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THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION IN THE WRITINGS OF
SELECTED PROFESSIONAL NEGRO HISTORIANS AND
SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SOUTHERN
WHITE HISTORIANS

PRAIRIE VIEW A&M COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

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NO. 6

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION IN THE WRITINGS OF SELECTED
PROFESSIONAL NEGRO HISTORIANS AND SELECTED PROFESSIONAL
SOUTHERN WHITE HISTORIANS

Helen Marie Tate

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION IN THE WRITINGS OF SELECTED
PROFESSIONAL NEGRO HISTORIANS AND SELECTED PROFESSIONAL
SOUTHERN WHITE HISTORIANS

A Thesis

By

Helen Marie Tate

Submitted to the Graduate School of
Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS

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Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College
Prairie View, Texas
August, 1970


THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION IN THE WRITINGS OF SELECTED
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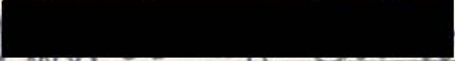
Helen Marie Tate

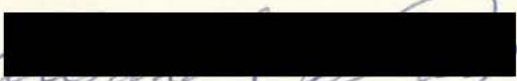
Approved as to style and content by:



(Chairman of Committee)


(Head of Department)


(Member)


(Member)


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August 3, 1971
(Month)

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Caulton Tate, this thesis is affectionately dedicated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer wishes to express her deepest appreciation to Dr. George Ruble Woolfolk, her advisor and Professor of History at Prairie View A&M College, Prairie View, Texas for his suggestions, criticisms, and supervision of this study. Also Dr. Purvis Carter, Mr. Alexander Pratt, Mr. Fahim Elmargia, and Dr. Raymond Welch whose encouragement aided directly or indirectly in the writing of this paper.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. Introduction.....	1
A. Statement of the Problem.....	2
B. Scope.....	7
C. Method.....	8
D. Sources.....	9
E. Definition of Terms.....	10
F. Hypothesis.....	11
G. Biography.....	12
II. Historical Critique In Black and White.....	13
III. The Emancipation Proclamation and the Historians.....	38
IV. Summary and Conclusion.....	57
V. Bibliography.....	61.

INTRODUCTION

Revolutionary changes is one of the most interesting phenomenon in the study of historiography. In no area has there been such a change than in the area of historical writing in the era of the Civil War by black and white writers in recent years. The purpose of this paper is to examine the Emancipation Proclamation in the light of the contemporary Civil rights and Negro rights struggle as well as the struggle of the southern region to maintain some semblance of traditional cultural identity and distinctiveness.

The writer chose this topic because the Emancipation Proclamation readily becomes the focal point of much emotional bias in historical interpretation. There are few incidences in American history with the capacity to evoke reactions strong enough to overcome the caution of the trained professional because the status of race was involved in the act. The writer feels that it is significant in the study to use professional Negro and Southern White writers in an area of public controversy instead of lay writers because of the way professional historians write and document their materials. What will be demonstrated here is not new information on the Emancipation Proclamation, but the fact that the facts of history are, under the best professional circumstances, the victim of overt bias of the writer, some of which even he himself would find it difficult to explain.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The development of the scholarship on the problem of the Emancipation Proclamation among the seven selected Negro writers shows the following Pattern between World War II and the present. Three categories dominate this pattern of writing which appeared successively as "international humanitarian," "military," and "war for human freedom."

There are three Negroes who fall into the "international humanitarian category." They are, W.E.B. DuBois, Charles Wesley, and John Hope Franklin. DuBois saw the Emancipation Proclamation come not simply to black folks in 1863; to white Americans came slowly a new vision and a new uplift, a sudden freeing of hateful mental shadows.¹ Charles Wesley observed that the Emancipation Proclamation as far as foreign nations were concerned, was to shift the war issue to slavery and to win anti-slavery sympathizers in Europe.² John Hope Franklin felt that the Emancipation Proclamation had moral and humanitarian significance.³

There are two Negroes who fall into the "military category." They are: Carter G. Woodson, and Benjamin Quarles. Woodson said that no one would hardly think that emancipation had much of a chance if the Union had been

¹W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, (New York: Brace and Company, 1935). p. 124

²Charles Wesley, Collapse of the Confederacy, (Washington, D.C.; The Associate Publishers, Inc., 1937). p. 37

³John Hope Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963). p. 138

lost.⁴ Benjamin Quarles saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion.⁵ Benjamin Quarles felt later that the Emancipation Proclamation was the go-ahead signal to the recruiting of Negro soldiers.⁶

There are three Negroes who fall into the "War for human freedom category. They are John Hope Franklin, Lawrence Reddick, and Lerone Bennett, Jr. John Hope Franklin observed that the Emancipation Proclamation renewed the faith of thousands of crusaders who had fought long to win freedom in America.⁷ Lawrence Reddick saw that the Civil War took on a new meaning because of the Emancipation Proclamation. It became a war for a great cause - a war for the whole idea of freedom. Lerone Bennett felt that the Emancipation Proclamation converted a vague war for the Union into something men could get teeth into: A war for freedom.⁹

⁴Carter G. Woodson, The Negro In Our History, (Washington, D.C., The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941). p. 380.

⁵Benjamin Quarles, The Negro In the Civil War, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1953). p. 170.

⁶Benjamin Quarles, Lincoln And The Negro, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962). p. 45

⁷John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961). p. 280.

⁸Lawrence Reddick, Worth Fighting For, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965). p. 39.

⁹Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before The Mayflower, (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1966). p. 174.

Four categories dominate the pattern of writing which appeared successively among the Southern white writers, "military" "psychological," and "social."

There are four Southerners who fit into the "military" category. They are: Thomas Harry Williams, Clement Eaton, C. Van Woodward, and Bruce Catton. Thomas Harry Williams saw that Antietam was a victory, and after the battle Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.¹⁰ Clement Eaton observed that the Emancipation Proclamation was an attempt to stir up a servile insurrection. The working class, however, held to the conviction that the North was fighting for the liberation of the slaves.¹¹ C. Vann Woodward felt that the Union and not freedom was the true war aim. Yet freedom had become a second war aim anyway, and for many the primary war aim.¹² Bruce Catton observed that the Emancipation was a military measure, and that to extend it without direct military necessity would put him in the boundless field of absolutism, and yet the proclamation meant much more than battles won and everybody knew it.¹³

¹⁰ Thomas Harry Williams, Lincoln And His Generals, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952). p. 170.

¹¹ Clement Eaton, A History Of the Southern Confederacy, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954). p. 69.

¹² C. Van Woodward, The Burden Of Southern History, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960). p. 73.

¹³ Bruce Catton, Never Call Retreat, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1965). p. 277.

There are three Southern writers who fall into the psychological category. They are, Bell Irvin Wiley, Clifford Dowdey, and Dumas Malone. Bell Irvin Wiley saw the Emancipation Proclamation as the lure of freedom which impelled them to go.¹⁴ Clifford Dowdey felt that the Emancipation Proclamation saddled the Southern people (not only slave holders) with an onus of guilt for generations to come and gave the rest of the United States a false reason for moral superiority.¹⁵ Dumas Malone said that the Emancipation Proclamation served its psychological purposeless from what people thought it was. In most minds it marked the northern cause as a crusade for freedom.¹⁶

There is one Southern white that fit into the political category, William Best Hesselstine. Hesselstine feels that the Proclamation and the Altoona "Address" only removed such obstacles as Andrew "conditional patriotism" on the other hand, they strengthen the Democratic appeal to the War weary anti-Negro populace.¹⁷

¹⁴ Bell Irvin Wiley, Southern Negroes 1861-1865, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1938-1965). p. 196.

¹⁵ Clifford Dowdey, The Land They Fought For, 1832-1865, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955) p. 175.

¹⁶ Dumas Malone, Crisis Of The Union 1841-1877, (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1960). p. 212.

¹⁷ William B. Hesselstine, Lincoln and The War Governors, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948). p. 263.

There is one Southern white that fit into the "social" category, E. Merton Coulter. Coulter view the Emancipation Proclamation as being social. It was also an attempt to set nonslaveholders against slave holders, as the war would now take on more the character of a defense of slave property.¹⁸

¹⁸E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of America 1861-1865, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana, State University Press, 1950). p. 265.

SCOPE

The time scope of this paper covers the period from 1935 to 1966. The scope of this study begins at 1935 when significant New Deal idealism hit both the South and the Negro and began a chain of change which reached full tide with the coming of World War I; the date 1966 is significant for this study because the liberalism of the freedom movement of the 60's was running flood tide with sufficient persistence to reflect itself in the scholarship current at the time.

The material encompasses nine Southern white and seven Negro Historians, all of whom have written on the Civil War in general or the Emancipation Proclamation in particular. There is developed an analysis of Negro and Southern white writers on the Emancipation Proclamation.

METHOD

The method that has been employed in making a study of the historiography of the Emancipation Proclamation is topical.

This method has been chosen because it enables the writer to group the information in such a category so as the reader may obtain a clear concept of the factors that are involved in the analysis of the Emancipation Proclamation.

An effort has been made to test the Emancipation Proclamation by the class, ethnic origin, and climate of opinion of the Professional Negro and Professional White at the time their writing in this problem area developed. These categories will be applied to the writers answers to the following questions:

- (1) What was the Proclamation for?
- (2) What did Lincoln have in mind?
- (3) Influence of the Cabinet members?
- (4) What precipitated the move?
- (5) Reactions of Northerners, Southerners, Negroes, and the European Countries.

