–1600  
1.7 Kingdoms of Kongo and Ndongo  

2.1 Portuguese Colonization of the Atlantic Islands  

3.1 Enslaved Africans Transported to European Colonies, 1580–1700  
3.2 Slave Population of North America and West Indies Colonies, 1720  
4.1 The Commercial Triangle  
4.2 Origins of Africans Imported into North America  
5.1 Rumored Slave Plots in Eastern Virginia Counties, April 1775  
5.2 Free and Enslaved African Americans in 1790  
5.3 Evacuation of Black Loyalists  
6.1 Exodus of Haitians to U.S. Seaports, 1792–1809  
7.1 The Missouri Compromise of 1820  

7.2 The Internal Slave Trade, 1790–1860  
8.1 Martin Delaney’s Southern Trip  
8.2 Free Black and Enslaved People, 1860  
8.3 Black Seminoles along the Rio Grande Border  
9.1 Southern Cotton Production and Concentration of Slavery, 1820 and 1860  
9.2 Free Black Communities in Canada, 1860  
9.3 Harpers Ferry Region, 1859  
10.1 Cotton, Slavery, and Secession  
10.2 Black Soldiers on the Battlefield  
10.3 Freedmen’s Bureau Locations Across the South  
10.4 The Founding of Black Colleges  
12.1 Sharecropping in the South, 1880  
12.2 Isaiah Montgomery’s Mississippi  
15.1 The Election of 1936  
16.1 European and U.S. Overseas Colonies, 1945  
17.1 Segregated Schools, 1950  
18.1 The Impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on African American Voter Registration in the South  
20.1 1988 Democratic Presidential Primary
Revel™ Videos

The following videos are available in the Revel version of The Struggle for Freedom, Third Edition:

**Chapter 1**
- West African Kingdoms
- West African Society and Culture

**Chapter 2**
- Artifacts as Evidence: Amulet in the Form of Miniature Shackles
- The Atlantic Slave Trade
- The Experience of the Middle Passage

**Chapter 3**
- Degrees of Freedom in the Chesapeake

**Chapter 4**
- The Origins of African-American Culture

**Chapter 5**
- African Americans Fight in the Revolutionary War
- Artifacts as Evidence: Antislavery Medallion
- African Americans and the Rhetoric of Liberty
- Freedom in the North and Its Limits

**Chapter 6**
- The Emergence of Free Black Communities

**Chapter 7**
- Artifacts as Evidence: Slave Ship Manifest from Schooner Lafayette
- Artifacts as Evidence: Dress Made by Enslaved Woman
- The Lives of Slaves
- Direct Action Against Slavery

**Chapter 8**
- The Limits of Freedom
- Artifacts as Evidence: "Gold Washers" Snuff Box
- Artifacts as Evidence: Topographical Engineer's Uniform

**Chapter 9**
- The Fugitive Slave Law
- Slave Narratives
- John Brown and the Raid on Harpers Ferry

**Chapter 10**
- The Emancipation Proclamation
- The Civil War from the Perspective of African Americans
- Artifacts as Evidence: Christian Fleetwood Medal of Honor
- Artifacts as Evidence: Confederate Spy Dress
- Artifacts as Evidence: Union Army Uniform

**Chapter 11**
- The Ku Klux Klan
- The End of Reconstruction
- The Exodusters
- Artifacts as Evidence: Andrew Johnson Impeachment Ticket
- Artifacts as Evidence: 1867 Ohio Gubernatorial Ballot

**Chapter 12**
- Jim Crow
- Artifacts as Evidence: National Negro Business League Pin

**Chapter 13**
- Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois
- African-American Contributions to American Music
- Artifacts as Evidence: Poll Tax Receipt
- Artifacts as Evidence: Handmade Filipino Gun

**Chapter 14**
- The Great Migration
- Marcus Garvey
- The Harlem Renaissance
- Artifacts as Evidence: Ku Klux Klan Hood

**Chapter 15**
- The Scottsboro Boys
- The Great Depression: Opportunities and Challenges

**Chapter 16**
- Fighting for Freedom at Home and Abroad
- Jazz and Modern Black Culture

**Chapter 17**
- After Brown v. Board of Education
- Young People and the Civil Rights Movement
- Artifacts as Evidence: Greensboro Lunch Counter

**Chapter 18**
- Rewriting Black Identity: James Baldwin
- Cities in Flames

**Chapter 19**
- Black Nationalism

**Chapter 20**
- Hip-Hop Nation

**Chapter 21**
- Policing Black Communities

**Chapter 22**
- Hurricane Katrina
- Artifacts as Evidence: Michelle Obama Inaugural Gown
The following documents are available in the Revel version of *The Struggle for Freedom*, Third Edition, at the end of each chapter. They do not appear in the print version of the book.

