

# THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

# THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

## A History of African Americans

*Combined Volume*

THIRD EDITION

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# Revel™ Videos

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## 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

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## Chapter 16

- Fighting for Freedom at Home and Abroad
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## Chapter 17

- After *Brown v. Board of Education*
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## Chapter 21

- Policing Black Communities

## Chapter 22

- Hurricane Katrina
- Artifacts as Evidence: Michelle Obama Inaugural Gown

# Revel™ Source Collection Documents

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)

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- SC.8.3 Maria Stewart, *Meditations from the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart* (1879)

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# 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](http://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.

- **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](http://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](http://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](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc), the PowerPoints contain chapter outlines and full-color photos, maps, and art. All PowerPoints are ADA compliant.

**MyTest Test Bank.** Available at [www.pearsonmytest.com](http://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 depreciate 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 striding 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



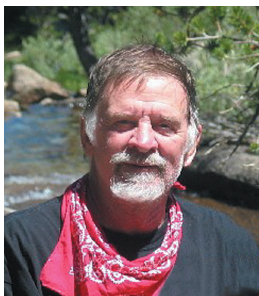
CLAYBORNE CARSON was born in Buffalo, New York, and grew up in Los Alamos, New Mexico. He received his BA, MA, and PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles, and since 1974 has taught at Stanford University where he is now

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 registra-

tion 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, Tadeuz 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.



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