The historians were selected on the basis that they were, all scholars, all Civil War writers, all University trained, members of professional organizations, and their main occupation is either the teaching or writing of history.

SOURCES

The sources are comprised of the writings of the historians involved in the study as they bear upon the Emancipation Proclamation. Some bear directly upon the Civil War and/or the Emancipation Proclamation. Others are found in general histories by authors. Critique on the authors were found in journals and biographies, as well as developmental studies on the evolution of schools of writings.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Emancipation Proclamation-Either of two Proclamations (September 22, 1862, and January 1, 1863) issued by President Lincoln, the first promising and the second declaring the emancipation of over 3,000,000 Negroes in the seceded states.
2. Slave - All such persons of African descent who were held in slavery by law.
3. Negro - A person of African descent, or having a trace of African blood to a certain extent, as defined by law.
4. Southern Professional historian-An inhabitant or native of the South who makes his living by his art as a writer of Southern history, either in or out of the region.
5. Ethnic - Of having to do with or belonging to a specific group of mankind, whose members share the same cultural, language, or customs.
6. Class - A group or set alike with common characteristics, or with a common purpose.
7. Intellectual environment - Has been defined as anyone or anything that contributes to understanding, human awareness, and the climate of opinion at the time under which historians write history.
8. Negro Professional Historian - An inhabitant or native of the United States of African descent who makes his living by his art as a writer of history.

HYPOTHESIS

It is the belief of this writer that there is a difference between the Professional Negro and Professional Southern writers in regards to the interpretations of the Emancipation Proclamation. The difference may be found in the period in which they wrote, their class differences, their environment, and their ethnic differences.

Should there be a marked difference between the two groups then it may be assumed that the interpretation of an historical event may be conditioned by factors within the personal life, and social-intellectual conditions surrounding an author's work.

BIOGRAPHY

Helen Marie Tate was born November 20, 1943 in Port Arthur, Texas. She is the daughter of Caulton and Ethel Tate.

She received her elementary and high school training in the Port Arthur Independent School District in Port Arthur, Texas.

In 1963, she entered Prairie View A&M College and began her work toward a Bachelor's degree, completing the requirements in 1967.

She began her work toward a Master's degree at Prairie View A&M College during the first term of 1968 summer school session. She has pursued major course in History and a minor in Special Education. She is at the present time a candidate for graduation on August 20, 1970.

From 1967 to 1970 she taught at the Lincoln High School, in Port Arthur, Texas.

CHAPTER II

The Negro Professional and his orians involved in this study are the product, of a peculiar environment, intellectual and social, which gives particular relevance to their presence in this study for comparative purposes with their white counterparts. In the spread of factors effecting Negro scholarship participation by Afro-Americans in World War II was a force of scope and intensity altering the Black Americans' milieu. Since 1945, there have been added to this such powerful influence as participation in the Korean and Vietnam wars; racial integration of sports, the military and other segments of national life; and the successful independence movements in Africa, India, China and other places.¹

These gains of the 1950's and early 1960's combined with the gains of the 1940's, have had a profound psychological effect upon Negro Americans. Despair and hopelessness have declined, new and proud aspirations have taken hold, and a determined optimism about the future has developed.²

This new optimism created competition among old and new Negro leadership organizations as well as better clarification of their positions. Though frequently criticized by militants, the NAACP and the Urban League remain the principal vehicles for joint efforts by Negro moderates and white liberals. The recently-activist National Welfare Rights organization continues to mobilize America's disadvantaged across racial lines.

¹Earl E. Thrope, The Central Theme Of Black History, (Durham, North Carolina, Seeman Printery, 1969), p.99.

²August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, The Making Of Black America, (New York: Kingsport Press, Inc., 1969), p. 30.

CORE has shifted its emphasis to black militancy; and while S.C.L.C. retains its endorsement of nonviolence, it has deliberately shifted to programs concerned more directly with labor organizing, and economic, educational and political activities at the community level, rather than the initiation of massive demonstrations intended to influence Congress and the general public. The "Progressive" movement for example has assumed a Marxist-Leninist-position. Among the Black Power groups, there are important differences regarding strategies and tactics, although these differences would melt in any open crisis or confrontation with White society as a whole.³

Perhaps the best known radicals in the Negro movement are the Black Nationalist. The basic ideological commitment of all such nationalist groups is to a separate social existence for the American Negro. Ideas on how this separate territory either in the form of an all-Negro geographical region (the key element in Black Muslim doctrine; (2) the conscious development of Negro ghettos as voluntary arenas for a separate group life. The most recent group of radicals to arrive on the American scene seems potentially the most important. It has been variously labeled the new radicals, new left, and spontaneous left. It consists of very

³Robert L. Zangrando, "From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: The Unsettled 1960's" Current History, Vol. 57, No. 339 (November, 1969), pp. 281-286.

loose connection of groups and individuals.⁴

Writers of this study whose work fall within the climate of opinion thus developed are somewhat difficult to categorize because some who were born at the turn of the century lived well past the chronological time of their intellectual maturity and thought beyond the confines of the traditional pattern of their historical training. Others of these writers are of the contemporary period, but may be limited by their capacity to keep abreast of the diversity and speed of the revolution in Negro or national thought.

The Negro Professional Historians were selected on the basis of the following criteria: They all, save Woodson and DuBois began their careers in the general period from 1935-1966. The historians whose work was examined for this study have done research on the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War. These writers are University trained students of history and other social sciences. History, either the teaching or writing or it, is the main occupation of these writers.

The characteristics that emerge from the consideration of the development of Negro historiography in the period covered by this climate of opinion is as follows: (1) Negroes in the period of this study proved to be more objective as a trend to a better scholarship showed itself among them. (2)

⁴Raymond Murphy and Howard Elinson, Problems And Prospects of The Negro Movement, (California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1968), p. 35-36.

The wanning of bitterness proved to be another manifestation of their writing. (3) The writers are scientifically inclined and more professional. (4) The writers are race conscious. (5) They tend to crusade. (6) These writers view history as the basis of social actions. (7) The writers are anti-White supremacy.⁵

⁵Earl Thrope, Negro Historians In The United States, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Press, 1958), p. 49.

William Edward Bwithardt DuBois was born three years after the Civil War on February 23, 1869, in the little town of Great Barrington in western Massachusetts. DuBois was the first Negro to receive a Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard.⁶ An examination of the writings of W.E.B. DuBois and critique of his writings by his peers shows the following basic characteristics to the student in Historiography. Since he is the last of the breed, DuBois shows in his writings that he has penned some of the most stinging castigations of American historians since the controversy over war guilt of Germany. DuBois demonstrates in his writings signs of being scientifically inclined and more professional in that he shows the Negro in general is an average human being, who under given environment develops like other human beings. DuBois tends to be race conscious in that he asserts that the attitude of any person toward his work would be distinctly influenced by theories of the Negro race. DuBois used history as the basis of social actions because his book, Black Reconstruction, was the first attempt to interpret the controversial period of Reconstruction according to the principles of Karl Marx. In making the attempt, DuBois is, of course, treading upon dangerous ground. For the first time one clearly understands that America lost during Reconstruction her golden

⁶Dorothy Sterling, Lift Every Voice, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965), p. 29-30. DuBois has written: The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade; Black Folk Then and Now; Dusk of Dawn and Black Reconstruction in America.

opportunity to found a political and industrial democracy.⁷ DuBois shows that he is anti-white supremacy in that he boldly asserts that he has written a book that will necessitate further reply from the advocates of capitalism and white supremacy if they have the courage to read Black Reconstruction.⁸

Another Negro Professional Historian, Charles Wesley, was born in Louisville, Kentucky, December 2, 1891. He received his B.A. at Fisk University, M.A. at Yale, and Ph.D. at Harvard.⁹ An examination of Wesley's writings shows that he is scientifically inclined and more professional in that he makes a succinct and well organized presentation of his case. His aim was to prepare a short history of the complex causes at work in the South during the period of the Confederate decline. Wesley pursued the investigation with impartiality, hoping that the reader would also free himself from any bias and apply to the text the same rigid test.¹⁰ Wesley tends to crusade in that he shows sectional differences as they relate to the North and South as still active causes of controversy. Studies which are intended to treat the economic, social or

⁷ W.E.B. DuBois, "Black Reconstruction in America," Reviewed by Rayford W. Logan, The Journal of Negro History, XXI, (1963), p. 61-63.

⁸ W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, (New York: Russel and Russel, Inc., 1962), p.X.

⁹ Cattell, Op. Cit., p. 45, Wesley has written: Negro Labor In The United States; The Collapse of the Confederacy; and A Development of Negro College Life.

¹⁰ Charles Wesley, "Collapse of the Confederacy", Reviewed by Paul Lewinson, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXV, June 1938 to March, 1939, p. 230.

psychological conflicts in either North or South. Wesley felt, are likely to be productive of emotional attitudes on the part of authors and similar reactions of the part of readers. Wesley tends to use history as the basis of social actions in that he shows that slavery constituted a diplomatic weakness because it represented a "social lag" that made the South's institution more untenable.¹¹

Another Negro Professional Historian, John Hope Franklin, tends to show signs of being scientifically inclined and more professional in that he has sought to interpret critically the forces and personalities that tried to put together a subjective and unscientific treatment of the subject. The volume is the most competent, balanced and scholarly summary of the Negroes' role in America that has appeared.¹² Franklin tends to be race conscious in that it can hardly be denied that the course of American history has been so marked that today he is as truly American as any member of other ethnic groups that make up American population.¹³ The volume is restrained in diction, lucid in exposition. It is indeed a highly intelligent piece of overemphasis on the Negroes' role in American history.