**Chapter 1**
SC.1.1 Egyptian Hymn to the Nile (1350-1500 BCE)
SC.1.2 Al-Umari Describes Mansa Musa of Mali (c. 1300)
SC.1.3 Leo Africanus Describes Timbuktu (c.1500)

**Chapter 2**
SC.2.1 Ottobah Cugoano Relates Capture and Mutiny at Sea (1787)
SC.2.2 Venture Smith, A Slave Tells of His Capture in Africa in 1798
SC.2.3 Alexander Falconbridge, *A Slave Ship Surgeon Writes About the Slave Trade* (1788)
SC.2.4 Willem Bosman, from *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts* (1705)

**Chapter 3**
SC.3.1 A Virginian Describes the Difference Between Servants and Slaves in 1722
SC.3.2 Germantown Quakers Lodge First Protest Against Slavery (1688)
SC.3.3 Maryland Addresses the Status of Slaves, 1664

**Chapter 4**
SC.4.1 James Oglethorpe, *The Stono Rebellion, 1739*
SC.4.2 Job Ben Solomon, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job* (1734)
SC.4.3 John Woolman, *An Early Abolitionist Speaks Out Against Slavery*, 1757
SC.4.4 Runaway Notices from the *South Carolina Gazette* (1732 and 1737)

**Chapter 5**
SC.5.1 Slaves Petition the Governor of Massachusetts to End Slavery (1774)
SC.5.2 Boston King Describes End of War for Black Loyalists
SC.5.3 Phillis Wheatley Publishes Her Poems, 1773
SC.5.4 Prince Hall, A Free African-American Petitions the Government for Emancipation of All Slaves, 1777

**Chapter 6**
SC.6.1 Ben Woolfolk, *A Virginia Slave Explains Gabriel’s Conspiracy* (1800)
SC.6.2 Benjamin Banneker, *Letter to Thomas Jefferson* (1791)
SC.6.3 Absalom Jones Delivers a Sermon on the Occasion of the Abolition of the International Slave Trade, 1808
SC.6.4 Richard Allen, “Address to the Free People of Colour of These United States” (1830)
SC.6.5 A Black Sail-maker Lectures White Citizens (1813)

**Chapter 7**
SC.7.1 David Walker, A Black Abolitionist Speaks Out, 1829
SC.7.2 Jarena Lee Defends a Woman’s Right to Preach (1836)
SC.7.4 Solomon Northup Describes a New Orleans Slave Auction (1841)

**Chapter 8**
SC.8.1 The American Anti-Slavery Society Declares its Sentiments, 1833
SC.8.2 Garnet’s “Call to Rebellion” (1843)
SC.8.3 Maria Stewart, *Meditations from the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart* (1879)

**Chapter 9**
SC.9.1 Journal of Charlotte Forten, Free Woman of Color (selections from 1854)
SC.9.3 Martin Delany Urges African-Americans to Develop Independent Political Perspectives
SC.9.4 Jabez Campbell and Martin Delany Advocate Taking Up Farmland in Canada (1851)

**Chapter 10**
SC.10.1 Charlotte Forten Describes Life on the Sea Islands, 1864
SC.10.2 Elizabeth Keckley Describes Life in the White House During the Civil War, 1866
SC.10.3 The Colored People of South Carolina Protest the “Black Codes,” 1865
Revel™ Source Collection Documents

SC.10.4 Thomas Morris Chester Leads Celebration of Colored Soldiers (1865)
SC.10.5 Frederick Douglass Celebrates the Emancipation Proclamation (1863)
SC.10.6 Sarah Remond Hails a New Era

Chapter 11
SC.11.1 Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Proposes Women's Leadership (1875)
SC.11.2 Madison Hemings Recalls His Family History (1873)
SC.11.3 John E. Bruce Promotes Africa (1877)
SC.11.4 Aaron Russell, Black Pennsylvanians Memorialize U.S. Colored Troops at Gettysburg (1873)
SC.11.5 Henry McNeal Turner Defends African Americans' God-Given Rights (1868)