¹¹ Charles H. Wesley, Collapse of the Confederacy, (Washington, D.C.: The Associate Publishers, Inc., 1937), IX., p.1.

¹² John Hope Franklin, "From Slavery To Freedom: A History of American Negroes" Reviewed by William B. Hesseltine, The American Historical Review, XIV, No. 1, (1948), p. 155.

¹³ John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), XI.

John Hope Franklin is the John Matthews Manly Distinguished Service Professor of History, and Chairman of the Department of history at the University of Chicago. Franklin was born in Rentiesville, Oklahoma, January 2, 1915. He received his advanced degrees from Harvard.¹⁴ An examination of Franklin's work shows evidence of the waning of bitterness in that he states that the "Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure is fairly known. As a moral force during and after the war, its importance is to some students of the period, elusive as a great American document of freedom, it has been greatly neglected."¹⁵ Franklin shows evidence of being scientifically inclined in that he enhances his work with an excellent index, a listing of the most important sources and notes of documentation arranged by chapters at the end of the work. In the overall this is not only an excellent but a definitive piece of work on the subject.¹⁶

¹⁴Cattell, Op. Cit., p. 32, Franklin has written: The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860; The Civil War Diary of James T. Ayers; From Slavery to Freedom; A History of Negro Americans; The Militant South; Army Life In A Black Regiment; Reconstruction After The Civil War and The Emancipation Proclamation.

¹⁵John Hope Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), XI.

¹⁶John Hope Franklin, "The Emancipation Proclamation," Reviewed by Roland McConnel, XLVIII, 1963, Journal of Negro History, pp. 298-300.

Carter Godwin Woodson was born December 19, 1875. He received his degrees from Berea College University of Chicago, from which he received the Bachelor of Arts Degree and Harvard.¹⁷ Woodson's work shows signs of being scientifically inclined and more professional in that he has with the respect to the Negro, played a significant role in the new data and new sources which have become available in the last twenty-four years. Woodson shows evidence of being race conscious by asserting that the purpose of writing his book was to "present to the average reader in succinct form the history of the United States as it has been influenced by the presence of the Negro in this country;" what has been done for the advancement of the Negro in his sequestered sphere, more over and how he is working out, his salvation along economic lines.¹⁸ Woodson tend to crusade in his writing by stating that the time is not yet ripe for the publication of a comprehensive treatment of the American Negro focusing attention upon causes and their play since the beginning of this century. For example, segregation is one of the important topics treated. Woodson use history as the basis of social actions in his urging the Negro to help himself by agitative methods supported by organized effort.¹⁹

¹⁷Carter G. Woodson, "Fifth Anniversary: Honoring Carter G. Woodson," Negro History Bulletin, XXVIII, No. 8, 1965, pp. 172-173. Woodson has written: The Disruption of Virginia; The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861; Negro History Bulletin and The Negro in Our History.

¹⁸Carter Woodson, "The Negro in Our History," Reviewed by Paul Lewinson, XXIX, (June, 1942), Journal of Negro History, pp. 630-631.

¹⁹Carter G. Woodson, The Negro In Our History. (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941), p. XI.

Benjamin Quarles was born in Boston, January 23, 1904. He received his degrees from Shaw University, and the University of Wisconsin.²⁰ An examination of Benjamin Quarles work shows the tendency to be more objective as a trend to a better scholarship showed itself toward the beginning of the Negro struggle. The Negro wanted freedom and he had a great deal to do with bringing about his own emancipation.²¹ Quarles shows the waning bitterness in that Lincoln emerges as a man who did not take a consistent position on Negro - white relations any more than did the vast majority of his contemporaries.²² Quarles shows evidence of being scientifically inclined and race conscious in that he has attempted to confine himself to statements from sources that pass muster as scientific scholarship. He tried to guard against giving any misleading impressions by using out-of-context citations. Quarles hoped to set the records straight, to restore the Negro to his rightful, active place in the war that set him free.²³

²⁰ Cattell, Op. Cit., p. 661, Quarles has written: Frederick Douglas; The Negro In the Civil War; The Negro in the American Revolution; Lincoln and the Negro; The Negro in the Making of America, and The Negro American.

²¹ Benjamin Quarles "The Negro in the Civil War," Reviewed by T. Harry Williams, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX, No. 4 (1959), p.639.

²² Benjamin Quarles, "Lincoln and The Negro," Reviewed by Leslie Fishell, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX, (June, 1969), p. 527.

²³ Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the Civil War, (New York: Russel and Russell, 1953), p. X.

Quarles tends to be race conscious in that he seems to think that all Negroes were gaints. Quarles shows that Lincoln believed that the Civil War itself was brought on by the Negro question. Quarles tends to crusade by indicating that all of the Negroes seem to be noble, magnanimous individuals with lofty, abstract notions of liberty. Quarles use history as the basis of social actions in that he presents Americans as the sum of the influence brought to bear upon them, and one of these influences has been the prevasive spirit of this towering figure who "come out of the wilderness, down in Illinois."²⁴

Lawrence Dubnar Reddicks was born in Jacksonville, Florida, March 3, 1910. He received his degrees from Fisk University and the University of Chicago.²⁵ An examination of Reddicks' work shows evidence of race consciousness in that his Worth Fighting For fails to hit the mark, while subtitles itself as "a history of the Negro in the United States during the Civil War and Reconstruction," it devotes Part I, more than a fourth of the work, to a survey to the history of the Negro up to the Civil War. Nothing is left for inference; no deeds or events allowed to speak for themselves. People come out as carboard demigods, not as flesh and blood figures with strengths and weaknesses.²⁶

²⁴ Benjamin Quarles, Lincoln and the Negro. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. XI.

²⁵ Cattell, Op. Cit. p. 660, Reddick has written: Our College and Industrialization of the South; Rise and Fall of Negro Militia; Worth Fighting For.

²⁶ Lawrence D. Reddick, "Worth Fighting For" Reviewed by Irvin J. Sloan, Saturday Review, XLVIII, No. 8, (February 20, 1965), pp. 630-635.

Lerone Bennett, Jr. was born on October 17, 1928, in Clarksdale, Mississippi. He received his degree at Morehouse College.²⁷ An examination of Bennetts work shows evidence of being scientifically inclined and more professional in that he states that this history is founded on the work and scholars and specialists. It, is not strictly speaking, a book for scholars; but it is as scholarly as fourteen months of research could make it. Bennett tends to be race conscious by discussing in his book the trials and triumphs of a group of Americans past. Bennett uses history as the basis of social actions in that he preceives his work as being relevant to the struggle of all men and that it is a moving chapter in the whole human drama.²⁸

²⁷ Cattell, Op. Cit., Bennett is associated editor of Jet and Ebony magazines. He has written: What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther KING, Jr.; The Negro Mood; Confrontation: Black and White; and Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America.

²⁸ Lerone Bennett, Jr.- Before The Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619 - 1964. (Maryland, Penguin Books, 1966), p. 174.

The southern white professional historians involved in this study are the product of a peculiar environment, intellectual and social, which gives particular relevance to their presence in this study for comparative purposes with their black counterparts. Southern social scientist have recognized the uniqueness of their region, and this uniqueness has gone far to establish a climate of opinion which reflects itself in the works of the Southern historians in this study dealing with the Emancipation Proclamation.

The South's uniqueness has persisted through many stages of development.²⁹ The industrialization, urbanization and other factors that created a "new South" was such a stage and produced for many persons a crisis-of-identity. Unfriendly critics of the South have seen this uniqueness in "laziness, lynching, poll tax, hedonism, sharecropping, secession, states rightism, paternalism, morality and one-party demagogic politics. There were others who placed special emphasis upon climate and race as explanations and justifications for such things as institutions, culture patterns of immigrations, the prevailing imperialism or colonialism, and expected levels of natural achievements and destiny.

More positive students have seen the uniqueness of the intellectual south in the growth of academic facilities and the maturing of its training programs for advanced degrees. During the decade following World War II, the development of Southern universities, private and public, was truly remarkable.

²⁹Earl Thorpe, The Central Theme of Black History (Durham, North Carolina, Seeman Printry, 1969), pp. 140-143.

Economic progress was at last reflecting itself in vastly more generous financial support but more important because there was increasing evidence that there was a new freedom for members of Southern faculties to teach, speak, and write on social issues without fear of retaliation or dismissal.³⁰ Strong Ph.D. programs, have been developed in most of these disciplines, and a slow increase has taken place in the percentage of the nation's Ph.D. degrees awarded in the South. As the social sciences became stronger in the South, they increasingly reflected the theoretical premises and (methodological) approaches developed among the various disciplines in the leading universities and national academic societies. Thus after World War II Southern social scientist tended to become more "behavioral" and more "scientific" in their research orientation. As one scholar recently said, when discussing the evolution of geography in the South "the old descriptive applications have more and more been supplemented by field-based and/or quantitative based studies in regional characteristics." The regional concept seemed less useful than it once had; even though regional and subregional materials were used as a matter of course in many social science investigations. "Today," Edgar T. Thompson has written, "the tendency is to study behavior in the social system we call the South as representative of human nature and social process generally. Southern social scientist can now be more detached about about the phenomena they study in this area because they are more attached to

³⁰ Williams H. Nicholls, Southern And Regional Progress, (New York: Doubleday Company, 1963), p. 146.

a larger human unity.³¹

Perhaps in no field has this new freedom and intellectual awareness shown itself than in the field of History. One of the oldest of the social disciplines, history has shown both aspects of the old and new--the latter being somethin of a fulfillment for the former.

The cumulative nature of knowledge has carried forward many of the pioneers findings, with critical appraisal of evidence and conclusions. The work of the last quarter century has been expansion more than correction. Scholars of the next generation need not fear that the avenue has reached its ultimate, for breadth in an inviting goal, depth a **challenging** ambition, and a new eras values a prompting stimulus. Historians, for much of the knowledge and some of the interpretations are as valid today as they were twenty-five or fifty years ago. The sensational cult would ignore the heritage, or pretend to.³²

Southern white professional historians have also been said to have been influenced in their writing by the changing patterns of life in the south after world war II. The philosophy of the "New Deal," with its emphasis upon the "common man" is thought by some to be reflected in the writings of southern scholars. Just as naturally as there would be continued attempts to correct the misrepresentations of the past against the South, would there be a sharp interest in the new status of the Negro,

³¹ Grantham, Dewey W., "The Regional Imagination: Social Scientist and American South" The Journal Of Southern History, XXXIV, No. 1 (February, 1968), pp. 22-30.

³² Wendell Holmes Stephenson, The South Lives In History, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), pp. 21-27.

with its implication of a strong interest in the development of democracy.³³

The Southern White Historians were selected on the basis of the following criteria: They all began their careers in the general period from 1935 to 1966. The historians whose work was examined for this study have done research on the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. These writers were either born in the South or Southern trained and have pursued their professional career in the South. These writers are members of Southern Professional Historical Organizations. These writers are University trained with some holding PH.D's. The main occupation of these writers is either the teaching or writing of history.

Their work will be examined in the light of the following critique which has emerged from the climate of opinion for the period 1935 to present: (1) Freedom of Southern White Scholars to teach, speak, and write on social issues without fear, (2) Evidence of the influence of behaviorial and scientific research in Southern scholarship, (3) More detached, writing objectively and not becoming emotionally involved, (4) New Deal philosophy, especially as it emphasizes interest in the common man, (5) Interest in the new status of the Negro that has emerged from efforts of the federal government and a bold Civil Rights movement within the South and the nation, (6) Interest in the development of democracy and (7) Interest in correcting misrepresentation of the South's past. I have decided that these are the elements by which Southern White Professional Historians will be appraised.

³³ Clement Eaton, "Recent Trends In The Writing Of Southern History" Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (April, 1955), p. 26-42.

Thomas Harry Williams was born in Vinegar Hill Illinois, May 19, 1909. Even though Williams was born outside of the South he has devoted the bulk of his career in the South writing Southern History. Therefore he can be classified with Southern writers as an established Southern Historian.³⁴ Williams has written extensively in Southern History on the Civil War.

An examination of the writings of Thomas Harry Williams and critique of his writings by his peers show the following basic characteristics to the student in Historiography. Williams shows the trend in the South to have freedom for Southern White scholars to teach, speak, and write on social issues without fear. He shows evidence of his concern with this in his book Lincoln and His Generals in regards to Lincoln's place in high command, and Williams' ability to judge Lincoln by modern standards. Williams shows evidence of the influence of behavioral and scientific research in Southern scholarship through his concern for and interest in the modern command system, military development, and perspective of modern war. Mr. Williams has given us a full bodied swift-paced narrative built on a great mass of official documents, letters and memoirs. Williams is more detached, writing objectively and not becoming emotionally involved by being able to measure the correctness of Lincoln's decisions by the standards of modern war.³⁵

³⁴ Marquis-Who's Who In America, (Chicago: A.N. Marquis and Publishing Company, 1960), p. 160. Williams received his Ph.D. in 1932. He has been a Blazer lecturer at the University of Kentucky. Williams is a member of the Southern Historical Association. He has published American Civil War; United States Military History; Lincoln and the Radicals; Lincoln and His Generals.

Williams had excellent style, fair and balanced treatment of men and events, and firm grasp of military materials. Williams has an interest in correcting the misrepresentation of the South's past in that he feels Lincoln was in actuality as well as in title the Commander in chief who by his eager strategy, did more than Grant or any general to win the war not against slavery, but for the "union."³⁶

Another son of the South falling within the number of critical Southern scholars of this study is William Clement Eaton. Bred and trained in North Carolina, he received his advanced degrees from Harvard University. His Phi Beta Kappa membership gave promise to a professional career in the field of Southern history which in integrity and depth of understanding, has few equals.³⁷

Eaton shows the trend in the South of the influence of behavioral and scientific research in Southern scholarship. Evidence of this can be seen in his concern for "human drama" and the "morale" of the people. Eaton shows that he is more detached in that he writes objectively and does not become emotionally involved; this can be seen in his awareness of the

³⁵T. Harry Williams, "Lincoln and His Generals," Reviewed by Avery Craven, Saturday Review, XXXV, No. 8 (1952) p. 23.

³⁶Thomas Harry Williams, Lincoln and His Generals, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952) p. 10.

³⁷Marquis - Who's Who. op. cit., p. 100. Clement Eaton has written; Freedom of Thought In the Old South, 1940: A History Of The Old South, 49; A History of the Southern Confederacy, 154.

need to be objective while admitting that he may be at times involved with the ordinary man's sympathy for the underdog in a fight and by his Southern birth. Eaton is eminently fair to both the North and the South and thorough in his scholarship. Eaton has sought to achieve a balance between the social, political, and military history. Eaton also shows evidence of the New Deal philosophy especially as it emphasize interest in the common man in regards to the "life of the Piople" during the war years and the "personalities of the common soldiers." Eaton emphasizes the interest in the new status of the Negro that has emerged from efforts of the federal government and bold Civil Rights movement within the South and the nation through his concern for the attitude of the Negro which presented an absorbing side of human nature in a crisis.³⁸ Eaton has shown an interest in correcting the misrepresentation of the South's past through the military history of the period and the changes which occured in the society of the old South under the impact of war.³⁹

Comer Van Woodward was born in Vandale Arkansas. He received his advanced degrees from the University of North Carolina. His Phi Betta Kappa

³⁸Clement Eaton, "A History Of The Southern Confederacy," Reviewed by Edwin Coddington, Mississippi Valley Historical Review XLI, No. 1 (June, 1954) p. 338.

³⁹William Clement Eaton, A History of The Southern Confederacy, (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1954), p. VII-IX.

membership gave promise of a professional career in the field of Southern History.⁴⁰ In examining Woodward's writings he shows the trend in the South of the influence of behavioral and scientific research in Southern scholarship through his concern for the molding of a distinctive heritage of the South.⁴¹ Woodward shows the New Deal philosophy especially as it emphasizes interest in the common man in his book Burden of Southern History. Woodward demonstrates that he has an interest in correcting misrepresentation of the South's past in that he wants to contribute an understanding of the collective experience and the distinctive character of the South.⁴²

Bruce Catton was born in Petoskey Michigan, October 9, 1899. Even though Catton was born outside of the South he has devoted the bulk of his career to the South writing Southern History. Therefore he can be classified with Southern writers as an established Southern Historian.⁴³

⁴⁰C. Van Woodward, "The Burden Of Southern History," Reviewed by Bell I. L.Wiley, New York Times, VIII, No. 45 (1962), p. 666.

⁴¹Comer Van Woodward, The Burden of Southern History, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1960), pp. VII-IX.

⁴²

Jacques Cattell ed., "Directory of American Scholars, A Biographical Directory." (New York: V.I.R.R. Bowder Company, 1963), p. 109. Bruce Catton has written The War Lords of Washington, Glory Road, A Stillness At Appomatox, The Hallowed Ground, The Centennial History of the Civil War, three volumes, Never Call Retreat, Terrible Swift Sword, and The Coming Fury.

An examination of the writings of Bruce Catton shows the trend in the South to have freedom for Southern White scholars to teach, speak, and write on social issues without fear. Evidence of this can be seen in his book Never Call Retreat which is illumined with incidents and anecdote, irony and absurdity. There is seen in Catton's book evidence of the influence of behaviorial and scientific research in Southern scholarship by the overwhelming number of primary sources some of which are used for the first time. Catton has an interest in correcting the misrepresentation of the South's past through probing and careful investigation which allow new shadings to old interpretations.⁴⁴

Another son of the South falling within the number of critical Southern scholars of this study is Bell Irvin Wiley. Wiley was born in Halls, Tennessee, January 5, 1906. His Phi Beta Kappa membership gave promise of a professional career in the field of Southern history which in integrity and depth of understanding has few equals.⁴⁵

An examination of Wiley's work shows the influence of the behaviorial and scientific research in Southern scholarship in regards to studies of slave era and the treatment of the war years in sketchy introduction fashion.⁴⁶

⁴³Bruce Catton, "Never Call Retreat," Reviewed by James M. Merrill, LXXI, No. 4 (1965-1966) pp. 749-750.

⁴⁴Bruce Catton, Never Call Retreat, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1965) p. IX.

⁴⁵Cattell, op. cit., p. 305 Wiley has written The Life of Johnny Rebel, Common Soldier of the Confederacy, The Plain People of the Confederacy, and Southern Negro 1861-1865.