Chapter 12
SC.12.1 Senator Blanche K. Bruce Reflects on African Americans' "Love of Country" (1876)
SC.12.2 Anna Julia Cooper Reflects on African-American Women's Potential
SC.12.3 Christian Fleetwood Muses on the Ironies of the Black Soldier (1895)
SC.12.4 Dr. Rebecca Crumpler Encourages African-American Women to Pursue Medicine (1883)
SC.12.5 T. Thomas Fortune's View of Labor (1886)

Chapter 13
SC.13.1 Ida B. Wells-Barnett, False Accusations, from The Red Record, 1895
SC.13.2 Booker T. Washington, "Industrial Education for the Negro" (1903)
SC.13.4 William Calvin Chase Urges African Americans to Study Law (1886)
SC.13.5 Lucy Laney on Negro Women's Education and Leadership (1899)
SC.13.6 W. E. B. Du Bois on African Americans Inner Life (1903)

Chapter 14
SC.14.1 A. Philip Randolph Demands a New Ministry (1917)
SC.14.2 Marcus Garvey Reconceives Christianity (1922)
SC.14.3 Leslie Pinckney Hill and Alice Moore Dunbar Advocate for Black Literature (1920)
SC.14.4 Alain Locke Discusses the Emergence of the “New Negro” (1925)
SC.14.5 Marcus Garvey Calls for Black Separatism (1921)

Chapter 15
SC.15.1 E. E. Lewis, Black Cotton Farmers and the AAA (1935)
SC.15.2 Eyewitness of the Ku Klux Klan (1936)
SC.15.3 National Labor Relations Act (1935)
SC.15.4 Carey McWilliams, Okies in California, 1939
SC.15.5 Luther C. Wandall Describes His Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps (1935)
SC.15.6 Mrs. Henry Weddington, Letter to President Roosevelt, 1938
SC.15.7 Scott's Run, West Virginia. Johnson Family - Father Unemployed (1937)

Chapter 16
SC.16.1 Ronald Reagan, Testimony Before the House Un-American Activities Committee, 1947
SC.16.2 Virginia Snow Wilkinson, “From Housewife to Shipfitter,” 1943
SC.16.3 Supreme Court Opinions in Korematsu v. United States, 1944
SC.16.4 Franklin D. Roosevelt, “The Four Freedoms,” 1941
SC.16.5 Thurgood Marshall, “The Legal Attack to Secure Civil Rights” (1942)
SC.16.6 “The Dictates of Self-Respect” The Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training to President Truman (1948)
SC.16.7 The Negro Motorist Green Book (1949)

Chapter 17
SC.17.1 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954
SC.17.2 Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955)
SC.17.3 Ethel Waters Talks about Blacks in the Movies (1950)
SC.17.4 Southern Manifesto on Integration (1956)
SC.17.5 “Are you now a member of the Communist Party?” TheHUAC Testimony of Paul Robeson (1956)
SC.17.6 Letter from Jackie Robinson to President Eisenhower (1958)
SC.17.7 From the FBI Files of Malcolm X (1951–1953)
SC.17.8 Ella Fitzgerald, Complaint Against Pan American World Airlines (1957)
SC.17.9 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Statement of Purpose, 1960

Chapter 18
SC.18.1 James Meredith, Letter to the Justice Department (1961)
SC.18.2 Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from a Birmingham Jail, 1963
SC.18.3 The Civil Rights Act of 1964
SC.18.4 Voting Literacy Test (1965)
SC.18.5 From the FBI files of Malcolm X (1951–1953)
SC.18.6 Lyndon B. Johnson, The War on Poverty, 1964

Chapter 19
SC.19.1 Excerpts from the Kerner Report (1968)
SC.19.2 The Supreme Court Rules on Busing, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971)
SC.19.3 From the FBI files of Malcolm X (1951–1953)

Chapter 20
SC.20.1 Nelson Mandela, Release from Prison (1990)
SC.20.2 Richard Viguerie, Why the New Right Is Winning, 1981
SC.20.3 Combahee River Collective Statement

Chapter 21
SC.21.1 Michael Jackson: Beyond the Pale (1992)
SC.21.2 Resolution on Racial Reconciliation on the 150th Anniversary of the Southern Baptist Convention (1995)
SC.21.3 Anita Hill Testifies Before Congress (1991)

Chapter 22
SC.22.2 Darlene Clark Hine, Mystic Chords of Memory (2008)
SC.22.3 President Barack Obama on the Selma to Montgomery Marches
Preface

In This Edition

Teachers familiar with previous editions of The Struggle for Freedom will find that this Third Edition expands impressively on its predecessors. The major changes include the following.