Wiley shows an interest in the new status of the Negro that has emerged from efforts of the federal government and the bold Civil Rights movement within the South and Nation by correcting the Southern Negro's historical neglect during the War of Secession.⁴⁶ Wiley also thinks that there should be a correction of the misrepresentation of the South's past by portraying sympathetically the relations between the white people and the Negroes during an era crucial for both races. Wiley's book Southern Negroes 1861-1865, has substance bound to influence future writings on the Confederacy. It is an excellent example of scholarship.⁴⁷

Clifford Dowdey was born in Richmond, Virginia, January 23, 1904. He has been a student at Columbia University and a lecturer in creative writing at the University of Richmond.⁴⁸ An examination of the writings of Clifford Dowdey shows the trend in the South of the influence of behavioral and scientific research in Southern scholarship; this is evident by his recognition that interpretations of the cause of the war have changed from generation to generation as the climate of opinion changed. Dowdey shows detachment and objectivity without becoming emotionally involved because in his book The Land They Fought For, he recognizes that the people haven't yet agreed to what the fighting was about.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Bell I. Wiley, "Southern Negroes 1861-1865," Reviewed by Francis Simpkins, Mississippi Valley Historical Review XXV, No. 1 (June, 1938) pp. 425-426.

⁴⁷ Bell Irvin Wiley, Southern Negroes 1861-1865 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1938-1965), p. X.

⁴⁸ Cattell, op. cit., p. 701. Clifford Dowdey has written: The Land They Fought For; The Story of The Confederacy 1832-1865; The Great Plantation; The Death of a Nation.

He also showed that as late as 1955, historians are as much at odds as sectional leaders were a hundred years ago. Dowdey tends to reflect the the New Deal philosophy, especially as it is interested in the common man, in that he sees the "average" Southerner aroused slowly by a threat "to his own land, to the familiar life he loved." Dowdey shows that the plantation was the center of Southern life; it was natural for the apologists to idealize it in the Southern legend. Dowdey shows interest in the development of democracy by realizing that the Civil War revolution shook this nation when democratic processes failed. Dowdey also reflects to the notions that there should be a correction of the misrepresentation of the South's past by aluding to the "glamorous" plantation world that never was and the South's struggle as a minority section and then as a nation from 1832-1865, with implications running to the present.⁵⁰

Dumas Malone was born in Coldwater, Mississippi, January 10, 1892. He received his advanced degrees from Northwestern University, Emory College, and Yale.⁵¹ As a result of the examination of Malone's writings it may be said that he shows evidence of freedom of Southern White scholars to teach, speak, and write on social issues without fear because of his interest in "idealogy" and "movement of thought" in our time. Malone shows evidence

⁴⁹Clifford Dowdey, "The Land They Fought For," Reviewed by Frank Owskey, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. LXI, (1955-1956) p. 418.

⁵⁰Clifford Dowdey, *The Land They Fought For* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965), p. IX.

⁵¹Cattell, *op. cit.*, p. 300. Malone has written: The Public Life of Thomas Cooper; Saints in Action; Jefferson and the Rights of Man and and Crisis of The Union.

of the influence of behaviorial and scientific research in Southern scholarship through his concern for political, economic, constitutional, diplomatic, social, religious, artistic, and intellectual aspects of American History. Malone shows detachment and objectivity, without becoming emotionally involved, in the American story of human beings rather than impersonal forces. Malone shows evidence of the New Deal philosophy of the common man through the attention paid to the people and their leaders in all fields.⁵²

William Best Hesseltine was born in Bruce Town, Virginia, February 21, 1902. He received his advance degrees at the University of Virginia and Ohio State University.⁵³ In the examination of Hesseltine's writings he shows evidence of the New Deal philosophy with emphasis on the common man who "rested in neat rows in national cemeteries." Hesseltine shows an interest in the development of democracy through his concept of struggle between the nation and states, particularly the various governors of the Northern and loyal border states. Hesseltine shows interest in correcting the misrepresentation of the South's past by making the war years of the new nation,⁵⁴ rather than emphasizing the conflict between north and south.

⁵²Dumas Malone, Crisis of the Union 1841-1877, (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1960), p. VI.

⁵³Cattell, op. cit., p. 408. Hesseltine has written: Lincoln And The War Governors; The Rise and Fall of Third Parties; Confederate Leaders in the New South; Pioneers Mission; South in American History.

⁵⁴William LB. Hesseltine, "Lincoln and the War Governors," Reviewed by Reinhard H. Luthin, The American Historical Review LIV (1948), pp. 887-889.

Ellis Merton Coulter was born in Hickory, North Carolina, July 20, 1890. He received his advanced degrees at the University of North Carolina, and the University of Wisconsin.⁵⁵ An examination of Coulter's work shows evidence of the influence of behaviorial and scientific research in Southern scholarship in that he shows in his writings an awareness of the little on the Southern states that did not join the Confederacy.⁵⁶ Coulter shows a counter interest in the new status of the Negro which has emerged from efforts of the federal government and bold Civil Rights movement within the South and the nation by presenting the Negro as a happy carefree slave. Coulter shows interest in correcting the misrepresentation of the South's past in that he was able to light up some of the dark corners of the South during the war years.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Cattell, op. cit., p. 901. Coulter has written: A Short History of Georgia; Champion of the Common Man in the Antebellum South; College Life in the Old South; and The Confederate States of American 1861-1865.

⁵⁶E. Merton Coulter, "The Confederate States of America 1861-1865," Reviewed by Robert Henry, The American HISTorical Review, LV (1949-1950) pp. 934-935.

⁵⁷E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of American 1861-1865, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. IX.

The first question to be discussed in regards to the controversey in interpretation of the scholars is: What was the Proclamation for?

1. Williams - Freeing Slaves in Rebellious states.
2. Eaton - No comment
3. Woodward - Gradual Emancipation
4. Catton - Reunion
5. Wiley - Free slaves
6. Dowdey - Free slaves
7. Malone - Free slaves
8. Hesseltine - Restore the Constitutional relation between the United States and each of the states
9. Coulter - Save union

DuBois - Recruit Black soldiers; get more support in Europe.

Wesley - Win Anti-slaver sympathizers in Europe.

Franklin - Freeing slaves in rebellious states.

Woodson - Free slaves

Quarles - Save Union and suppress rebellion.

Franklin - Free slaves

Reddick - Free slaves

Bennett - No comment

CHAPTER III

The application of the historiographical characterization of the black and white historians involved in this study to their approach to the Emancipation Proclamation is the chief concern of this portion of the study. To facilitate the analysis the following categories have been established as logical divisions of the Proclamation and as sensitive areas around which scholarly controversy in interpretation is apt to develop, what was the Proclamation for? What did Lincoln have in mind when he proposed this step? What was the influence (if any) of the cabinet members? What precipitated the move? What was the reaction of Southerners, Negroes, Northerners and the international community?

The first question to be discussed in regards to the controversy in interpretation of the scholars is, what was the proclamation for?

1. Williams - Freeing Slaves in
Rebellious States ¹
2. Eaton - No comment ²
3. Woodward - Gradual
Emancipation ³

¹ Thomas Harvy Williams, Lincoln and His Generals, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 170. A few days after Antietam McClellan learned that Lincoln has issued a proclamation freeing slaves in the states in rebellion.

² Clement Eaton, A History of the Southern Confederacy, (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1954), p. 69.

³ C. Van Woodward, The Burden of Southern History, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), p. 72. Lincoln never wanted to turn the war into a moral crusade. He characterized it as a war necessity, forced by events, ineffectual, inadequate, and of doubtful legality. It is plain that his heart was in his plan for gradual emancipation.

4. Catton - Reunion⁴
5. Wiley - Free Slaves⁵
6. Dowdey - Free Slaves⁶
7. Malone - Free slaves in rebellious states.⁷
8. Hesseltine - Restore the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the states.⁸

⁴Bruce Catton, Never Call Retreat, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1965), p. 26. Reunion, said the President, was the most and the least he had ever asked. He had tried for nearly a year and a half to get it without touching slavery, and when he found this impossible he had drafted the Emancipation Proclamation, giving fair warning in advance.

⁵Bell Irwin Wiley, Southern Negroes 1861-1865, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1938-65), p. 213. In this preliminary proclamation he stated his purpose to recommend again to congress at the next session the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary and to loyal slave states which should abolish slavery.

⁶Clifford Dowdey, The Land They Fought For 1832-1865, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), p. 219. The War had to get a slogan, and Lincoln gave it "To free the slaves."

⁷Dumas Malone, Crisis of the Union 1841-1877, (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1960), p. 209. The essence of the documents was that on January 1, 1863, the slaves in the areas that were in rebellion against the union should be free. Lincoln held that the loyal slave states retained their full constitutional rights and, accordingly, should be free.

⁸William B. Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948), p. 265. For the proclamation did not free any slaves, and it did not furnish black soldiers to take the place of white men on the battle fields. Instead, the President began with a declaration that "hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the states."

9. Coulter - Save Union⁹
10. DuBois - Recruit Black soldiers; get more support in Europe.¹⁰
11. Wesley - Win Anti-Slavery sympathizers in Europe.¹¹
12. Franklin - Freeing slaves in rebellious states.¹²
13. Woodson - Free Slaves.¹³

⁹E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of America 1861-1865 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. 264. Lincoln held out tenaciously against issuing a proclamation freeing the slaves, and he did not act on the policy set up in the confiscation act until September 1862, when he issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation which became final on January 1, 1863, on the refusal of the confederates to lay down their arms in the meantime. In lay fact, it freed no slaves, for it was made to apply only to those regions opposing at that time the authority of the United States, and therefore in effect, to regions where he had no power to enforce it.

¹⁰W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction In America (New York: Brace and Company, 1935), p. 84. Emancipation had thus two ulterior objects. It was designed to make easier the replacement of unwilling Northern white soldiers with black soldiers; and it sought to put behind the war a new push toward Northern victory by the mighty impact of great moral idea both in the North and Europe.

¹¹Charles Wesley, Collapse of the Confederacy, (Washington, D. C.: The Associate Publishers, Inc., 1937), p. 125. One of the purposes of the Proclamation, so far as foreign nations were concerned, was to shift the war issue to slavery and to win anti-slavery sympathizers in Europe.

¹²John Hope Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), p. 103. In the preliminary Proclamation, the President had said that he would declare slaves in designated areas to be "then, thenceforward, and for ever free."

¹³Carter G. Woodson, The Negro In Our History (Washington, D. C.: The Associate Publisher, Inc., 1941). Congress passed sweeping confiscation acts by virtue of which the armies could take over slaves; and in 1862, Lincoln came forward with the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that after the first of January in 1863, all slaves in those parts of the country where people might remain in rebellion against the United States, should be declared free.

14. Quarles - Save union¹⁴ and suppress rebellion.¹⁵
15. Franklin - Free Slaves¹⁶
16. Reddick - Free Slaves.¹⁷
17. Bennett - No Comment.¹⁸

¹⁴Benjamin Quarles, The Negro In the Civil War (New York: The Russel and Russel, 1953), p. 27. Lincoln was not likely to withhold the final edit. In setting the date for January 1, 1863, he had shown a good sense of the propitious movement. With the war about to enter its third calendar year, the north was ready to accept the Lincoln point of view that it was necessary to declare the rebel slaves free if the union was to be saved.

¹⁵Benjamin Quarles, Lincoln and the Negro, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 70. The Proclamation was phrased in a dry matter-of-fact style, befitted "a necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion."

¹⁶John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), p. 278. Lincoln again called together Congressmen from the border slave states and told them that since slavery would be destroyed if the war lasted long enough, they should accept his plan of compensated emancipation. His plea fell on deaf ears. Having gone as far as he had, however Lincoln considered emancipation by proclamation all slaves in rebellious states.

¹⁷Lawrence Reddick, Worth Fighting For (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.), p. 36. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln announced that Liberty for millions of slaves was on the way. He said that on January 1, 1863, all slaves in Confederate states "the territory now in rebellion" would be declared free.

¹⁸Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before The Mayflower (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1966), referred to deportation of the Negro--his favorite blueprint for blacks.

Only one of the southern white historians who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a military measure remained silent on the question of the basic purpose of the Proclamation. Aside from the three others who also saw the Proclamation as a purely military measure, there were five who saw the basic purpose as serving political, social and psychological ends. This is a clear sign of the influence of the behavioral and scientific approaches in the writing of southerners because this diversification in interpretation in the direction of emphasis upon human behavior is evidence of the abandonment of simplistic solutions and one dimensional answer. There are some evidence of objectivity in that these writers interpret the document narrowly upon its own stated aims, viz., to free the slaves only in the states in rebellion. This seeming objectivity is vitiated by the fact that it is in the interest of the southern writers to make this war one to save the Union and not free the slaves. Both the moral taint and the imputation of treason is removed by holding fast to the position that will repair some of the misrepresentation of the past.

One of the three Negro writers who believed that the purpose of the "Proclamation" was designed to turn the Civil war into a war for Human freedom remained silent on its original basic purpose. The Negro historians are objective because they are getting away from the idea that the Emancipation Proclamation was designed to free the slaves. There is the wanning of bitterness among the Negro writers upon the "Proclamation" because

A second question which was discussed by Negro and Southern white professional historians concerning the Emancipation Proclamation is:
What did Lincoln have in mind?

The historians provided the following answers to the question:

1. Williams - military necessity
2. Eaton - save Union
3. Woodward - Military necessity
4. Catton - save Union
5. Wiley - No comment
6. Dowdey - War measure
7. Malone - Save Union
8. Hesseltine - Save Union
9. Coulter - No comment

- DuBois - save Union
- Wesley - No comment
- Franklin - Military necessity
- Woodson - Save Union
- Quarles - Military necessity
- Franklin - Military necessity
- Reddick - No comment
- Bennett - Save Union

it is no longer necessary for these writers to have the slaves freed by this instrument. Indeed, though the crusader hangs on under the impact of the current civil rights movement, the scientific and professional trend among these writers is clearly evident in the realism with which they accept the pragmatic reasons of national statecraft and the acceptance of the fact that rebellion was a greater national incentive than moral consideration.

A second question, which was discussed by Negro and Southern White professional historians concerning the Emancipation Proclamation is: What did Lincoln have in mind?

The historians provided the following answers to the question:

1. Williams-Military necessity¹⁹
2. Eaton - Save Union²⁰
3. Woodward - Military necessity²¹
4. Catton - Save Union²²

¹⁹Williams, Op. Cit., p. 170. For months Lincoln had considered promulgating such a document. He was waiting for a victory to be won by some general, so that the proclamation would have a favorable public reception.

²⁰Eaton, Op. Cit., p. 68. Lincoln did not advocate Emancipation but proclaimed that the war for the preservation of the Union.

²¹Woodward, Op. Cit., p. 73. When Lincoln finally resorted to Proclamation, he presented it as a war measure authorized by war powers and justified by military necessity.

²²Catton, Op. Cit., p. 230. The trouble of course was that the use of force had led to the Emancipation, and many Conservative men willing to fight for the Negro. For such men the President had this to say: "I issued the Proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then, for you to declare that you will not fight to free Negroes."

5. Wiley - No comment
6. Dowdey - War measure²³
7. Malone - Save Union²⁴
8. Hesseltine - Save Union²⁵
9. Culter - No Comment
10. DuBois - Save Union²⁶
11. Wesley - No comment

²³Dowdey, Op. Cit., p. 219. When Lincoln gave the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure, he wrote Greeley, "If I could preserve the Union without freeing the Negro, I would do so." That it was made very clear by applying the Proclamation only to the states in rebellion and not in all parts of those.

²⁴Malone, Op. Cit., p. 209. One of the most vocal advocates of an active Emancipation policy was Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, who addressed to the President on, August 20, 1862, what that crusading editor called "The Prayer of Twenty Million." It was this communication which occasioned Lincoln, to make the famous statement that his "paramount object" in the conflict was to save the Union. Greeley did not speak for the overwhelming majority of the Northern people, as he claimed, but he voiced the sentiments of many.

²⁵Hesseltine, Op. Cit., p. 98 To this assault Lincoln answered that he had not meant to leave anyone in doubt about his policy. "I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution... my paramount object is to save the Union, not to save or destroy slavery.

²⁶DuBois, Op. Cit., p. 85. "My paramount object in this struggle is to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it would help to save the Union..."

12. Franklin - Military necessity²⁷
13. Woodson - save Union²⁸
14. Quarles - Military necessity²⁹⁻³⁰
15. Franklin - Military necessity³¹
16. Reddick - No Comment
17. Bennett - Save Union³²

²⁷Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 138. As Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, Lincoln referred to his military powers as the source of his authority to emancipate the slaves. This power was to be used to prosecute the war in order to restore the Union. Setting the Slave free had become an important means of accomplishing this end: Despite the fact that the President laid great stress on the issuance of the Proclamation as a military necessity he did not entirely overlook the moral and humanitarian significance of the measure

²⁸Woodson, Op. Cit., p. 378. Lincoln often expressed his contempt for abolitionists like Sumner and Stevens; they worried him by urging the instant liberation of the "d-d niggers". He repeatedly said that he would save the Union with slavery or that he would save it without slavery. His chief purpose was to save the Union.

²⁹Quarles, Op. Cit., p. 135. In the late summer of 1863, (on September 2,) Lincoln told Secretary Chase that the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued solely as a military necessity and not because it was a politically expedient or morally right.

³⁰Quarles, Op. Cit., p. 162. It was evident, to, that to Lincoln the Proclamation was primarily a military measure (in it he referred to deportation of the Negro-his favorite blueprint for blacks).

³¹Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 279. Lincoln left no doubt of his justification for the Emancipation Proclamation. Twice he mentioned the military necessity pursuing this course. He described it as a fit and necessary war measure "for suppressing the rebellion which he could take by virtue of the power vested in him as commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy. In the last paragraph of the Proclamation he said that it was sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution upon military necessity.

³²Bennett, Op. Cit., p. 166. Unionist asked Lincoln to stop the "military slave hunt" and give them guns. What kind of war was the President fighting anyway? What was he trying to do? Lincoln said he was trying to save the Union.

Wiley one of the Southern White historians who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a psychological measure remains silent, and another Southern White Historian, Coulter, who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a social measure remained silent. The Southern White scholars tend to reveal evidence academic freedom in that they are able to discuss freely the question of Lincoln and his strategies without being biased. The Southern white writers tried to correct the misrepresentation of the South's past such as the Plantation legend by discussing the fact that the Emancipation Proclamation was issued as a means of saving the Union or as a military necessity, or as a war measure.

One of the three Negro writers who believed that the of the "Proclamation" was to promote international humanitarianism remains silent on the question of what did Lincoln have in mind. The above chart indicate that Reddick, one of the historians, who believed that the purpose of the Proclamation was to promote a war for human freedom remains silent. The Negro historians tend to be objective because they tend to recognize multiple justification for the issuance of the document such as: a military measure, a military necessity and a means to save the Union. The Negroes tend to be scientific and more professional in their approaches in that their research has intellectual implications for their emancipation from group bias. Lincoln does not have to be a saint whose sole interest was to strike the shackles from the limbs of the slave.