Revel for The Struggle for Freedom

Revel™

Revel is an interactive learning environment that deeply engages students and prepares them for class. Media and assessment integrated directly within the authors’ narrative lets students read, explore interactive content, and practice in one continuous learning path. Thanks to the dynamic reading experience in Revel, students come to class prepared to discuss, apply, and learn from instructors and from each other.

Learn more about Revel

www.pearson.com/revel

The Struggle for Freedom, 3e, features many of the dynamic interactive elements that make Revel unique. In addition to the rich narrative content, The Struggle for Freedom includes the following:

- Engaging Video Program:
  - Topical and primary source videos: The new edition includes topical videos narrated by active scholars, as well as dramatic readings of engaging primary source documents that are illustrated with supporting images.
  - Artifacts as Evidence videos: Created in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, these videos focus on a wide range of unique artifacts from the Smithsonian collection, using these artifacts as starting points for explaining and illuminating the African American historical experience.
- Key Term Definitions: Key terms appear in bold and include pop-up definitions inline that allow students to see the meaning of a word or phrase while reading the text, providing context.
- Social Explorer Maps: Select maps include interactive census data that allow students to delve deeply into the issues and developments illustrated by the maps.
- Enhanced and Interactive Images: Interactive photos allow students to study the details and nuances of the images by clicking within the image for key commentary and explanation.
- Assessments: Multiple-choice end-of-module and end-of-chapter quizzes test students’ knowledge of the chapter content, including dates, concepts, and major events.
- Chapter Review: The chapter review contains key term flashcards, an image gallery, video gallery, and review questions.
- Source Collections: An end-of-chapter source collection includes three to five documents relevant to the chapter content. Each document includes an introduction, questions, and audio. Students can highlight and make notes on the documents. Source collections for selected chapters also include videos created in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution and are accompanied by a brief introduction, questions, and audio.
- Integrated Writing Opportunities: To help students reason and write more clearly, each chapter offers three varieties of writing prompts:
  - Journal Prompts: These prompts integrated throughout support students’ exploration of chapter themes. They are included inline with content and can be shared with instructors.
  - Shared Writing Prompts: These prompts encourage students to consider a key concept, event, or theme and provide peer-to-peer feedback in a discussion board, developing critical thinking skills and fostering collaboration among a specific class. These prompts appear between modules.
  - Essay Prompts: These prompts appear in Pearson’s Writing Space and can be assigned and graded by instructors.

Key Elements to Enhance Student Engagement and Critical Thinking

- Chapter introductory vignettes encourage students to see African American history through the eyes of the individuals who lived it.
- Chapter images, maps, and figures are much more numerous than in the Second Edition and are in full color. Photographs and pieces of fine art encapsulate emotional and historical meaning. Captions provide valuable information that allows for a fuller understanding of the people who lived the African American story.
Preface

- **Learning Objectives** highlight the important issues and themes. Each is linked to one of the chapter’s main sections, and they are all emphasized in the chapter overview.
- **Key Terms** throughout the chapters highlight important topics as they are introduced.
- **The timeline** beginning each chapter reinforces the essential points of the narrative.

Supplements for Instructors

**Instructor’s Resource Center.** [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc). This website provides instructors with additional text-specific resources that can be downloaded for classroom use. Resources include the Instructor’s Resource Manual, PowerPoint presentations, and the Test Bank. Register online for access to the resources for *The Struggle for Freedom*.

**Instructor’s Resource Manual.** Available at the Instructor’s Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the Instructor’s Resource Manual includes an Introduction to Revel section that walks the user through the Revel product using screen shots that identify and explain the numerous Revel features, detailed chapter summaries, and discussion questions.

**Test Bank.** Available at the Instructor’s Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the Test Bank includes both multiple-choice and essay questions.