Publications of Southern white and Negro historians reveal their answers to a third question: What was the influence of the cabinet members upon the origin and development of the Emancipation Proclamation.

1. Williams - No comment
2. Eaton - No comment
3. Woodward - No comment
4. Catton - No comment
5. Wiley - Objected because of the depression of the public mind upon repeated military reverses.
6. Dowdey - No comment
7. Malone - regarded as an act of desperation.
8. Hesseltine - question of timing better to wait.
9. Coulter - No comment

DuBois - No comment

Wesley - No comment

Franklin - No comment

Woodson - Do more harm than good

Quarles - question of timing. Might lead to slave insurrection.

Franklin - advised not to issue until military situation became more favorable.

Reddick - No comment

Bennett - Timing bad

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7. Malone - regarded as an act of desperation.³⁴
8. Hesseltine - question of timing better to wait.³⁵

³³Wiley, Op. Cit., p. 196. The President read to his cabinet a Proclamation of Emancipation which he proposed to issue. Seward objected to the issuance of the Proclamation at the time on account of the depression of the public mind consequent upon repeated military reverses; it would seem as if the government were "stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia.

³⁴Malone, Op. Cit., pp. 209. Lincoln revealed to his cabinet his purpose to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation on the grounds of military necessity. Seward suggested that the issuance of such a document in a time of defeat as an act of desperation. Agreeing with him, Lincoln put it in storage until after Antietam, issuing it in preliminary form on September 22, when he thought victory more complete than actually it was.

³⁵Hesseltine, Op. Cit., pp. 247-248. On July 13, riding back from a funeral with Secretaries Wells and Seward, the President declared that Emancipation was a military necessity and asked the secretaries advice. Both the secretaries remembering their long experience in politics, assumed a judicial air declared with pretentious solemnity that the question was grave and important. Both were ready with objections nine days later when Lincoln presented the Cabinet a preliminary draft of an Emancipation Proclamation. The Cabinet members divided into fractions. Montgomery Blair wondered about the effect of such a proclamation would look like a foolish bid for a slave insurrection. Would it not asked the state department head, be better to wait for a Northern victory? With this suggestion the Cabinet members each for his own purpose agreed, and Lincoln put the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation back in his desk.

9. Coulter - No comment
10. DuBois - No comment
11. Wesley - No comment
12. Franklin - No comment
13. Woodson - Do more harm than good.³⁶
14. Quarles - question of timing.³⁷ Might lead to slave insurrection.³⁸

³⁶Woodson, Op. Cit., p. 378. One of the members of Lincoln's Cabinet was of the opinion that he had no such power and that such a step would doubtless do more harm than good. In the end, however, just after a number of encouraging Union victories, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and had to be fortified by the thirteenth amendment.

³⁷Quarles, Op. Cit., pp. 158-159. On July 13, Lincoln divulged his intentions to two of his Cabinet members, Seward and Wells, as they informed them that he had given the matter much thought, wrote Wells in his diary, and dwelt "earnestly on the gravity, importance and delicacy of the movement. Lincoln asked their frank opinions. Seward, who was not a Secretary of State for nothing, replied that "the subject involved consequences he should wish to bestow on it mature reflection before giving a decisive answer. Eight days later Lincoln took the next step. He summoned the cabinet members, and informed them of his intention to proclaim the emancipation of the slaves in those states which remained in rebellion on January 1, 1863. Lincoln made it clear to the secretaries that his mind was made up, but invited them to make comments. The secretaries made various suggestions, most of which Lincoln had anticipated. However, Seward raised a question which gave pause to the President a question of timing.

³⁸Quarles, Op. Cit., pp. 126-127. Riding to the funeral exercise of Stanton's baby on Sunday, July 13, Lincoln turned to his carriage mates, Secretaries Seward and Wells, and told them that he had decided to make use of the "slave element" by issuing a Proclamation of Emancipation. Giving them time to collect themselves, and hence more out of politeness than anything else, Lincoln invited any comments they might have regarding their composure; the Secretaries had their say. One of them expressed the fear that the Proclamation might lead to slave insurrection, and another was afraid that it would have a bad effect on the Republican party fortunes in the coming fall election.

15. Franklin - advised not to issue until military situation became more favorable.³⁹
16. Reddick - No comment
17. Bennett - Timing bad.⁴⁰

³⁹Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 278. For two days, July 21, and 22, the cabinet debated the draft of an Emancipation Proclamation which Lincoln read to them. Rebels were to be warned of the penalties of the confiscation act, reminded of the possibility of emancipation of their slaves and receiving compensation, and all slaves in their possession on January 1, 1863, were to be set free. Only two cabinet members, Seward and Chase, agreed even in part with Lincoln proposed proclamation; and Seward strongly advised him not to issue it until the military situation became more favorable.

⁴⁰Bennett, Op. Cit., p. 168. On July 22, Abe Lincoln called his cabinet together and put his "last card" on the table. It was a good one; a draft on a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. The thing was discussed pro and con until Secretary of State Seward came to the heart of the matter. The timing he said, was bad. The depression of the depression of the public mind, "Seward said," "consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It maybe viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help, the government stretching forth its hand to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to -the government.

Four of the Southern White historians who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a military measure remain silent. One who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a psychological measure remains silent, and one who viewed the Emancipation Proclamation as a social measure remains silent. Thus we have no basis for generalizations. The remaining Southern White historians reveal that they have an academic freedom in that they are able to express openly that the timing of the Proclamation was bad. They show signs of behaviorial and scientific research because of the intellectual implications they applied to the question in regards to the state of mind and the moral of the people.

Three historians, DuBois, Wesley and Franklin, who saw the Proclamation as being an international humanitarian measure remain silent. Reddick viewed the Emancipation Proclamation as being a war for human freedom remained silent. The remaining Negroes show some objectivity in their interpretation of the Emancipation Proclamation in that they felt that the "timing" of the Proclamation was bad and that it might lead to a slave insurrection. The Negroes show signs of being scientific and professional because of the way they accept the notion that the question of Negro freedom was debated along other than moral considerations.

The fourth question considered by the Negro and White historians concerning the Emancipation Proclamation is: What precipitated the move?

1. Williams - Antietam
2. Eaton - Retreat of Lee
3. Woodward - No comment
4. Catton - No comment
5. Wiley - Antietam
6. Dowdey - Antietam
7. Malone - Antietam
8. Hesseltine - No comment
9. Coulter - No comment

DuBois - Antietam

Wesley - No comment

Franklin - outcome of Antietam

Woodson - No comment

Quarles - Victory at Antietam and battle of Antietam.

Franklin - Antietam

Reddick - No comment

Bennett - Battle of Antietam

The fourth question considered by the Negro and white historians concerning the Emancipation Proclamation is: What precipitated the move?

1. Williams - Antietam⁴¹
2. Eaton - Retreat of Lee⁴²
3. Woodward - No comment
4. Catton - No comment
5. Wiley - Antietam⁴³
6. Dowdey - Antietam⁴⁴
7. Malone - Antietam⁴⁵

⁴¹Williams, Op. Cit., p. 170. Antietam seemed to be a victory, and after the battle Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

⁴²Eaton, Op. Cit., p. 193. The retreat of Lee not only gave Lincoln a favorable opportunity to issue his Emancipation Proclamation but it also chilled the enthusiasm of the British government to recognize the independence of the Confederacy.

⁴³Wiley, Op. Cit., p. 69. It was five days after the battle of Antietam that Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation.

⁴⁴Dowdey, Op. Cit., p. 218. Politically the war ended at Sharpsburg (Antietam) for the Confederacy. Yet as the real purpose of the armed invasion was to return by force the eleven states of 5,500,000 white people who wanted to be free; it was not possible to proclaim that a whole section, formed into a nation, was to be subjugated by all-out war and made to consent to be general.

⁴⁵Malone, Op. Cit., p. 206. The Confederate fought a stubborn delaying action at South Mountain and this was followed by the battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg) on September 17, 1862. Lee then had no reserves. McClellan had one corps in reserve, in case of defeat, and if he had thrown it in his victory would probably have been decisive. He reported it to Lincoln as a complete victory, and Lincoln forthwith announced that on January 1, 1863, he would issue the Emancipation Proclamation to which McClellan was opposed.

8. Hesseltine - No comment
9. Coulter - No comment
10. DuBois - Antietam⁴⁶
11. Wesley - No comment
12. Franklin - outcome of Antietam⁴⁷
13. Woodson - No comment
14. Quarles - Victory at Antietam⁴⁸ and battle of Antietam.⁴⁹
15. Franklin - Antietam⁵⁰

⁴⁶DuBois, Op. Cit., p. 88. Lord John Russel wanted to act immediately, but the rebels were driven back at Antietam the same month and the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation appeared.

⁴⁷Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 46. Although Lincoln was disappointed in the outcome of Antietam it gave him the success he had long sought. Even on the evening of September 17, sensing victory, he worked, on the final draft of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in the quiet of Soldiers' home.

⁴⁸Quarles, Op. Cit., p. 161. The battle of Antietam on September 17, although not a clear-cut northern victory, gave him the military excuse for which he had been waiting.

⁴⁹Quarles, Op. Cit., p. 136. Fortunately for Lincoln, the victory at Antietam enabled him to issue his proclamation before the Altoona meeting.