**PowerPoint Presentations.** Strong PowerPoint presentations make lectures more engaging for students. Available at the Instructor’s Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the PowerPoints contain chapter outlines and full-color photos, maps, and art. All PowerPoint are ADA compliant.

**MyTest Test Bank.** Available at www.pearsonmytest.com, MyTest is a powerful assessment generation program that helps instructors easily create and print quizzes and exams. Questions and tests can be authored online, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility and the ability to efficiently manage assessments anytime, anywhere! Instructors can easily access existing questions and edit, create, and store using simple drag-and-drop and Word-like controls.

**Approach**

*Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are people who want crops without ploughing the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning; they want the ocean without the roar of its many waters. The struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both. But it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand; it never has and it never will.*

—Frederick Douglass

As was true with its first two editions, *The Struggle for Freedom* is a narrative of the black experience in America, using a distinctive biographical approach to guide the story and animate the history. This biographical approach places African American lives at the center of the narrative. In each chapter, individual African Americans are depicted initiating and responding to the historical changes of the era. Life stories capture the rush of events that envelop individuals and illuminate the momentous decisions that, collectively, shape the American past and present.

This book introduces the concepts, milestones, and significant figures of African American history. Inasmuch as that history is grounded in struggle—in the consistent and insistent call to the United States to deliver on the constitutional promises made to all its citizens—this book is also an American history text, weaving African American history into a larger narrative of American history, including developments in the nation’s economy, politics, religion, family, and arts and letters.

The biographical approach of *The Struggle for Freedom* uses African American lives as the basis for understanding and analyzing not only the black experience in America but American history as a whole. Too often, expressions such as *the sweep of history, the transit of civilization, manifest destiny,* and *the march of progress* plant the idea that history is inexorable, unalterable, and foreordained, and beyond the capacity of men and women to change. That idea has been used to justify a winner’s history that glosses over both the weaknesses of “winners” and the strength and dignity of “losers.” Such an approach diminishes the full humanness of both, belittles those who were captured and traded as slaves, and defaces those who struggled for generations against entrenched prejudice. To promote the understanding that no individual is forever trapped within iron circumstances beyond his or her ability to alter, every chapter in this book is grounded in the experience of people as agents of their own liberation rather than simply as victims of oppression.

The human stories in *The Struggle for Freedom* illustrate the ways in which African Americans resisted slavery and became part of an international movement to eliminate the slave trade and ultimately the entire system of slavery. These stories also depict the sustained freedom struggles of African American peasants, who were, in the period after the Civil War, mostly illiterate, without land of their own, and denied basic human rights. Like peasants elsewhere in the world, they pursued a larger vision, educating themselves and their children, migrating in search of greater autonomy, creating their own churches and self-help organizations, and resisting oppression in all its forms. During the twentieth century, just as peasants and the descendants of peasants in Africa and Asia were overcoming colonialism, African Americans overcame the systematic segregation and discrimination of the American Jim Crow system. Over
the ensuing decades, the children of those who once picked cotton gained the power to pick presidents, and, early in the twenty-first century, they indeed helped elect a descendant of an African peasant as president of the United States.

Coverage and Organization

The remarkable and distinctive people and events of American history are all featured in *The Struggle for Freedom*. In these pages, readers will learn of the Europeans’ first encounter with native peoples and a new environment; they will see how the American Revolution raised the ideal of human society cleansed of slavery, with voiceless chattel striving toward citizenship and power. They will encounter other pivotal events of American history and African American strategies in response to global and local events and pressures: the Haitian Revolution; the Missouri Compromise; sectional conflicts; wars in Europe, the South Pacific, and Asia, from the Civil War through this century’s war against terrorism; and the human rights battles for our times. Readers will also be able to examine cultural and economic trends throughout American history—from the resistance poetry of revolutionary-era Phillis Wheatley and nineteenth-century artists such as Henry Ossawa Tanner, through the development of urban communities and technology that support such movements as modern-day hip-hop.

Chapters 1 through 7 of *The Struggle for Freedom* explore the period up to 1830, when most Africans in North America were enslaved. The book begins, as all human history begins, in Africa with ancient history and the rise of empires in West and Central Africa during the period American and western historians think of as the Middle Ages. European contact with West and Central Africa and the growth of the Atlantic slave trade are followed by an analysis of the new conditions of slavery in the Americas. New maps and images are included to help students understand the connections between these complex, intertwined histories. New data from extensive research in the last decade on the Atlantic slave trade are incorporated in several chapters. Because Africans were not all enslaved in the same ways and in the same conditions, the chapters treat the formation of notions about race and how they figured in the descent into slavery in different zones of European settlement—French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish as well as English—in the Americas. The galvanizing effect of the American and Haitian revolutions and the decades thereafter during which free black people in the North and in the South built families, founded churches, forged friendships and communities, and struggled for freedom and dignity are central themes. Also explored is the rise of the Cotton Kingdom of the Deep South and how coerced migration to newly developed regions touched the lives of almost every enslaved person while spurring attempts to overthrow slavery.

Chapters 8 through 14 examine pivotal junctures in African American history that parallel the American focus on expansion, reform, and nationality. The 1830s marked the first years when the majority of black Americans were not forced immigrants but rather were born on American soil. Echoing the religious reawakening that undergirded both abolitionism and a vigorous defense of slavery, enslaved and free African Americans alike claimed their voice in an international antebellum debate about the future of American democracy. Then, through a long and merciless Civil War, the end of slavery, and the South’s attempt to re-create the essence of slavery, black Americans persisted in holding forth, before white Americans and the world, the guarantees of equality and citizenship built into the new constitutional amendments. The post-Civil War dispersal of newly freed African Americans to every corner of North America—and indeed across the globe—shows how, in the face of a still-hostile white America that abandoned Reconstruction, black people built families, communities, viable economic lives, and shaped individualized notions of a “good” life. Churches, mutual aid and literary enterprises, businesses, schools, and publishing ventures reflected the transformation from slaves to soldiers and autonomous citizens, determined to wrest equality and justice, and to claim their place in the America they had helped to build. Highlighted here, also, are some of the black visionaries whose descendants grasped and enriched the legacies of struggle passed down from their forebears. This textbook “names” not only of the lofty leaders, but of many less-well-known figures whom the lofty ones inspired. One of the goals of *Struggle* is to inspire today’s youth to notice and honor their own family’s place in the larger tapestry. The discussions of black communities in the 1830s and 1840s, violence against abolitionists, the Underground Railroad, slave narratives, and secession have all been significantly revised and updated. Chapters 10 and 11 (the Civil War and Reconstruction) have been reorganized to help clarify developments in this crucial period of African American history.

The last eight chapters of the book, Chapters 15 through 22, illuminate African American life in modern America. The narrative explores the increasing impact of African Americans on the surrounding world. During world wars, the Great Depression, and other momentous national and international transformations, black Americans struggled for justice and full citizenship in a society still marred by racist attitudes and practices. Throughout twentieth-century scientific, technological, and economic changes, one theme permeates African American strategies for securing justice and equal opportunity: the ongoing struggle for a positive sense of identity amidst racism and destructive racial stereotypes. Whether in fighting the nation’s
wars; helping build the modern economy; adding to urban dynamics and to the explosion of cultural creativity through innovations in music, art, film, dance, and literature; or playing increasingly prominent roles on the political stage at the local, state, and national level, African Americans in the last century are portrayed as the principal innovators of the nation’s most important liberation movement. All chapters in this section have received substantial revision, and new sections have been added to Chapter 22 on the legacy of Barack Obama’s presidency, the state of the contemporary struggle for African American freedom, and the meaning of the 2016 presidential election.
About the Authors

**Clayborne Carson** was born in Buffalo, New York, and grew up in Los Alamos, New Mexico. He received his BA, MA, and PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles, and since 1974 has taught at Stanford University where he is now Martin Luther King, Jr., Centennial Professor of History. He has also been a visiting professor or fellow at the University of California, Berkeley, Morehouse College, Emory University, American University, Harvard University, and the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Active during his undergraduate years in the civil rights and antiwar movements, Carson has published many works on the African American freedom struggles of the post-World War II period. His first book, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981), won the Frederick Jackson Turner Award from the Organization of American Historians. He has also published *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (1991) and *Martin’s Dream: My Journey and the Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (2013). He served as senior advisor for the award-winning PBS series on the civil rights movement entitled *Eyes on the Prize*, as well as contributed to many other documentaries, such as *Freedom on My Mind* (1994), *Blacks and Jews* (1997), *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin* (2002), *Negroes with Guns: Rob Williams and Black Power* (2005), *Have You Heard from Johannesburg?* (2010), *Al Helm: Martin Luther King in Palestine* (2013), and *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of a Revolution* (2015). Carson is founding director of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute at Stanford, an outgrowth of his work since 1985 as editor of King’s papers and director of the King Papers Project, which is producing a comprehensive fourteen-volume edition of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* The biographical approach of *The Struggle for Freedom: A History of African Americans* grew out of Carson’s vision. He has used it with remarkable results in his Stanford courses, including his online *American Prophet: The Inner Life and Global Vision of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

**Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner** received her BA, MA, and PhD from the University of Pennsylvania. She has taught at Temple University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton University, and since 1990 she has been a professor of history at Haverford College. From her experience with voter registration in Mississippi in the 1960s, she became a historian to try to help correct misinformation about black Americans. Her research and teaching—all informed by her concern for the African American story—focus on family and community life, antebellum cities, Quaker history, religion and popular culture in nineteenth-century America, and the intersections between race, religion, and class. Lapsansky-Werner has published on all these topics, including *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848–1880* (2005, with Margaret Hope Bacon), *Neighborhoods in Transition: William Penn’s Dream and Urban Reality* (1994), and *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption, 1720–1920* (2003). She also contributed an article on Benjamin Franklin and slavery to Yale University Press’s *Benjamin Franklin, In Search of a Better World* (2005) and to several anthologies on the history of Pennsylvania. She hopes that *The Struggle for Freedom: A History of African Americans* will continue to broaden the place of African American history in the scholarly consciousness, expanding the trend toward recognizing black Americans as not just objects of public policy, but also as leaders in the multifaceted international struggle for human justice. Through stories, black Americans are presented as multidimensional, alive with their own ambitions, visions, and human failings.
Gary B. Nash was born in Philadelphia and received his BA and PhD in history from Princeton University. He taught at Princeton briefly and since 1966 has been a faculty member at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches colonial American, revolutionary American, and African American history and directs the National Center for History in the Schools. He served as president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–1995 and was Co-Director of the National History Standards Project in 1992–1996. Nash’s many books on early American history include Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681–1726 (1968); Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America (seven editions since 1974); The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (1979); Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia’s Black Community, 1720–1840 (1988); Race and Revolution (1990); Forbidden Love: The Secret History of Mixed-Race America (1999; 2nd ed., 2010); First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of History Memory (2001); Landmarks of the American Revolution (2003); The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America (2005); The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution (2006); Friends of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, and Agrippa Hull (2008); Liberty Bell (2010); Warner Mifflin: Unflinching Quaker Abolitionist (2017); and The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society (nine editions since 1981). Nash wanted to coauthor this book with two good friends and esteemed colleagues because of their common desire to bring the story of the African American people before a wide audience of students and history lovers. African American history has always had a central place in his teaching, and it has been pivotal to his efforts to bring an inclusive, multicultural American history into the K–12 classrooms in this nation and abroad.
Acknowledgments

We gratefully acknowledge the reviewers of all three editions of this text for their insightful observations and suggestions.

The authors would like to thank the staff of Special Collections at Haverford College and the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., the publisher of the magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the use of material published in the November 1935 and June 1938 issues of Crisis. The project also owes a monumental debt of gratitude to Ann Grogg. Ann was by turns editor, counselor, circuit rider, diplomat, and loyal friend. Her broad and subtle knowledge of history and of those who teach and learn it were crucial to our progress. So too was her deft editing without altering the authors’ voices or meaning.

Clay Carson offers particular thanks to Zainab Taymurree, Cole Sharp Manley, Damani Rivers, Caitrin McKiernan, and Sarah Overton of the King Research and Education Institute at Stanford University for their exceptional research assistance. Susan A. Carson also helped with editing the manuscript. Tenisha Armstrong, Miya Woolfalk, and other King Project staff members and student researchers offered useful comments on the manuscript at various stages of its development. Emma Lapsansky-Werner extends a special thank-you to student research assistants James Chappel, Sarah Hartman, and Caroline Boyd, and to her ever-patient husband, Dickson Werner. Gary Nash thanks research assistants Grace Lu and Marian Olivas for their good cheer in carrying out many tasks.