⁵⁰Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 278. It was the Union victory at Antietam on September 17, 1862, that caused Lincoln to act. Five days later he issued a preliminary proclamation. In this document he reviewed the possibility of compensated emancipation and said that he would continue to encourage the voluntary colonization of Negroes "upon this continent or elsewhere."

16. Reddick - No comment

17. Bennett - Battle of Antietam⁵¹

Two of the Southern White historians who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a military measure remain silent. One who saw it as being social remain silent.

Wesley, one of the Negro historians who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as international humanitarian document remained silent. Reddick, another Negro historian who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as being a war for human freedom, remained silent. The rest are agreed upon Antietam as the percipating event.

There are no significant neutral divergencies in interpretation to be found. Here is an event neutral enough to be beyond bias.

⁵¹ Bennett, Op. Cit., pp. 177-172. On September 22, 1862, five days after the Battle of Antietam, he notified the South that he would free all slaves in states in rebellion on January 1, 1863.

9. Coulter - Effect of the Proclamation on the South was profound and electrical. The slaves soon heard of Lincoln's Proclamation; and all of the wild fears in the mind of some confederates subsided for the Negroes continued their even course of life.

Reddick - North - Many white people were as happy with the Proclamation as the Negroes. But many other whites were angry.

Bennett - No comment

The final question to be discussed by the Negro and Southern white professional historians is; What was the reaction of Southerners, Negroes, and the international community?

1. William - No comment
2. Eaton - English class supported the North.
3. Woodward - No comment
4. Catton - Northerners wanted to be let alone so that they could enjoy things as they used to be. Southerners felt that the Emancipation Proclamation was irrevocable.
5. Wiley - Southern owners became less willing to send their Negroes to help stay the tide of invasion. The action of slaves when freedom was brought to them is another indication that they had been looking forward to it with more than a passive interest. Even trusted slaves, those who has helped hide the silver and other valuables sometimes followed the deliverers when they came. It was not disloyalty, but the lure of freedom which impelled them to go.
6. Dowdey - No comment
7. Malone - Northerners stirred huge audiences to fervent enthusiasms for the cause of the Union. British people organized numerous societies and mass demonstrations. European aristocratic governments were also made to understand that a pro-Southern policy might stir revolt at home.
8. Hesseltine - Northerners were opposed to the Emancipation Proclamation.

DuBois - North unfavorable, only among Negroes and in England was the reaction favorable.

Wesley - England favorable.

Franklin - Negroes looked upon it as a document of freedom. Most Britons did not express their feelings by shouting in the streets but expressed their enthusiasms in a dozen different ways.

Woodson - No comment

Quarles, The North as a whole gave its approval. Negroes favorable. In England the reaction was favorable.

Franklin - According to Franklin the reaction of the Northerners were unfavorable to the Emancipation Proclamation. English and European laborers were anxious to see workers gain their freedom throughout the world. Negroes offered prayers of thanksgiving for their deliverance.

The final question to be discussed by the Negro and Southern White professional historians is; What was the reactions of Southerners, Negroes, and the international community?

1. William - No comment
2. Eaton - English class supported the North.⁵²
3. Woodward - No comment
4. Catton - Northerners wanted to be let alone so that they could enjoy things as they used to be. Southerners felt that the Emancipation Proclamation was irrevocable.⁵³
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6. Dowdey - No comment
7. Malone - Northerners stirred huge audiences to fervent enthusiasms for the cause of the Union. British people organized numerous societies and mass demonstrations. European aristocratic governments were also made to understand that a pro-Southern policy might stir revolt at home.⁵⁵
8. Hesseltine - Northerners were opposed to the Emancipation Proclamation.⁵⁶

⁵²Eaton, Op. Cit., p. 63.

⁵³Catton, Op. Cit., p. 75.

⁵⁴Wiley, Op. Cit., p. 85.

⁵⁵Malone, Op. Cit., p. 100.

⁵⁶Hesseltine, Op. Cit., p. 75

9. Coulter - Effect of the Proclamation on the South was profound and electrical. The slaves soon heard of Lincoln's Proclamation: and all of the wild fears in the mind of some confederates subsided for the Negroes continued their even course of life.⁵⁷
10. DuBois - North unfavorable, only among Negroes and in England was the reaction favorable.⁵⁸
11. Wesley - England favorable.⁵⁹
12. Franklin - Negroes looked upon it as a document of freedom. Most Britons did not express their feelings by shouting in the streets but expressed their enthusiasms in a dozen different ways.⁶⁰
13. Woodson - No comment
14. Quarles, The North as a whole gave its approval. Negroes favorable. In England the reaction was favorable.⁶¹
15. Franklin - According to Franklin the reaction of the Northerners were unfavorable to the Emancipation Proclamation. English and European laborers were anxious to see workers gain their freedom throughout the world. Negroes offered prayers of thanksgiving for their deliverance.⁶²
16. Reddick - North - Many white people were as happy with the Proclamation as the Negroes. But many other whites were angry.⁶³
17. Bennett - No comment

⁵⁷Coulter, Op. Cit., p. 50.

⁵⁸DuBois, Op. Cit., p. 80.

⁵⁹Wesley, Op. Cit., p. 69.

⁶⁰Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 88.

⁶¹Quarles, Op. Cit., p. 75.

⁶²Franklin, Op. Cit., p. 66

⁶³Reddick, Op. Cit., p. 35.

There are two Southern White Historians who saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a military measure who remained silent on the question of the basic purpose of the Proclamation. One Southern White viewed the Proclamation as a psychological measure. The Southern white professional historians tend to show evidence of academic freedom in that they can express openly their view on how the different groups reacted toward the Emancipation Proclamation. The Southern White Historians show evidence of behavioral and scientific research because they become concerned with human motivation and human response, individual and collective, native and foreign. The Southerners are objective in that they can face the fact that many people throughout the world were against the institution of slavery. The Southern White Historians recognized that the Negroes were capable of feeling and understanding freedom.

The Negroes are objective in that they divorce themselves from the concerns of their own groups and show the impact of the document upon the world at large. The Negroes are scientific and professional because they realize that this document did not have the same effect upon blacks as upon whites. It affected different people in different ways. Statements made by the authors fail to reveal evidence of race consciousness. There is evidence that the Negro Historians tended to crusade in that they tried to give the widest possible range of the document's appeal.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This has been a study in the historiography of the Emancipation Proclamation. This study answered the following questions: Will the interpretation of a particular event in History be conditioned by the frame of reference of those who have written about it? Will the race of the author, his social class and the personal and public climate of opinion influence his interpretation of a historical event?

The writer developed a critique for the selection of the authors. Their discussions of the Emancipation Proclamation were examined to answer the following questions: (1) What was the Proclamation for? (2) What did Lincoln have in mind? (3) What was the influence of Cabinet members? (4) What precipitated the move? (5) What was the reaction of Southerners, Negroes, Northerners and the international community? The degree to which their writings conformed to the characterization of their frame of reference would indicate the impact of the latter upon their interpretation of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Viewed functionally the characteristics of the professional Negro historians for the period and the whites can be paired. For the post war years a trend toward objectivity, toward crusading in one form or another, toward a broader interest in people generally, toward a more scientific approach to their craft, toward political and ideological concerns, toward race relations, and toward a positive response to the general loosening of constraints that held them captive in their own

psycho-social situation can be noted.

The trends in the scholarship in the answer to the question "What was the Proclamation for?" shows a remarkable parallelism in the basic historiological emphasis of both professional Negro and white Southern professional Historians. The trend toward a more scientific approach, more objectivity and the lingering subjectivity of crusading is to be expected in an area of historical tensions that would challenge the basic allegiances of both groups. The wanning of bitterness among Negro writers selected here is within itself interesting and demonstrates that the common class pattern implicit in the "professional" status has worked toward the apparent consensus here.

On the question of "What did Lincoln have in Mind?" the difference between the white and Negro is interesting in its manifestation. While the whites combine clearly their emancipation from the conformity and orthodoxy required by their region, with a contradictory disposition to be concerned about correcting misrepresentation of the area, the Negroes on the other hand continue the post war trend to scientific approaches and objectivity.

"What was the Influence of Cabinet Members?" is a question that revealed a curious pattern in continuities. The scientific trend and the objectivity continue with the Negro professional writers, with a parallel trend of academic freedom and scientific development in the scholarship. The southern scholars were relatively interested in the question, but such interest as

there was did not conflict with the basic trend in Negro historiography.

In the response that developed out of the question "What precipitated the move to issue the Proclamation?" the parallelism returns to the patterns of scientific approaches and freedom among black and white professionals. The nature of the freedoms are significant here. Negroes are getting free from bitterness and whites are finding a freer atmosphere in which to write. The continuing trend of the Negroes toward objectivity in this emotion laden historical event is noteworthy.

"What was the reaction of Southerners, Northerners, Negroes and the International Community?" is an emotion laden question which combines practically all of the parallel continuities (viz., scientific approaches, objectivity, crusading) with academic freedom and race relation for the whites and a strong dose of political ideology for the blacks.

The survey of the Emancipation Proclamation as a point of historiological investigation for selected professional Negro and white historians shows common trends in the approach to this scholarly problem since World War II.

It is the belief of this writer that there is a difference between the professional Negro and professional Southern White writers in regards to the interpretations of the Emancipation Proclamation. The difference was conceived to be founded in the period in which they wrote, their class

differences, their environment, and their ethnic differences.

Thus it has been demonstrated that the interpretations of an historical event may be conditioned by factors within the personal life and social-intellectual conditions surrounding an author's work.

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